

汉英对照阅读系列
Chinese-English Readers series

Tales 上下五千年(二)
from Five Thousand Years
of Chinese
History (II)



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致读者

要学好一种语言，必须多听、多说、多读、多写。要学好汉语也不例外，必须多听普通话，多阅读汉语作品。

《文化中国·汉英对照阅读丛书》是一套开放的系列，收入其中的主要为当代中国作家的散文、故事、小说等。我们编辑这套汉英对照读物的目的是帮助你阅读欣赏原汁原味的当代中国文学或非文学作品，让你在学习现代汉语、提高汉语阅读水平的同时，了解中国社会、中国文化、中国历史，以及当代中国人民的生活。我们采用汉英对照的办法，是为了帮助你更好地欣赏这些作品，对照英语译文你可以知道自己是不是真正正确地理解了这些汉语原作的意思。

希望你能喜欢。

——编者

To the Reader

Acquisition of proficiency in a foreign language calls for diligent practices in listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Learning Chinese is no exception. To a student of Chinese, extensive reading exercises are as important as constant exposure to spoken Mandarin.

Cultural China: Chinese-English Readers series is an open-ended series of collections of writings in Chinese, mostly essays and short stories by contemporary Chinese writers. Our purpose in putting together this bilingual series is to help you enjoy contemporary Chinese literature and other writings in their authentic, unadulterated flavor and to understand the Chinese society, culture, history, and the contemporary life of the Chinese people as you learn the language and hone your reading skills. A bilingual text will assist you in better savoring these works and in checking your understanding of the Chinese original against the English translation.

We hope you will like this volume.

- the Editor

关于《上下五千年（二）》

《上下五千年》是一套中国历史故事读物。它按历史顺序编写，涉及的时间自远古至清代鸦片战争前。

这套书的选题计划出自教育家和语言学家林汉达（1900—1972）先生之手。林先生拟定了这套书的写作提纲，并写了部分篇目。林先生去世后，曹余章（1924—1996）先生续写完成了其余部分。两位先生薪尽火传写成的这部著作，以准确的史实、精心的编排、流畅的文笔、独特的风格赢得了读者的喜爱。

《上下五千年（二）》汉英对照本摘取了自秦始皇统一中国至东汉末年黄巾军起义这段历史时期的相关故事。考虑到对照本篇幅不宜太大，我们对原书的内容作了一些删节。

About the Book

Tales from Five Thousand Years of Chinese History is a collection of stories arranged in chronological order, covering a period from ancient times to the pre-Opium War Qing Dynasty.

The topics were selected by educator and linguist, Lin Handa (1900-1972), who drew up the outline for the collection and contributed some chapters. Following Lin's death, Cao Yuzhang (1924-1996) took over his mantle and completed the work. This combined effort of two consecutive authors has enjoyed wide appeal by virtue of its historical accuracy, well-structured narrative, fluent writing and distinctive style.

The bilingual *Tales from Five Thousand Years of Chinese History (II)* starts from the unification of China by Qin Shihuang, and culminates in the Yellow Turban Uprising during the last years of the Eastern Han Dynasty. For the sake of brevity, the original Chinese work has been slightly abridged in this bilingual edition.

1、第一个皇帝——秦始皇

秦王政兼并了六国，结束了战国割据的局面，统一了中国。他觉得自己的功绩比古代传说中的三皇五帝还要大，不能再用“王”的称号，应该用一个更加尊贵的称号才配得上他的功绩，就决定采用“皇帝”的称号。他是中国第一个皇帝，就自称是始皇帝。他还规定：子孙接替他皇位的按照次序排列，第二代叫二世皇帝，第三代叫三世皇帝，这样一代一代传下去，一直传到千世万世。

全国统一了，该怎样来治理这样大的国家呢？

在一次朝会上，丞相王绾（音wan）等对秦始皇说：“现在诸侯刚刚消灭，特别是燕、楚、齐三国离咸阳很远，不在那里封几个王不行，请皇上把几位皇子封到那里去。”

1. Qin Shihuang – the First Emperor of Unified China

After conquering the six major sovereign states, thereby ending the divisions of the Warring States Period and unifying China, King Zheng of Qin viewed his own accomplishments as dwarfing those of the legendary Three *Huang* (Three August Ones) and Five *Di* (Five Sovereigns). Believing that the title of *wang* (king) no longer did justice to his unprecedented achievements, he decided to create a new title, *huangdi*. *Huangdi* combined the word *huang* from the Three *Huang* and the word *di* from the Five *Di*. Being the first *huangdi*, King Zheng adopted the name, Shihuangdi (the First Emperor). He then decreed that his successor would be referred to as Er Shihuangdi (the Second Emperor), the successor of his successor as San Shihuangdi (the Third Emperor), and so on, for 'ten thousand generations'.

After the unification of China, questions arose as how to govern a country of such immense size.

At an imperial audience, Chief Counselor Wang Wan said to Qin Shihuang, 'Now that the conquest of these sovereign states has been so recently accomplished, it is essential that fiefs be created and princes be named to them, especially for states geographically distant from the imperial capital, Xianyang, such as the states of Yan, Chu and Qi. I urge his Majesty to appoint his sons to rule those fiefs.'

秦始皇要大臣议论一下，许多大臣都赞成王绾的意见，只有李斯反对。他说：“周武王建立周朝的时候，封了不少诸侯。到后来，诸侯像冤家一样互相残杀，周天子也没法禁止。可见分封的办法不好，不如在全国设立郡县。”

李斯的意见正合秦始皇的心意。他决定废除分封的办法，改用郡县制，把全国分为三十六个郡，郡下面再分县。郡的长官都由朝廷直接任命。国家的政事，不论大小，都由皇帝决定。据说秦始皇每天看下面送来的奏章，要看一百二十斤（那时的奏章都是刻在竹筒上的），不看完不休息。可见他的权力是多么集中了。

在秦始皇统一中原之前，列国向来是没有统一的制度的。就拿交通来说，各地的车辆大小就不一样，因此车道也有宽有窄。国家统一了，车辆要在不同的车道上行走，多不方便。从那时候起，规定车辆上两个轮子的距离一律改为六

Qin Shihuang then asked his other ministers for comments on this suggestion, and many agreed. **Li Si** was the lone voice of dissent. He argued, "When King Wu of Zhou founded his dynasty, he created feudal lords, who soon became bitter enemies vowing each other's destruction. Not even the King of Zhou could dissuade them from this path of mutual ruin. Clearly creating fiefs is a bad idea. A better approach would be to create a nation-wide system of prefectures and counties."

This idea was music to Qin Shihuang's ears. He abolished the old feudal system in favor of this new administrative structure, dividing the empire into 36 prefectures, each subdivided into a number of counties. The governors of the prefectures were directly appointed by the imperial court. All decisions, big and small, pertaining to the administration of the state, were made by the emperor. In those days, petitions and reports were written on long pieces of bamboo. It is said that Qin Shihuang read through 120 *jin* (1 *jin* equals 1/2 kilogram) worth of these a day, and would not rest until he had finished reading all of them. This is an indication to the degree authority was concentrated in his hands.

Before Qin Shihuang unified China, each sovereign state had its own distinct system of standardization, without any thought to harmonizing its standards with another state. Thus, local vehicles varied in size depending upon the state, and the roads in each state were built to suit the width of their vehicles. With the country unified, the disparate widths of roads became a hindrance to vehicular traffic. It was henceforth decreed that for vehicles the distance between the wheels on an axle had to be uniformly exactly six *chi* (1 *chi* equals 1/3 meter). This new

尺，使车轮的轨道相同。这样，全国各地车辆往来就方便了。这叫做“车同轨”。

在秦始皇统一中原之前，列国的文字也很不统一。就是一样的文字，也有好几种写法。从那时候起，采用了比较方便的书法，规定了统一的文字。这样，各地的文化交流也方便多了。这叫做“书同文”。

各地交通便利，商业也发达起来，但是原来列国的尺寸、升斗、斤两的标准全不一样。从那时候起，又规定了全国用统一的度、量、衡制。这样，各地的买卖交换也没有困难了。

秦始皇正在从事国内的改革，没想到北方的匈奴打了进来。匈奴本来是我国北部一个古老的少数民族。战国后期，匈奴贵族趁北方的燕国、赵国衰落，一步步向南侵犯，把黄河河套一带大片土地夺了过去。秦始皇统一中原以后，派大将蒙恬（音 tián）带领三十万大军去抵抗，把河套一带地区都收了回来，设置了四十四个县。

为了防御匈奴的侵犯，秦始皇又征发用民力，把原来燕、赵、秦三国北方的城墙连接起来，又新造了不少城墙。这样

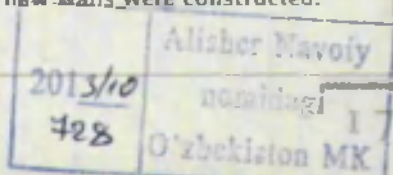
institution of vehicular-gauge standardization proved to be a great boon to transportation across the country.

Before unification, linguistic chaos prevailed, often with a confusing array of variations of written forms for the same word. Qin Shihuang's government adopted a standardized form of written language, and an easy-to-use system of handwriting. This new institution of written-language standardization was instrumental in promoting cultural exchange throughout the nation.

The boom in business that came with improved communication and transportation was held back by a lack of common weights and measures. Therefore, to facilitate trade and commercial exchanges, the Qin government standardized these.

As Qin Shihuang busied himself in domestic reforms, an invasion of the Xiongnu (known as the Huns in the West) surprised the country. The Xiongnu was a nomadic tribe that traditionally lived in the north. In the waning years of the Warring States Period, the Xiongnu nobility had taken advantage of the decline of the states of Yan and Zhao. They steadily pushed southward and finally grabbed vast areas in the Hetao Region (the Great Bend of the Yellow River). After unifying China, Qin Shihuang dispatched General Meng Tian at the head of a 300,000-strong army to fight off the invading Xiongnu. This army recovered the lost territory in Hetao, and Qin subsequently established 44 counties there.

In order to ward off future invasions by the Xiongnu, Qin Shihuang conscripted civilians to begin a construction project linking the walls previously built by each of the states of Yan, Zhao and Qin as part of their northern defenses. As part of the project, long segments of new walls were constructed.



从西面的临洮（今甘肃岷县）到东面的辽东（今辽宁辽阳西北），连成一条万里长城。这座举世闻名的古建筑，一直成为我们中华民族古老悠久文明的象征。

后来，秦始皇又派出大军五十万人，平定南方，添设了三个郡；第二年，蒙恬打败了匈奴，又添了一个郡。这样，全国总共有四十个郡。

公元前213年，秦始皇因为开辟了国土，在咸阳宫里举行一个庆祝宴会，许多大臣都赞颂秦始皇统一国家的功绩。博士淳于越却重新提出分封制度不能废除，他认为不按照古代的规矩办事是行不通的。

这时候，李斯已经做了丞相。秦始皇要听听他的意见。

李斯说：“现在天下已经安定，法令统一。但是有一批读书人不学现在，却去学古代，对国家大事乱发议论，在百姓中制造混乱。如果不加禁止，会影响朝廷的威信。”

constituting a defensive Great Wall that extended 10,000 *li* (1 *li* equals 1/2 kilometer). The Wall stretched from Lintao in the west (modern-day Min County, Gansu Province) to Liaodong in the east (northwest of modern-day Liaoyang, Liaoning Province). This world-renowned structure from antiquity has since become the symbol of the ancient civilization of China.

Qin Shihuang then went on to pacify the south of China by sending an expeditionary force of 500,000 men. He established three prefectures there. The following year, after the Xiongnu had been finally defeated by General Meng Tian, another prefecture was added to the map of Qin, which now comprised a total of 40 prefectures.

In 213 BCE, a banquet was held in the imperial palace in Xianyang in celebration of Qin Shihuang's brilliant accomplishment of expanding Qin's territory. As minister after minister lavished praise on Qin Shihuang for his feat of unifying China, the erudite Chun Yuyue sounded a discordant note when he reiterated his opposition to the abolition of the giving of fiefs, arguing that any departure from the rules handed down from antiquity would be doomed to failure.

Qin Shihuang wanted to hear the view of Li Si, who had by now been appointed Chief Counselor.

Li Si said, 'Now that stability has returned to the country, laws and decrees need to have a unified source. There are some intellectuals who would like to imitate antiquity instead of grappling with the present. They make ill-considered, irresponsible comments about the affairs of state, causing confusion among the public. Such a state of affairs, if allowed to go on unchecked, would undercut the authority of the imperial court.'

秦始皇采用李斯的主张，立刻下了一道命令：除了医药、种树等书籍以外，凡是有私藏《诗》、《书》、百家言论的书籍，一概交出来烧掉，谁要是再私下谈论这类书，办死罪，谁要是拿古代的制度来批评现在，满门抄斩。

第二年，有两个方士（一种用求神仙、炼仙丹骗钱的人）叫做卢生、侯生，在背后议论秦始皇的不是。秦始皇得知这个情况，派人去抓他们，他们却早已逃跑了。

秦始皇大为恼火，再一查，又发现咸阳有一些儒生也在一起议论过他。秦始皇把那些儒生抓来审问。儒生经不起拷打，又东拉西扯地供出一大批人来。秦始皇下令，把那些犯禁严重的四百六十多个儒生都埋了，其余犯禁的就流放到边境去。这就是历史上所说的“焚书坑儒”事件。

秦始皇正在火头上，大臣们谁也不敢劝他。他的大儿子扶苏认为这样处置儒生太严厉，劝谏他不要这样做。这一来，触怒了秦始皇，命令扶苏离开咸阳，到北方去和蒙恬一起守边疆。

Acting on Li Si's recommendations, Qin Shihuang immediately decreed, 'With the exception of books on medicine and tree planting, all privately-held books of song and verse, ancient texts, classics, and writings representing the views of various schools of thought must be surrendered to be burned. The discussion of these books by anyone is punishable by death. Anyone who criticizes present policies by invoking the practices of antiquity will see his entire clan exterminated.'

The following year, Qin Shihuang learned that two men, Lu Sheng and Hou Sheng, had been privately criticizing him. These men were alchemists who defrauded people by selling elixirs and invoking spirits. When Qin Shihuang sent agents to arrest these men, they slipped away.

This mightily annoyed Qin Shihuang. He ordered investigations which revealed that some Confucian scholars in Xianyang had also been making unflattering remarks about him. These scholars were rounded up. Under interrogation and torture, they implicated many more people. Qin Shihuang then ordered that the more than 460 Confucian scholars accused of the most serious transgressions be buried alive. The rest were exiled to remote locations on the frontiers. This is the historically famous or infamous *fen shu keng ru* (burning-of-books-and-burying-of-Confucian-scholars) incident.

No high official dared try calming Qin Shihuang down in the heat of his anger. Finding the treatment of the Confucian scholars too harsh, Qin Shihuang's eldest son Fu Su tried to dissuade him from following it through. This advice incurred the wrath of Qin Shihuang, who ordered Fu Su off to the northern frontiers to share garrison duties with General Meng Tian.

2、沙丘的阴谋

秦始皇知道，他灭了六国，六国留下来的旧贵族随时都可能起来反对他。他下令把天下十二万户豪富人家一律搬到咸阳来往，这样好管住他们；他又把天下的兵器统统收集起来，除了给政府军队使用以外，都熔化了铸成十二个二十四万斤重的巨大铜人和一批大钟（一种乐器）。他以为兵器收完了，有人想造反也造不成了。

他还常常到各地去巡视，一来祭祀名山大川，要大臣们把颂扬他的话刻在山石上，好让后代的人都知道他的功绩；二来显示自己的威武，也叫六国贵族有个怕惧。

公元前210年，秦始皇到东南一带去巡视。随他一起去的，有丞相李斯、宦官赵高。他的小儿子胡亥要求一起去。秦始皇平时挺喜欢这个小儿子，当然答应了。

秦始皇渡过钱塘江，到了会稽郡，再向北到了琅邪（今山

2. Intrigues at Shaqiu

Qin Shihuang was well aware that following his conquest of the six sovereign states, an ever-present threat was that the former nobility of those states might rebel. To keep better watch over them, he ordered the relocation of the empire's 120,000 wealthiest families to Xianyang. He had all civilian weapons collected up. Those weapons not redistributed to his troops were melted down to make 12 giant bronze statues each weighing 240,000 *jin*. A number of grand bells were also made from them. After all the weapons were gathered up, Qin Shihuang believed that no one would make new weapons.

He undertook frequent inspection tours to different parts of the empire. These tours were intended to offer sacrifices to the spirits of the famous mountains and rivers, and to commission the carving of glowing tributes to himself on mountain boulders in order to remind posterity of his accomplishments. Additionally, these tours were intended as a show of force, a muscle-flexing to instill fear in the hearts of the deposed nobility of the six conquered states.

In 210 BCE, Qin Shihuang's tours took him to southeast China. He was accompanied by Chief Counselor Li Si and Zhao Gao, a eunuch from his court. Hu Hai, a favored younger son, asked to tag along, and Qin Shihuang readily agreed.

The trip took him across the Qiantang River into Guiji Prefecture and then north to Langya (modern-day Jiaonan

东胶南县)。从冬季出发，一直到夏天才回来。回来的路上，他感到身子不舒服，在平原津（今山东平原县南）病倒了。随从的医官给他看病、进药，都不见效。

到了沙丘（今河北广宗县西）的时候，秦始皇病势越来越重。他知道病好不了，吩咐赵高说：“快写信给扶苏，叫他赶快回咸阳去。万一我好不了，叫他主办丧事。”

信写好了，还没来得及交给使者送出，秦始皇已经咽了气。

赵高是胡亥的心腹，跟蒙恬一家有冤仇。他偷偷地跟胡亥商量，准备假传秦始皇的遗囑，杀害扶苏，让胡亥继承皇位。胡亥当然求之不得，完全同意。

赵高知道要干这样的事，非跟李斯商量不可，就去找李斯说：“现在皇上的遗诏和玉玺都在胡亥手里，要决定哪个接替皇位，全凭我们两人一句话，您看怎么办？”

李斯吃了一惊，说：“您怎么说出这种亡国的话来？这可不是我们做臣子该议论的事啊！”

赵高说：“您别急。我先问您，您的才能比得上蒙恬吗？”

County, Shandong Province). Starting the trip in the winter, by summer he began his return to the capital. On his journey home, he fell ill at Pingyuan Ferry (south of modern-day Pingyuan County, Shandong Province). Despite his accompanying physician's treatment and care, there was no sign of improvement.

By the time the party reached Shaqiu (west of modern-day Guangzong County, Hebei Province), his health had deteriorated. Sensing the approach of death, Qin Shihuang instructed Zhao Gao, 'Write Fu Su without delay and tell him to immediately return to Xianyang. In case I do not recover, put him in charge of the funeral arrangements.'

Before there was time to send the letter, Qin Shihuang passed away.

Zhao Gao was Hu Hai's confidant and had a running feud with the Meng Tian clan. He secretly consulted Hu Hai on the idea of falsifying Qin Shihuang's last will to have Fu Su put to death, thus assuring Hu Hai's ascension to the throne. As Hu Hai had been waiting all of his life just for such an opportunity, he immediately agreed.

Knowing that such an undertaking must have the approval of Li Si, Zhao Gao went to him and said, 'The Emperor's last will and the imperial seal are in Hu Hai's possession. Succession to the throne now hinges on the two of us. What's your thought on the matter?'

'What treasonous words! It does not behoove us servants to discuss such matters,' Li Si replied in shocked disapproval.

Zhao Gao answered, 'Hold on! Let me ask you this: Do you think you are more capable or have more accomplishments

您的功劳比得上蒙恬吗？您跟扶苏的关系比得上蒙恬吗？”

李斯愣了一会，才说：“我比不上他。”

赵高说：“要是扶苏做了皇帝，他一定拜蒙恬做丞相。到那时候，您只好回老家。这是明摆着的事儿。公子胡亥心眼好，待人厚道。要是他做了皇帝，您我就一辈子受用不尽。您好好考虑考虑吧。”

经过赵高连哄带吓地说了一通，李斯怕让扶苏继承皇位以后，自己保不住丞相位置，就和赵高、胡亥合谋，伪造了一份诏书给扶苏，说他在外不能立功，反而怨恨父皇，又说将军蒙恬和扶苏同谋，都该自杀，把兵权交给副将王离。

扶苏接到这封假诏书，哭泣着想自杀。蒙恬怀疑这封诏书是伪造的，要扶苏向秦始皇申诉。扶苏是个老实人，说：“既然父皇要我死，哪里还能再申诉？”就这样自杀了。

赵高和李斯于是假传秦始皇的遗诏，由胡亥继承皇位。这就是秦二世。

under your belt than Meng Tian? Do you enjoy closer ties with Fu Su than Meng Tian does?'

Li Si thought for a moment. 'No, I can't compete,' he replied.

Zhao Gao responded. 'If Fu Su became emperor, he will definitely appoint Meng Tian as Chief Counselor. You would then have no choice but to retire to your hometown. Nothing can be more obvious. Prince Hu Hai is kind-hearted and good-natured. If he becomes emperor, you and I will be taken care of for the rest of our lives. Think about it!'

Frightened by the prospect of losing his position as Chief Counselor, with Zhao Gao's cajoling Li Si conspired with Hu Hai to forge an imperial edict under Qin Shihuang's seal. The edict accused Fu Su of giving a poor performance on his frontier duty, and of nursing a grudge against his father, the Emperor. The edict went on to charge General Meng Tian and Fu Su with conspiracy. It demanded that they should cede command to the Vice-General Wang Li and commit suicide.

After he read the forged edict, Fu Su wept. He was ready to obey the order and commit suicide. However, Meng Tian suspected that the edict was forged, and urged Fu Su to appeal before Qin Shihuang. Fu Su, a simple, honest person, replied, 'How can I appeal, given the fact that it is my father the Emperor who desires my death?' With that remark he killed himself.

Hu Hai then ascended the throne by virtue of the 'last will of Qin Shihuang', a forgery made by Zhao Gao and Li Si. He assumed the title of Qin Er Shi (literally, the Second Emperor of Qin).

二世和赵高葬了秦始皇以后，做贼心虚，怕篡夺皇位的事泄露出来。赵高撺掇胡亥杀害自己的兄弟和大臣，把十二个公子和十个公主都定了死罪，受株连的大臣更是不计其数。过了一年，赵高又用诡计唆使二世把那个同谋的李斯也逮捕起来杀了。赵高自己当了丞相，独掌大权。

After the burial of Qin Shihuang, Qin Er Shi and Zhao Gao, like all criminals, were haunted by a perpetual fear that their crime might be discovered. To keep the circumstances surrounding their usurpation of the throne secret, at Zhao Gao's urging Hu Hai ordered the death of his siblings, twelve princes and ten princesses in all, and a large number of government ministers. A year later, Zhao Gao tricked Er Shi into arresting and killing their co-conspirator, Li Si. With Li Si out of the way, Zhao Gao took his place as Chief Counselor and wielded undisputed power.

3、陈胜吴广揭竿而起

秦始皇为了抵抗匈奴，建造长城，发兵三十万，征集了民伕几十万；为了开发南方，动员了军民三十万。他又用七十万囚犯，动工建造一座巨大豪华的阿房宫（阿房音ē-páng）。二世即位后，从各地征调了几十万囚犯和民伕，大规模修造秦始皇的陵墓。这座坟开得很大很深，把大量的铜熔化了灌下去铸地基，上面盖了石室、墓道和墓穴。二世又叫工匠在大坟里挖成江河湖海的样子，灌上了水银。然后把秦始皇葬在那里。

安葬完了，为了防备将来可能有人盗坟，还叫工匠在墓穴里装了杀人的设备，最后竟残酷地把所有造坟的工匠全都埋在墓道里，不让一个人出来。

大坟设完工，二世和赵高又继续建造阿房宫。那时候，全中国人口不过二千万，前前后后被征发去筑长城、守岭南、修

3. The Rebellion of Chen Sheng and Wu Guang

In order to check the advances of the Xiongnu, Qin Shihuang had built the Great Wall, fielded a 300,000-strong army, and conscripted hundreds of thousands of laborers. During the reign of Qin Er Shi, an additional 300,000 troops and civilian laborers were mobilized to develop south China, 700,000 prisoners were employed in the construction of the huge, sumptuous Grand Palace at Epang, and hundreds of thousands of convict and civilian laborers were conscripted for the construction of the grand Mausoleum for Qin Shihuang.

The Mausoleum was impressively large both above and below ground. Its foundation, poured of molten copper, was surmounted by stone sepulchers, chambers, passageways and crypts. In the main burial chamber, Qin Er Shi had his craftsmen create a life-like landscape with rivers, lakes and oceans that used mercury to simulate water.

After Qin Shihuang was laid to rest in his tomb, booby-traps were installed to kill and deter would-be grave robbers. Finally, all the craftsmen involved in the construction of the tomb were ruthlessly buried alive in the underground passages. Not one was spared.

The construction of the Grand Palace at Epang was already embarked upon by Qin Er Shi and Zhao Gao even before the completion of the Mausoleum. In a country with a population

阿房宫、造大坟和别的劳役合起来差不多有二三百万人，耗费了不知多少人力财力，逼得百姓怨声载道。

公元前 209 年，阳城（今河南登封东南）的地方官派了两个军官，押着九百名民伕送到渔阳（今北京市密云西南）去防守。军官从这批壮丁当中挑了两个个儿大、办事能干的人当屯长，叫他们管理其他的人。这两个人一个叫陈胜，阳城人，是个给人当长工的，一个叫吴广，阳夏（今河南太康县）人，是个贫苦农民。

陈胜年轻时候，就是个有志气的人。他跟别的长工一块儿给地主种田，心里常常想，我年轻力壮，为什么这样成年累月地给别人做牛做马呢。总有一天，我也要干点大事业出来。

有一次，他跟伙伴们在田边休息，对伙伴们说：“咱们将来富贵了，可别忘了老朋友啊！”

大伙儿听了好笑，说：“你给人家卖力气种地，打哪儿来的富贵？”

陈胜叹口气，自言自语说：“唉，燕雀怎么会懂得鸿雁的志向呢！”

of only 20 million, a total of 2 to 3 million people had at one time or another been conscripted to work on construction projects such as the Great Wall, the Grand Palace at Epang, and the Mausoleum, to garrison the southern border regions, and to engage in other projects of forced labor. Such an extravagant expenditure of human and financial resources led to universal discontent.

In 209 BCE, local officials in Yangcheng (southeast of modern-day Dengfeng, Henan Province) sent two military officers supervising 900 civilian conscripts to garrison duty in Yuyang (southwest of modern-day Miyun in Beijing). The two officers picked two strong, capable men from the group as overseers. One of them was Chen Sheng, who had been a hired farmhand in Yangcheng. The other was Wu Guang, a poor peasant from Yangxia (modern-day Taikang County, Henan Province).

Chen Sheng had shown himself to be ambitious even at a young age. As he labored alongside other farmhands for their landlord, he often bemoaned the squandering of his youthful energy in this perennial slavish toil, and vowed to accomplish great things one day.

On one occasion, he exclaimed to his co-workers as they took a break by the field, 'If any of us prospers in the future, he must not forget the rest of the gang!'

The others ridiculed the idea by saying, 'What prosperity could a hired hand expect?'

Heaving a sigh, Chen Sheng muttered to himself, 'How can a sparrow be expected to understand the aspirations of a swan?'

陈胜和吴广本来不相识，后来当了民伕，碰在一块儿，同病相怜，很快就成了朋友。他们只怕误了日期，天天急着往北赶路。

到大泽乡（今安徽宿州东南）的时候，正赶上连天大雨，水淹了道，没法通行。他们只好扎了营，停留下来，准备天一放晴就上路。

秦朝的法令很严酷，被征发的民伕如果误了期，就要被杀头。大伙儿看看雨下个不停，急得真像热锅上的蚂蚁似的，不知道怎么办才好。

陈胜偷偷跟吴广商量：“这儿离渔阳还有几千里，怎么也赶不上限期了，难道我们就白白地去送死吗？”

吴广说：“那怎么行，咱们开小差逃吧。”

陈胜说：“开小差被抓回来是死，起来造反也是死，一样是死，不如起来造反，就是死了也比送死强。老百姓吃秦朝的苦也吃够了。听说二世是个小儿子，本来就挨不到他做皇帝，该登基的是扶苏，大家都同情他；还有，楚国的大将项燕，立过大功，大家都知道他是条好汉，现在也不知道是死

Chen Sheng and Wu Guang were strangers before they joined the gang of conscripts, but their common fate soon made them fast friends. Since the gang of conscripts was under a tight deadline to get to Yuyang, the group rushed north for days on end, frightened by the dire consequences of failure.

As the group reached the village of Daze (southeast of modern-day Suzhou, Anhui Province), its advance was blocked by flooding due to days of pouring rain. The conscripts had no choice but to pitch tents and wait for the weather to clear up enough for them to resume their march.

Under draconian Qin laws, the failure of the conscripts to reach their destination on time meant certain death. When the rain showed no sign of letting up, the conscripts became agitated like so many ants on a hot frying pan, not knowing what to do.

Chen Sheng pulled Wu Guang aside and said to him, 'We are still thousands of li from Yuyang. Are we going to let ourselves be killed?'

'No way!' Wu Guang replied, 'Let's escape!'

Chen Sheng answered him, 'It is death for us if we are caught deserting. We will also die if we rebel and fail. Since we are going to die in either case, I find rebellion more appealing than handing ourselves over to the executioner. People have suffered enough under Qin. Qin Er Shi is a younger son and had no claim to the throne in the first place. There is a lot of sympathy for Fu Su. By all rights, he should have become emperor. Now, the valor and military exploits of General Xiang Yan of the state of Chu are widely

了还是活着。要是咱们借着扶苏和项燕的名义，号召天下，楚地的人一定会来响应我们。”

吴广完全赞成陈胜的主张。为了让大伙儿相信他们，他们利用当时人大多迷信鬼神，想出了一些计策。他们拿了一块白绸条，用朱砂在上面写上“陈胜王”三个大字，把它塞在一条人家网起来的鱼肚子里。兵士们买了鱼回去，剖开了鱼，发现了这块绸子上的字，十分惊奇。

到了半夜，吴广又偷偷地跑到营房附近的一座破庙里，点起篝火，先装作狐狸叫，接着喊道：“大楚兴，陈胜王。”全营的兵士听了，更是又惊又害怕。

第二天，大伙儿看到陈胜，都在背后点点戳戳地议论这些奇怪的事。加上陈胜平日待人和气，大家就更加尊敬陈胜了。

有一天，两个军官喝醉了酒。吴广故意跑去激怒军官，跟他们说，反正误了期，还是让大家散伙回去吧。那军官果然大怒，拿起军棍责打吴广，还拔出宝剑来威吓他。吴广夺过剑来顺手砍倒了一个军官。陈胜也赶上去，把另一个军官杀了。

recognized. It's not clear whether or not he's still alive, but if we revolt in the name of Fu Su and Xiang Yan, I'm sure the people of Chu will rally to our cause.'

Chen Sheng's idea met with the enthusiastic approval of Wu Guang. In order to lend added credence to their cause, they came up with several ploys to fully capitalize on the superstitious beliefs prevalent at the time. They wrote 'Chen Sheng is King' in vermilion on a white piece of silk, and stuffed it into the belly of a fish being sold by a fishmonger. The fish was bought by some soldiers in their unit. These soldiers were flabbergasted when they were cleaning the fish for cooking and found this handwritten message inside it.

Late one night, Wu Guang snuck into a dilapidated temple near their campsite and lit a bonfire. Mimicking the barking of a fox, he started shouting, 'Great Chu is rising, and Chen Sheng is King!' All of the soldiers in the camp were filled with wonder and terror when they heard the cries.

The next day, because of these eerie happenings, the sight of Chen Sheng inspired much pointing and whispering among the soldiers. Aided by his kindly nature, Chen Sheng rose in esteem among his comrades.

One day, finding the two officers in an inebriated state, Wu Guang said in a taunting voice, 'We are going to miss the deadline anyway. Why don't you just dismiss us and let us go home?' The officers were predictably provoked. One of them hit Wu Guang with his officer's staff, and then threatened him with his sword. Wu Guang wrested the sword from the officer and killed him with it. At that moment, Chen Sheng rushed up and killed the other officer.

陈胜把兵士们召集起来说：“男子汉大丈夫不能白白去送死，死也要死得有个名堂。王侯将相，难道是命里注定的吗！”

大伙儿一齐高喊说：“对呀，我们听您的！”

陈胜叫弟兄们搭个台，做了一面大旗。旗上写了一个斗大的“楚”字。大伙对天起誓，同心协力，推翻秦朝。他们公推陈胜、吴广为首领。九百条好汉一下子就把大泽乡占领了。临近的农民听到这个消息，都拿出粮食来慰劳他们，青年们纷纷拿着锄头、铁耙到营里来投军。人多了，没有刀枪和旗子，他们就砍了许多木棒做刀枪，削了竹子做旗竿。就这样，陈胜、吴广建立了历史上第一支农民起义军。历史上把这件事称作“揭竿而起”（揭，音jiē，就是举起的意思）。

起义军打下了陈县（今河南淮阳）。陈胜召集陈县父老商量。大家说：“将军替天下百姓报仇，征伐暴虐的秦国，这样大的功劳，应该称王。”

陈胜就被拥戴称了王，国号叫做“张楚”。

Chen Sheng then called the soldiers together and said to them, 'We men must not die in vain. We must die for a cause. Are kings and noblemen preordained?'

The men cried out in unison, 'Well said! We are at your command!'

Chen Sheng had the soldiers build a command platform and make a battle flag displaying the word 'Chu'. The men vowed before the gods to fight together and overthrow the Qin Dynasty, pledging allegiance to Chen Sheng and Wu Guang. The good men handily took over the village of Daze. When peasants in neighboring villages heard of the uprising, they came bearing food for the insurgents. Many young men with hoes and pickaxes on their shoulders came to the camp to enlist. Since the growing army of insurgents had insufficient weapons and flags to go around, they jury-rigged weapons using sharpened wooden rods, and made flagpoles by splitting bamboo stems. Thus was born the first contingent of peasant rebels in Chinese history. This event is historically known as *jie gan er qi* (literally, 'uprising with raised sticks').

Following the fall of Chen County (modern-day Huaiyang, Henan Province) to the insurgents, Chen Sheng had a meeting with the residents, who said to him, 'You are rising up against the tyrannical Qin in order to redress the grievances of the people across the nation. For a great undertaking like this, you deserve to be king.'

Chen Sheng was thus declared King of Chu, and the name of his kingdom was called Zhang Chu.

4、刘邦和项羽

陈胜、吴广发动农民起义以后，各地的百姓纷纷杀了官吏，响应起义。没有多久，农民起义的风暴席卷了大半个中国。

陈胜派兵遣将分头去接应各地起义，他们节节胜利，占领了大批地方。但是因为战线长，号令不统一，有的地方被六国旧贵族占了去。起义不到三个月，赵、齐、燕、魏等地方都有人打着恢复六国的旗号，自立为王。

陈胜派出周文率领的起义军向西进攻，很快攻进关中（指函谷关以西地区），逼近秦朝都城咸阳。秦二世惊慌失措，赶快派大将章邯（音 hán）把在骊山做苦役的囚犯、奴隶放了出来，编成一支军队，向起义军反扑。原来的六国贵族各自占据自己的地盘，谁也不去支援起义军。周文的起义军孤

4. Liu Bang and Xiang Yu

The peasant rebellion started by Chen Sheng and Wu Guang inspired the killings of officials elsewhere. Soon the tide of peasant uprisings engulfed nearly half of China.

With the help of reinforcements sent by Chen Sheng and Wu Guang, insurgents in various localities began to win victory after victory and to expand the areas under rebel control. However, with the rebel forces spread too thin and the line of command ill-defined and fragmented, the control over some areas reverted to the deposed nobility of the six conquered states. Within barely three months of the start of the rebellion, the states of Zhao, Qi, Yan and Wei all had self-proclaimed kings setting out to restore the old kingdoms.

A rebel army dispatched by Chen Sheng went on a westward offensive under the command of Zhou Wen. It moved into Guanzhong (west of Hangu Pass) like a hot knife through butter, posing a direct threat to Xianyang, the imperial capital of Qin. Thrown into a panic, Qin Er Shi posthaste sent his general Zhang Han to Lishan, where the convicts and slaves on hard labor were relieved from their work and conscripted into a fighting force to be pitched against the insurgents. However, the deposed nobility of the six conquered states refused to venture beyond the borders of their states to lend a hand to Zhou Wen. Zhou Wen's army, left to fend for itself, finally crumbled. Wu Guang was then killed by his own subordinates in Xingyang.

军作战，终于失败。吴广在荥阳被部下杀死。起义后的第六个月，陈胜在撤退的路上被叛徒杀害了。

陈胜、吴广虽然死了，可是由他们点燃起来的反抗秦朝的那把火正在到处燃烧。在南方的会稽郡（治所在今江苏苏州），声势更大。

在会稽郡起兵的是项梁和他的侄儿项羽。项梁是楚国大将项燕的儿子。楚国被秦国大将王翦攻灭的时候，项燕兵败自杀。项梁老想恢复楚国。他的侄儿项羽身材魁梧，又挺聪明，项梁亲自教他念书识字。可是项羽才学了几天，就不愿学下去。项梁又教他学剑，项羽学了一阵子，也扔下了。

项梁很生气，可项羽满不在乎地说：“念书识字有什么用？学会了，不过记记自己的名字；剑学好了，也只能跟几个人对杀，没什么了不起。要学，就要学打大仗的本领。”

项梁听他的口气不小，就把祖传的兵书拿出来，给他学。

Six months into the uprising, Chen Sheng died at the hands of traitors as his troops were in retreat.

Despite the deaths of Chen Sheng and Wu Guang, the fire sparked by their uprising against the Qin Dynasty continued to spread to all parts of the empire. Guiji Prefecture (in modern-day Suzhou, Jiangsu Province) saw one of the more intense manifestations of this anti-Qin passion.

In Guiji, the armed rebellion was led by Xiang Liang and his nephew Xiang Yu. Xiang Liang was none other than the son of Xiang Yan, the famous general of the former state of Chu. Xiang Yan had committed suicide in the aftermath of an attack by the Qin General Wang Jian because he could not countenance the shame of Chu's destruction as a state. Afterwards, Xiang Liang had always harbored the thought of one day restoring the state of Chu. His nephew Xiang Yu was well-endowed both mentally and physically. However, when Xiang Liang had tried to teach Xiang Yu how to read, Xiang Yu's reading lessons lasted only a few days because of his lack of enthusiasm. Then, when Xiang Liang tried to teach him the art of the sword, Xiang Yu soon gave up on that, too.

Reacting to Xiang Liang's anger, Xiang Yu said dismissively, 'What's the use of learning to read? It helps you remember how to write your own name. That's it. And so what if you master the art of the sword! It enables you to thrust and parry with a few opponents. No big deal! What I want to learn is how to fight a grand war.'

Impressed by his nephew's lofty ambition, Xiang Liang brought out heirloom books that had been handed down from generation to generation about the art of war. Xiang Yu was

项羽一听就懂，可是略略懂得个大意，又不肯深入钻下去了。

项梁本是下相（今江苏宿迁西南）人，因为跟人结了冤仇，避到会稽郡吴中来。吴中的年轻人见他能文能武，都很佩服他，把他当老大哥看待。项梁也教他们学兵法，练本领。

这回儿，他们听到陈胜起义，觉得是个好机会，就杀了会稽郡守，占领了会稽郡。不到几天，拉起了一支八千人的队伍。因为这支队伍里大都是当地的青年，所以称为“子弟兵”。

项梁、项羽带着八千子弟兵渡过江，很快打下了广陵（郡名，治所在今江苏扬州市），接着又渡过淮河，继续进军。一路上又有各地方的起义队伍来投奔项梁，和他们联合起来。

第二年，有一支一百多人的队伍，由刘邦带领，来投靠项梁。

刘邦本来是沛县（今江苏沛县）人，在秦朝统治下，做过一名亭长（秦朝十里是一亭，亭长是管理十里以内的小官）。有一次，上司要他押送一批民伕到骊山去做苦工。他们一天

quick on the uptake when his uncle explained the books to him, but refused to delve any deeper as soon as he had had a general grasp of the ideas in the books.

Xiang Liang had originally been from Xiaxiang (southwest of modern-day Suqian, Jiangsu Province) before he got into trouble with somebody there and was forced to flee to Guiji. Many young people in his adopted city were much impressed by his scholarly and martial accomplishments and treated him with deference, looking to him as a teacher.

Soon after learning of Chen Sheng's rebellion, Xiang Liang and Xiang Yu realized their opportunity had come, so they killed the governor of Guiji and took over the prefecture. In a few days, they had rallied 8,000 men to their cause. Since most of the members of the rebel force were local youths, it got the name of Zi Di Bing, or 'the Young Folk's Army.'

They led this 8,000-strong army across the Huai River and soon took over the Guangling Prefecture (in modern-day Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province). As the troops led by Xiang Liang crossed the river and continued their march, more people joined in.

The following year, a man named Liu Bang at the head of a group of more than a hundred combatants attached himself to Xiang Liang's army.

Liu Bang was originally from Pei County (in Jiangsu Province), and had previously been the head of a *ting* (a *ting* was an administrative division about ten *li*, or about five kilometers, in length). He was ordered one day by his superior to take a group of conscripted laborers to Lishan to do hard labor. Each day on their forced march, several laborers would run away.

天赶路，每天总有几个民伏开小差逃走，刘邦要管也管不住，但是这样下去，到了骊山也不好交差。

有一天，他和民伏们一起坐在地上休息。他对大家说：“你们到骊山去做苦工，不是累死也是被打死，就算不死，也不知道哪年哪月才能回乡。我现在把你们放了，你们自己去找活路吧！”

民伏们感激得直流眼泪，说：“那您怎么办呢？”

刘邦说：“反正我也不能回去，逃到哪儿是哪儿。”

当时，就有十几个民伏情愿跟着他一起找活路。

刘邦同十几个民伏逃到芒砀（音 máng-dàng）山躲了起来。过了几天，聚集了一百多人。

沛县县里的文书萧何和监狱官曹参（音 shēn）知道刘邦是个好汉，很同情他，暗暗地跟他们来往。

赶到陈胜打下了陈县，萧何和沛县城里的百姓杀了县官，派人到芒砀山把刘邦接了回来，请他当沛县的首领。大家称他沛公。

刘邦在沛县起兵以后，又招集了两三千人，攻占了自己的家乡丰乡。接着他带了一部分队伍攻打别的县城，不料留

and there was nothing Liu Bang could do to stanch the loss. He realized that he would have a hard time accounting for the reduced size of his work force once he arrived in Lishan.

One day during a rest break, he said to the laborers sitting around him on the ground, "When you reach Lishan, what awaits you is either death by exhaustion or death by beating. Even if you escape death, there's no telling when you'll be allowed to go home. I'm going to free you now to find a living for yourselves."

The grateful laborers were moved to tears by this act of generosity. They asked him, "What's going to happen to you, sir?"

"I can't go back now, so I'll be on the run," Liu Bang replied.

A dozen laborers then decided then to stick with him and somehow find a way to survive by pooling their wits.

Liu Bang and his followers fled into the Mangdang Mountains. Within just a few days over a hundred men joined them there.

Xiao He, a secretary in the Pei County government, and Cao Shen, a prison warden, knew Liu Bang to be a trustworthy person. Because of their sympathy for him, they maintained secret contact with him and his group.

When Chen Sheng's insurgents captured Chen County, Xiao He and the residents of Pei County killed their own county magistrate and invited Liu Bang to come out of the Mangdang Mountains to be their new chief. Liu Bang thus came to be known as the Duke of Pei.

After Liu Bang launched his uprising in Pei County, he mustered a couple of thousands of men and had them capture his home village, Fengxiang. However, as he led a contingent of soldiers in a campaign to seize other county towns, the

在丰乡的部下叛变。刘邦得到这个消息，要回去攻打丰乡，可是自己的兵力不足，只好往别处去借兵。

他到了留城（今江苏沛县东南），遇到一个熟读兵书的能人。此人名叫张良，带着一百多人也正想投奔起义军。两人遇在一起，很谈得来。他们一商量，觉得附近的起义队伍中，只有项梁声势最大，决定去投奔项梁。

项梁见刘邦也是一个人才，就拨给他人马，帮助他收回丰乡。从此，刘邦、张良都成了项梁的部下。

陈胜、吴广等主要起义领袖死了以后，各地起义的领导权都落在旧六国贵族手里，他们相互争夺地盘，闹得四分五裂。秦国的大将章邯、李由，想趁机会把起义军一个个击破。

在这个紧要关头，项梁在薛城召开了会议，决心把起义军整顿一下。为了扩大号召，项梁听了谋士范增的意见，把流落在民间的楚怀王的孙子（名叫心）找了来，立为楚王，并仍然称作楚怀王。

subordinates who had stayed behind in Fengxiang surprised him with their own little rebellion. When Liu Bang got wind of the betrayal, he wanted to turn back and march on Fengxiang but, finding himself in need of more soldiers for the attack, had to turn to other sources for support.

When he reached Liucheng (southeast of Pei County, Jiangsu Province), he encountered Zhang Liang, a very capable soldier well-versed in the art of war. Zhang had intended to join other insurgents with his hundred followers. When he met Liu Bang, the two immediately hit it off. They both reckoned that Xiang Liang's army was the largest of all the nearby insurgent groups, so they decided to cast in their lot with him.

Xiang Liang saw much promise in Liu Bang and willingly lent him the requisite troops to take back Fengxiang. Liu Bang and Zhang Liang thus came to serve under Xiang Liang.

Following the deaths of Chen Sheng and Wu Guang, the main protagonists of the rebellion, the control over the insurgencies across the country fell into the hands of the deposed nobility of the six former states. Their turf wars eventually led to a splintering of the movement. This gave the Qin generals Zhang Han and Li You an opening to divide and conquer the insurgent groups.

At this crucial juncture, Xiang Liang convoked a meeting at Xuecheng in an effort to reunite and reinvigorate the insurgency. Realizing that he needed to broaden the appeal of the rebellion, Xiang Liang followed a suggestion of his adviser Fan Zeng and got hold of Xin, a grandson of King Huai of Chu. Xin was now a mere commoner, but Xiang Liang proclaimed him King of Chu. As the heir to the throne of King Huai, Xin took the same name.

5、项羽破釜沉舟

项梁整顿军队以后，接连打了几个胜仗，打败了秦朝大将章邯。项羽、刘邦带领另一支队伍，杀了秦将李由。项梁骄傲起来，认为秦军没有什么了不起，放松了警惕。章邯重新补充了兵力，趁项梁不防备，发动了猛烈的反扑。项梁在战斗中被杀了。项羽、刘邦也只好退守彭城。

章邯打败项梁，认为楚军大伤元气，就暂时撤开黄河以南这一头，带领秦军北上进攻赵国（这个赵国不是战国时代的赵国，而是新建立起来的一个政权），很快就攻下了赵国都城邯郸。赵王歇逃到巨鹿（今河北平乡西南）。

章邯派秦将王离把巨鹿包围起来，自己带领大军驻扎在

5. Xiang Yu Orders his Army to Smash All its Stoves and Sink All its Boats

After reforming his army, Xiang Liang won a string of victories against the Qin general Zhang Han. An army under Xiang Yu and Liu Bang also killed the Qin general Li You. These successes caused Xiang Liang to become arrogant and to lower his guard against the Qin army, which he dismissed as of no account. In the meantime General Zhang Han regrouped and replenished his troops. He launched a fierce counterattack that caught Xiang Liang off guard, killing him in battle. Xiang Yu and Liu Bang had to beat a retreat to Pengcheng.

After defeating Xiang Liang, General Zhang Han reckoned that he had dealt a heavy blow to the Chu forces, seriously sapping its strength. He therefore decided to shift his attention away from the south bank of the Yellow River, and lead his army northward to attack the state of Zhao. This was not the same state of Zhao of the Warring States Period, but a recently established regime. He quickly captured the Zhao capital, Handan, and forced its leader, King Xie, to flee to Julu (southwest of modern-day Pingxiang, Hebei Province).

Zhang Han ordered General Wang Li to lay siege to Julu. He himself bivouacked with the main force in Jiyuan, situated to the south of Julu. He had a road built between Jiyuan and

巨鹿南面的棘原。他还在棘原和巨鹿之间修筑了一条粮道，给王离军运送粮草。

赵王歇几次王番派人向楚怀王求救。当时，楚怀王正想派人往西进攻咸阳。项羽急于为叔父报仇，要求带兵进关。

怀王身边有几个老臣暗地对怀王说：“项羽性子太暴躁，杀人太多，刘邦倒是个忠厚人，不如派他去。”正好赵国来讨救兵。楚怀王就派刘邦打咸阳，另派宋义为上将军，项羽为副将，带领二十万大军到巨鹿去救赵国。

宋义带领的大军到了安阳（今河南安阳东南），听说秦军声势浩大，就命令楚军停了下来，想等秦军和赵军打上一阵，让秦军消耗掉一部分兵力，再进攻过去。

宋义按兵不动，在安阳一停就是四十六天。项羽耐不住性子，去跟宋义说：“秦军包围了巨鹿，形势这样紧急，咱们赶快渡河过去，跟赵军里外夹击，一定能够打败秦军。”

宋义说：“我们还是等秦军和赵军决战以后再说。”他又

Julu expressly for the purpose of transporting food and supplies to the troops led by Wang Li.

King Xie of Zhao made repeated appeals to King Huai of Chu for relief and rescue. At the time, King Huai of Chu had already been contemplating a march to the west to attack the Qin capital of Xianyang. Eager to avenge his uncle's death, Xiang Yu volunteered to lead an invading force against Xianyang.

Some veteran ministers close to King Huai of Chu said to him in private, 'Xiang Yu has a foul temper and has killed too many people. Liu Bang on the other hand is a decent man. It would be better to send him on the mission.' Zhao's appeal for help gave King Huai an added reason to act on his plans. He decided to send Liu Bang on the expedition against Xianyang, and to dispatch Song Yi as Commander and Xiang Yu as Vice-Commander, at the head of an army of 200,000 soldiers, to lift the siege of Zhao at Julu.

When Song Yi arrived with his troops at Anyang (southeast of modern-day Anyang, Henan Province), he received intelligence that the Qin forces were quite large and powerful. He ordered pause in his army's advance. He hoped that the Qin army would face attrition in their battle with the Zhao army before he had to weigh in with his own troops.

The pause ordered by Song Yi lasted 46 days. Already chomping at the bit, Xiang Yu went to Song Yi and said, 'Julu is under siege; the situation is untenable. Let's ford the river and attack the Qin forces! Sandwiched between the Zhao army in the city and our troops, the Qin forces will surely be defeated.'

Song Yi replied, 'Let's wait until a decisive battle has been fought between the Qin and the Zhao forces!' He then added,

对项羽说：“上阵跟敌人交锋，我比不上你，要说坐在帐篷里出个计策，你就比不上我了。”

他还下了一道命令：“将士中如有不服从指挥的，就得按军法砍头！”

这道命令明明是針對项羽的，项羽气得要命。这时候已经是十一月的天气，北方天冷，又碰着大雨，楚营里军粮接济不上，兵士们受冻挨饿，都抱怨起来。

项羽说：“现在军营里没有粮食，但是上将军却按兵不动，自己喝酒作乐，这样不顾国家，不体谅兵士，哪里像个大将的样子。”

第二天，项羽趁朝会的时候，拔出剑来把宋义杀了。他提了宋义的头，对将士说：“宋义背叛大王（指楚怀王），我奉大王的命令，已经把他处死了。”

将士们大多是项梁的老部下，宋义在将士中本来就没有什么威望。大伙见项羽把他杀了，都表示愿意听项羽指挥。

项羽把宋义被处死的事，派人报告了楚怀王。楚怀王虽然很不满，也只好封项羽为上将军。

项羽杀了宋义以后，先派部将英布、蒲将军率领两万人做先锋，渡过漳水，切断秦军运粮的道，把章邯和王离的军队分割开来。然后，项羽率领主力渡河。

'I'm no match for you in battle, but you are no match for me when it comes to devising strategies and tactics.'

Song Yi then pointedly issued a decree that any soldier or officer disobeying his orders would be decapitated according to military law.

Xiang Yu was deeply angered by this decree plainly directed against him. It was November, and the weather was already very cold in the northern country. Pouring rains did not help matters. With food and supplies dwindling, the cold and hungry soldiers started to grumble.

Xiang Yu said, 'The soldiers do not have enough to eat, but the General chooses to wait. He gets to drink and make merry. What does he care about the country or the soldiers? What kind of a general is he?'

The next day during morning muster, Xiang Yu drew his sword and killed Commander Song Yi. With Song Yi's head dangling from his hand, Xiang Yu said to the troops: 'Song Yi betrayed the King [meaning King Huai of Chu]. I executed him on orders of the King.'

Most of the soldiers and officers had previously served under Xiang Liang, and Song Yi had never enjoyed much authority in the military anyways. Now with Song Yi dead, the troops pledged their allegiance to Xiang Yu.

Xiang Yu sent a messenger to King Huai of Chu reporting the execution of Song Yi. Despite his unhappiness with this turn of events, the King had no choice but to name Xiang Yu Commander.

After killing Song Yi, Xiang Yu sent a vanguard unit of 20,000 men led by Generals Ying Bu and Pu across the Zhang River. In doing so, the Qin supply route was cut and the troops of Zhang Han were isolated from those led by Wang Li. With that accomplished, Xiang Yu forded the river with the main force.

渡过了河，项羽命令将士，每人带三天的干粮，把军队里做饭的锅子全砸了，把渡河的船只全凿沉了（文言叫作“破釜沉舟”，釜就是锅子），对将士说：“咱们这次打仗，有进无退，三天之内，一定要把秦兵打退。”

项羽的决心和勇气，对将士起了很大的鼓舞作用。楚军把王离的军队包围起来，个个士气振奋，越打越勇。一个人抵得上十个秦兵，十个就可以抵上一百。经过九次激烈战斗，活捉了王离，其他的秦军将士有被杀的，也有逃走的，围巨鹿的秦军就这样瓦解了。

当时，各路将领来救赵国的有十几路人马。可是他们害怕秦军强大，都扎下营寨，不敢跟秦军交锋。这回儿，听到楚军震天动地的喊杀声，挤在壁垒上看，他们瞧见楚军横冲直撞杀进秦营的情景，吓得伸着舌头，屏住了气。等到项羽打垮了秦军，请他们到军营来相见的时候，他们都跪在地下爬着进去，连头也不敢抬起来。大家颂扬项羽说：“上将军的神威真了不起，自古到今没有第二个，我们情愿听从您的指挥。”

打那时候起，项羽实际上成了各路反秦军的首领。

Once on the other bank of the river, Xiang Yu gave the order that each combatant was to carry only three days' worth of rations. He had all army cooking stoves smashed, and all of their boats sunk. This is the origin of the famous Chinese saying, *po fu chen zhou* (literally, 'smash the stoves and sink the boats'), meaning 'cross the Rubicon'. He said to the troops, 'With this action, there's no turning back. The only way is forward. We have to defeat the Qin army in three days.'

The courage and determination of Xiang Yu proved a great inspiration for the troops, and the morale of the Chu troops surrounding the forces of Wang Ti soared. With each battle, the Chu army improved, until finally each Chu soldier became as good as ten Qin soldiers. After nine rounds of fierce fighting, Wang Ti was captured alive. The other Qin officers all either died in combat or fled. The Qin army that laid siege to Julu was thus routed.

There were at the time a dozen contingents of soldiers supposedly on a mission to rescue Zhao. However, intimidated by the powerful Qin army, most of these contingents of soldiers decided to pitch tent and avoid engagement. When these soldiers heard the deafening battle cries of the Chu forces, they climbed to high vantage points to have a look. The sight of the Chu soldiers bravely storming into the Qin camp left them gaping and breathless. Afterwards, when they were invited by the nemesis of the Qin army Xiang Yu to see him in his camp, these soldiers crawled in on their knees, not daring even to raise their eyes to look at him. There was universal praise for Xiang Yu: 'The generalissimo's might is unprecedented. We are at your command.'

From that moment on, Xiang Yu became the supreme leader of all the anti-Qin forces.

6、刘邦约法三章

秦军在巨鹿打了败仗，可章邯还有二十多万人马驻在棘原。他上了一份奏章，向朝廷讨救兵。二世和赵高不但不发救兵，反而要查办章邯。章邯怕赵高害他，只好率领部下向项羽投降了。

章邯投降的消息到了咸阳，秦王朝内部也发生了混乱。

那时候，秦朝的权完全操在赵高手里。赵高害死了李斯以后，知道大臣中有人不服他。有一次他牵着一只鹿到朝堂上，当着大臣们的面对二世说：“我得到了一匹名贵的马，特来献给陛下。”

二世虽然是个糊涂虫，是鹿是马还分得清。他笑着说：“丞相别开玩笑，这明明是头鹿，怎么说是马呢？”

赵高绷着脸说：“怎么不是马？请大家说说吧。”

二世就问大臣们。不少人懂得赵高的用意，就附和着说：“是匹好马呀！”

6. Liu Bang's Contract with the People

Although the Qin army laying siege to Julu was routed, a large force of some 20,000 men under the command of the Qin general Zhang Han was stationed not far away in Jiyuan. He appealed to the imperial court for reinforcements. However, instead of sending relief, Qin Er Shi and Zhao Gao decided to discredit Zhang Han. Fearing that Zhao Gao was out to get him, General Zhang Han had no alternative but to surrender to Xiang Yu with his troops. When news of Zhang Han's surrender reached Xianyang, chaos broke out within the Qin regime.

At the time, all power was concentrated in the hands of Zhao Gao. After causing the death of Li Si, Zhao knew that there was animosity toward him among the ministers.

One day, Zhao Gao had brought a deer to the imperial court and declared publicly to Qin Er Shi, 'I've acquired a rare, purebred horse, and I am now presenting it to His Majesty.'

His muddle-headedness notwithstanding, Qin Er Shi was capable of distinguishing a deer from a horse. He said with a laugh, 'My Chief Counselor, stop pulling my leg! This is patently a deer. How can you claim it's a horse?'

Zhao Gao gave this deadpan reply: 'How can you say it's not a horse? What do your ministers think?'

Er Shi turned to his ministers for their opinion. Many were

也有的害怕赵高，不吭声，只有少数大臣说是鹿。

没过几天，那几个说是鹿的大臣，都被赵高找个借口办了罪。

打那以后，宫内宫外大小官员都害怕赵高，再没有人在二世面前说赵高的不是了。

公元前 206 年，刘邦的人马攻破了武关（今陕西丹凤县东南），离咸阳不远了。二世吓得直打哆嗦，连忙派人叫赵高发兵去抵抗。赵高知道不能再混下去，就派心腹把二世逼死。

赵高杀了二世，召集大臣对他们说：“现在六国都已恢复了，秦国不能够再挂个皇帝的空名，应该像以前那样称王。我看二世的侄儿子婴可以立为秦王。”这些大臣不敢得罪赵高，只好同意。

子婴知道赵高杀害二世，想自己做王，只是怕大臣们和诸侯反对，才假意立他为王。他和他两个儿子商量好，到即

on to Zhao Gao's trick and humored him by saying, 'It is indeed an excellent horse!'

Some were afraid of Zhao Gao and kept their silence. Only a handful answered that it was a deer. After a few days, the few high officials who said it was a deer were arrested on various charges trumped up by Zhao Gao.

Since then, the senior and junior officials inside and outside the imperial court were even more terrified of Zhao Gao. No one dared again voice any criticism of Zhao Gao in front of the Emperor.

In 206 BCE, Wuguan Pass (southeast of modern-day Danfeng County, Shaanxi Province) fell to Liu Bang's troops, which were now threatening Xianyang, the capital of Qin. This struck terror into the heart of the Emperor of Qin, who immediately ordered Zhao Gao to dispatch troops to head off an attack. Knowing that he would not survive such a battle, Zhao Gao sent a trusted henchman to get rid of Qin Er Shi.

After having the Emperor killed, Zhao Gao said to the ministers, 'Now that the six states have been restored, Qin can no longer rightfully claim the spurious title of emperor, but should revert to the previous title of king. In my estimation, Ziyong, the nephew of Er Shi is fit to be proclaimed king.' Not daring to contradict Zhao Gao, the ministers nodded their heads in consent.

Ziyong knew that Zhao Gao had killed Qin Er Shi with a view to becoming king himself. Only the fear of opposition from the Qin ministers and the lords of other states had checked Zhao's ambitions, reluctantly leading him to make Ziyong king. Ziyong feigned illness on the day of his

位那天，子婴推说有病不去，趁赵高亲自去催子婴的时候，就把赵高杀了。

子婴杀了赵高，派了五万兵马守住峽关（今陕西商县西北）。刘邦用张良的计策，派兵在峽关左右的山头插上无数的旗子，作为疑兵；另派将军周勃带领全部人马绕过峽关正面，从东南侧面打进去，杀死守将，消灭了这支秦军。

刘邦的军队进了峽关，到了灞上（今陕西西安市东）。秦王子婴带着秦朝的大臣来投降了。子婴脖子上套着带子（表示请罪），手里拿着秦皇的玉玺、兵符和节杖，哈着腰等在路旁。

刘邦手下的将军主张把子婴杀了，但是刘邦说：“楚怀王派我攻咸阳，就因为相信我能待人宽厚，再说，人家已经投降，再杀他不好。”说完，他收了玉玺，把子婴交给将士看管起来。

enthronement, and stayed away from the ceremony. This was in accordance with plans he had made beforehand with his two sons. When Zhao Gao personally went to Ziyang to urge him to attend the ceremony, Ziyang had Zhao Gao killed.

After Zhao Gao was dead, Ziyang dispatched 50,000 troops to defend Yaoguan Pass (northwest of modern-day Shang County, Shaanxi Province). When the Qin army approached, Liu Bang used a ruse suggested by Zhang Liang. They planted innumerable flags and standards on the peaks surrounding Yaoguan Pass to simulate the presence of large numbers of troops. He then sent his general Zhou Bo with all his troops on a circuitous route around the front entrance of the Pass, and attacked the Qin army's southeastern flank. The defending commander was killed in action, and the Qin troops were decimated.

As Liu Bang's troops passed through Yaoguan Pass and reached Bashang (east of modern-day Xi'an, Shaanxi Province), King Ziyang of Qin greeted him and surrendered with all his high officials. He stood in a bowed posture by the wayside, with a ribbon wrapped about his neck in token of shame. The imperial seal of jade, the scepter, and the commander in chief's tally were in his outstretched hands.

Liu Bang's generals urged him to kill Ziyang, but Liu Bang said, 'King Huai of Chu entrusted me with this mission of taking Xianyang precisely in the belief that I have a generous disposition. Moreover it is bad form to kill someone who has surrendered.'

He accepted the imperial seal from Ziyang's hands and remanded him to the custody of his troops.

这样，秦始皇建立起来的强大的王朝，仅仅维持了十五年，就在农民起义的浪潮中灭亡了。

刘邦的军队进了咸阳，将士们纷纷争着去找皇宫的仓库，各人都拣值钱的金银财宝拿，闹得乱哄哄的。只有萧何不希罕这些东西，他先跑到秦朝的丞相府，把有关户口、地图等文书档案都收了起来，保管好。

刘邦在将士陪同下，来到了豪华的阿房宫。他看见宫殿这么富丽，幔帐、摆设儿好看得叫人睁不开眼睛。还有许许多多的美丽的宫女。他在宫里呆了一会，心里迷迷糊糊的简直不想离开了。

这时候，他的部将樊噲（音 kuài）闯了进来，说：“沛公要打天下，还是要当个富翁呀？这些奢侈华丽的东西，使秦朝亡了，您还要这些干么？还是赶快回到军营里去吧！”

刘邦不听他的话，说：“让我歇歇吧。”

恰巧张良也进来了，听到樊噲的话，对刘邦说：“俗话说：忠言逆耳利于行，良药苦口利于病。樊噲的话说得很对呀，希望您听从他的劝告。”

The mighty dynasty founded by Qin Shihuang was thus extinguished after a mere fifteen years of existence in a groundswell of a peasant rebellion.

After Liu Bang entered Xianyang, his troops went on a wild, noisy rampage through the palace storehouses, stripping them of valuables. Xiao He alone was uninterested in the treasures. He went instead to the official residence of the Chief Counselor and collected all the public records, maps and other archives, which he ordered to be put in secure storage.

Escorted by his troops, Liu Bang came to the luxurious Grand Palace of Epang, where he was struck by the sight of its sumptuous appointments, draperies, hangings, canopies and other dazzling furnishings, as well as the bevy of beautiful court ladies. He was so bewitched by all that beauty and posh that he was loath to leave the palace.

His reverie was interrupted when his subordinate Fan Kuai burst into the room and exclaimed, 'My esteemed Duke of Pei! Are you interested in taking power or amassing wealth? All this luxury proved to be the undoing of the Qin Dynasty. How can you still be attracted to it? Please come back quickly to the camp!'

Liu Bang ignored his pleadings, saying, 'Let me have some rest!'

When Zhang Liang came into the room and overheard Fan Kuai's pleas, he said to Liu Bang, 'Remember the popular saying: Good advice offends one's ears but helps guide one's action: Effective medicine tastes bitter but helps cure the disease? Fan Kuni has made a valid point. Hopefully you'll heed his advice.'

刘邦是一向很信任张良的，听了他的话，马上醒悟过来，吩咐将士封了仓库，带着将士仍旧回到灞上。

接着，刘邦召集了咸阳附近各县的父老，对他们说：“你们被秦朝残酷的法令害苦了。今天，我跟诸位父老约定三条法令：第一，杀人的偿命；第二，打伤人的办罪；第三，偷盗的办罪。除了这三条，其他秦国的法律、禁令，一律废除。父老百姓可以安居乐业，不必惊慌。”

刘邦还叫各县父老和原来秦国的官吏到咸阳附近的各县去宣布这三条法令。

百姓听到了刘邦的约法三章，高兴得了不得。大伙儿争先恐后地拿着牛肉、羊肉、酒和粮食来慰劳刘邦的将士，刘邦好言好语地劝他们把这些东西拿回去，他说：“粮仓里有的是粮食，不要再让你们费心了。”

打那时候起，刘邦的军队在关中的百姓中留下了好的印象，人们都巴不得刘邦能留在关中做王。

Liu Bang, who had always had full trust in Zhang Liang, was sobered by these words. After ordering his troops to seal the storehouses, he led them back to their camp in Bashang.

Liu Bang subsequently called together the peasants from nearby counties and said to them, 'You've suffered enough under draconian Qin rule. I am going to lay down only three laws: First, he who kills pays with his life; second, he who commits assault and battery causing injury to others will be prosecuted and punished; third, he who steals will be prosecuted and punished. All other laws, regulations and prohibitions of Qin, with these three exceptions, are abolished forthwith. The public can go home and go about their daily life and business without fear.'

Liu Bang asked the people and Qin officials from other counties and to publicize these three laws.

When the people learned of the three laws of Liu Bang, there was widespread rejoicing. Spontaneously, the public offered beef, mutton, wine and food to Liu Bang's troops. However, Liu Bang patiently explained to them that they should take the offerings back, because, he said, 'We have enough food in storage. Don't worry about us anymore.'

Liu Bang's troops thus created a favorable impression upon the people in the Guanzhong region, and there was a growing demand for Liu Bang to stay and rule as king.

7、鸿门宴

项羽接受了章邯投降之后，想趁着秦国混乱，赶快打到咸阳去。

大军到了新安（今河南新安），投降的秦兵纷纷议论说：“咱们的家都在关中，现在打进去，受灾难的还是我们自己。要是打不进去，楚军把我们带到东边去，我们的一家老小也会被秦军杀光。怎么办？”

部将听到这些议论，去报告项羽。项羽怕管不住秦国的降兵，就起了杀心，除了章邯和两个降将之外，一夜之间，竟把二十多万秦兵全部活活地埋在大坑里。打那以后，项羽的残暴可就出了名。

项羽的大军到了函谷关，瞧见关上有兵守着，不让进去。守关的将士说：“我们是奉沛公的命令，不论哪一路军队，都不准进关。”

项羽这一气非同小可，命令将士猛攻函谷关。刘邦兵力

7. The Banquet at Hongmen

Soon after accepting the surrender of General Zhang Han, Xiang Yu decided to capitalize on the chaos in Qin to attack its capital Xianyang.

When the army reached Xin'an lin Henan Province, the Qin soldiers that had surrendered began to whisper to each other, 'When the attacking Chu army goes into Guanzhong, where our homes are, we will be the ones that suffer. If the Chu attack fails, we will be taken east and our folks back home will be killed by the Qin troops as punishment. What are we to do?'

These private discussions eventually reached the ears of the Chu officers and were reported to Xiang Yu. He began to have doubts about his ability to keep these Qin soldiers under his thumb, and murderous thoughts started to creep into his mind. Overnight, he had all 200,000 Qin soldiers who had surrendered to him, with the exception of Zhang Han and two other generals, buried alive in a mass grave. The ruthlessness of Xiang Yu attained instant notoriety.

When Xiang Yu's army reached Hangu Pass, the troops guarding the pass would not let it through, declaring that, 'On orders of the Duke of Pei, no armed groups, of whatever provenance, shall be allowed in.'

Xiang Yu was so incensed at this affront he ordered his troops to storm the pass. With the disadvantage of having inferior troop strength, Liu Bang's force was unable to stop

少，不消多大功夫，项羽就打进了关。大军接着往前走，一直到了新丰、鸿门（今陕西临潼东北），驻扎下来。

刘邦手下有个将官曹无伤，想投靠项羽，偷偷地派人到项羽那儿去密告，说：“这次沛公进入咸阳，是想在关中做王。”

项羽听了，气得瞪着眼直骂刘邦不讲理。

项羽的谋士范增对项羽说：“刘邦这次进咸阳，不贪图财货和美女，他的野心可不小哩。现在不消灭他，将来后患无穷。”

项羽下决心要把刘邦的兵力消灭。那时候，项羽的兵马四十万，驻扎在鸿门；刘邦的兵马只有十万，驻扎在灞上。双方相隔只有四十里地，兵力悬殊。刘邦的处境十分危险。

项羽的叔父项伯是张良的老朋友，张良曾经教过他的命。项伯伯仗一打起来，张良会陪着刘邦遭难，就连夜骑着快马到灞上去找张良，劝张良逃走。

张良不愿离开刘邦，却把项伯带来的消息告诉了刘邦。

the advance of Xiang Yu's army. It marched straight to Xinfeng and Hongmen (northeast of modern-day Lintong, Shaanxi Province), where it bivouacked.

One of Liu Bang's generals by the name of Cao Wushang, wanting to switch his loyalty to Xiang Yu, sent a message to the latter via a secret emissary. His message said, 'The Duke of Pei has plans to set himself up as king in Guanzhong with his capture of Xianyang.'

This information predictably provoked a violent reaction in Xiang Yu. With his eyes glaring fiercely, he launched into a long tirade against this outrage from Liu Bang.

Xiang Yu's adviser Fan Zeng said to him, 'Liu Bang has shown himself to be immune to the lure of lucre and beautiful women after occupying Xianyang. This means he has grander designs in mind. If he is not neutralized now, he will spell no end of trouble for us in the future.'

This strengthened Xiang Yu's determination to destroy Liu Bang's fighting capability. Xiang Yu's 400,000-strong force was then camped in Hongmen, only forty *li* from Bashang, where Liu Bang had stationed his 100,000 troops. This huge disproportion in troop strength put Liu Bang at a perilous disadvantage.

Xiang Yu's uncle Xiang Bo was an old friend of Zhang Liang, and owed the latter his life. Troubled by the thought that Zhang Liang would become a collateral casualty once Xiang Yu launched his attack against Liu Bang, at nightfall Xiang Bo jumped on a fast horse and rode posthaste to Bashang to warn Zhang Liang and urge him to run for his life.

Not only did Zhang Liang refuse to abandon Liu Bang,

刘邦请张良陪同，会见项伯，再三辩白自己没有反对项羽的意思，请项伯帮忙在项羽面前说句好话。

项伯答应了，并且叮嘱刘邦亲自到项羽那边去赔礼。

第二天一清早，刘邦带着张良、樊哙和一百多个随从，到了鸿门拜见项羽。刘邦说：“我跟将军同心协力攻打秦国，将军在河北，我在河南。我自己也没有想到能够先进了关。今天在这儿和将军相见，真是件令人高兴的事。哪儿知道有人在您面前挑拨，叫您生了气，这实在太不幸了。”

项羽见刘邦低声下气向他说话，满肚子气都消了。他老老实实地说：“这都是你的部下曹无伤来说的。要不然，我也不会这样。”

当天，项羽就留刘邦在军营喝酒，还请范增、项伯、张良作陪。

酒席上，范增一再向项羽使眼色，并且举起身上佩带的玉玦（音 jué，古代一种佩带用的玉器），要项羽下决心，乘机把刘邦杀掉。可是项羽只当没看见。

but he conveyed Xiang Bo's information to the latter. Liu Bang then asked Zhang Liang to take him to see Xiang Bo. At the meeting, he took pains to deny any intention of doing Xiang Yu any harm, and asked Xiang Bo to intercede for him with Xiang Yu.

Xiang Bo agreed to this request, and impressed upon Liu Bang the importance of his apologizing in person to Xiang Yu.

Early the next morning, Liu Bang, accompanied by Zhang Liang, Fan Kuui and an entourage of over a hundred people, went to Hongmen to pay a call on Xiang Yu.

Liu Bang said to Xiang Yu, 'My esteemed general! You and I are united in our desire to overthrow Qin rule, with you, Sir, fighting north of the river and I south of the river. It was by accident and not by design that I was the first to enter the city of Xianyang. It is indeed a pleasure and an honor to be able to meet my esteemed general here today. I can only regret that there was an unworthy attempt to drive a wedge between us, thus incurring your wrath. How unfortunate, isn't it?'

Liu Bang deferential tone effectively placated Xiang Yu, who admitted in an unguarded moment, 'All this originated with your subordinate, Cao Wushang. If not for him, I would not have acted the way I did.'

The same day, Xiang Yu invited Liu Bang to stay and drink with him in his camp. Fan Zeng, Xiang Bo, and Zhang Liang were also asked to be present.

At the banquet, Fan Zeng repeatedly signaled Xiang Yu with his eyes and even raised the jade ring he was wearing to prompt Xiang Yu to kill Liu Bang when the opportunity presented itself. However, Xiang Yu turned a blind eye to his signals.

范增看项羽不忍心下手，就借个因由走出营门，找到项羽的堂兄弟项庄说：“咱们大王（指项羽）心肠太软，你进去给他们敬酒，瞧个方便，把刘邦杀了算了。”

项庄进去敬了酒，说：“军营里没有什么娱乐，请让我舞剑助助兴吧。”说着，就拔出剑舞起来，舞着舞着，慢慢舞到刘邦面前来了。

项伯看出项庄舞剑的用意是想杀刘邦，说：“咱们两人来对舞吧。”说着，也拔剑起舞。他一面舞剑，一面老把身子护住刘邦，使项庄刺不到刘邦。

张良一看形势十分紧张，也向项羽告个便儿，离开酒席，走到营门外找樊哙，樊哙连忙上前问：“怎么样了？”

张良说：“情况十分危急，现在项庄正在舞剑，看来他们要对沛公下手了。”

樊哙跳了起来说：“要死死在一起。”他右手提着剑，左手抱着盾牌，直往军门冲去。卫士们想拦住他，樊哙拿盾牌一顶，就把卫士撞倒在地上。他拉开帐幕，闯了进去，气呼呼地望着项羽，头发像要往上直竖起来，眼睛瞪得大大的，连眼角都要裂开了。

Realizing that Xiang Yu did not have the heart to kill Liu Bang, Fan Zeng used a pretext to leave the banquet, and sought out Xiang Yu's brother Xiang Zhuang. He said to Xiang Zhuang, 'Our lord is too much of a bleeding heart. Why don't you go in and propose toasts, and at the right moment take out Liu Bang?'

Xiang Zhuang went into the banquet. As he proposed a toast, he said, 'We need some entertainment to liven up this boring place. Why don't I amuse you with a sword dance?' Thereupon, he drew his sword and started to go through the motions of a sword play. His choreographed steps took him closer and closer to Liu Bang.

Realizing Xiang Zhuang's real intent, Xiang Bo got to his feet, drew his sword and said, 'Let me join your dance!' In the thrust-and-parry *pas de deux*, he shielded Liu Bang from the murderous thrusts of Xiang Zhuang.

Sensing the mounting tension, Zhang Liang excused himself and left the banquet to look for Fan Kuai outside. Fan Kuai asked anxiously, 'How is it in there?'

Zhang Liang told him, 'It's tense and fraught with danger. Xiang Zhuang is performing a sword dance, apparently wanting to kill the Duke of Pei.'

Fan Kuai leapt up and declared, 'Then we will die together!'

He rushed toward the encampment with his sword in his right hand and his shield in his left. When the guards at the gate tried to stop him, he shoved them to the ground. Flinging open the curtains at the entrance of the main tent, he burst in. His chest heaving, his hair standing on end, and his eyeballs seemingly ready to burst out of their sockets, he glared at Xiang Yu.

项羽十分吃惊，按着剑问：“这是什么人，到这儿干什么？”

张良已经跟了进来，替他回答说：“这是替沛公驾车的樊哙。”

项羽说：“好一个壮士！”接着，就吩咐侍从的兵士赏他一杯酒，一只猪腿。

樊哙一边喝酒，一边气愤地说：“当初，怀王跟将士们约定，谁先进关，谁就封王。现在沛公进了关，可并没有做王。他封了库房，关了官室，把军队驻在灞上，天天等将军来。像这样劳苦功高，没受到什么赏赐，将军反倒想杀害他。这是在走秦王的老路呀，我倒替将军担心哩。”

项羽听了，没话可以回答，只说：“坐吧。”樊哙就挨着张良身边坐下了。

过了一会，刘邦起来上厕所，张良和樊哙也跟了出来。刘邦留下一些礼物，交给张良，要张良向项羽告别，自己带着樊哙从小道跑回灞上去了。

刘邦走了好一会，张良才进去向项羽说：“沛公酒量小，刚才喝醉了酒先回去了。叫我奉上白璧一双，献给将军，玉

Xiang Yu, startled by this intrusion, put his hand on his sword and demanded, 'Who's this? What's he doing here?'

Zhang Liang, entering close on Fan Kuai's heels, replied for him, 'He is Fan Kuai, the carriage driver of the Duke of Pei.'

'What a brave man!' Xiang Yu remarked. He told his guards to offer a cup of wine and a pig's leg to Fan Kuai.

As he downed the drink, Fan Kuai said, his anger still simmering, 'It was agreed between King Huai of Chu and his generals that whoever entered Guanzhong first with his troops would be named king there. The Duke of Pei has entered Guanzhong but has not proclaimed himself king. Instead, he ordered the storehouses and official premises sealed, and his troops billeted in Bashang to await the arrival of your troops, my esteemed general! Instead of rewarding his meritorious performance, my general now wants him dead. This smacks of the King of Qin's way of doing things. I am worried for you, my esteemed general.'

Rendered speechless, Xiang Yu could only say, 'Sit down please!'

Fan Kuai sat down next to Zhang Liang.

After a while Liu Bang got up to relieve himself. Zhang Liang and Fan Kuai followed him out of the tent. Leaving some gifts with Zhang Liang to be given to Xiang Yu in token of farewell, Liu Bang took Fan Kuai with him and hurriedly returned to Bashang by a back way.

After sufficient time had elapsed to aid Liu Bang's departure, Zhang Liang went back in and said to Xiang Yu, 'The Duke of Pei isn't one to hold much alcohol. He got drunk and has already gone back. He instructed me to present you

斗一对，送给亚父（“亚父”原是项羽对范增的尊称）。”

项羽接过白璧，放在座席上。范增却非常生气，把玉斗摔在地上，拔出剑来，砸得粉碎，说：“唉！真是没用的小子，没法替他出主意。将来夺取天下的，一定是刘邦，我们等着做俘虏就是了。”

一场剑拔弩张的宴会，总算暂时缓和了下来。

these two pieces of white jade. And this pair of jade wine goblets is for Ya Fu (literally, 'second father': Xiang Yu's reverential term of address for Fan Zeng).

Xiang Yu accepted the two pieces of white jades and placed them on a chair. Fan Zeng, on the other hand, was furious and flung the jade wine goblets on the ground. He hacked the gift to pieces with his sword, saying with a sigh, 'Good ideas are wasted on this hopeless fool! The prize of reigning over China is certain to be taken by Liu Bang. We have nothing to look forward to but to be taken prisoner one day.'

The tense banquet with daggers drawn and sabers rattling finally gave way to a temporary lull.

8、萧何追韩信

项羽进了咸阳，杀了秦王子婴和秦国贵族八百多人，下命令烧了阿房宫。他把楚怀王改称为义帝，把六国旧贵族和有功的将领一共封了十八个王，自称为西楚霸王。春秋时期不是有霸主吗？项羽自称霸王，等于宣布他有权号令别的诸侯，诸侯都得由他指挥。到了第二年，项羽干脆把挂名的义帝杀了。

分封诸侯以后，各国诸侯就都分别带兵回自己的封国去，项羽也回到他的封国西楚的都城彭城（今江苏徐州市）。

在十八个诸侯中，项羽最忌的是刘邦。他把刘邦封在偏远的巴蜀和汉中，称为汉王，又把关中地区封给秦国的三名

8. Xiao He Chases after Han Xin

After Xiang Yu entered Xianyang, he ordered the execution of Ziying, the king of Qin, and some 800 of the Qin nobility. He also ordered the Grand Palace of Epang torched. He renamed King Huai of Chu, titling him Emperor Yi, and divided the former Qin empire into 18 principalities, which he doled out to the deposed nobility of the six former states and to army commanders who had made outstanding contributions in the war. He gave himself the title of *Xi Chu Ba Wang* (Overlord of Western Chu). This is a throwback to the Spring and Autumn Period, when princes served under an overlord. By calling himself overlord, Xiang Yu effectively proclaimed himself as above all other lords and princes. The following year, Xiang Yu decided he had no more use for the nominal Emperor Yi and had him executed.

After being awarded their respective principalities, the new princes set off with their troops for their fiefs. Xiang Yu also returned to Pengcheng (modern-day Xuzhou City, Jiangsu Province), the capital of his fief Western Chu.

Of the eighteen princes, Liu Bang was the one that aroused the deepest misgivings in Xiang Yu. Xiang Yu sent him off to faraway regions of Bashu and Hanzhong with the title of Prince of Han. To contain Liu Bang, Xiang Yu gave territories in the Guanzhong region to Zhang Han and two other Qin generals

降将章邯等人，让他们挡住刘邦，不让刘邦出来。

汉王刘邦对他的封地很不满意，但是自己兵力弱小，没法跟项羽计较，只好带着人马到封国的都城南郑（今陕西汉中东）去。

汉王到了南郑，拜萧何为丞相，曹参、樊哙、周勃等为将军，养精蓄锐，准备再和项羽争夺天下。但是他手下的兵士们却都想回老家，差不多每天有人开小差逃走，急得汉王连饭也吃不下。

有一天，忽然有人来报告：“丞相逃走了。”

汉王急坏了，真像突然被人斩掉了左右手一样难过。

到了第三天早晨，萧何才回来。汉王见了他，又气又高兴，责问萧何说：“你怎么也逃走？”

萧何说：“我怎么会逃走呢？我是去追逃走的人呀。”

汉王又问他：“你追谁呢？”

萧何说：“韩信。”

萧何所说的韩信，本来是淮阴人。项梁起兵以后，路过淮阴，韩信去投奔他，在楚营里当个小兵。项梁死了，又跟

who had surrendered, with the task of preventing Liu from ever breaking out of his marginalized status.

Although very unhappy with his new fief, given the small size of his army the Prince of Han Liu Bang had no bargaining power with Xiang Yu. He resigned himself to his new post in the capital of his principality, Nanzheng (east of modern-day Hanzhong, Shaanxi Province). Once settled in Nanzheng, the Prince of Han appointed Xiao He his Chief Counselor, and Cao Shen, Fan Kuai, and Zhou Bo as his generals. They were tasked with regrouping and recouping strength in active anticipation of another contest with Xiang Yu for the authority to rule the empire. Liu Bang's soldiers, however, had different priorities: They pined for home. His army suffered a daily hemorrhage of deserters. Liu Bang was so alarmed by the crisis he lost all appetite for food.

Then one day came the bombshell news that his Chief Counselor Xiao He had also deserted. The Prince of Han was thrown into a panic — sickened as though his right or left hand had been severed from him.

Three days later, Xiao He reemerged. The Prince of Han greeted his return with a combination of anger and relief. 'Why did you of all people run away?' he demanded.

'Why should I run away?' Xiao He replied. 'I was chasing after someone else who had deserted.'

The Prince of Han inquired, 'Who were you chasing after?'

'Han Xin,' Xiao He replied.

Han Xin was a native of Huaiyin. When Xiang Liang's insurgent troops passed through Huaiyin, Han Xin joined up and became a foot soldier in the Chu camp. At Xiang Liang's

项羽，项羽见他比一般兵士强，就让他做个小军官。

韩信好几回向项羽献计策，项羽都没有采用。韩信感到十分失望。赶在汉王刘邦到南郑去的时候，韩信就去投奔汉王。

韩信到了南郑，汉王也只给他当个小官。有一次，韩信犯了法被抓了起来，差不多快要被砍头了。幸亏汉王部下一个将军夏侯婴经过，韩信高声呼喊，向他求救，说：“汉王难道不想打天下了吗，为什么要斩壮士？”

夏侯婴看韩信的模样的，真是一条好汉，把他放了，还向汉王推荐。汉王派韩信做个管粮食的官。

后来，丞相萧何见到了韩信，跟他谈了谈，认为韩信的能耐不小，很器重他，还几次三番劝汉王重用他，但汉王总是不听。

韩信知道汉王不肯重用他，趁着将士纷纷开小差的时候，也找个机会走了。

萧何得到韩信逃走的消息，急得跺脚，立即亲自骑上快马追赶上去，追了两天，才把韩信找了回来。

death, he pledged his allegiance to Xiang Yu. Xiang Yu judged that Han Xin was more than a mere foot soldier in ability, and made him a junior officer.

Han Xin had become disappointed because the numerous ideas he presented to Xiang Yu were all rejected. Therefore, when the Prince of Han Liu Bang arrived in Nanzheng, Han Xin went there to offer his services.

Once in Nanzheng, Han Xin only succeeded in obtaining a minor post from the Prince of Han. On one occasion, Han Xin was arrested for breaking the law. He was on the point of being beheaded when a general under the Prince of Han by the name of Xia Houying passed by and overheard this cry for help. 'If the Prince of Han desires the imperial throne, why is he killing off good men?'

Xia Houying sized him up, and found him to be indeed a good man. He ordered Han Xin released and commended him to the Prince of Han, who then assigned Han Xin to an office dealing with food and grain.

In a chance conversation with Han Xin, the Chief Counselor Xiao He found him to be a capable man and came to admire his qualities. However, his repeated recommendations that Han Xin be elevated to a position of trust fell on deaf ears.

Realizing the Prince of Han's reluctance to give him any important responsibilities, Han Xin joined the exodus of army deserters.

Xiao He was desperate when he learned of Han Xin's departure. He immediately jumped on a fast horse to pursue him. It took two days to get Han Xin to come back with him.

汉王听说萧何追的是韩信，生气地骂萧何说：“逃走的将军有十来个，没听说你追过谁，单单去追韩信，是什么道理？”

萧何说：“一般的将军有的是，像韩信那样的人才，简直是举世无双。大王要是准备在汉中呆一辈子，那就不用不到韩信，要是准备打天下，就非用他不可。大王到底准备怎么样？”

汉王说：“我当然要回东边去，哪能老呆在这儿呢？”

萧何说：“大王一定要争天下，就赶快重用韩信，不重用他，韩信早晚还是要走的。”

汉王说：“好吧，我就依着你的意思，让他做个将军。”

萧何说：“叫他做将军，还是留不住他。”

汉王说：“那就拜他为大将吧！”

萧何很高兴地说：“这是大王的英明。”

汉王叫萧何把韩信找来，想马上拜他为大将。萧何直爽地说：“大王平日不大注意礼貌，拜大将可是件大事，不能像跟小孩闹着玩似地叫他来就来。大王决心拜他为大将，要择

When the Prince of Han learned that it was Han Xin that Xiao He had ridden after, he angrily reproached him: "A dozen generals have run away and you haven't gone after any of them. Why did you chase after Han Xin?"

Xiao He replied, "You can always find generals, but a man of Han Xin's qualities is a rare gem. If you are content with spending the rest of your life in Hanzhong, then you don't need Han Xin. But, if you're interested in ruling the empire, he is indispensable. What is it to be, my Prince?"

The Prince of Han answered, "Of course I want to go back east. How can I fritter away my life here?"

"If his Highness has made up his mind about ruling over China, then he should entrust Han Xin with major responsibilities. Otherwise, he will leave sooner or later," Xiao He declared.

"All right. I'll do as you say and make him a general," the Prince replied.

"That will not stop him from leaving," Xiao He answered.

"Then I'll appoint him Commander in Chief," the Prince responded.

Xiao He exclaimed with satisfaction, "A very wise decision, your Highness!"

The Prince of Han told Xiao He to bring Han Xin before him so that he could make the appointment then and there. Xiao He replied bluntly, "Niceties of etiquette have never been a forte of your Highness. The appointment of a Commander in Chief is a serious matter, not a children's game. You just can't call him in like that. If your Highness has decided to name him Commander in Chief, then a propitious day should

个好日子，还得隆重地举行拜将的仪式才好。”

汉王说：“好，我都依你。”

汉营里传出消息，汉王要择日子拜大将啦。几个跟随汉王多年的将军个个兴奋得睡不着觉，认为这次自己一定能当上大将。

赶到拜大将的日子，大家知道拜的大将竟是平日被他们瞧不起的韩信，一下子都愣了。

汉王举行拜将仪式以后，再接见韩信，说：“丞相多次推荐将军，将军一定有好计策，请将军指教。”

韩信谢过汉王，向汉王详详细细分析了楚（项羽）汉双方的条件，认为汉王发兵东征，一定能战胜项羽。汉王越听越高兴，只后悔没早点发现这个人才。

打那以后，韩信就指挥将士，操练兵马，东征项羽的条件渐渐成熟了。

be selected, and a solemn ceremony should be scheduled to confer the title.'

'All right, whatever you say,' the Prince replied.

Word soon began to spread among the rank and file that the Prince of Han was going to appoint a Commander in Chief on a certain auspicious day. Generals who had served many years under the Prince of Han were having sleepless nights in joyous anticipation of being named to this position.

When that day finally came, everyone was stunned to learn that the new Commander in Chief was to be Han Xin, who had long been held in contempt by them.

Following the conclusion of the ceremony, the Prince of Han received Han Xin and said to him. The Chief Counselor has repeatedly commended you to me. I'm sure you have excellent ideas in your head, and I am ready to hear them.'

Han Xin expressed gratitude to the Prince, and then presented a detailed comparative analysis of the respective strengths and weaknesses of Chu under Xiang Yu, and of Han. He concluded that the Prince of Han would be assured of victory when he launched an attack on Xiang Yu in the east. As the briefing continued, the mood of the Prince of Han became increasingly buoyant. Liu Bang regretted not having discovered this talented man sooner.

With Han Xin in command and in charge of training the troops, conditions ripened for a military campaign against Xiang Yu to the east.

9、楚汉相争

汉王刘邦拜韩信为大将，萧何为丞相，整顿后方，训练人马。公元前206年八月，汉王和韩信率领汉军攻打关中。关中的百姓对“约法三章”的汉王本来有好感，汉军一到，大多不愿抵抗。不到三个月工夫，汉王消灭了原来秦国降将章邯等的兵力，关中地区就成了汉王的地盘。

这一来，可把西楚霸王项羽气坏了。项羽打算发兵往西打刘邦，可是东边也出了事，齐国的田荣轰走了项羽所封的齐王，自立为王，情况比西边更严重。项羽只好先去对付齐国。

汉王刘邦趁项羽和齐国相持不下的时候，一直向东打过来，攻下了西楚霸王的都城彭城。项羽又不得不扔了齐国那一头，赶回来在睢水上跟汉军打了一仗。

9. Rivalry between the States of Chu and Han

With his Commander in Chief Han Xin and his Chief Counselor Xiao He, the Prince of Han Liu Bang embarked in earnest on a program of internal reform and military training. In August 206 BCE, the Prince of Han led his army with Han Xin as Commander in Chief on a campaign against Guanzhong. The people of Guanzhong still had fond memories of the Prince of Han, author of the 'Contract with the People', and did not put up much of a fight as the Han army marched in. In less than three months, the Prince of Han neutralized the forces of Zhang Han and other former Qin generals, and took control of the Guanzhong region.

The Overlord of Western Chu Xiang Yu was furious at this turn of events. He wanted to move against Liu Bang to the west, but another crisis was coming to a head in the east. In the principality of Qi, Tian Rong deposing the prince installed by Xiang Yu, and declared himself prince. As the imbroglio in Qi seemed more threatening than Liu Bang's advance in the west, Xiang Yu had no choice but to deal with Tian Rong first.

Capitalizing on the deadlock between Xiang Yu and the principality of Qi, the Prince of Han Liu Bang pressed his attack further east and took Pengcheng, the capital of the Overlord of Western Chu. This compelled Xiang Yu to break off his engagement against Qi and race back towards his capital. He met the Han forces led by Liu Bang in battle at the Sui River.

汉军大败，掉在水里淹死的不知道有多少，被俘的也不少，汉王的父亲太公和妻子吕后也被楚军俘虏了。

汉王退到荥阳、成皋（在今河南荥阳县）一带，收集散兵。这时候，萧何从关中调来二支人马，韩信也带着军队来见汉王，汉军才又振作起来。

汉王采取以攻为守的办法，一面守住荥阳，用少数兵力拖住项羽的军队，一面派韩信带领兵马，向北边收服魏国、燕国和赵国。

项羽的谋士范增劝项羽把荥阳迅速攻下来。汉王十分着急。他的谋士陈平原是从项羽那边投奔过来的，献了一条计策，离间项羽和范增的关系。

项羽是个猜忌心很重的人，中了反问计，真的对范增怀疑起来。范增十分气愤，对项羽说：“天下的大事已经定了，大王自己好好干吧。我年老体衰，该回老家了。”

范增离开荥阳，一路上又气又伤心，就害了病，没有回到彭城，脊梁上长了毒疮死去。

范增一死，楚营里再没人替霸王出主意。汉军受的压力

The battle turned into a debacle for the Han army, as countless of their soldiers drowned in the River. Many others were taken prisoner. The Chu forces even succeeded in capturing the Prince of Han's father Tai Gong, and Liu Bang's wife Queen Lü.

The Prince of Han fell back to the vicinity of Xingyang and Chenggao (in Henan Province) to regroup. Han morale was then lifted by the arrival of two contingents of reinforcements deployed from the capital by Xiao He, and of troops led by Han Xin.

In the belief that the best defense is a good offense, the Prince of Han sent troops under Han Xin's command northward to conquer the principalities of Wei, Yan and Zhao. Meanwhile, he kept behind only a small garrison to defend Xingyang and pin down Xiang Yu's forces.

Xiang Yu's adviser Fan Zeng advocated taking Xingyang in a lightning strike. The possibility of such a strike had the Prince of Han greatly worried. Liu Bang's adviser Chen Ping, a defector from Xiang Yu's camp, came up with the idea of driving a wedge between Xiang Yu and Fan Zeng.

Paranoid by nature, Xiang Yu believed the lies and started to have suspicions about Fan Zeng. In indignation, Fan Zeng said to Xiang Yu, 'The situation in the country has stabilized. I'll leave you to finish the good work, my King! I am too old and too frail. It's time to retire and go home.'

On his way home from the Xingyang area, Fan Zeng fell ill, possibly because of indignation and a deep sense of having been wronged. Before reaching Pengcheng, he died from a festering sore on his spine.

With the death of Fan Zeng, there was no one left in the

也减轻了。汉王用少数兵力在蒙阳、成皋一带牵制项羽的兵力，让韩信继续攻取北边东边，又叫将军彭越在楚军后方截断楚军的运粮道儿，使项羽的军队不得来回作战。楚汉双方就这样对峙了两年多。

公元前 203 年，项羽自己去攻打彭越，把手下将军曹咎留下来守住成皋，再三嘱咐他千万不要跟汉军交战。

汉王见项羽一走，就向曹咎挑战。一开始，曹咎说什么也不出来交战。汉王就叫兵士成天隔着汜水（流经荥阳西，汜音 sī）朝着楚营辱骂。

一连骂了几天，曹咎实在沉不住气了，就决定渡过汜水，和汉军拼一死战。

楚军兵多船少，只好分批渡河。汉军趁楚兵刚渡过一半的时候，把楚军的前军打败，后军乱了阵，自相践踏。曹咎觉得没有脸再见项羽，在汜水边自杀了。

Chu camp able to give wise counsel to the Overlord of Western Chu, and the Han forces had lost a formidable opponent. While the Prince of Han used his small force in the Xingyang and Chenggao area to pin down Xiang Yu's army, Han Xin was able to continue his campaigns to the north and east. Working in concert with them, General Peng Yue went behind Chu lines and worked to cut off the supply routes to the Chu troops. Xiang Yu's forces shuttling between multiple fronts were thus harassed and overstretched, leading to a stand-off between Chu and Han that lasted for more than two years.

In 203 BCE, Xiang Yu decided to take on General Peng Yue. He instructed General Cao Jiu to stay behind and defend Chenggao. Cao Jiu had strict instructions not to engage the Han forces under any circumstances.

After Xiang Yu's departure, the Prince of Han immediately challenged Cao Jiu to a fight. At first, Cao Jiu adamantly refused to be provoked. The Prince of Han then had his soldiers hurl non-stop insults at the Chu camp from their side of the Si River, which flowed west of Xingyang.

After being bombarded by volleys of name-calling for days on end, Cao Jiu finally lost his cool. He decided to cross the Si River for a fight to the death with the Han forces.

His Chu army did not have enough boats for its soldiers, and had to ferry them across the River in batches. When half of the army was across the river, the Han army attacked, dealing this advance contingent a decisive blow. The Chu troops that were following retreated in disarray. Many were trampled to death by their own comrades. Too ashamed to face Xiang Yu again, Cao Jiu committed suicide by the Si River.

项羽在东边正打了胜仗，一听成皋失守，又赶到了西边对付汉王。在广武（今河南荥阳县东北）地方，楚汉两军又对峙起来。

日子一久，楚军的粮食接应不上。项羽没法子，就把汉王的父亲绑了起来，放在宰猪的案上搁着，派人大声吆喝：“刘邦还不快投降，就把你父亲宰了。”

汉王知道项羽吓唬他，也大声回答说：“我跟你曾经结为兄弟，我的父亲也就是你的父亲。你要是把父亲杀了煮成肉羹，请分给我一碗尝尝。”

项羽恨得咬牙切齿，真的想把太公杀了，又是项伯劝住了他。

项羽派使者跟汉王说：“现在天下闹得乱纷纷的，无非是你我两个人相持不下，你敢不敢出来跟我比个上下高低。”

汉王要使者回话说：“我可以跟你斗智，不跟你比力气。”

项羽又叫汉王出来，在阵前对话。汉王当面数落项羽的十大罪状，说他不讲信义，杀害义帝，屠杀百姓等等。项羽听得发火了，用戟向前一指，后面的弓箭手一齐放起箭来。汉

Meanwhile, Xiang Yu achieved victory on the eastern front, but then was informed of the fall of Chenggao and had to race back westward to take on the Prince of Han. At Guangwu (northeast of modern-day Xingyang County, Henan Province) the two armies met and became locked in another standoff.

As the confrontation dragged on, the Chu forces began to run out of rations. As a last resort, Xiang Yu had Liu Bang's father bound and placed on a butcher's table. He then sent someone to shout at the Han camp, 'Liu Bang, surrender now, or your father will be butchered!'

Calling Xiang Yu's bluff, the Prince of Han shouted back, 'We were once sworn brothers, so my father is your father, too. If you kill Father, please make a meat soup out of him and offer me a bowl of it.'

Xiang Yu gnashed his teeth in anger. He seriously contemplated killing Liu Bang's father Tai Gong, but was dissuaded by Xiang Bo.

Xiang Yu then sent an envoy to the Prince of Han with the message: 'The present chaos in the realm boils down to a stalemate between you and me. I dare you to a man to man duel.'

The Prince of Han sent the envoy back with this reply: 'I can agree to a duel of wits, but not of physical strength.'

Xiang Yu then met Prince of Han face-to-face. The Prince of Han read out a ten-point indictment of Xiang Yu, accusing him of duplicity, the murder of Emperor Yi, and the slaughter of civilians. Deeply angered by these accusations, Xiang Yu signaled with his halberd, and the archers behind him unleashed a volley of arrows at the Prince of Han. He quickly maneuvered his horse to dodge the arrows, but it was too late.

王赶快回马，胸口已经中了一箭，受了重伤。

他忍住疼，故意弓着腰摸摸脚，骂着说：“贼人射中了我的脚趾。”

左右把汉王扶进了营帐。汉军听说汉王受伤，都着了慌。张良恐怕军心动摇，劝汉王勉强起来，到各军营巡视了一遍，大家才安定下来。

项羽听说汉王没有死，大失所望。接着，韩信在齐地大败楚军，楚军的运粮道又被彭越截断，粮草越来越少。

汉王趁项羽正在为难的时候，派人跟项羽讲和，要求把太公、吕后放回来，并且建议楚汉双方以鸿沟（今河南荥阳东南）为界，鸿沟以东归楚，鸿沟以西归汉。

项羽认为这样划定“楚河汉界”还不错，就同意了，放了太公、吕后，接着把自己的人马带回彭城。

其实，汉王这次讲和，只是一个缓兵之计。汉王用了张良、陈平的计策，不出两个月，组织了韩信、彭越、英布三路人马一齐会合，由韩信统领，追击项羽。楚、汉双方一场最后决战就开始了。

He was shot in the chest and seriously wounded.

Braving the pain, as a ruse he reached down and touched a foot, cursing, 'The bastards shot my toe!'

His guards helped the Prince of Han into his tent. Word quickly spread that the Prince of Han had been injured, throwing the Han troops into a panic. Fearing a collapse of morale, Zhang Liang advised the Prince of Han to go on an inspection tour of the camp pretending not to be seriously injured. This inspection tour had the effect of calming the troops.

Xiang Yu was sorely disappointed when he learned that the Prince of Han had survived. Later, Han Xin routed the Chu troops in Qi territory. General Peng Yue then succeeded in cutting the Chu supply routes. The Chu army now faced a worsening logistical crisis.

Seeing that Xiang Yu was in dire straits, the Prince of Han made peace overtures. He asked for the release of Tai Gong and Queen Lü, and proposed dividing the empire along the waterway called Honggou (southeast of modern-day Xingyang, Henan Province). The territory east of Honggou would be given to Chu, and territory west of it given to Han. Thinking this proposed partition a fair bargain, Xiang Yu gave his consent. He released Tai Gong and Queen Lu, and took his troops back to Pengcheng.

However, this peace treaty was actually a tactic by the Prince of Han to buy time. Following the advice of Zhang Liang and Chen Ping, in less than two months the Prince of Han was able to merge the three armies of Han Xin, Peng Yue and Ying Bu into a single fighting force. He placed this under Han Xin's command and sent him in pursuit of Xiang Yu. Thus the stage was set for a final showdown between Chu and Han.

10、四面楚歌

公元前202年，韩信布置十面埋伏，把项羽围困在垓下（今安徽灵璧县东南，垓音gāi）。项羽的人马少，粮食也快完了。他想带领一支人马冲杀出去。但是汉军和诸侯的人马把楚军包围得重重叠叠。项羽打退一批，又来一批，杀出一层，还有一层，这儿还没杀出去，那儿的汉兵又围了上来。

项羽没法突围，只好仍回到垓下大营，吩咐将士小心防守，准备瞅个机会再出战。

这天夜里，项羽进了营帐，愁眉不展。他身边有个宠爱的美人名叫虞姬。看见他闷闷不乐，陪伴他喝酒解闷。

到了定更的时候，只听得一阵阵西风吹得呼呼直响，风声里还夹着唱歌的声音。项羽仔细一听，歌声是由汉营里传出来的，唱的净是楚人的歌子，唱的人还真不少。

10. Xiang Yu Haunted by Chu Chants

In 202 BCE, Xiang Yu was trapped in an ambush by Han Xin at Gaixia (southeast of modern-day Lingbi County, Anhui Province). In the end, Xiang Yu had very few soldiers left, and was running out of food. He wanted to make a break for it, but the Chu army was encircled on all sides by ring upon ring of troops not just from Han, but from other principalities, as well. As soon as Xiang Yu would beat back one wave of attackers, a new wave would be unleashed upon him. Whenever he thought he had broken through enemy lines, he always found another army closing in on him.

After he was unable to break through the encirclement, Xiang Yu would always return to his encampment at Gaixia. He would instruct his troops to be on high alert, and then hide his time as he prepared for another round of combat.

One night, a gloomy Xiang Yu walked into his tent with his brows knit into a deep frown. The beautiful Lady Yu, Xiang Yu's favorite companion, tried to cheer him up by having a few drinks with him.

As the first watch was sounded, he heard snatches of song wafted in by the gusts of the westerly wind. As Xiang Yu listened more intently, he realized that the singing originated in the Han camp, but that all the tunes were from Chu. He could tell that a remarkable number of people had joined in the singing.

项羽听到四面到处是楚歌声，不觉愣住了。他失神似地说：“完了！难道刘邦已经打下西楚了吗？怎么汉营里有这么多的楚人呢。”

项羽再也忍不住了，随口唱起一曲悲凉的歌来：

力拔山兮气盖世，
时不利兮骓（音 zhuī）不逝，
骓不逝兮可奈何，
虞兮虞兮奈若何？

（这首歌的意思是：“力气拔得一座山，气魄能压倒天下好汉，时运不利，乌骓马不肯跑。马儿不肯跑有什么办法？虞姬呀虞姬，我拿你怎么办？”）

项羽一连唱了几遍，虞姬也跟着唱起来。霸王唱着唱着，禁不住流下了眼泪。旁边的侍从也都伤心得抬不起头。

当夜，项羽跨上乌骓马，带了八百个子弟兵冲过汉营，马不停蹄地往前跑去。到了天蒙蒙亮，汉军才发现项羽已经突围，连忙派了五千骑兵紧紧追赶。项羽一路奔跑，等到他渡过淮河，跟着他的只剩下一百多人了。又跑了一程，迷了道儿。

项羽来到一个三岔路口，瞧见一个庄稼人，就问他哪条道儿可以到彭城。那个庄稼人知道他是霸王，不愿给他指路，哄骗他说：“往左边走。”

Xiang Yu was taken aback by the Chu music coming at him from all sides. Dispirited he said, 'All is lost! Has Liu Bang taken control of Western Chu? How else can one explain so many Chu voices in the Han camp?'

Overwhelmed by sadness, Xiang Yu began to sing in a forlorn voice:

*I was invincible with strength to move mountains.
Now my piebald steed even balks at my misfortune.
What am I to do when my piebald shirks its duty?
How do I do thee justice, Lady Yu, my beauty?*

After several refrains, Lady Yu joined Xiang Yu in the singing. As the Overlord of Western Chu sang, tears began to streak down his cheeks. Even the attendants around him stood with their heads bowed in sadness.

That night, Xiang Yu mounted his piebald horse and led his 800 men in a daring dash through the Han encampment, galloping on without stopping to rest. It was only when day broke that the Han troops found out Xiang Yu had breached the encirclement. A cavalry detachment of 5,000 was immediately sent after him. By the time his flight took him across the Huai River, Xiang Yu found he had only 100 men left. As the party rode on, they lost their way.

Coming to a fork in the road, Xiang Yu saw a peasant and asked him which way led to Pengcheng. The peasant recognized him. Not wishing to help him, he pointed in the wrong direction and said, "Bear left at the fork!"

项羽和一百多个人往左跑下去，越跑越不对头，跑到后来，只见前面是一片沼泽地带，连道儿都没有了。项羽这才知道是受了骗，赶快拉转马头，再绕出这个沼泽地，汉兵已经追上了。

项羽又往东南跑，一路上，随从的兵士死的死，伤的伤。到了东城（今安徽定远县东南），再点了点人数，只有二十八个骑兵。但是汉军的几千名追兵却密密麻麻地围了上来。

项羽料想没法脱身，但是他仍旧不肯服输，对跟随他的兵士们说：“我起兵到现在已经八年，经历过七十多次战斗，从来没打过一次败仗，才当上了天下霸王。今天在这里被围，这是天叫我灭亡，并不是我打不过他们啊！”

他把仅有的二十八人分为四队，对他们说：“看我先斩他们一员大将，你们可以分四路跑开去，大家在东山下集合。”

说着，他猛喝一声，向汉军冲过去。汉兵抵挡不住，纷纷散开，当场被项羽杀死了一名汉将。

项羽到了东山下，那四队人马也到齐了。项羽又把他们分成三队，分三处把守。汉军也分兵三路，把楚军围住。项

As Xiang Yu and his 100 men rode down the path to the left, they began to suspect something was awry. After a while, the path ended in a marsh. Xiang Yu turned his steed around in the realization that they had been duped, and tried to find a way out of the wetland. However, by that time, the Han detachment in pursuit had already caught up with them.

Xiang Yu's remnant troops ran toward the southeast, suffering heavy casualties as they did so. When they reached Dongcheng (southeast of modern-day Dingyuan County, Anhui Province), they counted only 28 cavalymen left. By this time, thousands of Han soldiers had formed a tight noose around them.

Although Xiang Yu did not expect to extricate himself from this mess, he did not concede defeat. He said to his soldiers, 'In more than 70 battles in the eight years since I started this rebellion, I've never once been defeated. That's how I have earned my position as Overlord. I've been trapped here not because I am unable to triumph over my foes, but because it's the will of Heaven.'

Dividing his remaining 28 combatants into four groups, he instructed them, 'When I get off my horse and kill one of their generals, you disperse in four different directions. We will regroup later at the foot of East Hills.'

He then let out a terrible cry and charged into the Han troops. The Han defenses immediately crumbled and one of the Han generals was killed on the spot.

When Xiang Yu arrived at East Hills, he was rejoined by the four groups of remaining troops. Xiang Yu organized them into three squads to man defenses on three fronts. The pursuing Han troops launched a three-pronged attack,

羽来往冲杀，又杀了汉军一名都尉和几百名兵士。最后，他又把三处人马会合在一起，点了一下人数，二十八名骑兵只损失了两名。

项羽对部下说：“你们看怎么样？”

部下都说：“大王说的一点不错。”

项羽杀出汉兵的包围，带着二十六个人一直往南跑去，到了乌江（今安徽和县东北）。恰巧乌江的亭长有一条小船停在岸边。

亭长劝项羽马上渡江，说：“江东虽然小，可还有一千多里土地，几十万人口。大王过了江，还可以在那边称王。”

项羽苦笑了一下说：“我在会稽郡起兵后，带了八千子弟渡江。到今天他们没有一个能回去，只有我一个人回到江东。即使江东父老同情我，立我为王，我还有什么脸再见他们呢。”

他把乌骓马送给了亭长，也叫兵士们都跳下马。他和二十六个兵士都拿着短刀，跟追上来的汉兵肉搏起来。他们杀了几百名汉兵，楚兵也一个个倒下。项羽受了十几处创伤，最后在乌江边拔剑自杀。

enveloping the Chu troops. Wading fearlessly into the enemy forces coming from all directions, Xiang Yu killed a Han commander and several hundred soldiers. Finally, he mustered his three squads together and tallied his forces. He had suffered only two casualties out of the 28 soldiers.

Xiang Yu asked his men, 'What do you think of our performance?'

His men replied, 'Your Highness was a hundred percent right.'

Having breached the encirclement of Han troops, Xiang Yu escaped with his remaining 26 men southward to the banks of the Wujiang River (northeast of modern-day He County, Anhui Province). The chief of the local *ting* happened to have a small boat moored at the waterside.

The chief of the *ting* urged Xiang Yu to ferry across immediately, saying, 'The territory east of the river may not be that vast, but it still extends a thousand *li* and boasts a population of hundreds of thousands. Once there, your Highness will still be a king.'

With a wry smile, Xiang Yu said, 'When I started the rebellion in Guiji, I took 8,000 folk with me across the river. I will not be able to bring a single one of them home now. Even if the folks east of the river have sympathy for me and put me on the throne, I am ashamed to see them again.'

After making a gift of his piebald steed to the chief of the *ting* and ordering his soldiers to dismount, he and the 26 braves wielded daggers and engaged the pursuing Han troops in hand-to-hand combat. They fell one by one as they killed several hundred Han soldiers. Having received a dozen wounds, Xiang Yu ended his own life with his sword on the banks of the Wujiang River.

11、大风歌

垓下决战后，汉王刘邦得到了最后的胜利，建立了一个比秦朝更强大的汉王朝。公元前202年，汉王刘邦正式即了皇帝位，这就是汉高祖（西汉纪年从公元前206年刘邦称汉王时算起）。

汉高祖建都洛阳，后来迁都到长安（今陕西西安）。从那时候开始的210年，汉朝的都城一直在长安。历史上把这个时期称为“西汉”，也叫“前汉”。

汉高祖即位不久，在洛阳南宫开了一个庆功宴会。他对大臣们说：“咱们今天欢聚在一起，大家说话用不到顾忌。你们说说，我是怎么得天下的？项羽又是怎样失天下的？”

大臣王陵等说：“皇上派将士打下城池，有封有赏，所以大家肯为皇上效劳，项羽对有功的和有才能的人猜疑、妒忌，打了胜仗，不记人家的功劳，所以失去了天下。”

汉高祖笑了笑说：“你们只知其一，不知其二。要知道成

11. Song of the Rising Wind

In the aftermath of the decisive battle at Gaixia, the Prince of Han Liu Bang achieved final victory, and founded the Han Dynasty, which proved more powerful than Qin. In 202 BCE, Liu Bang ascended the imperial throne with the title of Emperor Gaozu of Han. (The start of the Western Han Dynasty is sometimes predated to 206 BCE, the year Liu Bang assumed the title of the Prince of Han).

Gaozu of Han made Luoyang the capital of the new dynasty. Eventually, the capital was moved to Chang'an (modern-day Xi'an, Shaanxi Province). Chang'an would remain the capital of the Han dynasty for 210 years. This period is historically called the Western Han dynasty, also known as the Former Han.

At a celebration held in the South Palace in Luoyang shortly after Gaozu's ascension to the throne, he said to his ministers, 'We are gathered here today to celebrate. You can speak freely, without any inhibition. What in your opinion enabled me to win imperial power? What caused Xiang Yu to lose the contest?'

Wang Ling and other ministers said, 'By always properly rewarded those who helped him conquer cities and towns, your Majesty has secured loyalty. Xiang Yu lost because the talents and exploits of others aroused jealousy and mistrust in him, instead of earning them any credit.'

Gaozu said with a smile, 'There's something else you've

功失败，全在用人。坐在帐帷里定计划，算得准千里以外的胜利，这一点我不如张良，治理国家，安抚百姓，给前方运送军粮，这一点我比不上萧何，统领百万大军，开战就打胜仗，攻城就能拿下来，这一点我怎么也赶不上韩信。这三个人都是当代的豪杰。我能够重用他们，这就是我得天下的原因。项羽连一个范增都不能用，所以被我灭了。”

大家都佩服汉高祖说得有道理。后来，人们就把萧何、张良、韩信称做“汉初三杰”。

在楚汉战争中，有些带兵的大将立过大功，汉高祖不得不封他们为王。这些诸侯王有的虽然不是旧六国贵族，但是都想割据一块土地，不听汉朝政府的指挥。其中楚王韩信、梁王彭越、淮南王英布，功劳最大，兵力也最强。汉高祖对他们确实不放心。

有个原来在项羽手下的将军叫钟离昧，汉高祖正在缉拿他，韩信却把他收留下来。

第二年，有人向汉高祖告发韩信想谋反。汉高祖问大臣

missed. It is important to understand that success often depends on the ability to use the right people for the right job. In directing a battle to victory from thousands of miles away, I am no match for Zhang Liang. In day-to-day administration of the country, anticipating popular sentiments, and providing supplies and support for the front, I can't do any better than Xiao He. When it comes to commanding a large army to victory after victory and taking city after city, I can't hold a candle to Han Xin. These three people are the best talents of our time. I have succeeded because I have tapped their talents, while Xiang Yu couldn't even keep Fan Zeng. That was why he was defeated by me.'

All those present were convinced of the truth of Gaozu's analysis. The trio of Xiao He, Zhang Liang and Han Xin was later known as the 'Magnificent Three of Early Han'.

As for the generals who had made major contributions to his cause in the contest for power between Chu and Han, Emperor Gaozu felt obligated to make them princes. Although these new princes were not of the deposed nobility of the six states of old, they were not immune either to the ambition of carving out a turf beyond the reach of central control. The Prince of Chu Han Xin, the Prince of Liang Peng Yue and the Prince of Huainan Ying Bu were the most decorated of the princes and commanded the strongest fighting forces. Han Gaozu understandably had questions about their loyalty.

Gaozu had put out an arrest warrant for a former general under Xiang Yu called Zhong Limei. For some reason, Han Xin decided to take Zhong Limei under his wing.

The following year, Gaozu received a denunciation of Han

该怎么办，许多人主张发兵消灭韩信。只有陈平反对。陈平说：“韩信的兵比咱们精，他手下的将军又比咱们强，用武力去对付他，是很危险的。”

后来，汉高祖采用了陈平的计策，假装巡视云梦泽，命令受封的王侯到陈地相见。韩信接到命令，不能不去。到了陈地，汉高祖就叫武士把韩信绑了起来，要办他的罪。

有人劝汉高祖看在韩信过去的功劳份上，从宽处分。汉高祖才免了他的罪，取消他的楚王封号，改封为淮阴侯。

韩信被降职以后，心里闷闷不乐，常常推说有病，不去朝见。

过了几年，有一个将军陈豨（音 xī）造反，自称代王，一下子就占领了二十多座城。

汉高祖要淮阴侯韩信和梁王彭越一起讨伐陈豨。可是两个人都推说有病，不肯出兵。汉高祖只好自己去讨伐陈豨。

汉高祖带兵离开长安后，有人向吕后告发，说韩信和陈豨是同谋，他们还想里应外合，发动叛乱。吕后跟丞相萧何

Xin's because of his alleged seditious intentions. When Gaozu consulted his ministers on the matter, many recommended a military expedition to take out Han Xin. In a lone dissenting voice, Chen Ping argued, 'Han Xin has better-trained soldiers and more competent generals than we do. It would be risky to use force against him.'

Adopting a ruse devised by Chen Ping, Gaozu traveled to Lake Yunmengze, which was under Chen Ping's control, ostensibly on an inspection tour. When he arrived, he ordered the princes of his ties to come there for a meeting. This was an order Han Xin could not have disobeyed. Upon Han Xin's arrival, Gaozu ordered warriors to bind him up for prosecution.

Some thought that leniency should be shown by Gaozu in the light of Han Xin's past contributions. This prompted Gaozu to spare him further punishment after stripping him of the title of Prince of Chu and demoting him to Marquis of Huaiyin. After his demotion, Han Xin became dispirited and often absented himself from the daily imperial audiences by feigning illness.

A few years later, a general called Chen Xi started an insurrection and proclaimed himself Acting King. In a short period, he was able to capture twenty cities.

Gaozu had intended for Han Xin and Peng Yue to lead a joint expedition against Chen Xi, but both men declined on grounds of illness. This left Gaozu no choice but to lead the expedition himself.

After Gaozu departed Changan at the head of his troops, Queen Lu received a denunciation of Han Xin. It alleged that Han Xin and Chen Xi were co-conspirators in the insurrection and that an orchestrated attack had been planned. After

商量了一个计策，故意传出消息，说陈豨已经被高祖抓到，要大臣们进宫祝贺。韩信一进宫门，就被预先埋伏好的武士拿住杀了。

韩信被杀不到三月，汉高祖灭了陈豨，回到洛阳，又有彭越的手下人告发彭越谋反。汉高祖听到这个消息，派人把彭越逮住，下了监狱。后来因为没有查到彭越谋反的真凭实据，就把他罚做平民，遣送到蜀中去。

彭越在到蜀中去的路上，正好遇到吕后，就向吕后哭诉他实在没有罪，苦苦央告吕后在汉高祖面前替他说句好话，让他回自己的老家。吕后一口答应，把彭越带回洛阳。

吕后到了洛阳，对汉高祖说：“彭越是个壮士，把他送到蜀中，这不是放虎归山，自找麻烦吗？”

汉高祖听了吕后的话，就把彭越处死。

淮南王英布一听到韩信、彭越都被杀，干脆也起兵反了。他对部下说：“皇上已经老了，自己一定不能来。大将中只有韩信、彭越最有能耐，但他们都已经死了，别的将军不是我的对手，没什么可怕的。”

consulting Chief Counselor Xiao He, Queen Lū put out the disinformation that Chen Xi had been captured by Gaozu and that all high officials were invited to celebrate this in the palace. As soon as Han Xin stepped inside the palace, he was waylaid by armed guards and killed.

Barely three months after Han Xin's death, Gaozu put down Chen Xi's rebellion and returned to Luoyang. When he arrived, Peng Yue's own people denounced him, saying that Peng Yue was plotting sedition. Gaozu had Peng Yue arrested and put in prison. Unable to substantiate Peng Yue's seditious intent, Gaozu stripped him of all official duties and exiled him to faraway Shuzhong.

While en route to Shuzhong, Peng Yue ran into Queen Lū. In tears, he protested his innocence before the Queen and pleaded for her to intercede with Gaozu so that he would be allowed to go back to his home town. Queen Lu readily agreed and took Peng Yue back to Luoyang.

Upon her return to the capital, Queen Lu said to Gaozu, 'Peng Yue is a good fighter. Banishing him to Shuzhong would be tantamount to returning a tiger to the wild. You would be courting trouble.'

Acting on Queen Lū's advice, Gaozu then had Peng Yue executed.

After learning of Han Xin and Peng Yue's killings, the Prince of Huainan Ying Bu decided to rebel. He said to his staff, 'The Emperor is ageing and will not be able to come out here to fight us. The only generals to be worried about were Han Xin and Peng Yue, but they are now dead. The others are no match for me. We have nothing to fear from them.'

英布一出兵，果然打了几个胜仗，把荆楚一带土地都占领了。汉高祖只好亲自发兵去对敌。

他在阵前骂英布说：“我已经封你为王，你何苦造反？”

英布直言不讳地说：“想做皇帝啰！”

汉高祖指挥大军猛击英布。英布手下兵士弓箭齐发，汉高祖当胸中了一箭。幸亏箭伤还不太重，他忍住创痛，继续进攻。英布大败逃走，在半路上被人杀了。

汉高祖平定了英布，路过他的故乡沛县住了几天，邀集了故乡的父老子弟和以前熟悉的人，举行了一次宴会，请他们一起喝酒，无拘无束地快乐几天。

他在快乐当中，想起过去自己怎样战胜了项羽，又想到以后要治理好国家，可真不容易。别说一些诸侯不肯安分守己，就是边境上也常常发生麻烦，哪儿去找勇士帮他守卫呢？想到这里，十分感慨，情不自禁地唱起歌来：

大风起兮云飞扬，

威加海内兮还故乡，

安得猛士兮守四方。

Ying Bu did indeed win a string of early victories, and was able to control large areas of Jing and Chu. Gaozu had to lead his army into battle himself.

On the battlefield, Gaozu called out to Ying Bu, "I made you Prince! Why have you turned against me?"

Ying Bu said unabashedly, "I want to be emperor!"

Gaozu then unleashed his superior force against Ying Bu in a merciless attack. Gaozu was shot in the chest in a volley of arrows released by Ying Bu's archers. The injury was fortunately not very serious, and he continued the relentless assault despite the pain. Finally, Ying Bu was killed in a chaotic retreat.

After putting down Ying Bu's rebellion, on his way back to the capital Gaozu stayed a few days in Pei County, his home town. He invited town folk and old acquaintances to a feast where he wined and dined them. He was able to enjoy a few carefree days.

Even as he savored his new-found happiness, his mind began to fill with memories of how he had outmaneuvered Xiang Yu in the past, and thoughts about how he must run the country in the future. He marveled at the complexity of government: On the one hand, there were subordinates always up to some mischief and, on the other hand, troubles always abounded on the frontiers. Where could he find a few good men to help him defend the empire? As emotions churned in his chest, a song came unbidden to his lips:

Clouds billow, roiled by the rising wind's fury.

The native son returns in imperial glory.

Eager for a few good men to defend the country.

12、白马盟

汉高祖晚年的时候，宠爱了一个戚夫人。戚夫人生了孩子，叫做如意，被封为赵王。汉高祖老觉得吕后所生的太子刘盈生性软弱，怕他将来干不了大事，倒是如意说话做事很像自己。因此，想改立如意为太子。

他曾经为这件事跟大臣们商量过，但大臣们都反对。连他一向敬重的张良也帮着吕后，请了当时很有名望的四个隐士叫“商山四皓”（皓，音 hào，就是白发老人的意思），来辅佐太子刘盈。

汉高祖知道没法废掉太子，就对戚夫人说：“太子有了帮手，翅膀已经长硬了，没有法子改变了。”戚夫人也伤心得没法说。

汉高祖在讨伐英布的时候，胸部中了流箭。后来，伤势越来越厉害。有一次，有人偷偷地对他说：“樊哙（吕后的妹

12. The Oath of the White Horse

In his old age, Gaozu heaped favors on Lady Qi, who had a child by him named Ruyi. This son was given the title of Prince of Zhao. Gaozu had always found Crown Prince Liu Ying, son of Queen Lü, a weak character and doubted his ability to accomplish great things in the future. On the other hand, Ruyi reminded him of himself in his manner and problem-solving skills. Gaozu started thinking about making Ruyi crown prince instead of Liu Ying.

He consulted his ministers on this idea, but received little support. Even Zhang Liang, whose opinion he had always highly valued, threw his support behind Queen Lü. Zhang Liang then enlisted the 'Venerable Four of Shangshan' (four renowned hermits of the time) to mentor Crown Prince Liu Ying.

Seeing his effort to replace the Crown Prince frustrated, Gaozu said to Lady Qi, 'The Crown Prince now has received support and is no longer the fledgling that he was. It's too late to change the situation.' Lady Qi was saddened beyond words by this development.

Gaozu had been shot in the chest by an arrow during his expedition against Ying Bu. The wound later festered. One day someone whispered to him, 'Fan Kuai (Queen Lü's brother-in-law) has been conspiring with the Queen to kill Lady Qi and

夫)和吕后申通一气,只等皇上一死,就打算杀掉戚夫人和赵王如意。”

汉高祖大怒,立即把陈平和将军周勃召进宫来,对他们说:“你们赶快到军营,立刻把樊哙的头砍下来见我。”

那时候,樊哙正带兵在燕国。陈平、周勃接受了命令,两人私下商量说:“樊哙功劳大,又是皇后的妹夫,咱们可不能随便杀他。这会儿皇上发火要杀他,以后万一后悔起来,怎么办?”

两人商量了一阵,把樊哙关在囚车里,送到长安。后来果然被吕后释放。

汉高祖病重了,他把大臣召集在他跟前,又吩咐手下人宰了一匹白马,要大臣们歃血为盟。大伙儿当着高祖的面,歃了血,起誓说:“从今以后,不是姓刘的不得封王,不是功臣不得封侯。违背这个盟约的,大家共同讨伐他。”

大臣们宣了誓,汉高祖才放心。

汉高祖病越来越重了,他叫吕后进去,嘱咐后事。

吕后问他:“陛下百年之后,要是萧相国死了,谁可以接替他?”

the Prince of Zhao Ruyi once his Majesty departs this world.'

In a fit of rage, Gaozu summoned Chen Ping and General Zhou Bo and said to them, 'Go this moment to Fan Kuai's barracks and decapitate him. Then come back to me with his head.'

Fan Kuai was then in the Principality of Yan with his troops. After receiving their orders, Chen Ping and Zhou Bo huddled together and concluded, 'Fan Kuai has rendered the country great services and is moreover the brother-in-law of the Queen. We can't just kill him like that. The Emperor ordered him killed in a fit of rage. What if he later regrets that decision?'

After some discussion, the two put Fan Kuai in a pillory cart and escorted him to Chang'an, where Queen Lu ordered him freed.

As Gaozu's health worsened, he summoned his ministers before him and ordered a white horse butchered. He then had the ministers swear this oath while smearing the blood of the white horse on their mouths: 'From now on the title of prince can only be given to members of the Liu clan and to men who have rendered outstanding service to the country. Whoever violates this pact will be subject to collective sanctions.'

After the ministers swore this oath, Gaozu had peace of mind.

When Gaozu's condition deteriorated, he summoned Queen Lū to hear his last wishes.

Queen Lū asked Gaozu, 'After his Majesty's ascension to Heaven, who should take the place of Chief Counselor Xiao He when he dies?'

汉高祖说：“可以让曹参接替。”

吕后又问：“曹参以后呢？”

汉高祖说：“王陵可以接替。不过王陵有点蠢直，可以叫陈平帮助他。陈平有足够的智谋，但是不能独当一面。周勃为人厚道，办事慎重，只是不大懂得文墨，但是将来安定刘家天下的，还是靠周勃。”

吕后再问下去，汉高祖摇摇头说：“以后的事，就不是你能够知道的了。”

公元前195年，汉高祖死去。吕后把消息封锁起来，秘密把她的一个心腹大臣审食其（食其音yǐ-jī）找去，对他说：“大将们和先帝都是一起起兵的。他们在先帝手下已经不大甘心。如今先帝去世，更靠不住，不如把他们都杀了。”

审食其觉得这事不好办，就约吕后的哥哥吕释之做帮手。吕释之的儿子吕禄把这个秘密消息泄露给他的好朋友酈寄，酈寄又偷偷地告诉他父亲酈商。

酈商得知这消息，赶忙去找审食其，对他说：“听说皇上去世已经四天，皇后不发丧，反倒打算杀害大臣。这样做，一定激起大臣和将军们的反抗，天下大乱不用说，只怕您的性命也保不住。”

'Cao Shen will do,' Gaozu replied.

'And after Cao Shen dies?' Queen Lu asked.

Gaozu responded, 'Wang Ling can take his place. But Wang Ling is sometimes a little too blunt and tactless, so he can use some help from Chen Ping. Chen Ping is astute and resourceful, but can't make independent decisions. Zhou Bo has a generous disposition, and is prudent and meticulous, but not cultured enough. Still, Zhou Bo will be the key to ensuring the continuation of the Liu lineage.'

Queen Lu had more questions, but Gaozu shook his head and said, 'There's no telling what may come.'

In 195 BCE, Gaozu of Han died. Keeping the death under a tight lid, Queen Lü summoned Shen Yiji, a minister and a close confidant, and said to him, 'The generals were the late Emperor's comrades in arms right from the beginning of the rebellion. However, they were already grumbling when the Emperor was alive. Their loyalty is now even more questionable. We should kill them all.'

Sensing he would not be able to handle the tough assignment all by himself, Shen Yiji sought the help of Queen Lü's brother Lü Shizhi. Lü Shizhi's son Lü Lu leaked the secret to his good friend Li Ji, who in turn informed his father Li Shang.

Upon learning of the secret goings-on, Li Shang paid an urgent call on Shen Yiji and said to him, 'I've learned that the Emperor died four days ago, and that the Queen has put a hold on funeral arrangements while hatching a plan to kill ministers and high officials. This would surely provoke a rebellion by these ministers and generals. The country would be in chaos and, more importantly, your own life would be in jeopardy.'

审食其吓住了，忙去找吕后。吕后也觉得杀大臣这件事没有把握，就下了发表的命令。

大臣们安葬了汉高祖，太子刘盈即位，就是汉惠帝。吕后就成了太后。

汉惠帝的确是个老实无能的人，一切听他母亲吕太后作主。吕太后大权在手，爱怎么做就怎么做。

她最痛恨的是戚夫人和赵王如意。她先把戚夫人罚做奴隶，又派人把赵王如意从封地召回长安。

汉惠帝知道太后要害死弟弟如意，亲自把如意接到宫里，连吃饭睡觉都和他在一起，使吕太后没法下手。

有一天清晨，汉惠帝起床出外练习射箭。他想叫如意一起去，如意年轻贪睡，汉惠帝见他睡得很香，不忍叫醒他，自己出去了。等惠帝回宫，如意已经死在床上。惠帝知道弟弟是被毒死的，只好抱着尸首大哭一场。

吕太后杀了如意，还残酷地把戚夫人的手脚统统砍去，

Alarmed at this prospect, Shen Yiji sought urgent consultations with Queen Lü. The Queen, no longer so sure her plan to purge the old guard would work, gave the go-ahead for the funeral to take place.

In the wake of Gaozu of Han's funeral, Crown Prince Liu Ying ascended the throne and became Emperor Hui of Han. Queen Lü became the Empress Dowager.

Emperor Hui turned out indeed to be a gentle soul lacking the qualities required for the job. He left all decisions to the Empress Dowager. Empress Dowager Lu, with real power now concentrated in her hands, had no qualms about exercising that power as she saw fit.

The time had come for settling accounts with Lady Qi and the Prince of Zhao Ruyi, for whom she had always had a visceral hatred. First, Lady Qi was made a slave. Then, Ruyi was recalled to Chang'an from his fief.

Well aware of the Empress Dowager's intention to engineer the death of his brother Ruyi, Emperor Hui decided to frustrate the Empress Dowager's scheme by giving him a room in his palace and keeping him at his side during mealtime and bedtime.

One morning, Emperor Hui was going to his morning archery practice after getting out of bed. He had intended for Ruyi to accompany him, but did not have the heart to wake up his younger brother, who was still in a deep, adolescent sleep. He left by himself. On his return, he found Ruyi dead in his bed. Immediately, knew his brother had been poisoned. He took the corpse in his arms and wept bitterly.

After having Ruyi killed, the Empress Dowager cold-

挖出她的两眼，逼她吃了哑药，把她扔在猪圈里。

汉惠帝看见戚夫人被太后折磨得这个样子，不禁放声大哭，还吓得生了一场大病。他派人对太后说：“这种事不是人干得出来的。我是太后的儿子，没有能力治理天下。”

打那以后，汉惠帝就不愿再过问朝廷的政事。

bloodedly ordered the hands and feet of Lady Qi hacked off and her eyes gouged out. Lady Qi was forcibly fed a substance that made her mute. Subsequently, she was thrown into a pig sty.

Emperor Hui cried inconsolably when he saw the cruel torture of Lady Qi by the Empress Dowager. The experience was so traumatic the he fell ill. He then sent word to the Empress Dowager, 'The things that you've done are inhuman. As your son, I no longer feel I have the ability to rule.'

From then on, Emperor Hui studiously tried to refrain from intervening in affairs of the state.

13、萧规曹随

汉惠帝即位第二年，年老的相国萧何病重。汉惠帝亲自去探望他，还问他将来谁来接替他合适。

萧何不愿意表示意见，只说：“谁还能像陛下那样了解臣下呢？”

汉惠帝问他：“你看曹参怎么样？”

萧何和曹参早年都是沛县的官吏，跟随汉高祖一起起兵。两个人本来关系很好，后来曹参立了不少战功，可是他的地位比不上萧何。两个人就不那么和好。但是萧何知道曹参是个治国的人才，所以汉惠帝一提到他，他也表示赞成，说：“陛下的主意错不了。有曹参接替，我死了也安心了。”

曹参本来是个将军，汉高祖封他长子刘肥做齐王的时候，叫曹参做齐相。那时候，天下刚安定下来，曹参到了齐国，召集齐地的父老和儒生一百多人，问他们应该怎样治理百姓。这些人说了一些意见，但是各有各的说法，不知听哪个才好。

13. Cao Adopts the Ways of Xiao

In the second year of Emperor Hui's reign, the ageing Chief Counselor Xiao He fell seriously ill. The Emperor visited him and asked him who would be a good candidate to take his place.

Noncommittal, Xiao He merely said, 'No one understands me better than His Majesty.'

Emperor Hui then asked, 'What do you think of Cao Shen?'

Cao Shen and Xiao He had been officials in the Pei County government before joining the rebellion of Gaozu of Han. Their earlier cordial relations became strained after Cao Shen realized that he would always remain in Xiao He's shadow, despite his own brilliant war exploits. That did not stop Xiao He from recognizing Cao's leadership qualities. At Emperor Hui's mention of Cao Shen, Xiao He immediately expressed agreement, saying, 'His Majesty has made a good choice. With Cao Shen to take my place, I can leave with peace of mind.'

Cao Shen was a general by profession. When Gaozu made his eldest son Liu Fei Prince of Qi, Cao was drafted to be the Prime Minister of Qi. Cao Shen arrived in the Principality of Qi at a time when China had only recently emerged from civil strife. He called a meeting with more than a hundred local residents and intellectuals to hear their ideas about good government. No consensus emerged out of the meeting

后来，曹参打听到当地有一个挺有名望的隐士，叫盖公。曹参把他请了来，向他请教。这个盖公是相信黄老学说的（黄老就是指黄帝和老子），主张治理天下的人应该清静无为，让老百姓过安定的生活。

曹参依了盖公的话，尽可能不多去打扰百姓。他做了九年齐相，齐国所属的七十多座城都比较安定。

萧何一死，汉惠帝马上命令曹参进长安，接替做相国。曹参还是用盖公清静无为的办法，一切按照萧何已经规定的章程办事，什么也不变动。

有些大臣看曹参这种无所作为的样子，有点着急，也有的去找他，想帮他出点主意。但是他们一到曹参家里，曹参就请他们一起喝酒。要是有人在他跟前提起朝廷大事，他总是把话岔开，弄得别人没法开口。最后客人喝得醉醺醺地回去，什么也没有说。

汉惠帝看到曹相国这副样子，认为他是倚老卖老，瞧不起他，心里挺不踏实。曹参的儿子曹窋（音zhú），在皇宫里侍候惠帝。惠帝嘱咐他说：“你回家的时候，找个机会问问你父亲：高祖归了天，皇上那么年轻，国家大事全靠相国来

because of the diverse range of views.

A renowned local hermit called Gai Gong came to the attention of Cao Shen, who invited the recluse for consultation. Gai Gong was a believer in the laissez-faire philosophy of the Huangdi and Laozi (Lao Tzu) school of thought, which advocated less government so that the people could be left in peace. Cao Shen took Gai Gong's advice and was careful not to bother the people with too much red tape. In his nine years as Qi's Prime Minister, relative peace reigned in all the seventy-odd cities of the Principality.

Upon Xiao He's death, Emperor Hui immediately summoned Cao Shen to Chang'an to succeed Xiao He as Chief Counselor. Following Gai Gong's advice to have minimal governmental intervention, Cao Shen kept Xiao He's system and policy in place without making the slightest change.

Some ministers became alarmed at Cao Shen's philosophy of government by inaction. They were eager to offer him advice, but every time they called on him he would invite them to drink with him. Whenever the conversation at the table turned to politics, he would steer it towards other topics, effectively forestalling any serious discussion. The guests would go home in an inebriated state without having said their piece.

Emperor Hui himself was unsettled by what he perceived as a paternalistic, patronizing attitude towards him by Cao Shen. On one occasion, Emperor Hui said to Cao Shen's son Cao Zhu, who was an attendant in the Emperor's court, 'When you go home, ask your father this question: 'With Guozu departed, and the Emperor still very young, you are the Prime

主持。可您天天喝酒，不管事，这么下去，怎么能够治理好天下呢？看你父亲怎么说。”

曹窋趁假期回家去的时候，就照惠帝的话一五一十跟曹参说了。

曹参一听，就上火了，他骂着说：“你这种毛孩子懂得个什么，国家大事也轮到你来噜苏！”说着，竟叫仆人拿板子来，把曹窋打了一顿。

曹窋莫名其妙地受了责打，非常委屈，回宫的时候当然向汉惠帝诉说了。汉惠帝也感到很不高兴。

第二天，曹参上朝的时候，惠帝就对他说：“曹窋跟你说的话，是我叫他说的，你打他干什么？”

曹参向惠帝请了罪，接着说：“请问陛下，您跟高祖比，哪一个更英明？”

汉惠帝说：“那还用说，我怎么能比得上高皇帝。”

曹参说：“我跟萧相国比较，哪一个能干？”

汉惠帝不禁微微一笑，说：“好像不如萧相国。”

曹参说：“陛下说的话都对。陛下不如高皇帝，我又不如

Minister entrusted with the weighty responsibility of government. How can you ensure good government when you indulge in drinking instead of governing? I'd like to know your father's answer to that."

When Cao Zhu went home on leave, he duly relayed the Emperor's question to his father.

Cao was angered by the question, and started to scold his son. "What does a callow youth like you know about the affairs of state? You've overstepped your bounds!" Cao Shen had a servant fetch a rod, and then went on to give his son a good beating.

Cao Zhu felt deeply wronged by the unwarranted scolding and beating, and naturally recounted the incident to the Emperor upon his return to the palace. The Emperor was also upset about it.

The next day, Emperor Hui said to Cao Shen during the daily imperial audience. "Cao Zhu merely relayed my question to you. Why did you beat him?"

After presenting his apologies to the emperor, Cao Shen asked, "His Majesty! How do you rate your wisdom in comparison with that of Gaozu?"

"It goes without saying that I pale before Emperor Gaozu!" Emperor Hui replied.

Cao Shen continued, "How does my talent compare with Xiao He's?"

"Well, you probably can't compare to Xiao He," the Emperor responded with a smile.

Cao Shen responded, "His Majesty is right on both counts. His Majesty can't compare to Gaozu and I can't compare to

萧相国。高皇帝和萧相国平定了天下，又给我们制订了一套规章。我们只要按照他们的规定照着办，不要失职就是了。”

汉惠帝这才有点明白过来。

曹参用他的黄老学说，做了三年相国。由于那时候正在长期战争的动乱之后，百姓需要安定，他那套办法没有给百姓增加更多的负担。因此，当时有人编了歌谣称赞萧何和曹参。历史上把这件事称为“萧规曹随”。

Prime Minister Xiao He. After winning political power, Emperor Gaozu and Prime Minister Xiao He have left us a fine legacy of institutions and rules. All we need to do is to implement their system faithfully and dutifully.

With this, Cao Shen's approach to government finally began to make sense for Emperor Hui.

In his three years as Prime Minister, Cao Shen pursued a policy underpinned by the philosophy of the Huangdi and Laozi school of thought. In that particular period, with the country just emerging from protracted conflict, what the people most needed was stability and peace. His policy met that need by ensuring that no unnecessary, extra burdens were placed on the people. Both Xiao He and Cao Shen were therefore celebrated in folk song that circulated during their own lifetimes. In Chinese history, this instance of seamless transition is known as, *Xiao gui Cao sui* ('the Xiao ways are adopted by Cao').

14、周勃夺军

汉惠帝没有儿子，吕太后从外面找了一个婴儿冒充是惠帝生的，立为太子。公元前188年，惠帝一死，由这个婴儿接替皇位，吕太后就名正言顺地临朝执政。

吕太后为了巩固自己的权力，要立吕家的人为王，问问大臣们可不可以。

右丞相王陵是直筒子，说：“高皇帝宰白马立下盟约，不是姓刘的不应该封王。”

吕太后听了挺不高兴，又问左丞相陈平和太尉周勃。

陈平、周勃说：“高祖平定天下，分封自己的子弟为王，这当然是对的，现在太后临朝，封自己的子弟为王，也没有什么不可以。”

吕太后才高兴地点点头。

散朝以后，王陵批评陈平和周勃说：“当初在先帝跟前宣

14. Zhou Bo Wrests Control of the Army

Since Emperor Hui did not have a son, Empress Dowager Lü had a baby boy brought in to be passed off as the son of the Emperor. The boy was made Crown Prince. He later ascended the throne upon the death of Emperor Hui in 188 BCE, thereby guaranteeing the continued power of the Empress Dowager as Regent.

In a bid to consolidate her power further, Empress Dowager Lü planned to create principalities for the Lü clan. She consulted the ministers on the feasibility of her idea.

The Right Prime Minister Wang Ling, never one to mince words, said, 'Emperor Gaozu had us swear the Oath of the White Horse, which forbids us from making princes of people outside the Liu clan.'

Resentful of his reply, Empress Dowager Lü turned to the Left Prime Minister Chen Ping and Commander in Chief Zhou Bo for their views.

The two answered, 'It was only logical that Emperor Gaozu awarded principalities to his own folk after taking political power. By the same token, there's nothing wrong with the reigning Empress Dowager making her clansmen princes.'

Empress Dowager Lü, placated by this reply, nodded her approval.

After the audience was over, Wang Ling took Chen Ping

誓的时候，你们不是都在场吗？现在你们违背了誓言，怎么对得起先帝？”

陈平和周勃说：“您别着急，当面在朝廷上和太后争论，我们比不上您，将来保全刘家天下，您可比不上我们了。”

打这以后，吕太后就陆续把她的内侄、侄孙，像吕台、吕产、吕禄、吕嘉、吕通等一个个都封了王，还让他们掌握了军权。整个朝廷大权几乎全落在吕家的手里了。

吕后一家夺了刘家的权，大臣中不服气的人不少，只是大多数人敢怒而不敢说罢了。

汉高祖有个孙儿刘章，封号叫朱虚侯，他的妻子是吕禄的女儿。有一次，吕太后举行宴会，指定刘章进行监督。刘章对太后说：“我是将门的后代，请允许我按军法来监督酒宴。”吕太后答应了。

刘章听见大伙儿喝酒喝得热闹。他提出要给吕太后唱个《耕田歌》助助兴，吕太后说：“你就唱吧！”

刘章放开嗓子唱了起来：

深耕概（音ji）种，立苗欲疏，

and Wang Bo to task. He said to them, 'You were both present when Emperor Gaozu swore us to the Oath of the White Horse. By violating your oath, you're dishonoring Gaozu's memory!'

Chen Ping and Wang Bo retorted, 'Don't be too quick to pass judgment. You may be better at confronting the Empress Dowager, but we will be better at keeping the Liu clan in power.'

Emboldened by the endorsement of the ministers, Empress Dowager Lu created principalities for her nephews and grandnephews, including Lü Tai, Lü Chan, Lu Lu, Lü Jia, and Lü Tong. The Lu clan was also given control of the military. Soon, all the levers of power in the country were in Lü hands.

Although Empress Dowager Lü's maneuver to grab power from the Liu clan had provoked private grumblings among numerous ministers, they did not have the courage to openly air their anger.

Gaozu's grandson the Marquis of Zhuxu Liu Zhang was married to Lü Lu's daughter. One day the Empress Dowager put Liu Zhang in charge of a banquet she was planning to host. Liu Zhang said to the Empress Dowager, 'I am descended from a general. Will you allow me to oversee the banquet in the military tradition?' The Empress Dowager Lü gave her consent to this.

In the general merriment, aided by much imbibing of alcohol, Liu Zhang proposed to further liven up the party by performing a farmer's chant for the Empress Dowager. Empress Dowager Lü said, 'Go ahead! Sing it for us!'

In a booming voice Liu Zhang sang,

Plough deeply and plant well-apart!

非其种者，锄而去之。

（这首歌的意思是：田要耕得深，苗要栽得疏，不是好种子，就把它锄掉。）

吕太后听了，很不痛快。

不一会，有个吕家子弟喝醉了酒，不告而别。刘章追了上去，借口他违犯宴会规矩，把他杀了。刘章回来向太后报告的时候，左右大臣吓得什么似的。吕太后因为已经允许他按军法办事，也拿他没有办法。

吕太后临朝的第八年，得了重病。临死前封赵王吕产为相国，统领北军，吕禄为上将军，率领南军，并且叮嘱他们说：“现在吕氏掌权，大臣们都不服。我死了以后，你们一定要带领军队保卫宫廷，不要出去送死，免得被人暗算。”

吕太后死后，兵权都在吕产、吕禄手里。他们想发动叛乱，但是一时不敢动手。

刘章从妻子那里知道了吕家的阴谋，就派人去告诉他哥哥齐王刘襄，约他从外面发兵打进长安来。

齐王刘襄闻西进兵，吕产得到这个消息，立刻派将军灌

Pull up seedlings that don't belong!

This ditty incurred the great displeasure of the Empress Dowager.

When a guest from the Lǔ clan got drunk and left without taking proper leave, Liu Zhang went after him and killed him on the pretext of his breach of etiquette. When Liu Zhang returned to the banquet and reported this incident to the Empress Dowager, the ministers attending her greatly feared for him. However, having given him permission to conduct the affair under military law, the Empress Dowager could not pin any blame on him.

In the eighth year of her regency, Empress Dowager Lǔ became seriously ill. Before her death, she made the Prince of Zhao Lǔ Chan Chief Counselor and gave him command of the Southern Army. Lǔ Lu was promoted to General in command of the Northern Army. The Empress Dowager warned them, 'The ministers are not happy with the passage of power into our hands. It is important that after my death, you stay here with your troops to protect our interests. Do not attend the funeral, because you might walk into a trap.'

Thus, after the death of Empress Dowager Lǔ control of the military was concentrated in the hands of Lu Chan and Lǔ Lu, who bided their time as they planned a dynasty change.

Through his wife, who was a Lǔ, Liu Zhang got wind of the plot being hatched by the Lu clan. He sent a messenger bearing the intelligence to his elder brother the Prince of Qi Liu Xiang, and invited him to march on Chang'an.

When Lu Chan received information that the Prince of Qi

要带领兵马来对付。灌婴一到荥阳，就跟部将们商量说：“吕氏统率大军，想夺取刘家天下。如果我们向齐王进攻，岂不是帮助吕氏叛乱吗？”

大家商量下来，决定按兵不动，还暗地里通知齐王，要他联络诸侯，等待时机成熟，一起起兵讨伐吕氏。齐王接到通知，也就暂时按兵不动。

周勃、陈平知道吕氏要发动叛乱，他们想先发制人，但是兵权在吕氏手里，怎么办呢？他们想到大臣酈商的儿子酈寄和吕禄是好朋友，就派人要酈寄去劝说吕禄。

酈寄对吕禄说：“太后死了，皇帝年纪又小，您身为赵王，却留在长安带兵，大臣诸侯都怀疑您，对您不利。如果您能把兵权交给太尉，回到自己封地，齐国的兵就会撤退，大臣们也心安了。”

吕禄相信了酈寄的话，把北军交给太尉周勃掌管。

周勃拿了将军的大印，迅速跑到北军军营中去。向将士

Liu Xiang was leading his troops on a westward march, he immediately sent a force commanded by his general Guan Ying to thwart the attack. When he reached Xingyang, Guan Ying summoned his staff for a consultation and said to them, 'With the military under their control, the Lū clan now has designs on the throne of the Liu dynasty. If we attack the Prince of Qi, we will be accomplices in this seditious Lū plot.'

The decision was then made to put a hold on any military action against the Prince of Qi. Secret emissaries were sent to the Prince urging him to coordinate with the chiefs of the other principalities a well-timed attack against the Lū clan. After receiving this communication, the Prince of Qi halted his advance.

When Zhou Bo and Chen Ping cast about for ways to thwart the seditious plan of the Lu clan, they had limited options because the army was in Lū hands. Then they remembered that Minister Li Shang's son Li Ji was on good terms with Lu Lu, so they sent an emissary asking Li Ji to lobby Lū Lu.

Li Ji said to Lū Lu, 'With the Empress Dowager dead and the Emperor so young, you, the Prince of Zhao, have chosen to stay in Chang'an with your troops. As a result, the ministers are beginning to question your loyalty. This is not in your interest. If you cede control of the army to the Commander in Chief and return to your own fief, the Prince of Qi will also withdraw his troops. This will set the ministers at ease.'

Li Ji thus succeeded in persuading Lū Lu to cede command of the Northern Army to the Commander in Chief Zhou Bo.

With the General's seal in hand, Zhou Bo immediately went to the headquarters of the Northern Army and issued this

下了一道命令：“现在吕氏想夺刘氏的权，你们看怎么办？谁帮助吕家的袒露右臂，帮助刘家的袒露左臂。”

北军中的将士本来都是向着刘家的。命令一传下去，一下子全脱下左衣袖，露出左臂来（文言叫“左袒”）。周勃顺利地接管了北军，把吕禄的兵权夺了过来。

吕产还不知道吕禄的北军已落在周勃手里，他跑到未央宫想要发动叛乱。周勃派朱虚侯刘章带了一千多个兵士赶来，把吕产杀了。接着，周勃带领北军，把吕氏的势力消灭了。

到这时候，大臣们胆子就大了。他们说：“从前吕太后所立皇上不是惠帝的孩子。现在我们灭了吕氏，让这种冒充的太子当皇帝，长大了不是吕氏一党吗？我们不如再在刘氏诸王中推一个最贤明的立为皇帝。”

大臣们商议的结果，认为代王刘恒在高祖的几个儿子中，年龄最大，品格又好，就派人到代郡（治所在今河北蔚县）把刘恒迎到长安，立为皇帝，这就是汉文帝。

order: 'The Lü clan is plotting to wrest imperial power from the Liu clan. It's up to you to decide what to do. Those on the side of the Lü clan will bare their right arms, and those on the side of the Liu clan, their left arms!'

The troops of the Northern Army had always been on the side of the Liu clan, so when the order was given they instantly bared their left arms. Zhou Bo was thus able to handily wrest control of the Northern Army from Lü Lu.

Unaware that control of the Northern Army had passed from Lü Lu to Zhou Bo, Lü Chan marched his troops to Weyang Palace with the intention of launching a coup. Zhou Bo sent 1,000 troops under the command of the Marquis of Zhuxu Liu Zhang to confront Lü Chan. In the ensuing battle Lü Chan was killed. With Zhou Bo at its command, the Northern Army went on to root out all remnants of the Lü clan.

With their courage restored, the ministers now said, 'The Emperor put on the throne by Empress Dowager Lü is really not Emperor Hui's son. Now that the Lü clan has been neutralized, we don't want this puppet to usurp power, because when he grows up he will become a supporter of the Lü cause. From among the Liu princes, we should pick the best of the crop to be the emperor.'

After deliberating, the ministers came to the conclusion that, of all the sons of Emperor Gaozu of Han, the Prince of Dai Liu Heng was the most senior and had the highest moral caliber. A delegation was then dispatched to Dai (in modern-day Wei County, Hebei Province) to escort Liu Heng to Chang'an. There, he was enthroned and given the title Emperor Wen of Han.

15、周亚夫的细柳营

汉文帝即位之后，跟匈奴贵族继续采取和亲的政策，双方没有发生大规模的战争。但是后来匈奴的单于听信了奸细的挑拨，跟汉朝绝了交。公元前158年，匈奴的军臣单于起兵六万，侵犯上郡（治所在今陕西榆林东南）和云中（治所在今内蒙古托克托东北），杀了不少老百姓，抢掠了不少财物。边境的烽火台都放起烽火来报警，远远近近的火光，连长安也望得见。

汉文帝连忙派三位将军带领三路人马去抵抗，为了保卫长安，另外派了三位将军带兵驻扎在长安附近：将军刘礼驻扎在灞上，徐厉驻扎在棘门（今陕西咸阳市东北），周亚夫驻扎在细柳（今咸阳市西南）。

有一次，汉文帝亲自到这些地方去慰劳军队，顺便也去视察一下。

15. Zhou Yafu, Martinet of Camp Xiliu

After ascending to the throne, Emperor Wen of Han continued the policy of pacifying the Xiongnu by arranging marriages of convenience with the Xiongnu nobility. No major conflict erupted between the two sides until the Chanyu (i.e., King) of the Xiongnu was instigated by forces inimical to Han-Xiongnu amity to sever relations with the Han Dynasty. In 158 BCE, the Chanyu of the Xiongnu Kunkhan led a 6,000-strong invading force against Shangjun Prefecture (southeast of modern-day Yulin, Shaanxi Province) and Yunzhong (northeast of modern-day Tuoketuo, Inner Mongolia). His army carried out wanton looting and caused heavy civilian casualties. As the watchtowers on the frontier lit up bonfire after bonfire to alert of the invasion, the smoke and flames could be seen from as far away as Chang'an.

Emperor Wen immediately sent three forces, each under the command of a general, to confront the invading Xiongnu. Three other generals were deployed with their troops around the Chang'an area for the defense of the capital: General Liu Li at Bashang, General Xu Li at Jimen (northeast of modern-day Xianyang, Shaanxi Province) and General Zhou Yafu at Xiliu (southwest of modern-day Xianyang).

The Emperor then undertook a tour through these three camps to boost morale and inspect the troops.

他先到霸上，刘礼和他部下将士一见皇帝驾到，都纷纷骑着马来迎接。汉文帝的车驾闯进军营，一点没有受到什么阻拦。汉文帝慰劳了一阵走了，将士们忙不迭欢送。

接着，他又来到棘门，受到的迎送仪式也是一样隆重。

最后，汉文帝来到细柳。周亚夫军营的前哨一见远远有一彪人马过来，立刻报告周亚夫。将士们披盔带甲，弓上弦，刀出鞘，完全是准备战斗的样子。

汉文帝的先遣队到达了营门。守营的岗哨立刻拦住，不让进去。

先遣的官员威严地吆喝了一声，说：“皇上马上驾到！”

营门的守将毫不慌张地回答说：“军中只听将军的军令。将军没有下令，不能放你们进去。”

官员正要同守将争执，文帝的车驾已经到了。守营的将士照样挡住。

汉文帝只好命令侍从拿出皇帝的符节，派人给周亚夫传话说：“我要进营来劳军。”

周亚夫下命令打开营门，让汉文帝的车驾进来。

The tour took him first to Bashang, where General Liu and his troops eagerly rode out to greet the Emperor. The Emperor's party freely passed through the camp perimeter without being stopped or challenged at any point. After a pep rally, the Emperor was ready to move on and the troops gave him a rousing sendoff.

A no less elaborate welcoming ceremony awaited him when he arrived at Jimen.

Then he arrived at Xiliu, the final stop of his tour. A sentinel at General Zhou Yafu's camp saw in the distance the advance of the Emperor's party, and immediately sent back this intelligence to the General. The troops instantly snapped into battle alert, with armor on their backs, arrows on their bows, and swords out of their scabbards.

When the advance group of the Emperor's party approached the camp gate, it was immediately halted and barred from entering.

The officials at the head of the advance group barked with authority, 'The Emperor will be arriving in no time!'

Unruffled, the guards manning the gate replied, 'In the army, we go by the commanding general's orders. Without his authorization, we cannot let you in.'

Before the officials had time to argue, Emperor Wen's carriage had arrived at the gate. However, it was also stopped by the guards.

The Emperor was left with no choice but to order his attendants to show his imperial staff, and to send word to Zhou Yafu that the Emperor was here to boost troop morale.

Zhou Yafu then gave the order to open the gate to let the imperial carriage through.

护送文帝的人马一进营门，守营的官员又郑重地告诉他们：“军中有规定：军营内不许车马奔驰。”

侍从的官员都很生气。汉文帝却吩咐大家放松缰绳，缓缓地前进。

到了中营，只见周亚夫披戴着全身盔甲，拿着兵器，威风凛凛地站在汉文帝面前，拱拱手作个揖，说：“臣盔甲在身，不能下拜，请允许按照军礼朝见。”

汉文帝听了，大为震动，也扶着车前的横木欠了欠身，向周亚夫表示答礼。接着，又派人向全军将士传达他的慰问。

慰问结束后，汉文帝离开细柳。在回长安的路上，汉文帝的侍从人员都愤愤不平，认为周亚夫对皇帝太无礼了。

但是，汉文帝却赞不绝口，说：“啊，这才是真正的将军啊！灞上和棘门两个地方的军队，松松垮垮，就跟孩子们闹着玩儿一样。如果敌人来偷袭，不做俘虏才怪呢。像周亚夫

Once inside the gate, the Emperor's entourage was told in no uncertain terms, 'In accordance with military regulations, vehicles and horses are forbidden to travel at high speed inside the camp.'

All the attendant officials were incensed by this injunction, but Emperor Wen gave the order to relax the reins and proceed at a leisurely pace.

When the party approached the commander's tent, it was greeted by the sight of a forbidding-looking, armed General Zhou Yafu in full battle dress. He stood before Emperor Wen and bowed. Raising his clasped hands in salute several times, he said to the Emperor, 'I am unable to kowtow because of the armor on me. Please grant me permission to give the military salute.'

Disconcerted by this request, the Emperor returned the salute by slightly inclining his body as he steadied himself with one hand on his carriage. He then sent greetings to the troops through messengers.

On their return to Chang'an from Camp Xiliu at the end of the morale-boosting tour, the members of the Emperor's entourage expressed their indignation at Zhou Yafu's rudeness to the Emperor.

They were surprised to hear Emperor Wen's unreserved praise for the General. The Emperor said, 'Now we see a real general worthy of the title! The troops at Jimen and Bashang were a laid-back bunch. They acted as if they were in a make-believe sport. It will be a wonder if they can avoid being taken prisoner in a surprise attack by the enemy. But an enemy would think twice before taking on a general like Zhou Yafu, who is

这样治军，敌人怎敢侵犯他啊！”

过了一个多月，前锋汉军开到北方，匈奴退了兵。防卫长安的三路军队也撤了。

汉文帝在这一次视察中，认定周亚夫是个军事人才，就把他提升为中尉（负责京城治安的军事长官）。

第二年，汉文帝害了重病。临死的时候，他把太子叫到跟前，特地嘱咐说：“如果将来国家发生动乱，叫周亚夫统率军队，准错不了。”

汉文帝死了后，太子刘启即位，就是汉景帝。

able to enforce iron discipline in his troops.'

A month later, the Xiongnu invading force was forced to retreat before the advancing Han vanguard. Afterwards, the three units defending Chang'an returned to normal duty.

After the inspection tour, Emperor Wen was convinced that Zhou Yafu was a military talent, and so he elevated him to the post of Commander of the Capital.

A year later, a seriously ill Emperor Wen summoned the Crown Prince to his deathbed, and left him this fatherly advice: 'In any future upheaval, you will do well to give the command of the army to Zhou Yafu.'

Crown Prince Liu Qi succeeded Emperor Wen, and became Emperor Jing of Han.

16、飞将军李广

汉文帝、汉景帝两代都采取休养生息的政策，六十多年内，除了短时期的七国叛乱，没有发生过大的战争。因此，社会的经济得到恢复和发展。据说，到了景帝的后期，国家仓库里的钱不知道积了多少万，串钱的绳子都烂断了，粮仓里的粮食多得吃不完，一年年地堆积上去，都淌到露天的地上来了，有的甚至霉腐了。历史上把这段时期称为“文景之治”。

但是，强盛的汉朝却常常受到北方匈奴的威胁。从汉高祖在白登受包围以后，汉朝对匈奴一直采取“和亲”政策。这种“和亲”，实际上是一种妥协，不但要把汉朝皇室的女儿嫁给匈奴单于，每年还得送给匈奴许多财物。即使这样做，匈奴贵族还是经常侵犯中原，杀害百姓，掠夺粮食和牛羊，使北方地区不得安宁。

16. Li Guang, the 'Flying General'

Both Emperor Wen and Emperor Jing pursued a policy of peace and rebuilding. In the six decades of their reigns, no major conflict occurred, with the exception of the short, Seven State Rebellion. This relative peace and stability fostered economic recovery and development. It is said that, by the end of Emperor Jing's reign, the coffers of the treasury were so full that the ropes used to string up the coins by their holes in the center snapped from the weight of the metal. Some of the unconsumed, surplus grain that accumulated year after year in the state's granaries had to be stored in the open air, with inevitable spoilage. In Chinese history, this is known as the Prosperous Wen-Jing Years.

The powerful and prosperous Han Dynasty was however not immune to threats from the Xiongnu in the north. Since the besiegement of Emperor Gaozu by the Xiongnu at Baideng, the Han Dynasty had implemented a policy of 'peace by marriage'. This was in effect a compromise on the part of the Han Dynasty, which was obliged to give its daughters to the Chanyu of the Xiongnu in marriage, and to make yearly offerings of large amounts from the treasury. The conciliatory efforts of the Han Dynasty did not stop the Xiongnu from making frequent forays into Han territory, killing and pillaging, looting food and rustling cattle. North China was in a perpetual unsettled state as a result.

汉景帝死后，即位的汉武帝刘彻是个雄心勃勃的皇帝，一心要想改变这种屈辱的地位。

公元前129年，匈奴派兵进犯上谷（治所在今河北怀来东南）。汉武帝派卫青、公孙敖、公孙贺、李广四名将军带领人马分头出击。

在四名将军中，要数李广年纪最大，资格最老。李广在汉文帝时候就做了将军，汉景帝的时候，他跟周亚夫一起平定七国之乱，立过大功，后来，汉景帝又派他去做上郡（治所在今陕西榆林东南）太守。

有一次，匈奴进了上郡，李广带着一百个骑兵去追赶三个匈奴射手，追了几十里地才追上。他射死了其中的两个，把第三个活捉了，正准备回营，远远望见有几千名匈奴骑兵赶了上来。

李广手下的兵士突然碰到那么多匈奴兵，不由得都慌了。李广对他们说：“我们离开大营还有几十里地，如果现在往回跑，匈奴兵追上来，我们就完了。不如干脆停下来，匈奴兵以为咱们是来引诱他们的，一定不敢来攻击我们。”

接着，李广下令前进，在离开匈奴阵地仅仅两里的地方

After the death of Emperor Jing, his more ambitious successor Liu Che, Emperor Wu of Han, was determined to remedy this humiliating situation.

In 129 BCE, the Xiongnu attacked Shanggu (southeast of modern-day Huailai, Hebei Province). Emperor Wu of Han sent four generals, Wei Qing, Gongsun Ao, Gongsun He, and Li Guang, with their respective troops to confront the invaders.

Li Guang was the oldest and most senior of the four generals. He had been made a general in the time of Emperor Wen. Under Emperor Jing, he shared credit with Zhou Yafu for the suppression of the Seven State Rebellion. He was later appointed by Emperor Jing to the governorship of Shangjun Prefecture (southeast of modern-day Yulin, Shaanxi Province).

In a previous foray of the Xiongnu into Shangjun, Li Guang in command of 100 cavalrymen went in pursuit of three Xiongnu archers. He caught up with the three after dozens of *li*, shooting two of them dead and captured the third alive. As they prepared to return to camp, they saw thousands of Xiongnu warriors riding towards them.

Li Guang's soldiers were thrown into panic by the enemy's overwhelming superiority in numbers. Li Guang said to them, 'We are dozens of *li* from our camp. If the Xiongnu catch up with us while we retreat, we are done for. We have a better chance if we stay put. That will give the Xiongnu the impression that we are luring them into some kind of an ambush, and will deter their attack.'

Li Guang then gave the order to advance towards the Xiongnu. When they were only two *li* from the Xiongnu

停了下来，命令兵士一齐下马，把马鞍全卸下来，就地休息。

兵士们都发急了，说：“匈奴兵马这么多，又这么近，要是他们打过来，怎么办？”

李广说：“我们这样做，表示不走，使敌人相信我们是诱骗他们的。”

匈奴的将领看到李广这样布置，真的有点害怕。他们远远地观察汉军动静，不敢上来。

这时候，匈奴阵地上有一个骑白马的将军，走出来巡视队伍。李广突然带着十几名骑兵翻身上马，飞驰过去，一箭把他射死。然后再回到自己队伍，下马躺在地上休息。

匈奴兵越看越怀疑。天黑下来，他们认定汉军一定有埋伏，怕汉军半夜袭击他们，就连夜全部逃回去。到了天亮，李广一瞧，山上已没匈奴兵，才带着一百多名骑兵安然回到大营。

这一回，汉武帝派了四路人马去抵抗匈奴。匈奴的军臣单于探明了汉兵的情况，知道四名将军中最难对付的是李广，就把大部分兵力集中在雁门，沿路布置好埋伏，命令部下活捉李广。匈奴兵多势盛，经过一场激烈的战斗，李广的人马被打散，李广自己也受了伤，被匈奴兵俘虏。

匈奴兵看李广受了重伤，把他放在用绳子络成的吊床里，

camp, he ordered his soldiers to dismount and unsaddle all their horses for a rest.

The soldiers cried out in anguish, 'With so many Xiongnu so close, what will we do if we are attacked?'

Li Guang reassured them, 'We want to dupe them into believing that we are here to lure them into a trap.'

The Xiongnu generals began to feel uneasy at this maneuver by Li Guang. They decided to watch the Han troops from afar and not take any risks.

When a Xiongnu general astride his white steed was seen inspecting his troops, Li Guang and a dozen soldiers jumped on their horses and dashed in his direction, killing him with an arrow. Returning just as quickly to their camp, they jumped off their horses and resumed their rest.

This had the effect of deepening Xiongnu suspicions. At nightfall, they became increasingly convinced that a Han ambush was imminent. Fearing an attack under the cover of night, they beat a hasty retreat. At daybreak, after making sure there were no more Xiongnu soldiers in the hills, Li Guang brought his 100 cavalymen back to the main camp without a single casualty.

After a careful assessment of the four generals sent against him, the Chanyu of the Xiongnu Kunkhan concluded that his toughest opponent was Li Guang. He accordingly concentrated his forces in Yanmen. He set ambushes along the way and gave orders for Li Guang's capture, wanting him to be taken alive. Since their numbers were superior, after a fierce battle the Xiongnu were able to break apart the forces of Li Guang. He was wounded and captured by Xiongnu soldiers.

The Xiongnu soldiers put the gravely wounded Li Guang

用两匹马驮着，送到单于的大营去。李广躺在那张吊床上动也不动，真的像死了似的。大约走了十几里地，他偷偷地瞅准旁边一个匈奴兵骑的一匹好马，使劲一挣扎，猛地跳上马，夺了弓箭，把那匈奴兵推下马去，调过马头拼命往南飞奔。

匈奴派了几百名骑兵追赶。李广一面使劲夹住马肚子，催马快跑，一面回转身来，拈弓搭箭，一连射死了几个追在前面的匈奴兵。匈奴兵眼看赶不上李广，只好瞪着白眼让他跑了。

李广虽然脱了险，但是因为他损兵折将，被判了死罪。汉朝有一条规矩，罪人可以拿钱赎罪。李广缴了一笔钱，总算赎了罪，回家做了平民。

过了不久，匈奴又在边境骚扰，汉武帝重新起用李广，担任右北平（郡名，治所在今辽宁凌源西南）太守。

多少年来，李广一直在北方防守。因为李广行动快，箭法精，忽来忽去，叫人摸不准他的路子，所以匈奴人给他起一个外号叫“飞将军”。李广做了右北平太守，匈奴人害怕飞将军，不敢进犯。

in a rope hammock and slung him between two horses to transport him to the Chanyu's main camp. Li Guang lay in the hammock motionless and lifeless. After a dozen *li*, he caught a glimpse of a Xiongnu soldier riding a good horse. Mustering all his strength, he heaved himself onto that horse, grabbed the soldier's bow and arrows, and pushed the soldier off. He jerked the animal around and galloped south.

With hundreds of Xiongnu soldiers riding in pursuit, Li Guang dug his heels into the belly of horse, prodding it to run even faster as he turned in his saddle and fired off his arrows, killing several pursuers. Unable to catch up with Li Guang, the pursuing party gave up and gazed after the fast-disappearing general.

Although out of danger in this instance, Li Guang was convicted of the capital offense of losing a battle and incurring heavy casualties. Under Han law, a person convicted of a crime could redeem himself by paying a fine. Li Guang redeemed himself and went home, stripped of all his official functions.

Not long after his fall from grace, the Xiongnu began to make trouble again on the frontier. Emperor Wu of Han brought Li Guang out of disfavor, and made him governor of Youbeiping Prefecture (southwest of modern-day Lingyuan, Liaoning Province).

In all the years which Li Guang manned the northern defenses, his agility, accuracy with the bow, and ability to confound the enemy by appearing and disappearing at unexpected moments earned him the nickname the 'Flying General' among the Xiongnu. With the feared Li Guang as governor of Youbeiping, the Xiongnu left the prefecture alone.

右北平一带没有匈奴兵进犯，可是常有老虎出来伤害人。李广只要听说哪儿有老虎，总亲自去射杀。老虎碰见他，没有不给射死的。

据说，有一次，李广回来晚了，天色朦胧，他和随从一面走，一面提防着老虎，忽然瞧见前面山脚下草丛里蹲着一只斑斓猛虎，他连忙拿起弓箭，使尽全力射了过去。凭他百发百中的箭法，自然射中了。

手下的兵士见他射中老虎，拿着刀枪跑上去捉虎。他们走近一瞧，全愣了，原来中箭的不是老虎，竟是一块大石头，而且这支箭陷得很深，几个人想去拔也拔不出来。大伙儿真是又惊奇，又佩服。

李广过去一看，自己也纳闷起来，石头怎么能射得进去呢？他回到原来的地方，对准那块石头又射了几箭，箭碰到石头，只迸出火星儿，却再也射不进去了。但就是凭这一箭，人们都传说飞将军李广的箭能射穿石头。

李广的一生，大都投入了抗击匈奴的事业。他身经大小七十几次战斗，由于他英勇善战，成为匈奴贵族心目中可怕的劲敌。但是李广在他一生的战斗中常常遭到意外的挫折。倒是两个新提拔起来的青年将军——卫青和霍去病，在抗击匈奴的战争中立了出色的战功。

Although Youheiping was now free from the threat of marauding Xiongnu, there were frequent injuries and deaths caused by prowling tigers. Li Guang never missed an opportunity to hunt tigers with his deadly accurate arrows. No tiger ever survived an encounter with him.

Legend has it that on his way home one day in failing light, Li Guang and his attendants were walking. They were looking eagle-eyed for signs of a tiger when they sighted a bright-striped specimen crouched in the grass at the foot of a hill. Li Guang armed his bow with an arrow and made bull's eye with his usual accuracy.

His soldiers, armed with swords and lances, ran towards the tiger. As they came closer to the quarry, they did a double take. It was not a tiger, but a big rock that Li Guang had shot. The arrow had gone so deep into the rock that no one could pull it out. The soldiers' surprise was mixed with admiration.

When Li Guang came to have a look, he was also filled with disbelief at how far his arrow had penetrated the rock. He went back to where he was before, and fired another shot at the rock. This time the arrow glanced off the rock, causing only sparks. However, that first shot cemented his legendary reputation as the Flying General who could shoot through a rock.

Li Guang devoted the better part of his life to fighting the Xiongnu. By a display of courage and battle skills in more than 70 battles, he became a formidable nemesis to the Xiongnu nobility. However, he was no stranger to unexpected reversals of fortunes in the course of his battles. In this sense, he was unlike the newly promoted younger generals, Wei Qing and Huo Qubing, who were credited with unalloyed success in the war against Xiongnu invasion.

17、卫青和霍去病

卫青出身低微，他的父亲是平阳侯曹寿家里当差的。卫青长大以后，在平阳侯家当了一名骑奴。后来，因为卫青的姐姐卫子夫进宫，受到汉武帝的宠幸，卫青的地位才渐渐显贵起来。

就在李广在战斗中被匈奴兵俘虏后又逃回的那年，汉军四路人马，三路都失败了，只有卫青打了个胜仗，被封为关内侯；以后，又接二连三地打败匈奴兵，立了战功。

公元前124年，卫青率领骑兵三万，追到长城外。匈奴右贤王以为汉军还离开很远，一点也没防备，在兵营里喝酒作乐，喝得酩酊大醉。

卫青在夜色的掩护下，急行军六七百里，包围了右贤王。汉兵从四面八方冲进匈奴营地，打得匈奴部队四面逃窜，乱成一团。右贤王的酒刚刚惊醒，要抵抗已来不及了，只好带着他的几百个亲信脱身逃走。

17. Generals Wei Qing and Huo Qubing

Wei Qing had modest beginnings. His father was a servant in the household of the Marquis of Pingyang Cao Shou, so when he grew up he also became a servant in the employ of the Marquis of Pingyang. His position improved markedly after his sister Wei Zifu was presented to the imperial palace and found favor with Emperor Wu.

The same year Li Guang escaped after being captured by the Xiongnu in combat, three of the four armies sent against the Xiongnu invading force suffered defeat. Only Wei Qing led his army to victory. As a reward, he was made Marquis of Guannei. He went on to win an impressive string of victories against the Xiongnu marauders.

In 124 BCE, Wei Qing's pursuit of the Xiongnu took his 30,000-strong cavalry force outside the Great Wall. Under the false impression that the Han troops were still some distance away, the Right Virtuous King of the Xiongnu had let down his guard and was drinking and making merry in his camp. He got stone drunk.

In the meantime, under cover of night, Wei Qing's troops endured a forced march of seven hundred li in order to surround the Right Virtuous King. When the Han troops charged into the Xiongnu camp from all sides, the Xiongnu troops broke up in disarray and dispersed in all directions.

这一仗，卫青的人马一共俘获了一万五千多个俘虏，其中匈奴的小王十多人。

匈奴的左右贤王，只比单于低一级。这次战争，右贤王全军覆没，对匈奴单于是一个很大打击。

汉武帝得到捷报，立刻派使者拿着大将军印，送到军营，宣布卫青为大将军，连他的三个还没有成年的儿子也封为侯。

卫青推辞说：“我几次打胜仗，都是部下将士的功劳。我那三个孩子还都是娃娃，什么事都没干过。要是皇上封他们为侯，怎么能够勉励战士立功呢！”

汉武帝经他一提醒，就封了卫青部下的七名将军为侯。

第二年，匈奴又来进攻。汉武帝又派卫青率领六个将军和大队人马去对付匈奴。

卫青有一个外甥，叫霍去病，那时候才十八岁，非常勇敢，又会骑马射箭，这次也跟着卫青一道去打匈奴。他带领了八百名壮士，组成一个小队，去找匈奴部队。他们向北跑

The sobered Right Virtuous King tried to put up a fight, but it was already too late. He got away with only a few hundred of his closest associates.

In this battle, Wei Qing's army captured 15,000 enemy soldiers, including a dozen princes.

The Right and Left Virtuous Kings of the Xiongnu were next in rank to the Chanyu. Because of this battle, the Right Virtuous King lost his entire army. This was a heavy blow to the Chanyu.

As soon as news of this victory reached Emperor Wu, he sent an emissary to Wei Qing. He was given the General in Chief's seal, officially making him the General in Chief. With all of the honors bestowed to him, even his three minor sons were to be made marquises.

Wei Qing declined these honors, saying, 'All credit for my victories goes to my officers and soldiers. Moreover, my three sons are still young boys who have never rendered any service to the country. If his Majesty makes them marquises, how is that going to motivate the soldiers to give their best in battle?'

Sobered by Wei Qing's remarks, Emperor Wu awarded the title of marquis to seven of Wei Qing's generals.

The next year, the Xiongnu launched another invasion. Emperor Wu sent a large expeditionary force to repel the invaders with Wei Qing in command aided by six generals.

An 18-year-old nephew of Wei Qing's called Huo Qubing, who was known for his daring and equestrian and archery skills, also participated in the campaign. He organized a detachment consisting of 800 brave men to seek out Xiongnu troops. They marched north, but did not see a

了一阵，一路上没瞧见匈奴兵士，一直赶了几百里路，才远远望见匈奴兵的营帐。

他们偷偷地绕道抄过去，瞅准一个最大的帐篷，猛然冲了进去。霍去病眼明手快，一刀杀了一个匈奴贵族。他手下的壮士又活捉了两个。

匈奴兵没有了头儿，四处奔逃，八百个壮士追上去又杀了两千多匈奴兵，才赶回大营。

卫青在大营正等着着急，只见霍去病提了一个人头回来，后面的兵士还押了两个俘虏。经过审问，才知道这两个俘虏，一个是单于的叔叔，一个是单于的相国，那个被霍去病杀了的还是单于爷爷一辈的王。

十八岁的霍去病第一次参加作战，就逮住了匈奴的两个将官，这功劳可真不小。战斗结束，被封为冠军侯。

公元前121年，汉武帝又封霍去病为骠骑将军，率领一万骑兵，从陇西出发，进攻匈奴。霍去病的兵马跟匈奴接连打了六天，匈奴兵抵挡不住，向后败退。霍去病和他的骑兵

single Xiongnu. They had rode hundreds of *li* before they finally saw Xiongnu tents in the distance.

Moving stealthily towards the enemy camp by a circuitous route, they found the largest tent and charged in. The sharp-eyed and fast-moving Huo Qubing killed a Xiongnu nobleman with one swing of his sword, and his soldiers captured two more.

The now leaderless Xiongnu troops dispersed in a disorderly flight. The 800 braves chased after them, and killed more than 2,000 of them before returning to camp.

The anxious Wei Qing was waiting for them when Huo Qubing went into his tent. He carried a severed head in his hand and was followed by soldiers escorting the two captives. After an interrogation, they learned that one of the captives was the Chanyu's uncle, while the other was the Chanyu's Chief Minister. The man killed by Huo Qubing in the big tent turned out to be a Xiongnu king who was of the same generation as the Chanyu's grandfather.

Thus, the 18-year-old Huo Qubing had captured two Xiongnu generals in his very first battle. This was no mean feat, and so he was made Marquis of Guanjun when the campaign was over.

In 121 BCE, Emperor Wu made Huo Qubing Cavalry General and ordered him to take 10,000 soldiers on an attack against the Xiongnu. Huo's troops marched from Longxi (western Gansu Province), and fought the Xiongnu for six days before the Xiongnu could no longer hold and started to beat a retreat. Huo Qubing with his cavalry engaged the fleeing Xiongnu across the Yanzhi Mountains (west of modern-day Yongchang County, Gansu Province) on a 1,000-

越过燕支山（在今甘肃永昌县西），追击了一千多里地。那边还有不少是匈奴的属国，像浑邪（在今甘肃省境）、休屠（今甘肃武威县北，焘音 tū）。汉兵到了那里，俘虏了浑邪王的王子和相国，把休屠王祭天的金人（一种铜像）也拿来了。

汉武帝为了慰劳霍去病，要替他盖一座住宅。霍去病推辞了。他说：“匈奴还没消灭，哪儿顾得上安家呢！”（文言是“匈奴未灭，何以家为！”）

为了根除匈奴的侵犯，到了公元前 119 年，汉武帝经过充分准备之后，再次派卫青、霍去病各带五万精兵，分两路合击匈奴。

卫青从定襄郡出塞，穿过大沙漠，行军一千多里，匈奴的伊祁邪（焘音 zhi）单于亲自率领精兵严阵对抗。双方展开了一场大会战。激战到夜幕降临的时候，沙漠上突然刮起一阵狂风，夹着砂砾，吹得天昏地黑。卫青顶着狂风，冒着扑面的砂砾，命令骑兵分左右两翼夹攻，伊祁邪单于招架不了，带了几百骑兵向北突围逃去。卫青一直追到寅颜山（古

ji pursuit that took them through some vassal states loyal to the Xiongnu. These included Hunxie (in modern-day Gansu Province) and Xiutu (north of modern-day Wuwei County, Gansu). The Han troops captured the prince and the chief minister of the King of Hunxie, and carted away the Golden Statue (actually, a bronze figure) used by the King of Xiutu for his sacrifice to the gods.

For this, Emperor Wu wanted to reward Huo Qubing with a new house, but the latter declined, saying, 'I have no use for a house as long as the Xiongnu have not been annihilated.'

In 119 BCE, after painstaking preparations, Emperor Wu sent Wei Qing and Huo Qubing with 50,000 elite troops on a two-pronged attack against the Xiongnu with a view to stopping the Xiongnu invasions for good.

Wei Qin passed through the Great Wall at Dingxiang Prefecture into the Gobi Desert. His soldiers then marched more than a thousand li, until they ran into well-trained and well-armed troops led by Yizhixie (also known as El'chishyel, the Chanyu of the Xiongnu). A fierce battle was joined. As night fell, a gale-force wind rose in the desert, kicking up a storm of sand and gravel that darkened the theater of the raging battle. Despite having a strong wind and sand blowing in his face, Wei Qing ordered his cavalry to carry out a two-pronged attack. El'chishye was overwhelmed by the assault. He made a dash toward the north with a few hundred of his horsemen, and succeeded in breaking through the encirclement. Wei Qing pressed on in pursuit until his troops reached Zhaoxin City at the foot of the Tianyan Mountains (a southern spur of modern-day

山名，今蒙古高原杭爱山南面的一支，寅音 tián）下的赵信城，匈奴兵已经逃空，城里贮存了不少粮草。卫青让兵士们饱餐了一顿，把多余的积粮烧了，才胜利回师。

另一路，霍去病也横越大沙漠，前进两千多里，大破匈奴左贤王的兵马，一直追到狼居胥山（在今内蒙古自治区五原西北黄河北岸，一说在今蒙古人民共和国境内）下，在那里立了一块石碑留作纪念。

这是汉朝规模最大、进军最远的一次追击。打那以后，匈奴撤退到大沙漠以北，沙漠南面就没有匈奴的王庭了。

Hang ai Mountains on the Mongolian Plateau). The city had been deserted by the Xiongnu soldiers, who left behind large quantities of rations. Wei Qing's troops feasted on the food, before torching the remaining grain and embarking on a triumphant return.

Meanwhile, Huo Qubing also crossed the Gobi, marching 2,000 *li* to engage the troops of the Left Virtuous King of the Xiongnu. These were soundly defeated. Huo's troops chased them all the way to the Langjuxu Mountains (either northwest of modern-day Wuyuan, Inner Mongolia on the north bank of the Yellow River; or alternately, in modern-day People's Republic of Mongolia). A stele was planted at the location as a monument.

This was the largest-scale military campaign ever undertaken by the Han Dynasty, with the deepest penetration into Xiongnu territory. In the aftermath of the campaign, the Xiongnu retreated to regions north of the Gobi Desert. South of the Gobi, all vestiges of Xiongnu presence were removed.

18、张骞通西域

汉武帝初年的时候，匈奴中有人投降了汉朝。汉武帝从他们的谈话中知道一点西域（今新疆和新疆以西一带）的情况。他们说有一个月氏（音yuè-zhī）国，被匈奴打败，向西逃去，定居在西域一带。他们跟匈奴有仇，想要报复，就是没有人帮助他们。

汉武帝想，月氏既然在匈奴西边。汉朝如果能跟月氏联合起来，切断匈奴跟西域各国的联系，这不是等于切断了匈奴的右胳膊吗？

于是，他下了一道诏书，征求能干的人到月氏去联络。当时，谁也不知道月氏国在哪儿，也不知道有多远。要担负这个任务，可得有很大的勇气。

有个年轻的郎中（官名）张骞（音qiān），觉得这是一件有意义的事，首先应征。有他一带头，别的人胆子也大了，

18. Zhang Qian's Mission to the Western Regions

When debriefing Xiongnu defectors in the early years of his reign, Emperor Wu of Han was able to glean some knowledge of the situation in Xiyu, a region which includes modern-day Xinjiang and the regions west of it. According to these defectors, a kingdom called Yuezhi (also known as Indo-Scyths, or Tokharians) had migrated westward to settle in Xiyu after being defeated by the Xiongnu. The people of Yuezhi were feuding with the Xiongnu and were seeking revenge, but had failed to find an ally in their vendetta against the Xiongnu.

Emperor Wu realized that if the Han Dynasty could make an ally of Yuezhi, which was situated west of the Xiongnu's dominion, the Xiongnu's links with other countries in Xiyu would be severed and the Xiongnu would lose, as it were, their right arm.

He issued an imperial edict seeking qualified people to initiate a liaison with Yuezhi. Very few people knew then where or how far away Yuezhi was. It would take great courage to volunteer for such a mission.

A young *langzhong* ('gentleman-of-the-interior'; a low-ranking official) called Zhang Qian found this a worthy cause and was the first to respond. Emboldened by his example, more than 100 brave men also signed up. A man of Xiongnu

有一百名勇士应了征。有个在长安的匈奴族人叫堂邑父，也愿意跟张骞一块儿去找月氏国。

公元前138年，汉武帝就派张骞带着一百多个人出发去找月氏。但是要到月氏，一定要经过匈奴占领的地界。张骞他们小心地走了几天，还是被匈奴兵发现围住了，全都做了俘虏。

匈奴人没有杀他们，只是派人把他们分散开来管住，只有堂邑父跟张骞住在一起，一住就是十多年。

日子久了，匈奴对他们管得不那么严。张骞跟堂邑父商量了一下，瞅匈奴人不防备，骑上两匹快马逃了。

他们一直向西跑了几十天，吃尽苦头，逃出了匈奴地界，没找到月氏，却闯进了另一个叫大宛的国家（在今中亚细亚）。

大宛和匈奴是近邻，当地人懂得匈奴话。张骞和堂邑父都能说匈奴话，交谈起来很方便。他们见了大宛王，大宛王早就听说汉朝是个富饶强盛的大国，这会儿听到汉朝的使者到了，很欢迎他们，并且派人护送他们到康居（约在今巴尔喀什湖和咸海之间），再由康居到了月氏。

extraction called Tang Yifu volunteered to join Zhang Qian's quest for the kingdom of Yuezhi.

In 138 BCE, this group led by Zhang Qian embarked on the quest ordered by Emperor Wu. To reach Yuezhi, however, they needed to pass through territory under Xiongnu control. Zhang Qian and his team took great pains to avoid detection, but still fell into the hands of Xiongnu soldiers after a few days of travel. The entire group was taken into custody.

They were not killed by the Xiongnu, but were separated into small groups for easier surveillance. Zhang Qian was paired with Tang Yifu, and spent more than a decade in Xiongnu country.

With the passage of time, the Xiongnu gradually relaxed their control. Seizing upon a moment of the guards' inattention, Zhang Qian and Tang Yifu grabbed two fast horses and escaped.

Their flight to the west took them on an odyssey that lasted dozens of days. After enduring numerous ordeals, when they finally escaped Xiongnu country they did not find Yuezhi but instead found themselves in a kingdom called Dayuan ('Great Ionians'), near Ferghana in Central Asia.

Dayuan was a close neighbor of the Xiongnu. Since the people of Dayuan understood the Xiongnu language, the Xiongnu-speaking Zhang Qian and Tang Yifu could easily communicate with them. The King of Dayuan had heard about the power and prosperity of the Han Dynasty, and was eager to show good will towards its envoys. He warmly received the two men and provided them with an escort that took them safely to Kangju (between Lake Balkhash and the Aral Sea), and from there to the Yuezhi.

月氏被匈奴打败了以后，迁到大夏（今阿富汗北部）附近建立了大月氏国，不想再跟匈奴作战。大月氏国王听了张骞的话，不感兴趣，但是因为张骞是个汉朝的使者，也很有礼貌地接待他。

张骞和堂邑父在大月氏住了一年多，还到大夏去了一次，看到了许多从未见到过的东西。但是他们没能说服大月氏国共同对付匈奴，只好回来。经过匈奴地界，又被扣押了一段时间，幸好匈奴发生了内乱，才逃出来回到长安。

张骞在外面足足过了十三年才回来。汉武帝认为他立了大功，封他做太中大夫。

张骞向汉武帝详细报告了西域各国的情况。他说：“我在大夏看见邛山（今四川荥经西，邛音 qióng）出产的竹杖和蜀地（今四川成都）出产的细布。当地的人说这些东西是商人从天竺（就是现在的印度）贩来的。”他认为既然天竺可以买到蜀地的东西，一定离开蜀地不远。

汉武帝就派张骞为使者，带着礼物从蜀地出发，去结交天竺。张骞把人马分为四队，分头去找天竺。四路人马各走

After their defeat by the Xiongnu, the Yuezhi migrated to an area bordering Daxia (Bactria, in the north of modern-day Afghanistan). There, they founded the kingdom of Great Yuezhi. By this time the Yuezhi had lost appetite for war with the Xiongnu, and so the King of Great Yuezhi was not interested in Zhang Qian's proposals. However, he treated him with great courtesy because he was envoy of the Han Emperor.

Their stay in Great Yuezhi lasted over a year. During that time, Zhang Qian and Tang Yifu made a trip to Daxia, and were intrigued by the many wonders they saw there. Unable to persuade Great Yuezhi to join an alliance against the Xiongnu, they finally started their journey home. When they passed through Xiongnu country, they were once again captured and taken prisoner. However, thanks to internal conflict among the Xiongnu they found a chance to escape and return to Chang'an.

Upon returning from his thirteen-year-long peregrination abroad, in reward for his great accomplishments Zhang Qian was made Superior Grand Master of the Palace by Emperor Wu.

In a full account of his travels through the countries and kingdoms of Xiyu, he reported, "In the kingdom of Daxia I saw bamboo canes produced in Qiongsan (modern-day Sichuan Province), and fine fabric made in Shudi (modern-day Chengdu, Sichuan Province). The people in Daxia told me these had been imported from Tianzhu (modern-day India)." Zhang Qian went on to say that if products of Shudi were available in Tianzhu, Tianzhu could not be too far from Shudi.

Emperor Wu named Zhang Qian his envoy charged with the mission to establish friendly ties with Tianzhu. Zhang Qian's party, loaded with gifts, used Shudi as a jumping-off

了两千里地，都没有找到。有的被当地的部族打回来了。

往南走的一队人马到了昆明，也给挡住了。汉朝的使者绕过昆明，到了滇越（在今云南东部）。滇越国王的上代原是楚国人，已经有好几代跟中原隔绝了。他愿意帮助张骞找道去天竺，可是昆明在中间挡住，没能过去。

张骞回到长安，汉武帝认为他虽然没有找到天竺，但是结交了一个一直没有联系过的滇越，也很满意。

到了卫青、霍去病消灭了匈奴兵主力，匈奴逃往大沙漠北面以后，西域一带许多国家看到匈奴失了势，都不愿意向匈奴进贡纳税。汉武帝趁这个机会再派张骞去通西域。

公元前119年，张骞和他的几个副手，拿着汉朝的旄节，带着三百个勇士，每人两匹马，还带着一万多头牛羊和黄金、钱币、绸缎、布帛等礼物去结交西域。

张骞到了乌孙（在新疆境内），乌孙王出来迎接。张骞送

point. He organized his team into four groups. Each went off in different directions in search of the kingdom of Tianzhu. After traveling 2,000 *li*, none of the groups found it, and some were turned back by local tribes.

The group that went south was barred passage at Kunming. Circumventing Kunming, the Han travelers arrived in Dianyue (in the east of modern-day Yunnan Province). The King there was a descendant of the old state of Chu, but the area had not been in contact with China proper for generations. The King was willing to help Zhang Qian find his way to Tianzhu, but they still could not get past Kunming.

Zhang Qian thus returned to Chang'an without finding Tianzhu, but Emperor Wu was still quite pleased because of the re-establishment of ties with Dianyue, which had long ago lost contact with China.

After Wei Qing and Huo Qubing neutralized the main fighting forces of the Xiongnu and forced them to flee beyond the northern edge of the Gobi Desert, the countries in Xiyu lost their incentive to pay tribute to the weakened Xiongnu Empire. Emperor Wu saw these changed circumstances as an opportunity, and sent Zhang Qian on a new mission to Xiyu.

In 119 BCE, Zhang Qian and his aides, carrying the imperial staff of the Han Empire before them, embarked on another goodwill mission through the Xiyu region, taking with them 300 soldiers, each of whom had in his care two horses. The gifts the delegation bore included 10,000 head of cattle and large amounts of gold, coins, silk and other fabrics.

When Zhang Qian arrived in Wusun (in modern-day Xinjiang), its King came out to greet him. Zhang Qian presented

了他一份厚礼，建议两国结为亲戚，共同对付匈奴。乌孙王只知道汉朝离乌孙很远，可不知道汉朝的兵力有多少强。他得到汉朝的帮助，又不敢得罪匈奴，因此乌孙君臣对共同对付匈奴这件事商议了几天，还是决定不下来。张骞恐怕耽误日子，打发他的副手们带着礼物，分别去联络大宛、大月氏、于阗（在今新疆和田一带，读音 tián）等国。乌孙王还派了几个翻译帮助他们。

这许多副手去了好些日子还没回来。乌孙王先送张骞回到长安，他派了几十个人跟张骞一起到长安参观，还带了四十匹高头大马送给汉朝。汉武帝见了他们已经很高兴了，又瞧见了乌孙王送的大马，格外优待乌孙使者。

过了一年，张骞害病死了。张骞派到西域各国去的副手也陆续回到长安。副手们把到过的地方合起一算，总共到过三十六国。

打那以后，汉武帝每年都派使节去访问西域各国，汉朝和西域各国建立了友好交往。西域派来的使节和商人也络绎不绝。中国的丝和丝织品，经过西域运到西亚，再转运到欧洲，后来人们把这条路线称作“丝绸之路”。

him with a handsome gift, and proposed an alliance by marriage to counter the threat of the Xiongnu. The King of Wusun only knew that the Han Empire was very far from his kingdom, but had no idea of its military might. Although he wanted to receive assistance from the Han Empire, he was afraid to antagonize the Xiongnu. Days of discussions between the King and his counselors about the proposed anti-Xiongnu alliance produced no decision. Since he did not want to lose time, Zhang Qian sent aides bearing gifts to the kingdoms of Dayuan, Great Yuezhi and Yutian (near modern-day Hetian, Xinjiang). The King of Wusun provided them with interpreters.

After the aides had been gone for a long time, the King of Wusun decided to send Zhang Qian back to Chang'an first. A visiting mission composed of dozens of Wusun nationals traveled with Zhang Qian to the Han capital. They brought dozens of strong horses as a tribute to the imperial court of the Han. Emperor Wu was pleased to receive the foreign visitors. The gift of strong horses he received from the king of Wusun added to his pleasure, and the Wusun emissaries were accorded privileged treatment.

A year later, Zhang Qian died of illness. The aides he had sent to other countries of the Xiyu region slowly began returning to Chang'an after visiting a total of 36 countries between them.

From then on, Emperor Wu sent emissaries on yearly visits to these countries, cementing friendly ties between the Han Empire and the countries of Xiyu. Emissaries and traders also flocked to China from Xiyu. Silk and silk products of China were exported to West Asia through Xiyu, and from there on to Europe. This was the beginning of the legendary Silk Road.

19、苏武牧羊

匈奴自从给卫青、霍去病打败以后，双方有好几年没打仗。他们口头上表示要跟汉朝和好，实际上还是随时想进犯中原。匈奴的单于一次次派使者来求和，可是汉朝的使者到匈奴去回访，有的却被他们扣留了。汉朝也扣留了一些匈奴使者。

公元前100年，汉武帝正想出兵打匈奴，匈奴派使者求和了，还把汉朝的使者都放回来。汉武帝为了答复匈奴的善意表示，派中郎将苏武拿着旄节，带着副手张胜和随员常惠，出使匈奴。

苏武到了匈奴，送回扣留的使者，送上礼物。苏武正等单于写个回信让他回去，没想到就在这个时候，出了一件倒霉的事儿。

苏武没到匈奴之前，有个汉人叫卫律，在出使匈奴后投降了匈奴。单于特别重用他，封他为王。

19. Su Wu, the Shepherd

For many years after the generals Wei Qing and Huo Qubing defeated the Xiongnu, there was no war between the two sides. However, the Xiongnu's professed willingness to be at peace with the Han Empire was belied by their persistent yearnings for a push into the central plains of China. Though a steady stream of envoys were sent between the Chanyu and the Han imperial court to negotiate a peace treaty, some of the Han envoys were detained on visits to the Xiongnu court, and a number of Xiongnu emissaries were detained by the Han.

In 100 BCE, Emperor Wu was in the midst of planning an attack on the Xiongnu when a Xiongnu envoy arrived with a peace proposal. As a goodwill gesture, all detained Han envoys were to be freed. To reciprocate, Emperor Wu sent Su Wu, his Leader of Court Gentlemen, on a diplomatic mission to the Xiongnu court. Su Wu embarked on his mission carrying the imperial staff, symbolizing his official status, and accompanied by his deputy Zhang Sheng and his aide Chang Hui. He brought with him freed Xiongnu emissaries and gifts for the Chanyu. As Su Wu waited for a letter from the Chanyu to be carried back to Emperor Wu, he suffered a stroke of bad luck.

Prior to Su Wu's mission to the Xiongnu, a Han emissary called Wei Lü had defected to the Xiongnu court. The Chanyu made him a prince, and particularly valued his service.

卫律有一个部下叫做虞常，对卫律很不满意。他跟苏武的副手张胜原来是朋友，就暗地跟张胜商量，想杀了卫律，劫持单于的母亲，逃回中原去。张胜很表示同情，没想到虞常的计划没成功，反而被匈奴人逮住了。单于大怒，叫卫律审问虞常，还要查问出同谋的人来。苏武本来不知道这件事。到了这时候，张胜怕受到牵连，才告诉苏武。

苏武说：“事情已经到这个地步，一定会牵连到我。如果让人家审问以后再死，不是更给朝廷丢脸吗？”说罢，就拔出刀来要自杀。张胜和随员常惠眼快，夺去他手里的刀，把他劝住了。

虞常受尽种种刑罚，只承认跟张胜是朋友，说过话，拼死也不承认跟他同谋。

卫律向单于报告。单于大怒，想杀死苏武，被大臣劝阻了，单于又叫卫律去逼迫苏武投降。

苏武一听卫律叫他投降，就说：“我是汉朝的使者，如果违背了使命，丧失了气节，活下去还有什么脸见人。”又拔出刀来向脖子抹去。

One of Wei Lu's subordinates, Yu Chang, had long been critical of him. Yu Chang was also an old friend of Su Wu's deputy, Zhang Sheng. Yu Chang confided to Zhang Sheng his plan to kill Wei Lu, take the Chanyu's mother hostage, and then escape back to his homeland China. Zhang Sheng was sympathetic to Yu Chang's plan. However, the plot backfired and Yu Chang was arrested by the Xiongnu. The furious Chanyu put Wei Lu in charge of the trial of Yu Chang in order to ferret out of co-conspirators. Zhang Sheng was afraid of being implicated, so he told Su Wu the truth about the plot. Previously, Su Wu had been kept in the dark.

Responding to Zhang Sheng's report, Su Wu said, 'The way things are going, I am bound to be implicated. To be executed after being dragged through a trial would bring disgrace on the Emperor!' So saying, he drew his sword to commit suicide. With their quick reflexes, Zhang Sheng and Chang Hui wrested the sword from him. They then talked him out of killing himself.

Under prolonged torture, Yu Chang only admitted to being a friend of Zhang Sheng's. He said that he had exchanged some words with him, but adamantly denied conspiring with him.

When Wei Lu reported to the Chanyu that Yu Chang had talked with Zhang Sheng, the Chanyu was furious and wanted to kill Su Wu. However, his counselors held him back. The Chanyu then ordered Wei Lu to pressure Su Wu to defect.

When Wei Lu demanded that Su Wu defect, Su Wu replied, 'I am a Han envoy. If I fail my mission and lose my integrity, I've no right to continue living.'

He then drew his sword and swung it towards his neck.

卫律慌忙把他抱住，苏武的脖子已受了重伤，昏了过去。卫律赶快叫人抢救，苏武才慢慢苏醒过来。

单于觉得苏武是个有气节的好汉，十分钦佩他。等苏武伤痊愈了，单于又想逼苏武投降。

单于派卫律审问虞常，让苏武在旁边听着。卫律先把虞常定了死罪，杀了；接着，又举剑威胁张胜，张胜贪生怕死，投降了。

卫律对苏武说：“你的副手有罪，你也得连坐。”

苏武说：“我既没有跟他同谋，又不是他的亲属，为什么要连坐？”

卫律又举起剑威胁苏武，苏武不动声色。卫律没法，只好把举起的剑放下来，劝苏武说：“我也是不得已才投降匈奴的，单于待我好，封我为王，给我几万名的部下和满山的牛羊，享尽富贵荣华。先生如果能够投降匈奴，明天也跟我一样。何必白白送掉性命呢？”

苏武怒气冲冲地站起来，说：“卫律！你是汉人的儿子，做了汉朝的臣下。你忘恩负义，背叛了父母，背叛了朝廷，厚

Wei Lü rushed to take the sword away from him. However, before he could do this, Su Wu had seriously cut himself in the neck and lost consciousness. Emergency medical care was administered to him, and he slowly recovered.

The Chanyu was deeply impressed by the integrity and courage of Su Wu. After Su Wu had recovered from his wound, the Chanyu once again tried to pressure him to defect by having Wei Lü interrogate Yu Chang in Su Wu's presence. At the end of the interrogation, Wei Lü sentenced Yu Chang to death and had him executed. Then Wei Lü raised his sword and threatening to kill Zhang Sheng. Terrified, Zhang Sheng immediately defected to the Xiongnu.

Wei Lü then exclaimed to Su Wu, 'Because of your association to your deputy, you also are guilty and must be punished.'

Su Wu retorted, 'I didn't conspire with him and I am no relative of his. By what association must I be punished?'

Wei Lü raised his sword to threaten Su Wu, but the Su Wu remained unruffled. Seeing the threat had no effect on him, Wei Lü lowered his sword and began cajoling him, 'I defected because I was left with no other option. The Chanyu has been very kind to me. He made me a prince, gave me tens of thousands of soldiers, and enough sheep and cattle to fill an entire hill. My life is now sweet. If you agree to defect today, tomorrow you will be like me. Life is too precious to throw away!'

Su Wu rose to his feet in a huff and said, 'Wei Lü! You are a Han and a Han public official, but you have now bitten the hand that feeds you. You've betrayed your parents and your

颜无耻地做了汉奸，还有什么脸来和我说话。我决不会投降，怎么逼我也没有用。”

卫律碰了一鼻子灰回去，向单于报告。单于把苏武关在地窖里，不给他吃的喝的，想用长期折磨的办法，逼他屈服。

这时候正是人冬天气，外面下着鹅毛大雪。苏武忍饥挨饿，渴了，就捧一把雪止渴；饿了，啃一些羊皮片充饥。过了几天，居然没有饿死。

单于见折磨他没用，把他送到北海（今贝加尔湖）边去放羊，跟他的部下常惠分隔开来，不许他们通消息，还对苏武说：“等公羊生了小羊，才放你回去。”公羊怎么会生小羊呢，这不过是说要长期监禁他罢了。

苏武到了北海，旁边什么人都没有，唯一和他作伴的是那根代表朝廷的旌节。匈奴不给口粮，他就掘野鼠洞里的草根充饥。日子一久，旌节上的穗子全掉了。

一直到了公元前85年，匈奴的单于死了，匈奴发生内乱，分成了三个国家。新单于没有力量再跟汉朝打仗，又打发使

Emperor and have become a shameless traitor. You are unworthy to talk to me! Despite all your threats and sweet talk, I will never defect.'

Snubbed by Su Wu, Wei Lu reported what had happened to the Chanyu. The Chanyu threw Su Wu into a cellar and deprived him of food and water, trying to force him to yield by putting him through a long, slow ordeal.

It was winter, and big snowflakes fell heavily outside the cellar. Su Wu was racked with hunger pangs. He slaked his thirst by scooping up handfuls of snow, and assuaged his hunger by chewing on pieces of sheepskin. After some days had passed, he was still alive.

When the Chanyu saw that this slow torture did not work, he exiled Su Wu to Beihai ('Northern Lake'; modern-day Lake Baikal) as a shepherd. He separating him from his aide Chang Hui, and forbade them to communicate with each other.

The Chanyu told Su Wu, 'You will be released when a ram gives birth to a kid.' Since no one has ever heard of a ram giving birth, it was the Chanyu's way of telling him that he would be in prison for a long, long time.

At Beihai, Su Wu was alone in the northern landscape with only the imperial staff for company. When food ran out, he would dig into moles' burrows for grass roots to eat. With the passage of time, all of the decorative yak's hair on his staff fell off.

In 85 BCE, the Chanyu died. This triggered infighting that led to the partition of the Xiongnu Empire into three kingdoms. The new Chanyu was too weak to go to war with the Han Empire, and so he sent an envoy with an olive branch. Emperor

者来求和。那时候，汉武帝已死去，他的儿子汉昭帝即位。汉昭帝派使者到匈奴去，要单于放回苏武，匈奴谎说苏武已经死了。使者信以为真，就没有再提。

第二次，汉使者又到匈奴去，苏武的随从常惠还在匈奴。他买通匈奴人，私下和汉使者见面，把苏武在北海牧羊的情况告诉了使者。使者见了单于，严厉责备他说：“匈奴既然存心同汉朝和好，不应该欺骗汉朝。我们皇上在御花园射下一只大雁，雁脚上拴着一条绸子，上面写着苏武还活着，你怎么说他死了呢？”

单于听了，吓了一大跳。他还以为真的是苏武的忠义感动了飞鸟，连大雁也替他送消息呢。他向使者道歉说：“苏武确实是活着，我们把他放回去就是了。”

苏武出使的时候，才四十岁。在匈奴受了十九年的折磨，胡须、头发全白了。回到长安的那天，长安的人民都出来迎接他。他们瞧见白胡须、白头发的苏武手里拿着光杆子的旌节，没有一个不受感动的，说他真是个大丈夫。

Wu had also died by that time, and was succeeded by his son, Emperor Zhao of Han. Emperor Zhao sent an envoy to the Xiongnu court to demand the release of Su Wu. However, after being given false information by the Xiongnu side that Su Wu had died, the gullible envoy did not press the matter.

On another visit by a Han envoy to the Xiongnu, Su Wu's aide Chang Hui, who was alive in Xiongnu territory, bribed a Xiongnu to obtain a private meeting with the envoy. He told the envoy that Su Wu was herding sheep at Lake Baikal.

Later, when the envoy met the Chanyu, he harshly criticized him, saying, 'Since the Xiongnu court is determined to be at peace with the Han Empire, it should not deceive the Han. My Emperor shot a goose in his imperial garden, and found a silk ribbon tied to its foot with a message saying that Su Wu is still alive. Why did you tell us he had died?'

The Chanyu was taken aback by the account. He actually believed that Su Wu's loyalty must have so moved the goose that it had agreed to carry the message. He apologized to the envoy, saying, 'Su Wu is indeed alive. We will free him and let him go home.'

Su Wu was 40 when he went on the diplomatic mission to the Xiongnu. After nineteen years of ordeal, his beard and hair had turned completely white. On his return to Chang'an, the residents turned out to give him a massive welcome. They were deeply touched by the sight of a Su Wu, with his white beard and hair and imperial staff now completely shorn of its decorative yak's hair.

'Here is a real man of courage and integrity!' exclaimed the crowd with admiration.

20、司马迁写《史记》

苏武出使匈奴的第二年，汉武帝派贰师将军李广利带兵三万，攻打匈奴，打了个大败仗，几乎全军覆没，李广利逃了回来。

李广利的孙子李陵当时担任骑都尉，带着五千名步兵跟匈奴作战。单于亲自率领三万骑兵把李陵的步兵团团围困住。尽管李陵的箭法十分好，兵士也十分勇敢，五千步兵杀了五六千名匈奴骑兵，但是匈奴兵越来越多，汉军寡不敌众，后面又没救兵，最后只剩了四百多汉兵突围出来。李陵被匈奴逮住，投降了。

李陵投降匈奴的消息震动了朝廷。汉武帝把李陵的母亲和妻儿都下了监狱，并且召集大臣，要他们议一议李陵的罪行。

大臣们都谴责李陵不该贪生怕死，向匈奴投降。汉武帝问太史令司马迁，听听他的意见。

20. Sima Qian, Author of the *Shi Ji*

In the second year of Su Wu's diplomatic mission to the Xiongnu court, Emperor Wu of Han sent Li Guangli, the General of Ershi (Sutrishna) with a 30,000-strong expeditionary force against the Xiongnu. Li Guangli suffered a rout resulting in the decimation of his force and fled back to the capital.

His grandson, Li Ling, who was then Commander of Cavalry, engaged the Xiongnu with 5,000 soldiers. However, Li Ling's troops were then surrounded by 30,000 cavalymen personally commanded by the Chanyu of the Xiongnu. Li Ling had legendary skill as an archer and his soldiers were quite brave. They were able to kill five or six thousand Xiongnu horsemen, but they were seriously outnumbered by a Xiongnu army that seemed only to keep growing in size. With no reinforcement coming to their rescue, only 400 Han soldiers succeeded in slipping through the noose of the encircling Xiongnu cavalry. Li Ling surrendered and was taken prisoner by the Xiongnu.

News of Li Ling's surrender shocked the Han court. Emperor Wu put Li Ling's mother, wife, and children in jail, and then summoned his ministers for a discussion of Li Ling's crime.

The ministers denounced Li Ling's cowardice in surrendering to the Xiongnu. Emperor Wu then asked his Grand Scribe Sima Qian for his view on the matter.

司马迁说：“李陵带去的步兵不满五千，他深入到敌人的腹地，打击了几万敌人。他虽然打了败仗，可是杀了这么多的敌人，也可以向天下人交代了。李陵不肯马上去死，准有他的主意。他一定还想将功赎罪来报答皇上。”

汉武帝听了，认为司马迁这样为李陵辩护，是有意贬低李广利（李广利是汉武帝宠妃的哥哥），勃然大怒，说：“你这样替投降敌人的人强辩，不是存心反对朝廷吗？”

他吆喝一声，就把司马迁下了监狱，交给廷尉审问。

审问下来，把司马迁定了罪，应该受腐刑（一种肉刑）。司马迁拿不出钱赎罪，只好受了刑罚，关在监狱里。

司马迁认为受腐刑是一件很丢脸的事，他几乎想自杀。但他想到自己有一件极重要的工作没有完成，不应该死。因为当时他正在用全部精力写一部书。这就是我国古代最伟大的历史著作——《史记》。

原来，司马迁的祖上好几辈都担任史官，父亲司马谈也

Sima Qian said, 'With barely 5,000 infantrymen, Li Ling penetrated deep behind enemy lines, and inflicted heavy casualties on an enemy force tens of thousands strong. He had something to show for his efforts despite being finally defeated. Li Ling must have his reasons for not choosing to die now. He must be thinking of one day vindicating himself and repaying the Emperor with a valiant act.'

His apology for Li Ling sounded to the Emperor like a pointed put down of Li Guangli, the brother of the Emperor's favorite concubine. The Emperor replied in fury, 'How can you defend someone who has surrendered to the enemy? Your behavior is blatantly against the interests of the imperial court.'

In a thundering voice he ordered Sima Qian incarcerated, pending a trial by the Chamberlain for Law Enforcement.

At the conclusion of the trial, Sima Qian was convicted. As a penalty, he sentenced to be castrated. Since he could not afford the sum necessary to redeem the crime, Sima Qian submitted to the punishment and remained in jail.

Overwhelmed by the stigma and shame of castration, Sima Qian was tempted to commit suicide. He banished these thoughts by remembering that he had important, unfinished business. He was then totally absorbed in the writing of a book which would later become known as the greatest work of ancient Chinese history. The book was called the *Shi Ji* (*Historical Records of the Grand Scribe*).

For generations, Sima Qian's forefathers had been court historiographers. His father Sima Tan was also a Grand Scribe at the Han court. At ten years of age, Sima Qian

是汉朝的太史令。司马迁十岁的时候，跟随父亲到了长安，从小就读了不少书籍。

为了搜集史料、开阔眼界，司马迁从二十岁开始，就游历祖国各地。他到过浙江会稽，看了传说中禹召集部落首领开会的地方；到过长沙，在汨罗江边凭吊爱国诗人屈原；他到过曲阜，考察孔子讲学的遗址；他到过汉高祖的故乡，听取沛县父老讲述刘邦起兵的情况……这种游览和考察，使司马迁获得了大量的知识，民间语言中丰富的养料，也给司马迁的写作打下了重要的基础。

以后，司马迁当了汉武帝的侍从官，又跟随皇帝巡行各地，还奉命到巴、蜀、昆明一带视察。

司马谈死后，司马迁继承父亲的职务，做了太史令，他阅读和搜集的史料就更多了。

在他正准备着手写作的时候，就为了替李陵辩护得罪武帝，下了监狱，受了刑。他痛苦地想：“这是我自己的过错呀。现在受了刑，身子毁了，没有用了。”

但是他又想：从前周文王被关在羑里，写了一部《周易》；

followed his father to Chang'an. Even at this young age, he was already well-read.

In order to collect historical data and materials and to broaden his knowledge, at the age of 20 Sima Qian began traveling to various places in China. He went to Guiji in Zhejiang to visit the spot where, according to legend, Da Yu had convoked tribal chiefs for a meeting. In Changsha, he paid respects to the patriotic poet Qu Yuan on the banks of the Miluo River. He toured the ruins of what used to be Confucius's academy in Qufu. His travels took him to Pei County, the hometown of Emperor Gaozu of Han, where he was regaled with tales about Liu Bang's rebellion. His journeys combined sightseeing and study, broadening his knowledge. In the process, the rich local languages he came across helped inform Sima Qian's future writing in a major way.

After being appointed an attendant to Emperor Wu of Han, Sima Qian accompanied the Emperor on imperial inspection tours to various places. He was sent on inspection tours to the Ba Shu (modern-day Sichuan) and Kunming areas on several occasions.

At his father's death, Sima Qian succeeded him as the Grand Scribe. In his new post, he had the opportunity to read and collect more historical data and materials.

Just when he readied himself to write his historical record, the Emperor had him thrown into jail and castrated as punishment for defending Li Ling. Sima Qian was agonized by the thought, 'I brought it on myself. I am now castrated, and my manhood is ruined. I'm finished.'

On the other hand, he thought, King Wen of Zhou had

孔子周游列国的路上被困在陈蔡，后来编了一部《春秋》，屈原遭到放逐，写了《离骚》，左丘明眼睛瞎了，写了《国语》，孙臆被刺掉膝盖骨，写了《兵法》。还有《诗经》三百篇，大都是古人在心情忧愤的情况下写的。这些著名的著作，都是作者心里有郁闷，或者理想行不通的时候，才写出来的。“我为什么不利用这个时候把这部史书写好呢？”

于是，他把从传说中的黄帝时代开始，一直到汉武帝太始二年（公元前95年）为止的这段时期的历史，编写成一百三十篇，五十二万字的巨大著作《史记》。

司马迁在他的《史记》中，对古代一些著名人物的事迹都作了详细的叙述，还把古代文献中过于艰深的文字改写成当时比较浅近的文字。《史记》人物形象鲜明，语言生动活泼，既是一部伟大的历史著作，又是一部杰出的文学著作。

司马迁出了监狱以后，担任中书令。后来，终于郁郁不乐地死去。但他和他的著作《史记》在我国的史学史、文学史上都享有很高的地位。

finished his work *Zhou Yi* (*Changes of Zhou*) when he was jailed at Youli. Confucius completed his *Spring and Autumn Annals* after being stranded in Chencai on his wanderings through the various states. Qu Yuan wrote the poem *Li Sao* (*The Lament*) in exile. Zuoqiu Ming authored *Guoyu* (*Remarks of Monarchs*) after he lost his sight. Sun Bin wrote his treatise on *The Art of War* after being punished by having his kneecaps cut out. Most of the 300 poems of the *Book of Songs* were composed by poets filled with indignation and sadness. Behind every one of these famous works of antiquity one could find an author who was oppressed by a deep sense of frustration and disillusionment. 'Why can't I also take advantage of this opportunity to finish my historical work?' thought Sima Qian.

And so he completed his great work, the *Shi Ji*. It is comprised of 130 chapters and 520,000 words, and covers China's history from the Yellow Emperor of legend down to the second year (95 BCE) of the Taishi Era, during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han.

In his *Shi Ji*, Sima Qian gave detailed accounts of the lives and deeds of famous personalities in China's history, and translated the obscure and arcane language used in ancient texts into easier-to-understand contemporary expressions. With its vivid imagery in depicting history's protagonists, and its vibrant, captivating prose, *Shi Ji* is at once a great work of history, and a literary masterpiece.

After being released from jail, Sima Qian was made Director of the Secretariat. He remained in depression until the day of his death, but was assured of an exalted place in the history of China's literary and historical studies.

21、王昭君出塞

汉武帝去世后，继位的汉昭帝当了十二年皇帝。公元前73年，汉武帝的曾孙刘询即位，就是汉宣帝。那时候，匈奴由于贵族争夺权力，势力越来越衰落，后来，匈奴发生分裂，五个单于分立，互相攻打不休。

其中一个单于名叫呼韩邪，被他的哥哥郅支（郅音zhì）单于打败，死伤了不少人马。呼韩邪和大臣商量后，决心跟汉朝和好，亲自带着部下来朝见汉宣帝。

呼韩邪是第一个到中原来朝见的单于，汉宣帝像招待贵宾一样招待他，亲自到长安郊外去迎接他，为他举行了盛大的宴会。

呼韩邪单于在长安住了一个多月。他要求汉宣帝帮助他回去。汉宣帝答应了，派了两个将军带领一万名骑兵护送他

21. Wang Zhaojun Carried off in Marriage by a Xiongnu

After Emperor Wu died, Emperor Zhao of Han succeeded to his throne and reigned for 12 years. In 73 BCE, he was succeeded by a great-grandson of Emperor Wu, Liu Xun, who ascended the throne as Emperor Xuan of Han. By that time, the Xiongnu had entered a period of steady decline as its noblemen jostled for power. The Xiongnu Empire eventually split up with five separate Chanyus embroiled in perpetual internecine conflict.

One of the Chanyus was Huhanye. His army had been defeated in war and suffered heavy casualties by the hand of the Chanyu Zhizhi, his brother. To forestall complete disaster, after consulting his counselors Huhanye decided to sue for peace with the Han. He personally led a delegation to pay tribute to the Emperor Xuan of Han.

Being the first Chanyu to come to the central plains of China for an audience with the Han Emperor, Emperor Xuan rolled out the red carpet for Huhanye, personally greeting him at the outskirts of Chang'an, and throwing a gala in his honor.

After he had stayed in Chang'an for over a month, Huhanye asked Emperor Xuan to help him return to his country. The Emperor had him escorted to the southern fringe of the Gobi Desert by two generals at the command of 10,000 cavalrymen. Since there was a food shortage besetting the lands under

到了漠南。这时候，匈奴正缺少粮食，汉朝还送去三万四千斛（音 hu，古时候十斗为一斛）粮食。

呼韩邪单于十分感激，一心和汉朝和好。西域各国听到匈奴和汉朝和好了，也都争先恐后地同汉朝打交道。

汉宣帝死了后，他的儿子刘奭（音 shì）即位，就是汉元帝。没几年，匈奴的郅支单于侵犯西域各国，还杀了汉朝派去的使者。汉朝派兵打到康居，打败了郅支单于，把郅支单于杀了。

郅支单于一死，呼韩邪单于的地位稳定了。公元前33年，呼韩邪单于再一次到长安，要求同汉朝和亲。汉元帝同意了。

以前，汉朝和匈奴和亲，都得挑个公主或者宗室的女儿。这回，汉元帝决定挑个宫女给他，他吩咐人到后宫去传话：“谁愿意到匈奴去的，皇上就把她当公主看待。”

后宫的宫女都是从民间选来的，她们一进了皇宫，就像鸟儿被关进笼里一样，都巴望有一天能把她们放出宫去。但是听说要离开本国到匈奴去，却又不乐意。有个宫女叫王嬙

Xiongnu control at that time, the Han sent with him 34,000 *hu* (equivalent to about 10 decaliters) of grain.

The grateful Chanyu Huhanye was committed to peace with the Han. Hearing of the reconciliation between the Xiongnu and the Han, other countries and kingdoms in the Xiyu region eagerly scrambled to improve ties with the Han.

At his death, Emperor Xuan's son Liu Shi succeeded him as Emperor Yuan of Han. A few years later, the Xiongnu Chanyu Zhizhi invaded countries in Xiyu and killed the envoys sent there by the Han Dynasty. A Han army was then sent to Kangju, where it defeated the Chanyu Zhizhi and killed him.

The death of the Chanyu Zhizhi led to the consolidation of Huhanye's power. In 33 BCE, the Chanyu Huhanye made another trip to Chang'an and asked to marry a lady in the imperial family. Emperor Yuan gave his consent.

Traditionally, when a marriage was proposed between the Xiongnu and the Han, the bride had to be a princess or a daughter in the imperial clan. This time, Emperor Yuan decided to give him a palace lady-in-waiting. He had word circulated in the imperial harem, 'Whoever volunteers to be married off to the Xiongnu court will be treated by his Majesty like a princess.'

The ladies-in-waiting in the imperial harem had all been recruited from among the common people. Once they were brought into the palace, they were confined like birds in a cage. While their fondest wish was to leave the palace, when they learned that the bride had to leave the country for a foreign land, their interest waned. However, a beautiful and sophisticated lady-in-waiting called Wang Qiang, also known

(音 qiáng)，也叫王昭君，长得十分美丽，又很有见识。为了自己的终身，她毅然报名，自愿到匈奴去和亲。

管事的大臣正在为没人应征焦急，听到王昭君肯去，就把她的名字上报汉元帝。汉元帝吩咐办事的大臣择个日子，让呼韩邪单于和王昭君在长安成亲。

呼韩邪单于得到这样一个年轻美貌的妻子，高兴和感激的心情是不用说的了。

呼韩邪单于和王昭君向汉元帝谢恩的时候，汉元帝看到昭君又美丽又大方，多少有点舍不得。他想把王昭君留下，可是已经晚了。

传说汉元帝回到内宫，越想越懊恼。他再叫人从官女的画像中拿出昭君的像来看。模样虽有点像，但完全没有昭君本人那样可爱。

原来宫女进宫后，一般都是见不到皇帝的，而是由画工画了像，送到皇帝那里去听候挑选。有个画工名叫毛延寿，给宫女画像的时候，宫女们送点礼物给他，他就画得美一点。王昭君不愿意送礼物，所以毛延寿没有把王昭君的美貌如实地画出来。

as Wang Zhaojun, wanting to make something of her life, volunteered to be married off to the land of the Xiongnu.

The minister entrusted with the task of finding a candidate was fretting over the lack of volunteers when he received Wang Zhaojun's application. He reported her name to Emperor Yuan. The Emperor then instructed the official to pick an auspicious date for the wedding of Huhanye and Wang Zhaojun in Chang'an.

The Chanyu Huhanye, needless to say, was elated and grateful at the prospect of having such a beautiful, young woman for wife. However, when the Chanyu Huhanye and Wang Zhaojun went before Emperor Yuan to give their thanks, the Emperor was dazzled by Wang Zhaojun's beauty and grace. He was a little reluctant to let her go and soon had thoughts of keeping her for himself, but it was too late.

Legend has it that when Emperor Yuan returned to his quarters he was increasingly annoyed by what had just happened. Emperor Yuan had Wang Zhaojun's portrait brought to him from the collection of portraits of the ladies in the harem. He found that although the portrait bore some resemblance to Wang Zhaojun, it failed miserably to do justice to her exquisite beauty.

In truth, the ladies-in-waiting were not normally interviewed by the Emperor in person. Instead, their likenesses were painted by court painters, and presented to the Emperor for his perusal. One court painter, Mao Yanshou, would paint more flattering portraits of the ladies in return for favors or gifts. Since Wang Zhaojun had no wish to give Mao Yanshou a present, he had chosen not to do full justice to her true beauty.

汉元帝一气之下，把毛延寿杀了。

王昭君在汉朝和匈奴官员的护送下，离开了长安。她骑着马，冒着刺骨的寒风，千里迢迢地到了匈奴，做了呼韩邪单于的阏氏（音 yān-zhī，就是匈奴的王后）。日子一久，她慢慢地也就生活惯了，和匈奴人相处得很好。匈奴人都喜欢她，尊敬她。

王昭君远离自己的家乡，长期定居在匈奴。她劝呼韩邪单于不要去发动战争，还把中原的文化传给匈奴。打这以后，匈奴和汉朝和睦相处，有六十多年没有发生战争。

王昭君离开长安没有多久，汉元帝死去。他的儿子刘骜（音 ào）即位，就是汉成帝。

When Emperor Yuan saw the painting, in fury he had Mao Yanshou executed.

Escorted by Han and Xiongnu officials, Wang Zhaojun departed Chang an. Braving the bitterly cold wind, she rode thousands of *li* to the land of the Xiongnu, where she was made Queen of the Chanyu Huhanye. In time, she became accustomed to Xiongnu life and got along very well with the Xiongnu, who loved and respected her.

Wang Zhaojun settled in the land of the Xiongnu, thousands of *li* away from home. She counseled the Chanyu Huhanye against making war and introduced the Han culture to the Xiongnu. Under her influence, the Xiongnu and the Han Empire coexisted in peace for six decades.

Not long after Wang Zhaojun's departure from Chang an, Emperor Yuan died. His son Liu Ao succeeded him as Emperor Cheng of Han.

22、王莽复古改制

汉成帝是个荒淫的皇帝，即位以后，朝廷的大权逐渐落在外戚（太后或者皇后的亲属叫外戚）手里。成帝的母亲、皇太后王政君有八个兄弟，除了一个早死去外，其他七个都被封为侯。其中最大的王凤还被封为大司马、大将军。

王凤拿了大权，他的几个兄弟、侄儿都十分骄横奢侈。只有一个侄儿王莽，因为父亲死得早，没有那种骄奢的习气。他像平常的读书人一样，做事谨慎小心，生活也比较节俭。人们都说王家子弟数王莽最好。

王凤死后，他的两个兄弟前后接替他做了大司马，后来又让王莽做了大司马。王莽很注意招揽人才，有些读书人慕他的名气来投奔，他都收留了。

汉成帝死了后，不出十年，换了两个皇帝——哀帝和平帝。汉平帝即位的时候，年纪才九岁，国家大事都由大司马

22. Wang Mang Restores the Old System

After the ascension of the profligate Emperor Cheng to the Han throne, power in the Han court gradually fell into the hands of his mother, the Empress Dowager, and the Queen. Wang Zhengjun, the Empress Dowager, had eight brothers. With the exception of one who had died young, all the others were all made marquises. Wang Feng, the eldest of them, also held the titles of Commander in Chief and Chief General.

The concentration of power in the hands of Wang Feng fueled the arrogance, insolence and extravagance of his brothers and nephews. Only Wang Mang, a nephew who had lost his father at a young age, remained unspoiled by this power and wealth. Like the average scholar, he was prudent and frugal. He had the reputation of being the most decent young man in the Wang clan.

After Wang Feng's death, the post of Commander in Chief was held by a succession of his brothers. Finally, the position of Commander in Chief was occupied by Wang Mang. His reputation as a judge of talent attracted many a scholar who volunteered their service. Wang Mang took them all under his wing.

Within a ten-year period after the death of Emperor Cheng of Han, two emperors, Emperor Ai and Emperor Ping, followed one another in the throne. Emperor Ping was only nine years

王莽作主。有些吹捧王莽的人都说王莽是安定汉朝的大功臣，请太皇太后王政君封王莽为安汉公。王莽说什么也不肯接受封号和封地。后来，经大臣们一再劝说，他只接受了封号，把封地退了。

公元2年，中原发生了旱灾和蝗灾。由于多少年来，贵族、豪强不断兼并土地，剥削农民，逢到灾荒，老百姓没法活下去，都骚动起来。

为了缓和老百姓对朝廷和官吏的愤恨，王莽建议公家节约粮食和布帛。他自己先拿出一百万钱，三十顷地，当作救济灾民的费用。他这样一带头，有些贵族、大臣也只好拿出一些土地和钱来。

太皇太后把新野（今河南新野）的二万多顷地赏给王莽，王莽又推辞了。

王莽还派八个心腹大臣分头到各地方去观察风土人情。他们把王莽不肯接受新野封地这件事到处宣扬。说王莽怎

old when he ascended the throne, and so all the important decisions of the empire were left in the hands of Wang Mang. Some sycophants began beating the drum to have Wang Mang's great contribution to the stability of the Han Empire recognized. They lobbied the Grand Empress Dowager Wang Zhengjun to make him the Duke of Anhan (literally, 'the stabilization of the Han'). Wang Mang steadfastly refused to accept the title or the fief that came with it. At the insistence of the other ministers, he finally accepted the title. However, he declined the fief.

In 2 CE, the central plains of China were ravaged by draught and locusts. For years, the nobility, the rich, and the powerful had been grabbing land and the exploiting peasants. The people were already on the brink of starvation, so whenever a natural disaster struck there was civil unrest.

In order to appease popular anger at the imperial court and public officials, Wang Mang proposed reducing the government's consumption of grain and fabrics. He donated 1,000,000 *qian* of his own money and 30 hectares of land to be used for disaster relief. His example was followed, albeit grudgingly, by some members of the nobility and high officialdom.

The Grand Empress Dowager's offer of 20,000 hectares of land in Xinye (modern-day Xinye, Henan Province) to Wang Mang was declined once again by him.

Wang Mang sent eight of his trusted ministers to different parts of the country for a first-hand understanding of the places and the people. They widely publicized Wang Mang's refusal to accept a fief in Xinye, making much of his modesty

么虚心，怎样谦让。当时，中小地主都很透了兼并土地的豪强，一听王莽连封给他的土地都不要，就觉得他是个了不起的好人。

王莽越是不肯受封，越是有人要求太皇太后封他。据说，朝廷里的大臣和地方上的官吏，平民上书请求加封王莽的人共有四十八万多人，有人还收集了各种各样歌颂王莽的文字，一共有三万多字。王莽的威望就越来越高。

别人越是吹捧王莽，汉平帝可越觉得王莽可怕，可恨。因为王莽不准平帝的母亲留在他身边，还把他舅家的人杀光。汉平帝渐渐大了，免不得背地说了些抱怨的话。

有一天，大臣们给汉平帝上寿。王莽亲自献上一杯毒酒。汉平帝没有怀疑，接过来喝了。

第二天，宫里传出话来，汉平帝得了重病，没有几天就死了。王莽还假惺惺哭了一场。汉平帝死的时候才十四岁，当然没有儿子。王莽从刘家的宗室里找了一个两岁的幼孩为皇太子，叫做孺子婴。王莽自称“假皇帝”（假是代理的意思）。

and his willingness to listen to the people's concerns. When the smaller landowners, who deeply resented the powerful and wealthy land-grabbers, heard about Wang Mang's refusal of the fief offered to him, they became convinced that he was a very decent man.

Wang Mang's refusal only prompted more lobbying of the Grand Empress Dowager to reward him. It is said that there were a total of over 480,000 requests from court ministers, local officials, and commoners for Wang Mang to receive a fief. The official tributes and praises for Wang Mang were compiled and totaled 30,000 words. Wang Mang's authority and popularity soared.

The rising popularity of Wang Mang only heightened Emperor Ping's fear and resentment of him. When Emperor Ping grew older, he sometimes complained about Wang Mang behind his back. To reciprocate, Wang Mang prevented the Emperor's mother, the Empress Dowager, from staying with him, and then had all of her relatives killed.

Then, at a party organized by ministers to celebrate the Emperor's birthday, Wang Mang offered a poisoned glass of wine to the Emperor, who drank it without suspecting foul play. The next day, word spread from the palace that Emperor Ping was seriously ill. He died a few days later and Wang Mang made a show of crying disconsolately over his death. The Emperor naturally died without an heir, as he was only fourteen years old. Wang Mang selected a two-year-old boy called Ruzi Ying from the Liu clan and set him up as Crown Prince. Then he granted himself the title of Acting Emperor.

有些文武官员想做开国元勋，劝王莽即位做皇帝。王莽也觉得做代理皇帝不如做真皇帝。于是，有一批吹捧的人纷纷制造出许多迷信的东西来骗人。什么“王莽是真命天子”的图书也发现啦，什么在汉高祖庙里还发现“汉高祖让位给王莽”的铜甕子啦。

一直以推让出名的王莽这会儿不再推让了。王莽向太皇太后去讨汉朝皇帝的玉玺。王政君这才大吃一惊，不肯把玉玺交出来。后来被逼得没法子，只好气愤地把玉玺扔在地上。

公元8年，王莽正式即位称皇帝。改国号叫新，都城仍在长安。从汉高祖称帝开始的西汉王朝，统治了210年，到这时候就结束了。

王莽做了皇帝，打着复古改制的幌子，下令变法。第一，把全国土地改为“王田”，不准买卖；第二，把奴婢称为“私属”，不准买卖；第三，评定物价，改革币制。

这些改革，听起来都是好事情。可是没有一件不是办得挺糟糕的。土地改制和奴婢私属，在贵族、豪强的反对下，一

Eager to become the founding fathers of a new dynasty, some civilian and military officials urged Wang Mang to proclaim himself emperor. Wang Mang also preferred to be an actual emperor instead of a mere acting one. Superstitious omens and myths were invented by sycophants to mislead the public. Thus books were 'discovered' that declared Wang Mang to be a preordained 'Son of Heaven', and a bronze case was 'found' in the Temple to Emperor Gaozu that proved 'Gaozu ceded the throne to Wang Mang'.

The famously self-effacing Wang Mang was no longer so self-effacing. He went before the Grand Empress Dowager to demand the imperial seal of the Han Empire. Wang Zhengjun, belatedly shocked by the turn of events, refused to surrender it. When pressed further, she angrily threw it to the floor.

In 8 CE, Wang Mang ascended the throne and created the Xin Dynasty, keeping the capital at Chang'an. The Western Han Dynasty founded by Gaozu of Han thus came to an end after 210 years of rule.

After becoming Emperor, Wang Mang proclaimed a host of new laws under the guise of restoring the golden age of antiquity. First, he decreed that all the land in the Empire was now owned by the Empire. All land transactions were thus henceforth banned. Second, he banned slave trading. Third, he announced price controls and monetary reform.

These reforms looked fine on paper, but all of them failed in actual execution. Land reform and the ban on slave trading fizzled early on after meeting strong resistance from the nobility, the powerful, and the wealthy elite. The administration of price controls was given to the nobility

开始就没法实行，评定物价的权掌握在贵族官僚手里，他们正好利用职权投机倒把，贪污勒索，反倒增加了人民的痛苦。币制改了好几次，钱越改越小，价越作越大，无形之中又刮了老百姓一笔钱。

这种复古改制，不但受到农民反对，许多中小地主也不支持。三年以后，王莽又下了命令，王田，奴婢又可以买卖了。

王莽还想借对外战争来缓和国内的矛盾，这一来又引起了匈奴、西域、西南各部族的反对。王莽又征用民伕，加重捐税，纵容残酷的官吏，对老百姓加重刑罚。这样，就逼得农民不得不起来反抗了。

and bureaucrats, who were only too glad to have one more opportunity to use their position to enrich themselves through speculation, corruption and extortion. Instead of helping the populace, his price-stabilizing measures only added to their misery. In successive waves of monetary reform, the size of coins got smaller while their face value kept increasing. His monetary reform in effect took more money out of the pockets of the people.

These reforms were not only opposed by the peasants, but also alienated many small landowners. Three years after the introduction of the new policies, Wang Mang reversed the ban on land transactions and slave trading.

Wang Mang tried to distract attention from domestic tensions by waging war against foreign lands, but this had the effect of antagonizing the Xiongnu, and countries and tribes in Xiyu and southwest China. Wang Mang's use of conscripted labor, his tax increases, and his acquiescence in the cruel and harsh punishments meted out by ruthless officials pushed the peasants toward rebellion.

23、绿林赤眉起义

公元17年，南方荆州闹饥荒，老百姓不得不到沼泽地区挖野荸荠充饥。人多野荸荠少，引起了争夺。新市（今湖北京山东北）有两个有名望的人，一个叫王匡，一个叫王凤，出来给农民调解，受到农民的拥护。大家就公推他们当首领。

王匡、王凤把这批饥民组织起来起义，一下子就聚集了好几百人，还有一些逃亡的犯人也来投奔他们。

王匡他们占领了绿林山（今湖北大洪山）作为根据地，攻占附近的乡村。不到几个月工夫，这支起义军发展到七八千人。

王莽派了两万官兵去围剿绿林军，被绿林军打得大败而逃。绿林军趁势攻下了几座县城，打开监狱，放出囚犯，把

23. Uprising of the Red Eyebrows and the Army of the Green Woods

In 17 CE, famine struck the Jingzhou region in the south of China. The people were forced to resort to digging up wild water chestnuts in marshland for food. However, there were not enough wild water chestnuts to feed all the hungry people, and disputes broke out. Wang Kuang and Wang Feng, two respected men from Xinshi (northeast of modern-day Jingshan, Hubei Province), came forward to mediate the disputes. The appreciative peasants made them their leaders.

Wang Kuang and Wang Feng led the hungry peasants in an uprising. Soon the force grew to several hundred, and some escaped prisoners joined their ranks.

The insurgents made the Lulin (Green Woods) Mountain (modern-day Dahong Mountain, Hubei Province) their base of operations and seized nearby villages. In a few months, the ranks of insurgents had swelled to 8,000.

Wang Mang sent an army of 20,000 to smash the Army of the Green Woods, but the government forces were soundly beaten by the insurgents and fled in a rout. Riding the momentum of victory, the Army of the Green Woods captured several county towns, and freed the inmates of the local jails. They distributed a small part of the grain stored in government

官家粮仓里的粮食，一部分分给当地穷人，大部分搬到绿林山。投奔绿林山的穷人越来越多，起义军增加到五万多。

第二年，绿林山上不幸发生了疫病，五万人差不多死了一半。还有一半只好离开绿林山，后来分作三路人马——新市兵、平林（在今湖北随县东北）兵和下江（长江在湖北西部以下叫下江）兵。这三路人马各自占领一块地盘，队伍又强大起来了。

当南方的绿林军在荆州一带打击官兵的时候，东方的起义军也壮大起来。琅琊海曲（今山东日照县）有个姓吕的老大娘，儿子是县里的公差，因为没肯依县官的命令毒打没钱付税的穷人，被县官杀害了。这一来激起了公愤。有上百个穷苦农民起来替吕母的儿子报仇，杀了县官，跟着吕母逃到黄海，一有机会就上岸打官兵。

这时候，另一个起义领袖樊崇带领几百个人占领了泰山。吕母死后，她手下的人投奔樊崇起义军。不到一年工夫，就发展到一万多人，在青州和徐州之间来往打击官府、地主。

granaries to the local poor, and transported the rest to their mountain base. As more impoverished people joined the insurgents, the rebel army grew to 50,000.

The next year, an unfortunate epidemic decimated the rebel camp, killing nearly half of the 50,000 combatants. The survivors were forced to leave Lulin Mountain. They eventually split into three groups: the Xinshi Regiment, the Pinglin Regiment (Pinglin was northeast of modern-day Sui County, Hubei Province) and the Xiajiang Regiment (Xiajiang was downstream the Yangtze from western Hubei). The three regiments grew stronger in their respective spheres of operations.

While the Army of the Green Woods was fighting government forces in Jingzhou, an insurgency was also gaining strength in the east. In Langya (modern-day Rizhao County, Shandong Province), an old woman by the name of Lǚ lost her son. Her son was a bailiff in the county government who had been killed by the county magistrate because he had defied orders to beat up a citizen who was too poor to pay his taxes. This created a public uproar. About a hundred impoverished peasants avenged Mother Lǚ by killing the county magistrate. The peasants followed Mother Lǚ and sought refuge on the Yellow Sea. They made frequent sorties against government forces on the shore.

At about that same time, another rebel leader, Fan Chong, occupied Tai Mountain with a force of several hundred. After Mother Lǚ died, her followers joined Fan Chong's group. Within a year the rebel force grew to 10,000. It attacked government installations and landlords in the area between Qingzhou and Xuzhou.

樊崇的起义军很讲纪律，规定谁杀死老百姓就要被处死，谁伤害老百姓就要受罚。所以，百姓都拥护他们。

公元22年，王莽派太师王匡（和绿林军中的王匡是两个人）和将军廉丹率领十万大军去镇压樊崇起义军。樊崇作好准备，跟官兵大战。为了避免起义兵士跟王莽的兵士混杂，樊崇叫他的部下都在自己的眉毛上涂上红颜色，作为识别的记号。这样，樊崇的起义军得了一个别名，叫“赤眉军”。

王莽的军队和赤眉军打了一仗，结果，官兵打了败仗，逃散了一大半。太师王匡的大腿被樊崇扎了一枪，逃了回去，将军廉丹在乱军之中被杀了。赤眉军越打越强，发展到了十多万人。

绿林、赤眉两支起义大军分别在南方和东方打败王莽军的消息一传开，别地方的农民也都活跃起来。黄河两岸的大平原上大大小小起义军有几十路。有一批没落的贵族和地主、豪强也乘机起兵，反对王莽。

南阳郡舂陵（今湖南宁远北）乡的豪强刘缤（音 yīn）、刘秀兄弟两人，因为王莽废除汉朝宗室的封号，不许刘姓人做

In the insurgent army of Fan Chong, discipline was strict. Any of his group who killed a civilian would be put to death, and any harm caused to a civilian would be punished. As a result, the army enjoyed wide popular support.

In 22 CE Wang Mang sent a nobleman, Wang Kuang (not the Wang Kuang of the Army of the Green Woods) and General Lian Dan with 100,000 soldiers to put down the rebellion of Fan Chong. Fan Chong was meanwhile primed for a pivotal battle with the government force. In order to avoid confusion, he instructed his soldiers to paint their eyebrows red to distinguish themselves from Wang Mang's soldiers. This earned them the moniker of the 'Red Eyebrows Army'.

In the battle with the Red Eyebrows, Wang Mang's forces were routed, and half of the soldiers melted away. Fan Chong stabbed the nobleman Wang Kuang in the leg with his lance, causing him to flee back to his camp. General Lian Dan was killed in the confusion of the battle. The Red Eyebrows grew stronger in combat, and swelled to more than 100,000 men.

As news spread of the defeats of Wang Mang's forces by the Army of the Green Woods in the south, and the Red Eyebrows in the east, peasants in other areas were galvanized into action. Dozens of insurgencies of varying scale were active on the plains on both sides of the Yellow River. Some noblemen, landlords, and erstwhile powerful and wealthy clans who had fallen on hard times also jumped on the anti-Wang Mang bandwagon.

The brothers Liu Yin and Liu Xiu, local gentry from the village of Chongling in Nanyang Prefecture (north of modern-day Ningyuan, Hunan Province) were deeply resentful of Wang Mang for stripping the Han royal clan of their titles, and for

官，心里怨恨，发动族人和宾客七八千人在春陵乡起兵。他们和绿林军三路人马联合起来，接连打败了几名王莽的大将，声势就强大起来了。

绿林军的几支队伍没有统一的指挥，将士们认为人马多了，必须有个首领，才能统一号令。一些贵族地主出身的将军，利用当时有些人的正统观念，认为一定要找一个姓刘的人当首领，才能符合人心。

绿林军里姓刘的人很多，该推谁做首领呢？春陵兵想推刘縯，可是新市和平林兵的将领怕刘縯势力太大，一定要立一个破落的贵族刘玄做皇帝。刘縯提出等消灭了王莽、收服赤眉军以后，再立皇帝，也遭到反对。刘縯觉得自己力量不够，也只好同意了。

公元23年，绿林军各路将士就正式立刘玄做皇帝，恢复汉朝国号，年号“更始”，所以刘玄又称更始帝。更始帝拜王匡、王凤为上公，刘縯为大司徒，刘秀为太常偏将军，其他将领也各有各的封号。打那时候起，绿林军又称为汉军。

denying public office to anyone whose surname was Liu. They led a force of 8,000 clansmen and retainers in an uprising in Chongling. In alliance with the three regiments of the Army of the Green Woods, they were able to defeat forces led by several of Wang Mang's best generals, gaining in strength in the process.

The regiments of the Army of the Green Woods suffered from a lack of unified command. The troops realized that to ensure a unified line of command in their vastly expanded force they must have a leader. Some of their generals descended from nobility and or land owners. They argued that, for the movement to have legitimacy, their leader should have the surname of Liu.

There were many with the surname of Liu in the Army of the Green Woods, so it was a question which one should be selected leader. The forces from Chongling wanted to nominate Liu Yin. However, fearing Liu Yin, the generals of the Xinshi and the Pingling Regiments insisted on Liu Xuan, a ruined aristocrat, as emperor. Liu Yin proposed to delay the setting up of an emperor until after eliminating Wang Mang and co-opting the Red Eyebrows, but they opposed his suggestion. Sensing that he was in the minority, Liu Yin did not insist on having his way.

In 23 CE, the Army of the Green Woods and allied forces proclaimed Liu Xuan Emperor, seeking to reinstitute the Han Dynasty. Since they gave the era the name 'Gengshi', Liu Xuan was also known as Emperor Gengshi. Upon installation as Emperor, he conferred upon Wang Kuang and Wang Feng the title of Superior Duke, and named Liu Yin Grand Minister of Education and Liu Xiu Deputy General. Many other generals were also awarded titles. From then on, the Army of the Green Woods became known as the Han Army.

24、刘秀重建汉王朝

更始帝刘玄即位后，王凤、王常、刘秀率领汉军在昆阳（今河南叶县北）大战中消灭了王莽的主力。

刘缤和刘秀的名声越来越大了。有人劝刘玄把刘缤除掉。刘玄借口刘缤违抗命令，把刘缤杀了。刘秀一听到哥哥被杀，自己知道力量敌不过刘玄，就立刻赶到宛城（今河南南阳市），向刘玄赔不是。有人问起他昆阳大战的情形，他一点不居功，说全是将士们的功劳。他也不敢给他哥哥戴孝，照常吃饭喝酒，有说有笑，一点不流露忧伤的心情。

更始帝刘玄以为刘秀不记他的仇，反倒有点过意不去，拜刘秀为破虏大将军，但是毕竟不敢重用。后来，长安攻下来了，王莽也给杀了。更始帝到了洛阳，才给刘秀少数兵马，让他到河北去招抚河北郡县。

这时候，各地的豪强大族有了武器，有的自称将军，有

24. Liu Xiu Restores the Han Dynasty

After Liu Xuan ascended the throne as Emperor Gengshi, the Han Army led by Wang Feng, Wang Chang and Liu Xiu annihilated the bulk of Wang Mang's army in a major battle at Kunyang (north of modern-day Ye County, Henan Province).

As the fame of Liu Yin and Liu Xiu grew, Liu Xuan was advised to get rid of Liu Yin, and so he was executed on a dubious charge of insubordination. When Liu Xiu learned that his elder brother had been killed, he rushed to Yuan County (modern-day Nanyang City, Henan Province) to present his apologies to Liu Xuan, knowing very much that he was no match for Liu Xuan in military strength. When asked about the Battle of Kunyang, he declined all credit for himself and attributed the victory to his officers and soldiers. He was careful not to betray the slightest sign of mourning for his brother, and continued to show a healthy appetite for food, drink, conversation, and a good laugh.

Feeling a little guilty by Liu Xiu's apparent forgive-and-forget attitude, Emperor Gengshi named Liu Xiu a *Po Lu* (Barbarians Exterminator) Chief General, but gave him no real responsibilities. It was not until after Wang Mang was killed, Chang'an fell, and the Emperor Gengshi arrived in Luoyang that Liu Xiu received the command of a small force, which was entrusted with the pacification of the prefectures and counties in Hebei.

In that period, many powerful families and local gentry across

的自称为王，也有自称皇帝的，各据一方。更始帝派刘秀到河北去，正好让刘秀得到一个扩大势力的机会。他废除王莽时期的一些苛刻法令，释放一些囚犯，一面消灭一些割据势力，一面镇压河北各路农民起义军。整个河北差不多全给刘秀占领了。

公元25年，刘秀和他的随从官员认为时机成熟，在鄜（音hào，今河北柏乡县北）自立为皇帝，这就是汉光武帝。

更始帝先建都洛阳，后来又迁到长安。他到了长安以后，认为自己的江山已经坐定，开始腐败起来。他滥封官爵，自己不管政事，成天在皇宫里喝酒作乐，还纵容手下的兵士抢劫。原来的一些绿林军将领，对他十分不满。

赤眉军的首领樊崇眼看更始帝不行了，就率领二十万人进攻长安。更始帝派兵抵抗，接连打了几个败仗，急得不知怎样才好。绿林军中有些将领劝更始帝离开长安，反而遭到更始帝的猜疑、杀害，还有一些起义将领投奔了赤眉军。更

China were well-provisioned in arms. They proclaimed themselves generals, princes, kings, and even emperors in their respective spheres of influence. Liu Xiu's mission of pacification to Hebei gave him a heaven-sent opportunity to broaden his power base and influence. He abolished some draconian laws and regulations dating to the Wang Mang period, and released some prisoners. Devoting equal attention to eliminating the pockets of armed local gentry and to suppressing the peasant insurgencies in Hebei, soon he extended control over the entire region.

In 25 CE, Liu Xiu and his officials considered the time ripe for him to proclaim himself emperor. He ascended the throne as Emperor Guangwu of Han at Hao (north of modern-day Boxiang County, Hebei Province).

Emperor Gengshi had made Luoyang his capital before moving it to Chang'an. Once in Chang'an, he became complacent because he believed his imperial rule was assured. Becoming corrupt, he doled out patronage without regard to merit, and indulged in a life of profligacy in the palace to the neglect of the running of state. He even condoned the looting and pillaging of his troops. His excesses were deeply resented by some of the generals who had served with him in the Army of the Green Woods.

Reckoning that the days of Emperor Gengshi were numbered, Fan Chong, the leader of the Red Eyebrows, led 200,000 troops in an assault on Chang'an. The army sent by Emperor Gengshi to repel the attack suffered a series of setbacks throwing the Emperor into a panic. Generals of his army urged the Emperor Gengshi to leave Chang'an, but this aroused his suspicion, and he had them killed. Some other generals went over to the Red Eyebrows. The turmoil in Emperor Gengshi's court enabled the Red Eyebrows to

始帝内部一乱，赤眉军就顺利地打进了函谷关。

赤眉军决定推翻更始帝，但是樊崇他们不能摆脱汉朝旧贵族正统观念的影响，定要找个姓刘的做皇帝。当时赤眉军姓刘的一共有七十多个，其中有个十五岁的放牛娃刘盆子，据说跟西汉皇族的血统最近，他们就硬把刘盆子立为皇帝。

赤眉军打进长安，更始帝逃到城外，樊崇派使者限令更始帝在二十天内投降。更始帝没法，只好带着玉玺向赤眉军投降。

赤眉军进了长安，声势浩大。可是几十万将士的口粮发生了困难，富商和地主乘机囤积粮食，长安天天有人饿死。这样一来，长安的混乱局面就没法收拾了。

樊崇带着军队离开长安向西流亡。但是别的地方的粮食也一样困难，到了天水（郡名，在今甘肃）一带，又遭到那里的地主豪强的拦击。樊崇只好又带着大军往东边来。

汉光武帝趁着赤眉军进长安的时候，占领了洛阳。他们一听到赤眉军向东转移，就带领二十万大军分两路埋伏在那里。

汉光武帝派大将冯异到华阴，把赤眉军引向东边来。冯异用计把一队赤眉军包围在崤山下。他下了战书，跟赤眉军

easily penetrate their defenses at Hangu Pass.

The Red Eyebrows wanted to overthrow Emperor Gengshi, but Fan Chong and his followers were deeply attached to the idea of legitimacy, and insisted on having an Emperor from the Liu clan. Of the more than 70 members of the Liu clan in the Red Eyebrows Army, a 15-year-old cow herder called Liu Penzi was said to be closest in blood to the royalty of the Western Han. He was made Emperor without his own consent.

When the Red Eyebrows entered Chang'an, Emperor Gengshi fled the city. Fan Chong's emissary gave Emperor Gengshi 20 days in which to surrender. Having little choice, he went with his imperial seal to the Red Eyebrows.

The huge size of the Red Eyebrows Army had the downside that there were not enough rations for the hundreds of thousands of soldiers in Chang'an. The wealthy local merchants and landowners capitalized on the chaos to hoard grain. Daily, people died from starvation in Chang'an. The chaotic situation in the capital spiraled out of control.

Fan Chong led his army on a westward trek to find food, but food was hard to come by anywhere. Near Tianshui (in modern-day Gansu Province), they were attacked and turned back by armed local gentry and landowners. Fan Chong had no choice but to take his troops east.

Emperor Guangwu of Han took control of Luoyang at the same time the Red Eyebrows captured Chang'an. When he received intelligence that the Red Eyebrows were marching east, he led a force of 200,000 to waylay them.

Emperor Guangwu sent General Feng Yi to Huayin to lure the Red Eyebrows further east. By a ruse, Feng Yi was able to

约定时间和地点决战。老实的樊崇不知道敌人的计策，派了一万多赤眉军发动进攻。冯异先派出少数兵士对敌。赤眉军看见汉兵人少，就全军出击。没想到冯异的伏兵上来了，打扮得和赤眉军一模一样，双方混战在一起，分不出谁是赤眉兵，谁是汉兵。

赤眉军正在为难的时候，打扮成赤眉军的汉兵高声叫嚷着“投降！”“投降！”赤眉军兵士一看有那么多人喊投降，没了主意。军心一乱，这一支赤眉军就被缴了武器。

公元27年1月，樊崇带着剩下的赤眉军向宜阳（今河南宜阳县）方向转移。冯异火速派人报告汉光武帝。汉光武帝亲自率领预先布置好的两路人马截击，把赤眉军围困起来。到了这步田地，樊崇只好派人向汉光武帝求和。

汉光武帝把刘盆子他们带回洛阳，给他们田地房屋，让他们留在洛阳。但是不到几个月，就加上谋反的罪名，把樊崇杀害了。

surround a contingent of the Red Eyebrows at the foot of the Xiaoshan Mountain. He delivered a letter to the Red Eyebrows daring them to battle at an appointed time and place. The unsophisticated Fan Chong fell for the enemy's trick and sent 10,000 of his troops into battle. Feng Yi deployed only a small force at first. When the Red Eyebrows saw the small size of the Han army, they came out in force. Feng Yi's had a large contingent his army made-up and dressed like soldiers in the Red Eyebrows Army. Suddenly, in the midst of the melee, these troops surged around Red Eyebrows.

Before the Red Eyebrows had time to recover from their initial shock and confusion, the Han soldiers in the guise of Red Eyebrows started shouting, 'I surrender! I surrender!'

The Red Eyebrows panicked when so many of their 'comrades' apparently surrendered, and the Han troops were able to disarm the demoralized and disoriented enemy soldiers without much difficulty.

In January of 27 CE, when Feng Yi received intelligence that Fan Chong and his remnant force of Red Eyebrows were moving towards Yiyang (modern-day Yiyang County, Henan Province), he immediately reported it to Emperor Guangwu. The Emperor came out to take personal command of two armies already positioned in that vicinity. They intercepted and encircled the Red Eyebrows. With his back to the wall, Fan Chong sent a messenger to Emperor Guangwu suing for peace.

Emperor Guangwu brought Liu Penzi and his followers back to Luoyang. He gave them land and houses so that they could settle down, but within a few months had Fan Chong killed on charges of sedition.

25、取经求佛像

汉光武帝在镇压了绿林、赤眉两支最大的起义军之后，接着又消灭割据陇右和蜀地的两个割据政权，统一了中国。汉光武帝把洛阳作为都城。为了和刘邦建立的汉朝相区别，历史上把这个王朝称为“东汉”，或者叫“后汉”。

汉光武帝到了六十三岁，害病死去。太子刘庄即位，就是汉明帝。

有一次，汉明帝做了个梦，梦里看见有个金人，头顶上有一道白光，绕着殿飞行，忽然升到天空，往西去了。

第二天，他把这个梦告诉大臣们，许多大臣说不出那个头顶发光的金人是谁。

有个博士傅毅说：“天竺有神名叫佛，陛下梦见的金人准是天竺的佛。”

傅毅所说的天竺，也叫身毒（音 yuán-du），是佛教创始人释迦牟尼出生的地方（天竺是古代印度的别称，释迦牟尼出生在古印度北部迦毗罗卫国，在今尼泊尔境内）。释迦牟尼

25. The Quest for Buddhist Sutras and Statues

Emperor Guangwu reunified China after suppressing the two largest insurgencies, the Army of the Green Woods and the Red Eyebrows. He subsequently toppled the separatist regimes at Longyou and Shudi, and made Luoyang his capital. To distinguish it from the Han dynasty founded by Liu Bang, historians call this new dynasty "Eastern Han" or "Later Han."

Dying of illness at the age of 63, Emperor Guangwu was succeeded by Crown Prince Liu Zhuang, who took the title Emperor Ming of Han.

One day Emperor Ming dreamed of a golden giant with a halo around his head. The golden giant flew around the palace, then abruptly soared into the sky and disappeared to the west.

When he recounted this dream to his ministers, they were unable to surmise the identity of the haloed, golden giant.

A learned man called Fu Yi said, "There is a god in Tianzhu called Buddha. The golden giant in his Majesty's dream must have been the Buddha of Tianzhu."

The Tianzhu referred to by Fu Yi was alternatively known as Yuandu in China. It was reputed to be the birthplace of Sakyamuni, founder of Buddhism (Tianzhu was another name for ancient India. Sakyamuni was born in Kapililavastu in the north of ancient India, now in Nepal).

尼约出生在公元前565年，原是个王子。传说他在二十九岁那年，抛弃了王族的舒适生活，出家修道。他创立了一个宗教，叫做佛教。

释迦牟尼到处宣传佛教的道理。他传教四十多年，收了
不少信徒，大家尊称他“佛陀”。他死了以后，他的弟子把他生前的学说记载下来，编成了经，这就是佛经。

傅毅的话，引起了汉明帝的好奇心。他就派蔡愔（音yīn）和秦景两名官员到天竺去求佛经。

蔡愔和秦景经过千山万水，终于到达了天竺国。天竺人听到中国派使者来求佛经，表示欢迎。天竺有两个沙门（就是高级僧人），一个名叫迦叶摩腾，一个叫竺法兰，帮助蔡愔和秦景懂得了一些佛教的道理。蔡愔和秦景就邀请他们到中国来。

公元67年，蔡愔、秦景带着两个沙门，用白马驮着一幅佛像和四十二章佛经，经过西域，回到了洛阳。

汉明帝并不懂佛经，对佛教的道理也不清楚，但是对送经前来的两位沙门倒很尊敬。第二年，他命令在洛阳城的西

Sakyamuni, or Gautama Buddha, was born circa 565 BCE. According to legend, he abandoned the good life of a prince at the age of 29 to lead the life of asceticism dedicated to learning. He went on to found Buddhism.

Sakyamuni traveled about spreading his Buddhist philosophy. In his more than 40 years of teaching, he acquired a large following and was venerated as Buddha by the believers. After his death, his disciples wrote down his teachings and compiled them into sutras, or Buddhist scriptures.

Emperor Ming was intrigued by what Fu Yi told him, and sent his officials Cai Yin and Qin Jing to Tianzhu to acquire the sutras.

After an odyssey over 'thousand mountains and ten thousand rivers', Cai Yin and Qin Jing finally arrived in the kingdom of Tianzhu. When the people of Tianzhu learned that China had sent a delegation on a quest for Buddhist sutras, they gave the envoys a warm welcome. Two *śramāṇas* of Tianzhu called Dharmarakṣa (Chufarlan) and Kasyapa Matanga (Moton) taught Cai Yin and Qin Jing about Buddhism, and were invited by them to visit China.

In 67 CE, Cai Yin and Qin Jing brought the two eminent monks, white horses carrying a statue of the Buddha, and *The Sutra of Forty-two Sections Spoken by the Buddha* through the Xiyu region back to Luoyang.

Although he had little understanding of Buddhist scriptures or philosophy, Emperor Ming treated the two monks bringing the scriptures to his court with great respect. The next year, he ordered a Buddhist temple to be built in the Indian style west of Luoyang. The temple (in

画按照天竺的式样，造一座佛寺，把送经的白马也供养在那儿，这座寺就叫白马寺（在今洛阳市东郊）。

汉明帝并不懂佛经，王公大臣也不相信佛教，到白马寺里去烧香的人不多。只有楚王刘英倒十分重视，专门派使者到洛阳，向两位沙门请教。两个沙门就画了一幅佛像，抄了一章佛经交给使者。

使者回到楚王的封国，楚王刘英真的在宫里供起佛像来，早晚礼拜。

楚王刘英是个有野心的人，他借着信佛的名义，结交一批方士，还用各种迷信的手法欺骗人。

公元70年，有人向汉明帝告发，说楚王刘英纠集党徒，自己设置官员，想造反。汉明帝派人一调查，认为刘英确实有谋反的情节，就把楚王的王位革了，把他送到丹阳。刘英到了那儿，自己觉得罪行严重，就自杀了。

汉明帝还派人专门查办跟刘英有往来的人。楚王刘英曾经把全国有名的人编在一本名册里。这个名册被搜查出来后，

the eastern outskirts of modern-day Luoyang City) came to be known as *Bai Ma Si* (White Horse Temple) because the white horses carrying the scriptures back to China were kept on the temple grounds.

Emperor Ming was unfamiliar with the Buddhist scriptures, and his ministers and nobility were not Buddhist believers. Very few people visited White Horse Temple to burn incense or pray to Buddha. Liu Ying, the Prince of Chu, was an exception. He took Buddhism seriously and sent an emissary to Luoyang for the express purpose of seeking enlightenment from the two Indian monks. They made a copy of the image of Buddha and of the Buddhist text for the emissary to take back to Liu Ying. After the emissary returned to Liu Ying's fief of Chu, the Prince of Chu put the statue of Buddha in his palace and worshipped it regularly.

Liu Ying was an ambitious man. In the name of Buddhist worship, he linked up with many alchemists and used schemes playing on people's superstitions to fool them.

In 70 CE, Emperor Ming heard accusations that the Prince of Chu was building a power base and setting up a parallel system of government in preparation for a rebellion. After an investigation, the Emperor found that Liu Ying was indeed preparing to commit treason. He was stripped of his title and exiled to Danyang, where he committed suicide after realizing the serious nature of his crimes.

Emperor Ming then ordered an inquiry into people who had been in contact with Liu Ying. The Prince of Chu had entered the names of eminent persons across the country into a roster. This was discovered, leading to the systematic

官府就按照名册一个个逮了来，受到牵连的人很多。这样搞了一年多，逼死了不少人。

后来，有个大臣劝说汉明帝，认为被逮的大多是受冤屈的人。汉明帝亲自查问一下，果然发现洛阳监狱关着一千多无辜受累的人。他才下了一道诏书，把他们赦免。

汉明帝虽然派人取经取佛像，但他其实并不相信佛教，倒是提倡儒家学说的。他还亲自到太学（我国古代的大学）去讲过经（这里指儒家的经典书）。据说去听讲的和观看的，竟有十万人之多。

arrest of numerous people. Many of the implicated subsequently died during the investigation, which lasted over a year.

A minister made the case to the Emperor that most of those arrested were innocent of the crime they had been charged with. After personally looking into the matter, Emperor Ming found that over a thousand people were wrongly incarcerated in the jails of Luoyang. He issued an edict that granted them amnesty.

Although Emperor Ming sent a delegation to India to bring back Buddhist scriptures and Buddha's statue, he was not a believer in Buddhism but was a proponent of the Confucian school of thought. It is said that he gave lectures on Confucian classics at the National University to a combined audience of 100,000 people.

26、班超投笔从戎

汉光武帝建立东汉王朝以后，请了一个大学问家班彪整理西汉的历史。班彪有两个儿子名叫班固、班超，一个女儿叫班昭，从小都跟父亲学习文学和历史。

班彪死了以后，汉明帝叫班固做兰台令史，继续完成他父亲所编写的历史书籍，就是《汉书》（一部记载西汉历史的书）。班超跟着他哥哥做抄写工作。哥儿俩都很有学问，可是性情不一样，班固喜欢研究百家学说，专心致志写他的《汉书》。班超可不愿意老伏在案头写东西。他听到匈奴不断地侵扰边疆，掠夺居民和牲口，就扔了笔，气愤地说：“大丈夫应当像张骞那样到塞外去立功，怎么能老死在书房里呢。”

26. Ban Chao Discovers that the Sword is Mightier than the Pen

After founding the Eastern Han Dynasty, Emperor Guangwu commissioned the erudite scholar Ban Biao to write a history of the Western Han. Ban Biao had two sons, Ban Gu and Ban Chao, and a daughter, Ban Zhao. All of these were initiated by him into the study of literature and history at a tender age.

At the death of Ban Biao, Emperor Ming appointed Ban Gu as Clerk of the Orchid Pavilion (the Palace archive or library) to complete the *Book of Han*, or the history of the Western Han, which was left unfinished by his father upon his death. Ban Chao did clerical work to help out his brother. The two brothers were equally well-read, but had different temperaments. Ban Gu enjoyed studying the contemporary schools of thought and was devoted to the writing of the *Book of Han*. Ban Chao, on the other hand, was not interested in being glued to his desk doing clerical work. One day after hearing reports of how the Xiongnu were constantly violating their borders, pillaging towns and rustling cattle, he angrily threw down his writing brush and said, 'A real man should serve his country on the frontier like Zhang Qian, and not waste his life in study!'

就这样，他决心抛弃他的案头工作去从军（文言叫作“投笔从戎”）。

公元73年，大将军窦固出兵打匈奴，班超在他手下担任个代理司马，立了战功。

窦固为了抵抗匈奴，想采用汉武帝的办法，派人联络西域各国，共同对付匈奴。他赏识班超的才干，派班超担任使者到西域去。

班超带着随从人员三十六人先到了鄯善（在今新疆境内，鄯音shàn）。鄯善原来是归附匈奴的。匈奴逼他们纳税进贡，勒索财物，鄯善王很不满意，但是这几十年来，汉朝顾不到西域那一边，他只好勉强听匈奴的命令。这次看到汉朝派了使者来，他就挺殷勤地招待他们。

过了几天，班超发现鄯善王对待他们忽然冷淡起来。他起了疑心，跟随从的人员说：“你们看得出来吗？鄯善王对待咱们跟前几天不一样。我猜想一定是匈奴的使者到了这儿。”

话虽这样说，毕竟只是一种猜想。刚巧鄯善王的仆人送

He decided to abandon his desk to enlist in the army.

In 73 CE, when Chief General Dou Gu led an expedition against the Xiongnu, Ban Chao served with distinction as Deputy Commander under him.

In order to counter the threat of the Xiongnu, Dou Gu decided to follow the approach of Emperor Wu of Han and send envoys to the countries of Xiyu (the western regions) to lobby for an anti-Xiongnu alliance. Impressed by Ban Chao's capabilities, General Dou sent him on this mission.

With an entourage of 36, Ban Chao arrived first at Shanshan. Shanshan was a kingdom that existed roughly from 200 BCE-1000 CE at the north-eastern end of the Taklamakan Desert (in modern-day Xinjiang). It included a great salt lake, known as Lop Nur. As a vassal of the Xiongnu, it was forced to pay levies and tributes, and to meet other extortionate demands. Since for decades the Han imperial court had been too busy to interest itself in the Xiyu region, although he was deeply resentful of the Xiongnu the King of Shanshan had no choice but to submit to their exactions. Consequently, the envoy sent by the Han after this long hiatus was enthusiastically received by the King of Shanshan.

After a few days in Shanshan, Ban Chao detected a sudden cooling in the King's attitude towards him. He discussed his suspicions with members of his delegation. 'Have you noticed that the king of Shanshan is behaving very differently from a few days ago? I bet he has a Xiongnu visitor!'

However, this was only speculation. When the King's attendant brought in their food and drink, Ban Chao tested

酒食来。班超装得早就知道的样子说：“匈奴的使者已经来了几天？住在什么地方？”

鄯善王和匈奴使者打交道，本来是瞒着班超的。那个仆人给班超一吓，以为班超已知道这件事，只好老实回答说：“来了三天了，他们住的地方离这儿三十里地。”

班超把那个仆人扣留起来，立刻召集三十六个随从人员，对他们说：“大家跟我一起来到西域，无非是想立功报国。现在匈奴使者才到几天，鄯善王的态度就变了。要是他把我们抓起来送给匈奴人，我们的尸骨也不能回乡了。你们看怎么办？”

大家都说：“现在情况危急，死活全凭你啦！”

班超说：“大丈夫不进老虎洞，怎能掏得到小老虎（文言是“不入虎穴，焉得虎子”）？现在只有一个办法，趁着黑夜，到匈奴的帐篷周围，一面放火，一面进攻。他们不知道咱们有多少人马，一定着慌。只要杀了匈奴的使者，事情就好办了。”

大家说：“好，就这样拼一拼吧！”

到了半夜里，班超率领着三十六个壮士偷袭匈奴的帐篷。那天晚上，正赶上刮大风。班超吩咐十个壮士拿着鼓躲在匈

him by remarking in a knowing tone, 'How long has the Xiongnu emissary been here? Where is he staying?'

The King of Shanshan had meant to keep Ban Chao in the dark about his talks with the Xiongnu envoy, so the servant was startled by Ban Chao's question. Thinking that Ban Chao knew about the matter, the servant saw no reason to lie, and replied, 'He's been here three days, and is staying at a place 30 *li* from here.'

Ban Chao detained the servant and immediately summoned the 36 members of his delegation. He said to them, 'You've come with me all the way to Xiyu for no other purpose than to render a great service to your country. You can see the about-face of the king of Shanshan only days after the arrival of the Xiongnu envoy. If they bind us up and hand us over to the Xiongnu, not even our remains will get back to our country. What do you think we should do?'

His entourage replied in unison, 'We're in grave danger. We put our lives in your hands.'

Ban Chao then responded, 'If a man does not dare to enter a tiger's lair, how can he get his hands on tiger cubs? There is only one thing we can do now: We'll sneak to the Xiongnu's tents under the cover of night, set them on fire, and attack the Xiongnu. Not knowing how many we are, they'll panic. Once we kill the Xiongnu envoy, the matter will be settled.'

'Agreed!' His aides answered, 'Let's give it a try!'

At midnight, Ban Chao led his 36 combatants on a stealth attack against the Xiongnu. A strong wind was blowing that night. Ban Chao placed ten soldiers with drums behind the Xiongnu tents, and twenty soldiers in ambush in front of the

匈奴的帐篷后面，二十个壮士埋伏在帐篷前面，自己跟其余六个人顺风放火。火一烧起来，十个人同时擂鼓、呐喊，其余二十个人大喊大叫地杀进帐篷。

匈奴人从梦里惊醒，到处乱窜。班超打头冲进帐篷，其余的壮士跟着班超杀进去，杀了匈奴使者和三十多个随从，把所有帐篷都烧了。

班超回到自己的营房里，天刚发白。班超请鄯善王过来。鄯善王一看到匈奴的使者已被班超杀了，就对班超表示愿意服从汉朝的命令。

班超回到汉朝，汉明帝提拔班超做军司马，又派他到于阗去。明帝叫他多带点人马，班超说：“于阗国家大，路程又远，就是多带几百人去，也不顶事。如果遇到什么意外，人多反而添麻烦。”

结果，班超还是带了原来的三十六个人到于阗去。

于阗王见班超带的人少，接见的时候，并不怎么热情。班超劝他脱离匈奴，跟汉朝交好。他决定不下，找巫师向神请示。

那个巫师本来反对于阗王跟汉朝友好，他装神弄鬼，对

tents. He then started a fire with the remaining six. Fanned by the strong wind, the fire raced towards the tents. The ten men behind the tents started beating their drums and shouting at the top of their lungs, and the twenty ambushers charged into the tents with loud battle cries.

The Xiongnu soldiers, roused from their sleep, fell into disarray. With Ban Chao in the lead, the Han soldiers went in and killed the Xiongnu envoy and his 30 staff. All the tents burned to the ground.

Ban Chao returned to his camp at daybreak and invited the King of Shanshan to come to his tent. When the King found out the Xiongnu envoy had been killed by Ban Chao, he switched his allegiance to the Han.

Upon his return, Ban Chao was promoted to Division Commander by Emperor Ming and sent to Yutian. When the Emperor suggested that he take more people with him on the mission, Ban Chao replied, 'Yutian is a large country a great distance from here. Even if I bring a few hundred more soldiers with me, it would still be a drop in the bucket. If something untoward happens, a larger force would be more a hindrance than a help.'

In the end, Ban Chao went to Yutian with his original 36 staff. With his small entourage, Ban Chao received a less than enthusiastic welcome from the King of Yutian. When Ban Chao explained to him the advantages of distancing himself from the Xiongnu and strengthening ties with the Han, the King was unable to make a decision. He asked his sorcerer to seek the gods' advice.

Long opposed to rapprochement with the Han, the sorcerer

于阗王说：“你为什么要结交汉朝？汉朝使者那匹浅黑色的马还不错，可以拿来给我。”

于阗王派国相向班超去讨马。班超说：“可以，叫巫师自己来拿吧。”

那巫师得意洋洋地到班超那儿取马。班超也不跟他多说，立刻拔出刀把他斩了。接着，他提了巫师的头去见于阗王，责备说：“你要是再勾结匈奴，这巫师就是你的榜样。”

于阗王早就听说班超的威名，看到这个场面，也吓得软了，说：“愿意跟汉朝和好。”

鄯善、于阗是西域的主要国家，他们结交了汉朝，别的西域国像龟兹（音qiū cí，在今新疆库车县一带）、疏勒（今新疆喀什噶尔一带）等也都跟着跟汉朝和好了。

西域各国从王莽执政时期起，跟汉朝不相往来已经有六十五年，到了这时候，才恢复张骞通西域时期的那个局面，双方又经常有使者和商人交往。

过了两年，汉明帝死去，他的儿子刘炆（音dā）即位，这就是汉章帝。

assumed the voice of a spirit said to the king of Yutian, 'Why do you want to befriend the Han? By the way, I want that nice, dark horse of the Han envoy!'

The king of Yutian asked the Counselor-Designate (sort of a high commissioner appointed by the Han court) to persuade Ban Chao to part with his horse. Ban Chao agreed. 'Fine!' He said, 'Tell the sorcerer to pick it up himself.'

When the gloating sorcerer came to Ban Chao for the horse, Ban Chao drew his sword and killed him on the spot, not bothering to exchange a word with him. He then went to see the king of Yutian with the sorcerer's head dangling from his hand.

Threatening the King, he said, 'If you continue your collaboration with the Xiongnu, you'll end up like the sorcerer here.'

Already in awe of the tough-guy reputation of Ban Chao, the King of Yutian now felt his knees weakening. He replied with alacrity, 'Yes, I am ready to strengthen ties with the Han court.'

Shanshan and Yutian were major kingdoms in Xiyu. Their rapprochement with the Han set an example for other countries such as Qiaci (near modern-day Kucha, Xinjiang) and Shule (near modern-day Kashgar, Xinjiang), which soon renewed ties with the Han.

After 65 years of estrangement since the start of Wang Mang's rule, relations between the countries of Xiyu and the Han Empire were finally normalized. They returned to where they had been at the time of Zhang Qian's diplomatic missions to Xiyu. Frequent diplomatic and commercial exchanges resumed.

Two years later, Emperor Ming died and was succeeded by his son Liu Da as Emperor Zhang of Han.

27、张衡和地动仪

汉章帝在位的时期，东汉的政治比较稳定。到汉章帝一死，继承皇位的汉和帝才十岁，窦太后临朝执政，让他的哥哥窦宪掌握了朝政大权，东汉王朝就开始走下坡路了。

在这个时期，出了一位著名的科学家张衡。

张衡是南阳人。十七岁那年，他离开家乡，先后到了长安和洛阳，在太学里用功读书。当时洛阳和长安都是很繁华的城市，城里的王公贵族过的是骄奢淫逸的生活。张衡对这些都不惯。他写了两篇文学作品《西京赋》和《东京赋》（西京就是长安，东京就是洛阳），讽刺这种现象。据说他为了写这两篇作品，经过深思熟虑，反复修改，前后一共花了十年工夫，可见他研究学问的精神是很认真严肃的。

但是张衡的特长还不是文学，他特别爱好数学和天文研究。朝廷听说张衡是个有学问的人，召他到京里做官，先是

27. Zhang Heng and his Seismometer

During the reign of Emperor Zhang of Han, the Eastern Han enjoyed relative political stability. At the death of Emperor Zhang, Empress Dowager Dou acted as regent for his successor, Emperor He, who was then only ten. She vested real power in her brother Dou Xian. This marked the beginning of the Eastern Han's decline.

This period produced a noted scientist whose name is Zhang Heng.

Zhang Heng was a native of Nanyang, which he left at the age of seventeen. His studies took him to Chang'an and then Luoyang, where he was an assiduous student at the National University. Chang'an and Luoyang were booming and hustling cities, in which the elite led dissolute lives. Disgusted by the decadence of high society, Zhang Heng penned the satirical *Xi Jing Fu* (*Western Metropolis Rhapsody*) and *Dong Jing Fu* (*Eastern Metropolis Rhapsody*), referring respectively to Chang'an and Luoyang. It is said that it took him ten years of reflection and revisions to complete these works of poetry. This attests to his serious and meticulous nature.

However, Zhang Heng's excellence was not confined to literature: He was also absorbed in mathematical and astronomical studies. Impressed by his erudition, the imperial

在宫里做郎中，后来，担任了太史令，叫他负责观察天文。这个工作正好符合他研究的兴趣。

经过他的观察研究，他断定地球是圆的，月亮是借太阳的照射才反射出光来。他还认为天好像鸡蛋壳，包在地的外面，地好像鸡蛋黄，在天的中间。这种学说虽然不完全精确，但在一千八百多年以前，能说出这种科学的见解来，不能不使后来的天文学家钦佩。

不光是这样，张衡还用铜制造了一种测量天文的仪器，叫做“浑天仪”。上面刻着日月星辰等天文的现象。他设法利用水力来转动这种仪器。据说什么星从东方升起来，什么星向西方落下去，都能在浑天仪上看得清清楚楚。

那个时期，经常发生地震。有时候一年一次，也有时候一年两次。发生一次大地震，就影响到好几十个郡，城墙、房屋发生倒坍，还要死伤许多人畜。

当时的封建帝王和一般人都把地震看作是不吉利的征兆，有的还乘机宣传迷信，欺骗人民。

court offered him a position in the capital. He started as a Gentleman of the Interior, but later became a Grand Scribe in charge of astronomical observations. This was a happy marriage between his job and his hobbies.

Through his observations and research, he reached the conclusion that the Earth was round, and that the Moon's glow was only a reflection of the light emanating from the Sun. He also theorized that the sky was like an eggshell cloaking the Earth, which could be likened to the egg yolk inside the shell. Although his theory was not entirely accurate, the mere fact that such a scientific view was propounded 1,800 years ago is cause for much admiration from later astronomers.

As a hands-on scientist, for astronomical measurements Zhang Heng crafted from copper an instrument called the *hun tian yi* (armillary sphere). It had representations of constellations and other astronomical phenomena on it, and was hydraulically driven. It is said that the device enabled users to know clearly which stars would be rising in the east, and which would be setting in the west.

This was a time of frequent earthquakes. At the rate of one or two per year, each occurrence of one of these seismic events was felt in dozens of prefectures. They caused city walls and buildings to collapse, and took a heavy toll of human and animal lives.

The rulers and common people of feudal times believed earthquakes were bad omens. These natural phenomena became tools for some to spread superstitious rumors against the government.

但是，张衡却不信神、不信邪，他对记录下来的地震现象经过细心的考察和试验，发明了一个测报地震的仪器，叫做“地动仪”。

地动仪是用青铜制造的，形状有点像一个酒坛，四周刻铸着八条龙，龙头向八个方向伸着。每条龙的嘴里含了一颗小铜球，龙头下面，蹲了一个铜制的蛤蟆，对准龙嘴张着嘴。哪个方向发生了地震，朝着那个方向的龙嘴就会自动张开来，把铜球吐出。铜球掉在蛤蟆的嘴里，发出响亮的声音，就给人发出地震的警报。

公元138年2月的一天，张衡的地动仪正对西方的龙嘴突然张开来，吐出了铜球。按照张衡的设计，这就是报告西部发生了地震。

可是，那一天洛阳一点也没有地震的迹象，也没有听说附近有哪儿发生了地震。因此，大伙儿议论纷纷，都说张衡的地动仪是骗人的玩意儿，甚至有人说他有意造谣生事。

过了几天，有人骑着快马来向朝廷报告，离洛阳一千多里的金城、陇西一带发生了大地震，连山都有崩塌下来的，大伙儿这才信服。

Zhang Heng did not believe earthquakes were manifestations of the will of the gods or evil spirits. Based on his careful scrutiny, his analysis of seismic records, and his experiments, he invented an instrument called the *di dong yi*. It was a seismometer that helped measure and forecast earthquakes.

The seismometer was made from bronze and shaped like a wine vat. Eight dragons were represented on the exterior of the device, with their heads pointing in eight directions. Each of the dragons had a small copper ball in its mouth, and a copper toad squatting below it with its mouth open. When a seismic event occurred, the dragon pointing to the direction of the quake would automatically open its mouth and drop its ball, which would then fall into the toad's mouth with a loud sound that warned of an earthquake.

One February day in 138 CE, the dragon pointing due west on Zhang Heng's seismometer suddenly opened its mouth and spat out the copper ball. By Zhang Heng's design, this meant that an earthquake was occurring in the west of China.

However, no sign of an earthquake was discernable that day in the western metropolis of Luoyang, nor was any earthquake anywhere reported. People began voicing their doubts about the device, saying it was a hoax. Some even accused him of spreading rumors and making mischief.

A few days later, the imperial court received information via a messenger on a fast horse that a devastating earthquake had occurred a thousand *li* away in Jincheng and Longxi. There were reports that whole mountainsides had collapsed in the quake. This vindicated the value of Zhang Heng's seismometer.

可是在那个时候，朝廷掌权的全是宦官或是外戚，像张衡这样有才能的人不但不被重用，反而被打击排挤。张衡做侍中的时候，因为与皇帝接近，宦官怕张衡在皇帝面前揭他们的短，就在皇帝面前讲张衡很多坏话。他被调出了京城，到河间去当国相。

张衡在他六十一岁那年病死。他在我国科学史上留下了光辉的业绩。

Unfortunately, the power in the imperial court was usurped by eunuchs and maternal relatives of the Emperor. This led to a tendency to suppress and isolate, instead of fully tapping, the talent of able people such as Zhang Heng. When he was a palace attendant, his proximity to the Emperor caused anxiety among the eunuchs who were afraid he might denounce their misconduct to the Emperor. To forestall this eventuality, the eunuchs preemptively malignd Zhang Heng before the emperor whenever they had a chance. As a result, Zhang Heng was transferred out of the capital, and dispatched to the principdom of Hejian as Counselor-Designate.

Zhang Heng died of illness at the age of 61. He left a splendid legacy of scientific development in China.

28、“党锢”事件

东汉王朝从汉和帝起，即位的皇帝大多是小孩子，最小的是只生下一百多天的婴孩。皇帝年幼，照例由太后临朝执政，太后又把政权交给她的娘家人，这样就形成了一个外戚专权的局面。有的皇帝死后没儿子，太后、外戚就从皇族里找一个孩子接替皇帝，以便他们控制政权。

但是，到了皇帝长大，渐渐懂事，就不甘心长期当个傀儡。他要想摆脱外戚的控制，可是里里外外都是外戚的亲信，跟谁去商量呢？只有一些宦官，每天在皇帝身边伺候。结果皇帝只好依靠宦官的力量，扑灭外戚的势力。这样，外戚的权力就转到宦官手里。外戚和宦官轮流把持着朝政，东汉的政治就越来越腐败了。

当时有一批士族地主出身的官员，不满宦官掌权，主张

28. The Dang Gu Incidents

Starting with Emperor He, most emperors of the Han Dynasty were young children when they ascended the throne, the youngest being a baby 100-days old. During an emperor's minority, normally the queen mother exercised ruling power as regent. Not uncommonly, the queen mother would in turn give power to members of her clan. As a result, imperial power would rest entirely in the hands of the emperor's maternal relatives. When an emperor died without a male heir, the queen mother or other maternal relatives would sometimes select a young boy from the royal clan as his successor. This would facilitate their continuance in power.

When the emperor grew up and became more knowledgeable and sophisticated, he would often resist being manipulated like a puppet, and would try to find freedom from the control of his maternal relatives. However, since the imperial court was crawling with people loyal to those same relatives, the emperor had few people to turn to, and so would seek advice and counsel from his eunuchs. The eunuchs had daily access to the emperor, and the emperor found in them the levers with which to pry loose the power of the maternal relatives. As a result, the eunuchs would accrue power. In the ensuing power struggles between these two interest groups, political corruption deepened in the Eastern Han Dynasty.

Some officials of gentry and landowner stock were critical of the eunuchs' rising influence. They stepped forward to

改革朝政，罢斥宦官，还有一批中小地主出身的太学生，因为社会腐败，找不到出路，也要求改革。他们批评朝政，对掌权的宦官和附和宦官的人，深恶痛绝。

公元165年，陈蕃做了太尉，名士李膺做了司隶校尉，这两个人都是不满宦官的。太学生都拥护他们，把他们看作是模范人物。

李膺当了司隶校尉后，有人告发宦官张让的兄弟，野王（今河南沁阳县）县令张朔贪污勒索。李膺要查办张朔。张朔逃到洛阳，躲进他哥哥家里。李膺亲自带领公差到张让家搜查，在张家的夹墙里搜出张朔，把他逮走。张让赶快托人去求情，李膺已经把案子审理清楚，把张朔杀了。张让气得什么似的，马上向汉桓帝哭诉。桓帝知道张朔确实有罪，也没有难为李膺。

propose political reform, and to demand the institution of eunuchs be abolished. Students of the National University were by and large from small-landowner families. They saw their career prospects dimmed by the ubiquitous corruption, and so clamoring for reform, as well. They lashed out at the way the country was governed, and abhorred the power-usurping eunuchs and yes-men.

In 165 CE, Chen Fan was appointed Defender in Chief and Li Ying, a man of respect, became Metropolitan Commandant. Both were resentful of the eunuchs. Since the university students saw these men as models, they also had their support.

Metropolitan Commandant Li Ying received a complaint regarding the corrupt and extortionate practices of Zhang Shuo, the brother of the eunuch Zhang Rang and the county magistrate of Yewang (modern-day Qinyang County, Henan). When Li Ying began investigative and impeachment procedures against him, Zhang Shuo fled to Luoyang, seeking refuge at his brother's residence. Li Ying took bailiffs with him, and conducted a search of Zhang Rang's residential compound. There, he found Zhang Shuo hiding in a hollow wall. After Zhang Shuo was taken away, Zhang Rang immediately got an intermediary to intercede in his brother's behalf, but it was too late: Li Ying had already executed Zhang Shuo after a quick prosecution and trial. The incensed Zhang Rang made a tearful complaint before Emperor Huan of Han. However, the Emperor took no action against Li Ying because he knew Zhang Shuo was guilty as charged.

这一来，李膺的名气就更大了。一些读书人都希望能意见李膺，要是受到李膺的接见，就被看作很光彩的事，称做“登龙门”。

第二年，有一个和宦官来往密切的方士（搞迷信活动的人）张成，从宦官侯览那里得知朝廷马上要颁布大赦令，就纵容他的儿子杀人。李膺马上把杀人凶手逮捕起来，准备法办。

第二天，大赦令下来，张成得意地对众人说：“诏书下来了，不怕司隶校尉不把我儿子放出来。”

这话传到李膺耳朵里，李膺更加冒火。他说：“张成预先知道大赦，故意教儿子杀人，大赦就不该轮到他儿子身上。”说完，就下令把张成的儿子砍了头。

张成哪儿肯罢休，他要宦官侯览、张让替他报仇。他们商量了一个鬼主意，叫张成的弟子牢修向桓帝告状，诬告李膺和太学生、名士结成一党，诽谤朝廷，败坏风俗。

Li Ying saw his fame grow after this incident. He became much in demand as educated people considered meeting him a great honor. Being received by him was described as 'ascending to the dragon gate'.

The next year, an alchemist close to the eunuchs called Zhang Cheng was tipped off by the eunuch Hou Lan that a general amnesty was soon to be announced by the imperial court. Armed with this reassuring information, he told his son to go ahead and kill someone who had long been on his revenge list. Li Ying arrested the murderer, Zhang Cheng's son, and was all set to bring him to justice.

When the general amnesty was announced the next day, Zhang Cheng crowed in public, 'The imperial amnesty has been announced! The Metropolitan Commandant will have to release my son now.'

This brag was brought to the attention of Li Ying, annoying him to no end. He said, 'Zhang Cheng had known about the amnesty before instigating his son to commit murder. Therefore, his son is not eligible for the amnesty.'

With this interpretation of the edict, Li Ying had Zhang Cheng's son beheaded.

Zhang Cheng was not going to take this lying down. He asked the eunuchs Hou Lan and Zhang Rang to help him avenge his son. They hatched this malicious plot: Zhang Cheng's follower Lao Xiu was to accuse Li Ying falsely before the Emperor, saying that Li Ying had formed of a clique of university students and eminent personalities with the purpose of slandering the imperial court and corrupting good morals.

汉桓帝接到李膺的控告，就下命令逮捕党人。除了李膺之外，还有杜密、陈寔和范滂等二百多人，都被他们写进党人的黑名单。朝廷出了赏格，通令各地，非要把这些人抓到不可。

杜密像李膺一样，也是敢于跟掌权的宦官作对的官员。两个人的名望差不多，人们把他们联在一起，称为“李、杜”。李膺下了监狱，杜密当然也逃不了。

陈寔本来是个大学生，因为有名望，也被划到党人名单里去。有人劝他逃走，陈寔并不害怕，说：“我逃了，别人怎么办？我进了狱，也可以壮壮别人的胆。”他说着，就上京城，自己投案，进了监狱。

范滂也跟陈寔一样，挺着腰板进了监狱。

捉拿党人的诏书到了各郡，各郡的官员都把跟党人有牵连的人报上去，多的有几百个。只有青州平原相（相，相当于郡的太守）史弼没报。

朝廷的诏书接二连三催逼他，青州还派了一个官员亲自到平原去查问。

那个官员把史弼找去，责问他为什么不报党人的名单。

After receiving Lao Xiu's complaint, Emperor Huan of Han immediately ordered the arrest of partisans of this supposed clique. Apart from Li Ying, 200 other people, including Du Mi, Chen Shi and Fan Pang, were purged as partisans. To demonstrate its resolve, the imperial court put out a reward across China for the arrest of these people.

Du Mi was, like Li Ying, also an official not afraid to tangle with the all-powerful eunuchs. Both men were equally famous for their uprightness, and were often mentioned in one breath as the 'Li-Du' duo. After Li Ying was thrown in jail, Du Mi predictably suffered the same fate.

Chen Shi was an alumnus of the National University put on the blacklist because of his prominence. Some urged him to flee, but he was unafraid, saying, 'If I run away, what will become of the others? If I go to jail, maybe I can boost their morale.' He went to the capital and surrendered. He too was incarcerated.

In the same way, Fan Pang proudly went to jail.

When the imperial decree for the arrest of the partisans arrived at the prefectures, the local officials reported all who had had any association with the clique. In each area, the list of partisans sometimes ran into the hundreds. Only Shi Bi, the governor of Pingyuan Prefecture in the Qingzhou region, did not report any partisans.

Imperial edicts came down from the capital to demand names from him. Finally, an official was sent from the regional government of Qingzhou to make an inquiry into the situation.

The regional official had Governor Shi Bi brought before him, and upbraided him for failing to provide a list of

史弼说：“我们这里没有党人，叫我报什么？”

那官员把脸一沉说：“青州下面有六个郡，五个郡都有党人，怎么平原偏偏会没有？”

史弼回答说：“各地的水土、风俗不一样。别的地方有党人，为什么平原就一定也有党人呢？”

那官员被他反驳得张口结舌，说不出话来。

史弼又说：“你一定要冤枉好人，那么，平原家家户户都有党人。我情愿死，要我报党人，我可一个也说不上来。”

那官员拿他没有办法，就胡乱把平原的官员收在监狱里，回报朝廷。

被捕的党人在监狱里，宦官对他们进行残酷的折磨，他们的头颈、手、脚都被上了刑具，叫做“三木”，然后被蒙住头一个挨一个地拷打，就这样关了一年多。

第二年，有一个颍川人贾彪，自告奋勇到洛阳替党人申冤。汉桓帝的皇后窦氏的父亲窦武也上书要求释放党人。

李膺在狱中采取以攻为守的办法，他故意招出了好些宦官的子弟，说他们也是党人。宦官这才害怕了，对汉桓帝说：“现在天时不正常，应当大赦天下了。”

partisans. Shi Bi replied to him. 'We don't have anyone belonging to the clique here. What do you want me to report?'

The official's face hardened, and he responded, 'Of the six prefectures of Qingzhou, five have reported partisans, how can Pingyuan be the only exception?'

Shi Bi replied, 'Each place has its own distinct customs and natural environment. Just because there are partisans in other locations, doesn't necessarily mean we must also have them.'

The official, unable to come up with a counter-argument, was speechless.

Shi Bi added, 'If you insist on rounding up innocent people, then everyone is a partisan here. I would rather die than give you a list of partisans, because I don't know of any.'

Unable to get anything out of Shi Bi, the regional official summarily put all the Pingyuan officials in jail, and reported the matter to the central government.

The jailed partisans were subjected to cruel torture by the hands of the eunuchs' supporters. They were beaten while wearing neck shackles, handcuffs and leg irons, and hoods over their heads. The ordeal lasted for over a year.

The next year, a man called Jia Biao, a native of Yingchuan, went to Luoyang to try to get the suspects exonerated. Dou Wu, the father of Queen Dou, also petitioned Emperor Huan for the partisans' release.

Inspired by the dictum, 'The best defense is a good offense', Li Ying fingered many of the eunuchs' young relatives as partisans. This tactic scared the eunuchs, who said to the Emperor, 'This abnormal climate is an omen that a general amnesty is in order.'

汉桓帝对宦官是唯命是听的，就宣布大赦，把两百多名党人全部释放。

这批党人虽然释放，但是宦官不许他们留在京城，打发他们一律回老家，并且把他们的名字通报各地，罚他们一辈子不得做官。这件事，历史上叫做“党锢”（“锢”就是禁锢的意思）事件。

不久，汉桓帝死了。窦皇后和父亲窦武商量，从皇族中找了一个十二岁的孩子刘宏继承皇位，就是后来腐败出了名的汉灵帝。

Since Emperor Huan was under the eunuchs' thumb, he obliged them by announcing a general amnesty. As a result, all 200 partisans in the capital were freed.

However, on order of the eunuchs, these freed partisans were forbidden to stay in the capital, and all had to go back to their hometowns. Their names were given to the local authorities to ensure that they could never again hold public office. This is known as the Dang Gu Incident (Disaster of Partisan Prohibitions).

Before long, Emperor Huan died. Queen Dou and her father Dou Wu arranged the selection of 12-year-old Liu Hong of the royal clan to succeed Emperor Huan. He would go on to become the notoriously corrupt Emperor Ling of Han.

29、范滂进监狱

汉灵帝刚即位的时候，窦太后临朝，封她父亲窦武为大将军，陈蕃为太尉。窦武和陈蕃是支持名士一派的。他们把原来受到终身禁锢的李膺、杜密又召回来做官。

陈蕃对窦武说：“不消灭宦官，没法使天下太平。我已经是快八十的老人了，还贪图什么？我留在这里，只是想为朝廷除害，帮助将军立功。”

窦武本来就有这个意思。两人一商量，就由窦武向窦太后提出，要求消灭宦官。可是窦太后跟汉桓帝一样相信宦官，怎么也下不了这个决心。

陈蕃又向窦太后上奏章，举出宦官侯览、曹节、王甫等几个人的种种罪恶。窦太后仍旧把奏章搁在一边不理。

这一来，倒是打草惊了蛇。曹节、王甫来个先下手为强。

29. Fearless Fan Pang Goes to Jail

In the period immediately after the ascension of Emperor Ling to the Han throne, Empress Dowager Dou acted as Regent. She made her father Dou Wu Chief General and Chen Fan Defender in Chief. Dou Wu and Chen Fan had been on the side of the partisans and eminent intellectuals. They brought Li Ying and Du Mi, who had been permanently stripped of their civil liberties, back to the capital to serve in the government.

Chen Fan said to Dou Wu, 'As long as the eunuchs are not neutralized, there will be no peace in our country. I am going on 80 years old. Not much in life tempts me now. The only reason I'm still here is I want to rid the court of this cancer, and to help you accomplish this worthy cause.'

Dou Wu, in fact, had the same thoughts. The two agreed that Dou Wu would present a proposal to eliminate the eunuchs to Empress Dowager Dou. However, the Empress Dowager shared with Emperor Huan the same total trust in the eunuchs, and was unable to make up her mind to act on the proposal. Chen Fan followed with a petition enumerating the crimes and misdeeds of the eunuchs Hou Lan, Cao Jie and Wang Fu. The Empress Dowager simply put the petition aside.

These actions had the unintended effect of alerting the eunuchs. Cao Jie and Wang Fu mounted a preemptive strike

他们先从窦太后那里抢了玉玺和印绶，把窦太后软禁起来，又用灵帝的名义，宣布窦武、陈蕃谋反，把他们杀了。

这样一来，宦官又拿了权，凡是窦武、陈蕃提拔的人统统被撤职。

李膺、杜密被撤职回到家乡，一些名士、太学生，更加推崇他们，也更痛恨宦官。宦官也把他们看作死对头，找机会陷害他们。

有个名士张俭，曾经告发过宦官侯览，侯览一心想报复。正好张俭家赶走了一个仆人。侯览利用那个仆人，诬告张俭跟同乡二十四个人结成一党，诽谤朝廷，企图造反。

宦官曹节抓住这个机会，吩咐他的心腹上奏章，要求汉灵帝再一次下令逮捕党人。

汉灵帝才十四岁，根本不懂得什么是党人。他问曹节：“为什么要杀他们，他们有什么罪？”

曹节指手画脚把党人怎样可怕，怎样想推翻朝廷，图谋造反，乱编了一通。

against their accusers. First, they grabbed the imperial seal from Empress Dowager Dou. They then put her under house arrest. Finally, in the name of Emperor Ling, they charged Dou Wu and Chen Fan with treason and had them killed.

Imperial power thus swung back to the eunuchs. All officials owing their offices to the support and patronage of Dou Wu and Chen Fan were purged.

After Li Ying and Du Mi were once again ousted and sent home, their prestige rose even higher among intellectuals and university students, and their abhorrence of the eunuchs intensified. The eunuchs reciprocated this hatred, seeing them as sworn enemies. The eunuchs did not pass up any opportunity to do them harm.

Zhang Jian was an intellectual. He had once denounced the eunuch Hou Lan, and now Hou Lan was waiting for an opportunity to get even with him. The chance finally came in the shape of a servant recently expelled from Zhang Jian's household. Hou Lan had the servant falsely accuse Zhang Jian of forming a clique with 24 partisans from his village to slander the imperial court and plan sedition.

The eunuch Cao Jie also seized the opportunity to have a trusted supporter present a petition to the Emperor, asking him to issue an edict rounding up the partisans once again.

The Emperor, who was barely fourteen, had no idea what the partisans were or did. He asked Cao Jie, 'Why do you want them killed? What crime have they committed?'

Cao Jie made up a juicy story of how the truculent partisans were working feverishly for the overthrow of his imperial rule, and Emperor Ling fell for the story hook, line

汉灵帝当然相信了他们，连忙下令逮捕党人。

逮捕令一下，各州各郡又骚动起来。有人得到消息，忙去报告李膺。李膺坦然说：“我一逃，反而害了别人。再说，我年纪已经六十了，死活由他去，还逃什么！”

他就自己进了监狱，被拷打死了。杜密知道免不了一死，也自杀了。

汝南郡的督邮奉命到征羌（今河南郾城）捉拿范滂。到了征羌的驿舍里，他关上门，抱着诏书伏在床上直哭。驿舍里的人听到哭声，弄不清楚是怎么回事。

消息传到范滂那里，范滂说：“我知道督邮一定是为了不愿意抓我才哭的。”

他就亲自跑到县里去投案。县令郭揖也是个正直人，他见范滂来了，吓了一跳。他说：“天下这么大，哪儿不能去，您到这儿来干什么？”

他打算交出了官印，跟范滂一起逃走。

范滂感激郭揖，他说：“不用了。我死了，朝廷也许能把

and sinker. An imperial edict went out immediately for the arrest of the partisans.

The new arrest order immediately caused a stir in all the regions and prefectures. When the news was broken to Li Ying, he said with equanimity, 'If I run, others will suffer. Besides, I am already 60. Life or death is no longer much of a concern for me. So I am not running from this.'

After voluntarily surrendering, he was thrown in jail, and was beaten and tortured to death. Du Mi killed himself in anticipation of a similar fate.

A local inspector in Runan Prefecture was sent to Zhengqiang (modern-day Yancheng, Henan Province) to arrest Fan Pang. When he arrived at the post house in Zhengqiang, he went to his room and cried inconsolably on his bed. The arrest warrant was clutched in his hand. The staff and guests in the post house were mystified by his wailing.

When Fan Pang heard about this, he said, 'I am sure he cried because he didn't want to arrest me.'

Therefore, Fan Pang went of his own accord to the county office to give himself up. The County Magistrate Guo Yi, himself a man of integrity, was startled to see Fan Pang. He asked him, 'Of all the places in the wide world you are free to travel to, why have you chosen to come here?'

Guo Yi even considered aloud the idea of resigning from office by surrendering his official seal so that he could go on the run with Fan Pang.

Fan Pang said in gratitude to Guo Yi, 'There's no need for that. After my death, the central government may suspend this witch hunt against the partisans. There is no way I am

抓党人的事停下来。我怎么能连累您。再说，我母亲已经老了，我一逃，不是还连累她吗？”

县令没有法子，只好把范滂收在监狱里，并且派人通知范滂的老母亲和他的儿子跟范滂来见面。

范母带着孙儿随着公差到监狱来探望范滂。范滂安慰她说：“我死了以后，还有弟弟会扶养您。您不要过分伤心。”

范母说：“你能和李、杜（指李膺、杜密）两位一样留下好名声，我已经够满意了，你也用不着难过。”

范滂跪着听他母亲说完，回过头来对儿子说：“我要叫你做坏事吧，可是坏事毕竟是不该做的，我要叫你做好事吧，可是我一生没有做坏事，却落得这步田地。”

旁边的人听了，都禁不住流下了眼泪。

像李膺、范滂这样被杀的一共有一百多人，还有六七百个在全国有声望的，或者跟宦官有一点怨仇的，都被宦官诬指为党人，遭到逮捕，不是被杀，就是充军，至少也是禁锢终身。

只有那个宦官侯览的对头张俭，却逃过了官府搜捕。

going to implicate you. Besides, if I become a fugitive, my ageing mother will suffer.'

Unable to shake Fan Pang's determination, the County Magistrate had no alternative but to jail Fan Pang. He then sent for Fan Pang's elderly mother and his son to visit him in jail.

Fan Pang's mother was escorted by a bailiff to the county jail to visit him. She was accompanied by her grandson. Fan Pang consoled her by saying, 'After my death, you still have your younger son to take care of you. Try not to grieve too much.'

His mother replied, 'I am content that you will leave a name comparable in goodness to that of the Li-Du duo Li Ying and Du Mil. Don't feel too bad yourself.'

After receiving his mother's encouraging words, Fan Pang knelt and turned his head toward his son. He said to him, 'I won't tell you to do evil, because one shouldn't do evil. I want you to grow up to be a decent man. But look at me: This is what happens to a man who has been decent all his life.'

All those present were moved to tears by that observation.

All in all, over a hundred people were executed as was Fan Pang. Additionally, about 700 people were falsely accused of being partisans. Some were arrested; others, killed; others, assigned to hardship military duty in faraway places. All, at a minimum, were stripped of their civil liberties for life by the eunuchs, who either envied their high national standing, or had private accounts to settle with them.

Only Zhang Jian, nemesis of the eunuch Hou Lan, slipped through the government's dragnet. At peril of death, many were

他到处躲藏，许多人情愿冒着生命危险收留他。等到官府得到消息来抓他的时候，他又躲到别处去。于是，凡是收留过他的人家都遭了祸，轻的下监狱，重的被杀，甚至整个郡县遭到灾殃。

经过这两次“党锢之祸”，朝廷里比较耿直的官员遭到沉重打击，大小官职差不多都由宦官和他们的门徒包下了。

willing to provide succor and refuge to him as he eluded capture. This assistance enabled him to stay always one step ahead of the government agents hot on his trail and armed with the latest information. However, it also meant that those who provided him with refuge ended up being jailed or even killed after he escaped. Sometimes, entire prefectures or counties were penalized.

In the aftermath of the two 'Disasters of Partisan Prohibitions', the more decent among the court officials were dealt a heavy blow. The eunuchs and their followers were able to monopolize all offices, high and low.

30、黄巾军起义

昏庸透顶的汉灵帝信任宦官，只知道吃喝玩乐。库房里的钱不够用了，他们为了搜刮钱财，在西园开了一个挺特别的铺子。有钱的人可以公开到这里来买官职，买爵位。他们在鸿部门外张贴榜文，标出了买官的价格。买个郡太守定价二千万，买个县令定价四百万，一时付不出钱的可以暂时赊欠，等他上任以后加倍付款。这些花了钱买官的官吏，一上任当然更加起劲地搜刮民脂民膏。东汉王朝的黑暗和腐败可算到了家了。

朝廷的腐败，地主豪强的压迫，再加上接二连三的天灾，逼得老百姓没法活下去了，纷纷起来反抗。

先是吴郡一带农民起来攻打县城，杀了官吏。会稽人许生在句章（今浙江慈溪）起兵，没有几天工夫，聚集了一万

30. The Yellow Turban Uprising

The hopelessly fatuous Emperor Ling put all his trust in the eunuchs. Neglecting the running of state, he led a life of debauchery. When the coffers were depleted by his and the eunuchs' extravagant living, they invented new ways of raising money. They opened up a special shop in West Garden, a sort of patronage mill, where wealthy people could openly buy offices, commissions and titles. A bulletin posted outside Hongdu Gate listed the prices of public offices. A prefecture governorship cost 20 million. One could become a county magistrate by paying 4 million. Those who were temporarily cash-shy could buy on credit, and pay back at double the purchase price. Those who bought their commissions would naturally doubly bleed the public once in office to recoup their investment. Thus, the corruption permeating the Eastern Han Dynasty plummeted to abysmal depths.

Corruption in the central government, oppression by the landowning class and powerful gentry, and a spate of natural disasters forced people, now on the brink of starvation, to rise up in revolt.

Peasants in the area of Wu Prefecture fired the opening salvo by attacking the county seat and killing county officials. Xu Sheng, originally from Guiji, started an insurgency in Gouzhang (modern-day Cixi, Zhejiang Province)

多人。汉灵帝下令叫扬州刺史和丹阳太守发兵围剿，被起义的农民打败。许生的声势越来越大，还自称“阳明皇帝”。

公元174年，吴郡司马招募人马，联合州郡官兵打败了许生。吴郡的起义军虽然被镇压下去，但是更大的武装起义却正在酝酿着。

巨鹿郡有弟兄三个，老大名叫张角，老二叫张宝，老三叫张梁。三个人都挺有本事，还乐意帮助老百姓。

张角懂得医道，给穷人治病，从来不要钱，所以穷人都拥护他。

他知道农民受地主豪强的压迫和天灾的折磨，多么盼望有一个太平世界，让他们安安乐乐过日子。他决定利用宗教把群众组织起来，创立一个教门叫太平道，收了一些弟子，跟他一起传教。

相信太平道的人越来越多。张角又派他的兄弟张宝、张梁和弟子周游各地，一面治病，一面传道。大约花了十年工夫，太平道传遍了全国。老百姓不论是信或者不信，没有不知道太平道的。各地的教徒发展到几十万人。

that attracted more than 10,000 followers in a few days. The troops sent by Emperor Ling to suppress the insurrection, commanded by the Regional Inspector of Yangzhou and the Governor of Danyang Prefecture, were defeated by the peasants. As Xu Sheng's forces gained momentum, he proclaimed himself Emperor Yangming.

In 174 CE, the government sent out a combined force of regional and the prefectural armies, reinforced by soldiers newly recruited from Wu Prefecture. This force defeated Xu Sheng. However, while the insurgency in Wu Prefecture was put down, even bigger armed insurgencies were in the making.

There were three brothers in Julu Prefecture noted for their skills, and willingness to help the people. They were, listed by age, Zhang Jiao, Zhang Bao, and Zhang Liang. Zhang Jiao, being versed in medicine, was well-loved by the poor because he always treated them free of charge. He knew that the people were caught between the oppression of the landowners and gentry, and the ravages of natural disasters, but were thirsting for a *tai ping* (peaceful society and a normal, secure life). Deciding to use religion as a unifying force, he founded a sect called Way of Supreme Peace (Tai Ping Dao) and started proselytizing with his disciples.

Soon gathering a large following, Zhang Jiao sent his brothers Zhang Bao and Zhang Liang with their disciples across the country on an evangelical mission that provided people medical care. In ten years' time, the Way of Supreme Peace spread to all corners of the country and had a following of hundreds of thousands. Everyone in the country, believer or non-believer, knew about the Tai Ping Dao.

当时，郡县的官吏也只认为太平道是劝人为善、给人治病的教门，谁也没有认真过问。朝廷里有一两个大臣看出苗子，奏请灵帝下令禁止太平道。汉灵帝正忙着建造他的林园，也没把太平道放在心上。

张角他们把全国八个州几十万农民都组织起来，分为三十六方，大方一万多人，小方六七千人，每方都推举一个首领，由张角统一指挥。

他们秘密约定三十六方在“甲子”年（公元184年）三月初五，京城和全国同时起义，口号是：“苍天已死，黄天当立，岁在甲子，天下大吉。”“苍天”，就是指东汉王朝，“黄天”，就是指太平道。他们还暗暗派人在洛阳的寺庙和各州郡的官府大门上，用白粉写上“甲子”两字，作为起义的暗号。

可是，在离开起义时间还有一个多月的紧要关头，起义军内部出了叛徒，向东汉政权告了密。朝廷立刻在洛阳进行

In those days, prefecture and county officials did not at first pay much attention to the phenomenon, thinking that the Tai Ping Dao was merely a sect that advocated good deeds and offered medical treatment. A couple of ministers in the imperial court did believe that there was more than met the eye regarding the sect. In a petition to the Emperor, they called for a ban on the Way of Supreme Peace. However, Emperor Ling was busy with the construction of his imperial hunting grounds, so he dismissed the Tai Ping Dao from his mind.

Zhang Jiao organized the hundreds of thousands of peasants from eight regions into 36 branches. The bigger branches each consisting of 10,000 men, and the smaller ones were formed of six to seven thousand. The branch leaders were all directly accountable to Zhang Jiao. With his leaders, he created a secret plot that called for a simultaneous uprising by the insurgents in the imperial capital and across China on March 5 of the year of Jia Zi (184 CE). Their battle cry would be: 'The blue sky is dead and the yellow sky begins, in this auspicious year of Jia Zi.' The 'blue sky' was a reference to the Eastern Han Dynasty, and the 'yellow sky' meant the Tai Ping Dao. The characters 'jia zi' were furtively written in chalk on temple doors in Luoyang, and on the doors of regional and prefectural government offices across the country, as a secret signal to start the insurrection.

In the crucial one-month period leading up to the insurrection, a traitor from among the insurgents' ranks informed the Eastern Han government of the planned attack. The imperial government immediately searched for and

搜查。在洛阳做联络工作的马元义不幸被捕牺牲，和太平道有联系的群众一千多人也遭到杀害。

由于形势突然变化，张角当机立断，决定提前一个月起义。张角自称天公将军，称张宝为地公将军，张梁为人公将军。三十六方的起义农民，一接到张角的命令，同时起义。所有起义的农民头上都裹着黄巾，作为标志，所以称做“黄巾军”。

各地起义军攻打郡县，火烧官府，打开监狱，释放囚犯，没收官家的财物，开放粮仓，惩办官吏，地主豪强。不到十天，全国都响应起来了。各地起义军从四面八方涌来，各郡县的告急文书像雪片一样飞向京都洛阳。

汉灵帝慌忙召集大臣，商量镇压措施。

汉灵帝拜外戚何进为大将军，同时派出大批人马，由皇甫嵩、朱儁（音jūn）、卢植率领，分两路去镇压黄巾军。

但是，各地起义军好像大河决了口子一样，官府哪儿抵抗得了。大将军何进不得不叫汉灵帝下了一道诏书，吩咐各

arrested rebels in Luoyang. Ma Yuanyi, the group's liaison in the city, was executed after his arrest, as were 1,000 people associated with the sect.

Faced with this unexpected turn of events, Zhang Jiao decided to move the schedule for the planned attack ahead by one month. He gave himself the title General of the Sky, Zhang Bao the title General of the Earth, and Zhang Liang the title General of Humanity. At the command of Zhang Jiao, all 36 branches of the sect started attacking simultaneously. As an identifying mark, all the peasants in the insurgency wore yellow head scarves or turbans. This was the origin of the name, 'Yellow Turban Uprising'.

The various contingents of the uprising attacked and torched prefectural and county government offices, freed prison inmates, seized government property, opened up granaries to the public, and punished officials, landowners and members of the gentry. Within ten days, other insurgencies sprang up across the country. These converged on the imperial capital. The imperial court in Luoyang was hounded by requests for help from prefectures and counties across the country.

Emperor Ling summoned his ministers for an emergency session to discuss ways to put down the rebellion. He appointed his maternal relative He Jin as Chief General, and sent Huangfu Song, Zhu Jun and Lu Zhi with their troops to attack the Yellow Turbans from two sides. However, government forces were unable to stop the insurgent armies, and the uprising surged forward like flood water that had broken through a dike. Stymied, Chief General He Jin asked

州郡自己招募人马，对付黄巾军。这么一来，各地的宗室贵族、州郡长官、地主豪强，都借着打黄巾军的名义，乘机抢夺地盘，扩张势力，把整个国家闹得四分五裂。

黄巾军面对东汉朝廷和各地地主豪强的血腥镇压，坚持了九个月艰苦顽强的战斗。在紧张战斗的关键时刻，黄巾军领袖张角不幸病死。张梁、张宝带领起义军将士和敌人进行殊死搏斗以后，先后在战斗中牺牲。

起义军的主力虽然失败，但是化整为零的黄巾军一直坚持战斗了二十年。东汉王朝的腐朽统治，经过这场大规模起义的致命打击，也就奄奄一息了。

the Emperor to issue an edict telling local governments to raise their own armies to fight the Yellow Turbans. The nobility, local government leaders, powerful landowners and gentry capitalized on this opportunity to grab turf and expand their influence, all in the name of fighting the Yellow Turbans. Consequently, the country was grievously fragmented.

In the face of this bloody suppression by the imperial government, the local landowners, and the gentry, the Yellow Turbans put up stiff resistance for nine, difficult months. At a critical stage of fighting, the Yellow Turbans leader Zhang Jiao died from illness, and Zhang Liang and Zhang Bao were killed in fierce, fight-to-the-death combat.

Even after the defeat of the main force of insurgents, pockets of Yellow Turbans managed to keep up their fight for twenty years. This large-scale insurgency dealt a fatal blow to the corrupt and decadent Eastern Han Dynasty. From that point on, the Dynasty went into a rapid decline.

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