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A TEN DAYS' MASSACRE IN
YANGCHOW

Rendered into English

by

LUCIEN MAO



西風社印行



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PREFACE

In translating "A Ten Days' Massacre in Yangchow" Mr. Mao has performed a great service for the many readers who are interested in Chinese history and culture but who cannot read Chinese. Language difficulties have long been a barrier between East and West, but within recent years a steadily increasing number of translations, both Chinese into English and English into Chinese, has contributed towards a mutual understanding. Mr. Mao's work merits an important place among these translations. "A Ten Days' Massacre in Yangchow" is worth many pages of historians' dusty generalizations about the fall of the Ming Dynasty and the coming of the Manchus. It shows what really happened, measured in terms of human life and human values. And it goes far toward explaining the violence with which the rule of the Manchus was overthrown when the Revolution dawned.

In addition, it is an extraordinary document from a literary point of view. It is vivid—terrible in its vividness. The scenes succeed one another with the rapidity, clarity, and precision of the modern cinema. A reader is caught up into the story, his sympathies are touched, he sees and feels with an astonishing intensity. And the intensity is progressive as in good drama. The narrative begins with a description of conditions within the beleaguered city. A note of false hope is injected momentarily by the rumor of a victorious skirmish; then the dominant note of the story is sounded, fear—and the drama is under way.

貝德博士序

毛如升譯

毛君遂譯「揚州十日記」一書，對於不諳華文，而于中國歷史及文化感覺興趣之讀者，頗有貢獻。夫東西之隔闕，素由于語言之困難，但近年來中英互譯之作，逐漸加增，頗能促進東西間之了解。而毛君之譯作，實應于此等譯著中占一重要地位也。明代之覆亡與滿人之侵入，歷史家每多浮泛之論，而「揚州十日記」一書，則徵實多矣。此書就人類生命與價值立言，描寫當時之實況，故其後革命發軔時，所以採取激烈手段以推翻滿清統治者，蓋此書之力也。

且就文學之觀點言之，「揚州十日記」亦為非凡之文獻。其敘事生動逼真，而以其逼真之故，令人驚心動魄。其故事之倏忽、鮮明、與真切，前後連接，不啻一幕近代影劇。讀者感其事，激于情，莫不驚心咋舌焉。而此種緊張情緒，逐步開展，洵可與一部好劇本相媲美。此書以描寫園城內之景況為始，繼乃穿插小勝之謠傳作伏筆，終乃掀開此一故事之主調——恐怖——而全篇遂逐步開展。其間駭人之處，

The horror mounts until in places the narrative takes on an almost nightmarish quality. Once read, it is not soon forgotten.

No reader, I think, can fail to sense the genuineness of the document. The very simplicity and literalness of the story are the best proof of its authenticity. And Mr. Mao has successfully carried over this simplicity and literalness into the English translation. "A Ten Days' Massacre in Yangchow" is a worthy addition to the growing list of translations from the Chinese.

A. L. BADER

March 30, 1940,
University of Michigan, U.S.A.

幾令人如墮入夢魘之中，讀之實頃刻難忘。

此書之純正處，讀者鮮有不感動者。而其作風之質樸無華，足證原書之絕非虛構。余觀毛君之譯文，頗不失原書質樸之本色。近頃歐西華文英譯之書籍與日俱增，而「揚州十日記」之英譯本，可謂此類新書中一部有價值之版本也。

一九四〇年三月卅日序于美國密西根大學

揚州十日記

王秀楚著

乙酉夏四月十四日，督鎮史可法從白

洋河失守，踉蹌奔揚州，閉城禦敵。至二

十四日未破城前，禁門之內，各有兵守。

予住宅新城東，楊姓將守焉，吏卒碁置。

予宅寓有二卒，左右鄰舍亦然，踐踏

無所不至。供給日費錢千餘，將不能繼。

不得已，共謀爲主者觴。予更謬爲恭敬。

A TEN DAYS' MASSACRE IN YANGCHOW

By WANG HSIU-CH'U¹

Rendered into English by LUCIEN MAO

On the 14th of the fourth moon, in the summer of the year of *I-Yu* (1645),² Governor-General Shih K'ê-fa retreated from the town of Pai Yang Ho³ and, staggering hurriedly to the city of Yangchow, slammed and barred all its gates to defend it against the enemy. Up to the 24th, when the city was still untaken, there were soldiers stationed within each of the principal gates. I lived in the east of the New City,⁴ where a general named Yang kept guard, and the officers and soldiers stood round like chessmen.

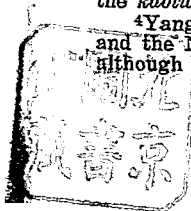
In my house and in each of the neighbouring houses there were billeted two soldiers who rifled everything and abused everybody. We could hardly afford to keep them any longer, as it cost us respectively more than a thousand cash each day. As nothing could mitigate it, we were obliged to

¹The author of this memoir, an inhabitant of Yangchow, Kiangsu, was one of the few survivors who escaped the massacre by the savage Manchu soldiers at the end of the Ming Dynasty.—*Tr.*

²The year in which the last Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, Hung Kuang, first mounted the throne.—*Tr.*

³A town situated halfway between Suchien and Shihyang in Northern Kiangsu, noted for its manufacture of the *kaoliang* wine.—*Tr.*

⁴Yangchow is divided into two parts: the Old City and the New City, the latter being of later construction, although it is now quite old.—*Tr.*



酬好漸洽，主者喜，誠卒稍遠去。主者喜音律，善琵琶，思得名妓以娛軍暇。是夕邀予，顧滿擬縱歡，忽督鎮以寸紙至。主者覽之色變。遽登城，予衆亦散。

次早督鎮牌諭至，內有“一人當之，不累百姓”之語，聞者莫不感泣。又傳巡軍小捷，人人加額焉。午餘有姻氏自瓜洲來，避興平伯逃兵（註）。予婦緣久別，相見唏噓。

而大兵入城之語，已有一二爲予言者。予急出詢諸人。或曰，靖南侯黃得功

（註）興平伯，高傑也，督鎮撤之，出城遠避。

consult with each other, and we decided to arrange a celebration for the captain and invited him to a wine party. For my part, I deliberately played up to him. As the party warmed up and everyone became genial, the captain felt delighted and as a result told the soldiers in his command to leave further off. Being fond of music and able to play the Chinese guitar (*P'i P'a*), he thought of engaging a well-known sing-song girl in order to enjoy himself during the leisure moments of his military life. On that night, he invited me to join, in hopes of a merry evening. Suddenly there came from the Governor-General a short note, and on reading it, the captain's face changed colour. He immediately climbed onto the city wall, while all the guests dispersed.

The next morning, the captain received a bamboo-slip from the Governor-General on which were inscribed the words: "Each should shoulder the responsibility himself, and not trouble the citizens." Those who heard this were moved to tears. It was also rumoured that a party of the Inspecting Governor's guards had won a small battle and everybody put his hands to his forehead in thanksgiving for this good fortune. Early in the afternoon, my wife's kinsfolk came from Kuachow taking refuge from the scattered soldiers belonging to the Earl of Hsing P'ing.⁵ She had not seen them for a long time, and when they met, they all sighed deeply.

At that time, a few persons had already brought me the news that a large army of enemy

⁵General Kao Chieh whom Governor-General Shih had suppressed for his misdeeds in Yangchow. His soldiers, therefore, had fled from the city to Kuachow.—*Original Author's Note.*

援兵至。旋觀城上守城者尙嚴整，再至市上，人言洶洶，披髮跣足者繼塵而至。問之，心急口喘，莫知所對。忽數十騎自北而南，奔騰狼狽，勢如波湧。中擁一人，則督鎮也。蓋奔東城，外兵逼近，不能出，欲奔南關，故由此。是時始知敵兵入城無疑矣。

突有一騎自南而北，撒韁緩步，仰面哀號。馬前二卒，依依戀首不捨。至今猶然在目，恨未傳其姓字也。騎稍遠，守城丁紛紛下竄，棄胄拋戈，并有碎首折脛者。迴視城櫓，已一空矣。

先是督鎮以城狹，礮不得展，城梁設一板，前置城徑，後接民居，使有餘地得便

soldiers was going to enter the city. I ran out in a hurry, asking other people about the matter. Someone said: "The reinforcements from General Huang Tê-kung, the Marquis of Ch'ing Nan, have arrived." Then I saw that the guards on the wall were still quiet and orderly, while in the street gossip went on excitedly. A crowd of bare-footed and dishevelled refugees flocked to the city. When asked what was amiss, they were so anxious and overwrought that they did not know how to reply. Suddenly scores of horsemen came down south, rushing in confused waves from the north. Among them appeared a man who turned out to be the Governor-General himself. He had at first intended to rush to the East Gate, but could not get out, because the enemy soldiers outside the city were drawing quite near. He was therefore obliged to go by this way in order to reach the South Gate. At this, we had no doubt that the enemy troops were to enter the city.

Just then a horseman with slackened reins rode slowly from the south to the north, crying bitterly with face upturned. Two soldiers walked before his horse, unwilling to leave him under such circumstances. This picture is still vivid in my mind, but I regret that I do not know his name. When the rider was still some way off, the city guards jumped hurriedly down to escape, discarding their helmets and their spears, many of them breaking their legs or even their necks. On looking back to the turret on the city wall, I saw that everyone had fled.

At first our Governor-General, seeing that the city wall was too narrow for the cannon to be set up and used to their full advantage, had ordered that a platform be fixed on the battlements,

安置。至是工未畢，敵兵操觚先登者，白刃亂下。守城兵民互相擁擠，前路逼塞，皆奔所置木板，匍匐扳援，得及民屋。新板不固，託足卽傾，人如落葉，死者十八九。其及屋者，足踏瓦裂，皆作劍戟相擊聲，又如雨雹挾彈，鏗然鏗然，四響不絕。

屋中人惶駭百出，不知所爲。而堂室內外，深至寢闔，皆守城兵民緣屋下者，皇皇覓隙潛匿。主人弗能呵止。外廂比屋閉戶，人煙屏息。予廳後面城牆，從窗隙外觀，見城上兵循南而西，步武嚴整，淋雨

with one end resting on the footway on the wall and the other against houses opposite, so that more space would be available for setting up the cannon, but before this was accomplished, enemy soldiers, weapons in hand, had already climbed up and started to kill at random with their bare swords. The guards and the people jostled each other in their attempt to escape so that the passage became blocked. They therefore all ran to the platform already set up and clambered and crawled on hands and knees in an endeavour to reach the houses of the citizens. The platform was not stable and it immediately collapsed as soon as its human load became too great. Off they fell like falling leaves, nine out of ten being killed. Those who succeeded in reaching the houses trampled on the roof tiles and broke them, making a noise like that of clattering swords and spears or a severe hailstorm, and raising the echoes for miles round.

Those in the houses were greatly frightened and knew not what to do. The occupants found it useless to call on them to desist; for, as will be seen, at every room and every court, both within and without, even deep into the door of the sleeping chambers, crowded full the city guards and the common people who had descended from the roofs searching frantically for hiding-places. In the neighbourhood where I lived, all the house doors were shut, while people living in them held their breath as silently as mice. The back of my hall faced the city wall, and peeping through the chinks of my window, I saw many soldiers on the wall marching to the west by way of the south in solemn and orderly steps. Though rain was falling on their heads, they were not at all dis-

亦不少紊，疑爲節制之師，心稍定。

忽叩門聲急，則鄰人相約共迎王師。設案焚香，示不敢抗。予知事已不濟如此，然不能拂衆議，姑連應曰：“唯唯。”於是改換服色，引領而待。良久不至，予復至後窗窺城上，則隊伍稍疎，或行或止。

俄見有擁婦女雜行其間，服飾皆揚俗，予始大駭。還語婦曰：“兵入城，倘有不測，爾當自裁。”

婦曰：“諾，有金若干，付汝收藏，我輩休想復生人世矣。”

涕泣交下，盡出金付予。值鄉人進，急呼曰：“至矣！至矣！”予趨出望，北來數騎，皆按轡徐行。遇迎王師者，卽俯首

turbed. I felt rather more composed because I gathered from their appearance that they were the regiments of perfect discipline.

But suddenly a burst of tappings on my door was heard. I found it was my neighbours who had all agreed to try to placate and welcome the Manchu soldiers and asked me to join them. Tables were set up, on which incense was burnt as a sign of submission. I saw that things had taken such a deplorable turn and were so beyond control that I, indeed, could not say anything in disapproval but reply repeatedly: "All right, all right." Then I changed my clothes for those in Manchurian fashion and craned my neck to watch and wait. A long time passed in vain, as the soldiers did not come. I retreated again to the back window and found that the regiment on the wall had broken ranks; some were now walking, some standing still.

A little later, to my great surprise I saw some soldiers escorting a few women dressed in Yangchow fashion. On my return I said to my wife: "If something should come amiss to you when the Manchu soldiers shall have entered the city, you might end your life by committing suicide."

"Yes," she replied. "you had better keep all our silver yourself. For my part, I think we womenfolk shall all soon be killed."

She gave all the silver to me and could not help shedding tears. Then some townsmen rushed in and cried: "They've come, they've come!" I went out in a hurry and saw a few horsemen coming from the north, all riding slowly and with reins in hand. As soon as they met those men who were welcoming the "Imperial" soldiers, they

若有所語。是時人自爲守，往來不通。雖相違咫尺，而聲息莫聞。迨稍近，始知爲逐戶索金也。然意頗不奢，稍有所得，卽置不問。或有不應，雖操刀相向，尙不及人（註）。

次及予門。一騎獨指予呼後騎曰：“爲我索此藍衣者。”後騎方舍轡而予已飛遁矣。後騎遂棄余上馬去。予心計曰：“我粗服類鄉人，何獨欲予？”予弟至，予兄亦至。因同謀曰：“此居左右皆富賈。彼亦將富賈視我，奈何？”

遂急從僻逕託兄弟扶婦女冒雨至仲兄宅。仲兄宅在何家墳後，肘腋皆窶貧居

（註）後乃知有捐金萬兩相獻而卒受斃者，揚人導之也。

all bent their heads as if they were talking about something. At this time, each person looked out for himself and held no communication with others. Though we were only an arm's length away, we could hear no sound among us. When they approached nearer I discovered that they were demanding silver from door to door. But they were very easily satisfied for as soon as they were given a little, they asked for no more. On some occasions they failed to get any, and then they would brandish their swords threateningly, but as yet they had not hurt anyone.⁶

Then they came to my door. A horseman, pointing at me in particular, cried to another one behind him, "Search the man in blue for me," but the latter had no sooner dropped his reins and got down from the horse than I took to flight, whereupon he gave me up and, mounting his horse, again rode away. Then I thought to myself, "I am wearing rough clothes and look like a peasant. Why should they molest me?" Soon my younger brother came; then also my two elder brothers. Thus we took counsel with each other. I said: "Those who live in our neighbourhood are all rich merchants. It is unfortunate that they should regard me also as a rich tradesman."

In spite of a heavy rain, I told my brothers to bring forth at once our womenfolk and go without delay along the byways to my elder brother's house, which, being situated at the back of a Mr. Ho's graveyard, was closely surrounded by the

⁶Later on I was told that it had been all due to the fault of the natives of Yangchow who voluntarily contributed gold to these soldiers, but not a few of them, for all their offering of ten thousand taels of silver, still could not save their lives.—*Original Author's Note.*

也。予獨留後，以觀動靜。余久待伯兄不至，憂心如焚，恐其不測。斯時“上天無路，入地無門，”雨復如注。

俄而伯兄至曰：“中衢血濺矣。留此何待？予伯仲生死一處，亦可不恨。”予遂奉先人神主，偕兄至仲兄宅。當是時，兩兄，一嫂，一弟，一姪，又一婦，一子，一外姨，一內弟，同避仲兄家。

天漸暮，大兵殺人聲已徹門外，因乘屋暫避。雨尤甚；十數人共擁一毡，絲髮皆溼透。門外哀痛之聲，悚耳聳魄。延至夜靜，乃敢扳簷下屋，敲火炊食。

城中四週火起：近者十餘處，遠者不

huts of poor families. I alone stayed behind in order to see what was going to happen. But never had I waited so long, expecting my eldest brother's return, and overburdened with despair for fear that his life might be in danger. At that time, I, as the Chinese saying goes, found "no way up to heaven, nor any door down to earth." Furthermore, it rained continually.

A long while after, my eldest brother finally appeared and cried: "There has been bloodshed in the main street. Why should we wait here? We should not regret if we were to live or die together." Immediately I moved our "ancestral tablets" from the shrine and, bringing them along, went in the company of my eldest brother to the house of my second eldest brother. At that time, one younger and two elder brothers, my elder brother's wife, a nephew, my own wife and son, my wife's younger brother and sister and myself—altogether ten persons—took refuge in my elder brother's house.

It grew darker and darker and then the noise of butchery by the savage soldiers was heard outside the doors. We climbed on the roof for a temporary refuge, but it rained harder than ever. Under the rain, we ten persons squatted together, covered only with a rug, so that our lank and dishevelled hair was wet all through. Bitter cries were heard outdoors, making my flesh creep and frightening my soul. We dared not come down from the roof-top until very late at night; but as soon as we did so, we started a fire to cook some rice to satisfy our hunger.

A general conflagration was taking place at that time around the city: more than a dozen

計其數。赤光相映如霞電；燁焮聲轟耳不絕。隱隱又聞擊楚聲，哀風淒切，慘不可狀。

飯熟，相顧驚憂，淚下不能舉箸，亦不能設一謀。余婦取前金碎之，分爲四。兄弟各藏其一，髻履衣帶內皆有。婦又覓破衲舊履，爲余換訖。遂張目達旦。

是夜也，有鳥在空中，如笙篁聲，又如小兒啼哭聲，如在人首不遠。詢諸人，皆聞之。

(二十六日) 頃之，火勢稍息，天亦漸明。復乘高升屋躲避，已有十數人伏天溝內。忽東廂一人緣牆直上，一卒持刀隨之，追躡如飛，望見予衆，遂舍所追而奔予。予惶迫卽下竄；兄繼之，弟又繼之。

places close by were on fire, while further off the number of burning buildings was too great to count. The crimson light was reflected like lightning or a sunset; the cracking sound went on thundering in my ears without cessation. Again, we heard faintly the flogging and whipping of the people, while the wind sobbed with a bitterness entirely beyond my power of description.

When the rice was sufficiently cooked, we stared blindly at one another and wept so painfully as to be unable to take up the chopsticks to eat, nor could we find any way of escape from the danger. My wife brought out the silver she had given me, dividing it into four shares. Each of us brothers hid one share so that our clothes, headdresses, shoes, and belts were stuffed with silver. My wife also found for each of us a ragged coat and a pair of worn-out shoes to change into. After we had finished, we could not fall asleep, but lay wide awake with eyes open until dawn.

During the night a bird appeared in the air, twittering like a reed-organ or sobbing like a beseeching child and hovering somewhere not very high over our heads. When asked, everybody replied that he had heard it.

On the 26th, the fire soon abated a little, and the day also gradually became bright. Once more we climbed on the roof to hide but found that many refugees had already hidden in the rain-gutter. Suddenly we saw a man from the east chamber crawling along the wall, while a soldier, sword in hand, ran flying after him, but on seeing us so many in number, he gave him up and ran directly toward us. I sneaked down hastily in bewilderment and nervous alarm; then my

走百餘步而後止。自此遂與婦子相失，不復知其生死矣。

諸黠卒恐避匿者多，給衆人以安民符，卽不誅。匿者競出從之，共集至五六十，婦女參半。兄謂余曰：“我落落四人，或遇悍卒，終不能免。不若投彼大羣，勢衆則易避。卽不幸，亦生死相聚，無恨也。”時方寸已亂，不知救生良策，共曰：“唯唯，”相與就之。

領此者，三滿卒也。搜予兄弟金皆盡，獨遺予未搜。忽來婦人，內有呼予者，視之，乃余友朱書兄之二妾也。予急止之。二妾皆散髮露肉，足深入泥中沒脛。一妾猶抱一女，卒鞭而擲之泥中。旋卽驅

two elder brothers immediately followed and then my younger brother also. We dared not stop running until we had covered some hundreds of steps. From that time, I was separated from my wife and son, not knowing whether they were dead or alive.

But the cunning soldiers, fearing that many were hidden, enticed the people with an inscribed scroll pretending to quiet them: "Those who have hidden heretofore will be spared." People went out and followed them in a crowd to the number of fifty or sixty, about half of whom were women. My eldest brother then said to us: "There are only four of us and we shall never escape if we encounter these fierce soldiers. We had better join the crowd. Since there are so many of them, we may be more daring and it will be easier to escape. And even if it comes to the worst, we shall not regret dying together." At this time we had all lost our presence of mind and were at our wits' end to find any better means of saving our lives. "All right, all right," we replied in one breath, and as we were all agreed we went immediately to join the rest.

Three Manchu soldiers were leading the crowd. They searched my brothers and found all the silver they had, leaving me, however, untouched. Suddenly two women came along, and one of them called to me. They were dishevelled and partly naked, but I recognized them to be the two concubines of my friend Mr. Chu Shu. I stopped them hurriedly. Their feet were bare and up to the ankles in mud. One of them was still embracing a young girl whom the soldiers had lashed and thrown to the ground. Then we were immediately driven on. One soldier, sword

走，一卒提刀前導，一卒橫槊後逐，一卒居中，或左或右，以防逃逸。數十人如驅牛羊，稍不前，即加捶撻，或即殺之。

諸婦女長索繫頸，纍纍如貫珠；一步一跌，遍身泥土。滿地皆嬰兒，或襯馬蹏，或藉人足，肝腦塗地，泣聲盈野。行過一溝一池，堆尸貯積，手足相枕。血入水，碧赭化爲五色，塘爲之平。

至一宅，乃廷尉永言姚公居也。從其後門直入，屋宇深邃，處處皆有積尸。意此間是吾死所矣。乃逶迤達前戶，出街，復至一宅，爲西商喬承望之室，即三卒巢穴也。入門，已有一卒拘數美婦，揀拾箱籠，綵緞如山。見三卒至，大笑，即驅予輩

in hand, led us at the front; another drove us from behind with a long spear, and a third walked along on the right and left alternatively, keeping strict watch for fear we should try to escape. Like sheep and cattle we were driven along by the dozen. For a little delay we received heavy blows. Some were even killed on the spot.

The women were tied together with long chains around their necks, clumsy as a string of beads; they stumbled at every step so that they were covered with mud. Here and there on the ground lay small babies who were either trodden under the hooves of horses or the feet of men. The ground was stained with blood and covered with mutilated and dismembered bodies, and the sound of sobbing was heard everywhere in the open fields. Every gutter and pond was filled with corpses lying one upon another. The blood turned the water to a deep greenish-red colour, and the ponds were filled to the brim.

We arrived at the house of Mr. Yao Yung-yen, the warden of the gaol, which extended a long way back. Entering straight from the back door, we found corpses scattered everywhere. I imagined that here I was to die. Through various rooms we reached the front door leading into the street, and came to the house of Mr. Chiao Ch'eng-wang the Shansi merchant, now the quarters of these soldiers. On entering the door we found a soldier already there. He had arrested several beautiful women and had been sorting out of the trunks and boxes all the coloured satins which were then piled in a heap. Seeing the three soldiers who were driving us, he laughed heartily and immediately pushed dozens of us into the back hall, leaving the women in a side chamber

數十人至後廳，留諸婦置旁室，中列二方几，三衣匠一中年婦人製衣。

婦本郡人，濃抹麗妝，鮮衣華飾，指揮言笑，欣然有得色；每遇好物，即向卒乞取，曲盡媚態，不以爲恥。卒嘗謂人曰：“我輩征高麗，擄婦女數萬人，無一失節者。何堂堂中國，無恥至此？嗚呼，此中國之所以亂也！”

三卒將婦女盡解溼衣，自表至裏，自頂至踵，并令製衣婦人相修短，量寬窄，易以鮮新。而諸婦女因威逼不已，遂至裸體，不能掩蓋，羞澀欲死者，又不待言也。換衣畢，乃擁諸婦女飲酒食肉，無所不爲，不顧羞恥。

一卒忽橫刀躍起，疾呼曰：“蠻子來！蠻子來！”近前數人已被縛，吾伯兄與焉。仲兄曰：“勢已如此，夫復何言！”

in which there were two square tables at which three tailors and a middle-aged woman were making dresses.

The woman was a native of the city. Her face was heavily powdered, she was wearing splendid and gaudy clothes, and she laughed and flirted and dallied, seeming to be in high spirits. Whenever she came across any fine things the soldiers had, she begged and took from them with no sense of shame. The soldiers often said to other people: "When we conquered Korea, we captured tens of thousands of women, and yet not one of them lost her chastity. How could women of such a great country as China be so shameless? Alas, that is why China is in chaos!"

Then the soldiers stripped the women of their wet clothes, even including their underclothing, and told them to put on new ones. The middle-aged woman measured them and gave them new garments. The women, being coerced and threatened, could not help exposing themselves and stood naked without a thread to cover their bodies. That they were terribly ashamed in this situation beggars description. When they had changed their clothes, the soldiers, embracing them, forced them to drink wine and eat meat with them. Outrageous acts of all kinds were committed without regard for shame or decency.

Suddenly a soldier jumped up, drew his sword and cried aloud: "Come, come, you southern barbarians!" In an instant a few of those standing in front were bound, my eldest brother being one of the victims. My elder brother said, "Since things are turning out in this way, what can we say or do?"

急持予手前。予弟亦隨之。是時被執男子共五十餘人，提刀一呼，魂魄皆喪，無一人敢動者。

予隨伯兄出廳，見外面殺人。衆皆次第待命。予初念亦甘就縛，忽心動，若有神助，潛身一遁，復至後廳，而五十餘人不知也。

廳後宅西房，尚存諸老婦，不能躲避。穿至後面，盡牧駝馬，不能踰走。心愈急，遂俯就駝馬腹下，歷數駝馬腹，匍匐而出。若驚駝馬，稍一舉足，卽成泥沙矣。

又歷宅數層，皆無路，惟旁有衖，可通後門，而衖門已有長鐵釘釘錮。予復由後衖至前，聞前堂殺人聲，愈惶怖無策。

回顧左側，有廚中四人，蓋亦被執治

He grasped my hand hastily and ran forward. My younger brother also followed. At this moment the men who were bound, about fifty in all, were so scared out of their wits that they did not dare to move when the soldier raised his sword and shouted.

I followed my eldest brother and rushed out of the hall, but I soon discovered that the killing was going on outside as well as inside. The people were standing in a row awaiting their fate. At first I thought I would offer no resistance, as there was absolutely no way of escape. But suddenly my heart thrilled, and as if helped by God, I sprang away nimbly and returned to the back hall without attracting the attention of the others.

The western chamber of this building, where many old women still remained, was not a safe place for me to hide, and so I darted to the back. Here I saw that many horses and camels were kept, so that I could not pass through. Still more frightened at heart, I dropped to the floor and crawled across under the bellies of these animals and crept to the outside. If the slightest thing had startled them, I reflected, they would soon have trampled me to death with their hooves.

After passing through several courts, I could find no way out except a lane at the side leading to the back door. But the door of the lane was fastened tightly with long iron nails. Once more I went to the front through the back lane, but I was so frightened at hearing the sound of killing in the front courtyard that I did not know what to do.

On looking back at the left side, I saw a kitchen where there were four people who had

庖者。予求收入，使得參司火掌級之役，俸或苟免。四人峻拒曰：“我四人點而役者也，使再點而增人，必疑有詐，禍必及我。”予哀求不已，乃更大怒，欲執予赴外。予乃出，心益急。

視階前有架，架上有甕，去屋不遠，乃援架而上。手方及甕，而身已傾仆，蓋甕中虛而用力猛故也。無可奈何，仍急趨旁衛門。兩手捧錐，搖撼百度，終莫能動。擊以石，則響達外庭，恐覺。不得已，又復搖撼，指破血流。錐忽動，盡力一拔，錐已在握。急掣門屨，屨木槿也，濡雨而漲，其堅塞倍於錐。予迫甚，但力取屨，屨不能出；而門樞忽折，扉傾垣頽，聲如雷震。予急聳身飛越，亦不知力之何來也。疾趨後

been arrested and appointed to do the cooking. I begged them to let me draw water or act as fireman so that I might escape death, but they gave me a firm refusal, saying, "Whenever we four are asked to do work, they will call the roll. If they find more persons next time, they will soon suspect some trick and our lives will surely be in danger." I begged them repeatedly in a pitiful way, and this made them even more angry. They threatened to catch hold of me and hand me over to the soldiers. So finally I had to leave, more frightened than ever.

Not very far from the house I saw a shelf at the front of the steps on which a jar had been put. I climbed up the shelf but no sooner had I touched the jar than I fell off. The jar was empty and I had unconsciously exerted too much strength. Once more I hurried on to the door of the side lane. I shook the lock with my hands hundreds of times, but failed to move it even the slightest bit. I struck it with stones but the sound reached the outer courtyard. Yet, afraid of being discovered by so doing, I had only to shake it again. My fingers were hurt; the blood trickled down. And then unexpectedly the lock turned! I pulled it with all my strength and soon got it in hand. Then I hurriedly tried the bolt which was made of *chên*-wood, swollen and twice as solid and stiff as the lock because of the dripping rain. Urged by the fear of impending danger, I pulled the bolt with all my might. Instead of the bolt loosening, the hinges gave way suddenly, the door fell down flat, and the wall collapsed in a heap with a noise like the rumbling of thunder. I jumped over it as if I had wings. Where my strength came from I could not tell.

門出，卽爲城脚。時兵騎充斥，前進不能，卽於喬宅左鄰後門挨身而入。凡可避處，皆有人，必不肯容。

由後至前，凡五進，皆如是。直至大門，已臨通衢，兵丁往來，絡繹不絕。人以爲危地而棄之。予乃急入，得一榻，榻顛有仰頂，因緣柱登之，屈身而匿。喘息方定，忽聞隔牆吾弟哀號聲，又聞舉刀砍擊聲。凡三擊，遂寂然。少間，復聞仲兄哀懇曰：“吾有金在家地窖中。放我取獻。”一擊復寂然。予時神已離舍，心若焚膏，眼枯無淚，腸結欲斷，不復自主也。

旋有卒挾一婦人直入，欲宿此榻。婦不肯，強而後可。

Quickly I ran out from the back door and reached the foot of the city wall. At this time the soldiers and horsemen were everywhere, obstructing my further progress. So I turned to a back door in the neighbourhood to the left of Mr. Chiao's residence, and as all suitable hiding-places were already crowded with people, I had to elbow my way in, although I was sure that they would refuse to let me join them.

From the back to the front, the house consisted of five divisions. All were filled with fugitives. I went straight to the front door which was close to the main street where the soldiers were walking up and down in an endless procession: It was regarded as a dangerous spot and was thus deserted by the rest. I entered hurriedly and found a bed covered by a wooden canopy. I climbed on the top of it alongside the pillars and hid myself close under the roof of the house. I was scarcely quiet after panting breathlessly when I heard beyond the wall the bitter cry of my younger brother and the blows of the clattering sword. After three blows, there was silence. A little later I heard my elder brother's voice saying pitifully: "I have silver in the cellar at home. Set me free and I will get it and give it to you." There was one blow and then silence. Then my spirit went off my body, my heart was like burning oil, and my eyes turned dry with bitter sobbings, for there were no more tears. I was so torn with grief that my heart seemed broken. I was beside myself and did not know what to think.

Later on a soldier brought a woman in and urged her to sleep with him in the bed. Despite her refusal, she was forced to yield.

婦曰：“此地近市，不可居。”予幾不免焉。頃之，卒仍挾婦人而去。

室有仰屏，似蓆爲之，不勝人，然緣之可以及梁，予以兩手扳梁，行條而上，足託駝梁。下有蓆蔽，中黑如漆。仍有兵至，以矛上搦，知是空虛，料無人在上。予始得竟日未遇兵。然在下被刃者，又不知幾何人。

街前每數騎過，必有數十男婦哀號隨其後。是日雖不雨，亦無日色，不知旦暮。

久之，軍騎稍疎，左右惟聞人聲悲泣。思吾弟兄已傷其半，伯兄亦未卜存亡，予婦予子，不知何處。欲蹤跡之，或得一見。乃附梁徐下，躡足至前街。

街中人首相枕籍，天暝，莫辨爲誰。俯尸遍呼，無應者。遙見南首數火炬蜂擁

"It is too near the street," said the woman. "It is not a good place to put up." After a time the soldier took the woman away and I was nearly discovered by them.

There was a relling in the room which seemed to be made of matting. Obviously it was not strong enough to sustain the weight of a man, but if I could crawl across, it would give access to the beam. I climbed up by holding the rafters with both hands and resting my foot on the projecting ridge pole. Here it was pitch dark, as there was a mat covering underneath. The soldiers still came frequently and thrust upwards with their spears, and, meeting with no response, imagined that no one was up there. Because of this I met no soldiers the whole day. But God only knows how many were slaughtered underneath!

Every time a few horsemen passed along the street, dozens of men and women followed after them with bitter cries. That day was not rainy, but there was no sun. No one could tell it was day or night.

After a long time the horsemen became fewer in number. Only the incessant weeping and crying of people came to my ears from outside. Half of my brothers were dead already, I was uncertain whether my eldest brother was dead or alive, and I was even more uncertain of the whereabouts of my son and my wife. Thinking that I might be able to see them, I set out in search of them. Slowly I climbed down by holding to the beam, and walked stealthily to the street in front.

The heads of the corpses in the street were pillowed one upon the other, and as it grew dark it was impossible to tell whose they were. I bent

而來，予急避之。循郭走，城下積尸礙步，數跌復起。每有所驚，即仆地如僵尸。久之得達小路，路人昏夜互觸相驚駭。大街上舉火，照耀如白日。自酉至亥，方及兄家。宅門閉，不敢遽擊。俄聞婦人聲，知爲吾嫂，始輕擊，應門者，即予婦也。大兄已先返，吾婦子俱在。予與伯兄哭，然猶未敢遽告仲兄季弟之被殺也。嫂詢予，予依違答之。

予詢婦何以免，婦曰：

“方卒之追逐也，子先奔，衆人繼之，獨遺我。我抱彭兒投屋下，不得死。吾妹跌傷足，亦臥焉。卒持我二人，至一空屋中，男婦幾十人，皆魚貫而縛。

over the corpses and cried out but there was no answer. Some distance to the south I saw several torches approaching in a confused crowd, which I adroitly avoided. I walked along the foot of the city wall and saw the piled corpses which obstructed my steps and several times caused me to stumble. When alarmed, I bent to the ground like a lying corpse. After a long while I got to a small path on which pedestrians, close by but invisible, collided startlingly with one another in the dark night. But the main street was as bright with torches as in broad daylight. From *Yu* [about 7 o'clock in the evening] to *Hai* [about 9 o'clock at night] I walked along the road and finally reached my elder brother's house. At first I did not dare to knock at the closed door. A little later I heard the voice of my elder brother's wife. I knocked gently a few times on the door and my wife answered at once. My eldest brother had previously come back, and my wife and son were also there. I wept with my eldest brother but dared not tell the news of my elder and younger brothers' death. My elder brother's wife questioned me, but I gave her only a vague answer.

I asked my wife how she had escaped, and she told me the following story.

"When the soldier ran after you, as you were the first to flee, the others followed. I was alone left behind and, holding our son P'eng-erh in my arms, I jumped down from the roof to commit suicide, but we were not killed. My younger sister hurt her legs and lay on the ground. The soldier took the two of us to an empty room where a number of men and women were bound together like a string of fish.

“因囑我於諸婦曰：‘看守之，無使逸去。’卒持刀出。

“又一卒入，刦吾妹去。久之，不見卒至。遂給諸婦出，出即遇洪，相攜至故處，故幸免。”

洪者，仲兄內親也。

婦詢予，告以故，哭泣良久。洪攜宿飯相勸，哽咽不可下。

外復四面火起，倍於昨夕。潛出戶外，田中橫尸交砌，喘息猶存。遙見何家墳中樹木陰森，哭音成籟。或父呼子，或夫覓妻，呱呱之聲，草畔溪間，比比皆是，慘不忍聞。同至洪宅，婦欲覓死，予竟夜與語，不得間，東方白矣。

"'Watch them carefully and don't let them get away,' the soldier told the women in the room and went out carrying his sword.

"Then another soldier came in and took my sister away. A long time passed but the soldier did not return. I told the women a lie and got out and by chance met the old woman Mrs. Hung, and so we walked to our old place together and fortunately escaped."

This old woman, Mrs. Hung, whom my wife mentioned, was one of my elder brother's relatives on his wife's side.

My wife asked me about my escape and I told her all that had happened and we wept together for a long time. Mrs. Hung brought some rice cooked the day before and urged us to eat, but we were so choked with sobs that we could hardly eat anything.

Now fires had again been started outside in all directions, but they burned more fiercely and covered a larger area than on the previous night. I went stealthily to the field where the bodies lay piled one upon another. Some were not yet dead and lay still breathing. I saw at a distance the dark and sombre trees in the Ho's graveyard. In the open, the air was filled with the sad cries of the fathers calling their sons or the husbands their wives and everywhere in the marshes and on the riversides, I could hear the sound of crying, as bitter as could be. When I returned to Mrs. Hung's house I found my wife about to kill herself. Throughout the night I talked to her so that she could find no chance to do so, unaware that the day was already dawning in the east.

(二十七日) 問婦避所。引予委曲至一樞後，古瓦荒磚，久絕人跡，予蹲亂草中，置子於樞上，覆以蘆蓆。婦僂居其前，我曲附其後。揚首則頂露；展足則踵見。微出氣息，拘手足爲一裹。魂少定而殺聲逼至。刀環響處，搶呼亂起，齊聲乞命者，或數十人，或百餘人。遇一卒至，南人不論多寡，皆垂首匍伏，引頸受刃，無一敢逃者。至於紛紛子女，百口交啼，哀鳴動地，更無論矣。至午後，積尸如山，殺掠更甚。幸至晚，予等逡巡走出。彭兒酣臥樞上，自朝至暮，不啼不言，亦不欲食。渴時欲飲，取片瓦掬溝水潤之，仍睡去。呼醒，抱與俱去。洪媪亦至，知吾嫂又被刦去，吾

On the 27th day, I asked my wife where she had hidden. By a winding way she led me to a place behind a coffin where ancient tiles and crumbling bricks formed a scattered heap, a scene of such utter desolation that it had long been deserted by men. I sat down on the weeds, putting my son on the cover of the coffin and covering him with a reed mat. My wife crouched before the coffin while I stooped close behind it. The least lifting of our heads and we would be exposed; a slight stretching of our feet and our heels would show. We could only hold our breath and press our hands and feet tightly together. I felt a little more at ease for a time, but soon I heard the sounds of slaughter coming nearer. Where the sword-hilts clattered and fell, a wave of bitter cries arose and dozens or hundreds begged for their lives. Whenever a soldier appeared, all the southerners, no matter how great their number, squatted down and dropped their heads. None dared flee, but each stretched out his neck, expecting the stroke of the sword. Crowds of children wept, and seemed to shake the earth with their pitiful cries. All afternoon the heaps of corpses grew bigger and the killing and plundering continued on a larger scale. P'eng-erh slept soundly all day on the coffin and seldom cried or spoke or even wanted anything to eat. When he was thirsty, we gave him water drawn from a gutter with a piece of tile to moisten his lips, and then he would sleep again. Fortunately night drew near, and we went out stealthily. We then woke him up and took him along with us. At this moment Mrs. Hung came, bringing the sad news that my elder brother's wife had been abducted and my little nephew, still in his swad-

姪在襁褓，竟失所在。嗚呼痛哉！甫二日而兄嫂弟姪已亡其四矣。

相與覓臼中餘米，不得。遂與伯兄枕股，忍飢達旦。是夜，予婦覓死幾斃，賴洪姬救免。

(二十八日) 予謂伯兄曰：“今日不知誰死。吾兄幸無恙，乞與彭兒保其殘喘。兄垂淚慰勉，遂別逃他處。

洪姬謂予婦曰：“我昨匿櫃中，終日貼然，當與子易而避之。”婦堅不欲，仍到櫃後同匿焉。未幾，數賊人破櫃刮姬去。捶擊百端，卒不供出一人。予甚德之。少間，兵來益多，及予避所者，前後接踵，然或一至屋後，望見櫃而去。忽有十數卒，恫喝而來，其勢甚凶。俄見一人至櫃前，

ding clothes, lost. Within the short space of two days, alas, I had lost four of my nearest and dearest ones: my elder brother and his wife, my nephew and my younger brother.

We then looked to see if there was any rice left in the stone-mortar, but there was none. So, with our heads pillowed on each other's thighs, my eldest brother and I slept and endured hunger until dawn. On this night my wife again attempted to kill herself and would have succeeded had not Mrs. Hung rescued her in time.

On the 28th day I said to my eldest brother: "We don't know whose turn it will be to die today. Brother, if you are fortunate enough to be still safe, will you please take P'eng-erh with you and take care of him?" Then my brother also encouraged and consoled us before taking his departure.

Mrs. Hung told my wife, "Yesterday I hid in a wood-chest and was safe all day long. Today I would like to change the hiding-places with you." But my wife persisted in refusing her and went again behind the coffin to hide with me. A little later a few of the soldiers came and cut open the chest and took the old woman away. But despite all the beating and flogging she did not reveal the hiding-place of any of us. Thus we owed her a great deal. But the soldiers came in greater and greater numbers. In quick succession many came close to our hiding-place. Perchance they came to the back of the house but would soon turn away on seeing the coffin. But a few moments later some ten or more soldiers rushed in suddenly, shouting and threatening in a fierce manner. Then a man came in front of the coffin and prodded my feet with a long bamboo

以長竿搦予足，予驚而出，乃揚人爲彼嚮導者，面則熟而忘其姓。予向之乞憐，彼且索金。授之，始釋予。尙曰：“便宜爾婦。”出語諸卒曰：“姑舍是。”諸卒乃散去。喘驚未定，忽一紅衣少年操長刀直抵予所，舉鋒相向。獻以金，復索予婦。婦時孕九月矣，死伏地不起。予給之曰：“婦孕多月，昨乘屋跌下，孕因之壞，萬不能坐，安能起來？”紅衣者不信，因啓腹視之，兼驗以先塗之血袴，遂不顧。所擄一少婦，一幼女，一小兒，兒呼母索食，其人怒，一擊腦碎而死，挾婦與女去。

予謂此地人逕已熟，不能存身，當易善地處之。而婦堅欲自盡，予亦惶迫無主。

stick. I came out and was greatly surprised to find that it was a native of Yangchow who was serving the soldiers as a guide. I recognized his face but had forgotten his name. I implored him to take pity on me. He asked for silver and I gave him some. He then set me free and said: "Your wife is getting a good bargain!" Then he went out and said to the soldiers: "Let's leave this place." Soon they scattered. But scarcely had we overcome our panting and surprise, being once more at ease, when a young man in a red coat came directly toward our hiding-place, holding a long sword in his hand and pointing its tip at me. I offered him silver but he insisted on having my wife. She, having been pregnant for nine months, squatted desperately on the ground, refusing to get up and go with him. I then misled him by saying that she had been pregnant for several months and had hurt the baby as a result of slipping down from the roof the day before. "She could hardly sit," I continued, "how can you expect her to get up?" The red-coat man did not believe my words, so I let him look at her and examine her trousers which we had previously stained with blood. He then gave her up, though he still had with him a young woman and two children, a little boy and girl. The boy cried to his mother for food and this provoked him so that he brained the child with one stroke and then led away the woman and the daughter.

"Since this place has become so frequented," I said to my wife, "and is no longer safe to hide in, we must move to another place which will offer better hiding." My wife still insisted on trying to commit suicide, while I, nervous and baffled, was also at my wit's end.

兩人遂出，并縊於梁，忽項下兩繩一時俱斷，併跌於地。未及起而兵又盈門，直趨堂上，未暇過兩廊。予與婦急趨門外逃。奔一草房，中悉邨間婦女，留婦而卻予。予急奔南首草房中，其草堆積連屋，予登其顛，俯首伏匿，復以亂草覆其上，自以爲無患矣。

須臾卒至，一躍而上，以長矛擗其下。予從草間出，乞命，復獻以金。卒搜草中，又得數人，皆有所獻而免。兵旣去，數人復入草間。予窺其中，有方桌數張，外圍皆草，其中廓然而虛，可容二三十人，予強入之。自謂得計，不意敗垣從半腰忽崩一穴，中外洞然，已爲兵窺見，乃自穴外以長矛直刺，當其前者，無不被大創，予股亦傷。前者盡爲卒得，後者倒扒而出。予復

We came out together and tried to hang ourselves under a beam, but the ropes broke suddenly and we fell to the ground. We had hardly risen when a group of soldiers swarmed at the gate and rushed in straight toward the hall. They had not yet had time to cross the corridors on both sides when I and my wife rushed out by the gate. We fled and rushed into a thatched hut occupied by some country-women who refused me admittance but allowed my wife to enter. I ran hurriedly to the hay-reservoir in the south where straw bundles were piled up to the roof. I climbed to the top and hid myself by bending down my head and covering it with straw, thinking that I was quite safe.

A moment later there came a soldier who jumped to the top and poked me with a long spear. I was compelled to come out of the straw and begged him to spare my life, at the same time offering him silver. The soldier then searched the hut and found several others who also saved themselves from death by the same means. When he had gone, they hid in the hay again, where in its very centre I found several square tables surrounded by hay, being so roomy and spacious within that several dozens of people might have hidden underneath. I made my way into the hiding-place and thought it expedient when suddenly, to our great dismay, a hole appeared in the middle of the mouldering wall. We were clearly visible from the outside and the soldiers who had already caught sight of us came straight at us with their long spears. We were all severely wounded, I in the thighs. Those sitting in front were arrested by the soldiers while those at the back crept out backwards on all fours. I fled again to the place

至婦所，婦同衆婦女皆伏臥積薪，以血塗體，糞綴其髮，煙灰飾面，形如鬼蜮，鑒別以聲。予乞衆婦，得入草底，衆婦女擁臥其上。予閉氣不敢動，幾悶絕。婦以竹筒授予，口啣其末，出其端於上，氣方達，得不死。戶外有卒，一時手殺二人，其事甚怪，筆不能載。草上諸婦，無不戰慄。忽哀聲大舉，兵已入室，復大步而去，不旋顧。天漸黑，諸婦起，予始出草中，汗如雨。

至夕，復同婦歸洪宅，洪老洪嫗皆在。伯兄亦來。

云是日被刦去負擔，賞以千錢，仍付令旗放還。途中亂尸山疊，血流成渠。

where my wife lay hidden. There I found all the women, including my wife, lying under a heap of brushwood. Their bodies were blood-stained, their hair soaked with manure, and their faces smeared with dirty ashes. They looked like a crowd of ghosts. Except for her voice I would not even have recognized my wife. At my earnest entreaty the women lying at the top allowed me to lie at the bottom of the brushwood. I could not move and was nearly stifled to death. From above, my wife handed me a bamboo tube with one end to be put in my mouth so that I could breathe air from the outside through the other end and thus save myself from suffocation. During this time there was a soldier outdoors who killed two persons at one stroke. Every woman shivered and trembled fearfully at this sight which was too tragic and terrible to put into words. Then a burst of cries rose suddenly. The soldier had entered the house, but strange to say, he retreated with great strides in such a hurry that he did not even turn his head. When dusk fell, the women all rose. I, too, stepped out from under the straw. I was sweating so profusely that the drops trickled down like rain.

That night, I returned with my wife to Mrs. Hung's house where the old woman and her aged husband had already returned. A little later my eldest brother also arrived.

"Today I was taken and asked to carry a burden," said my brother. "They gave me one thousand cash and let me go after I had returned them the 'pass flag.' On my way back I saw scattered corpses heaped up like hills, and the blood from them ran down like a stream.

又聞有王姓將爺，居昭陽本宅，以錢數萬日給難民，其黨殺人，往往勸阻，多所全活。

是夜悲咽之餘，昏昏睡去，次日則二十九日矣。

自二十五日起，至此已五日，私幸或可薄赦。又紛紛傳洗城之說，城中殘喘，冒死縫城逃去者大半。舊有官溝，壅塞不能通流，至是如坦塗，然亦以此反懼其鋒。城外亡命，利城中所有，結伴夜入官溝盤詰，搜其金銀，人莫敢誰何。予等念既不能越險以逃，而伯兄又爲予不忍獨去，延至平旦，其念遂止。原避處知不可留，而予婦以孕故，屢屢獲全，遂獨以予匿池畔深草中，婦與彭兒裹臥其上。有數卒至，爲刮出者再，皆少獻賂而去。

"I heard also that in his own house at Chao-yang there lives a chieftain called Wang who gives tens of thousands of cash to the refugees each day. When his followers are going to kill the people he often stops them by persuasion or force. Thus a great number of people are spared and saved."

That night, amidst sobs and sighs, we dozed off till the gleam of the dawn began to appear and brought in the 29th day.

From the 25th day till now, it was just five days and I began to fancy that by some rare chance I might be saved, but now I heard that the Manchu soldiers were going "to carry on a wholesale slaughter in the city." Most of the survivors therefore fled from the city, risking their lives by letting themselves down over the city wall with ropes. The public moat of the past was so choked with corpses that it had become as flat as a road. Because of this we suffered all the more; at night, the ruffians outside the city waited stealthily in a group at the moat, and way-laid all refugees, robbing them of their gold and silver, and it simply could not be helped. Since the danger was so great, we could find no way out. Moreover, my eldest brother was unwilling to leave us. Thus I was overwhelmed by anxiety till dawn. Finding that it was no longer safe to stay at our old hiding-place, and also that my wife had more than once spared her life by pleading pregnancy, I was told to hide alone among the deep grass by the pond while she and P'eng-erh crouched a little above me. Though they were often forced to come out of hiding by the soldiers, they could save themselves by offering some money to them, after which they would go away.

繼一狼卒來，鼠頭鷹眼，其狀甚惡，欲刦予婦。婦偃蹇以前語告之，不聽。逼使起立，婦旋轉於地下，死不肯起。卒舉刀背亂打，血濺衣裳，表裏漬透。先是，婦戒予曰：“倘遇不幸，吾必死，勿以夫婦故乞哀，併累子。”故予遠躲草中，爲不知焉。予亦謂婦將死，而惡卒仍不捨，將婦髮周數匝於臂，橫拖而去。怒叱毒打，由田陌至深巷，一箭多地，環曲以出大街，行數步必擊數下。

突遇衆騎中一人，與卒滿語數句，遂捨予婦去，始得匍匐而返。大哭一番，身無完膚矣。

Finally, however, there came a soldier of the "Wolf Men" tribe⁷ with a head like a mouse's and a pair of eyes like a hawk's, an extremely fierce and evil man who attempted to abduct my wife. She was obliged to creep towards him on all fours, telling him meanwhile that she was pregnant. He turned a deaf ear to her entreaty but insisted on her standing up, and when she, rolling on the ground, refused to get up, he beat her severely with the flat of his sword so that blood flowed out in streams from both her outer and inner clothes. My wife had warned me previously: "If the stars are against me, I shall surely die. But you must not ask their mercy on marital grounds to incur harm to you, too." That was why I acted as if unaware of her being beaten, and hid far away in the grass believing that she would surely die. Although he had already reduced her to such a condition, the fierce soldier still did not give her up. He entwined his arm with her hair, cursed her in anger, flogged her cruelly, and then dragged her away by the leg. There was a small path of about an arrow's shot in length winding out from the field to the main street along which the soldier dragged her on, and every few steps he would beat her.

Suddenly they met a body of horsemen. One of them said a few words in the Manchurian tongue to him and he set her free and went away. She was now only able to crawl back, weeping bitterly and bruised and beaten in every part of her body.

⁷The "Wolf Men" tribe were the descendants of the uncivilized *Miao* tribe, living in some parts of Kwangsi in the Ming Dynasty, who were noted for their savagery.—Tr.

忽又烈火四起，何家墳前後多草房，然則立刻成燼。其有寸壤隙地，一二漏網者，爲火一逼，無不奔竄自出。出則遇害，百無一免。亦有閉戶焚死者，由數口至百口，一室之中，正不知積骨多少。大約此際無處可避，亦不能避；避則或一犯之，無金死，有金亦死。惟出露道旁，與尸骸雜處，生死反未可知。予與婦子並往臥塚後，泥首塗足，殆無人形。

火勢愈熾，墓中喬木燒著，光如電灼，聲如山崩。風勢怒號，赤日慘淡，爲之無光。目前如見無數夜叉鬼，驅殺千百地獄人而馳逐之。驚悸之餘，時作昏曠，蓋已不知身之在人世間矣。

驟聞足聲震響，慘呼震心，迴看牆畔，則伯兄被獲，遙見兄與卒相持，兄力大，撒

By that time the whole city was afire. The thatched houses surrounding the Ho's graveyard easily caught fire and were soon burned to ashes. Only one or two scattered houses were fortunate enough to escape the disaster. Those who had hidden themselves under the houses were forced to rush out from the heat of the fire, and as soon as they came out, in nine cases out of ten, they were put to death on the spot. On the other hand, those who had stayed in the houses—ranging from a few up to even a hundred—were burned to death within the closely-shut doors and no one could tell how many had died from the pile of charred bones that remained afterward. At this critical moment there was no suitable place to hide, nor was it possible for anyone to hide, for if you were discovered you would die whether you had money or not. Dead or alive as one might be, one found no other alternative but to go out onto the roadside and lie among the dead bodies. My son, my wife, and I went and lay behind the grave, so dirty and muddy from head to foot that we looked like ghosts rather than human beings.

As time went on the fire became fiercer. The lofty trees around the grave were all set ablaze, glowing as brightly as lightning, crackling with the sound of a land-slide. The wind blew violently and made the fire glow so brightly that the sun seemed to turn pale and lustreless. There seemed to be before us many demons driving hundreds and thousands of souls into Hell to their end. Frightened, we fainted many times, unconscious that we were still living among mankind.

All at once I heard loud footsteps and bitter cries that made my heart jump. Beside a wall at some distance I found my eldest brother strug-

而得脫，卒遂趕去。此卒即前日刦吾婦而復捨者也。半晌不至，予心搖搖。

伯兄忽走來，赤身披髮，爲卒所逼，不得已，向予索金救命。予僅存一錠，出以獻卒；而卒怒甚，舉刀擊兄。兄輾轉地上，流血滿身，彭兒（時年五歲）拉卒，涕泣求免。卒以兒衣拭刀血，再擊，而兄將死矣。

卒拉予髮索金，刀背亂擊不止。予訴金盡，曰：“必欲金，即甘死，他物可也。”卒牽予髮至洪宅。予婦衣物置兩甕中，倒覆階下，盡發以供其取。凡金珠之類無不要，而衣服擇好者取焉。見兒項有銀鎖，將刀割去。去時顧予曰：“吾不殺你，自有

gling with a soldier who had arrested him. Since he was very strong he succeeded in throwing off the soldier and making his escape; but the beast ran hot on his trail and I soon recognized him to be the same man who at first abducted and then released my wife on the preceding day. A long time passed and when I did not see my brother return my heart began to beat violently.

Suddenly my brother made his appearance, naked and dishevelled, driven along by the soldier. He asked me for silver to save his life. I had only one ingot left but I took it out immediately and offered it to the soldier who, upon seeing it, became so angry that he struck my brother with his sword. My brother rolled on the ground, blood staining all over his body. My son, (at that time only five years of age,) pulled at the soldier and cried for mercy. The man then wiped the blood from his sword on my son's clothes. One more blow and my brother would surely have died.

Then the soldier turned upon me, pulled my hair, struck me continually with the back of his sword, and demanded silver. I told him that I was sorry I had no more to give him. "If you insist on having silver, I must die. But I will give you other things," I said. Pulling me by the hair, he went with me to Mrs. Hung's house. I emptied onto the steps the two tall earthen jars which contained all my wife's belongings and let the soldier take what he wanted. He took all my wife's jewelry of gold and pearls, and the best of the clothes. On seeing the silver locket round my son's neck he cut that off too with his sword. When he left he turned and said to me, "If I do not kill you, others will." I then realized that

人殺你也。”知洗城之說已確，料必死矣。

置兒於宅，同婦急出看兄，前後項皆被傷，深入寸許，胸前更烈。予二人扶至洪宅，問之，亦不知痛楚，忽憤忽甦。安置畢，予夫婦復至故處躲避。鄰人俱臥亂草叢中。忽有作人語曰：“明日洗城，必殺一盡，當棄汝婦與吾同走。”婦亦勸余行，予念伯兄垂危，豈忍舍去。又前所持者，猶有餘金，今已盡，料不能生。一痛氣絕，良久而蘇。火亦漸滅。遙聞礮聲三，往來兵丁漸少。予婦抱兒坐糞窖中，洪嫗亦來相依。

有數卒擄四五個婦人，內二老者悲泣，兩少者嘻笑自若。後有二卒追上奪婦，自相奮擊，內一卒勸解，作滿語。忽一

the report that the Manchu soldiers were "to kill everyone in the city" was true, and I reckoned that we would surely die.

Putting my son in a safe place in the house, I rushed out hurriedly with my wife to look for my eldest brother. We found that his neck had been slashed an inch deep both front and back, and that there were even worse wounds on his breast. We helped him to reach Mrs. Hung's house, half conscious and half insensible to pain. Having made him comfortable, we returned to hide close to the grave again. Our neighbours all lay hidden among the wild rushes. Suddenly a human voice broke: "There shall be a general slaughter in the city tomorrow, no one will be spared. You had better give up your wife and flee with me." My wife also advised me to go, but I remembered my eldest brother's cruel wounds. How could I be so selfish as to leave him? Yet hitherto I had relied on my fast diminishing silver, but now that it was all gone I realized that we were in a hopeless situation and fainted from sheer sorrow. After a long time I came to myself. I then saw that the fire in the city was gradually dying out and I heard cannon fired three times from some distant place. When the soldiers walking to and fro became fewer, my wife embraced our son and we sat huddled together in a manure pit, while the old Mrs. Hung also came and joined us.

We then saw several soldiers with four or five women whom they had abducted. Two of them were old and were crying bitterly, while two younger ones were laughing lightly. Two other soldiers overtook them and attempted to take the women away, and thus a fight developed

卒將少婦負至樹下野合。餘二婦亦就地被污。老婦哭泣求免，三少婦恬不爲恥，十數人互爲奸淫，仍交與追來二卒。而其中一少婦，已不能起走矣。予認知爲焦氏之媳，其家平日所爲，應至於此，驚駭之下，不勝歎息。

忽見一人紅衣佩劍，滿帽皂靴，年不及三十，姿容俊爽；隨從一人，衣黃背甲，貌亦魁梧。後有揚州數人跟隨。紅衣人熟視予曰：“視爾非若儔輩中，實言何等人。”予念有以措大而獲免者，有以措大而立斃者，不敢吐實，飾詞以告。復指婦子問是誰，具告以實。

紅衣人曰：“明日王爺下令封刀，汝等

among themselves. One of the soldiers who spoke the Manchu dialect effected a reconciliation, and then another soldier carried away one of the young women to the foot of a tree and violated her. Two other young women were also ravished on the spot. The old women wept for mercy, while the three young women, who were without any sense of shame, were raped by a dozen soldiers one by one and finally turned over to the two soldiers who had arrived later. One of the young women had suffered so much that she could not get up and walk on foot. I recognized her as the daughter-in-law of a Mr. Chiao's family. So evil was this man's past conduct as to deserve punishment, but I could not but sigh heavily at this terrible sight.

Suddenly I saw a very gallant and handsome youth of less than thirty wearing a Manchu-style hat, a red coat, a pair of black boots, and carrying a two-edged sword hanging by his side, accompanied by a follower also very stalwart and brave in appearance wearing a yellow jacket. They were followed by several citizens of Yangchow. The young man in the red coat looked into my eyes and said, "Judging by your appearance, you are not like these people. Tell me honestly who you are!" I remembered that some people had obtained pardon and some had lost their lives immediately when they said they were poor scholars, so I dared not tell him the truth but gave a false reply. Pointing to my son and wife, he asked who they were, and I told him the true answer that they were my wife and son.

"Tomorrow His Highness the Prince will order the swords to be sheathed and all of you will be spared," said the red-coat youth. He also

得生矣。命隨人付衣幾件，又金一錠。

問：“汝等幾日不食？”

予答：“五日矣。”

命：“跟我來。”

予與婦且信且疑，不敢不行。至一宅，所蓄甚富，魚米充盈。

向一婦人曰：“你好好待此四人。”與余別去。

時已暮，予內弟被卒刦去，不知存亡，婦傷之特甚。少頃，老嫗搬出魚飯食予。宅去洪居不遠，予取魚飯食吾兄，喉不能咽，數箸而止。爲兄拭髮洗血，心如刀割。是日聞封刀之說，衆心稍定。

明日爲五月朔日，勢雖不甚烈，然未嘗不殺掠。而富家大室，方且搜括無餘。女子自十餘歲起，搶掠殆無遺類。是日，

commanded his follower to give us some clothes and an ingot of silver.

"How many days have you been without food?" he asked.

"Five days," I replied.

"Then follow me," he commanded.

My wife and I only half believed and half suspected, but we dared not disobey. We arrived at a house in which there was a large store of fish, rice, and other provisions.

"Treat these four persons kindly," he said to a woman in the house and then went away from us.

Before long, night came and my wife grieved very much for her brother, whom the soldiers had carried off, since it was not certain whether he was dead or alive. A few moments later the old woman brought some boiled rice and fish for us to eat. Since we were not very far from Mrs. Hung's house, I took the food to my eldest brother, but he stopped eating after a few mouthfuls because of the pain in swallowing. I wiped his hair and washed his wounds, and my heart ached as if it had been pierced. Yet since we had heard that the Manchu officers had ordered the cessation of further slaughtering in the city we all felt a little less anxious.

The next day was the first of the fifth moon, but some killing and pillaging could not be avoided although it was not as prevalent as during the past few days. The rich families and mansions were still robbed, and almost all of the young girls in their teens were abducted so that none could escape. On this day the Earl of Hsing Ping re-

興平伯復入揚城，而寸絲粒粟，盡入虎口矣。蕭條殘破，難以筆述。

初二日，傳府道州縣已置官吏。執安民牌，遍諭百姓，毋得驚懼。又諭各寺院僧人焚化積尸，而寺院中藏匿婦女亦復不少，亦有驚餓死者。

查焚尸簿載，數共八十餘萬，其落井投河，閉門焚縊者不與焉，被擄者不與焉。

初三日，出示放賑。偕洪樞至缺口關領米。米卽督鎮所儲軍糧，如邱陵，數千擔片時蕩然一空。往來負載者，俱焦頭爛額，臂折脛傷，刀痕滿面，如燭淚成行。搶米之際，雖親友不相顧，強者去而復來，老弱被重傷者，終日不能得升粒。

entered Yangchow. Every grain of rice, every inch of silk, was now gobbled up as if by a tiger! The devastation is beyond my power to describe.

On the second day civil administration was established in all districts. Officials were instructed to issue proclamations to calm the people. Monks were ordered to burn corpses wherever they were found in the temples where many women had taken refuge and had died of fright or starvation.

According to the "Record of Corpses Burned" more than eight hundred thousand were killed, not to count those who had drowned themselves by jumping into wells or into the river, who had hanged themselves, who had been burned to death behind closed doors, or who had been carried away by the soldiers.

On the third day a proclamation for charity and relief was issued. I went with old Mrs. Hung to the Chüeh K'ou Gate to get some of the rice that was being distributed. This rice, heaped as high as a mound, was from the stores that the Governor-General Shih had provided as rations for his soldiers. Several thousands of piculs of rice were soon gone. All those who came to get food appeared with scorched heads, smashed foreheads, broken legs and arms, and sword cuts all over their faces very much like streams of wax pouring down from a candle. In the struggle for rice even relations took no care of one another. Those who were strong left and came back again for more, while those who were old and weak or severely wounded were unable to get anything from morning till night.

初四日，天晴，烈日蒸熾，尸氣薰人。前後左右，處處焚燒，煙結如霧，腥聞數十里。是日，予燒棉及人骨成灰，以療兄瘡，垂淚領之，不能出聲。

初五日，幽僻之人，始稍出來，相逢各淚下，不能出一語。

予等五人，雖獲稍甦，終不敢居宅內。晨起早食，即出處野畔，其妝飾一如前日。蓋往來打糧者，日不下數十輩，雖不操戈，而各制槌恐嚇，詐人財物，每有斃於杖下者。一遇婦女，仍肆擄劫，初不知爲清兵，爲鎮兵，爲亂民也。是日，伯兄因傷重，刀瘡迸裂而死。傷心哉，痛不可言！

憶予初被難時，兄弟，嫂姪，婦子，親共八人，今僅存三人，其內弟外姨，俱不復論。

On the fourth day the weather was fine. The sun shone hot upon the corpses from which issued an unbearable stench. Everywhere around us corpses were being burned. The smoke gathered like a mist and extended for miles. On this day I burned some cotton and bones of the dead in an attempt to heal the wounds of my brother who could not utter a word, but nod to me in silent tears.

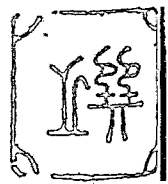
Now the fifth day arrived and people hidden in secluded places were beginning to re-appear. On meeting one another we could not help shedding tears, but unable to utter any word.

We five persons, though somewhat relieved, still dared not live in the house. Early in the morning we got up and, after eating a little food, went out to some lonely fields, dressed in the same fashion as before, because there were hundreds of evil characters, the so-called "foragers," roving about who, though they used no swords, intimidated the people with clubs and took their money and possessions. Many people who resisted were clubbed to death. They also molested women whom they encountered. We were unable to tell whether they were Manchu soldiers, city guards, or lawless ruffians. On this day my eldest brother's wound became so diseased that it suddenly broke open and he died. Alas, words cannot describe my sorrow!

I recall that, at the beginning of this calamity, I had with me eight persons in all, my elder, my eldest and my younger brothers, my elder brother's wife, my nephew, my wife and son, and myself. Now only three of us survived, not including my brother-in-law and sister-in-law.

自四月二十五日起，至五月五日止，共十日，其間皆身所親歷，所親賭，故漫記之如此，遠處風聞者不載也。後之人幸生太平之世，享無事之福，不自修省，一味暴殄者，閱此當警惕焉耳。

From the twenty-fifth of the fourth moon to the fifth of the fifth moon there were ten days in all. What I have briefly described was only what I had actually seen and experienced. What I have got wind of from hearsay I have not recorded. The younger generation who are fortunate enough to live in tranquillity, enjoying the happiness of leisure, and yet indulging in all luxury and extravagance without any sense of self-restraint and frugality should, upon reading this account, take warning and strive to improve themselves.



西風叢書第七種

漢英對照

揚州十日記

A TEN DAYS' MASSACRE IN
YANGCHOW

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