史記

中華書局
史記卷七

項羽本紀第七

項籍者，下相人也。字羽。初起時，年二十四。其季父項梁，梁父即楚將項燕之子也。燕，為秦將王翦所戮者也。燕氏世世為楚將，封於項，故姓項氏。

項籍少時，學書不成，去學劍，又不成。項梁怒之。籍曰：「書足以記名姓而已。劍一}

箋曰：「書足以記名姓而已。劍一
人敌，不足学，学万人敌。于是项梁乃教籍兵法，籍大喜，略知其意，又不肯就学。项梁尝略知其意，又不肯就学。项梁尝
秦二世元年七月，陳涉等起大澤中。其九月，會稽守通謂梁曰：「江西皆反，此天亡秦之時也。吾聞先即制人，後則为人所制。吾欲發兵，使公及桓楚將。」是時桓楚亡在澤中。梁曰：「桓楚亡，人莫知其處，獨籍知之耳。」梁復入，與守坐，曰：「請召籍，使受命召桓楚。」守曰：「可乎？」梁曰：「行矣。」於是籍遂拔劍斬守頭，項梁舉兵，使公及桓楚將。信乃出，誠籍持劍居外待。使人收下縣，得精兵八千人。項梁乃召吳中豪傑為校尉、候、司馬。有欲從者，以什許自言。於是梁為會稽守，籍為裨將，徇下縣。
廣陵人召平於是為陳王徇廣陵。三月，未能下。四月，聞陳王敗走，秦兵又且至，乃渡江僑陳。王命，拜平為楚王上柱國。五月，江東已定，急引兵西擊秦。項梁乃以八千人渡江，西。聞陳嬰已下東陽，使使欲與連和俱西。陳嬰者，故東陽令史，素信謹，稱為長者。東陽少年殺其令，相聚數千人，欲置長無適用，乃請陳嬰。嬰謝不能，遂彊立為長。縣中從者得二萬人。少年欲立嬰為王，嬰曰：“吾非項氏之種也，而世居楚。今欲舉大事，將非其人不可。我借名族，亡秦必矣。”於是眾從其言，以兵屬項梁。項梁渡淮，黥布、蒲将軍亦以兵屬焉。凡六六七萬人，軍下邳。《史記》曰：東陽縣本屬淮郡，漢明帝分屬下邳，後復屬廣陵。一案，下邳近長子、按：以兵威服之曰。
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拔皆坑之。還報項梁。項梁聞陳王定死，召諸別將會薛計事。此時沛公亦起沛，往焉。
居数月，引兵攻亢父，二月与齐田荣、司马龙且之三军救东阿。三月大破秦军于东阿。
榮即引兵歸。逐其王假。假亡走楚。假相田角亡走趙。角弟田間故齊將，居趙不敢歸。田榮立田儋子市為齊王。項梁已破東阿下軍，遂追秦軍。項梁曰：楚殺田假，趙殺田角，田間以市於齊，齊遂不肯發兵助楚。項梁使沛公及項羽別攻城陽，屠之。西破秦軍濮陽東，秦兵收入濮陽。沛公、項羽乃攻定陶。定陶未下，去，西略地至雃丘。大破秦軍，斬李由。還攻外黃，外黃未下。
項梁起東阿，西（北）比至定陶，再破秦軍，項羽等又斬李由，益輕秦，有驕色。宋義乃諫項梁曰：「戰勝而將驕卒惰者敗，今卒少惰矣，秦兵日益，臣為君畏之。」項梁弗聽。乃使宋義使於齊。道遇齊使者高陵君顯，曰：「公將見武信君乎？」曰：「然。」曰：「臣論武信君，天下豈有長者乎？」曰：「然。」曰：「臣論項君，天下豈有賢主乎？」曰：「然。」曰：「立楚之後為王，楚襄王竟無以加於君者，彼豈能長乎？」曰：「然。」曰：「臣請使使楚。」梁曰：「信君必敗。公徐行即免死，疾行則及禍。」果悉起兵益章邯，擊楚軍，大破之定陶，項梁死。沛公、項羽去外黃攻陳留，陳留堅守不能下。沛公、項羽相與謀曰：「今項梁破，士卒惡，乃與呂臣軍俱引兵而東。呂臣軍彭城東，項羽軍彭城西，沛公軍砀。」
章邯已破項梁軍，則以爲楚地兵不足憂，乃渡河擊趙，大破之。
當此時，趙歇爲王，陳餘爲將，將卒數萬人，而軍鉅鹿之北，此所謂河北之軍也。
其父呂青爲令尹。以沛公爲砀郡長，封爲武安侯。以項羽爲魯公，爲次將，范增爲末將，救趙。
諸別將皆屬宋義，號爲卿子冠軍。
項羽曰：「吾聞秦軍圍趙王鉅鹿，疾引兵渡河，楚擊其外，趙應其內，破秦軍必矣。」宋義曰：「不然。夫搏牛之犢不可以破矰桘。今秦攻趙，戰勝則兵罷，我承其敝，不勝則我引兵鼓行而西，必舉秦矣。」公曰：「坐而運策，公不如義。」因下令軍中曰：「猛如虎，很如羊，貪如狼，彊不可使者，皆刑之。」乃遣其子宋襄相齊，身送之至無鹽，飲酒高會。天寒大霧，士卒凍餓。項羽曰：「將戮力而攻秦，久留不行。今歲饑民貧，士卒食芋菽。軍無見糧，乃飲酒高會，不引兵渡河因趙食，與趙併力攻秦，乃曰：『承其敝。』夫以秦之彊，攻新造之趙，其勢必舉趙，趙舉而秦彊，何敝之承！且國兵新破，王坐不安席，埽境內而專屬於將軍，國家安危，如此一舉，今不愜士卒而徇其私，非社稷之臣。」項羽晨朝上將軍宋義，曰：「令羽誅之。」義引兵北指趙，未至度瀆。義出令軍中曰：「宋義與齊謀反楚，楚王陰令羽誅之。」乃相與共立羽為假上將軍。義奔宋，羽使人追宋義子，及之齊，殺之。使桓楚報命於懷王。懷王因使項羽爲上將軍。三國之亡，諸將皆服，莫敢枝梧。皆使人心，及事成，羽自立為西楚霸王。
史記·後

三○六

索隱按：傳載雲自從安陽、紅里，則安陽與紅里俱在河南。顧師古以爲今相州安陽縣。按：此兵猶未渡河，不應即至相州安陽。今檢後魏書地形志云：己氏有安陽城，隋改己氏為楚丘，今宋州楚丘，西北四十里有安陽故城是也。

正義按：地志云：安陽縣，相州所理縣。爾雅釋地云：七國時魏都於中邑，秦昭王拔魏新中邑，更名安陽。

張耳傳雲章邯軍钜鹿南，築甬道屬河，餉王離。項羽數絕甬道，王離軍之食。項羽悉引兵渡河，遂破章邯圍钜鹿下。又云渡河鐵船，持三日糧。按，從滑州白馬津渡三日糧不至邢州，明此渡河，相州渡河也。入魯界，飲酒高會，非入齊之路。義雖知子曲，由宋州安陽理順，然向钜鹿甚遠，不能斷章邯甬道及持三日糧至也。均之一理，安陽送子至無遣爲長。濟河絶甬道，持三日糧，寧有遲留？史家多不委曲說之也。

解正義云：如淳曰：三用力多而不可破僣築，蓋言欲以大力伐秦而不可以麤趙也。《索隱》張晏云：「搆音築」，韋昭云：「搆音築」，章邯即戰也。鄭氏搆音築。今按：言築之搆，本不搆破其甬道也。章邯即戰也。

解索隱按：地理志東郡郡之縣，在今鄭州之東也。

解索隱按：漢書·循吏傳曰：「召韓彭，故云高。」又史記·六國年表索隱曰：「召高爵者，故曰高會。」服虔云：「大會也。」

解索隱按：地志：「召韓彭者，故曰高會。」服虔云：「大會也。」

解徐廣曰：「芋，一作士半，士，五升也。又士，量器名，容半升也。」

解徐廣曰：「芋，一作士半。士，五升也。又王劭曰：「芋，量器名。」
正義：胡練反。颜監云：「無見在之極」。}

項羽已殺卿子冠軍，威震楚國，名聞諸侯。乃遣當陽君、蒲將軍將卒二萬渡河，皆沈船，破釜甑，燒廬舍，持三日糧，以示士卒必死，無一還心。於是至則圍王離，與秦軍遇。九戰，絕其甬道。大破之，殺蘇角。離，涉閭不降楚，自燒殺。當是時，楚兵皆從壁上觀。楚戰士無不一以當十，楚兵呼聲動天，諸侯軍皆莫敢縱兵。及楚擊秦，諸將皆從壁上觀。項羽召見諸侯將，入轅門，無不膝行而前。若不見手，莫敢仰視。項羽由是始為諸侯上將軍，諸侯皆屬焉。
章邯軍棘原，項羽引兵漳南，不敢出道，趙高果使人追之，不及。長史欣請事。至咸陽，留司馬門，三日，趙高不見，有不信之心。長史欣恐，還走其軍，不敢出故道。趙高果使人追之，不及。欣至軍，報曰：趙高用事於中，下無可為者。今戰能勝，高必疾妒吾功；戰不能勝，不免於死。願將軍恕之。陳餘亦遣章邯書曰：自起為秦將，南征鄢郢，北平馬服。攻城略地，不可勝計，而竟賜死。蒙恬為秦將，北逐戎人，開榆中地數千里；竟斬陽周，何者？功多，秦不能盡封，因以法誅之。今將軍為秦將三歲矣，所亡失以千萬數，而諸侯並起滋益多。彼趙高素誤日久，今事急，亦恐二世誅之，故欲以法誅將軍以塞責，使人更代將軍以脫其禍。若將軍居外久，多內卻，有功亦誅，無功亦誅。且天之亡秦，無愚智皆知之。今將軍內不能直諫，外為亡國將，孤特獨立而欲常存，豈妻子為億乎？章邯狐疑，陰使候始成使項羽，欲約。約未成，項羽使蒲將軍日夜引兵度三戶，章邯漳南，與秦戰，再破之。項羽悉引兵擊秦軍汙水上，大破之。
乃與期洹水南殷虛上。已盟，章邯見項羽而流涕，為言趙高。項羽乃立章邯爲雍王，置
楚軍中。使長史欣爲上將軍，將秦軍爲前\n楚軍中。使長史欣爲上將軍，將秦軍爲前

行略定秦地。函谷關，項羽大怒，使當陽

項羽大怒，使當陽
良曰：「長於臣。」沛公曰：「君為我呼入，吾得兄事之。」張良出，要項伯。項伯即入見沛公。"
前為壽，壽畢，請以劍舞，因擊沛公於坐，殺之。不者，若屬皆且爲所虜。莊如其言。拔劍起舞，常以身翼蔽沛公。會四合，沛公大呼，散落。人皆力戰，連破秦軍。沛公起如廁，因招樊哙出。
沛公曰：‘今者出，未辭也，为之奈何？’樊哙曰：‘大行不顾细谨，大礼不辞小让。’乃使张良留谢。良问曰：‘大王来何操？’曰：‘我持白璧一双，欲献项王；玉斗一双，欲与亚父。’遂-on page 2
地拔剑撞而破之曰：‘唉！竖子不足与谋。’遂拔剑自刎。沛公至军，立诛杀曹无伤。

项羽使人致命怀王。怀王曰：‘如约。’乃尊怀王为义帝。项王欲自王，先王诸将相。

项羽本纪第七
謂曰：「天下初發難時，諸侯皆立諸君與籙之力也。義帝雖無功，故當分其地而王之。」諸將皆曰：「善。」乃曰：「巴、蜀道險，秦之遙人皆居蜀。」乃曰：「巴、蜀亦倂中地也。」於是立沛公為漢王，立項羽為雍王，立子元為楚王，立魏王豹為西魏王，立韓王成為韓王，立蔡澤為蘄王，立甘茂之孫章邯為雍王，立魏將豹為西燕王，立韓裨將成為韓王，立齊將田假為齊王，立趙將田市為趙王，立燕將韓廣為燕王，立齊將田都為齊王，立趙將武垣為趙王，立韓將成安君滿為韓王，立魏將張守為魏王，立韓將魏王豹為韓王。
田安下濟北數城，引其兵降項羽，故立安為濟北王，都博陽。田榮者，數負項梁，又不肯將兵從楚擊秦，以故不封。成安君陈餘亦將印去，不從入關，然素聞其賢，有功於趙，故封為趙王，都南皮。王九郡，都彭城。其在南皮，故因環封三縣，番君將梅鋭，功多，故封十萬戶侯。項王自立為西楚霸王，都彭陽，即此也。
史記卷七

梁梁按：今鄱陽有高奴城。

正義括地志云：陽翟故城在洛州洛陽縣東北二十六里，周公所築，即成周城也。因地志云成周之地，秦莊襄王以為洛陽縣三川守理之。後漢都洛陽，改為洛陽縣，漢以後，改曰陽翟。隋以火德，忌火，故去洛旁水，而加翟以為名。

陽翟縣是，屬潁川郡，夏禹之國。

正義括地志云：陽翟，洛州縣也。左傳雲鄭伯入於陽翟。杜預云陽翟，鄭別都，今河南陽翟縣是也。地理志云：陽翟，屬潁川郡，夏禹之國。漢以後，改曰陽翟。隋以火德，忌火，故去洛旁水，而加翟以為名。魏、晉、齊、梁、陳，周之胤也。大隋、大業、唐、宋、元、明、清，皆因之。

後所封也，故號曰鄱君。今鄱陽縣是也。
正義

漢書表曰：本南郡，改為臨江國。

正義

柳宗元表曰：齊之南郡，改為臨江國。

正義

徐廣曰：都無處。

正義

徐廣曰：江陵為郡，改為臨江國。

正義

江陵，荆州縣，史記江陵，故郢都也。

正義

徐廣曰：郢自郢。

正義

郡國雲：高紀及曰齊揚州南郡臨江，此言臨江，誤。

正義

地志云：郡名故城在黃州膠水縣南六十里。古齊地，本漢費縣。

正義

地志云：郡名故城在黃州南皮縣北四十里。本漢皮縣城，即陳餘所封也。

正義

漢書表曰：郡名故城在黃州南皮縣北四十里。本漢皮縣城，即陳餘所封也。

正義

漢書表曰：郡名南皮縣。

正義

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漢之元年四月，諸侯皆降，各就國。項王出之國，使人徙義帝，曰：「古之帝者地方千里，必居上游。」乃使使徙義帝長沙郴縣。趣義帝行，其羣臣稍稍背反，乃陰令衡山、臨江王殺之江中。韓王成無功，項王不使之國，與俱至彭城，廢以爲侯，已又殺之。藏茶之國，因逐韓廣之逐東，廣弗聽，茶擊殺廣無窮，井王其地。

田榮聞項羽徙齊王市膠東，而立齊將田都爲齊王，乃大怒，不肯遣齊王之膠東，因以齊反，迎擊田都。田都走楚。齊王市畏項王，乃亡之膠東就國。田榮怒，追擊殺之即墨。榮因自立爲齊王，而西擊殺濟北王田安，井王三齊。榮與彭越將軍印，令反梁地。陳餘陰
图片中的文本无法自然阅读。
乃西從驅，晨擊漢軍。望東至彭城，日中，大破漢軍。漢軍皆走，相隨入榖，泗水，殺漢卒十餘萬人。漢卒皆南走山，楚又追擊至靈壁東，睢水上。漢軍皆壘，為楚所起，折木發屋，揚沙石，窈冥霧晦，楚遂迎楚軍。楚軍大亂，壞散，而漢王乃得與數十騎遁去。欲過沛，收家室而西：楚亦使人追之沛，取漢王家；家皆亡，不與漢王相見。楚王道逢得孝惠、魯元，乃載行。楚騎追漢王，漢王急，推險孝惠、魯元車下，滕公常下收載之。如是者三。曰：「雖急不可以驅，奈何棄之？」於是遂得脫。求太公、吕后不相遇。審食

其事從太公、吕后閒行，求漢王，反遇楚軍。楚軍遂與歸，報項王，項王常置軍中。

（集解）徐廣曰：「作劫。」案：按：漢書見作劫字。
略而行，又云：‘發誌中兵，收三河士’。發誌差點破發也，收諸兵略收諸兵也。韋昭云：‘發誌中兵，發誌中兵。’

（三）

正義：地志云：徐州，魯，兗州曲阜縣也。地理志：胡陵在山陽縣屬也。

（四）

正義：地志云：徐州，魯，兗州曲阜縣也。地理志：胡陵在山陽縣屬也。

（五）

正義：徐廣云：‘睢水於彭城入泗水。’

（六）

正義：睢水難。括地志云：‘霍城故城在徐州符離縣西九十里。睢水’

項羽本紀第七

（七）

正義：為于僞反。
文章内容无法正常显示。
項王之救彭城，追漢王至荥陽，田横亦得收齊，立田榮子廣為齊王。漢王之敗彭城，諸侯皆復與楚而背漢。漢軍荥陽，築甬道屬之河，以取敖倉粟。漢之三年，項王數侵奪漢甬道，漢王欲還之。項王乃疑范增與漢有私，稍奪其權。范增大怒，曰：‘天下事大定矣，君王自為之。’遂歸項王。
漢將紀信說漢王曰：「事已急矣，請為王誇楚為王，王可以間出。」於是漢王夜出女子
於宣陽東門被甲一千人，楚兵四面擊之。紀信乘黃屋車，傅左纛，日：「城中食盡，漢
王降。」楚軍皆呼萬歲。漢王亦與數十騎從城西門出，走成皋。項王見紀信，問：「漢
王安在？」信曰：「漢王已出矣。」項王燒殺紀信。

漢王使御史大夫周苛、樑公、魏豹守荥陽。周苛、樑公謀曰：「反國之王，難與守
城。」乃共殺魏豹。楚下，燒殺相距。項王謂周苛曰：「為我將，我以公為上將軍，封
三萬戶。」苛曰：「不若不趣降漢。漢今西若，若非漢敵也。」項王怒，烹周苛，井殺樑公。
漢王之出賈陽，南走宛，葉，得九江王布，行收兵，復入保成皋。漢之四年，項王進兵圍成皋。漢王逃，獨與滕公出成皋北門，渡河走脩武，從張耳、韓信軍。諸將稍稍得出成皋，從漢王。楚遂拔成皋，欲西。漢使兵距之，令其不得西。是時，彭越渡河擊楚東阿，殺楚將軍薛公。項王乃自東擊彭越。漢王得淮陰侯兵，欲渡河南。鄭忠說漢王，乃止壁河內。使劉賈將兵佐彭越，燒楚積聚。項王東擊破之，走彭越。漢王則引兵渡河，復取成皋，軍廣武，就敖倉食。項王已定東海來，西，與漢俱臨廣武而軍。相守數月。正義：上積賜反。是時，彭越數反梁地，絕楚糧食，項王患之。為高祖置太公其上，告漢王曰：今不歸，楚且約，吾等皆被其難矣。
不急下，吾烹太公。一 漢王曰：吾與項羽俱北面受命懷王，曰：約為兄弟，吾翁即若翁，必欲烹而翁，則幸分我一梧羹。一項王怒，欲殺之。  伯曰：天下事未可知，且為天下者不顧家，雖殺之無益，祗益禍耳。一項王從之。

楚漢久相持未決，丁壯苦軍旅，老弱罷轉漕。項王謂漢王曰：天下匈匈數歲者，徒以吾兩人耳。願與漢王挑戰。一 汉王大怒，乃自被甲持戟挑戰。樓煩欲射之，項王瞋目叱之，樓煩不敢射，遂走還入壁，不敢復出。漢王使人閒問之，乃項王也。漢王大驚。於是項王乃即漢王相與臨廣武閒而語。
漢軍果圍楚軍戰，楚軍不出。使人辱之，五六日，大司馬怒，渡兵汜水。士卒半渡，漢軍擊之，破楚軍，盡得楚國賈賊。大司馬咎、長史翳、塞王欣皆自刭汜水上。大司馬咎、長史翳、塞王欣皆自刭汜水上。}}

漢軍圍鍾離昧，引兵還。漢軍方圍鍾離昧，季父圍定，漢軍畏楚，盡走隴阻。

果解。張晏曰：「汜水在濟陰界，如淳曰：汜水之名，左傳曰：邲在鄭北汜，如淳曰：「齊桓公攻曹者，乘茲也。」」「濟之指南之，非彼濟陰郡耳。」

氾水源出洛州汜水縣東南三十二里方山，古濟水當此裁河而南，又東流，溢為殽澤。然南日陸，此亦在濟之陰，非彼濟陰郡耳。」

漢軍圍鍾離昧，引兵還。漢軍畏楚，盡走隴阻。
公往說項王，項王乃與漢約，中分天下，割鴻溝以西者為漢，以東者為楚。鴻溝而東者為楚。項王許之，即歸漢王父母妻子。軍皆呼萬歲。漢王乃封侯公為平國君。匿弗肯復見。曰：此天下辯士，所居傾國，故號為平國君。項王已約，乃引兵解而東歸。

漢欲西歸，張良、陳平說曰：「漢有天下大半，而諸侯皆附之。楚兵罷食盡，此天亡楚之時也，不如因其機而遂取之。今釋弗擊，此所謂『養虎自遺患』也。」漢王聽之。漢五年，漢王乃追項王至陽夏南，止軍，與淮陰侯韓信、建成侯彭越期會而擊楚軍。楚軍分天下，今可立致也。即不能，事未可知也。君王能自陳以東傅海，盡與韓信、睢陽以
北至穀城，改以與彭越。使各自為戰，則楚易敗也。”漢王曰：“善。”於是乃發使者告
韓信、彭越曰：“今兵齊往，劉賈軍從齊南，彭越軍從舒居北，皆舉九江兵，會垓下。”
大司馬周殷期楚，以舒居六，舉九江兵，騷楚皆會垓下，詐項王。

集解李奇曰：“信、越等未有益地之分也。”韋昭曰：“信等雖名為王，未有所畫經界。”
正義括地志云：“陳州太康縣，本漢陽夏縣也。漢書郡國志云陽夏縣屬陳國。”
按：太康縣城夏后太康所築。隋改夏為太康。

括地志云：“陳州太康縣，本漢陽夏縣也。漢書郡國志云陽夏縣屬陳國。”
按：太康縣城夏后太康所築。隋改夏為太康。

集解徐廣曰：“在陽夏。”臣瓚曰：“即陽夏也。”
四十二里。
壽州，引兵過淮北，屠殺亳州、城父，而東北至垓下。

三歲注云：垓，壘名，在沛郡。正義按：垓下是高陽縣今猶高三丈，其縣邑及壘在壘之側，因取名焉。

今在亳州真源縣東十里，與老君廟相接。沈若生注：正義曰：高陽縣今猶高三丈，其縣邑及壘在壘之側，因取名焉。

李奇曰：沛陰縣聚邑名也。索隱：張揖曰：劉昭雲：正義：「謂高陽縣今猶高三丈也。」

大驚曰：漢皆已得楚乎？是何楚人之多也！項王乃悲歌慷慨，自爲詩曰：「力拔山兮氣蓋世，時不利兮骓不逝。骓不逝兮可奈何！虞兮虞兮奈若何！」歌數闋，美人和之。項王泣數行下，左右皆泣，莫能仰視。

項王軍壁垓下，兵少食盡，漢軍及諸侯兵圍之數重。夜聞漢軍四面皆楚歌，項王乃大驚曰：漢皆已得楚乎？是何楚人之多也！項王乃悲歌慷慨，自爲詩曰：「力拔山兮氣蓋世，時不利兮骓不逝。骓不逝兮可奈何！虞兮虞兮奈若何！」歌數闋，美人和之。項王泣數行下，左右皆泣，莫能仰視。
於是項王乃上馬騎，麾下壯士騎從者八百餘人，直夜潰圍南出，驰走。平明，漢軍乃覺之，令騎將灌嬰以五千騎追之。項王渡淮，騎能屬者百餘人耳。項王至陰陵，乃陷大澤中。以故漢追及之。項王乃欲引兵而東，東城戰，乃有二十八騎。漢騎追者數千人。項王自度不得脱，謂其騎曰：吾起兵而東，三十六年矣，身七十餘戰，未嘗敗北，遂霸有天下。然今卒困於此。此天之亡我，非戰之罪也。今日固決死，願為諸君快戰，必三勝之，為諸君快戰。遂乃分其騎以爲四隊，四隊四面楚歌，楚軍皆醉，皆遁。漢軍皆披靡，遂斬漢一將。是時，赤泉侯爲騎將，追項王。項王瞋目而叱之，赤泉侯人馬俱驚，辟易數里。與其騎會於三處。漢軍不知項王所在，乃分軍爲三，復圍之。項王乃起，沛公方得解圍而出。
於是項王乃上馬騎，麾下壯士騎從者八百餘人，直夜潰圍南出，駭走。平明，漢軍乃覺之，令騎將灌嬰以五千騎追之。項王渡淮，騎能屬者百餘人耳。項王至陰陵，Signals"," "signals"," signals"

今日固決死，願為諸君快戰，必三勝之，為諸君潰圍，斬將，刈旗，令諸君知天亡我，非戰之罪也。乃分其騎以爲四隊，西門，漢軍皆披靡，遂斬漢一將。是時，赤泉侯爲騎將，追項王。項王瞋目而叱之，赤泉侯人馬俱驚，辟易數里。與其騎會爲三處。漢軍不知項王所在，乃分軍爲三，復圍之。項王乃
於是項王乃欲東渡烏江。二三，謂項王曰：「江東雖小，地方千里，眾數十萬人，亦足王也。願大王急渡。今獨臣有船，漢軍至，無以渡。」項王笑曰：「天之亡我，我何渡為！且籍與江東子弟八千人渡江而西，今無一人還，縱籍無功也，漢軍至，無以渡。」遂自誅焉。從此項王自別漢王，每言必決於心。}

方人謂舟向岸曰龍。
項王已死，二三楚地皆降漢，獨魯不下。漢乃引天下兵欲屠之，為其守禮義，為主死節，乃持項王頭視魯，魯父兄乃降。始，楚懷王初封項籍為魯公，及其死，魯最後下，故以魯公

正義：晉書曰，二三楚地皆降漢，獨魯不下。漢乃引天下兵欲屠之，為其守禮義，為主死節，乃持項王頭視魯，魯父兄乃降。始，楚懷王初封項籍為魯公，及其死，魯最後下，故以魯公
王者，位雖不終，近古以來未嘗有也。及羽背漢懷楚，放逐義帝而自立，怨王侯叛己，難
矣。自矜功伐，奮其私智而不師古，謂霸王之業，欲以力征經營天下，五年卒亡其國，身
死東城，尚不覺寤而不自責，過矣。乃引一夫亡我，非用兵之罪也，豈不諧哉！

漢人與太史公耳目相接明矣。

（《集解》）

（《索隱》）

（《正義》）

（注）

（按）太史公云云，是謂劉向也。}

天實不與。嗟彼蓋代，卒為凶豀。
高祖本紀

高祖，沛豐邑中陽里人，姓劉氏，字季。父曰太公，母曰劉媪。其先劉媪逐產高祖。
史記卷八

漢書名邦，字季，此稱字也，亦可說。漢高祖長兄名伯，次名仲，不見別名，則季亦是名也。

故謂之曰：高祖小字季，即位易名邦，後因諱邦不諱季，所以季布猶稱姓也。

樂志曰：地神曰.sun”。姬姓母別名也，音烏老反。”

又據春秋提成篇以寫執姬妾宿始，遊洛池，生劉季。詩云：“詩時盤澗，於時周政所出，蓋無取焉。今近有人“母溫氏。然時得班固拌水亭長古石碑文，其字分明作，溫字，云“母溫氏。正義注：“地神曰姬者，姬禮有也。今有姬姓母別名，皆非正史所載，蓋無取焉。有女姬名本姓之子，史遷全不詳載，即理而問，斷可知矣。”

高祖爲人，隆準而龍顔，美須髯，左股有七十二黑子。仁而愛人，喜施。意豁如也。常有大度，不事家人生產作業。及壯，試爲吏，爲泗水亭長，廷中吏無所不。
[Image text not accurately transcribed or translated]
高祖常繇咸陽，謂秦始皇帝，喟然大息曰：嗟乎，大丈夫當如此也！

単父人呂公，為沛令，避仇從之客，因家焉。沛中豪桀吏聞令有重客，皆往賀。呂公乃令教師，賀錢萬，實不持一錢。呂公曰：令諸大夫主進，不滿千錢，坐之堂下。呂公曰：往年大赦，君位益尊，宜賓客。會賓客，坐上坐，為壽。呂公因固留高祖。高祖竟酒卻君。呂公曰：臣少好相人，相人多矣，無如季相。願季自愛。臣有息女，願為季箕帚妾。酒畢，呂媪怒呂公，曰：吕公非故人，何自妄許與劉季？呂公曰：此非故人，故無所許！今公故人，故有所許。願季為官守，急事，無求用我。
非兒女子所知也。卒與劉李。呂公女乃呂後也，生孝惠帝、魯元公主。
高祖為亭長時，常告歸之田。吕后與兩子居田中耨，有一老父過請飲，呂后因餾之。

高祖曰：「夫人天下貴人也。」令相兩子，見孝惠、曰：「夫人所以貴者，乃此男也。」相魯元，亦皆貴。老父曰：「高祖適從旁舍來，呂后具言客有過，相我子母皆大貴。高祖曰：「亦為天下貴。」乃謝曰：「誠如父言，不敢忘德。」及高祖貴，遂不知老父處。
高祖以亭長爲縣送徒郿山，徒多道亡。自度比至皆亡之，已到豐西澤中，止飢，夜乃解縛所送徒。曰：‘公等皆去，吾亦從此逝矣！’徒中壯士願從者十餘人。高祖被酒，夜乃行，畏。乃前，拔劍擊斬蛇。蛇遂分爲兩，徑開。行數里，餓，因臥。後人來至蛇所有一老嫗夜哭。人問何哭，嫗曰：‘人殺吾子，吾子，白帝子也，化爲蛇，當道，今爲赤帝子斬之。’赤帝子當徑，願還。’高祖醉，曰：‘壯士！’後人告高祖，高祖乃心獨喜，自負。諸從者日益畏之。
秦始皇帝常曰：‘东南有天子气’，于是因东游以厌之。高祖即自疑，亡匿，隐於芒、砀山泽深岩之閒。呂后與人俱求，常得之。故从往常得之。高祖心喜。沛中子弟或聞之，或多欲附者矣。
秦二世元年，二月，沛令恐，欲以沛属秦。沛公至陈留，王之，号为“张楚”。诸郡县皆多杀其长吏以及秦使者与战。士卒多不隶。沛公又取巴、蜀，与民约法三章……
於是樊噲從劉季來。沛令後悔，恐其有變，乃閉城城守，欲誅蕭、曹。蕭、曹恐，逾城保劉季。劉季乃書帛射城上，謂沛父老曰：「天下苦秦久矣。今父老雖為沛令，諸侯并起，今屠沛。沛今共誅令，擇子弟可立者立之，以應諸侯，則家室全。不然，父子俱屠，吾豈敢先沛令計乎？」父老乃率子弟共殺沛令，開城門迎劉季，欲以沛令為沛公。今置將不善，壹敗塗地。吾非敢自愛，恐能薄，不能完父兄子弟。此大事，願更相推擇可者。」使曹等為吏，自愛，恐事不就，後秦檜族其家，盡讓劉季。諸父老皆曰：「常聞劉季諸珍怪，當貴，且卜筮之，莫如劉季最吉。」於是劉季遂讓。眾莫敢為，乃立季為沛公。甲寅，葬黃帝於魯南茶山，南向，築壇皆赤。由所殺蛇白帝子，殺者赤帝子，故上赤。於是少年豪吏如蕭曹、樊噲等皆為收沛子弟二三千人，攻胡陵、方與。
與周市來攻方累，未戰。陳王使魏人周市略地。周市使人謂雍齒曰：「豊故梁徙也。今魏已定者數十城，置今下魏，魏以齒為侯守豐。不下，且屠豐。」雍齒雅不欲屬沛公，願為魏將。市乃引兵北定楚地，屠相，至蕭，不利。還收兵，聚夏，引兵攻碭，三日乃破之。因收碭兵，得五六千人，攻下邳，下邳降。沛公攻豐，豐降。西入穀，按：今其水東惟有穀驛。}

東陽侯去，按：今其水東惟有穀驛。雍齒，按：漢書高紀，二世二年八月，武臣自立為趙王，田儋自立為齊王，韓廣自立為魏王，魏咎自立為魏王，留侯不賤，自號武安侯。《集解》文慎曰：穀當今沛郡也，高祖更名沛。秦時御史監郡，若今刺史。平名也。 }

正家三十六郡，置守尉監，故此有「監」，下有「守」，則平，莊皆名也。
又自索陽。索陽，在今河北東北九十里。陽城在宋州東，一百五十里。索陽，今在磁県。

楚獨追北，○使沛公、項羽別攻城陽，○屠之。軍濮陽之東，○與秦軍戰，破之。

大業五年，義帝自殺。楚漢分天下，楚立懷王。
秦軍復振，二守濮陽，環水。楚軍攻定陶，定陶未下。沛公軍陽。

項梁再破秦軍，有驕色。宋義諫，不聽。秦益章邯兵，夜銜枚擊項梁，大破之定陶，項梁死。沛公與項羽方攻陳留，聞項梁死，引兵與呂將軍俱東。呂臣軍彭城東，項羽軍三川西，沛公軍陽。
為王，秦將王離圍之。楚軍滅鹿城，此所謂河北之軍也。秦二世三年，楚懷王見項梁軍破，恐，徙盱台都彭城，井邑臣、項羽軍自將之。以沛公為陽郡長，封為武安侯，願與沛公西入關。}

趙數請救，懷王乃以宋義為上將軍，項羽次將，范增為末將，北救趙。令沛公西略地，諸所謂無不殲滅。
告誡秦父兄。秦父兄苦其主久矣，今誠得長者往，毋侵暴，宜可下。今項羽僥僥，今可不
可遣。獨沛公素寬大長者，可遣。卒不許項羽，而遣沛公西略地，收陳王、項梁散卒。乃
道陽，至成陽，與杠里。秦軍驚壁，破霧。秦二軍。楚軍出兵擊王離大破之。

沛公引兵西，遇彭越昌邑，因與俱攻秦軍，戰不利。還至栗，遇剛武侯，奪其
軍，可四千餘人，井之。與魏將皇欣、魏申徒武蒲之軍攻昌邑，昌邑未拔。西過高陽。立鄉食其為監門，曰：「諸將過此者多，吾視沛公大人長者。」乃求見說沛公。沛公方踞牀，使兩女子洗足。鄉食其進，長揖曰：「足下必欲誅無道秦，不宜踞見長者。」於是沛公起，攝衣謝之，延上坐。食其說沛公襲陳留，得秦積粟。沛公欲立六國後。文公曰：「善。吾将與女偕立之。」遂封韓、魏、楚、趙、宋、衛，立韓申生為韓王，魏芹為魏王，楚懷王柯為楚王，趙緯為趙王，韓景齧為韓王，衛武公為衛君。因張良遂略韓地轅轅。又出策應劭曰：「楚懷王將也。」漢書音義曰：「功臣表云封蒲鶴侯陳武。」懷，一姓張。又為楚懷王將，又為魏將，例未稱諡。引義，魏師古云：「史失其名姓，唯識其爵號，不知誰也。」當改為「剛侯武」。應氏以為懷王將，又為魏將，無據。
以爲降必死，故皆堅守乘城。今足下盡力止攻，士死傷者必多；引兵去宛，宛必隨足下後。足下前則失咸陽之約，後又有彊宛之患。足下計，莫若約降，封其守，因使止攻，引其甲卒與之西。諸城未下者，聞聲爭開門而待，足下通行無所憂。沛公曰善。乃以宛陵。還攻胡陽，遇番君別將梅鋗，與皆降。時章邯已以軍降項羽於趙矣。
雲黃帝去年同期帝子丹朱於舟水是也。輿地志云秦乃舟水縣也。地理志云舟水縣屬百隴郡。按舟水其名甚古，舟令人云舟水出丹朱，初項羽與宋義北救趙，及項羽殺宋義，代為上將軍，諸將黥布皆屬破秦將王離軍。降章邯，諸侯皆附。及趙高已殺二世，使人來，欲約分王關中。沛公以爲詐，乃用張良計，使國諸所過毋得掠鹺，三秦人懼，秦軍解，因大破之。又戰其北，大破之。時勝遂破之。
漢元年十月，沛公兵遂先諸侯至霸上。①

始皇派尉，發兵，俱以道，封皇帝

已服降，又殺之，不祥。乃以秦王屬吏，遂西入咸陽。欲止宮休舍，樊哙、張良諫，乃遇諸侯約，先入關者王之，吾以與諸侯約，先入關者王之，吾當王關中。與父老約，法三章耳：殺人者死，傷人及盜抵罪。餘悉除去秦法。諸吏人皆案堵如故。②

非有所侵暴，無恐！且吾所以還軍霸上，待諸侯至而定約束耳。乃使人與秦吏行縣鄉邑告謨之。秦人大喜，爭持牛羊酒食獻饗軍士。沛公又讓不受，曰：「倉粟多，非乏，不欲費人。」人又益喜，唯恐沛公不為秦王。②

① 始皇派尉，發兵，俱以道，封皇帝

② 非有所侵暴，無恐！且吾所以還軍霸上，待諸侯至而定約束耳。乃使人與秦吏行縣鄉邑告謨之。秦人大喜，爭持牛羊酒食獻饗軍士。沛公又讓不受，曰：「倉粟多，非乏，不欲費人。」人又益喜，唯恐沛公不為秦王。②
方言章昭云：天子自稱尊，又獨以玉。符，發兵符也。節，使者所操也。詩云：符信也。漢制以竹，長六寸，分而相合。釋名云：節為號令賞罰之節也。又節，王上相重，取象竹節。又漢官儀云：子母上始皇，因服御之，代傳受。號曰：漢傳國號也。天子之璽，天子信璽。皇帝信璽凡廉，事皆用之，歀令施行；天子信璽，皇帝信璽，皆以武都紫泥封，青囊白素裹，兩端無鐫。三秦記云：紫泥水在今成州。《地志》云：紫泥封，蓋用紫泥也。

正義按：天子有六璽，皇帝行璽、皇帝信璽、天子行璽、天子之璽，子母上始皇，因服御之，代傳受。號曰：漢傳國號也。天子之璽，天子信璽。皇帝信璽凡廉，事皆用之，歀令施行；天子信璽，皇帝信璽，皆以武都紫泥封，青囊白素裹，兩端無鐫。三秦記云：紫泥水在今成州。《地志》云：紫泥封，蓋用紫泥也。
或說沛公曰："今則來，沛公恐不得有此。可急使兵守函谷關，無內諸侯兵，稍徧關中兵以自益，距之。沛公然其計，從之。十一月中，項羽果至，欲攻沛公。沛公使人言項羽曰："沛公欲王關中，令子彊為相，珍寶盡有之。"項羽乃止，欲以封。亞父勸項羽曰："不如因善遇之。"羽曰："此沛公左司馬曹無傷言之。不然，籍何以生此！"沛公以樊哙、張良故，得解歸。歸立誅曹無傷。
順之之。項羽之敗，懷王曰：「如約。」項羽怨懷王不肯令與沛公俱西入關，而北救趙，後天下約。乃曰：「懷王者，吾家項梁所立耳，非有功伐，何以得王約！本定天下，諸將及籍也。乃詳尊懷王為義帝，實不用其命。」

項羽使人還報懷王。懷王曰：「如約。」項羽怨懷王不肯令與沛公俱西入關，而北救趙，後天下約。乃曰：「懷王者，吾家項梁所立耳，非有功伐，何以得王約！本定天下，諸將及籍也。乃詳尊懷王為義帝，實不用其命。」
燕將臧荼為燕王，都薊。故燕王韓廣徙王遼東。廣不聽，臧荼攻殺之無終。封咸安君陳餘為河間三縣，居南皮。封梅鋭十萬戶。
四月，兵罷戲下，諸侯各就國。漢王之國，項王使卒三萬人從之，楚與諸侯之募從者數萬人，從杜南入殽中。去轡燒絕梁道，以備諸侯之兵襲之，亦示項羽無東意者，而王獨居南鄭，是遷也。軍吏士卒皆山東之人也，日夜跂而望歸，亦示項羽無東意，可以有大功。天下已定，人皆自寧，不可復用。不如決策東向，爭權天下。
項羽出關，使人徙義帝。曰：「古之帝王地方千里，必居上游。」乃使使徙義帝長沙。郡縣，趣義帝行。羣臣稍倍之，乃陰令衡山王臨江王擊之，殺義帝江南。項羽怒，立齊將田都為齊王。田榮怒，因自立為齊王，殺田都而反楚。予彭越將軍印，令反梁地。楚令蕭公角擊彭越，彭越大破之。陳餘怨項羽之弗王己也，令夏說說田榮，請兵擊張耳。齊予陳餘兵，擊破常山王張耳，張耳亡歸漢。迎趙王歇於代，復立為趙王。趙王因立陳餘為代王。項羽大怒，北擊齊。八月，漢王用韓信之計，從故道還，襲雍王章邯。邯迎趙漢陳倉，雍兵敗，還走。止戰好畤，又復敗，走廢丘。漢王遂定雍地，東至咸陽，引兵圍雍王廢丘，而遣諸將略定隴西、北地、上郡。令將軍薛歐、王吸出武關，因王陵兵南陽，以迎太公於沛。楚聞之，發兵距之陽夏，不得前。令故吳令鄭昌為韓王，距漢兵。
於是置隴西、北地、上郡、河東、河內、中地、隴南、南陽郡皆降。韓王昌不聽，使韓信擊破之。

正月，虜雍王弟章平。大赦罪人。
漢王之出關至陝，撫關外父老，還，張耳來見，漢王厚遇之。

三月，漢王從臨晉渡，魏王豹將兵從。下河內，虏殷王，置河內郡。南渡平陰津，至雒陽。

新城三老董公遮說漢王，以義帝死故。漢王聞之，袒而大哭。

癘，發使者告諸侯曰：「天下共立義帝，北面事之。今項羽放殺義帝於江南，大逆無道。寡人親為發喪，諸侯皆缟素。悉發關內兵，收三河士。南浮江漢以下，悉從諸侯。」

侯王擊楚之殺義帝者。

是時項王北擊齊，田榮與戰城陽。田榮敗，走平原，平原民殺之。齊皆降楚。楚因
焚燒其城郭，保虜其子女。齊人叛之。田榮弟横立駕子廣為齊王，齊王反楚城陽。項羽雖
聞漢東，既已連齊兵，欲遂破之而擊漢。漢王以故得劫五諸侯兵，遂入彭城。項羽聞之，乃
引兵去齊，從魯出胡陵，至虛，與漢大戰彭城，戰至日暮，睢水為之不流。乃取漢王父母妻子女
於沛，置之軍中以為質。當是時，諸侯見楚彊漢
敗，還皆去漢復為楚。塞王欣亡入楚。

吕后兄周吕侯為漢將兵，居下邑。漢王從之，稍稍收士卒，軍砀。漢王乃西過梁地，至虞，使謁者隨何之九江布所，曰：「公能令布舉兵反楚，項羽必留擊之。得留數月，吾
取天下必矣。」隨何往說九江王布，布果背楚。楚使龍且往擊之。
我没有看到任何可读的中文文本。
道，漢軍乏食，遂圍漢王。漢王請和，割榮陽以西者為漢。項王不聽。漢王患之，乃用陳平之計，予陳平金四萬斤，以間疏楚君臣。於是項羽乃疑亞父，亞父是時勸項羽遂下榮陽，

及其見疑，乃怒，辭老，願賜骸骨歸卒伍，未至彭城而死。

漢王詭楚，楚皆呼萬歲。之城東觀，以故漢王得與數十騎出西門遁。令御史大夫周苛、魏豹、周公守榮陽。諸將卒不能從者，盡在城中。周苛、周公相謂曰：「反國之王，難與守城。」因殺魏豹。○

○果解徐廣曰：「梁月癸，秦二年七月，王出榮陽。八月，殺魏豹。」又云四年三月，周苛死。四月，魏豹死。二者不同。項羽殺紀信，周苛、周公是三年中，○

漢王之出榮陽入關，收兵欲復東。袁生說漢王曰：「漢與楚相距榮陽數歲，漢常困。顧君王乃復走榮陽，未晚也。如此，則楚所備者多，力分，漢得休，使韓信等輯河北趙地，連燕、齊，君王乃復走榮陽，未晚也。」如此，則楚所備者多，力分，漢得休，復與之戰，破楚必矣。○

高祖本紀第八
韓信已破齊，使人言曰：齊齊楚，楚鴻水不為假王，恐不能安齊。漢王欲攻之。留侯曰：不如因而立之，使自為守。乃遣張良操印授立韓信為齊王。...
王病創郤，張良彊請漢王起行勞軍，以安士卒，毋令楚乘勝於漢。漢王出行軍，病甚，召見張良，問曰：‘今病甚，如膏盲，待者安得長久乎？’良未有以對。平明起，諸將皆從。良乃召諸他客以告之曰：‘漢王與我同衣冠，說我，我故無所愛；獨有子房耳。今王病，即憂不遍，鬼神謂子房曰：

孟子曰：‘容心於善，雖見善人，猶恐其不善也；見惡人，猶恐其善也。’

而相如者，大夫之尊，子者，子男之貴，又進擊楚。項羽怒，乃與漢王約，中分天下，割鴻溝而西者為漢，鴻溝而東者為楚。
項王歸漢王父母妻子，軍中皆呼萬歲，乃歸而別去。

張華云：二，《漢談助》云：在豫陽東南三十里，蓋引河東南入淮泗也。

齊王信，建校侯彭越期會而擊楚軍。使使者召大司馬周殷舉九江兵而迎項羽。大會垓下。立武王布為淮南王。使使者召大司馬周殷舉九江兵而迎項羽。

五年，高祖與諸侯兵共擊楚軍，與項羽決勝垓下。淮陰侯將三十萬自當之，孔將軍居左，孫將軍居右，皇帝在後，绛侯、柴將軍在皇帝後。項羽之卒可十萬。淮陰先合，不利。
卻。孔將軍、費將軍縱，楚兵利，淮陰侯復乘之，大敗垓下。項羽卒聞漢軍之楚歌，三唱，曰：‘為漢久矣楚地，今乃亡，此所以為大破也！’歌數，皆為楚歌。項羽乃大驚曰：‘漢皆已得楚乎？是何楚人之多也！’項羽已疑漢有伏兵在東，恐楚軍渡淮也。 }

正月，諸侯及將相與共議立漢王為皇帝。 

正月，諸侯及將相與共議立漢王為皇帝。
高祖曰：「列侯諸將無敢隱朕，皆言其情。吾所以有天下者，故韓信歸之。」

丞相尉佗曰：「高祖功不可量，為天下主。今陛下德惠，不及上。」

高祖曰：「有功，從入武關，故德番君。淮南王布，燕王臧荼，趙王敖皆如故。天下大定。高祖都雒陽，諸侯皆臣屬。故臨江王驍為項羽故漢，令盧綰、劉賈圍之，不下。數月而降，殺之雒陽。五月，兵皆罷歸家。諸侯子在關中者復之十二歲，其歸者復之六歲，食之二十一年。」
何？项氏之所以失天下者何？

高起、王陵对曰：‘陛下慢而侮人，项羽仁而爱人。然陛下使人攻城略地，所降下者因以予之，与天下同利也。’

高祖曰：‘公知其一，未知其二。夫运筹策帷帐之中，决胜于千里之外，吾不如子房。镇国家，抚百姓，给馈粮，不绝粮道，吾不如萧何。连百万之军，战必胜，攻必取，吾不如韩信。今吾能用之，此吾所以取天下也。项羽有一范增而不能用，此人所以为我擒也。’
六年，高祖五日一朝太公，如家人父子禮。太公家令說太公曰：「天無二日，土無二主。今高祖雖子，人主也；太公雖父，人臣也，奈何令人主拜人臣！如此則威重不行。」後高祖朝，太公擁築，迎門卻行。高祖大驚，下扶太公。太公曰：「帝，人主也，奈何以我亂天法！於是以高祖乃尊太公為太上皇。」心善家令言，賜金五百斤。
南有泰山之固，西有洛河之险。北有钜海之利。故此东东西秦也。非親子弟，莫可使王齊矣。高祖曰：善。賜黃金五百斤。
七年，匈奴攻韓王信馬邑，信因與諸侯反太原。白土三曼丘臣，王黃立故趙將趙利
為王以反，高祖自往擊之。會天寒，士卒皆病者什二三，遂至平城。二年，匈奴圍我平城，七日而後罷去。今樊噲止定代地，立兄劉仲為代王。

二年，正義，徙云中、雁門、代郡、上谷於平城。徙代、雁門、雲中地為新秦，各置尉。以高帝時相馬者趙高為匈奴相。匈奴圍我平城，七日而後罷去。今樊噲止定代地，立兄劉仲為代王。
故可因途就宮室。且夫天子以四海為家，非壯麗無以重威，且無令後世有以加也。 — 高祖

《史記卷八》

三八六

乃說。

未央宮成。高祖大朝諸侯羣臣，置酒未央前殿。高祖奉玉卮，二起為太上皇壽，曰：
始大人常以臣無賴，不能治產業，不如仲力。今某之業所就孰與仲多？殿上羣臣皆呼萬歲，大笑為樂。
上自東往擊之。至邯鄲，上喜曰：「豨不南據邯鄲而阻漳水，吾知其無能為也。」聞豨將皆

十一年，高祖在邯鄲誅豨等未畢，豨將侯敞將萬餘人游行，王黃軍曲逆，張春渡

河擊聊城。漢使將軍郭蒙與齊將擊，大破之。太尉周勃、髙道太原人，定代地。

豨將趙利守東垣，高祖攻之，不下。月餘，卒篤高祖，高祖怒。城降，令出罵者斬之，不
罵者原之。於是乃分趙山北，立子恆以為代王，都晉陽。～

果謂如淳曰：文紀言都中都。又文帝過太原，復晉陽。中都二十二，漢書為中都也。～

春，淮陰侯韓信謀反，亡還中，夷三族。～

夏，梁王彭越謀反，亡還蜀，復欲反，遂夷三族。立子恢為梁王，友為淮陽王。～

秋七月，淮南王黥布反，東井荆王劉賈地，北渡淮，楚王交走入薛。高祖自往擊之。立～

子長為淮南王。～

十二年十月，高祖已斬布軍會穀，下部走，令別將追之。～

高祖還歸，過沛留。置酒沛宮，悉召故人父老子弟縱酒。發沛中兒得百二十，教之歌。酒酣，高祖擊筑，自為歌詩曰：大風起兮雲飛揚。威加海內兮歸故郷，安得猛士兮守四方。～

令兒皆和習之。高祖乃起舞，慷慨激昂，泣數行下。謂沛父老曰：游子悲故郷，吾雖都中都，萬歲後吾魂魄猶樂思沛。且朕自沛公以誅暴逆，遂有天下，其以沛～

為朕湯沐邑，復其民，世世無有所與。～

沛父兄讐母故人，日樂飲極驕，道貨故為笑樂。十餘～

三八九。～

高祖本紀第八。～
三九○

高祖欲去，沛父兄固請留高祖。高祖曰：「吾人衆多，父兄不能給。」乃去。沛中空縣皆

之。高祖西獻（《尚書》召宗）留三日。沛父兄皆來，於是拜沛侯劉濞為吳王。}}}}}}}}}

復豐，比沛。於是拜沛侯劉濞為吴王。}}}}}}}}}

漢將別擊布軍，於水北，皆大破之，追得斬布鄱陽。}}}}}}}}}

樊噲別將兵定代，斬陳豨當城。}}}}}}}}}
之？上曰：‘曹參可。’問其次，上曰：‘王陵可。然陵少戆，陳平可以助之。’陳平智有餘，然難以獨任。周勃重厚少文，然安劉氏者必勃也，可令為太尉。’\n
盧縝與數千騎居塞下候伺，幸上病愈自入謝。\n
四月甲辰，高祖崩長陵宮。四日不發喪。呂后與審食其謀曰：‘諸將與帝爲編戶民，今北面爲臣，此常怏怏。今乃事少主，非盡族是天下不安。’人或聞之，語酈將軍。酈將軍十萬守滎陽，樊哙、周勃將二十萬定燕、代，此聞帝崩，諸将皆薦，欲誅諸將。誠如此，天下危矣。陳平、灌嬰、大臣內讐，諸侯外反，亡可翹足而待也。’審食其入言之，乃以丁未發喪，大赦天下。
及孝惠五年，思高祖之悲樂沛，以沛宮為高祖原廟。高祖所斬歌兒百二十一人，皆令
為吹樂，後有缺，輒補之。

高帝八男：長庶齊悼惠王肥，次孝惠，吕后子；次梁王恢，呂太后時徙為趙共王；次淮陽王友，呂太后時徙為趙幽王；次淮南厲王長；次燕王建。

太史公曰：夏之政忠，忠之敵，小人以僞，故敟僞莫若以忠。三王之道若循環，終而復
始。周秦之間,可謂文敟矣。秦政不改,反酷刑法,豈不繫乎？故漢興,承敝易變,使人不
Records of the Grand Historian of China
TRANSLATED FROM
THE Shih chi OF ŞSU-MA CH'IEI
BY BURTON WATSON

VOLUME I:
EARLY YEARS OF THE HAN DYNASTY
209 TO 141 B.C.

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Ch'in failed in goodness and the great leaders rose to vex it. Hsiang Liang began the task and his nephew, Yü, carried it on. When the latter killed Sung I and rescued Chao, the feudal leaders made him their ruler; but when he executed Tzu-ying and rebelled against King Huai, the world joined in censuring him. Thus I made The Basic Annals of Hsiang Yü.

Hsiang Chi, whose polite name was Yü, was a native of Haia-hsiang. He was twenty-four when he first took up arms. His father's youngest brother was Hsiang Liang. Hsiang Liang's father, Hsiang Yen, was a general of Ch'u who was driven to suicide by the Ch'in general Wang Chien. The Hsiang family for generations were generals of Ch'u and were enfeoffed in Hsiang; hence they took the family name Hsiang.

When Hsiang Yü was a boy he studied the art of writing. Failing to master this, he abandoned it and took up swordsmanship. When he failed at this also, his uncle, Hsiang Liang, grew angry with him, but Hsiang Yü declared, "Writing is good only for keeping records of people's names. Swordsmanship is useful only for attacking a single enemy and is likewise not worth studying. What I want to learn is the art of attacking ten thousand enemies!" With this, Hsiang Liang began to teach his nephew the art of warfare, which pleased Yü greatly. On the whole Yü understood the essentials of the art, but here again he was unwilling to pursue the study in detail.

Hsiang Liang was once implicated in some crime in Yüeh-yang but, obtaining a letter on his behalf from the prison warden of Chi, Ts'ao Chiu, he presented it to Su-ma Hsin, the prison warden of Yüeh-yang, and was released from the charge.

Later Hsiang Liang killed a man and, with Hsiang Yü, fled to the region of Wu to escape the vengeance of the man's family. All the worthy and renowned men of the region of Wu acknowledged Hsiang Liang as their superior and, whenever there was some major govern-
ment construction work or a funeral in the area, Hsiang Liang was put in charge of the proceedings. In secret he formed a band of guests and retainers and trained them in the art of war so that he came to know the abilities of each.

Once the First Emperor of Ch'in came on a visit to K'uai-chi. When he was crossing the Che River, Hsiang Liang and Hsiang Yü went to watch the procession. "This fellow could be deposed and replaced!" Hsiang Yü remarked. Hsiang Liang clapped his hand over his nephew's mouth. "Don't speak such nonsense," he cautioned, "or we and all our family will be executed!" After this incident Hsiang Liang treated his nephew with peculiar respect.

Hsiang Yü was over eight feet tall and so strong that with his two hands he could lift a bronze cauldron. In ability and spirit he far surpassed others, so that all the young men of the region of Wu were afraid of him.

In the first year of the Second Emperor of Ch'in [209 B.C.], during the seventh month, Ch'en She and his band began their uprising in the region of Ta-ase. In the ninth month T'ung, the governor of K'uai-chi, announced to Hsiang Liang, "All the region west of the Yangtze is in revolt. The time has come when Heaven will destroy the house of Ch'in. I have heard it said that he who takes the lead may rule others, but he who lags behind will be ruled by others. I would like to dispatch an army with you and Huan Ch'u at the head." (Huan Ch'u was at this time in hiding in the swamps.)

Hsiang Liang replied, "Huan Ch'u is in hiding and no one knows where he is. Only Hsiang Yü knows the place." Hsiang Liang left the room and went to give instructions to Hsiang Yü, telling him to hold his sword in readiness and wait outside. Then he returned and sat down again with the governor. "I beg leave to call in my nephew Yü, so that he may receive your order to summon Huan Ch'u," said Hsiang Liang. The governor consented, and Hsiang Liang sent for Hsiang Yü to come in. After some time, Hsiang Liang winked at his nephew and said, "You may proceed!" With this, Hsiang Yü drew his sword and cut off the governor's head. Hsiang Liang picked up the governor's head and hung the seals of office from his own belt. The governor's

\[1\] I.e., over six feet. The Han foot is about three fourths of our foot.

office was thrown into utter panic and confusion. After Hsiang Yü had attacked and killed several dozen attendants the entire staff submitted in terror, not a man daring to offer resistance.

Hsiang Liang then summoned a number of high officials whom he had known in the past and informed them of his reasons for starting a revolt. He called out all the troops of the region of Wu, sending men to recruit them from the various districts under his jurisdiction, until he had obtained a force of eight thousand picked men, and he assigned various distinguished and powerful men of Wu as his commanders, lieutenants, and marshals. One man, to whom no post had been assigned, went to Hsiang Liang and asked the reason. "In the past," replied Hsiang Liang, "at the time of So-and-so's funeral, I put you in charge of certain affairs, but you were unable to handle them properly. For this reason I have not assigned you a post." After this everyone accepted his assignments without argument. Hsiang Liang became governor of K'uai-chi and Hsiang Yü was made lieutenant general with the task of subduing the districts under the governor's jurisdiction.

Chao Ping, a man of Kuang-ling, had been sent by Ch'en She to seize the district of Kuang-ling, but the district had not yet submitted. When Chao Ping heard that Ch'en She had been defeated and fled and that the Ch'in forces were on their way, he crossed the Yangtze and, pretending that he was acting on orders from Ch'en She, conferred on Hsiang Liang the title of chief minister to the king of Ch'u. "Now that this region east of the Yangtze is under control," he said, "you must with all speed lead your troops west and attack Ch'in!"

Hsiang Liang took his eight thousand men, crossed the Yangtze, and proceeded west. When he heard that Ch'en Ying had already conquered Tung-yang he sent an envoy suggesting that the two of them join forces and proceed west together. Ch'en Ying had formerly been secretary to the district magistrate of Tung-yang. He was unfailingly honest and circumspect in all his duties in the district and was known as a man of exceptional worth. Some of the young men of Tung-yang had murdered the district magistrate and, gathering together a force of several thousand men, were looking for a leader. Failing to find anyone suitable, they asked Ch'en Ying. He refused, saying that he was unsuited for the job, but they finally forced him to become their leader.
When they had gathered a force of twenty thousand men from the district they decided to make Ch’ên Ying a king, mark their forces off from the other rebel groups by wearing blue caps, and start their own uprising.

Ch’ên Ying’s mother advised him, saying, “From the time I first came into your household as a bride I have never heard of any of your ancestors who were noblemen. Now if you should suddenly acquire a great title, I fear it would bring ill luck. It would be better for you to place yourself under the command of someone else. If the undertaking is successful, you will still be made a marquis. And should the undertaking fail, it will be easy for you to go into hiding, for the world will not point you out by name.”

As a result Ch’ên Ying did not venture to become a king. Instead he told the leaders of his army, “The Hsiang family have for generations been generals, and are well known in Ch’u. If we wish now to begin a revolt, it is imperative that we have one of them as our general. If we put our trust in a family of such renown, there is no doubt that Ch’in can be destroyed.” All agreed to follow his advice and put their troops under Hsiang Liang’s command. When Hsiang Liang crossed the Huai River, both Ch’êng Pu and General Pu, as well, placed their troops under his command. In all he had a force of sixty or seventy thousand men, which he encamped at Hsia-p’êi.

At this time Ch’in Chia had already set up Ching Chû as king-of Ch’u and was himself camped east of Peng-ch’êng, intending to block Hsiang Liang’s advance. Hsiang Liang addressed his officers, saying “Ch’ên She, king of Ch’u, was formerly the leader of the uprising, but he was unsuccessful in battle and we do not know at present where he is. Now Ch’in Chia, acting in defiance of Ch’ên She, has set up Ching Chû as king. This is a most outrageous act of treason!” Then he led his troops to attack Ch’in Chia, who fled in defeat. Hsiang Liang pursued him as far as Hu-ling, where Ch’in Chia turned and engaged in battle. At the end of the day Ch’in Chia was dead and his army had surrendered. Ching Chû fled to the region of Liang, where he died. Hsiang Liang then joined Ch’in Chia’s army to his own and camped at Hu-ling, preparing to march west.

At this time the Ch’in army led by Chang Han had reached Li.
the capital at Hsü-i. Hsiang Liang himself took the title of lord of Wu-hsin.

After several months he led his troops to attack K'ang-fu. Joining with the armies of T'ien Jung of Chi' and Marshal Lung Ch'eh, he went to the rescue of Tung-a, which was besieged by Chi', and there inflicted a major defeat upon the Chi' army. T'ien Jung led his troops back to Chi' and deposed Tien Chia, the king of Chi'. T'ien Chia fled to Chi' and his prime minister, T'ien Chüeh, fled to Chao, where his younger brother, T'ien Chien, a former general of Chi', was living, afraid to return to Chi'. T'ien Jung set up Shih, the son of T'ien Tan, as king of Chi'. Hsiang Liang, having already defeated the army at Tung-a, was in pursuit of the Chi' forces, and several times sent envoys to urge the forces of Chi' to join him in proceeding west. T'ien Jung announced: "If Chi' will kill Tien Chia and Chao will kill T'ien Chüeh and T'ien Chien, then I will dispatch my troops." Hsiang Liang replied, "T'ien Chia is the king of an allied state. He has come to me in distress and placed himself under my care. I cannot bring myself to kill him." Chao likewise declared that it would not kill T'ien Chüeh and T'ien Chien for the sake of buying favor with Chi'. As a result, Chi' was unwilling to dispatch troops to aid Chi'.

Hsiang Liang sent the governor of Pei and Hsiang Yu with a special force to attack the city of Ch'eng-yang and massacre its inhabitants. After accomplishing this they proceeded west and defeated the Chi' forces east of Pu-yang. When the Chi' forces withdrew to cover in Pu-yang the governor of Pei and Hsiang Yu attacked Ting-tao. Failing to capture Ting-tao, they withdrew and seized the land to the west until they reached Yung-ch'iü, where they inflicted a major defeat on the Chi' forces and decapitated Li Yu. Then they turned back and attacked Wai-huang. Before Wai-huang had submitted, Hsiang Liang marched out of Tung-a and proceeded west until he reached Ting-tao, where he inflicted a second defeat upon the Chi' army.

Because of this, and because Hsiang Yu and his men in the meantime had succeeded in decapitating Li Yu, Hsiang Liang became increasingly contemptuous of the Chi' forces and began to grow proud and overbearing. Sung I warned him, saying "If, because of victory in battle, a general becomes proud and his soldiers unwary, defeat is sure to follow. Now your soldiers have begun to grow rather lazy, while the Chi' forces increase day by day. I am afraid of what may happen to you!" Hsiang Liang, however, refused to listen to Sung I's counsel, but dispatched him as his envoy to Chi'. On the way there, Sung I happened to meet the envoy from Chi', Hsien, the lord of Kao-ling. "Are you on your way to see Hsiang Liang, the lord of Wu-hsing?" he inquired, to which the other replied "I am." "I can tell you," said Sung I, "that the lord of Wu-hsing is sure to meet with defeat. If you proceed on your way slowly enough, you may escape death. But if you hurry you will only encounter misfortune!"

As Sung I had foreseen, Chi' gathered together all its forces and sent them to aid Chang Han, who attacked the Chi' army at Ting-tao, inflicting a decisive defeat, and killed Hsiang Liang.

The governor of Pei and Hsiang Yu withdrew from Wai-huang and attacked Ch'en-liu, but Ch'en-liu was stoutly defended and they could not conquer it. They discussed what their best plan would be and decided that, since Hsiang Liang's army had been defeated and their soldiers were filled with terror, they had better join with the army of Lu Ch'en and withdraw to the east. Accordingly they retreated, and Lu Ch'en camped east of Peng-ch'eng, Hsiang Yu west of Peng-ch'eng, and the governor of Pei at Tang.

Chang Han, the Chi' commander, having defeated Hsiang Liang's army, considered that the forces of the Chi' area were no longer worth worrying about. Therefore he crossed the Yellow River and attacked Chao, inflicting a severe defeat. At this time Chao Hsiao was king of Chao, Ch'en Yu was in command of the army, and Chang Erh was prime minister. All fled and took refuge within the walls of Chuhu. Chang Han ordered Wang Li and She Chien to encircle the city, while he himself camped to the south and constructed a walled road along which to transport supplies of grain. Ch'en Yu, the Chao general, with a force of some twenty or thirty thousand men, camped north of Chuhu. This was the so-called Army North of the River.

With the forces of Chi' already defeated at Ting-tao, King Hsüi grew fearful and moved from Hsü-i to Peng-ch'eng, where he combined the armies of Hsiang Yu and Lu Ch'en and himself took command. He appointed Lu Ch'en as minister of instruction and his
father, Liu Ch'ing, as prime minister. The governor of Pei he made head of Tang Province, exalted him as marquis of Wu-an, and put him in command of the troops of Tang.

Hsien, the lord of Kao-ling, the envoy from Ch'i whom Sung I had formerly chanced to meet on his way, was at this time with the Ch'u army, and went to see the king of Ch'u. "Sung I," he said, "warned me that Hsiang Liang would surely meet defeat, and after a few days he was in fact defeated. He who can read the signs of defeat before the armies have even engaged in battle may indeed be said to understand the art of warfare." The king thereupon summoned Sung I and discussed affairs of strategy with him. He was delighted with Sung I and made him supreme general of the army. Hsiang Yu, with the title of "Duke of Lu," he made second general, and Tseng Fan, third general, and sent them to relieve Chao. All of the other special commanders were placed under the command of Sung I, who was given the title of "His Lordship, the Commander of the Armies."

The armies advanced as far as An-yang, where they halted for forty-six days without proceeding further. Hsiang Yu conferred with Sung I, saying, "News has come that the Ch'in army has besieged the king of Chao at Ch'u-lu. If we lead our troops across the Yellow River at once, we can attack them with our forces from outside, Chao will respond by attacking from the city, and we are sure to defeat the Ch'in army."

"Not so," replied Sung I. "He who merely slaps at the gadfly on the cow's back will never succeed in killing the pesky lice. Ch'in is now attacking Chao. If she is victorious in battle, then her troops will be weary and we can take advantage of their weakness. And if she is defeated, then we may lead our forces openly and without fear to the west, assured of victory over Ch'in. Therefore it is better for us to let Ch'in and Chao fight it out first. In buckling on armor and wielding a weapon I may be no match for you, but in sitting down and working out problems of strategy you are no match for me!" After this Sung I circulated an order throughout the army reading: "Fierce as a tiger, recalcitrant as a ram, greedy as a wolf, so headstrong they will not submit to orders—if there are any such men, let them all be decapitated."

Sung I dispatched his son, Sung Hsiang, to be prime minister of Ch'i, accompanying him along the way as far as Wu-yen, where he held a great drinking party. The day was cold, a heavy rain was falling, and the soldiers were chilled and starving.

"We joined forces for the purpose of attacking Ch'in," Hsiang Yu declared, "but instead we have sat here all this time without advancing. The year is lean, the people are poor, and our men eat nothing but taro root and pulse. We have no provisions for our army, and yet Sung I holds a great drinking party. He will not lead the troops across the river so that we may live off the food of Chao and join forces with Chao in attacking Ch'in, but instead tells us to 'take advantage of Ch'in's weakness.' Now if Ch'in in all her strength attacks the newly founded state of Chao, she is sure to be powerful enough to defeat Chao. And if Chao is defeated and Ch'in is left as strong as ever, what sort of weakness will there be for us to take advantage of? Our troops were only lately defeated and the king sits uneasy on his throne, yet all the men within our borders are swept up together under Sung I's sole command, so that the entire safety of our state depends upon this one move. Now he takes no thought for our soldiers, but attends only to his personal affairs. He is a traitor to the altars of our soil and grain!"

Early the next day Hsiang Yu went to make his morning report to the supreme general, Sung I, and, when he had entered the tent, he cut off Sung I's head. Then he went outside and issued an order to the army, saying: "Sung I was plotting with Ch'i against Ch'u. The king of Ch'u secretly ordered me to execute him. All the other generals submitted in fear, none daring to raise any objection. "It was General Hsiang's family who first set up the royal family of Ch'u," they declared, "and now the general has executed this traitor!" By mutual assent they set up Hsiang Yu as acting supreme general. Someone was sent to pursue Sung I's son and murder him when he reached Ch'i, while Huan Ch'u was dispatched to report what had happened to King Huai, who confirmed Hsiang Yu's title of supreme general. Ch'ing

2 I.e., the Ch'in forces, deployed in small groups all over the empire, cannot be defeated by a single local victory, no matter how spectacular.

3 A hint that he would welcome the assassination of Hsiang Yu.
Pu, the lord of Tang-yang, and General Pu both placed their armies under Hsiang Yu's command.

Hsiang Yu had already killed "His Lordship, the Commander of the Armies"; his might now shook the whole land of Chu and his fame reached the ears of all the leaders of the other states. He then dispatched Chu's Pu and General Pu at the head of a force of twenty thousand soldiers to cross the Yellow River and bring aid to the city of Chu-lu, but they succeeded in winning only slight success. Ch'en Yu, the Chao commander, sent a request for more troops. With this Hsiang Yu led his entire force across the river. Once across, he sank all his boats, smashed the cooking pots and vessels, and set fire to his huts, taking with him only three days' rations, to make clear to his soldiers that they must fight to the death, for he had no intention of returning. This done, he proceeded to surround the Chu general Wang Li and engage his army. After nine battles he managed to cut the supply road and inflict a major defeat, killing the Chu general, Su Ch'ueh, and taking Wang Li prisoner. A third Chu general, She Chien, refused to surrender to Chu and burned himself to death.

At this time the troops of Chu took the lead before those of all the other states. The armies of ten or more of the other states who had come to aid Ch'u were camped in fortifications outside the city, but none of them dared send forth their troops. When the Chu army arrived and set upon Chu the leaders of the other armies all stood upon the ramparts of their camps and watched. Of the fighting men of Chu there was none who was not a match for ten of the enemy; the war cry of Chu shook the heavens and the men of the other armies all trembled with fear.

After Hsiang Yu had defeated the Chu army he summoned the leaders of the armies of the other states to audience. Entering the "carriage gates," they all crawled forward on their knees and none dared look up. With this, Hsiang Yu for the first time became supreme commander of the leaders of the various states, and all of them were under his jurisdiction.

Chang Han's army was at this time camped at Chi-yian and Hsiang Yu's army south of the Chang River, both holding their positions with-
every man, wise or foolish, knows it. Powerless to speak the truth openly to
the court, camping in the fields as the leader of a doomed nation, would it
not be pitiful if you were to try to drag out your days thus alone and friend-
less? Why do you not lead your troops and join with the other leaders of the
Vertical Alliance? We will take an oath to attack Ch'in together, divide
up the land into kingdoms, face south and call ourselves sovereigns. Would
this not be better than bowing your body beneath the executioner's axe and
seeing your wife and children slaughtered?

Chang Han was deeply perplexed and secretly sent his lieutenant
Shih-ch'eng to Hsiang Yü, requesting an alliance. But before the
alliance was concluded Hsiang Yü dispatched General P'u who, marching
day and night, led his troops across the Chang River at the ford
called Three Houses and camped south of the river, where he fought
with the Ch'in army and defeated it again. Hsiang Yü then led all
his troops in an attack upon the Ch'in army on the banks of the Yü
River and inflicted a major defeat.

Chang Han again sent one of his men to see Hsiang Yü. Hsiang Yü
summoned his officers into council and announced, "Our provisions are
running low. I think we had better listen to his request for an alliance."
When his officers all agreed Hsiang Yü set a date for a meeting with
Chang Han at the site of the old capital of Yin south of the Yüan River.
After the oaths of alliance had been concluded Chang Han came to
Hsiang Yü, the tears streaming from his eyes, and informed him of Chao Kao's behavior. Hsiang Yü made Chang Han the king of
Yung and quartered him with his own army. The chief secretary Su-ma
Hsin he made supreme commander of the Ch'in armies with orders
to lead them in an advance march as far as Hsin-an.

The officers and soldiers of the armies of the other states had in the
past from time to time been sent to work on construction projects or on
garrison duty and, when they had passed through the capital area of
Ch'in, had often been ruthlessly treated by the officers and men of
Ch'in. Now that the Ch'in army had surrendered to the other leaders
they and their men took advantage of their victory to treat the Ch'in

6 The alliance of states along the eastern coast who were traditionally opposed
to Ch'in.

7 The Chinese sovereign when he sits upon his throne faces south; hence, to
"face south" means to become an independent ruler.

soldiers like slaves or prisoners and insult and abuse them with impunity. Many of the Ch'in officers and men whispered among themselves in secret, saying, "General Chang and the rest have tricked us
into surrendering to the other leaders. Now if we succeed in entering
the Pass and defeating Ch'in, all will be well. But if we are not successful,
the other leaders will make prisoners of us and take us east with them,
and Ch'in will most certainly execute all our parents and wives
and children.''

The generals of the army, hearing rumors of these plottings, reported
them to Hsiang Yü, who summoned Ch'ing Pu and General P'u and
announced to them this plan: "The officers and men of Ch'in are
still very numerous, and in their hearts they have not surrendered. If,
after we reach the land within the Pass, they should prove disloyal,
we will be in a very dangerous situation. It would be better to attack and
kill them, sparing only Chang Han, the chief secretary Su-ma Hsin,
and Colonel Tung I to go with us to invade Ch'in." Accordingly the
Ch'u army attacked by night and butchered over 200,000 soldiers of
Ch'in south of the city of Hsin-an.

Then they proceeded on their way, overrunning and seizing control
of the territory of Ch'in, until they reached the Han-ku Pass. But
the P'sss was guarded by soldiers, and they could not enter. When news
came that the governor of Pei had already conquered the capital city of
Hsien-yang, Hsiang Yü was enraged, and sent Ch'ing Pu and others
to attack the Pass. Hsiang Yü was finally able to enter, and proceeded
as far as the west side of the Hsi River.

The governor of Pei was camped at Pa-shang and had not yet had
an opportunity to meet with Hsiang Yü. Ts'ao Wu-shang, marshal of
the left to the governor of Pei, sent a messenger to report to Hsiang
Yü, saying, "The governor of Pei is planning to become king of the
area within the Pass, employ Tzu-ying as his prime minister, and keep
possession of all the precious articles and treasures of the capital."
Hsiang Yü was in a rage. "Tomorrow," he announced, "I shall feast
my soldiers and then we will attack and crush the governor of Pei."

At this time Hsiang Yü had a force of 400,000 men encamped at
Hung-men in Hsin-feng. The governor of Pei, with a force of 100,000,

8 The last ruler of Ch'in, who had already surrendered to the governor of Pei.
was at Pa-shang. Fan Tseng counseled Hsiang Yu, saying, “When the governor of Pei was living east of the mountains he was greedy for possessions and delighted in beautiful girls. But now that he has entered the Pass he has not taken a single thing, nor has he dallied with any of the wives or maidens. This proves that his mind is not set upon minor joys. I have sent men to observe the sky over the place where he is encamped, and they all found it full of shapes like dragons and tigers and colored with five colors. These are the signs of a Son of Heaven. You must attack him at once and not lose this chance!”

Hsiang Po, the Ch‘u commander of the left, was an uncle of Hsiang Yu and for a long time had been good friends with Chang Liang, the marquis of Liu. Chang Liang was at this time serving under the governor of Pei. That night Hsiang Po galloped on horse to the camp of the governor of Pei and visited Chang Liang in secret, telling him of Hsiang Yu’s plans and begging Chang Liang to come away with him. “Do not throw your life away along with all the others!” he urged.

“I have been sent by the king of Hsia to accompany the governor of Pei,” Chang Liang replied. “Now when he is faced with these difficulties, it would not be right for me to run away and leave him. I must report to him what you have told me.”

Chang Liang then went and reported the situation in full to the governor of Pei. “What shall we do?” exclaimed the governor in great consternation.

“Who was it who thought up this plan of action for you?” asked Chang Liang.

“Some fool advised me that if I guarded the Pass and did not let the other leaders enter, I could rule the entire region of Ch‘in, and so I followed his plan,” he replied.

“Do you believe that you have enough soldiers to stand up against Hsiang Yu?” Chang Liang asked.

The governor was silent for a while, and then said, “No, certainly not. But what should we do now?”

“You must let me go and explain to Hsiang Po,” said Chang Liang, “and tell him that you would not dare to be disloyal to Hsiang Yu.”

“How do you happen to be friends with Hsiang Po?” asked the governor.

“We knew each other in the time of Ch‘in,” replied Chang Liang, “and once when Hsiang Po killed a man I saved his life. Now that we are in trouble, he has for that reason been good enough to come and report to me.”

“Is he older or younger than you?” asked the governor.

“He is older than I,” replied Chang Liang.

“Call him in for me,” said the governor, “and I will treat him as I would an elder brother.”

Chang Liang went out and urged Hsiang Po to enter. Hsiang Po came in to see the governor of Pei, who offered him a cup of wine and drank to his long life, swearing an oath of friendship. “Since I entered the Pass,” he said, “I have not dared to lay a finger on a single thing. I have preserved the registers of the officials and people and sealed up the storehouses, awaiting the arrival of General Hsiang Yu. The reason I sent officers to guard the Pass was to prevent thieves from getting in and to prepare for any emergency. Day and night I have looked forward to the arrival of the general. How would I dare be disloyal to him? I beg you to report to him in full and tell him that I would not think of turning my back upon his kindness!”

Hsiang Po agreed to do so, adding, “You must come early tomorrow and apologize in person to General Hsiang. I shall,” promised the governor, and with this Hsiang Po went back out into the night.

When he reached his own camp, he reported to Hsiang Yu all that the governor had said. “If the governor of Pei had not first conquered the land within the Pass how would you have dared to enter?” he said. “When a man has done you a great service it would not be right to attack him. It is better to treat him as a friend.” Hsiang Yu agreed to this.

The next day the governor of Pei, accompanied by a hundred horsemen, came to visit Hsiang Yu. When he reached Hsiang Yu’s camp at Hung-men, he made his apologies, saying, “You and I have joined forces to attack Ch‘in, you fighting north of the Yellow River, I fighting south. Quite beyond my expectation it happened that I was able to enter the Pass first, conquer Ch‘in, and meet with you again here. Now it seems that some worthless person has been spreading talk and trying to cause dissension between us.”
The Vanquished

"It is your own marshal of the left, Ti’ao Wu-shang, who has been doing the talking," replied Hsiang Yu. "If it were not for him, how would I ever have doubted you?"

On the same day Hsiang Yu invited the governor of Pei to remain and drink with him. Hsiang Yu and Hsiang Po as hosts sat facing east. Fan Tseng (whose other name was Ya-fu) took the place of honor facing south, while the governor of Pei sat facing north with Chang Liang, as his attendant, facing west. Fan Tseng from time to time eyed Hsiang Yu and three times lifted up the jade pendant in the form of a broken ring which he wore and showed it to Yu, hinting that he should "break" once and for all with the governor, but Hsiang Yu sat silent and did not respond. Fan Tseng then rose and left the tent and, summoning Hsiang Yu’s cousin, Hsiang Chuang, said to him, "Our lord is too kind-heated a man. Go back in and ask to propose a toast, and when the toast is finished, request to be allowed to perform a sword dance. Then attack the governor of Pei and kill him where he sits. If you don’t, you and all of us will end up as his prisoners!"

Hsiang Chuang entered and proposed a toast. When the toast was finished he said, "Our lord and the governor of Pei are pleased to drink together but I fear that, this being an army camp, we have nothing to offer by way of entertainment. I beg therefore to be allowed to present a sword dance." "Proceed," said Hsiang Yu, whereupon Hsiang Chuang drew his sword and began to dance. But Hsiang Po also rose and danced, constantly shielding and protecting the governor of Pei with his own body so that Hsiang Chuang could not attack him.

With this, Chang Liang left and went to the gate of the camp to see Fan Ku’ai. "How are things proceeding today?" asked Fan Ku’ai.

"The situation is very grave," replied Chang Liang. "Now Hsiang Chuang has drawn his sword and is dancing, always with his eyes set on the governor of Pei!"

"This is serious indeed!" said Fan Ku’ai. "I beg you to let me go in and share the fate of the rest!" Fan Ku’ai buckled on his sword, grasped his shield, and entered the gate of the camp. The sentries standing with crossed spears tried to stop him from entering but, tipping his shield to either side, he knocked the men to the ground. Entering the camp, he went and pulled back the curtain of the tent and stood facing west, glaring fixedly at Hsiang Yu. His hair stood on end and his eyes blazed with fire.

Hsiang Yu put his hand on his sword and raised himself up on one knee. "Who is our guest?" he asked.

"Fan Ku’ai, the carriage attendant of the governor of Pei," announced Chang Liang.

"He is a stouthearted fellow," said Hsiang Yu. "Give him a cup of wine!" A large cup of wine was passed to Fan Ku’ai, who knelt and accepted it, and then rose again and drank it standing up. "Give him a shoulder of pork," ordered Hsiang Yu, and he was given a piece of parboiled pork shoulder. Fan Ku’ai placed his shield upside down on the ground, put the pork shoulder on top of it, drew his sword, and began to cut and eat the meat.

"You are a brave man," said Hsiang Yu. "Can you drink some more?"

"I would not hesitate if you offered me death! Why should I refuse a cup of wine?" he replied. "The king of Ch’in had the heart of a tiger and a wolf. He killed men as though he thought he could never finish, he punished men as though he were afraid he would never get around to them all, and the whole world revoluted against him. King Huai of Chu made a promise with all the leaders that whoever defeated Ch’in first and entered the capital of Hsien-yang should become its king. Now the governor of Pei has defeated Ch’in and entered Hsien-yang ahead of all others. He has not dared to lay a finger on the slightest thing, but has closed up and sealed the palace rooms and returned to Pa-shang to encamp and await your arrival. The reason he sent officers to guard the Pass was to prevent thieves from getting in and to prepare for an emergency. After suffering great hardship and winning such merit, he has not been rewarded by the grant of a fief and title. Instead you have listened to some worthless talk and are

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*The Chinese of this age had no chairs, but sat on mats on the floor.

10 I.e., the First Emperor of Ch’in.
about to punish a man of merit. This is no more than a repetition of the fated Ch'in. If I may be so bold, I advise you not to go through with it."

Hsiang Yu, having no answer to this, said "Sit down!" Fan Kuai took a seat next to Chang Liang. After they had been seated for a while, the governor of P'ei got up and went to the toilets, summoning Fan Kuai to go with him. When they had been outside for a while, Hsiang Yu sent Colonel Ch'en Ping to call the governor back in. "When I left just now," said the governor, "I failed to say good-by. What should I do?"

"Great deeds do not wait on petty caution; great courtesy does not need little niceties," replied Fan Kuai. "This fellow is about to get out his carving knife and platter and make mincemeat of us! Why should you say good-by to him?"

With this, the governor of P'ei left, ordering Chang Liang to stay behind and make some excuse for him. "What did you bring as gifts?" asked Chang Liang.

"I have a pair of white jade discs which I intended to give to Hsiang Yu," replied the governor, "and a pair of jade wine 'dippers' for Fan Tseng, but when I found that they were angry I did not dare to present them. You must present them for me." "I will do my best," said Chang Liang.

At this time Hsiang Yu's camp was at Hung-men, and the governor of P'ei's camp at Pa-shang some forty li away. The governor of P'ei left his carriages and horsemen where they were and slipped away from the camp on horseback, accompanied by only four men, Fan Kuai, Lord T'eng, Chin Ch'yang, and Chi Hsin, who bore swords and shields and hastened on foot. Following the foot of Mount Li, they returned by a secret way through Chih-yang.

When the governor left the camp he told Chang Liang, "By the road I will take it is no more than twenty li back to our camp. When I think I have time to reach the camp, then go back and join the party." After the governor of P'ei had left and enough time had elapsed for him to reach camp, Chang Liang went in, and made apologies. "The governor of P'ei was regrettably rather far gone in his cups and was unable to say good-by. He has respectfully requested me on his behalf to present this pair of white jade discs to Your Lordship with his humblest salutation, and to General Fan Tseng this pair of jade wine dippers."

"Where is the governor of P'ei?" asked Hsiang Yu.

"He perceived that Your Lordship was likely to reprove him for his shortcomings," replied Chang Liang, "and so he slipped away alone and returned to his camp."

Hsiang Yu accepted the jade discs and placed them beside him on his mat, but Fan Tseng put the dippers on the ground, drew his sword and smashed them to pieces. "Ah!" he said, "it does not do to lay plans with an idiot! It is the governor of P'ei who will snatch the world out of our hands, and on that day all of us will become his prisoners."

When the governor of P'ei got back to his camp he immediately had Tu'ao Wu-shang seized and executed.

A few days later Hsiang Yu led his troops west and massacred the inhabitants of Hsien-yang, the capital city, killing Tzu-yung, the king of Ch'in, who had already surrendered, and setting fire to the palaces of Ch'in; the fire burned for three months before it went out. Then he gathered up all the goods, treasures, and waiting women, and started east.

Someone advised Hsiang Yu, saying, "The area within the Pass is protected on all four sides by barriers of mountains and rivers, and the land is rich and fertile. This is the place to make your capital and rule as a dictator." But Hsiang Yu saw that the palaces of Ch'in had all been burned and destroyed, and he remembered his native land and longed only to return east. "To become rich and famous and then not go back to your old home is like putting on an embroidered coat and going out walking in the night," he said. "Who is to know about it?"

Later the man who had advised him remarked, "People say that the men of Ch'u are nothing but monkeys with hats on, and now I know what they mean!" Hsiang Yu heard about the remark and had the adviser boiled alive.

Hsiang Yu sent an envoy to report to King Huai of Ch'u. "Let all be done according to the agreement," the king replied. Hsiang Yu
then honored King Hsu with the title of “Righteous Emperor.” Wishing to make himself a king, he first conferred titles on his generals and ministers, telling them, “When the rebellion broke out in the empire, I temporarily set up the heirs of the former feudal rulers, so that they would attack Ch’in. But it was you, my generals, and I who actually donned armor, took up our weapons, and led the undertaking, camping for three years in the open fields, until our might at last destroyed Ch’in and brought peace to the world. As for the Righteous Emperor, though he has done nothing to win merit, it is for various reasons fitting that we assign him a portion of the territory to rule.” The generals all expressing agreement, Hsiang Yu accordingly divided the empire and set up the generals as marquises and kings.

Hsiang Yu and Fan Tseng suspected that the governor of P’ei had ambitions to seize the whole empire. But since they had already made their peace with him, and hesitated to go back on the agreement to make him ruler of the land within the Pass, for fear that the other leaders would revolt, they plotted together in secret, saying, “The area of Pa and Shu is cut off by mountains and inhabited largely by settlers sent by Ch’in. Thus we can say that it too is a ‘land within the pass.’” With this as an excuse they set up the governor of P’ei as king of Han, ruling over the area of Pa, Shu, and Han, with his capital at Nancheng. The real land within the Pass they divided into three parts, and they made kings of the Ch’in generals who had surrendered, so that the latter could block any advance of the king of Han. Thus Hsiang Yu made Chang Han the king of Yung, ruling over the land west of the city of Hsiien-yang, with his capital at Fei-ch’iu. The chief secretary Su-ma Hsin had formerly been prison warden of Yüeh-yang and had done a great kindness for Hsiang Liang, while Colonel Tung I was the one who had originally urged Chang Han to surrender to the Ch’u army. Therefore Hsiang Yu made Su-ma Hsin the king of Sai, ruling the area from Hsiien-yang east to the Yellow River, with his capital at Yüeh-yang, and made Tung I the king of Ti, ruling the province of Shang, with his capital at Kao-nu. Pao, the king of Wei, he transferred to the position of king of Western Wei, ruling Ho-tung, with his capital at Ping-yang. Shen Yang, governor of Hsia-ch’iu, a

11 The area southwest of the Ch’in capital, on the far western border of China.
favorite minister of Ch'ang Erh, had formerly conquered the province of Ho-nan and gone to welcome the Ch'u army on the banks of the Yellow River. Therefore Hsiang Yü set up Shen Yang as king of Ho-nan, with his capital at Lo-yang. Ch'eng, the king of Hann, remained at his former capital, Yang-ti. Su-ma Ang, general of Chao, had pacified the area of Ho-nei and several times distinguished himself, so he was set up as king of Yin, ruling Ho-nei, with his capital at Chao-ko. Hsieh, the king of Chao, was removed and made king of Tai. The prime minister of Chao, Ch'ang Erh, was a man of worthy character and had, moreover, followed Hsiang Yü in his march through the Pass. Therefore he was made king of Ch'ang-shan, ruling the land of Chao, with his capital at Hsiang-kuo. The lord of Tang-yang, Ch'ing Fu, as a general of Ch'u had repeatedly won the highest distinction in battle and therefore was made king of Chiu-chiang, his capital at Liu. Wu Jui, the lord of Po, had led the forces of the hundred Yüeh to aid the other leaders and had also followed Hsiang Yü within the Pass. Therefore he was made king of Heng-shan, his capital at Chu. Kung Ao, chief minister to the Righteous Emperor, had led troops in attacking the Nan district and had won great merit; accordingly he was made king of Lin-chiang, his capital at Chiang-ling. Han Kuang, the king of Yen, was moved to the position of king of Liaotung. Tsang Tu, general of Yen, had joined the Ch'u forces in rescuing Chao and afterwards had accompanied Hsiang Yü through the Pass, so Hsiang Yü made him king of Yen, his capital at Chi. T'ien Shih, the king of Chi, was moved to the position of king of Chiao-tung. T'ien Tu, general of Chi, because he had joined Ch'u in rescuing Chao and entering the Pass, was made king of Chi, with his capital at Lin-tzu. T'ien An was the grandson of King Chien of Ch'i whom Ch'in had deposed. At the time when Hsiang Yü crossed the Yellow River and went to the aid of Chao, T'ien An had captured several cities of Chi-pei and had led his troops and surrendered to Hsiang Yü. Therefore he was made king of Chi-pei, his capital at Po-yang. T'ien Jung, because he had several times betrayed Hsiang Liang and refused to send troops to join Ch'u in its attack on Ch'in, was not enfeoffed. Ch'en Yü, the lord of Ch'eng-an, had discarded his seals of authority as a general and fled, refusing to follow Hsiang Yü through the Pass.

But Hsiang Yü learned of his reputation as a man of worth and of his services to Chao and, hearing that he was living in Nan-pi, enfeoffed him with the three surrounding districts. Mei Hsiao, general of Wu Jui, the lord of Po, because of his many services, was enfeoffed as a marquis with a hundred thousand households. Hsiang Yü made himself "Dictator King of Western Ch'u," ruling nine provinces, with his capital at P'eng-ch'eng.

In the first year of Han [206 B.C.], the fourth month, the various leaders left the command of Hsiang Yü and proceeded to their own countries. Hsiang Yü also departed and went to his kingdom. He then sent an envoy to transfer the residence of the Righteous Emperor, announcing that "the emperors of ancient times, who ruled over an area a thousand miles on each side, invariably resided on the upper reaches of a river." The envoy accordingly moved the Righteous Emperor to the district of Ch'en in Ch'ang-sha, pressuring him to hurry on his way. The emperor's ministers became increasingly disillusioned and turned their backs on him. Hsiang Yü then secretly ordered the kings of Heng-shan and Lin-chiang to attack and murder the Righteous Emperor in the region of the Yangtze.

Ch'eng, the king of Han, had won no merit in battle, so Hsiang Yü did not send him to his kingdom but instead took him with him to P'eng-ch'eng. There he deprived him of his title, made him a marquis, and later murdered him. Tsang Tu, the new king of Yen, proceeded to his realm and attempted to drive out the former king, Han Kuang, and send him to Liaotung, the territory newly assigned to him. But Han Kuang refused to obey, so Tsang Tu attacked and killed him at Wu-chung and made himself king of Liaotung as well. When T'ien Jung heard that Hsiang Yü had moved Shih, the king of Ch'i, to Chiao-tung, and set up T'ien Tu, a general of Ch'i, as the new king of Ch'i, he was very angry and refused to send Shih to Chiao-tung. Instead he declared Ch'i to be in revolt, and marched forth to attack T'ien Tu. T'ien Tu fled to Ch'u. T'ien Shih, king of Ch'i, fearful of Hsiang Yü, fled to Chiao-tung, thus reaching his new realm.

12The Han dynasty counted its years from the time when its founder, Liu [Chi, first became king of Han, though it was not until 202 B.C. that he actually gained control of the whole empire.
The Vanquished

T'ien Jung, in a rage, pursued and attacked him, killing him at Chi-mo. T'ien Jung then set himself up as king of Chi, marched west, and attacked and killed T'ien An, the new king of Chi-pei. Thus he became ruler of the three areas of Chi, Chi-pei, and Chiao-tung. He then presented Peng Yüeh with the seals of office of a general and sent him to lead a revolt in the region of Liang.

Ch'ên Yü, the former general of Chao, secretly sent Chang T'ung and Hsia Yüeh to advise T'ien Jung, saying, "Hsiang Yü's actions as ruler of the empire have been completely unjust. All the former kings he has made rulers of poor territories, giving the best lands to his own ministers and generals to rule. He has expelled the king of Chao, my former lord, and sent him north to live in Tai. I consider such actions inexcusable. I have heard that, as king of Chi, you have taken up arms and refused to bow to such unrighteousness. I beg that you will send troops to aid me so that I may attack Chang Erh, the new king of Ch'ang-shan, who is now ruling the land of Chao, and restore the former king of Chao. Then his kingdom may act as a protective barrier for you."

The king of Chi approved this suggestion, and dispatched troops to Chao. Ch'ên Yü called up all the troops from the three districts under his command and, joining forces with Chi, attacked Chang Erh, the king of Ch'ang-shan, inflicting a severe defeat. Chang Erh fled and joined the king of Han. Ch'ên Yü proceeded to Tai and escorted Hsieh, the former king of Chao, back to Chao. In turn, the king of Chao set up Ch'ên Yü as king of Tai.

It was at this time that the king of Han returned from his s rift and reconquered the three new territories of Ch'in. When Hsiang Yü received word that the king of Han had united all the area within the Pass under his rule and was about to proceed east, and that Chi and Liang were in revolt against him, he was enraged. He made Cheng Ch'ang, the former district magistrate of Wu, the king of Hann in order to block the advance of the Han armies, and dispatched Chüeh, the lord of Hsiao, and others, with orders to attack Peng Yüeh, but Peng Yüeh defeated them.

The king of Han sent Chang Liang to seize the region of Hann. Chang Liang sent a letter to Hsiang Yü, saying, "The king of Han has been deprived of the position which was rightly his. He desires to be given the territory within the Pass according to the original agreement. If this is done he will halt and proceed no farther east." He also sent to Hsiang Yü rebellious letters from Chi and Liang, proving that Chi intended to join with Liang in destroying Ch'ü. As a result, Hsiang Yü for the moment gave up the idea of marching west and instead proceeded north to attack Chi. He sent an order for troops to Ch'êng Pu, the king of Ch'i-chiang. Ch'êng Pu, pleading illness, refused to go in person, but instead sent his general with a force of several thousand men. Because of this incident, Hsiang Yü came to hate Ch'êng Pu.

In the winter of the second year of Han [205 B.C.], Hsiang Yü proceeded north as far as Ch'êng-yang. T'ien Jung led his troops to meet him there in battle, but failed to win a victory and fled to P'ing-yüan. Hsiang Yü marched north, firing and leveling the fortifications and dwellings of Ch'i, butchering all the soldiers of T'ien Jung who surrendered to him, and binding and taking prisoner the old people, women, and children. Thus he seized control of Ch'i as far as the northern sea, inflicting great damage and destruction. The people of Ch'i once more banded together in revolt. With this, T'ien Jung's younger brother, T'ien Heng, gathered a force of twenty or thirty thousand men from among the soldiers of Ch'i who had fled into hiding, and raised a revolt in Ch'êng-yang. Hsiang Yü was thus forced to remain in the area and continue fighting, but he was not able to put down the rebels.

In the spring the king of Han, with the forces of five of the other feudal leaders numbering 500,000 men under his command, marched east and attacked Ch'u. When Hsiang Yü received word of this, he ordered his subordinate generals to continue the assault on Ch'i, while he himself led a force of thirty thousand picked men south through Lu to Hu-ling.

In the fourth month the king of Han had already entered Peng-ch'êng, the capital of Ch'u, had seized possession of its treasures and beautiful women, and was spending his days in feasting and revelry. Hsiang Yü marched west through Hsiao and at dawn attacked the Han army, fighting his way back east as far as Peng-ch'êng, and in
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camp. When their capture was reported to Hsiang Yu, he ordered them to be kept under guard in the midst of his army.

At this time Lu Tse, the marquis of Chous-lu, older brother of the king of Han's wife, was in Hsia-i with a force of troops loyal to the king. The king secretly made his way there and joined him. Gathering his soldiers together bit by bit, he proceeded to Jung-yang, where he held a rendezvous of all his defeated divisions. In addition, Hsiao Ho dispatched all the old men and underaged youths from the area within the pass to Jung-yang, so that the Han army again reached sizable strength.

Hsiang Yu, after his initial victory at Peng-ch'eng, had taken advantage of his supremacy to pursue the Han forces north. Now, however, he fought with the Han army once more in the area of So in Chiang, south of Jung-yang, and was defeated. Thus Hsiang Yu was unable to proceed west of Jung-yang. While Hsiang Yu was recapturing Peng-ch'eng from the king of Han and pursuing him to Jung-yang, Tien Heng managed to gain control of Ch'i and set up Tien Jung's son Kuang as king of Ch'i. When the king of Han was defeated at Peng-ch'eng, the other feudal lords all deserted him and went over to the side of Ch'u. The king camped at Jung-yang and constructed a walled supply road along the banks of the Yellow River in order to transport grain from the Ao Granary.

In the third year of Han [204 B.C.] Hsiang Yu several times attacked and cut off the Han supply road so that the king of Han grew short of provisions. Afraid of what might happen, he made a bid for peace, asking that he be allowed to retain all the territory west of Jung-yang as part of Han. Hsiang Yu was in favor of listening to the suggestion, but Pan Tseng (now marquis of Li-yang) advised him against it. "It is easy enough to make concessions to Han, but if you let him go this tinge and do not seize him, you are bound to regret it later!" Hsiang Yu and Pan Tseng then joined in pressing the siege of Jung-yang.

The king of Han was in great distress but, employing a strategy suggested by Ch'en P'ing, he managed to cause dissension between his two enemies. An envoy having arrived from Hsiang Yu, the king ordered a great feast prepared and brought in to be served to him. When the king saw the envoy, however, he pretended to be thoroughly
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startled and said, "Oh, I supposed you were the envoy from Pan Tseng, but I see on the contrary you have come from Hsiang Yu!" He then had the feast taken away and a poor meal brought and served to the man. When the envoy returned and reported this, Hsiang Yu began to suspect that Pan Tseng had made some secret alliance with Han and was trying gradually to usurp his own authority. Pan Tseng, deeply angered, announced, "The affairs of the world have been largely settled. My lord must now manage things for himself. For my part, I beg to be relieved of my duties and returned to the ranks of a common soldier." Hsiang Yu granted his request and Pan Tseng departed, but before he had got as far as Peng-ch'eng an ulcerous sore broke out on his back and he died.

The Han general Chi Hsin advised the king, saying, "The situation is very grave. I beg you to let me deceive Ch'u for you by taking your place as king. In this way you will be able to slip away in secret." Accordingly, the king of Han dressed two thousand women of Jung-yang in armor and, when night fell, sent them out by the eastern gate of the city. The soldiers of Ch'u rushed to attack them from all sides. Chi Hsin then rode forth in the yellow-canopied royal carriage with its plumes attached to the left side and announced, "The food in the city is exhausted. The king of Han surrenders!" While the army of Ch'u joined in cheers of victory, the king of Han with twenty or thirty horsemen slipped out by the western gate and fled to Ch'eng-kao.

When Hsiang Yu saw Chi Hsin he demanded to know where the king of Han was. "The king of Han," replied Chi Hsin, "has already left the city!" Hsiang Yu had Chi Hsin burned alive.

The king of Han left the grand secretary Chou K'o, Lord Ts'ung, and Wei Pao, the former king of Wei, to guard Jung-yang. But Chou K'o and Lord Ts'ung plotted together, saying, "It is hard to guard a city with the king of a country that has once revolted," and so together they murdered Wei Pao.

Hsiang Yu captured Jung-yang and took Chou K'o alive. "If you will be my general, I will make you supreme commander and enfeoff you with thirty thousand households," said Hsiang Yu, but Chou K'o only cursed him, saying, "If you do not hurry and surrender to the king of Han, you will be taken prisoner! You are no match for him!" Hsiang Yu, enraged, boiled Chou K'o alive and at the same time executed Lord Ts'ung.

After the king of Han escaped from Jung-yang, he fled south to Yian and She, and joined Ch'ing Pu, the king of Chiu-chiang. Gathering soldiers as he went, he returned and guarded Ch'eng-kao.

In the fourth year of Han [202 B.C.] Hsiang Yu advanced with his forces and surrounded Ch'eng-kao. The king of Han escaped alone from the northern gate of Ch'eng-kao, accompanied only by Lord T'eng, crossed the Yellow River, and fled to Hsin-wu, where he joined the armies of Chang Erh and Han Hsin. His subordinate generals one by one managed to escape from Ch'eng-kao and join him there. Hsiang Yu finally captured Ch'eng-kao and was about to proceed west, but Han sent troops to block him at Kung so he could go no further west. At the same time P'eng Yueh crossed the Yellow River and attacked part of the Ch'u army at Tung-a, killing the Ch'u general Lord Hsieh. Hsiang Yu then marched east in person and attacked P'eng Yueh.

The king of Han, having obtained command of the soldiers of Han Hsin, wished to cross the Yellow River and proceed south. On the advice of Cheng Chung, however, he abandoned this idea and instead stopped at Ho-nai and built a walled camp, sending Liu Chia to lead a band of men to aid P'eng Yueh and to burn Ch'u's stores and provisions. Hsiang Yu proceeded east and attacked them, forcing P'eng Yueh to flee.

The king of Han then led his troops back across the Yellow River and retook Ch'eng-kao, camped at Kuang-wu, and again began to draw provisions from the Ao Granary. Hsiang Yu, having pacified the eastern seaboard, returned west and camped opposite the Han forces at Kuang-wu, and thus the two armies remained, each in its own camp, for several months.

Meanwhile P'eng Yueh continued to foment rebellion in the region of Liang, and from time to time cut off Ch'u's supply lines. Hsiang Yu, much troubled by this, constructed a sacrificial altar and, placing the "Venerable Sire," the king of Han's father, on it, he announced to

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14 Wei Pao had formerly revolted against the king of Han and had been taken prisoner.
the king, "If you do not surrender to me at once, I shall boil your 'Venerable Sire' alive!"

"When you and I bowed together before King Hsu and acknowledged our allegiance to him, we took a vow to be brothers," replied the king of Han. "Therefore my father is your father, too. If you insist now upon boiling your own father, I hope you will be good enough to send me a cup of the soup!"

Hsiang Yu, in a rage, was about to kill the old man, but Hsiang Po intervened: "No one knows yet how the affairs of the world will turn out. A man like the king of Han who has his eyes set upon the rulership of the world will hardly bother about a member of his family. Even if you kill his father, it will bring you no advantage, but only increase your misfortunes." Following his advice, Hsiang Yu desisted.

For a long time Ch'ü and Han held their respective positions without making a decisive move, while their fighting men suffered the hardships of camp life and their old men and boys wore themselves out transporting provisions by land and water. Hsiang Yu sent word to the king of Han, saying, "The world has been in strife and confusion for several years now, solely because of the two of us. I would like to invite the king of Han to a personal combat to decide who is the better man. Let us bring no more needless suffering to the fathers and sons of the rest of the world." The king of Han scorned the offer with a laugh, saying, "Since I am no match for you in strength, I prefer to fight you with brains!"

Hsiang Yu then sent out one of his bravest men to challenge Han to combat. In the Han army there was a man who was very skillful at shooting from horseback, a so-called low-fan. 32 Ch'ü three times sent out men to challenge Han to combat, and each time this man shot and killed them on the spot. Hsiang Yu, enraged, buckled on his armor, took up a lance, and went out himself to deliver the challenge. The low-fan was about to shoot when Hsiang Yu shouted and glared so fiercely at him that the man had not the courage to raise his eyes or lift a hand, but finally fled back within the walls and did not dare venture forth again. The king of Han secretly sent someone to find out who the new challenger was, and when he learned that it was Hsiang Yu himself he was greatly astonished. Hsiang Yu approached the place where the king of Han was standing, and the two of them talked back and forth across the ravine of Kuang-wu. The king berated Hsiang Yu for his crimes, while Hsiang Yu angrily demanded a single combat. When the king of Han refused to agree, Hsiang Yu shot him with a crossbow which he had concealed, and the king, wounded, fled into the city of Chi'eng-kao.

Hsiang Yu, receiving word that Han Hsin had already conquered the area north of the Yellow River, defeating Ch'i and Chao, and was about to attack Ch'ü, sent Lung Chü to attack him. Han Hsin, joined by the cavalry general Kuan Ying, met his attack and defeated the Ch'ü army, killing Lung Chü. Han Hsin then proceeded to set himself up as king of Ch'i. When Hsiang Yu heard that Lung Chü's army had been defeated, he was fearful and sent Wu She, a man of Hsü-i, to attempt to bargain with Han Hsin, but Han Hsin refused to listen.

At this time P'eng Yüeh had once more raised a revolt in the region of Liang, conquered it, and cut off Ch'ü's sources of supply. Hsiang Yu summoned the marquis of Hsi-ch'un, the grand marshal Ts'ao Chiu, and others and said to them, "Hold fast to the city of Ch'eng-kao. Even if the king of Han challenges you to a battle, take care and do not fight with him! You must not let him advance eastward! In fifteen days I can surely do away with P'eng Yüeh and bring the region of Liang under control once again. Then I will return and join you."

Hsiang Yu marched east and attacked Ch'en-lu and Wai-huang. Wai-huang held out for several days before it finally surrendered. Enraged, Hsiang Yu ordered all the men over the age of fifteen to be brought to a place east of the city, where he planned to butcher them. One of the retainers of the head of the district, a lad of thirteen, went and spoke to Hsiang Yu. "Wai-huang, oppressed by the might of P'eng Yüeh, was fearful and surrendered to him, hopeful that Your Majesty would come to the rescue," he said. "But now that you have arrived, if you butcher all the men, how can you hope to win the hearts of

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32 The men of the barbarian tribe of Low-fan being famous for their skill in archery, the word low-fan came to mean an expert bowman.
The common people? East of here there are still a dozen cities of Liang, but all will be filled with terror and will not dare to surrender."

Hsiang Yü, acknowledging the reason of his words, pardoned all the men of Wai-huang who were marked for execution and proceeded east to Sui-yang. Hearing what had happened, the other cities made haste to submit to him.

The king of Han meanwhile several times challenged the Ch'u army to a battle, but the Ch'u generals refused to send out their forces. Then he sent men to taunt and insult them for five or six days, until at last the grand marshal Ts'ao Chiu, in a rage, led his soldiers across the Sus River. When the troops were halfway across the river, the Han force fell upon them and inflicted a severe defeat on the Ch'u army, seizing all the wealth of the country of Ch'u. Grand marshal Ts'ao Chiu, the chief secretary Tung I, and Sau-ma Hsin, the king of Sai, all cut their throats on the banks of the Sus. (Ts'ao Chiu, former prison warden of Chi, and Sau-ma Hsin, former prison warden of Yüeh-yang, had both done favors for Hsiang Liang, and so had been trusted and employed by Hsiang Yü.)

Hsiang Yü was at this time in Sui-yang but, hearing of the defeat of the grand marshal's army, he led his troops back. The Han army had at the moment surrounded Chung-li Mo at Jung-yang, but when Hsiang Yü arrived, the Han forces, fearful of Ch'u, all fled to positions of safety in the mountains. At this time the Han troops were strong and had plenty of food, but Hsiang Yü's men were worn out and their provisions were exhausted.

The king of Han dispatched Lu Chia to bargain with Hsiang Yü for the return of his father, but Hsiang Yü refused to listen. The king then sent Lord Hou to bargain. This time Hsiang Yü agreed to make an alliance with Han to divide the empire between them, Han to have all the land west of the Hung Canal and Ch'u all the land to the east. In addition, upon Hsiang Yü's consent, the king of Han's father, mother, and wife were returned to him amid cheers of "Long life!" from the Han army. The king of Han eneoffed Lord Hou as "Lord Who Pacifies the Nation." (Lord Hou retired and was unwilling to show himself again. Someone remarked, "This man is the most eloquent pleader in the world. Wherever he goes he turns the whole nation on its head. Perhaps that is why he has been given the title 'Lord Who Pacifies the Nation.'")

After concluding the alliance, Hsiang Yü led his troops away to the east and the king of Han prepared to return west, but Chang Liang and Ch'en Ping advised him, saying, "Han now possesses over half the empire, and all the feudal lords are on our side, while the soldiers of Ch'u are weary and out of food. The time has come when Heaven will destroy Ch'u. It would be best to take advantage of Hsiang Yü's lack of food and seize him once for all. If we were to let him get away now without attacking him, it would be like nursing a tiger that will return to vex us later!"

The king of Han, approving their advice, in the fifth year of Han [202 B.C.] pursued Hsiang Yü as far as the south of Yang-hia, where he halted and made camp. There he set a date for Han Hsin and P'eng Yüeh to meet him and join in attacking the Ch'u army. But when he reached Ku-lung, the troops of Han Hsin and P'eng Yüeh failed to appear for the rendezvous, and Hsiang Yü attacked him and inflicted a severe defeat. The king of Han withdrew behind his walls, deepened his moats, and guarded his position.

"The other leaders have not kept their promise. What shall I do?" he asked Chang Liang.

"The Ch'u army is on the point of being destroyed," Chang Liang replied, "but Han Hsin and P'eng Yüeh have not yet been granted any territory. It is not surprising that they do not come when summoned. If you will consent to share a part of the empire with them, they will surely come without a moment's hesitation. If this is impossible, I do not know what will happen. If you could assign to Han Hsin all the land from Ch'en east to the sea, and to P'eng Yüeh the land from Sui-yang north to Ku-ch'eng, so that each would feel he..."

16 The passage in parentheses, the meaning of which is far from certain, does not appear in the parallel passage in Han shu 31, and may well be a later addition.

17 Although they had received impressive titles—Han Hsin was "king of Ch'i," P'eng Yüeh was "prime minister of Wei"—no specific grants of territory had as yet been awarded them.
was actually fighting for his own good, then Ch’u could easily be defeated.”

The king of Han, approving this suggestion, sent envoys to Han Hsin and Peng Yüeh, saying, “Let us join our forces in attacking Ch’u. When Ch’u has been defeated, I will give the land of Ch’en east to the sea to the king of Ch’i, and that from Sui-yang north to K’u-ch’eng to Prime Minister Peng.” When the envoys arrived and reported this to Han Hsin and Peng Yüeh, both replied, “We beg leave to proceed with our troops.” Han Hsin then marched out of Ch’i. Liu Chia led his army from Shou-ch’ung to join in attacking and murdering the men of Ch’eng-fu; from there he proceeded to K’ai-hsia. The grand marshal Chou Yin revolted against Ch’u, using the men of Shu to massacre the inhabitants of Liu, gained control of the army of Chiu-chiang, and followed after Liu Chia and Peng Yüeh. All met at K’ai-hsia and made their way toward Hsiang Yü.

Hsiang Yü’s army had built a walled camp at K’ai-hsia, but his soldiers were few and his supplies exhausted. The Han army, joined by the forces of the other leaders, surrounded them with several lines of troops. In the night Hsiang Yü heard the Han armies all about him singing the songs of Ch’u: “Has Han already conquered Ch’u?” he exclaimed in astonishment. “How many men of Ch’u they have with them!” Then he rose in the night and drank within the curtains of his tent. With him were the beautiful lady Yü, who enjoyed his favor and followed wherever he went, and his famous steed Dapple, which he always rode. Hsiang Yü, filled with passionate sorrow, began to sing sadly, composing this song:

My strength plucked up the hills,
My might shadowed the world;
But the times were against me,
And Dapple runs no more.
When Dapple runs no more,
What then can I do?
Ah, Yü, my Yü,
What will your fate be?

He sang the song several times through, and Lady Yü joined her voice with his. Tears streamed down his face, while all those about him wept and were unable to lift their eyes from the ground. Then he mounted his horse and, with some eight hundred brave horsemen under his banner, rode into the night, burst through the encirclement to the south, and galloped away.

Next morning, when the king of Han became aware of what had happened, he ordered his cavalry general Kuan Ying to lead a force of five thousand horsemen in pursuit. Hsiang Yü crossed the Huai River, though by now he had only a hundred or so horsemen still with him. Reaching Yin-ling, he lost his way, and stopped to ask an old farmer for directions. But the farmer deceived him, saying, “Go left!”, and when he rode to the left he stumbled into a great swamp, so that the Han troops were able to pursue and overtake him.

Hsiang Yü once more led his men east until they reached Tung-ch’eng. By this time he had only twenty-eight horsemen, while the Han cavalry pursuing him numbered several thousand.

Hsiang Yü, realizing that he could not escape, addressed his horsemen, saying, “It has been eight years since I first led my army forth. In that time I have fought over seventy battles. Every enemy I faced was destroyed, everyone I attacked submitted. Never once did I suffer defeat, until at last I became dictator of the world. But now suddenly I am driven to this desperate position! It is because Heaven would destroy me, not because I have committed any fault in battle. I have resolved to die today. But before I die, I beg to fight bravely and win for you three victories. For your sake I shall break through the enemy’s encirclements, cut down their leaders, and sever their banners, that you may know it is Heaven which has destroyed me and no fault of mine in arms!” Then he divided his horsemen into four bands and faced them in four directions.

When the Han army had surrounded them several layers deep, Hsiang Yü said to his horsemen, “I will get one of those generals for you!” He ordered his men to gallop in all four directions down the hill on which they were standing, with instructions to meet again on the east side of the hill and divide into three groups. He himself gave a great shout and galloped down the hill. The Han troops scattered before him and he succeeded in cutting down one of their generals. At this time Yang Hsi was leader of the cavalry pursuing Hsiang Yü,
but Hsiang Yü roared and glared so fiercely at him that all his men and horses fled in terror some distance to the rear.

Hsiang Yü rejoined his men, who had formed into three groups. The Han army, uncertain which group Hsiang Yü was with, likewise divided into three groups and again surrounded them. Hsiang Yü once more galloped forth and cut down a Han colonel, killing some fifty to a hundred men. When he had gathered his horsemen together a second time, he found that he had lost only two of them. "Did I tell you the truth?" he asked. His men all bowed and replied, "You have done all you said."

Hsiang Yü, who by this time had reached Wu-chiang, was considering whether to cross over to the east side of the Yangtsze. The village head of Wu-chiang, who was waiting with a boat on the bank of the river, said to him, "Although the area east of the Yellow River is small, it is some thousand miles in breadth and has a population of thirty or forty thousand. It would still be worth ruling. I beg you to make haste and cross over. I am the only one who has a boat, so that when the Han army arrives they will have no way to get across!"

Hsiang Yü laughed and replied, "It is Heaven that is destroying me. What good would it do me to cross the river? Once, with eight thousand sons from the land east of the river, I crossed over and marched west, but today not a single man of them returns. Although their fathers and brothers east of the river should take pity on me and make me their king, how could I bear to face them again? Though they said nothing of it, could I help but feel shame in my heart?"

Then he added, "I can see that you are a worthy man. For five years I have ridden this horse, and I have never seen his equal. Again and again he has borne me hundreds of miles in a single day. Since I cannot bear to kill him, I give him to you."

Hsiang Yü then ordered all his men to dismount and proceed on foot, and with their short swords to close in hand-to-hand combat with the enemy. Hsiang Yü alone killed several hundred of the Han men, until he had suffered a dozen wounds. Looking about him, he spied the Han cavalry marshal Lü Ma-t’ung. "We are old friends, are we not?" he asked. Lü Ma-t’ung eyed him carefully and then, pointing him out to Wang I, said, "This is Hsiang Yü!"

"I have heard that Han has offered a reward of a thousand catties of gold and a fief of ten thousand households for my head," said Hsiang Yü. "I will do you the favor!" And with this he cut his own throat and died.

Wang I seized his head, while the other horsemen trampled over each other in a struggle to get at Hsiang Yü’s body, so that twenty or thirty of them were killed. In the end the cavalry attendant Yang Hsi, the cavalry marshal Lü Ma-t’ung, and the attendants Lü Sheng and Yang Wu each succeeded in seizing a limb. When the five of them fitted together the limbs and head, it was found that they were indeed those of Hsiang Yü. Therefore the fief was divided five ways, Lü Ma-t’ung being eneoffed as marquis of Chung-shui, Wang I as marquis of Tu-yen, Yang Hsi as marquis of Ch’ih-ch’uan, Yang Wu as marquis of Wu-fang, and Lü Sheng as marquis of Nieh-yang.

With the death of Hsiang Yü, the entire region of Ch’u surrendered to Han, only Lu refusing to submit. The king of Han set out with the troops of the empire and was about to massacre the inhabitants of Lu. But because Lu had so strictly obeyed the code of honor and had shown its willingness to fight to the death for its acknowledged sov-ereign, he bore with him the head of Hsiang Yü and, when he showed it to the men of Lu, they forthwith surrendered.

King Huai of Ch’u had first eneoffed Hsiang Yü as duke of Lu, and Lu was the last place to surrender. Therefore, the king of Han buried Hsiang Yü at Ku-ch’eng with the ceremony appropriate to a duke of Lu. The king proclaimed a period of mourning for him, wept, and then departed. All the various branches of the Hsiang family he spared from execution, and he eneoffed Hsiang Po as marquis of She-yang. The marquises of T’ao, P’ing-kao, and Hsüan-wu were all members of the Hsiang family who were granted the imperial surname Liu.

The Grand Historian remarks: I have heard Master Chou say that Emperor Shun had eyes with double pupils. I have also heard that Hsiang Yü, too, had eyes with double pupils. Could it be that Hsiang Yü was a descendant of Emperor Shun? How sudden was his rise to power! When the rule of Ch’in floundered and Ch’ên She led his re-
volt, local heroes and leaders arose like bees, struggling with each other for power in numbers too great to be counted. Hsiang Yu did not have so much as an inch of territory to begin with, but by taking advantage of the times he raised himself in the space of three years from a commoner in the fields to the position of commander of five armies of feudal lords. He overthrew Ch'in, divided up the empire, and parcelled it out in fiefs to the various kings and marquises; but all power of government proceeded from Hsiang Yu and he was hailed as a dictator king. Though he was not able to hold this position to his death, yet from ancient times to the present there has never before been such a thing!

But when he went so far as to turn his back on the Pass and return to his native Ch'u, banishing the Righteous Emperor and setting himself up in his place, it was hardly surprising that the feudal lords revolted against him. He boasted and made a show of his own achievements. He was obstinate in his own opinions and did not abide by established ways. He thought to make himself a dictator, hoping to attack and rule the empire by force. Yet within five years he was dead and his kingdom lost. He met death at Tung-ch'eng, but even at that time he did not wake to or accept responsibility for his errors. "It is Heaven," he declared, "which has destroyed me, and no fault of mine in the use of arms!" Was he not indeed deluded?
Shih chi 3: The Basic Annals of Emperor Kao-tsu

Hsiang Yü was violent and tyrannical, while the king of Han practiced goodness and virtue. In anger he marched forth from Shu and Han, returning to conquer the three kingdoms of Ch'in. He executed Hsiang Yü and became an emperor, and all the world was brought to peace. He changed the statues and reformed the ways of the people. Thus I made The Basic Annals of Emperor Kao-tsu.

Kao-tsu 1 was a native of the community of Chung-ya in the city of Feng, the district of P'ei. His family name was Liu and his polite name Chi. His father was known as the "Venerable Sire" and his mother as "Dame Liu."

Before he was born, Dame Liu was one day resting on the bank of a large pond when she dreamed that she encountered a god. At this time the sky grew dark and was filled with thunder and lightning. When Kao-tsu's father went to look for her, he saw a scaly dragon over the place where she was lying. After this she became pregnant and gave birth to Kao-tsu.

Kao-tsu had a prominent nose and a dragonlike face, with beautiful whiskers on his chin and cheeks; on his left thigh he had seventy-two black moles. 2 He was kind and affectionate with others, liked to help people, and was very understanding. He always had great ideas and paid little attention to the business the rest of his family was engaged in.

When he grew up he took the examination to become an official

1 Kao-tsu, meaning "Exalted Ancestor," is the posthumous title of Liu Chi, founder of the Han dynasty. Liu Chi's familiar name, Pang, was tabooed during the Han and is never mentioned in the Shih chi. Since Ssu-ma Ch'ien was writing during the Han, he often refers to members of the imperial family by the titles they later acquired. Hence Kao-tsu's wife is called Empress Lû, though this is often anachronistic from the point of view of the narrative.

2 Seventy-two, the multiple of eight and nine, is a mystic number in Chinese thought.
and was made village head of Su River. He treated all the other officials in the office with familiarity and disdain. He was fond of wine and women and often used to go to Dame Wang's or old lady Wu's and drink on credit. When he got drunk and lay down to sleep, the old women, to their great wonder, would always see something like a dragon over the place where he was sleeping. Also, whenever he would drink and stay at their shops, they would sell several times as much wine as usual. Because of these strange happenings, when the end of the year came around the old women would always destroy Kao-tsu's credit slips and clear his account.

Kao-tsu was once sent on corvee labor to the capital city of Hsien-yang and happened to have an opportunity to see the First Emperor of Ch'in. When he saw him he sighed and said, "Ah, this is the way a great man should be."

There was a man of Shan-fu, one Master Lü, who was a friend of the magistrate of Pei. In order to avoid the consequences of a feud, he accepted the hospitality of the magistrate and made his home in Pei. When the officials and the wealthy and influential people of Pei heard that the magistrate had a distinguished guest, they all came to pay their respects. Hsiao Ho, being the director of officials, was in charge of gifts and informed those who came to call that anyone bringing a gift of less than one thousand cash would be seated below the main hall. Kao-tsu, who as a village head was in the habit of treating the other officials with contempt, falsely wrote on his calling card: "With respects—ten thousand cash," though in fact he did not have a single cash. When his card was sent in, Master Lü was very surprised and got up and came to the gate to greet him. Master Lü was very good at reading people's faces and when he saw Kao-tsu's features he treated him with great honor and respect and led him in to a seat. "Liu Chi," remarked Hsiao Ho, "does a good deal of fine talking, but so far has accomplished very little." But Kao-tsu, disdaining the other guests, proceeded to take a seat of honor without further ado.

When the drinking was nearly over, Master Lü glanced at Kao-tsu in such a way as to indicate that he should stay a while longer, and so Kao-tsu dawdled over his wine. "Since my youth," said Master Lü, "I have been fond of reading faces. I have read many faces, but none with signs like yours. You must take good care of yourself, I beg you. I have a daughter whom I hope you will do me the honor of accepting as your wife."

When the party was over, Dame Lü was very angry with her husband. "You have always idolized this girl and planned to marry her to some person of distinction," she said. "The magistrate of Pei is a friend of yours and has asked for her, but you would not give your consent. How can you be so insane as to give her to Liu Chi?"

"This is not the sort of thing women and children can understand!" replied Master Lü. Eventually he married the girl to Kao-tsu, and it was this daughter of Master Lü who became Empress Lü and gave birth to Emperor Hui and Princess Yüan of Lu.

When Kao-tsu was acting as village head he once asked for leave to go home and visit his fields. Empress Lü at the time was in the fields weeding with her two children. When an old man passed by and asked for something to drink, Empress Lü accordingly gave him some food. The old man examined her face and said, "Madam will become the most honored woman in the world." She asked him to examine her children. Looking at her son, he said, "It is because of this boy that madam will obtain honor," and when he examined the girl, he said that she too would be honored.

After the old man had gone on, Kao-tsu happened to appear from an outhouse nearby. Empress Lü told him all about how the traveler had passed by and, examining her and her children, had predicted great honor for all of them. When Kao-tsu inquired where the man was, she replied, "He cannot have gone very far away!"

Kao-tsu ran after the old man and, overtaking him, questioned him. "The lady and the little children I examined a while ago," he replied, "all resemble you. But when I examine your face, I find such worth that I cannot express it in words!"

Kao-tsu thanked him, saying "If it is really as you say, I will surely not forget your kindness!" But when Kao-tsu finally became honored he could never find out where the old man had gone.
The Victor

When Kao-tsu was acting as village head, he fashioned a kind of hat out of sheaths of bamboo and sent his "thief-seeker" to the district of Hsieh to have some made up for him, which he wore from time to time. Even after he became famous he continued to wear these hats. These are the so-called Liu family hats.

As village head Kao-tsu was ordered to escort a group of forced laborers from the district of Pei to Mount Li. On the way, however, so many of the laborers ran away that Kao-tsu began to suspect that by the time he reached his destination they would all have disappeared. When they had reached a place in the midst of a swamp west of Peng, Kao-tsu halted and began to drink. That night he loosened the bonds of the laborers he was escorting and freed them, saying, "Go, all of you! I too shall go my own way from here."

Among the laborers were ten or so brave men who asked to go with him. Kao-tsu, full of wine, led the men in the night along a path through the swamp, sending one of them to walk ahead. The man who had gone ahead returned and reported, "There is a great snake lying across the path ahead. I beg you to turn back!"

"Where a brave man marches what is there to fear?" replied Kao-tsu drunkenly and, advancing, drew his sword and slashed at the snake. After he had cut the snake in two and cleared the path, he walked on a mile or so and then lay down to sleep off his drunkenness.

When one of the men who had lagged behind came to the place where the snake lay, he found an old woman crying in the night. He asked her why she was crying and she answered, "I am crying because someone has killed my son."

"How did your son come to be killed?" he asked.

"My son was the son of the White Emperor," said the old woman. "He had changed himself into a snake and was lying across the road. Now he has been cut in two by the son of the Red Emperor, and therefore I weep."

The man did not believe the old woman and was about to accuse her of lying, when suddenly she disappeared. When the man caught up with Kao-tsu, he found him already awake and reported what had happened. Kao-tsu was very pleased in his heart and set great store by the incident, while his followers day by day regarded him with greater awe.

The First Emperor of Ch'in, repeatedly declaring that there were signs in the southeastern sky indicating the presence of a "Son of Heaven," decided to journey east to suppress the threat to his power. Kao-tsu, suspecting that he himself was the cause of the visit, fled into hiding among the rocky wastes of the mountains and swamps between Mang and Tang. Empress Lü and others who went with her to look for him, however, were always able to find him. Kao-tsu, wondering how she could do this, asked her and she replied, "There are always signs in the clouds over the place where you are. By following these we manage to find you every time." Kao-tsu was very pleased in his heart. When word of this circulated among the young men of the district of Pei, many of them sought to become his followers.

In the autumn of the first year of the reign of the Second Emperor of Ch'in [209] Ch'en She and his band arose in Chi. When Ch'en She had reached the area of Ch'en and made himself a king with the title of "Magnifier of Ch'u," many of the provinces and districts murdered their head officials and joined in the rebellion.

The magistrate of Pei, fearful of what might happen, wished to declare Pei a party to the rebellion, but his chief officials Hsiao Ho and Tsao Ts'an said, "You are an official of Ch'in. Now, though you hope to turn your back on Ch'in and lead the men of Pei, we fear they will not listen to you. We would suggest that you summon all the various men who have fled and are in hiding elsewhere. You should be able to obtain several hundred men, and with these you can threaten the rest of the people and force them to obey you."

Accordingly the magistrate sent Fan K'uai to summon Kao-tsu, who by this time had almost a hundred followers. Kao-tsu came with Fan K'uai, but the magistrate, repenting his action and fearing a move against himself, closed the gates and guarded the city, preparing to execute Hsiao Ho and Tsao Ts'an. Hsiao Ho and Tsao Ts'an in fear climbed over the wall and fled to Kao-tsu's protection. Kao-tsu then wrote a message on a piece of silk and shot it over the city walls.
saying, "The world has long suffered beneath Ch'in. Now, though you men of P'ei should guard the city for the sake of the magistrate, the other nobles who have risen in rebellion will join in massacring the inhabitants of the city. If you will unite and do away with the magistrate, select from amongst your sons a worthy man to be your leader, and declare yourselves with the other nobles, then your homes and families shall all be spared. But if you do not, you will all be massacred without further ado!"

"The elders then led the young men and together they murdered the magistrate of P'ei, opened the city gates, and welcomed Kao-tsu. They wished to make him magistrate, but Kao-tsu announced, "The world today is in chaos with the nobles rising up everywhere. If you do not make a wise choice of a leader now, you will be cut down in one stroke and your blood will drench the earth. It is not that I care for my own safety, but only that I fear my abilities are not sufficient to insure your welfare. This is a most serious business. I beg you to consult once more among yourselves and select someone who is truly worthy."

Hsiao Ho, Ts'ao Ts'an, and the other civil officials were concerned for their own safety and, fearful that if they assumed leadership and the undertaking proved unsuccessful, Ch'in would exterminate their families, they all yielded in favor of Kao-tsu. Then all the elders announced, "For a long time we have heard of the strange and wonderful happenings and the predictions of greatness concerning Liu Chi. Moreover, when we divine by the tortoise and milfoil, we find that no one receives such responses as Liu Chi!" With this, Kao-tsu declined several times but, since no one else dared to accept the position, he allowed himself to be made governor of P'ei. He then performed sacrifices to the Yellow Emperor and to the ancient warrior Ch'iHu Yu in the district office of P'ei and anointed his drums with the blood of the sacrifice. All his flags and banners he had made of red. Because the old woman had said that it was the son of the Red Emperor who had killed the snake, the son of the White Emperor, he decided to honor the color red in this fashion.

The young men and distinguished officials such as Hsiao Ho, Ts'ao Ts'an, Fan K'uai, and others gathered together for him a band of two or three thousand men of P'ei and attacked Hu-ling and Fang-yü. They then returned and guarded the city of Feng.

In the second year of the Second Emperor [208 B.C.] Ch'en She's general Chou Wen marched west with his army as far as Hsi and then returned. Yen, Chao, Ch'i, and Wei all set up their own kings and Hsiang Liang and Hsiang Yu began their uprising in Wu.

Ch'iu's overseer in the province of Susu River, a man named Ping, led a force of troops and surrounded Feng for two days. The governor of P'ei marched out of the city and fought and defeated him. Then, ordering Yung Ch'i-hs in guard Feng, he led his troops to Hsieh. The magistrate of Susu River, Chuang, was defeated at Hsieh and fled to Ch'i, where the governor, P'ei's marshal of the left captured and killed him. The governor of P'ei returned and camped in the district of K'ang-fu, proceeding as far as Fang-yü. Chou Shih had arrived to attack Fang-yü, but had not yet engaged in battle. (Chou Shih was a man of Wei who had been sent by Ch'en She to seize the area.)

Chou Shih sent an envoy to Yung Ch'i-hs, who was guarding Feng, saying, "Feng was originally a colony of Liang, which was part of Wei. Now we have captured more than ten cities of Wei. If you will submit to Wei, Wei will make you a marquis. But if you persist in holding Feng and refuse to surrender, we will massacre the inhabitants."

Yung Ch'i-hs had originally had no desire to ally himself with the governor of P'ei and, when he was thus invited by Wei, he revolted and held the city of Feng in Wei's name. The governor of P'ei led his troops in an attack on Feng, but was unable to take it. Falling ill, he returned to P'ei.

The governor of P'ei was bitter because Yung Ch'i-hs and the men of Feng had turned against him. When he heard that Lord Ning of Tung-yang and Ch'in Chia had set up Ching Chii as acting king of Ch'u in Liu, he made his way there and joined them, requesting that they give him soldiers to attack Feng. At this time the Ch'in general Chang Han, pursuing Ch'en She's special general Susu-ma I, led his troops north to pacify the region of Ch'u, massacring the inhabitants of Hsiang and marching as far as Tang. Lord Ning of Tung-yang and the governor of P'ei led their troops west and fought with him west of Hsiao, but they could win no advantage. Returning, they gathered
together their troops in Liu and led them in an attack on Tang. After three days they seized Tang and, adding to their forces some five or six thousand men captured at Tang, attacked and overcame Hsia-i. Then they returned and camped near Feng.

Hearing that Hsiang Liang was in Hsieh, the governor of Pei, accompanied by some hundred horsemen, went to see him. Hsiang Liang gave him five thousand foot soldiers and ten generals of the rank of fifth lord. The governor of Pei then returned and led his troops in an attack on Feng.

A month or so after the governor of Pei had allied himself with Hsiang Liang, Hsiang Yü captured the city of Hsiang-ch'eng and returned. Hsiang Liang then summoned all his various generals to come to Hsieh. Here, having received positive news that Ch'en She was dead, he set up Hsin, grandson of the former King Huai of Chu, as king of Chu, with his capital at Hsü-i. Hsiang Liang himself took the title of lord of Wu-hsin. After several months he marched north to attack K'ang-fu, rescued the city of Tung-a, and defeated the Ch'in army. Then, while Ch'i led its troops back to its own territory, Hsiang Liang alone pursued the defeated Ch'in army north, dispatching the governor of Pei and Hsiang Yü with a special force to attack Ch'eng-yang. After massacring the inhabitants of Ch'eng-yang, they camped east of Pu-yang, where they fought with the Ch'in forces and defeated them.

The Ch'in army, recovering from this blow, defended its position at Pu-yang by encircling it with water. The Chu army then withdrew and attacked Ting-t'ao, but was unable to conquer it. The governor of Pei and Hsiang Yü seized the area to the west. Arriving before the walls of Yung-ch'iu, they again engaged the Ch'in forces and gravely defeated them, cutting down the Ch'in general Li Yu. They returned and attacked Wai-huang, but were unable to conquer it. Hsiang Liang in the meantime had inflicted another defeat on Ch'in and began to grow proud and boastful. Sung I cautioned him about this, but he would not listen. Ch'in then sent reinforcements to aid Chang Han. Putting gags in the mouths of his men, Chang Han made a night attack on Hsiang Liang and inflicted a crushing defeat. Hsiang Liang was killed in the battle.

The governor of Pei and Hsiang Yü were at the time attacking Ch'en-liu but, hearing of Hsiang Liang's death, they joined forces with General Lü Ch'en and marched east. Lü Ch'en camped east of Peng-ch'eng, Hsiang Yü to the west, and the governor of Pei at Tang.

Chang Han, having defeated Hsiang Liang, felt that he had nothing more to worry about from the soldiers of the region of Chu. Therefore he crossed the Yellow River and marched north to attack Chao, inflicting a severe defeat. At this time the Ch'in general Wang Li surrounded Chao Hsieh, the king of Chao, in the city of Chü-lu. This was the so-called Army North of the River.

In the third year of the Second Emperor [207 B.C.], when King Huai of Chu saw that Hsiang Liang's army had been defeated, he grew fearful and moved his capital from Hsü-i to Peng-ch'eng, where he combined the armies of Lü Ch'en and Hsiang Yü, and himself took command of the troops. He made the governor of Pei head of Tang Province, enfeoffed him as marquis of Wu-an, and put him in command of the troops of Tang. Hsiang Yü he enfeoffed as marquis of Ch'ang-an with the title of "Duke of Lu." Lü Ch'en was appointed minister of instruction and his father, Lü Ch'ing, was made prime minister.

Since Chao had several times sent pleas for aid, King Huai made Sung I supreme general, Hsiang Yü second general, and Fan Tseng third general, and sent them north to rescue Chao. The governor of Pei he ordered to seize the region to the west and enter the Pass, making a promise with the various leaders that whoever should enter the Pass first and conquer the area within should become king of the region.

At this time the Ch'in forces were still very strong and took advantage of their supremacy to pursue those they had defeated, so that none of the leaders of the rebellion was anxious to be the first to enter the Pass. But Hsiang Yü, embittered over the defeat of Hsiang Liang's army by Ch'in, angrily demanded to be allowed to go west with the governor of Pei and attempt to enter the Pass.
King Hsu's elder generals all advised him, saying, "Hsiang Yu is by nature extremely impetuous and cruel. When he attacked and conquered the city of Hsiang-ch'eng, he butchered every one of the inhabitants without mercy. Wherever he has passed he has left behind him destruction and death. The armies of Ch'u have several times in the past advanced and won gains, but Ch'en She and Hsiang Liang were both in the end defeated. This time it would be better to send a man of true moral worth who, relying upon righteousness, will proceed west and make a proclamation to the elders of Ch'in. The men of Ch'in have long suffered under their rulers. Now if we can send a truly worthy man who will not come to them with rapine and violence in his heart, we can surely persuade them to submit. Hsiang Yu is far too impetuous to be sent. Only the governor of P'ei, who from the first has shown himself to be a man of tolerance and moral stature, is worthy to go."

In the end King Hsu refused to grant Hsiang Yu's request, but dispatched only the governor of P'ei who, gathering up the scattered remnants of Ch'en She's and Hsiang Liang's armies, marched out of Tang to seize the region to the west. Proceeding to Ch'eng-yang and Chiang-li, he threw his weight against the Ch'in fortifications there and defeated both garrisons. (In the meantime the Ch'u forces under Hsiang Yu had attacked the Ch'in general Wang Li at Chhü-li and severely defeated him.)

The governor of P'ei led his forces west and joined P'eng Yüeh at Ch'ang-i. Together they attacked the Ch'in forces but, failing to achieve a victory, retreated to Li. Here they met the marquis of Kang-wu, seized the troops under his command amounting to about four thousand men, and added them to their own forces. Then, joining the armies of the Wei general Huang Hsin and the Wei minister of works Wu Pu, they attacked Ch'ang-i again but, being unable to capture it, proceeded west past Kao-yang.

Li I-chi, the village gatekeeper, remarked, "Many generals have passed through this region, but I can see that the governor of P'ei is the most magnanimous and worthy of them all." Then he requested to be allowed to meet the governor of P'ei and speak with him. At the

* Following the Han shu reading.

time the governor was sitting sprawled upon a couch with two servant girls washing his feet. When Master Li entered, he did not make the customary prostration but instead gave a very deep bow and said, "If you truly desire to punish the evil rulers of Ch'in, it is hardly proper to receive one who is your elder in this slovenly fashion!"

With this the governor arose, straightened his clothes, and apologized, showing Master Li to a seat of honor. Master Li then explained to him how to assault Ch'en-lui and capture the stores of grain which Ch'in had there. The governor of P'ei gave Li the title of "Lord of Kuang-yeh" and made his brother Li Shang a general, putting him in command of the troops of Ch'en-lui. Together they attacked K'ai-feng but, failing to capture it, proceeded west and engaged the Ch'in general Yang Hsiung in battle at Po-ma and again east of Ch'i-yung, severely defeating him. Yang Hsiung fled to Jung-yang where, in order to serve as a warning to the rest of the army, he was executed by an envoy sent from the Second Emperor.

The governor of P'ei attacked Ying-yang, massacring its defenders, and then, relying upon the guidance of Chiang Liang, proceeded to seize the area of Huan-yian in the region of Hann. At this time Suo-ma An, a general dispatched by Chao, was about to cross the Yellow River in hopes of entering the Pass. In order to prevent him, the governor of P'ei marched north to attack P'ing-yin, destroyed the fording place across the Yellow River, and then continued south to battle with the Ch'in forces east of Lo-yang. Being unsuccessful here, he withdrew to Yang-ch'eng, gathered together all his horsemen, and attacked and defeated I, the governor of Nan-yang Province, east of Ch'out. He seized the province of Nan-yang while the governor, I, fled to the city of Yuan for protection.

The governor of P'ei was about to lead his troops on to the west, but Chiang Liang cautioned him, saying, "Although you wish to enter the Pass as soon as possible, there are a great many soldiers of Ch'in holding the strong points. Now if you march on without seizing the city of Yuan, Yuan will attack you from behind. With the power of Ch'in awaiting you ahead, your way will be fraught with danger!" Accordingly the governor of P'ei led his troops back by another road

7 So called because he was a Confucian scholar.
at night, changed his flags and pennants, and just before dawn encircled the city of Yüan with several bands of troops. The governor of Nan-yang was about to cut his throat when one of his followers, Ch'ên Hui, stopped him, saying, "There is still plenty of time to die." Then he climbed over the city wall and appeared before the governor of P'ei. "I have heard," he said, "that Your Lordship has made an agreement that whoever shall enter the capital city of Hsien-yang first will become its king. But now you have stayed your march in order to invest the city of Yüan. Yüan is the capital of a great province, with twenty or thirty cities under its control. Its people are numerous and its stores of provisions plentiful. Our officers believe that if they surrender they will certainly be put to death and therefore they have all mounted the walls and are firmly guarding their city. Now if you wear out your days remaining here attacking the city, many of your men are bound to suffer injury and death, while if you lead your troops away from Yüan, Yüan will surely pursue you from behind. Should you choose the former course you will never reach Hsien-yang in time to take advantage of the agreement, while should you choose the latter you will be bedeviled by the power of Yüan. If I were to suggest a plan for you, I would say it is best to promise to enfeoff the governor if he surrenders. Then you may leave him behind to guard the city for you while you lead his troops with you to the west. The other cities that have not submitted hear of your action, they will hasten to open their gates and await your coming, so that your passage will be freed from all hindrance."

The governor of P'ei approved this idea and accordingly made the governor of Yüan marquis of Yin and enfeoffed Ch'ên Hui with a thousand households. Then he led his troops west, and all the cities without exception submitted to him. When he reached the Tan River, Sai, the marquis of Kao-wu, and Wang Ling, the marquis of Hsia, surrendered the area of Hui-ling to him. Then he turned back and attacked Hu-yang where he met Mei Hsian, special general of Wu Jui, the lord of P'o, and together they conquered Hsi and Li.

The governor of P'ei dispatched Ning Ch'ang, a man of Wei, as his envoy to the court of Ch'in. But he had not yet returned when Chang Han surrendered his army to Hsiang Yu at Chao. (Earlier, Hsiang Yu and Sung I had marched north to rescue Chao from the Ch'in attack. Later, when Hsiang Yu murdered Sung I and took his place as supreme general, Ch'ing Pu and the other leaders joined with him. He then defeated the army of the Ch'in general Wang Li, received the surrender of Chang Han, and secured command over all the other leaders.)

After Chao Kao had murdered the Second Emperor, the governor of P'ei's envoy returned with a promise from Ch'in to divide the area within the Pass and make the governor a king over part of it. Believing this to be a trick, however, the governor followed the strategy suggested by Chang Liang and sent Master Li and Lu Chia to go and bargain with the Ch'in generals and tempt them to treason with offers of profit, while he himself proceeded to attack the Wu Pass and capture it. He also fought with the Ch'in armies at Lan-t'ien, disposing his soldiers and increasing the number of his flags and pennants in such a way as to make his forces appear greater than they actually were. Wherever he passed, he forbade his men to plunder or seize prisoners. The people of Ch'in were delighted at this mildness and the Ch'in armies grew unwary so that they suffered great defeat. He also fought to the north of Lan-t'ien and inflicted a major defeat. Taking advantage of these victories, he was able at last to destroy the Ch'in armies.

In the tenth month of the first year of Han [November-December, 207 B.C.], the governor of P'ei finally succeeded in reaching Pa-shang ahead of the other leaders. T'au-ying, the king of Ch'in, came in a plain carriage drawn by a white horse, wearing a rope about his neck, and surrendered the imperial seals and credentials by the side of Chih Road. Some of the generals asked that the king of Ch'in be executed, but the governor of P'ei replied, "The reason King Hsu first sent me upon this mission was that he sincerely believed I was capable of showing tolerance and mercy. Now to kill a man who has already surrendered would only bring bad luck!" With this he turned the king of Ch'in over to the care of his officials. Then he proceeded west

6 White is the color of mourning, while the rope indicated total submission. T'au-ying had succeeded the Second Emperor as ruler of Ch'in, but because of the wobbly state of his empire had ventured only to call himself "King."
and entered Hsien-yang. He hoped to stay and rest for a while in the palaces of Ch'in, but Fan K'uai and Chang Liang advised him against this. Therefore he sealed up the storehouses containing Ch'in's treasures and wealth and returned to camp at Pa-shang. There he summoned all the distinguished and powerful men of the districts and addressed them, saying:

"Gentlemen, for a long time you have suffered beneath the harsh laws of Ch'in. Those who criticized the government were wiped out along with their families; those who gathered to talk in private were executed in the public market. I and the other nobles have made an agreement that he who first enters the Pass shall rule over the area within. Accordingly I am now king of this territory within the Pass. I hereby promise you a code of laws consisting of three articles only: He who kills anyone shall suffer death; he who wounds another or steals shall be punished according to the gravity of the offense; for the rest I hereby abolish all the laws of Ch'in. Let the officials and people remain undisturbed as before. I have come only to save you from further harm, not to exploit or tyrannize over you. Therefore do not be afraid! The reason I have returned to Pa-shang is simply to wait for the other leaders so that when they arrive we may settle the agreement."

He sent men to go with the Ch'in officials and publish this proclamation in the district towns and villages. The people of Ch'in were overjoyed and hastened with cattle, sheep, wine, and food to present to the soldiers. But the governor of P'e'i declined all such gifts, saying, "There is plenty of grain in the granaries. I do not wish to be a burden to the people." With this the people were more joyful than ever and their only fear was that the governor of P'e'i would not become king of Ch'in.

Someone advised the governor of P'e'i, saying, "The area of Ch'in is ten times richer than the rest of the empire and the land is protected by natural barriers. Now word has come that Chang Han has surrendered to Hsiang Yu and that Hsiang Yu therefore has granted him the title of king of Yung, intending to make him ruler of the area within the Pass. If he arrives, I fear that you will not be able to maintain your present claim. It would be best to send soldiers at once to guard the Han-ku Pass and prevent any of the armies of the other leaders from entering. In the meantime you can little by little gather up soldiers from the area within the Pass and lead them yourself to reinforce those blocking the Pass." The governor of P'e'i approved this plan and set about putting it into effect.

During the eleventh month Hsiang Yu led the troops of the various armies west, as the governor had expected, and attempted to enter the Pass. Finding the Pass blocked and hearing that the governor of P'e'i had already conquered the land within the Pass, he was greatly enraged and sent Ch'ing Pu and others to attack and break through the Han-ku Pass. In the twelfth month he finally reached Hsi.

Ts'ao Wu-shang, marshal of the left to the governor of P'e'i, hearing that Hsiang Yu was angry and wished to attack the governor of P'e'i, sent a messenger to speak to Hsiang Yu, saying, "The governor of P'e'i hopes to become king of the area within the Pass, employing Tzu-ying as his prime minister and keeping possession of all the precious articles and treasures of the capital." (He thought that by reporting thus he would be rewarded by Hsiang Yu with a fief.)

Fan Tseng strongly urged Hsiang Yu to attack the governor of P'e'i. Accordingly Hsiang Yu feasted his soldiers and prepared to join in battle the following day. At this time Hsiang Yu claimed to have a force of 1,000,000 men, though the actual number was 400,000, while the governor of P'e'i claimed a force of 200,000, which was actually only 100,000. Thus they were no match for each other in strength.

As it happened, Hsiang Po, hoping to save the life of his friend Chang Liang, had gone the night before to see Chang Liang and as a result was able to convince Hsiang Yu of the governor of P'e'i's loyalty, so that Hsiang Yu abandoned his plan to attack. The governor of P'e'i, accompanied by some hundred horsemen, hastened to Hung-men, where he met Hsiang Yu and apologized to him. Hsiang Yu replied, "It is your own marshal of the left, Ts'ao Wu-shang, who informed against you. If it were not for him, how would I ever have doubted you?" The governor of P'e'i, through the efforts of Fan K'uai and Chang Liang, was at last able to escape and return to his own camp. Upon his return he immediately executed Ts'ao Wu-shang.
After the demise of King Fu Hsi, the Chou people became the supreme power in China. They were known as the Chou Dynasty. The Chou people were a nomadic tribe who migrated into China from the north and established their kingdom in the Shang capital. Under King Wu, the Chou people made China their territory, which led to the downfall of the Shang Dynasty. The Chou Dynasty was established, and the Chou people became the dominant force in China. The capital of the Chou Dynasty was established in Shang-Qin, which is now known as Beijing. The Chou Dynasty was known for its military might and strong centralized government. The Chou Dynasty was the first dynastic period in Chinese history, lasting from approximately 1046 BC to 256 BC.

In the northern provinces, the Chou people established a dynasty known as the Zhou Dynasty. The Zhou Dynasty was known for its military might and strong centralized government. The Zhou Dynasty was the first dynastic period in Chinese history, lasting from approximately 1046 BC to 256 BC.
to the position of king of Liao-tung. When Han Kuang refused to obey, Tsang Tu attacked and killed him at Wu-chung. Ch'en Yu, the lord of Ch'eng-an, was enfeoffed with three districts in Ho-chien, at his residence at Nan-p'ie, while Mei Hsian was enfeoffed with a hundred thousand households.

In the fourth month the various armies left the command of Hsiang Yu and proceeded with the feudal leaders to their respective territories. When the king of Han departed for his kingdom, Hsiang Yu allowed him to take along thirty thousand soldiers. Gathering a force of twenty or thirty thousand of the soldiers of Ch'u and the other leaders, he accordingly proceeded from Tu-nan and entered the Li Gorge. As he proceeded, he burned and destroyed the wooden roadway behind him in order to prevent bandit troops of the other feudal lords from attacking him and, at the same time, to demonstrate to Hsiang Yu that he had no intention of marching east again.

When he reached Nan-cheng he found that many of his officers and men had deserted along the way and returned home, while those who were left all sang the songs of their homeland and longed to go back east. Han Hsin advised the king of Han, saying, "Hsiang Yu has made kings of all his generals who achieved merit, but you alone have sent to live in Nan-cheng as though you were being exiled for some crime. The officers and soldiers of your army are all men of the east, and day and night they gaze into the distance longing to return home. If you take up your lance now and use it, you can win great glory. But if you wait until the world is settled and all men are at peace, then you cannot hope to take it up again. You had best lay plans to return east and fight for mastery of the world!"

When Hsiang Yu returned east through the Pass he sent a messenger to transfer the residence of the Righteous Emperor, announcing that "the emperors of ancient times who ruled an area a thousand miles on each side invariably resided on the upper reaches of a river." The envoy accordingly moved the Righteous Emperor to the district of Ch'en in Ch'ang-sha, pressing him to hurry on his way. With this the emperor's ministers became increasingly disillusioned and turned their backs upon him. Hsiang Yu then secretly ordered the kings of

Heng-shan and Lin-chiang to attack and murder the Righteous Emperor at Chiang-nan.

Hsiang Yu, being angry with Tien Jung, set up Tien Tu, a general of Ch'i, as king of Ch'i, but Tien Jung, enraged at this, declared himself king of Ch'i, murdered Tien Tu, and revolted against Ch'u. Then he presented P'eng Yuch with the seals of office of a general and sent him to lead a revolt in the region of Liang. Ch'u ordered Ch'ueh, lord of Hsiao, to attack P'eng Yuch, but P'eng Yuch inflicted a severe defeat on him.

Ch'en Yu, angry that Hsiang Yu had not made him a king, dispatched Hsia Yuch to plead with Tien Jung and persuade him to send troops to attack Chang Erh, the king of Ch'ang-shan. Chu in response sent a body of soldiers to aid Ch'en Yu in attacking Chang Erh. Chang Erh fled from his territory and went to join the king of Han. Ch'en Yu then proceeded to Tai to fetch Hsueh, the former king of Chao, and restore him to his throne in Chao. In return, the king of Chao set up Ch'en Yu as king of Tai. Hsiang Yu, greatly enraged at these moves, marched north to attack Ch'i.

In the eighth month the king of Han, having decided to follow the plan outlined by Han Hsin, marched back by the Old Road and returned east to attack Chang Han, the king of Yung. Chang Han proceeded west to meet the attack, clashing with the Han forces at Ch'en-ts'ang. The soldiers of Yung were defeated and fled back east but halted to fight at Hao-chih. Defeated again, they fled to Fei-ch'iu. Thus the king of Han was able eventually to win control of the region of Yung and proceed east to Hsien-yang. He led his troops and surrounded the king of Yung at Fei-ch'iu, at the same time dispatching his generals to seize control of the provinces of Lung-hsi, Pei-ti, and Shang. He also ordered his generals Hsieh Ou and Wang Hsi to proceed by the Wu Pass, join the forces of Wang Ling at Nan-yang, and go to fetch his father and mother from P'ei.

When Hsiang Yu heard of this, he dispatched troops to block their march at Yang-hsia and prevent them from advancing. At the same time he made the former district magistrate of Wu, Cheng Ch'ang, king of Hann so that he could aid in blocking the Han forces.

In the second year [205 B.C.] the king of Han proceeded east, seizing

* Built out over the steep side of the gorge.
control of the land. Su-ma Hsin, the king of Sai; Tung I, the king of Ti; and Shen Yang, the king of Ho-nan, all surrendered to him, but Cheng Ch'ang, the king of Hann, refused to submit. Therefore he dispatched Han Hsin to attack and defeat him. Out of the land he had conquered he created the provinces of Lung-hsi, Pei-ti, Shang, Wei-nan, Ho-shang, and Chung-ti within the Pass and beyond the Pass the province of Ho-nan. He made his grand commandant Han Hsin the new king of Hann. Among his generals all those who had defeated a force of ten thousand men or captured a province were enfeoffed with ten thousand households. He then ordered the border defenses north of the Yellow River to be repaired and manned, and turned over all of Ch'in's former royal hunting parks, gardens, and lakes to the people to be converted into fields for farming. In the first month he took Chang Ping, the younger brother of the king of Yung, prisoner. A general amnesty was declared, freeing criminals. The king of Han journeyed beyond the Pass as far as Hsia, looking after the wants of the people beyond the Pass. On his return, Chang Erh came to see him and the king of Han received him with kindness and generosity.

In the second month the king of Han gave orders for Ch'in's altars of the soil and grain to be abolished, and the altars of Han set up in their place.

In the third month the king of Han proceeded through Lin-chin and crossed the Yellow River, where Pao, the king of Wei, led his troops to join him. He conquered Ho-nai and took Su-ma Ang, the king of Yin, prisoner, making his territory into the province of Ho-nai. Proceeding south, he crossed the Yellow River at the Ping-yin Ford and reached Lo-yang. Here Lord Tung, the elder of Hsin-ch'eng, intercepted him and informed him of the death of the Righteous Emperor. When he heard this the king of Han bared his arms and lamented loudly. He then proclaimed a period of mourning for the sake of the emperor, with three days of lamentation, and dispatched envoys to report to the other nobles, saying, "The people of the world have joined together in setting up the Righteous Emperor and serving him as their sovereign. But now Hsiang Yu has banished him from

18 The "elders" or san-lao were distinguished men over fifty chosen from among the common people to act as consultants to government officials.

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his throne and murdered him at Chiang-nan. This is a most treasureful and heinous offense! I myself have proclaimed mourning on his behalf, and I trust the other lords will join me in donning the plain white garments of sorrow. Then I shall lead forth all the troops of the area within the Pass, gather together the forces of the three lands along the river, and in the south descend by the Han and Yangtze rivers, begging to join with the other lords and kings in attacking him of Ch'u who is the murderer of the Righteous Emperor!"

At this time Hsiang Yu had marched north to attack Ch'i, fighting with Tien Jung at Ch'eng-yang. Tien Jung was defeated and fled to P'ing-yuan, where the people of P'ing-yuan killed him, and with this all of Ch'i surrendered to the forces of Ch'u. But Hsiang Yu burned its cities and fortifications and enslaved its women and children until the men of Ch'i once more rose up in revolt. Tien Jung's younger brother, Tien Heng, set up Tien Jung's son Kuang as king of Ch'i, holding the area of Ch'eng-yang in revolt against Ch'u.

Although Hsiang Yu had received word of the king of Han's march to the east, he was already engaged in a struggle with the forces of Ch'i and hoped to accomplish their defeat before proceeding to attack Han. For this reason the king of Han was able to commandeer the troops of five of the feudal lords and eventually enter the city of Pengl-ch'eng. When Hsiang Yu received news of this, he led his forces back from Ch'i, marching from Ku through Hu-ling as far as Hsiao, where he engaged the king of Han in a great battle at Pengl-ch'eng and east of Ling-pei on the Sui River, inflicting a severe defeat. So many of the Han officers and men were killed that the Sui River was blocked and ceased to flow. Then Hsiang Yu seized the parents, wife, and children of the king of Han at Pei and placed them under guard in the midst of his army as hostages.

At this time, when the other nobles saw that the Ch'u forces were very strong and the Han forces wereretreating in defeat, they all deserted Han and went over again to the side of Ch'u. Su-ma Hsin, the king of Sai, fled to Ch'u. The older brother of the king of Han's wife, Lu Tse, the marquis of Chou-lu, commanded a force of Han soldiers at Hsia-i, and the king of Han, joining him, gradually managed to gather together his soldiers and form an army at Tung. He
then marched west through the territory of Liang as far as Yü. There he dispatched Sui Ho, his master of guests, as an envoy to go to the residence of Ch'ing Pu, the king of Chiu-chiang, telling him, "If you can persuade Ch'ing Pu to raise an army and revolt against Ch'ü, Hsiang Yü will be bound to halt his advance and attack him. If I can get Hsiang Yü to delay for a few months, I will surely be able to seize control of the empire!" Sui Ho went and pleaded with Ch'ing Pu, who as a result revolted against Ch'ü. With this, Hsiang Yü dispatched Lung Chü to go and attack him.

When the king of Han was marching west after his defeat at P'eng-ch'eng, he sent someone to look for the members of his family, but they had in the meantime all fled and he could not find them. After his defeat he was able to locate only his son (later Emperor Hui). In the sixth month he set up his son as heir apparent, proclaiming a general amnesty, and left him to guard the city of Yüeh-yang. All the relatives of the feudal lords in the area within the Pass gathered in Yüeh-yang to act as the heir apparent's bodyguards. Then the king of Han dug canals and flooded the city of Fei-chü. Fei-chü surrendered and its king, Chang Han, committed suicide. The king of Han changed the name of the city to Huai-lü. At this time he ordered the officials in charge of religious ceremonies to perform sacrifices to heaven and earth, the four directions, the Lord on High, and the various mountains and rivers, all to be celebrated at the due seasons. He raised a force of soldiers from the area within the Pass to man the various fortifications.

At this time Ch'ing Pu, the king of Chiu-chiang, was fighting with Lung Chü but, failing to gain a victory, he proceeded with Sui Ho by a secret route and joined the forces of Han. The king of Han gradually recruited more soldiers and, with the other generals and the troops from within the Pass, little by little advanced. Thus he was able to muster a great force at Jung-yang and defeat the Ch'ü army in the area of So in Ching.

In the third year [204 b.c.] Wei Pao, the king of Wei, begged leave to return to his home and look after his ailing parents but, when he had reached his destination, he cut off the ford across the Yellow River, revolted against Han, and declared himself in alliance with Ch'ü. The king of Han sent Master Li I-ch'i to persuade him to reconsider, but Wei Pao refused to listen. The king then dispatched his general Han Hsin, who inflicted a decisive defeat and took Wei Pao prisoner. Thus the king of Han managed to conquer the region of Wei, which he made into three provinces, Ho-tung, T'ai-yüan, and Shang-tung. He ordered Chang Erh and Han Hsin to proceed east down the Ching Gorge and attack Chao, where they executed Ch'en Yü and Hsin, the king of Chao. The following year Chang Erh was made king of Chao.

The king of Han camped south of Jung-yang and constructed a walled supply road following along the banks of the Yellow River in order to transport grain from the Ao Granary. Here he and Hsiang Yü remained at an impasse for well over a year.

Hsiang Yü had several times attacked and cut off the Han supply road, and the Han army was growing very short of provisions. Finally Hsiang Yü succeeded in surrounding the king of Han, who made a bid for peace, suggesting that they divide the empire in two, he himself to retain all the land west of Jung-yang as part of Han. When Hsiang Yü refused to consent to this, the king of Han was much distressed but, following a plan suggested by Ch'en P'ing, he gave Ch'en P'ing a sum of forty thousand catties of gold to use as bribes in dazzling dissension between the leaders of Ch'ü. As a result Hsiang Yü began to doubt his aide, Fan Tseng. Fan Tseng at the time was urging Hsiang Yü to carry through the assault on Jung-yang but, when he found that his loyalty was doubted, he grew angry and begged leave to retire, requesting that he be relieved of his duties and returned to the ranks of a common soldier. His request was granted and he departed, but died before he reached P'eng-ch'eng.

The Han army had by this time run completely out of food. The king of Han dressed some two thousand women in armor and sent them out at night from the eastern gate of Jung-yang. When the Ch'ü forces flocked from all directions to attack them, the Han general Chi Hsin, in order to deceive Ch'ü, rode forth in the royal chariot, pretending to be the king of Han. With shouts of victory, the men of Ch'ü all rushed to the eastern side of the city walls to see him. In this way the king of Han, accompanied by twenty or thirty horsemen, was
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able to slip out by the western gate and flee, leaving the grand secretary Chou K'o, Wei Pao, the former king of Wei, and Lord Ts'ung to guard Jung-yang. The other generals and their men who had been unable to accompany the king all remained within the city. Chou K'o and Lord Ts'ung, agreeing with each other that it would be difficult to guard the city with the king of a country that had once revolted, proceeded to murder Wei Pao.

After the king of Han escaped from Jung-yang he retired within the Pass and gathered together more troops, hoping once more to march east. Master Yu advised the king, saying, "While Han and Ch'u remained in stalemate at Jung-yang for several years, our men were in constant difficulty. I beg you this time to go out by the Wu Pass. Hsiang Yu will surely hasten south with his troops to meet you, and you may then take refuge behind heavy fortifications. In this way you can relieve the pressure on the men at Jung-yang and Ch'eng-kao, in the meantime sending Han Hsin and others to gather forces in Hopei and the region of Chao and to form an alliance with Yen and Ch'i. Then, if you should again march upon Jung-yang, it would still not be too late. Thus Ch'u will be obliged to guard a number of points and its strength will be divided, while the Han forces, having had time to rest before engaging in battle again, will certainly defeat Ch'u."

The king of Han, adopting this plan, proceeded with his army to the area between Yüan and She, he and Ch'ing Pu gathering troops as they went along. When Hsiang Yu heard that the king of Han was in Yüan, he led his forces south as had been expected, but the king of Han remained within his fortifications and would not engage in battle. At this time P'eng Yüeh crossed the Sui River and fought with the Ch'u general Hsiang Sheng and the lord of Hsih at Hsia-p'ei, defeating their army. Hsiang Yu then led his troops east to attack P'eng Yüeh, while the king of Han in the meantime marched north and camped at Ch'eng-kao.

After Hsiang Yu had defeated P'eng Yüeh and put him to flight, he received news that the king of Han had moved his camp to Ch'eng-kao. He accordingly led his troops back west and seized Jung-yang, executing Chou K'o and Lord Ts'ung and taking Hsin, the king of Hann, prisoner, and then proceeded to surround Ch'eng-kao. The

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king of Han fled, accompanied only by Lord T'eng in a single carriage, escaping by the Jade Gate of the city of Ch'eng-kao.

Hastening north across the Yellow River, he stopped for a night at Little Hsiu-wu and at dawn the next day, pretending to be an envoy from the king of Han, hurriedly entered the fortifications of Chang Erh and Han Hsin and seized command of their armies. He at once dispatched Chang Erh to proceed north and gather more troops in the region of Chao and sent Han Hsin east to attack Ch'i.

Having gained command of Han Hsin's army and recovered his strength, the king of Han led his troops to the edge of the Yellow River and camped south of Little Hsiu-wu, facing south across the river. He intended to proceed once more to battle, but his attendant Cheng Chung advised him not to fight but instead to fortify his position with high walls and deep moats. The king followed this advice, sending Lu Wan and Liu Chia to lead a force of twenty thousand infantry and several hundred horsemen across the Yellow River at the White Horse Ford to invade Ch'i. They joined P'eng Yüeh in attacking and defeating the Ch'u army west of Yen-kao, and then proceeded to seize control of ten or more cities in the region of Liang.

Han Hsin had already been ordered to march east but had not yet crossed the P'ing-yüan Ford when the king of Han dispatched Master Li I-chi to go to Ch'i and plead for him with T'ien Kuang, the king of Ch'i. As a result T'ien Kuang revolted against Ch'u and joined in alliance with Han, agreeing to participate in an attack on Hsiang Yu. But Han Hsin, following the advice of K'uai T'ung, proceeded to attack Ch'i in spite of this, inflicting a defeat. The king of Ch'i boyled Master Li I-chi alive for his supposed treachery and marched east to Kao-mi.

When Hsiang Yu heard that Han Hsin had already raised a force of troops north of the river, defeated Ch'i and Chao, and was about to attack Ch'i, he dispatched Lung Chü and Chou Lan to attack him. Han Hsin, aided in battle by the cavalry general Kuan Ying, attacked them and defeated the Ch'u army, killing Lung Chü. T'ien Kuang, the king of Ch'i, fled to join P'eng Yüeh. At this time P'eng Yüeh was in the region of Liang, leading his troops back and forth, harassing the Ch'u forces and cutting off their supplies of food.
In the fourth year [203 B.C.] Hsiang Yu said to the marquis of Hsiao-ch'un, the grand marshal T'e-ao Chiu, "Hold fast to the city of Ch'eng-kao. Even if the king of Han challenges you to a battle, take care and do not fight with him. By no means let him advance to the east. In fifteen days I will be able to bring the region of Liang under control, and then I will join you again." He then proceeded to attack and subdue Ch'en-liu, Wei-huang, and Sui-yang.

As Hsiang Yu had foreseen, the king of Han several times challenged the Ch'u armies to battle, but they refused to take up the challenge. Then the king of Han sent men to insult and revile them for five or six days, until the grand marshal in anger led his troops across the Su River. When the soldiers were halfway across the river the Han forces fell upon them, inflicting a crushing defeat on Ch'u and seizing all the gold, treasures, and wealth of the kingdom of Ch'u. The grand marshal T'e-ao Chiu and Su-erh Hsin, the king of Sai, both committed suicide by cutting their throats on the banks of the Su.

When Hsiang Yu reached Sui-yang he received word of T'e-ao Chiu's defeat and led his forces back. The Han forces had at the time encircled Chung-li Mo at Jung-yang, but on Hsiang Yu's arrival they all fled to the safety of the mountains.

After Han Hsin had defeated Ch'i he sent someone to report to the king of Han, saying, "Ch'i lies directly upon the border of Ch'u and my grip upon it is still unsure. I fear that unless I am given the title of acting king I will not be able to hold the area."

The king of Han was in favor of attacking Han Hsin, but Chang Liang said, "It is better to comply with his request and make him a king so that he will guard the area in his own interest." The king of Han accordingly dispatched Chang Liang to present the seals and cords of authority, setting up Han Hsin as king of Ch'i. When Hsiang Yu heard that Han Hsin had defeated Lung Ch'i's army, he was very much afraid and sent Wu She, a man of Hsü-i, to attempt to bargain with Han Hsin, but Han Hsin would not listen to his arguments.

For a long while Ch'u held their respective positions and

11 Both here and in the corresponding passage in "The Annals of Hsiang Yu" there seems to be considerable confusion of names and titles. I have translated in accordance with suggested emendations.
joined with the other nobles to punish tyranny and rebellion. I have plenty of criminals and exconvicts that I can send to attack and kill you. Why should I go to the trouble of engaging in combat with you myself? 12

Hsiang Yu was enraged and, with a crossbow that he had concealed, shot and hit the king of Han. The king was wounded in the breast, but he seized his foot and cried, “The scoundrel has hit me in the toe!” 2

The king lay ill of his wound, but Chang Liang begged him to get up and walk about the camp in order to comfort and reassure his officers and men so that Ch‘u would not be able to profit from its advantage. The king of Han went out and walked about his camp, but when the pain became too great he hurried into the city of Ch‘eng-kao. After his wound had healed, he retired west through the Pass until he reached Yüeh-yang, where he held a feast for the elders of the city and set out wine for them. Then he had the head of the former king of Sai, Su-ma Hsin, exposed in the market place of his old capital, Yüeh-yang. After staying for four days the king returned to his army, which was still camped at Wu-kuang. A number of reinforcements of troops arrived from within the Pass.

At this time P‘eng Yueh was in the region of Liang, leading his troops back and forth, harassing the Ch‘u forces and cutting off their supplies of food. T‘ien Heng fled and joined him there. Hsiang Yu had several times attacked P‘eng Yueh and the others when Han Hsin, the new king of Ch‘u, appeared and began to attack Ch‘u as well. Hsiang Yu became fearful and made an agreement with the king of Han to divide the empire, all the territory west of the Hung Canal to belong to Han and all that east of the canal to belong to Ch‘u. Hsiang Yu returned the king of Han’s parents, wife, and children to him, amid cheers of welcome from the whole army of Han. Then the two leaders parted, and Hsiang Yu broke camp and started back east.

The king of Han was about to lead his forces west but, on the advice of Chang Liang and Ch‘en Ping, instead marched forward, sending his troops to pursue Hsiang Yu. When he reached the south of Yang-hsia, he stopped and made camp. He arranged with Han Hsin and P‘eng Yueh to meet on a certain date and join in an attack on Ch‘u. But when he reached Ku-ling, they failed to appear for the meeting and Ch‘u attacked Han, inflicting a grave defeat. The king of Han again withdrew behind his fortifications, deepened his moats, and guarded his position. Using a plan suggested by Chang Liang, he was finally able to induce Han Hsin and P‘eng Yueh to join him. Liu Chia also invaded Ch‘u and surrounded Shou-ch‘un. When the king of Han was defeated at Ku-ling, he sent an envoy to invite the grand marshal of Ch‘u, Chou Yin, to revolt. Accordingly Chou Yin raised the forces of Ch‘iu-chiang and marched to join Liu Chia and Ch‘ing Pu, the king of Wu, in massacring the inhabitants of Ch‘eng-fu. Following Liu Chia, he and the leaders of Ch‘i and Liang all joined in a general meeting at Kai-hsia, at which Ch‘ing Pu was made king of Hsui-nan.

In the fifth year [202 B.C.] the king of Han with the forces of the other leaders joined in an attack on the army of Ch‘u, fighting with Hsiang Yu for a decisive victory at Kai-hsia. Han Hsin led a force of three hundred thousand to attack in the center, with General K‘ung leading the left flank and General Pi leading the right flank, while the king of Han followed behind. Chou P‘o, the marquis of Chiang, and General Ch‘ai followed behind the king. Hsiang Yu’s troops numbered some one hundred thousand. Han Hsin advanced and joined in combat but, failing to gain the advantage, retired and allowed General K‘ung and General Pi to close in from the sides. When the Ch‘u forces began to falter, Han Hsin took advantage of their weakness to inflict a great defeat at Kai-hsia. The soldiers of Hsiang Yu, hearing the Han armies singing the songs of Ch‘u, concluded that Han had already conquered the whole land of Ch‘u. With this, Hsiang Yu fled in despair, leaving his soldiers to suffer total defeat. The king of Han dispatched his cavalry general Kuan Ying to pursue and kill Hsiang Yu at Tung-ch‘eng. After cutting off the heads of eighty thousand of the enemy, he overran and conquered the land of Ch‘u.

Lu held out on behalf of Hsiang Yu and refused to surrender but, when the king of Han led the forces of the various nobles north and displayed the head of Hsiang Yu before the elders of Lu, they finally
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capitulated. The king of Han buried Hsiang Yu at Ku-ch'eng with the title of "Duke of Lu." He then returned to Ting-t'o, hastily entered the fortifications of Han Hsin, the king of Ch'i, and seized control of his army.

In the first month various nobles and generals all joined in begging the king of Han to take the title of emperor, but he replied, "I have heard that the position of emperor may go only to a worthy man. It cannot be claimed by empty words and vain talk. I do not dare to accept the position of emperor."

His followers all replied, "Our great king has risen from the humblest beginnings to punish the wicked and violent and bring peace to all within the four seas. To those who have achieved merit he has accordingly parceled out land and enfeoffed them as kings and marquises. If our king does not assume the supreme title, then all our titles as well will be called into doubt. On pain of death we urge our request!"

The king of Han three times declined and then seeing that he could do no more, said, "If you, my lords, consider it a good thing, then it must be to the good of the country." On the day chia-shu 13 [Feb. 28, 202 B.C.] he assumed the position of Supreme Emperor on the northern banks of the Susu River.

The Supreme Emperor declared, "The Righteous Emperor of Ch'u was without an heir, but Han Hsin, king of Ch'i, is well acquainted with the customs and ways of Ch'u." Accordingly he transferred Han Hsin to the position of king of Ch'ü with his capital at Hsia-p'ei. Hsin, the former king of Hann, was confirmed in his title, with his capital at Yang-t'i. P'eng Yüeh, the marquis of Chien-ch'eng, was made king of Liang, with his capital at Ting-t'o; Wu Jui, the king of Heng-shan, was transferred to the position of king of Ch'ang-sha, his capital at Lin-hsiang. (Wu Jui's general, Mei Hsiao, had won merit in battle, while he himself had joined in the march through the Wu Pass, and therefore he was rewarded in this fashion.) Ch'ing Pu, the king of Hui-nan; Tsang Tu, the king of Yen; and Chang Ao, 14 the king of Chao, remained in their former positions. With the entire empire now at peace, Kao-tsu 15 made his capital at Lo-yang, where all the nobles acknowledged his sovereignty. Huan, 16 the former king of Lin-chiang, had in the name of Hsiang Yu revolted against Han, but Lu Wan and Liu Chia were sent to surround him and, though he held out for several months, he was eventually forced to surrender and was killed at Lo-yang.

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In the fifth month the armies were disbanded and the soldiers returned to their homes. The relatives of the feudal lords who remained in the area within the Pass were exempted from all taxes and services for twelve years, while those who returned to their territories were exempted for six years and granted stipends of food for a year. Kao-tsu gave a banquet for the nobles in the Southern Palace of Lo-yang and announced, "My lords and generals, I ask you all to speak your minds quite frankly without daring to hide anything from me. Why is it that I won possession of the world and Hsiang Yu lost?"

Kao Ch'i and Wang Ling replied, "Your Majesty is arrogant and insulting to others, while Hsiang Yu was kind and loving. But when you send someone to attack a city or seize a region, you award him the spoils of the victory, sharing your gains with the whole world. Hsiang Yu was jealous of worth and ability, hating those who had achieved merit and suspecting anyone who displayed his wisdom. No matter what victories were achieved in battle, he gave his men no reward; no matter what lands they won, he never shared with them the spoils. This is why he lost possession of the world."

Kao-tsu said, "You have understood the first reason, but you do not know the second. When it comes to sitting within the tents of command and devising strategies that will assure us victory a thousand miles away, I am no match for Chang Liang. In ordering the state and caring for the people, in providing rations for the troops and seeing to it that the lines of supply are not cut off, I cannot compare to Hsiao Hs'o. In leading an army of a million men, achieving success with every battle and victory with every attack, I cannot come up to Han Hsin. These three are all men of extraordinary ability, and it

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13 To indicate days the Chinese employ a series of signs, the so-called ten stems and twelve branches, which combine to form sixty designations used to name the days (and in some cases the years) of a sixty-day or -year cycle.

14 Chang Ao succeeded his father, Chang Erh, who had died this year.

15 From now on Liu Chi is called by his posthumous title, Kao-tsu, or "Exalted Ancestor."

16 Probably a mistake for Kung Wei, who succeeded his father, Kung Ao, as king of Lin-chiang.
is because I was able to make use of them that I gained possession of the world. Hsiang Yu had his one Fan Tseng, but he did not know how to use him and thus he ended as my prisoner."

Kao-tsu wished to continue to make his capital at Lo-yang, but Liu Ching, a man of Ch'i, advised him against this and Chang Liang likewise urged him to establish his capital within the Pass. Accordingly on the same day Kao-tsu mounted his carriage and entered the Pass to take up residence there. In the sixth month he proclaimed a general amnesty for the empire.

In the seventh month Tsang Tu, the king of Yen, revolted, invading and seizing control of the land of Tai. Kao-tsu himself led a force to attack and capture him. He proceeded to set up the grand commandant Lu Wan as the new king of Yen, sending Fan K'ui with a force of troops to attack Tai.

In the autumn Li Chi revolted. Kao-tsu again led the troops in person to attack him, whereupon Li Chi fled. (Li Chi had originally been a general of the Hsiang family. When the Hsiangs were defeated, Li Chi, then the governor of the district of Ch'en, revoked his allegiance to the Hsiangs and fled and surrendered to Kao-tsu. Kao-tsu made him marquis of Ying-ch'uan. When Kao-tsu arrived in Lo-yang, he summoned to court all the marquises whose titles had thus far been registered, but Li Chi, misinterpreting the summons and fearing punishment for his former connection with the Hsiangs, revolted.)

The sixth year [201 B.C.]: Every five days Kao-tsu would go to visit his father, the "Venerable Sir," observing the etiquette proper for an ordinary son towards his father. The steward of his father's household spoke to the Venerable Sir, saying, "As heaven is without two sons, so the earth has not two lords. Now although the emperor is your son, he is the ruler of men, and although you are his father, you are his subject as well. How does it happen then that the ruler of men is doing obeisance to one of his subjects? If this is allowed to continue, the emperor's majesty will never prevail upon the world!"

The next time Kao-tsu came to visit, his father, bearing a broom in his hands as a sign of servitude, went to the gate to greet him and stood respectfully to one side. Kao-tsu in great astonishment descended from his carriage and hastened to his father's side. "The emperor is the ruler of men," his father said. "How should he on my account violate the laws of the empire?" With this Kao-tsu honored his father with the title of "Grand Supreme Emperor" and, because he was secretly pleased with the advice of his father's steward, he awarded the man five hundred catties of gold.

In the twelfth month someone reported a case of disaffection to the emperor, announcing that Han Hsin, the king of Ch'ü, was plotting a revolt. When the emperor consulted his advisers, they all urged him to attack but, rejecting this advice, he instead employed a strategy suggested by Ch'en Ping whereby, pretending to embark upon a pleasure visit to Yün-meng, he summoned the various feudal lords to a meeting at Ch'en. When Han Hsin appeared at the meeting, Kao-tsu immediately seized him. The same day he proclaimed a general amnesty to the empire.

T'ien K'en congratulated the emperor upon his success, saying, "Your Majesty has succeeded in seizing Han Hsin, and also fixed the capital in the area of Ch'in within the Pass. The land of Ch'in is of superlative configuration, surrounded by natural barriers of rivers and mountains and stretching a thousand miles. He who commands an army of a million lances commands a hundred times that number if he holds the land of Ch'in. From such an advantageous stronghold, sending forth troops to subdue the feudal lords is as easy as standing on a roof and pouring down water from a jug. But the land of Ch'i too has its rich fields of Lang-yu and Chi-mo in the east, the fastnesses of Mount T'ai to the south, in the west the banks of the muddy Yellow River, and in the north the resources of the Gulf of Pohai. Its land stretches for two thousand miles. He who commands an army of a million lances in this vast area commands ten times that number when he holds the land of Ch'i. Therefore there is a Ch'in in the east as well as in the west. Only one of the emperor's sons or brothers is fit to be made king of Ch'i."

Kao-tsu approved his words and rewarded him with five hundred catties of yellow gold. Ten or so days later he enfeoffed Han Hsin as marquis of Huai-yin. Han Hsin's original fief he divided into two kingdoms. Because General Liu Chia had several times achieved merit, he enfeoffed him as king of Ching ruling over one of them,
the area of Huai-tung; he made his younger brother Liu Chiao king of Ch’u ruling over the other, the area of Huai-hsi. His own son Liu Fei he made king of Ch’i, ruling over more than seventy cities of Ch’i; all the people who spoke the dialect of Ch’i were to belong to the fief of Ch’i. The emperor held debates upon the merits of his followers and presented to the various feudal lords the split tallies, symbols of their formal enfeoffment. He transferred Hsin, the king of Hann, to the region of T’ai-yüan.

In the seventh year [200 B.C.] the Hsiung-nu 17 attacked Hsin, the king of Hann, at Ma-i. Hsin joined with them in plotting a revolt in T’ai-yüan. His generals, Man-ch’ü Ch’ien of Po-t’u and Wang Huang, set up Chao Li, a descendant of the royal family of Chao,18 as king of Chao in revolt against the emperor. Kao-tsu in person led a force to attack them, but he encountered such severe cold that two or three out of every ten of his soldiers lost their fingers from frostbite. At last he reached Ping-ch’eng, where the Hsiung-nu surrounded him. After seven days of siege they finally withdrew. Kao-tsu ordered Pan K’u-i to remain behind and subdue the region of T’ai, and set up his older brother Liu Chung as king of T’ai.

In the second month Kao-tsu passed through Chao and Lo-yang and returned to the capital at Ch’ang-an. With the completion of the Palace of Lasting Joy, the prime minister and subordinate officials all moved and took up residence in Ch’ang-an.

Eighth year [199 B.C.]: Kao-tsu marched east and attacked the remnants of the king of Hann’s revolutionaries at T’u-i yang. The prime minister Hsiao Ho had been put in charge of the building of the Eternal Palace, constructing eastern and western gate towers, a front hall, an arsenal, and a great storehouse. When Kao-tsu returned from his expedition and saw the magnificence of the palace and its towers, he was extremely angry. “The empire is still in great turmoil,” he said to Hsiao Ho, “and though we have toiled in battle these several years, we cannot tell yet whether we will achieve final success. What do you mean by constructing palaces like this on such an extravagant scale?”

17 See note 11, “The Hereditary House of Ch’en She.”
18 Following the Han shu reading.

Ha Tao Ho replied, “It is precisely because the fate of the empire is still uncertain that we must build such palaces and halls. A true Son of Heaven takes the whole world within the four seas to be his family. If he does not dwell in magnificence, beauty, he will have no way to manifest his authority, nor will he leave any foundation for his heirs to build upon.” With these words, Kao-tsu’s anger turned to delight.

When Kao-tsu was on his way to Tung-yüan he passed through a place called Po-jen. The prime minister of Chao, Kuan Kao, and others were at this time plotting to assassinate Kao-tsu, but when Kao-tsu heard the name of the place he grew uneasy in his heart and proceeded on without stopping.19

Liu Chung, the king of Tai, fled from his kingdom and returned to Lo-yang. Accordingly he was deprived of his title and made marquis of Ho-yang.

Ninth year [198 B.C.]: The plot of Kuan Kao and others to assassinate the emperor came to light, and they were executed along with their three sets of relatives.20 Chang Ao, the king of Chao, was removed from his position and made marquis of Hsiao-p’ing. In this year the Chao, Ch’u, Ch’ing, and Huai families of Ch’u and the T’ien family of Ch’i, all powerful noble clans, were moved to the area within the Pass.21

When the Eternal Palace was completed, Kao-tsu summoned the nobles and officials to a great reception, setting forth wine for them in the front hall of the palace. Kao-tsu rose and, lifting his jade cup, proposed a toast to his father, the Grand Supreme Emperor. “You, my father, always used to consider me a worthless fellow who could never look after the family fortunes and had not half the industry of my older brother Chung,” he said. “Now that my labors are com-

19 Because the name “Po-jen” suggested to him the phrase “po yia jen” (to be pursued by someone).
20 There is disagreement on the exact meaning of the term “three sets of relatives,” but it is certain that, because of the principle of corporate responsibility recognized in Chinese law, the parents and the other members of a criminal’s immediate family were executed along with him. One reason was to prevent the possibility of blood revenge.
21 So that the emperor could keep a closer watch on them.
completed, which of us has accomplished more, Chung or I?" All the officials in the hall shouted "Long life!" and roared with merriment.

In the tenth month of the tenth year [197 a.c.] Ch'ing Pu, the king of Huai-nan; P'eng Yu-ch, the king of Liang; Lu Wan, the king of Yen; Liu Chia, the king of Ch'ing; Liu Chiao, the king of Ch'u; Liu Fei, the king of Ch'i; and Wu Jui, the king of Ch'ang-sha, all came to pay homage at the Palace of Lasting Joy. The spring and summer passed without incident. In the seventh month 23 the Grand Supreme Emperor, father of Kao-tsu, passed away in the palace of Yu-ch-yang. The kings of Ch'u and Liang came to attend the funeral. All prisoners in the district of Yu-ch-yang were freed and the name of the city of Li was changed to "New Feng."

In the eighth month Ch'en Hsi, prime minister of the kingdom of Tai, started a revolt in the region of Tai. 24 "Ch'en Hsi," said the emperor, "formerly acted as my envoy, and I had the deepest faith in him. Tai is a region of crucial importance to me, and therefore I enfeoffed Ch'en Hsi as a marquis and made him prime minister of the kingdom so that he could guard Tai for me. But now he has joined with Wang Huang and the rest in plundering the land of Tai. The officials and people of Tai, however, are not at fault for this and therefore I absolve them of all guilt."

In the ninth month the emperor marched east to attack the rebels. When he reached Han-tan he announced with joy, "Since Ch'en Hsi has not come south to occupy Han-tan and guard the frontier of the Ch'ang River, I am confident he will never be able to do me much harm." When he heard that all of Ch'en Hsi's generals had formerly been merchants he remarked, "I know how to take care of them."

Then he offered large sums of money to tempt them to desert, so that most of Ch'en Hsi's generals surrendered to him.

Eleventh year [196 a.c.]: While Kao-tsu was still in Han-tan engaged in putting down the revolt of Ch'en Hsi and his followers, one of Ch'en's generals, Hou Ch'ang, with a band of some ten thousand men roamed from place to place, while Wang Huang camped at Ch'ü-ni and Chang Ch'un crossed the Yellow River and attacked Liao-ch'eng. Kao-tsu dispatched his general Kuo Meng to join with the general of Ch'i in attacking them, inflicting a decisive defeat. The grand commandant Chou Po marched by way of T'ai-yüan into the region of Tai, conquering the area as far as Ma-i. When Ma-i refused to surrender, he attacked it and massacred its defenders. Kao-tsu attacked Tung-yüan, which was being held by Ch'en Hsi's general Chao Li. The city held out for over a month, while its men cursed the emperor. When the city finally capitulated, Kao-tsu had all those who had cursed him dragged forth and beheaded, while those who had not joined in cursing him he pardoned. With this, he took from Chao the land north of the Ch'ang Mountains and assigned it to Tai, setting up his son Liu Heng as king of Tai with his capital at Ch'in-yang.

In the spring Han Hsin, the marquis of Huai-yin, plotted a revolt in the area within the Pass. He was executed with his three sets of relatives.

In the summer P'eng Yu-ch, the king of Liang, plotted a revolt. He was removed from his position and exiled to Shu but, when it was found that he was once more scheming to revolt, he was executed with his three sets of relatives. Kao-tsu set up his son Liu Hui as king of Liang and his son Liu Yu as king of Huai-yang.

In autumn, the seventh month, Ch'ing Pu, the king of Huai-nan, revolted, seized the land of Liu Chia, the king of Ch'ing, to the east, and marched north across the Huai River. Liu Chiao, the king of Ch'u, fled to Hsieh. Kao-tsu in person led a force to attack Ch'ing Pu, setting up his son Liu Ch'ang as king of Huai-nan.

In the tenth month of the twelfth year [195 a.c.] Kao-tsu had already attacked Ch'ing Pu's army at Kuei-chui, and Ch'ing Pu was in flight. Kao-tsu dispatched a special general to pursue him, while he himself started back to the capital, passing through his old home of Pei on his way. Here he stopped and held a feast at the palace of Pei, summoning all his old friends and the elders and young men to drink to their hearts' content. He gathered together a group of some hundred and twenty children of Pei and taught them to sing and, when the feast was at its height, Kao-tsu struck the lute and sang a song which he had composed:

23 See note 2, "The Hereditary House of Ch'en She."

24 The text erroneously reads "prime minister of Chao."
A great wind came forth;  
The clouds rose on high.  
Now that my might rules all within the seas,  
I have returned to my old village.  
Where shall I find brave men  
To guard the four corners of my land?  

He made the children join in and repeat the song, while he rose and danced. Deeply moved with grief and nostalgia, and with tears streaming down his face, he said to the elders of P'ei, "The traveler sighs for his old home. Though I have made my capital within the Pass, after I have departed this life my spirit will still think with joy of P'ei. From the time when I was governor of P'ei, I went forth to punish the wicked and violent until at last the whole world is mine. It is my wish that P'ei become my bath-town. I hereby exempt its people from all taxes. For generation after generation, nothing more shall be required of you." Then for over ten days the old men and women and Kao-tsu’s former friends of P'ei spent each day drinking and rejoicing, reminiscing and joking about old times.

When Kao-tsu made ready to leave, the men of P'ei all begged him to stay a little longer. Kao-tsu replied, "My retinue is very large and I fear it would be too much for you to supply them with food any longer," and with this he departed. The entire district of P'ei became deserted as everyone flocked to the western edge of the city to present parting gifts. Kao-tsu again halted his progress, set up tents, and drank for three days more. The elders of P'ei all bowed their heads and said, "P'ei has been fortunate enough to have its taxes revoked, but the city of Feng has not been so blessed. We beg that Your Majesty will take pity upon it as well."

"Feng is the place where I was born and grew up," replied Kao-tsu, "It least of all could I ever forget. It is only that I remember how under Yung Chih it turned against me and joined Wei." But the elders of P'ei continued to plead with him until he finally agreed to absolve  

24 A mark of special honor. Such estates were not required to pay taxes to the government, their revenues going instead to provide "bath-towns," i.e., private funds for the holder. In later chapters we shall often find "bath-towns" being assigned to princesses.  

Feng from its taxes in the same manner as P'ei. He then transferred the marquis of P'ei, Liu P'i, to the position of king of Wu.

The Han generals made separate attacks upon Ch'ing Pu's armies north and south of the T'ao River, defeating them all, and pursued and executed Ch'ing Pu at Po-yang. Fan K'uai in the meantime led the troops under his command in pacifying the region of Tai and executed Ch'en Hsi at Tang-ch'eng. In the eleventh month Kao-tsu returned from his campaign against Ch'ing Pu to the capital at Ch'ang-an.

In the twelfth month Kao-tsu announced: "The First Emperor of Ch'in, King Yin of Ch'u [Ch'en She], King An-li of Wei, King Min of Ch'i, and King Tao-hsiang of Chao are all without surviving heirs. I hereby establish ten families for each to act as guardians of their graves, except that the First Emperor of Ch'in shall be granted twenty families. In addition the nobleman Wu-chi of Wei shall be granted five families." He also granted pardon to the region of Tai and to all the people and officials who had been robbed and plundered by Ch'en Hsi and Chao Li.

One of Ch'en Hsi's generals who had surrendered reported to Kao-tsu that, at the time when Ch'en Hsi revolted, Lu Wan, the king of Yen, had sent an envoy to Ch'en Hsi to join in plotting with him. The emperor sent Shen I-chi, the marquis of Pi-yang, to fetch Lu Wan, but Lu Wan pleaded illness and declined to go with him. Shen I-chi returned and reported on his mission, declaring that there seemed to be some basis for the report of Lu Wan's disaffection.

In the second month the emperor dispatched Fan K'uai and Chou Po to lead a force of soldiers and attack Lu Wan. He issued a proclamation freeing all the officials and people of Yen from responsibility for the revolt, and set up his son Liu Chien as the new king of Yen.

When Kao-tsu was fighting against Ch'ing Pu, he was wounded by a stray arrow and on the way back he fell ill. When his illness con-
continued to grow worse, Empress Lü sent for a skilled doctor. The doctor examined Kao-tsu and, in answer to his question, replied, "This illness can be cured." With this, Kao-tsu began to berate and curse him, saying, "I began as a commoner with my three-foot sword conquered the world. Was this not the will of Heaven? My fate lies with Heaven. Even Pien Ch'üeh, the most famous doctor of antiquity, could do nothing for me!" In the end he would not let the doctor treat his illness, but gave him fifty catties of gold and sent him away.

When the doctor had gone, Empress Lü asked, "After my lord's allotted years have run out, if Prime Minister Hsiao Ho should die, who could be appointed to fill his place?"

"Ts'ao Ts'an will do," replied the emperor.

"And after him?" the empress asked.

"Wang Ling will do," he replied. "But Wang Ling is rather stupid. He will need Ch'en P'ing to help him. Ch'en P'ing has more than enough brains but he could hardly be entrusted with the position alone. Chou P'o has dignity and generosity, though he lacks learning. Yet it will be Chou P'o who will look out for the welfare of the Lü family. He deserves to be made grand commandant."

"And who after him?" the empress asked again.

"After all these men are gone," he replied, "you will no longer be here to know about it."

Lu Wan, with a force of several thousand cavalry, proceeded to a spot along the border, sending to inquire whether the emperor's condition had improved so that he might be allowed to come to the capital and apologize for his defection.

In the fourth month, the day Chia-ch'ên [June 1, 195 B.C.], Kao-tsu passed away in the Palace of Lasting Joy. Four days went by, but no mourning was announced. Empress Lü consulted with Shen I-chi, saying, "The other leaders, like the emperor himself, all made their way up from the ranks of the common people. At present they face north and acknowledge themselves his subjects, but in their hearts they nurse a constant discontent. Now they will be called upon to serve a young master. I fear that, if they and their families are not completely done away with, there will be no peace for the empire!"

Someone overheard these words and reported them to General Li Shang. The general went to visit Shen I-chi and said, "I have heard that the emperor passed away four days ago, but no mourning has yet been announced. I also understand that there are plans for executing all the present leaders. If this is actually carried out, I fear the empire will be in grave peril. Ch'en P'ing and Kuan Ying with a force of a hundred thousand are guarding Jung-yang, while Fan K'uai and Chou P'o with two hundred thousand men are engaged in pacifying Yen and Ts'ai. If they hear that the emperor has passed away and that all the leaders in the capital have been executed, they will surely lead their troops back in this direction and attack the area within the Pass. With the major officials in the capital in revolt and the feudal lords beyond up in arms, we may look for total defeat in a matter of days."

Shen I-chi returned to the palace and reported these words to the empress. Accordingly, on the day T'ing-wei [June 4, 195 B.C.] mourning was proclaimed for the emperor and a general amnesty granted to the empire. When Lu Wan received word of the emperor's passing, he fled from the country and joined the Hsiung-nu.

On the day P'ing-yin [June 23] of the fifth month the emperor was buried at Ch'ang-ling. On the day Chi-wei [June 26] the heir apparent was set up. He proceeded to the funerary temple of his grandfather, the Grand Supreme Emperor, where the assembled officials announced: "Kao-tsu rose from the humblest beginnings to correct a discordant age and turn it back to the right. He brought peace and order to the world and became the founder of the Han. His merit was of the most exalted order, and it is therefore appropriate that we should honor him with the title of 'Exalted Supreme Emperor.'" The heir apparent succeeded to the title of Supreme Emperor; he is known posthumously as Emperor Hui the Filial. He gave orders that the feudal lords in each province and kingdom should set up funerary temples to Kao-tsu and perform sacrifices in them at the appropriate seasons of the year.

In the fifth year of his reign Emperor Hui, recalling how Kao-tsu had rejoiced and sorrowed on his last visit to P'ei, had the palace of

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26 The end of this sentence has been misplaced and appears at present texts at the very close of the chapter.
made into a funerary temple for Kao-tsu, ranking second only to the main temple in the capital. The hundred and twenty children whom Kao-tsu had taught to sing he ordered to perform the song to the accompaniment of wind instruments, and when any of the group later dropped out he had them immediately replaced.

Kao-tsu had eight sons. The oldest, a son by a concubine, was Fei, the king of Ch'î, posthumously titled King Tao-hui. The second, a son by Empress Lû, became Emperor Hui. The third, son of Lady Ch'î, was Ju-i, the king of Chao, posthumously titled King Yin. The fourth was Heng, the king of Tai, who later became Emperor Wen the Filial; he was a son of Empress Dowager Po. The fifth was Hui, the king of Liang, who in the reign of Empress Lû was transferred to the position of king of Chao; he was given the posthumous title of King Kung. The sixth was Yu, the king of Huai-yang, whom Empress Lû made the king of Chao; his posthumous title was King Yu. The seventh was Ch'ang, who became King Li of Huai-nan, and the eighth was Chien, the king of Yen.

The Grand Historian remarks: The government of the Hsia dynasty was marked by good faith, which in time deteriorated until mean men had turned it into rusticity. Therefore the men of Shang who succeeded to the Hsia reformed this defect through the virtue of piety. But piety degenerated until mean men had made it a superstitious concern for the spirits. Therefore the men of Chou who followed corrected this fault through refinement and order. But refinement again deteriorated until it became in the hands of the mean a mere hollow show. Therefore what was needed to reform this hollow show was a return to good faith, for the way of the Three Dynasties of old is like a cycle which, when it ends, must begin over again.

It is obvious that in late Chou and Ch'in times the earlier refinement and order had deteriorated. But the government of Ch'in failed to correct this fault, instead adding its own harsh punishments and laws. Was this not a grave error?

Thus when the Han rose to power it took over the faults of its predecessors and worked to change and reform them, causing men to be unflagging in their efforts and following the order properly ordained by Heaven. It held its court in the tenth month, and its vestments and carriage tops were yellow, with plumes on the left sides of the carriages.

\[27\] i.e., this was the time each year when the feudal lords were required to attend the court in person and pay their respects for the new year, which in the early Han began in this month.