

守汴日志

Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng

[明] 李光壑撰, 王兴亚点校

[Ming Dynasty] Written by Li Guangdian, Edited by Wang Xingya

中州古籍出版社

Zhongzhou Ancient Books Publishing House

责任编辑: 卢海山

Publishing Editor: Lu Haishan

封面设计: 文雅

Cover Design: Wen Ya

封面题字: 孑石

Cover Description: Jie Shi

内容提要

Abstract

本书是明人李光壑作于崇祯十六年, 书中按日纪事, 略仿纲目体例, 详述了李自成三次攻围开封的经过、双方的军事部署及军事行动, 还记述了开封被围期间城内军民的生活状况及各个阶层的动向, 是研究明末农民战争史及开封城市史的重要资料。

This book was written by Li Guangdian, a man of the Ming Dynasty, in the 16th year of Chongzhen (1643). The book organized events by day, detailing Li Zicheng's three sieges of Kaifeng, as well as the military deployments and strategies of both sides. It also recorded the living conditions of the military personnel and civilians inside the city, and the movements of various classes of people during the siege. This book is an important historical document in the study of the peasant uprisings in the late Ming Dynasty and the history of the city of Kaifeng.

守汴日志

Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng

(明) 李光壁撰

[Ming Dynasty] Written by Li Guangdian

王兴亚点校

Edited by Wang Xingya

中州古籍出版社出版

Zhongzhou Ancient Books Publishing House

郑州市东风印刷厂印刷

Printed by Zhengzhou Eastwind Printing Factory

河南省新华书店发行

Published by Xinhua Bookstore of Henan Province

850×1168 32开 2.625印张 48千字

850×1168 32 Cuttings, 2.625 Printed Sheets, 48K Words

1987年3月第1版 1987年3月第1次印刷

First Edition, March 1987; First Printing, March 1987

印数: 1—2,000册

Print Number: 1—2,000

统一书号 11219·58 定价 0.60元

Book number 11219·58, Price 0.60 Yuan

关于《守汴日志》

About “*Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*”

《守汴日志》，是当时当事人专叙李自成农民军三次攻围开封始末的一部重要史籍。

“*Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*” is an important historical document where the author detailed Li Zicheng peasant army's three siege and attack on Kaifeng.

撰者李光壁，字康侯，号熙亮，河南开封府祥符县（今开封市）人。生于明万历二十四年（1596）七月初四日，卒于清康熙元年（1662）九月二十三日。其父李燾，曾任明北京南城兵马司指挥，“居官未久，即告老家居”⁽¹⁾。本人系府学生员。崇祯十四年（1641）二月至十五年（1642）九月，李自成三次率军攻围开封。在此期间，他身在开封，不仅目击李自成等农民军围城的全过程，而且与明朝开封守臣高名衡、黄澍等人一道，谋画守城防务。在开封第二次被围时，他担任左所总社，率民兵（地主武装）守城，议叙赐以拔贡。开封第三次被围时，他负责义勇大社总巡事务，日夜随守臣巡城，与农民军为敌，后叙功赐以知县。崇祯十五年九月，黄河决口，淹没汴城，是月二十五日，李光壁携家乘筏逃向河北，后流寓南京。崇祯政权覆亡后，福王朱由崧在南京即位，他“意欲有所建明，见群小乱政，遂归”⁽²⁾。至清，不仕，隐居于河南通许县西李村，后以疾卒。终年六十七岁。

The author Li Guangdian, whose style name was Kanghou, and pseudonym is Xiliang, was born in Xiangfu County (now Kaifeng City), Kaifeng Prefecture, Henan Province. He was born on the fourth day of July in the twenty-fourth year of Wanli of the Ming Dynasty (1596) and died on September 23rd of the first year of Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty (1662). His father, Li Shen, was a commander of the Division of Military Troops and Horses of southern Beijing in the Ming Dynasty, who "had not been an official for a long time, and returned to his hometown under the excuse of an old age" (1). He himself was the government student in feudal China. From February in the 14th year (1641) to September in the 15th year (1642) of Chongzhen, Li Zicheng led his army and sieged Kaifeng three times. During this period, Li Guangdian was in Kaifeng, he not only witnessed the entirety of Li Zicheng and other peasant soldiers' siege of the city, he also worked with Ming government's commanders in the defense of Kaifeng such as Gao Mingheng, Huang Shu and others, to strategize plans to defend the city. During the second siege, he served for the headquarters of the Left Organization, leading the peasant militia (weapons provided by the wealthy land owners) to defend the city, and was said to be granted the honor of Outstanding Scholar in Civil Service Examinations. When Kaifeng was besieged for the third time, he was in charge of patrol for the Loyal and Brave Unit. He patrolled the city with his guards day and night and was in direct opposition of the peasant armed forces. It was said that he was granted the position of County Magistrate for this contribution. In September of the fifteenth year of Chongzhen (1642), the dyes of the Yellow River broke, water flooded the city of Kaifeng. On the 25th of the month, Li Guangdian took his family and fled to Hebei by raft, and then moved to Nanjing. After the fall of the Chongzhen regime, King Fu, Zhu Yousong, ascended the throne in Nanjing. Li Guangdian "was

interested in helping him to bring back the Ming Dynasty, but found the support base was small the the politic chaotic, so he left." (2) Even into the Qing Dynasty, he refused to serve as a government official again, and lived in seclusion in Xili Village, Tongxu County, Henan Province. He died of illness at the age of sixty-seven.

《守汴日志》一书，是李光壓流寓南京后，于崇禎十六年（1643）九月病中口述，由其子李鑿记录，整理而成的。《四库全书总目提要》里述其要谓：

The book, "*Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*," was dictated by Li Guangdian during his illness in September of the 16th year of Chongzhen (1643) while he was living in Nanjing. It was recorded and compiled by his son, Li Luan. "*The General Catalogue of Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature*," which holds the largest collection of books in Chinese history, described this book as follows:

“是编成于崇禎癸未光壓流寓南京之时，记李自成三攻开封，终于河决之事。大致与史传相出入，而分日记载，于情事委曲，特为详细”⁽³⁾。

“It was compiled during the reign of Chongzhen, when Li Guangdian lived in Nanjing and recorded Li Zicheng's three attacks on Kaifeng which ended when the Yellow River embankment was broken. It's mostly consistent with historical records, but because events were recorded on daily basis, it's especially detailed.”⁽³⁾

据记载，当时当事人专记李自成功围开封的著作，共有五种。除该书之外，尚有高名衡《更生吟》黄澍《誓肌漫记》，张宁生《汴围纪略》及白愚《汴围湿襟录》。但前三种，至今未见有存。《汴围湿襟录》，于今有存，作者白愚系河南开封人，也亲身经历了李自成围城的全过程，自述“维时谬从参戎张达字幕，共事城守，躬冒矢石者几六阅月。”⁽⁴⁾。毫无疑问，这是一部有资料价值的著作。但他当时只是张达字的幕僚，而张达字其时职位较低，因而，他对守城谋画的了解受到限制，再加上此书写于“甲申二月”，离开封城没已逾年半之久，故其追忆所述，难免无误。

According to records, there were five books dedicated to Li Zicheng 's attacks on Kaifeng, authored by witnesses who were participants in the event. In addition to this book, there were also Gao Mingheng 's "*Poem of Resurgence*", Huang Shu's "*Unforgettable Ramble*"s, Zhang Ningsheng 's "*A Brief Record of the Besieged of Kaifeng*" and Bai Yu 's "*A sad record of the siege of Kaifeng*". Unfortunately, the first three still cannot be located. Only "*A sad record of the siege of Kaifeng*" still exists today. The author of the book, Bai Yu, was from Kaifeng, Henan Province, and had personally experienced the entire process of Li Zicheng's siege. He stated that "at that time he mistakenly served by Zhang Dayu 's side, guarded the city with him together, and personally braved the arrow rain for nearly six months." ⁽⁴⁾ There is no doubt that this was an book contained much information, but with the author being Zhang Dayu's staff, and Zhang Dayu being of low-ranking position at the time, the author's access to the strategic planning of the defense of Kaifeng was limited. Furthermore, the book was written in "February of Jiashen (1464)", almost one and a half year after the fall of Kaifeng, and thus in his recollection of the story, there was bound to be inaccuracies.

而李光璧不但直接参与守城防务，对明朝守城谋画有具体了解，且所撰《守汴日志》一书，成书于崇祯十六年九月。由于其知之较悉，书中按日纪事，略仿纲目体例，详述了李自成三次攻围开封的经过、双方的军事部署及其军事行动，还记述了开封被围期间城内军民的生活状况及各个阶层的动向。实为研究明末农民战争史及开封城市史不可多得的重要资料。宏光元年（1645）周亮工曾谓：“先是司理黄君仲霖有《誓肌漫记》，汴秀才张宁生有《汴围纪略》，李熙亮有《汴围日记》，皆有以裨余闻所未逮。”⁽⁵⁾。汤开士亦谓：《守汴日志》一书，“以事隶日，其言碎直”⁽⁶⁾。正是因为这样，所以清初成书的史书，如彭孙贻《流寇志》、谈迁《国榷》、戴笠吴旻《怀陵流寇始终录》、郑廉《豫变纪略》、周在峻《大梁守城记》等，在记述李自成攻围开封事时，多取材于此。

Li Guangdian, however, not only directly participated in the defense of the city, but also had a detailed understanding of Ming government's strategic plans in defending the city. Furthermore, his book, "*Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*," was completed in September of the 16th year of Chongzhen (1643). Li knew well details of the situation and chronicled the events by day, in the format of a diary. He described Li Zicheng's three sieges of Kaifeng, as well as military strategies and deployments from both sides. He also recorded the living conditions of the soldiers and civilians in the city and the movements of various classes of people during the siege. There is no doubt that the information contained in this book holds great value in the study of peasant uprisings during the late Ming Dynasty and the history of Kaifeng. In the first year of Hongguang (1645) Zhou Lianggong said, "First, Huang Zhonglin (Huang Shu), a commander of the Ministry of Justice and Punishment, wrote the "*Unforgettable rambles*." Zhang Ningsheng, a Kaifeng native and Graduate of Associate Degree in the Imperial Examinations, then wrote "*A brief Record of besieged city of Kaifeng*" and Li Xiliang (Li Guangdian) wrote "*Diary of siege of Kaifeng*." They all helped to make up for my lack of knowledge about Kaifeng and this event." ⁽⁵⁾ Tang Kaishi also said, the book "*Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*" "recorded events by day, the language was simple and straightforward" ⁽⁶⁾ It was precisely because of this, that the historical books written in the early Qing Dynasty, such as Peng Sunyi's "*Record of Wandering Bandits*," Tan Qian's "*Power of a Nation*," Dai Li and Wu yi's "*Beginning and End of Wandering Bandits in Huailin*," Zheng Lian's "*Documentary of Henan Coup*," Zhou Zaijun's "*Record of Kaifeng Defense*" and so on, all drew more materials from this book when describing Li Zicheng's attack on Kaifeng.

该书原名为《汴围日记》，又作《汴围日录》⁽⁷⁾。康熙四年（1665）梁熙重刻，改作《城守日志》。二十八年（1689）经周斯盛修订，易为今名，即《守汴日志》。

The book was originally named "*Diary of the Siege of Kaifeng*," and subsequently renamed as "*Daily Record of the Siege of Kaifeng*" ⁽⁷⁾. In the fourth year of Kangxi (1665), it was re-engraved by Liang Xi and re-published under the name of "*Diary of Defense of the City*." In the twenty-eighth year of Kangxi (1689), after editing by Zhou Sisheng, it was given a name that is still used today, "*Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*."

此书写成后，即行付梓。在清代，该书曾数次重刻。见于著录的，该书版本有单刻本、合刊本及

丛书本。

After this book was written, it was printed immediately. In the Qing Dynasty, the book was re-engraved and re-printed several times. As recorded, the book has appeared in the format of an independent book, joint publication with other books, and part of book series

单刻本：（一）李氏自刻本。康熙二十八年周斯盛曾云：其书“鏊泣而受之以付梓，今四十余年矣”^{（8）}。顺治九年、康熙三年汤开士、梁熙均得其本，此为该书最早的刻本。惜该刻本于今无存，未见著录，无法详明其刊刻时间。（二）康熙四年梁熙重刻本。梁熙自叙得李氏《日记》，“两跋而刻之”^{（9）}。其本已佚。（三）康熙二十八年李鏊重刻本。李鏊在是年为该书写的《跋》中曾说：“不肖守先人遗刻而忽焉。……于是掇拾残简，重付剞劂”^{（10）}。此系李氏家藏遗刻残简重刻。（四）康熙四十七年（1708）李为淦校刊本。李为淦自述是年见此书，历年已久，旧简将敝，“重为校刊”^{（11）}。（五）道光七年（1827）李开邨刻本。此本据李氏家藏残版，校订后，付梓于昆明。二十二年，李开邨据此版在湖南又重印三百册。（六）道光二十三年（1843）李开邨重刻本。此本据昆明刻本，由李良榕、李良楫等五人同校，付梓于开封。（七）光绪二十四年（1898）孙叔谦补刻本。

Independent Book: (1) This is Li family's self-engraved and self-printed edition. In the twenty-eighth year of Kangxi (1689), Zhou Sisheng said, that his book was accepted by the emperor who later asked people to print it, which has been published for more than forty years now." ⁽⁸⁾ In the ninth year of Shunzhi (1652) and the third year of Kangxi (1664), Tang Kaishi and Liang Xi each gained access to one of these books which were the book's the earliest block copy of the book. Unfortunately, these block copies no longer exist today. Without seeing its description, there is no way to tell the exact timing the book was engraved which also has no record, so there is no way to specify the time of its publication. (2) In the fourth year of Kangxi (1665), Liang Xi claimed to have obtained Li family's self-engraved block copy of the "Diary", he "read it twice and then engraved another copy." This re-printed version is now lost. ⁽⁹⁾ (3) In the 28th year of Kangxi (1689), Li Luan re-engraved and re-publish the book. It was in this same year that by Li Luan write in the "postscript" of the book that he was "not worthy to keep a copy of the book from the ancestors and did not dare to ignore it ... thus with whatever remnant of the book he had, he re-engraved and printed the book." ⁽¹⁰⁾ This thus was the re-engraved version of the book what was kept in the Li family. (4) In forty-seventh year of Kangxi (1708), Li Weigan said that when he saw the book in this very same year, it was clear that it had been a long time since the book's publication and the condition of the book was very old and worn out. Thus he republished the book and felt it was "important that this book was proof-read." ⁽¹¹⁾ (5) In the 7th Year of Daoguang (1827), Li Kaiye re-printed the book. This book was based on the fragmented edition kept by the Li family. After revision and proofreading, it was published in Kunming. Twenty-two years later, Li Kaiye reprinted another 300 copies of the book in Hunan based on this edition. (6) In the 23rd year of Daoguang (1843), Li Kaiye re-engraved the book, based on the Kunming edition. This copy was proofread by five people including Li Liangrong and Li Liangji and was printed in Kaifeng. (7) In the 24th year of Guangxu (1898), Sun Shuqian amended the edition.

合刻本：今见一种，系道光二十三年李为淦所刻，与《乡贤崇祀录》合刊。

Joint publication: Today there exists one version of this book. It was engraved and printed by Li Weigan in the 23rd year of Daoguang (1843), and published together with the book, “*Biography of People Respected by Villagers.*”

丛书本：（一）说铃本。清吴震方辑，道光五年（1825）聚秀堂刻本。（二）崇正丛书本。清叶腾骧辑，道光十九年（1839）品正山房活字本。（三）昭代丛书本。清沈懋德辑，道光二十一年（1841）世楷堂刻本。

Series: (1) Miscellaneous Collection Series. In the fifth year of the Daoguang (1825), compiled by Wu Zhenfang of the Qing Dynasty, published by The Hall that Gathered Great People. (2) Chongzheng Book Series. In the 19th year of Daoguang (1839), compiled by Ye Tengxiang of the Qing Dynasty, published by House of Pinzhengshan using movable type technology (3) Qing Dynasty Books Series. In the 21st year of Daoguang (1841), compiled by Maode of the Qing Dynasty, published by the Hall of Shikai.

此外，还有抄本。今北京图书馆藏该书抄本一册，上面盖有事耕读印章（简称清抄本）。河南大学图书馆藏有常联奎抄本。

In addition, there are also hand-copied editions of the book. In the Beijing Library, there is one stamped with the seal of the Joint Farming and Learning System (commonly referred to as the Qing Dynasty hand-copied edition). The library of Henan University has the hand-copied manuscript by Chang Liankui.

以上诸本，《汴围日记》、《城守日志》刻本，均佚。道光七年及其以后刻本，尚有所存。现存诸本，书名均作《守汴日志》，当系周斯盛删定，更名之后的本子。今存诸本，不但均有不少字误，且条目有异。孙叔谦补刻本，为该书清代最晚的刻本，它以道光七年刻本为底本，在文字上作了校正，收录序、跋亦多，虽有字误，但为现存该书最完整的刻本。

Amongst the above-mentioned books, the block copies of “*Diary of the Siege of Kaifeng*” and “*Diary of Defense of the City*” are all lost. Copies of the book from the 7th year of Daoguang (1827) and afterwards are still extant. They are all titled, “*Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*” which was the version proofread, edited and re-named by Zhou Sisheng. The versions that are available today have not only many typos but also inconsistent entries. The version by Sun Shuqian with supplemental materials is the very last of the block copies of the book during the Qing Dynasty. Based on the version from the 7th year of Daoguang (1827), this edition made correction to the text and added in preface and postscripts. Although there are still typos, this is the most complete version of the block copy of the book in existence.

这次校点，以孙叔谦补刻本为蓝本，参照其他刻本、抄本及其他史书有关记述，对于蓝本中衍误伪脱，凡是证据充足的，即予改正。诸本互异，难以断定是非的，注明诸记之异，不作断语。此

两种情形，均写入校记。在原纪元下，注以公元。

At this time, the proofread and edit is mostly based off Sun Shuqian's supplemental engraved edition. Other engraved and hand-copied editions, as well as historical references related to event were used to help verify the content. If sufficient evidence exist, corrections are made. Where the various editions differ, it is hard to determine what is factual; in these situations, the differences between the editions are noted and no judgements are made. Both of these cases are reflected in the comments. Under the original era, the AD was used as a comment.

还应予以说明的是，原本前无总目录。为便于查检，根据原本辑录篇目，编次目录，置于书前。同时，对其篇目顺次，略作调整。将原置书前的提要、序文，一律移于书后，作本书附录一、附录二。李熙亮像及孙叔谦赞语，无关史实，不再收入。原本后附跋文，删去乾隆八年刘自洁跋，其他各篇，均予存留，作为附录三。许乃钊《守汴志·崇祀录合刻序》，沈懋德《跋》，原本未收，因有助于对该书刊刻情况的了解，今分别补入附录二、附录三。序、跋顺次排，以先后时间为序。《中州先哲传·李光墜传》，记其生平事略较详，今辑入，作本书附录四，以资参考。

It should also be noted that there was no Table of Content before. In order to facilitate reading and inspection, based on the original content and chapter organization, a Table of Content is compiled and placed at the beginning of the book. A slight adjustment is also made to the ordering of the content. The Abstract and Preface which were at the beginning of the book before, are now moved to the back and became Appendix 1 and Appendix 2. The language praising Li Xiliang (Li Guangdian) and Sun Shuqian have nothing to do with historical facts and is no longer included. The original postscripts are all kept, as Appendix 3, with the exception of that from Liu Zijie, written in the 8th year of Qianlong (1743), which was deleted. Xu Naizhao's "Joint Publishing of Log of Protecting Kaifeng and Record of Sacrificial Ceremony" and Shen Maode's "Postscript" were originally not part of this collection, but have been added to appendix 2 and appendix 3 because they help to understand the situation under which the book is published. The prefaces and postscripts are arranged in order of time. "Biography of China's Wisemen: Li Guangdian's Biography" recorded Li's life story in great detail, is included in this book, as appendix 4, for reference.

王兴亚

Wang Xingya

1984年10月于郑州

October 1984 in Zhengzhou

注：

Annotation:

(1) 李为淦《乡贤崇祀录》卷上《事实册》辑乾隆六年吕法曾、朱景尹呈文。

(1) Li Weigan's "Biography of the people Respected by Villagers", Volume of Facts " contains the writings

of Lu Fazeng and Zhu Jingyin from the 6th years of Qianlong (1741).

(2) 康熙三十四年《开封府志》卷二六《人物三·李光燮传》。

(2) "Records of Kaifeng" of the 34th Year of Kangxi (1695), Volume 26, "Sage Biography, third person·Li Guangdian's Biography".

(3) 见本书附录一。

(3) See Appendix 1 of this book.

(4) 白愚《汴围湿襟录·自叙》。

(4) Bai Yu's "A Sad Record of the Siege of Kaifeng · Preface".

(5) 周亮工《汴围湿襟录序》。

(5) Zhou lianggong's "Foreword of A sad record of the siege of Kaifeng".

(6) 汤开士《汴围湿襟录序》。

(6) Tang kaishi's "Foreword of A sad record of the siege of Kaifeng".

(7) 《汴围日记》，见周亮工、汤开士撰《汴围湿襟录序》。《汴围日录》，见李奎、孙叔谦为《守汴日志》所写的跋文。

(7) "Diary of the Siege of Kaifeng", see "Foreword of A sad record of the siege of Bianzhou" by Zhou lianggong and Tang kaishi. "Daily Record of the Siege of Kaifeng", see postscripts written by Li Luan and Sun Shuqian for "Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng".

(8) 此据周斯盛《原序》，详本书附录二。另，李奎《跋》谓：“不肖守先人遗刻。”二记有异。

(8) This is based on Zhou Sisheng's "Original Preface", which is detailed in Appendix 2 of this book. In addition, Li Luan said in the "Postscript," "not worthy to keep a copy of the book from the ancestors." There is discrepancy between these two writings.

(9) 梁熙《城守日志序》，引自苏源生《国朝中州文征》卷十七。

(9) Liang Xi's "Diary of Defense of the City", quoted from the 17th volume of Su Yuansheng's "Zhongzhou Wenzheng."

(10) 李奎《跋》，见本书附录三。

(10) Li Luan's "Postscript", refer to Appendix 3 of this book.

(11) 李为淦《跋》，见本书附录三。

(11) Li Weigan's "Postscript", refer to Appendix 3 of this book.

守汴日志目录

Table of Contents of "Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng"

关于《守汴日志》	王兴亚 (1)
About " <i>Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng</i> "	Wang Xingya (1)
守汴日志	李光壁 (1)
" <i>Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng</i> "	Li Guangbian (1)
附题叙塘报	(39)
<i>Attached the Preface from newspaper</i>	(39)

附录一

Appendix 1

钦定四库全书史部杂史类存目提要	(41)
The historical part of the <i>The General Catalogue of Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature</i> made by imperial order	(41)

附录二

Appendix 2

原序	周斯盛 (43)
Original preface	Zhou Sisheng (43)
重刻守汴日志叙	陈鸿 (46)
Reengraving preface of " <i>Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng</i> "	Chen Hong (46)
重刻守汴日志序	佟景文 (48)
Reengraving preface of " <i>Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng</i> "	Tong Jingwen (48)
重刻守汴日志序	李棠阶 (51)

Reengraving preface of “*Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*”Li Shangjie (51)

守汴志、崇祀录合刻序..... 许乃钊 (53)

"*Preface of the Joint Publishing of Log of Protecting Kaifeng and Record of Sacrificial Ceremony*" Xu Naizhao (53)

附录三

Appendix 3

原跋..... 梁 熙 (55)

Original Postscript Liang Xi (55)

又跋..... 梁 熙 (57)

Supplementary Postscript Liang Xi (57)

跋..... 李 奎 (59)

Postscript Li Luan (59)

跋..... 李为淦 (61)

Postscript Li Weigan (61)

跋..... 李开邨 (62)

Postscript Li Kaiye (62)

守汴日志跋..... 沈懋德 (64)

Postscript of “*Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*” Shen Maode (64)

又跋..... 李开邨 (65)

Supplementary Postscript Li Kaiye (65)

补刊守汴日志书后..... 杜梦麟 (67)

Addition after publication of “*Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*” Menglin Du (67)

补刊守汴日志跋..... 孙叔谦 (69)

Supplementary postscript of "*Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*" Sun Shucoins (69)

又跋..... 孙叔谦 (71)

Additional Postscript..... Sun Shucoins (71)

附录四

Appendix 4

李光壓传..... 李敏修 (73)

Li Guangdian Biography..... Li Minxiu (73)

后记..... (76)

Postscript (76)

守汴日志

The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng

男鏊节庵甫: 校订

Correct and Revise: Nan Luan, style name Anfu

大梁李光壓熙亮甫编

Author: Li Guangdian (pseudonym Xiliang) of Kaifeng

孙为淦山涛甫重梓⁽¹⁾

Reprint: Sun Weigan, style name Shantao⁽¹⁾

崇禎十四年辛巳（1641）正月二十二日戊戌，賊攻河南府，叛兵共起，雒陽失陷⁽²⁾，所在震動⁽³⁾。

In the 14th year of Chongzhen, Xin Si (1641), on the 22nd of the first lunar month, the enemies attacked the Henan Prefecture, the rebels joined forces, the city of Luoyang fell⁽²⁾ and caused an uproar⁽³⁾.

时巡抚李仙凤出剿河北土寇，城守副总兵陈永福往雒阳收辑残破未回。二月初九日甲寅，贼乘汴兵尽出，疾走三昼夜，十二日丁巳⁽⁴⁾，直抵汴梁，辰巳时，马贼三百，伪称官军到西关，居民纷纷入城；午未时，步贼及大营随至。巡按下令筑门固守。贼攻西城，祥符县知县王燮领衙役兵登城堵御。巡按高名衡守西门，守道苏壮、开封府推官黄澍协守西门⁽⁵⁾、左布政使梁炳守东门。右布政使蔡懋德守曹门，东门之在北者。开封府知府吴士讲守南门。管河同知桑开第守北门，周藩承奉曹坤、左长史李映春率周府勇士八百人登西城守御。下令民间有能出城斩贼一级者赏银五十两⁽⁶⁾，能射杀一贼者赏三十两⁽⁷⁾，射伤一贼或砖石击伤者赏十两。百姓挈弓矢刀槊登城者⁽⁸⁾，纷纷恐后。

At that time, the governor of Henan, Li Xianfeng, was personally responsible for suppressing the rebels who came down from the Hebei Province. Kaifeng's deputy head of city guard, Chen Yongfu, went to Luoyang to pick up the pieces there and had not yet returned. On the 9th of February, Jiayin, the enemy took advantage of the fact that the Kaifeng army was out of the city, they ran for three days and three nights, and on the 12th day, Dingsi, they arrived in Kaifeng. Sometimes between 7am-11am, three hundred rebels on horseback, pretending to be commanders of the government army, arrived at the West Gate of Kaifeng. All the residents hurried back into the city. Sometimes between 11am and 3pm, the rebels who ran on foot and the rest of the rebel troops arrived. The commander of city patrol ordered for the reinforcement of the Gate and guard it at all cost. The rebels attacked the West of the

city. Wang Xie, the magistrate of Xiangfu County, led his men onto the top of the city wall to defend the city. The commander of city patrol, Gao Mingheng guarded The West Gate, city official Su Zhuang and prefectural judge Huang Shu helped in guarding the West Gate (5). The left chief envoy Liang Bing guarded the East Gate. The right governor Cai Maode guarded Cao Gate, which was north of the East Gate. The prefect of Kaifeng Prefecture, Wu Shijiang, guarded the south Gate. The official in charge of the river, Sang Kaidi, guarded the north Gate, and officials Cao Kun and Li Yingchun led 800 warriors from the Zhou Mansion to the West city wall to guard the defense. He ordered that if there were people who could go out of the city and slash the heads of the rebels, they would be rewarded fifty taels of silver ⁽⁶⁾ and 30 taels for anyone who should shoot an enemy to death ⁽⁷⁾, twelve taels of silver for anyone who shot an enemy or hit them with bricks and shis. The people walked up the city wall with bows, arrows, knives and guns ⁽⁸⁾, only worrying about falling behind.

十三日戊午，生员张坚献悬楼式。

On the 13th day, Wuwu, student Jian Zhang proposed the method of hanging the tower.

先是城堞口用桌面、门板蔽炮矢，仍打透。我兵手足不能施。至是，张坚献悬楼式，用大柏木三，上排横木十余如筏 ⁽⁹⁾，其广可跨五堞或三堞，出堞外四五尺。每楼容十人。贼临城下，我兵从上用火罐炮石击之，楼坚厚，炮矢不能入，又高出，能蔽身，我兵得展手足。推官黄澍命快手朱光祖督造，一夜成五十座，分置城上。

First, use tabletops and door planks at the battlements to cover the artillery arrows, but they would still be pierced by cannons and arrows. Our soldiers could not do anything without the space. So student Zhang Jian proposed the method of hanging the tower. Use three big cypress woods and put more than a dozen logs horizontally placed on it just like a bamboo raft. ⁽⁹⁾ Its width spanned about five or three stacks, extending four or five feet outside the stack. Each tower could hold ten people. The enemies were under the city, and we could hit them with fire cannons from above. The towers were so strong and thick that the cannons and arrows could not pass through. And they were high enough to cover the body, so our soldiers could finally let go of their hands and feet. The official Huang Shu ordered his superintendent Zhu Guangzu to build 50 seats in one night and set them up separately in the city.

十四日己未 ⁽¹⁰⁾，击杀贼甚多，贼忿，射终日。

On the 14th day ⁽¹⁰⁾, Jiwei, many enemies were killed. So the enemies were so angry that they were shooting arrows all day long.

先是，贼穿城六孔，伏其下。我兵城上击之，不及。今从悬楼视而击之，无不中者。贼怒甚，射终日，箭插城垣如蝟。

In the beginning, the rebels pierced six holes in the wall and squatted under them. Our army couldn't hit them from the wall. However, if our army shot them from the hanging tower now, there were no exceptions any more. So the enemies were so angry that they were shooting arrows all day long to make the arrows sticking in the wall like a hedgehog.

十五日庚申，贼昇云梯百余座⁽¹¹⁾，有高至城之半者，置濠边，将来攻城。我兵击死昇大云梯贼四十八人。朱之沧缒城杀贼，得首级一颗。

On the 15th day, Genshen, the enemy carried more than one hundred ladders. (11) Some of these ladders were as high as half the height of the city wall. They were placed next to the moat and would be used to attack the city. Our soldiers killed forty-eight enemies who held the large ladder. Zhu Zhicang chased the enemy out of the city to kill them, and got one head back.

贼以四十八人昇一大云梯，将抵城下，我兵放大炮击之，俱死。随发万人敌火罐，悉烧之，并烧死红甲贼首一人。之沧，宗生员也，缒城诱贼，与言斩首一级，赏银五十两。

The enemy lifted a large ladder with forty-eight people and were going to reach the city. Our soldiers hit them with a large artillery, and the enemy all died. Then our soldiers sent out an unstoppable fire jar, which burned all the opponents and burned one enemy leader who was wearing red armor to death. Zhicang was a candidate from the royal family. He coinst out of the city to lure the enemy, and finally killed one enemy and thus got fifty taels of silver.

十六日辛酉，总兵陈永福夜砍贼营，直抵城下。贼掘城，见石滚。

On the 16th day, Xinyou, General Chen Yongfu rushed into the enemy's barracks to slay the enemy and straightly reached the city. The enemy was digging under the city, and our army smashed them with shis.

陈总兵在雒阳闻贼攻汴，兼程赴援，二昼夜至西关，三鼓由孤魂坛穿贼营，进小西关，砍死贼无数，遂统骑兵至城下。巡按令永福子德看真，开水门放入。于是人心镇定。步兵贪取贼遗骡马。次早，尚在小西关接战，被伤颇多。一兵登屋，手刃七人，贼不敢近，乱箭射之，乃毙。西城有石礮十八层，贼见而惧，遂不敢攻。

General Chen Bing heard that the enemy had attacked Bianzhou in Luoyang, so he immediately rushed to assist our army day and night. It took him two days to reach the West Gate. At the depth of the night, he passed through the enemy camp from the Lone Soul Altar and entered the small West Gate. He killed countless enemies, and then led the cavalry to the city. The Patrol ordered Yongfu and Zide to see if it was true, and then opened the water Gate to let them in. Finally the citizens all calmed down. The infantry greedily took away the mules and horses left by the enemy. At breakfast the next day, they were still some fighting at the small West Gate, and there were many wounded soldiers. A soldier boarded the house and killed seven people personally. The enemies dared not approach and

shot him to death with random arrows. There were eighteen layers of shi rollers in the West city. The enemies saw them and were so frightened that they didn't dare to attack the city.

十七日壬戌，守备陈德射伤闯贼李自成左目⁽¹²⁾。陈兵时出城击贼。

On the 17th day, Renwu, the Guard Chen De shot the enemy leader Li Zicheng's left eye (12), going out of the city to attack the enemy when deploying an army.

闯贼杂众中，至城下窥视。陈守备射之，中左目下，深入二寸许，抱头惊拥而去。始知为闯贼也⁽¹³⁾。闯贼瞎子之名自此始。贼时出挑战，陈总兵发卒迎之，至濠各退。贼意诱我兵深入以击之，我兵亦以贼众我寡，不中贼计也。著蓝甲贼首一人忿恨蹶追⁽¹⁴⁾，为陈兵所斩。

Li Zicheng mingled among the crowd to spy on the city. Guard Chen shot an arrow at him, hitting the position below his left eye, about two inches deep. He was frightened, hugging his head, being surrounded and then left. So everyone finally knew that this was Li Zicheng (13). That was how Li Zicheng's reputation as a blind man began. From time to time, the enemy provoked in order to lead start the war. General Chen sent soldiers to meet them, and both sides retreated to the moat. The enemy wanted to lure our soldiers to go deep inside so as to beat them. Our soldiers also knew that there were too many people on the other side but there were few people on our side, so they did not fall into their tricks. An enemy leader who was wearing a blue armor secretly pursued our soldiers (14) in resentment, and was finally killed by Chen Bing.

十八日癸亥，黎明，贼前锋西向，逡巡终日，至夕遁去。

On the 18th day, Kuihai, the enemy's forward soldiers patrolled the West for a long time, and did not leave until the sunset.

时传左兵将至，又传保兵渡河，贼解围遁，破密县，又走登封。此第一次闯贼寇汴，无曹贼也。精兵不过三千，胁从之众不过三万，乘汴空虚，攻我不备耳。贼罗汝才，混名曹操。

At that time, it was rumored that the army of Zuo was about to arrive, and it was also rumored that the army would be guaranteed to cross the Yellow River. The enemy broke through and fled, destroyed County Mi, and coast to Dengfeng. This was the first time that Li's army invaded Bianzhou without Cao's army. The number of elite soldiers was no more than three thousand, and the number of people who were forced to follow was no more than thirty thousand. They took advantage of the emptiness inside Bianzhou and attacked Bianzhou when we were unprepared. The enemy Luo Rucai, alias Cao Cao.

十九日甲子，祥符县知县王燮督众修葺城垣，昼夜兼功，十日告竣⁽¹⁵⁾。

On the 19th day, Jiazi, Wang Xie, the magistrate of Xiangfu County, supervised people to repair the city wall. People rushed to work day and night, and it took them ten days to complete (15).

三月初一日丙子，各官募兵选将，添设营伍，为未雨绸缪之计⁽¹⁶⁾。

On the first day of March, Bingzi, all officials were recruiting soldiers, selecting generals, and adding military camps as a precautionary method. (16)

巡按高名衡添设清真营，选将陈济民⁽¹⁷⁾，中军李文华领之。守道苏壮设道标营，中军赵世忠、哨官苏桢领之。

The patrol officer Gao Mingheng added and set up a halal barracks, selecting the General Chen Jimin (17), and the General of the middle troop Li Coinshua to lead them. The officer Su Zhuang set up Daobiao Camp, led by the General of the middle troop Zhao Shizhong and the Sentry Officer Su Zhen.

祥符县知县王燮亦于是日创立社兵，社长、副，选五总社。按省城八十四地方，立八十四社，择民有一、二千金产者出兵一名，或两家合出一名；万金产者出兵二、三名，巨商亦然。每社社兵五十名，择殷实有素行生员二人，为长、副领之。外选总社五人，按五所五门，各置一人统之。北门后所总社，颖川郡王在⁽¹⁸⁾。南门前所总社，原武郡王第四子镇国将军肃湘。西门右所总社，生员曹鼎。东门中所总社，宗贡生朱在⁽¹⁹⁾。曹门左所总社，举人常惺。凡四千二百不饷之兵。诸上台时加劝赏，长、副各银一两、纱一端，总社银五两、缎一端，各送匾奖励。无事则团练习艺，有事则登陴守御，且得资其物力，以济城守之用也。

On this day, Wang Xie, the magistrate of Xiangfu County, also established the social soldier system, which had a president and a deputy president, and elected five Headquarters. According to the 84 places in the provincial capital, he set up 84 co-operatives, asking a family with one or two thousand gold assets to send one soldier, or two families with one soldier; those with ten thousand gold assets send two or three soldiers. So was the giant merchant. Each co-operative had fifty soldiers, and two students from well-off families were selected to lead them as the president and vice president. In addition, five people were selected to go to the headquarters, and one person was assigned to lead them according to the five branches. Wang Zaiji, the county prince of Yingchuan who was named on the official status was in charge of the headquarters of the North Gate (18). General Suxiang, the fourth son of the former king of Wujun, was in charge of the front headquarters of the South Gate. Cao Ding, a student who had passed the imperial examination, was in charge of the Right Headquarters of the West Gate. Zhu Zaiyun, an outstanding scholar, was in charge of the East headquarters of the East Gate (19). Chang Xing, a scholar who had passed the provincial examination, was in charge of the left headquarters of Cao Gate. These 4,200 people were all soldiers without military pay. They all received rewards when they took office. The presidents and deputy presidents each received one tael of silver and one piece of yarn. The headquarter received five taels and one

piece of satin, each with a plaque reward. If nothing happened, they practiced skills as a team. If something happened, they would be on the ground to defend the city, and they would be able to get their materials and financial support to help support the expenses of defending the city.

十二月二十日辛酉，城中喧传贼将至，左所总社阙各官，令各社另择。

On December 20th, Xinyou, there were rumors in the city that the enemies were coming. The left headquarters judged the faults of the officials and ordered them to choose other officials.

时前、后、中、右四社，俱有总社，修饬器械，练习兵士，各有纪律。独左所总社常惺谢病，督理无人，因命各社公议另报。

At that time, there were four headquarters in the front, back, center, and right. They usually repaired weapons and trained soldiers, which were very disciplined. Only Chang Xie of the left headquarters was ill, and no one could supervise the team. Therefore, the chief ordered a separate report after the open discussion among the various agencies.

二十三日甲子，贼遣其党贴伪示于曹门。祥符县夜召壁为左所总社。

On the 23rd day, Jiazi, the enemy sent their party committee to post false notes in Cao Gate. Xiangfu County summoned Dian at night to supervise the left headquarters.

是日未时，贼七骑飞奔曹门，贴伪告示二张于栅上。守关兵追之莫及。是夜贼大营至。闯贼屯土堤外应城郡王花园内，堤去城十里。曹贼屯繁塔寺。知贼必攻东城⁽²⁰⁾，王知县夜半遣人召壁为左所总社。使者误召壁父。父适病，辞。王知县大怒。乡绅张文光谓壁曰：“召壁，非召壁父。”壁次早回见知县⁽²¹⁾，遂领兵符，统左所总社兵，各照汛地防守⁽²²⁾；曹门至北门为汛地。巡按任浚守曹门，开封府知府吴士讲、推官黄澍协守曹门。祥符县知县王燮守北门，管河同知桑开第、周府承奉曹坤、乡绅张文光协守北门。左布政使梁炳守东门，都司谭国祯协守东门。守道苏壮守西门，巡抚高名衡守南门⁽²³⁾，赴援曹门东北角。副总兵陈永福守南门，赴援曹门。

At the end of the day, seven enemies rushed to Cao Gate on horseback and posted two false notes on the fence. The soldiers guarding the Gate did not succeed in chasing them. That night, the enemy's army camp arrived. Li Zicheng stationed his troops outside the earth embankment in the garden of the king of Yingcheng County, which was ten miles away from the city. Evil Cao knew that the enemy would attack the East city, so he stationed his troops at Fanta Temple (20). In the middle of the night, Prefecture Wang appointed Dian as the president of the left headquarters. The messenger summoned Dian's father by mistake. However, his father happened to be ill, so he declined. Prefecture Wang was very furious. The squire Zhang Coinsguang said to Dian that Prefecture Wang called you, not your father. So Dian went to visit Prefecture Wang the next morning.⁽²¹⁾

He accepted the soldier talisman and led the soldiers in the left headquarters, referring to the defensive measures in the flooded area. ⁽²²⁾ From Cao Gate to the Left Gate were all flood-stricken areas. Patrolman Ren Jun was responsible for guarding Cao Gate. The prefect of Kaifeng Mansion Wu Shijiang and the official Huang Shu jointly assisted him in guarding Cao Gate. Wang Xie, the magistrate of Xiangfu County, guarded the north Gate. The governor of the river Sang Kaidi, the official of Zhou's entourage Cao Kun, and the squire Zhang Coinsguang assisted him in guarding the North Gate. The administrative officer Liang Bing guarded the East Gate, and the military officer Tan Guozhen assisted in guarding the East Gate. Su Zhuang, the official in charge of salt, tea, and grain, guarded the West Gate, and the governor Gao Mingheng guarded the South Gate (23), all rushed to assist the northeast corner of Cao Gate. Deputy General Chen Yongfu who was responsible for guarding the South Gate also rushed to assist Cao Gate.

二十四日乙丑，贼攻东北一面，曹门至北门，丁兵失利，降贼。未时，北门失月城。

On the 24th, Yichou, the enemy attacked the northeast of the city. From Cao Gate to the North Gate, the opponent was defeated. At 1-3 o'clock in the afternoon, City Yue at the north Gate missed.

初，督师丁启睿领兵三千，自南阳赴汴，就濠边筑垒防守。贼至，一战辄败，兵悉降贼。北门月城为贼所据，有上至瓮城者。守北门回营加街都司李耀率数十回兵，各持大柳椽，跃过瓮城，尽击贼落城下，王知县急掷火，尽焚之。曹承奉率周府勇士，用土筑门，至其半，门上凿二孔。时有贼来拆门者，从孔中钩住，斩其首。贼遂不敢近。

At first, Supervisor Ding Qirui led three thousand soldiers from Nanyang to Bianzhou and built a fortress next to the moat for defense. After the enemy arrived, they lost the first battle, and our soldiers captured the opponents. The City Yue at the North Gate was occupied by the enemy, and some enemies climbed up the small castles outside the Gate. Li Yao, who was guarding the North Gate, returned to the camp. After being promoted, he led dozens of soldiers, each holding a big willow stick, jumping over the small tower outside the Gate, and knocking down all the enemies below the Gate. Magistrate Wang quickly set fire to them and burned them all. Cao led the warriors of the Zhou Mansion to build the door with soil, and when constructed halfway, he made two holes in the door. When the enemy came to knock down the door, our soldiers hooked them through the hole and cut off their heads. As a result, the enemies did not dare to approach.

二十五日丙寅，下令民间有男子一人不上城者斩，贼驱民负门千余掘城，城上用砖石击死甚众。照贼掘处掷柴烧之，火昼夜不绝，自曹门至北门环亘十余里。

On the 25th day, Bingyin, the government ordered that all civilian men would be killed if they were not willing to go up to the city wall to fight. The enemy sent thousands of people to dig under the city wall. The people in the city beat them with bricks and shis, killing many enemies. Our army threw

firewood at the places dug by the enemy and burned them. The fire kept burning from morning to night for several days, from Cao Gate to the North Gate , which was more than ten miles away.

贼至城下，砖石、火药并击之。有穴城入其中者，砖石不能击，系柴加烘药下烧之，贼自出。周府出苇柴⁽²⁴⁾，官府买蜀柴无几，强半出之社中。

When the enemies reached the city, the people in the city beat them with bricks and gunpowder. But the bricks could not hit the enemy hiding in it. So the soldiers burned things with firewood below, and then the enemies themselves were smoked out. The Zhou Mansion provided the reed firewoods (24), and the government bought not much Sichuan firewood, half of which came from the organization.

二十六日丁卯，贼攻东北愈急⁽²⁵⁾，社兵有杀贼者，即报开封府及总社记功。

On the 26th day, Dingmao, the enemy stepped up its attack on the northeast City (25). If the soldiers had killed the enemy, they could report it to Kaifeng Mansion and headquarters for credit.

东北角，贼掘一大孔，用大炮攻城，伤兵颇众。巡抚来赴援，城上用一大炮击杀贼更多⁽²⁶⁾。In the northeast corner, the enemy dug a large hole and attacked the city with artillery, causing many wounded. The governor came to help, and the soldiers on the city wall used a large artillery to kill more enemies (26).

二十七日戊辰，贼率众数千于曹门北濠外对城扎营⁽²⁷⁾，掘城一大孔。陈总兵赴援，与贼昼夜力战。

On the 27th day, Wuchen, the enemy led thousands of soldiers to camp outside the moat to the north of Cao Gate (27), digging a large hole in the city. Chief Chen Bing coinst to aid and fought vigorously with the enemy from day to night.

贼拆城开二丈余，大炮十余并放，步贼先登，马贼继之。我兵亦放大炮十余，步贼至半途者，一拥而下，死者无数。每夜对攻数十次，至晓稍歇。

The enemy placed a dozen cannons side by side in a place more than two feet away outside the city gate. The enemy infantry boarded first, and the others continued to follow them. Our soldiers also fired more than a dozen cannons, and half of the infantrymen swarmed down. As a result, countless enemies died. The two sides attacked dozens of times every night, and finally rested at dawn.

二十八日己巳，夜，城中失火。黄推官诣失火家，立逮其人梟示。

On the night of the tcoinsty-eighth, Jisi, a fire broke out in the city. Official Huang's house was the one that caught fire, and he immediately caught the arsonist and beheaded him to show the public.

齐承差家牛人王才醉后向火，延烧草屋三间，一城惊惑。黄推官恐奸人乘机，斩之以殉。汴人谓佃户为牛人⁽²⁸⁾。

After being drunk, Wang Cai, who was responsible for writing manuscripts in the government, set fire to three thatched huts. The whole city was panicked and puzzled. Official Huang feared that the traitor would take the opportunity to enter the city, so he killed him. People in Bianzhou call him an tenant.

(28)

二十九日庚午，下令为众设食。巡抚三鼓发殊帖，令黄推官速拨牛兵三百赴援东北角，随发总社。牛兵即牛人。

On the 29th day, Gengwu, the government provided food for everyone. The governor distribute posts at the midnight, and ordered Official Huang to dispatch 300 soldiers to the northeast corner to assist the headquarters. The soldiers who served as soldiers were just the tenants in fact.

曹门牛兵仅二百七名。暨每社拨社兵十名⁽²⁹⁾，又发令箭向东门贼所不攻处，于中所总社拨社兵二百名，即刻赴援东北角。暨思牛兵数少不足用，遂设钱千缗置城上⁽³⁰⁾，临时雇募壮丁，每次人给钱百文、饼四个。百姓蜂拥愿雇⁽³¹⁾，虽日用数十人，不缺。巡按闻之，喜曰：“此化少为多之计。”每一处告急，或用百人、二三百人，悉争先愿往。暨日制厚饼三千个送城上，至二月初二日，凡十万有奇。巨商巨族，各送饼千百不等。

There were only 270 tenants serving as soldiers in Cao Gate. Dian sent ten soldiers to each organization (29), and shot arrows at places where the enemies in the East Gate did not attack, and sent two hundred soldiers to the headquarters to assist the northeast corner immediately. Dian felt that the number of tenants serving as soldiers was insufficient, so they put several thousand strings of money on the wall (30), temporarily hired strong men, and each time they gave them a hundred coins and four bannocks. The people flocked there and were willing to be hired (31). Although dozens of people were used daily, there was no shortage. After the official heard this, he said with joy: "This is a good strategy that turns less into more." Whenever there was an emergency in a place, it sometimes required a hundred people, or even two to three hundred people. People were vying to go first. Dian made 3,000 thick bannocks and sent them to the city wall every day. By the second day of February, the total number had reached hundreds of thousands. The giant merchants and giant families each gave out hundreds of bannocks.

崇祯十五年壬午（1642）正月初一日辛未，贼用阴门阵，城上以阳门阵破之⁽³²⁾，多备锹楃，每日就贼掘处，城上分中掘透。

In the fifteenth year of Chongzhen (1642),Renwu, the first day of the first lunar month, Xinwei, the enemies used the Yinmen Array, and our soldiers defeated them with the Yangmen Array on the city wall (32). Soldiers prepared more shovel prongs and dig through the city every day to fight against the enemies.

贼驱妇人，赤身濠边，望城叫骂。城上点大炮，悉倒泄。城上令僧人裸立女墙叫骂，贼炮亦倒泄。每社预出锹耨五百件，铁索水桶百余件，照贼剜处，计某时起，约一日半十八时，方至城墙中。城上分中掘透其孔，以砖石、长枪击刺，贼不能存。后贼不剜直穴，更旁剜小穴以避之。

The enemies drove the naked woman to the moat, and let them look at the city and yell. All the cannons erected on the wall fell down. The monks were ordered to stand naked on the female wall and yelled at the other side, and the enemy's artillery fell down. Each organization was prepared to provide 500 pieces of shovels and more than 100 pieces of iron rope buckets, which were facing the places where the enemies were digging. Counting from a certain time, it took about eighteen hours a day to reach the city wall. Our soldiers in the city dug through the holes and stabbed them with masonry and spears. The enemy could not approach it. After that, the enemies do not dig straight holes, but dug small holes to avoid them.

初二日壬申，贼垫柏台，城上筑方台，保督送蜡书。

On the second day of the new year, Renshen, the enemies set up a platform. And our soldiers built a square platform on the wall. The officials sent wax letters.

贼伐柏垫数台，长十丈余，广五丈余，高可三丈⁽³³⁾，二昼夜而毕，上容百余人，放大炮攻城。城上用方木长丈余，广厚二、三尺者，筑一方台，高出柏台三丈，置大炮击之，柏台之贼悉死。生员张尔猷献悬炮式，立长柏木三如鼎足，悬大炮其上，望柏台击之，连毙数贼。保定总督遣兵扮乞丐，送蜡书云：“大兵即至。”巡按任浚传示城头，群情愈定。

The enemies cut cypresses and placed several platforms, which were more than ten meters long, five meters wide, and three meters high (33). It was completed in two days, which could hold hundreds of people, and the people on it used cannons to attack the city. People on the wall used the square woods which were more than one feet long, two or three feet thick, to build a platform, which was three feet higher than the cypress platform. And they placed cannons on it to hit the opponent. Thus the enemies on their own platform were all killed. Student Zhang Eryou presented the method of the hanging tower and erected three long cypress trees in the shape of a three-legged, and then hanged cannons on it. The cannons on our platform killed several enemies in succession. The governor of Baoding sent soldiers to pretend to be beggars and sent a wax book that said that the soldiers were coming soon. Patrol officer Ren Jun passed the letter to those people on the city wall, and the sentiment became more and more stable.

初三日癸酉，闯贼诱杀丁兵三千，杖贼首李狗皮四十⁽³⁴⁾。

On the third day, Guiyou, the enemy trapped and killed three thousand soldiers, and beat the enemy leader Li Goupi 40 times. (34)

丁督师兵三千既降贼，闯贼恐为内应，诱至老营点名，俱缚手斩掷莲池内。贼头目李狗
[狗]皮攻北门，闯贼怒其弗克，责之。

Official Ding led three thousand soldiers to defeat the enemies. The enemies feared that they would respond internally. So they tricked them into the old camp and threw their hands into the lotus pond. The enemy leader Li Goupi failed to attack the North Gate, so the enemies angered him for failing to conquer the city and blamed him seriously.

初四日甲戌，雪，取民间毡、被二万件，为兵御雪，屡夺贼洞三十余处。

On the fourth day, Jiayu, it was a snowy day. The government took 20,000 blankets and quilts from the people to protect the soldiers from snow and repeatedly seized more than 30 enemy camps.

巡按召壁曰：“大雪湿衣，兵寒难忍，须各给绵被或毡条御之，非立办二万件不可。”壁曰：“若逐户求之，缓无济事。但严敕总社即社长、副，可立办也。”巡按即出朱牌：“仰李总社即刻取绵被毡条二万件，为兵御寒，如迟，定以军法从事。”壁持立雪中，众环视。每社兵一名出十件，一当店五十件，巨商三十件，牛兵亦归告主人，出十余件不等。未及晚，城头山积。次日雪霁，巡按仍召壁领给原主。贼剜城成洞。我兵连日在城上分中掘透，直入，逐贼出，据之，因洞之大小容兵多寡。贼有复来者，击之，不能入。

The patrol called Dian and said: "The heavy snow and wet clothes are unbearable for the soldiers. You must give them enough quilts or felts to resist the cold. And you must make 20,000 pieces immediately." Dian said: "If you ask for them from house to house, it wouldn't help. But if you strictly ordered the headquarters, namely the president and deputy, you can do it right away." The inspector immediately showed the red wooden sign: "I hope that President Li will immediately take 20,000 pieces of blankets to keep the soldiers out of the cold. If it is too late, he will be convicted due to the military law." Dian held it in the snow and looked around. Each soldier produced 10 pieces, a pawnshop produced 50 pieces, and a giant merchant produced 30 pieces. Tenants who served as soldiers also reported to their masters, and more than ten pieces were issued. Before night, thick snow accumulated on the city. The weather cleared after the snow the next day, and the patrol still called Dian to return the quilts to its original owners. The enemies dug many holes in the city wall. Our soldiers had been digging through the city for days, straight in, driving the enemies out, and then occupying it. The number of soldiers contained varied depending on the size of the hole. The soldiers beat the enemies who came again, trying best to prevent them from entering.

初七日丁丑，悬二千金赏夺一巨洞。

On the seventh day, Ding Chou, the government offered a reward of two thousand dollars for anyone who could snatch the next giant hole.

贼在曹门北心字楼下，城头原依二十八宿设楼。掘一巨洞。我兵城上掘透。贼在内死拒，兵莫能入。巡按初悬千金赏，未有应者，复朱书：“有能夺此洞者，赏银二千两。”并银置洞口上。朱呈祥领百余人，先用柴悬入洞中之半，加烘药，随以多柴填烧极热，贼不能存，乃灌水百余斛，带短刀跳入，容兵五十余人。前后凡三十六洞，俱以兵守之。贼竭十五昼夜力，尽为我用。于是人心愈奋。

The enemies were under the Xinzi houses on the north side of Cao Gate. The building was originally set up in front of the city wall according to twenty-eight houses. The enemy dug a huge hole there and our soldiers dug through the hole from the city wall. However, the enemy resisted desperately inside, so our soldiers could not enter. The governor initially offered a thousand dollars as a reward, but no one came to apply. So he wrote in a red pen: "If anyone can take this cave, he will be rewarded with two thousand taels of silver." Then he put these words and silver on the hole. Zhu Chengxiang brought more than a hundred people here. They used firewood to hang halfway into the hole, putting burning materials into it, and then filling it with more firewood to burn the hole to extremely hot. The enemies couldn't bear it, so they poured more than a hundred buckets of water and jumped in with a short knife. There were more than fifty soldiers in this cave. All thirty-six holes at the front and back were guarded by soldiers. The enemies worked hard for fifteen days and nights, but the results were all enjoyed by our army. So people's hearts were getting more excited.

初八日戊寅，雪，夜出师袭贼营，斩获甚多。

On the eighth day, Wuyin, it was a snowy day, and the team attacked the enemy's camp at night and gained a lot.

是夜，三更大雪。巡按任浚令选奇兵五百，由水门衔枚出，传令总社约以暗号。奇兵过濠外，分数处砍入贼营，贼惊起，奇兵退走濠内。贼蹶追，各洞兵齐出，断贼归路。奇兵复回，合杀一处，斩七百八十三级。推官黄澍同壁立城头，浑身雪厚寸余，竟不自觉。

In the middle of the night, it snowed heavily. The patrol Ren Jun selected five hundred elite soldiers to come out one by one from the water gate, and passed the order to the headquarters in accordance with the agreed secret signal. The elite soldiers passed through the moat and hacked into the enemy camps in several places. The enemies were startled, and the elite soldiers retreated to the moat. The enemies stalked after each other, and all the soldiers hiding in the cave came out to cut off the enemy's retreat. The elite soldiers returned and reunited, fighting together, beheading seven hundred and eighty-three people. Huang Shu, an administrative assistant official of the prefectural government, stood at the top of the city wall with Dian, completely unaware that his body was all covered with snow.

初九日己卯，柴将不敷，社长、副下地方搜柴。

On the ninth day, Jimao, there was a shortage of firewood, and the president and vice president came to the folk to search for the firewood.

周府苇柴，令官人运出国外⁽³⁵⁾，骡车数辆，昼夜载运。暨每日五鼓唤乡约拨地方四轮车十五辆，载周府及社兵柴。每一社兵，出柴五束、十束，后至二、三十束，共得十二万束有奇。至此，将不继。社长、副持令箭各搜本地方，或一家三、五十束及百五十束者。惟曹门最多，又得十余万束。

The Zhou Mansion asked people to transport the firewood out of the courtyard (35). It took several mules and carts to carry it day and night. From 3 am to 5 am every day, 15 four-wheeled vehicles were distributed to local areas to carry firewood from the Zhou mansion and the organization. Each soldier provided firewood in five bundles, ten bundles, and later to two or thirty bundles, which amounted to more than 120,000 bundles. At this point, the firewood collection could not continue. The president and deputy president had arrows that could be used to give orders, and they used the arrows to search their local area. The amount of the firewood produced by the private family varied from thirty, fifty to one hundred and fifty bundles. But Cao Gate had the most, which had more than one hundred thousand bundles.

初十日庚辰，闯贼杀掘城贼。

On the tenth day, Gengchen, the enemies killed the people who were digging through the city.

数十贼持刀驱贼负门、持短棍入原掘洞口，我兵在内奋击，莫敢近。欲另掘，又为悬楼砖石击走，回至濠边，持刀贼乃尽杀之，屡驱屡杀，如是终日，死者万余。

Dozens of enemies used knives to drive them away and entered the original cave with short prongs. Our soldiers fought hard inside, they dare not get close. They wanted to dig another hole, but they were knocked away by the bricks and shis from the overhanging tower. So when they returned to the moat, the enemies with knives had all been killed, driving them while killing them, doing this all day long, causing more than ten thousand dead.

十一日辛巳，添筑城墙，七生诳卖牌坊，拆上方、观音二寺砖⁽³⁶⁾。

On the 11 day, Xin Si, the army built and strengthened the city wall. Seven people sold the archway and demolished the bricks of the Shangfang Temple and Guanyin Temple (36).

东北一面，城墙薄者添厚二丈，命廩生卢可传监修。生员宋体仁、李昶等七人呈理刑厅：有隆庆癸卯科联名坊一座，系生等祖坊，今愿卖，但受半价。黄推官赏银二两，令总社拆来估价。暨即役两地方夫二百人拆之。上有题识，乃布政司官钱所建，七生姓氏亦不同。因白刑厅，以公家物，今日为公家用，七生不得而卖，亦不得而输也。于是，各上台俱遣人拆旧坊。暨祖坊二座，系敕建者亦不免。先是，周府委阅书堂买砖，百姓运至城上一、二片者，

给钱三、五文。每日运者不竭。至是，附近砖尽矣，乃令尽拆上方、观音二寺砖击贼，惟殿宇拆外半壁而已⁽³⁷⁾。

On the northeast side, those with thin walls were added two feet thick, and Lu Kechuan, a scholar who lived on government grants, was ordered to supervise them. Seven persons including Sheng Tiren and Li Chang presented to the Criminal Chamber. There was an archway with a joint name of Longqing Kuimao Branch, which was an archway for the ancestors of the students. Now they were willing to sell it, but only at half the price. Huang Tuiguan rewarded them with two taels of silver and ordered the headquarters to appraise if the price was reasonable. Dian immediately hired a total of 200 people from two places to demolish it. There was an inscription on it, built by Qian, the chief secretary, and the seven students have different surnames. Because the White Xing Hall used public property and was like a public household today, the seven students could not sell it, nor could they lose it. First, the Weimin Bookhouse of the Zhou family bought bricks, and the people who transported one or two bricks to the city wall were given three or five Coins. Therefore, there were inexhaustible people transporting bricks every day. In the end, the nearby bricks were exhausted, and people had to demolish all the bricks of the Shangfang Temple and Guanyin Temple, and then used them to attack the enemies, but only the outer half of the temple was demolished (37).

十二日壬午，贼并力急攻，添筑城墙七层，陈总兵胯下放炮，击死贼万余。

On the 12th, the enemies fought desperately. Our army added seven layers to the city wall, and General Chen fired artillery under his hips, killing more than 10,000 enemies.

陈总兵守大洞口，连日与贼战。贼齐放大炮百余，步贼随炮声上城，城被炮打，颓圮如坂⁽³⁸⁾。城上炮连倒泄三、五尊。总兵置一大炮于胯下，命速点，曰：“忠臣不怕死。”炮竟不倒泄。百炮万弩齐发，打死贼成一血胡同。贼炮中伤我兵亦多。我兵愈厉，拥奋而前。对阵处无一线之隙，急取王府及各寺庙门千余，添筑城墙，添一层，打透一层⁽³⁹⁾，筑七层乃止。

General Chen guarded the entrance of the big hole and fought against the enemy for days. With more than a hundred cannons, the enemies all rushed to the city with the sound of the cannons. The city was beaten by cannons, and was ruined (38). Three or five cannons on the city burst out. The general placed a large cannon under his crotch and ordered his soldiers to hurry up and issue it, saying that the loyal minister was not afraid of death. However, the cannon didn't even burst out. Hundreds of artillery and tens of thousands of crossbows were fired to kill the enemies, which made the battlefield become full of flesh and blood. The enemy also wounded many of our soldiers. However, our soldiers got tougher and more eagerly to move forward. There was no gap in the battle, and the soldiers eagerly took more than a thousand doors from the palace and various temples to build the walls. However, if one layer was added, the layer was penetrated (39), until the seventh layer was built.

十三日癸未，贼放地雷，自毙万余。

On the 13th, Guiwei, the enemies set landmines, killing more than 10,000 of their own people.

贼于东北角之南、陈总兵之北，贴城墙外壁剜一穴，约广丈余，长十余丈，每日以布囊运火药其内，无虑数十石，置药线二，长四、五丈，大如斗。是日，马贼千余俱勒马濠边，步贼无数。巳时点放，药烟一起，迷昧如深夜⁽⁴⁰⁾，天崩地裂声中，大磨百余及砖石皆迅起空中，碎落城外可二里。马、步贼俱为齑粉，间有人死马惊逸者。城上城内未伤一人。里半壁城墙仅厚尺许，卓然兀立。此真天意，非人力也。贼于是有退志。

The enemy cut a hole on the outer wall of the city wall to the south of the northeast corner and to the north of General Chen. The hole was about one feet in width and more than ten feet in length. They carried gunpowder into it every day. There was no doubt that there were at least dozens of explosives in the cave with two wires inside, measuring four or five feet long, which was as big as a bucket. On this day, more than a thousand enemies were strangling their horses beside the moat. The explosives were lit from 9-11 in the morning, together with the smoke and bombs. The environment was misty and just looked like late night (40). Amidst the deafening sound, more than one hundred large mills and bricks were quickly thrown into the air, even falling to two miles outside the city. The horses and the enemies are blown into powder, and sometimes some people die or the horse startled. But no one in the city was injured. The inner half of the city wall was only a few feet thick, which was still standing tall. This was really godly, non-human could do it. The enemies therefore had the intention to retreat.

十四日甲申，贼徘徊往来攻打稍缓，稽察社兵射死、砖石击死并斩获贼共七百四十有八。东门马将图杀范文举。

On the 14th, Jiashen, the enemies wandered back and forth and attacked slightly. Inspectors shot the enemy to death, and killed the enemy with masonry, capturing a total of 748 enemies. The Ma Jiangtu at the East Gate killed Fan Wenju.

是日，贼意懈，攻打俱缓，惟炮声未绝，有远入城中十里者，铅子重可二、三斤。范文举者，壁御车人⁽⁴¹⁾，有勇力，被贼掳去，夺大黄马一匹，龙鳞甲一副，银八十二两，斩贼二级，奔回东城下。守东门马将遇获。壁至东门与谭都司验明，回曹门，申明巡按。巡按批许进入。至东门见梁布政使，梁不允，曰：“不曾有梁布政三字。”复回，白巡按。日已暮，马将利其有，夜杀之，竟不可得而问也。

On that day, the enemies were relentless, and the attack slowed down, but the sound of artillery continued. There were people who were ten miles into the city, and the leads could weigh two or three cattles. Fan Wenju was Dian's driver (41) with great strength. After being taken captive by the enemies, he seized a big yellow horse, a dragon-scale armor, and eighty-two taels of silver, beheading two enemies, and finally ran back to the east city. The soldiers guarding the East Gate met him. Dian went to the East Gate to verify his identity with the official surnamed Tan, and returned to Cao Gate

to declare the inspection. The regional inspector approved Xu Jin to enter. He wanted to go to the East Gate to see the provincial administration commissioner Liang. Liang refused, and said: "There has never been a provincial administration commissioner." He returned and told the patrol press. When it was late, the horse could take advantage of it. They killed him at night, so they didn't know who to ask.

十五日乙酉，賊解圍南遁。

On the 15th, Yiyou, the enemies broke through the siege and fled south.

老營賊五鼓拔營。攻城之賊未動。午時，賊馬狂奔，呼眾賊速走。自西北往東南，揚塵蔽日。

The enemies of the old camp set out from the camp at 3 o'clock in the morning. The enemies who were about to attack the city did not move. At noon, the enemy's horses galloped, calling them to go quickly. From northwest to southeast, the dust even covered the sun.

十六日丙戌，任巡按令總社啟門，鑿發鍬耨啟之。隨黃推官、王知縣單騎視賊營，日暮入城。

On the 16th, Bingshu, the patrol Ren ordered the headquarter to open the door. Dian sent a shovel to open it, following official Huang and Prefecture Wang to watch the enemy camp alone, and entered the city at dusk.

鑿令往來軍民並力齊發，片刻即開。鑿騎馬戎服前導，黃推官、王知縣各騎馬行，周府方、邱二小內使亦同往，周視賊營，牛、驢、馬頭皮腸肺⁽⁴²⁾，間以人尸，穢滿營內外，約廣八里，長二十里，以繁塔寺為聚糧之所，糧深三尺。

Dian let the army and the people go together, and immediately opened the gate. He rode in uniforms to lead the way. Official Huang and Prefecture Wang each rode on horseback. Zhou Fufang and Qiu Erxiao's internal envoys also went along, watching the enemy's camp, cows, donkeys, horses' scalp intestines and lungs (42). The room was filled with human corpses, which was full of filth inside and outside the camp. It was about eight li (a Chinese unit of length/distance) wide and twenty li (a Chinese unit of length/distance) long. Fanta Temple was the place to gather food, and the food was about three feet deep.

十七日丁亥，收難婦、點牛只。

On the 17th, Dinghai, the soldiers were busy taking in women in distress and counting the number of cattle.

是日午時，賊所遺婦女二千三百余人⁽⁴³⁾，悉歸城下。因收月城內，禁兵民掠奪，俟其親屬認領。陳兵驅賊及民間遺牛三萬余頭，任巡按欲半價賣給民耕。黃推官坐城門下，人給小票，

令壁门内验票收牛。壁告巡按曰：“此牛贼与兵皆不暇喂，唯食草根泥水，腹有宿泥，不出十日必死。”巡按召兽医问之，亦云：“然”。事遂寢。壁夜送米二石，面五百斤，令难妇用十锅作食，苦无柴。吴知府有柴千余束，未用。壁往取，给之。次日，除亲属领去外，尚存三百余口，悉送尼庵，每日人给麦一升。

At noon of the day, more than 2,300 women (43) left behind by the enemies returned to the city. They were housed in City Yue. Soldiers and civilians were prohibited from plundering them, who were waiting for their relatives to claim them. Chen Bing drove more than 30,000 cattle left by the enemy and the people, and official Ren wanted to sell them to the people just at half price. Official Huang sat under the gate. If someone gave him a small ticket, he would order Dian to check the ticket inside the gate and accepted the cattle. Dian told the patrol: "The enemies and soldiers both have no time to feed these cattle. They only eat grass roots and mud, so there is only mud in their abdomen. As a result, they will die within ten days." The patrol called the veterinarian to ask, and the veterinarian also said: "Yes." So he went to bed. Dian sent 40 liters of rice and 500 jin(a unit of weight=12 kilogram) of noodles at night, and let the women in distress use ten pots to cook. But they suffered from no firewood. Prefect Wu had more than a thousand bundles of firewood, which were not used. Dian went to take it, and prefect Wu gave the firewood to him. The next day, apart from the relatives who took, there were more than 300 grains left, all of which were sent to the nun's nunnery, and one liter of wheat was given to one person every day.

十八日戊子，阅视城垣，分任修葺。

On the 18th, Wuzi, officials observed and inspected the city wall, and assigned tasks to let people repair it.

黄推官召壁骑马同出门外，王知县、张伴读俱往，自曹门至北门十余里，凡剝三十六处，几为平地，尸横遍野，断发满地，死伤者无虑十万。令地方夫掩埋，十日未毕。各分任修城堡。黄推官命壁修曹门以北第七堡，给官银二百两。壁辞，出私钱，每日雇匠役百人，社兵助工百人，夜亦如之。大洞广二丈，小洞七，各丈余。令家仆数十人监视填实⁽⁴⁴⁾。城垛口五十七，凡五日夜，用钱三万八千。二十三日癸巳，告竣。

Official Huang asked Dian to ride a horse and went out together. Prefecture Wang and accompanied reader Zhang also went out with them together. From Cao Gate to the left Gate, thirty-six places were razed to wasteland. The corpses were all over the field, with broken hairs all over the ground. At least one hundred thousand people were dead or injured. The officials ordered the locals to bury them, and it had not been finished for ten days. Everyone was assigned to repair the walls and fortresses.

Official Huang ordered Dian to repair the seventh fort north of Cao Gate and gave the official two hundred taels of silver. Dian declined, and paid for it himself, hiring hundreds of craftsmen every day, and asked hundreds of soldiers to assist the workers, even the same at night. The big hole was two feet wide and there were seven small holes, each of which was more than one meter long. He ordered

dozens of domestic servants to monitor and confirm them (44). After five days and nights, a total of more than 38,000 yuan had been spent on the fifty-seven battlements. On the 23rd, Guisi, everything was finished.

十九日己丑，四将领兵赴汴。

On the 19th, Ji Chou, the four generals led troops to Bianzhou.

马、丁、张、贺共领兵三千，自汝宁府赴汴。悉令沿濠结营看守修城，修完，仍遣之去。Ma, Ding, Zhang, and He led a total of three thousand soldiers from Runing Mansion to Bianzhou. They were all ordered to camp along the moat to repair the city wall, and then left after the repair was finished.

此第二次闯、曹合攻汴，精贼不过三万，胁从之众约四十余万。攻城死者几半。二贼到朱仙镇点阅，精兵除死亡外，重伤者二千八百七十三人⁽⁴⁵⁾，俱以方桌仰舁而去。左镇驻杞县二日，追至鄆城白沙河⁽⁴⁶⁾，与二贼连战十有八日，屡胜之。已而，左镇回襄阳，二贼走项城，杀西兵三千⁽⁴⁷⁾。总兵左良玉兵号十万，贼畏其名。前之解围，盖闻左兵自东来也。惜其遽回襄阳，不能扑灭。致有第三次围城之祸。

This was the second time that Li Zicheng and Cao attacked Bian together. There were only 30,000 elite enemies and more than 400,000 followers. The enemies responsible for the siege were almost half dead. Enemies from both sides went to Zhuxian Town to be checked out. Except for the deaths, 2,873 people (45) who were seriously injured were all carried away by square tables. Zuozhen garrisoned troops in Qixian County for two days, and then chased the enemies to Baisha River (46) in Licheng, and fought with the two enemies for 18 days, winning repeatedly. After that, Zuozhen returned to Xiangyang, and the two enemies went to Xiangcheng and killed three thousand soldiers (47). Chief soldier Zuo Liangyu claimed to have one hundred thousand soldiers, so the enemy was afraid of his name. The previous break of the siege was because they heard that Zuo Liangyu's soldiers had come from the east. Unfortunately, he returned to Xiangyang soon and couldn't put out the enemies, which caused the disaster of the third siege.

二十七日丁酉，王知县召壁议灰。

On the 27th, Ding You. Prefecture Wang called Dian to discuss about the ash.

先是贼甫去。壁即告黄推官曰：“修城不患无砖，患无灰。可取所拆牌坊下及寺庙中石烧之。”王知县令立五十余窑，而汴人俱小窑，每窑不过百斤，日不足用。因召壁再议。壁家有灰三千余斤，灰贩魏德欠壁灰一百二十包⁽⁴⁸⁾，约一万五千斤。壁尽出助，可供三日之用。黄推官、王知县竭四十昼夜力，躬视版筑⁽⁴⁹⁾，城垣一新。贼侦者见金城如故，疑有神助。贼去之

夕，壓至北門，見王知縣默然不語。詰朝，王知縣至曹門謁兩院出，召壓勞之，曰：“我在北門，不知曹門事，適見兩院，俱言守曹門全得總社力，晝夜策應，甚為勞苦。”

First, the enemies are unwilling to leave. Dian immediately told Official Huang, "I don't worry about building the city wall without bricks, but only worry about building the city wall without ash. You can burn the demolished archways and the shis in the temples to ashes." Prefecture Wang ordered the establishment of more than fifty kilns. And people in Bianzhou had small kilns, each of which was less than a hundred catties, which was not enough for daily use. So he called Dian to discuss it again. Dian's family had more than 3,000 catties of ashes, and the ash dealer Wei De owed Dian one hundred and twenty packs of ashes (48), which was about 15,000 catties. Dian handed over all the ash, which could be used for three days. Official Huang and Prefecture Wang worked hard for forty days and nights, personally observing the city wall (49), and then the city wall was renewed. The enemy who was in charge of investigating saw Jin City as usual, and suspected that they had divine help. On the eve of the enemy's departure, Dian went to the north Gate and saw Prefecture Wang being silent. After the meeting, Prefecture Wang went to Cao Gate and waited until the people from the two departments came out. He summoned Dian and comforted him, saying, "I'm at the North Gate, and I don't know what happened to Cao Gate. Just now I met people from the two departments, who told to me that Cao Gate can be kept now due to the strength of the headquarter. You had really worked hard day and night. "

巡撫高名衡獎語：“罄私囊以濟公，率眾社以成城，功在社稷，允宜首題。”巡按任浚合巡撫高名衡上疏曰：“總社李光壓統領社兵，戢和眾志，日有斬獲，更為眾設食，始終不懈。”五月初一日，奉聖旨特賜拔貢。

The governor Gao Mingheng praised him and said: "You have spent your money to help the public and lead the people to unite against the enemy. The merits are in the community. You should be credited for the first merit." Grand coordinators Ren Jun and governor Gao Mingheng wrote a suggestion to the emperor: "Li Guang Dian of the headquarter leads the army and unites everyone together. Every day, he kills enemies and has other gains, and prepares food for the emperor and never slack off." On the first day of May, he was given a special decree to study in the Imperial Academy.

王知縣行取赴京。壓辭總社，王知縣許焉。既而曰：“此曹門黃年兄地，宜往商之。”及見黃推官，黃曰：“李總社有豪傑之作為，有聖賢之心腸，守城視為左右臂，豈容辭去！”

Prefecture Wang took his luggage and went to Beijing. Dian bid farewell to the headquarter, and Prefecture Wang agreed. Then he said: "This Cao Gate's Huang Nian's brother, you should discuss with him." When he saw Official Huang, Huang said: "You have the deeds of heroes and the heart of sages, and is very good at defending the city. I regard you as the left and right arms. How can I tolerate you leaving!"

閩、曹二賊連陷十七州縣。三月二十二日，寇睢州，徐吏目開舊東門，策馬先逃，城遂陷。賊入城，搜掠財物，未殺一人。

The two enemies of Li Zicheng and Cao successively conquered 17 prefectures and counties. On March 22, when they arrived in Suizhou, official Xu opened the old East Gate and fled with his horses. The city fell. The enemies entered the city, plundered their property, but did not kill a single person.

三月二十七日丙申⁽⁵⁰⁾，賊攻陷歸德府，夷其城，殺戮甚慘。

On March 27th, Bingshen (50), the enemy captured Guide Mansion and razed the city. The killing scene was really terrible.

四月十二日辛亥，合土賊袁時中抵杞縣，夷其城⁽⁵¹⁾。閩賊欲袁賊先攻汴，袁賊懼，夜半拔營東去。閩賊追至亳州，連戰敗之，復歸圍汴。

On April 12, Xinhai, Yuan Shizhong's army arrived in Qi County and destroyed the city (51). Li Zicheng's subordinates wanted Yuan's enemies to attack Bianzhou first, while Yuan's subordinates were frightened and moved eastwards in the middle of the night. Li Zicheng's men chased to Bozhou, defeating them continuously, and then returned to encircle Bianzhou.

二十八日丁卯⁽⁵²⁾，喧傳賊將至，悉登城守御。

On the 28th, Dingmao (52), there were rumors that the enemy was approaching, and the soldiers all went up to the city wall to guard the city.

巡撫高名衡守西門、守道蘇壯協守西門，左布政使梁炳守東門、都司譚國禎協守東門，總兵陳永福守南門、開封府知府吳士講協守南門，管河同知桑開第守北門、署軍捕同知蘇茂灼協守北門，推官黃澍守曹門兼守北門。

The grand coordinators Gao Mingheng guarded the West Gate, official Su Zhuang and Official Huang Shu of Kaifeng Mansion helped guard the West Gate together (5). The left chief envoy Liang Bing guarded the East Gate, the conductor Tan Guozhen helped guard the West Gate. The General Che Yongfu guarded the South Gate, Prefect Wu Shijiang from Kaifeng Mansion helped guard the South Gate with him together.

The official in charge of the river, Sang Kaidi, guarded the north Gate, and officials Cao Kun and Li Yingchun led 800 warriors from the Zhou Mansion to the West city wall to guard the defense.

五月初二日庚午，賊至城外。

On the second day of May, Gengwu, the enemies arrived outside the city.

賊頭哨先到，馬賊徘徊土堤上，步賊于堤外曳枝揚塵，作疑兵狀。

The enemy's vanguards came first, and the other enemies all lingered on the embankment. The infantry shook the branches outside the embankment and lifted up the dust, acting suspiciously.

初三日辛未，贼老营至城西，屯阎李寨⁽⁵³⁾。

On the third day, Xinwei, the enemy's old camp moved to the West of the city, called Yanli Village(53).

阎李寨距城二十里。闯贼屯其中，众贼头目环营其外，纵广约十五里。曹贼屯横地铺，相去不远。

Yanli Village was twenty miles away from the city. The enemies were hiding in it, and the leaders of the enemies circled outside the camp for about fifteen miles away. Cao's army was stationed at Hengdipu, not too far from Li's army.

初四日壬申，贼后队俱到堤上。贼马往来不断，时有游骑下堤，将至城而旋。步贼下堤刈麦，我兵亦出城刈麦。

On the fourth day, Renshen, all the enemy troops arrived on the embankment. The enemy's horses had been walking around, sometimes wandering down the embankment, and would spin around the city. As the enemy descended to cut the wheat, our soldiers also went out of the city to cut the wheat.

濠外堤内俱有麦将熟。贼数十、百人为群，分头刈麦。兵亦出城争刈。贼东兵西，两不相值。偶遇时，兵多贼即走，贼多兵亦趋避。自此至十三日辛巳，附城麦俱尽，仅存土堤边麦矣。

There was wheat in the embankment or outside the moat that would mature. Dozens or hundreds of enemies were in groups to mow wheat separately. Our soldiers also went out of the city rushing to cut the wheat. The enemy was in the east and the soldiers were in the west. The two party would not meet. When encountering by chance, the enemis would go if there were more soldiers, and the enemy would evade if there were more soldiers. From then to the thirteenth day, Xinsi, the wheat in the attached city was exhausted, and only the wheat in the embankment remained.

十三日辛巳，左总兵及丁、杨二督师领大军援汴，前锋至朱仙镇。贼遣三千骑往侦。

On the 13th, Xin Si, General Zuo and Ding, Yang two governors led the army to support Bianzhou, and the vanguards arrived at Zhuxian Town. The enemy sent three thousand cavalry to investigate.

十四日壬午，贼焚毁余麦。

On the 14th, Renwu, the enemies burned the remaining wheat.

近土堤未刈之麦也。

The wheat near the embankment was not mowed.

十五日癸未，左总兵屯营朱仙镇。

On the 15th, Guiwei, General Zuo camped in Zhuxian Town.

总兵率大军收土寇刘扁子等，连营四十里，号四十万。贼骑三千，俱被擒斩。

General led his army to subdue the bandit Liu Bianzi and others. The endless camps lasted forty li (a Chinese unit of length/distance) and claimed to have 400,000 people. The enemy had three thousand cavalry, all of them were captured and killed.

十六日甲申，夜，闯贼踉跄移营，驰拒左兵。

On the 16th, Jiashen, at night, the enemies staggered to transfer the camp, galloping away from the soldiers of Zuo.

闯贼知侦探贼被杀，惧甚，尽弃营中器物而走。

The enemy knew that all those sent to investigate the situation were killed. They were so terrified that they abandoned all the utensils in the camp and fled.

十七日乙酉，陈总兵遣卒侦探贼营。

On the 17th, Yiyou, General Chen sent soldiers to detect the enemy's camp.

难民自西来咸云贼已夜遁。陈总兵选健卒往探，果空营，满载遗物而归。

The refugees from the west said that the enemy had escaped at night. General Chen chose some brave soldiers to investigate, and it turned out that the camp was empty. They returned with many leftover items.

十八日丙戌，悉放民出运贼营物。

On the 18th, Bingxu, officials let the people go out to bring back the items left in the enemy's camp.

贼遗麦、豆甚多，鱼、鸡、鹅、鸭、猪、羊之属及金银器物、床帐、车辆、衣服，无不备。其精好者，尽为兵有。民日担粮二回，自此至二十三日，兵民约得麦、豆二万余石。

The enemies left a lot of wheat and beans, fish, chickens, geese, ducks, pigs, sheep, gold and silver utensils, bed nets, vehicles, and clothes, almost everything. The better things were returned to the army. People carried food twice a day. From then on to the 23rd, soldiers and people had about 20,000 shi (ancient unit of measurement, two hundred and fifty catties = one shi) of wheat and beans altogether.

十九日丁亥，齐世相自贼营归。

On the 19th, Ding Hai, Qi Shixiang returned from the enemy camp.

世相上舍也，负才学，从商丘梁县令游，二月间，为贼所掠。凡贼营动静悉知之。自朱仙镇扮乞丐至城下，吴知府雅识之，开门放入。

Shixiang studied in an elite school and was very talented. He followed Shangqiu's county magistrate Liang to play. In February, he was looted by the enemies, so he knew everything about the enemy's camp. He pretended to be a beggar from Zhuxian Town until he came to the city. Prefect Wu appreciated him very much and opened the city gate to let him in.

二十日戊子，巡按严云京遣牌过河，推官黄澍往迎。

On the 20th, Wuzi, grand coordinators Yan Yunjing sent a plaque to cross the river, and Official Huang Shu came to greet him.

是日午时，二承差持巡按渡河牌自柳园渡河到城下，黄推官随过河往迎。暨选社长、副八人，领社兵一百二十人从之。暨送至河上。

At noon of the day, the two soldiers crossed the river from Liuyuan to the city with grand coordinators, and Official Huang followed them to cross the river. Dian elected the president and eight deputy members, and one hundred and twenty leaders of the organization followed him. Dian sent them to the river.

二十一日己丑，黄推官见巡按于封丘，言贼状甚悉。巡按渡河不果。

On the 21st, Jichou, Official Huang saw grand coordinators in Fengqiu. He looked very familiar with the enemies which he talked about. Grand coordinators failed to cross the river.

推官欲巡按过河弹压，巡按意不决而止。

Official wanted the grand coordinators to cross the river to suppress the scene, but the grand coordinators were undecided, so they didn't go.

二十二日庚寅，日将暮，黄推官引兵过河。暨同都司陈笃忠迎之河上⁽⁵⁴⁾。

On the 22nd, Geng Yin, it was almost late, and Official Huang led troops to cross the river. Dian and the conductor Chen Duzhong welcomed him on the river (54).

二十三日辛卯，丁营将官杨维城自朱仙镇逃回，至西城下，言丁兵失利，左镇南去，贼将复至。

On the 23rd, Xinmao, General Yang Weicheng of Camp Ding fled from Zhuxian Town to the west city. He said that the soldiers of Camp Ding were defeated and Zuo Zhen went south. The enemies would soon return.

维城至城下叫门，内丁营中军吴国玺识之，白巡抚绳上，言朱仙镇失利甚详，赏酒食及钱与公文，令投丁督师处，后仍有回文至。

Weicheng asked people to open the gate under the wall. Wu Guoxi, the general of middle troops from Camp Ding, knew him. And Governor Bai used a rope to tie things up and send them down. He explained the process of Zhuxian Town's defeat in great detail, so he was rewarded with food, wine, money, and official documents, and he was sent to the office of Supervisor Ding. Later, there was still a reply.

二十四日壬辰，贼塘马先回营。

On the 24th, Renchen, the enemy's horses returned to camp first.

营中诸物已尽，惟麦、豆犹有存者，兵民往取之，见贼马奔回。

Everything in the camp was exhausted, but wheat and beans still existed. When soldiers and people took them in the past, they saw the enemy's horses running back.

二十五日癸巳，闯贼老营复回阎李寨。

On the 25th, Guisi, the old camp of the enemies returned to Yanli Village.

贼马往来堤上，步贼驱民刈堤外麦，打粮贼三、二百为群，走五、六十里外。惟曹门外止二十里，惧土兵党一龙截杀，不敢前。

The enemy's horses walked back and forth on the embankment, and the enemy drove the people to mow the wheat outside the embankment. The grain-cutting enemies were grouped into groups of three or two hundred people and walked five to sixty miles away. Only twenty miles outside Cao Gate, afraid of being intercepted and killed by the soldier Danyilong, they did not dare to advance.

二十六甲午，五门俱放兵民出城打草、采菜。

On the 26th, Jiawu, all the five gates released soldiers and people out of the city to mow grass and pick vegetables.

五门俱用砖土掩其半，留其半，仍备砖土于旁，时启闭，严出入。兵刈草饲马，民刈草一担，卖钱二百，后至三、四百。野菜堪食者，每斤卖钱五十文，后至五百。自甲午至庚子，凡七日俱如是。

For the five gates, half of them were covered with bricks and soil. When opening and closing, the accesses was strictly controlled. Soldiers mowed grass to feed horses. The people mowed a load of grass and sold it for two hundred coins, and later to three or four hundred coins. The edible wild

vegetables were sold for fifty coins per catty, and later to five hundred coins per catty. From Jiawu to Gengzi, it was the same for all seven days.

六月初四日壬寅，巡抚捕奸细霍卖婆，搜金银六锭，寸斩于市。

On the 4th day of June, Ren Yin, the governor arrested the spy Huo, who sold women to the enemies. They found six gold and silver ingots, and then killed him in the market.

霍卖婆引一少妇，假采菜出城，送至闯贼老营。霍能言王府事。闯贼喜，给金四锭，重四十两；银二锭，重一百两。且嘱送王府宫女一人到营中，给银千两。霍进城有惶恐状。内丁营都司张吾锐搜筐中得金银，呈巡抚，正法，遂禁妇女出城。

Huo Maipo led a young woman, pretending to pick vegetables to go out of the city, and sent her to the old camp of the enemies. Huo could talk about things in the palace. The enemies were so happy that they gave him four gold bars which weighed forty taels, and two silver bars, weighing one hundred taels. The enemies also asked him that if he could send one of the palace maids to the camp, they would give him a thousand taels of silver. When Huo entered the city, he looked a little frightened. Ding Ying conductor Zhang Wurui found the gold and silver in the basket, and presented them to the governor. As a result, Huo was killed and the women were forbidden to leave the city.

初五日癸卯，斩经纪李瞎虎于南隅。

On the fifth day, Guimao, businessman Li Xiahu was killed in the south corner.

瞎虎名遇春，开囤户能领御诸经纪。自四月二十八日闭门，至今银一两买麦四斗⁽⁵⁵⁾，遇春暗令腾其价，每两二斗。黄推官亲诣南访，擒遇春，斩于市。遇春临刑云：“有麦八百石，愿以赎命。”黄曰：“不要汝麦，只要汝头。”遂斩之。于是麦价如故。

Xiahu named Yuchun, and his business was hoarding goods for profit. He could dominate all businessmen. Since the city gate was closed on April 28, one or two silver could buy four buckets of wheat (55). Yuchun secretly increased the price of wheat, and after that every two silvers could be exchanged for two buckets of wheat. Official Huang visited the south in person, capturing Yuchun, and then beheaded him in the market. Before Yuchun was tortured, he said, "There are eight hundred shi (ancient unit of measurement, two hundred and fifty catties = one shi) of wheat, and I am willing to exchange them for my life." Huang said, "I don't want your wheat, just your head." Then he chopped off his head. As a result, the price of wheat remains the same.

初六日甲辰至十六日甲寅，兵民余粮者五鼓至晚，拥集不散。

From Jiachen to Jiayin, the 6th day to the 16th, soldiers and people crowded to buy food from 3 am till night.

十四日壬子，贼掘河口上流。

On the 14th, Renzi, the enemies dig the upper stream of the river.

贼用千余人掘河，使逆流而上，水势缓，高不过五寸。三日流满海濠，更胜十万甲兵。

十七日乙卯，五隅俱闭户绝余。

The enemy used more than a thousand people to dig the river and make it upstream. The water was flowing slowly, not more than five inches high. In three days, the moat was overflowing, which was more powerful than a hundred thousand soldiers.

十七日乙卯，五隅俱闭户绝余。

On the 17th, Yimao, all the five gates were closed, and people were unable to buy food.

客粮已尽，民粮不卖，从此乏粮矣。

The public food had been exhausted, and the people's food was not sold, and there had been a shortage of food ever since.

二十日戊午，巡抚发银差役张四教、杨三乐买粮，定价麦四两一石，杂粮三两一石。

On the 20th, Wuwu, the governor issued silver and asked Zhang Sijiao and Yang Sanle to buy grain. The price was four taels for one shi of wheat and three taels for one shi of miscellaneous grains.

二役访有粮家，辄往与银，或一百石、二百石、三、二十石，令送西南二坊，时虽苦累，尚可支吾。

When the two officials visited people with grain, they went over and gave them silver. Sometimes one hundred shi, two hundred shi, thirty shi, or twenty shi. Asking them to send the grain to the two workshops in the west and south. Although they were tired, they could still sustain it.

二十一日己未，黄推官发银，委总社买粮。

On the 21st, Jiwei, Official Huang issued silvers and entrusted the headquarter to buy grain.

暨具申文：“粮从民便，不可定价，惟取其足以养民，若干买，若干卖，无损于兵，无损于民，无损于官。”黄推官深然之，批准照行。

Dian wrote in the article: "Food should benefit people and cannot be priced. Only when it is enough to feed the people, someone buys it and someone sells it, which will not harm the soldiers, the people, or the officials." Official Huang deeply affirmed and praised him. So it was approved to do so.

二十二日庚申，买粮二百余石。

On the 22nd, Gengshen, buying more than two hundred shi of grain.

壓访有粮者踵门劝谕⁽⁵⁶⁾，麦一石给银五两或五两三、四钱，杂粮一石四两或四两五、六钱。仍雇役夫运至曹门坊，付经纪卖。

Dian visited people who have food and advised them⁽⁵⁶⁾. Give them five taels or five taels three coins or two coins silver for one shi of wheat, four taels or four taels five coins or six coins silver for one shi of miscellaneous grains. He also hired a servant to transport them to Cao Gate and handed it over to businessmen to sell.

二十三日辛酉，兵民赴曹门坊余粮。

On the 23rd, Xinyou, soldiers and people went to Cao Gate Lane to collect grain.

兵民及妇女如蚁，有竟日不得余者，有躐伤者。

Soldiers、people and women just looked like ants. Some of them could not find food all day long, and some were injured.

二十四日壬戌，分定散粮期。

On the 24th, Renxu, the government set a date for the regular distribution of grain.

三、六、九日，散曹、北、东三门兵粮；余日，散民粮。兵下城者即斩。郡王、青衿各从厚给。于是兵民不相拥，日午粮即散尽。

On the 3rd, 6th and 9th, the government distributed the rations for Cao Gate, the North Gate, and the East Gate. In the remaining days, the government distributed the folk food. The soldiers who stepped down the wall would be beheaded. The princes and wise men had both contributed a lot. So the soldiers and the people didn't embrace each other, and the food was exhausted at noon.

二十五日癸亥，委刘社长总管卖粮钱，总社专力买粮。

On the 25th, Guihai, the government appointed President Liu to be in charge of the money that got from selling the grain, and the leader of the headquarter devoted himself to buying grain.

市侩以卖粮钱付社长刘光祖，仍易银付总社买粮。城头积钱二日，无易者。时民间银一两换钱一千八百。壓因嘱光祖每银一两多给百文。于是换者遂众⁽⁵⁷⁾，有预交银者。光祖会计甚当。

The intermediary in the sale paid the president Liu Guangzu the money from selling the grain, and still exchanged the money to pay the headquarter to buy the grain. The area in front of the city gate was full of money for two days, and there was no one came to exchange. At that time, one or two taels of folk silver could be exchanged for one thousand and eight hundred Coins. Dian then instructed Guangzu to give one hundred coins more for every one tael of silver. As a result, there were more

people who came to exchange money (57), and there were people who even paid in advance. Guangzu was very good at counting money.

二十六日甲子，推官黄澍结义勇大社。

On the 26th, Jiazi, Official Huang Shu befriended Loyal and Brave Organization.

竖大白旗于曹门上，大书：“汴梁豪杰愿从吾游者，立此旗下。”

He set up a big white flag on the Cao Gate, and wrote in big words: "Bianliang hero who was willing to follow me, please stand under this banner."

二十七日乙丑，郡王、乡绅、士民、商贾，无不愿入社。四方豪杰及土著智勇之士悉至，约得万人。

On the 27th, Yi Chou, the county prince, squire, gentry, and merchants, all wanted to join the organization. Quartet heroes and indigenous wise and brave men were all here, about 10,000 people in total.

二十八日丙寅，刑牲祭关壮缪侯⁽⁵⁸⁾，与众饮血酒盟。

On the 28th, Bingyin, people slaughtered livestock to worship Guan Yu (58). They cut their fingers, dripping blood into the wine, and drank the wine together.

二十九日丁卯，制旗帜，备器械，编队伍，给信票。

On the 29th, Dingmao, people made flags, prepared equipment, formed teams, and gave official documents.

黄推官发银二百两，令总社制旗五百余面，限二日成。令举人朱恕、杨铨，乡绅张志瑄籍记，人给社票一纸⁽⁵⁹⁾，凡腰间系无忧条者，皆大社中人也。

Official Huang issued two hundred taels of silver, and ordered the general organization to make more than 500 flags, which was limited to two days. He also ordered scholars Zhu Shu, Yang Quan, and squire Zhang Zhixuan to register the names of people in the roster, and each gave an organization ticket (59). Those who had worry-free strips around their waists were all members of the big organization.

三十日戊辰⁽⁶⁰⁾，旗帜、器械备。

On the 30th, Wuchen (60), flags and equipment had all been prepared.

器械逐名领给。旗号按五方色，整齐鲜明。

The devices were distributed one by one according to their names. The flags were arranged in five square colors, neat and clear.

七月初一日己巳，杨兵城头谒见巡抚。

On the first day of July, Jisi, Soldier Yang met the governor at the top of the city wall.

巡抚悦甚，备盒酒银牌。郡王、乡绅、总社及各头目俱下马饮三爵，给银牌一面。曹门展营，前茅已至西门见巡抚，中权尚未尽起。周城四十里，人马络绎，旌旗蔽空，陈总兵称赏不已。

The governor was very happy and prepared a box of wine and silver medals. The county prince, the squire, the leader of the general organization and the other leaders all got off their horses and drank three cups of wine. The governor gave them a silver medal. Cao Gate had just rectified the troops, and the leading troops had already arrived at the West Gate to see the governor. The army in the central part has not yet started operation. Forty miles around the city, there were crowds of people and flags in the air, and General Chen praised it.

初二日庚午，朱举人造册分职掌，定五营头目。

On the second day of the second day, Gengwu, Scholar Zhu compiled a roster to divide the responsibilities of each person, and appointed the leaders of the five camps.

中权：举人朱恕、杨铨，乡绅张志瑄统领。后劲：生员许如琯、员致雨统领。前茅：浦江郡王阙名⁽⁶¹⁾、原武郡王第四子肃湘统领。右翼：遂平郡王阙名⁽⁶²⁾、宝宁郡王长子阙名统领⁽⁶³⁾。左翼：南人守备程丹统领，皆徽、杭商人。

The leader of the army of the central part: It was led by Scholar Zhu Shu, Yang Quan, and Squire Zhang Zhixuan. The leader of the army of the late part: It was led by student Xu Ruguan, Yuan Zhiyu. The leader of the army of the front part: It was led by an anonymous king of Pujiang County (61), and Suxiang, the fourth son of the king of Yuanwu County. The leader of the army of the right part: It was led by an anonymous king of Suiping County (62), and the first son of the king of Baoning County, who also didn't leave name in the history(63). The leader of the army of the left part: It was led by southerner Guard Cheng Dan and they were all merchants from Anhui and Hangzhou.

初三日辛未，闯贼怒，杀主谋掘河贼。

On the third day, Xin Wei, Li Zicheng's soldiers were so angry that they murdered the enemies who were the mastermind to dig the river.

贼恨水不能淹城，反将海濠注满，广处四、五丈，深三丈余，虽欲攻城，不能飞渡，又拔万人取土填故道。因杀主谋贼。

The enemy regretted that the water could not flood the city, and instead they filled the moat to four to five feet wide and three feet deep. Although they wanted to attack the city, they could not fly across the moat. So they sent another ten thousand people to fill up the original road with soil and killed the mastermind.

初四日壬申，造册成，职掌悉定。

On the fourth day, Ren Shen, the roaster was completed, and the position was determined.

左参谋宗室朱了了，右参谋山人朱洞，左中军官郑云鸿，右中军官张时雍，监纪官吴之琮⁽⁶⁴⁾，纪正张尔猷、耿玄，总社兼管总巡事李光壓，客将谢廷玺。

The left staff officer was the Zhu of the clan. The right staff officer was the hermit Zhudong. The leader of the left center was the officer Zheng Yunhong. The leader of the right center was the officer Zhang Shiyong. The supervisory officer was Wu Zhicong (64), and the upright official was Zhang Eryou and Geng Xuan. Li Guang Dian was the leader of the general organization and general inspector, and General Xie Tingxi was not affiliated with the headquarters.

初五日癸酉，合营大操。

On the fifth day, Guiyou, a joint exercise was held.

在北盐坡内，操终日，始毕。

In Beiyang Hillside, the army trained for a whole day before finishing.

初六日甲戌，请巡抚上方寺阅操。

On the sixth day, Jiayu, the governor was invited to the Shangfang Temple to review the military training.

寺外高处置巡抚座。中军白下操合营。巡抚曰：“三日新兵，焉能合营！过堂阅视可矣。”中军又曰：“昨日已下过营，请先阅操，后过堂。”巡抚见练习颇熟，喜曰：“此劲旅也。”赏银二百两。

The governor seat was placed on a high place outside the temple. The general of the center army asked them to train together. The governor said: "Three-day recruits, how can we join forces! Come and let me see them." The general of the center army said: "They have been trained yesterday, please review the queue first, and then let them come over." The governor saw that they practiced quite skilled, so he said joyfully: "This would be an elite force." And rewarded them two hundred taels of silver.

初七日乙亥，出师击贼，大胜之。

On the seventh day, Yihai, our soldiers went out to fight against the enemy and greatly defeated them.

寅时发兵。黄推官领总巡督阵门外，逐贼至土堤外，斩首四十一级⁽⁶⁵⁾，生擒十二人⁽⁶⁶⁾，夺马九匹，布帐、器械百余件，射杀三百余人，未暇割级。此围城来第一大捷。土堤贼败走，大营贼喊声将近，收兵进城，献巡抚验功，赏银三百两。自此每日出城，往往有小捷。

The troops will be dispatched at three o'clock in the morning. Official Huang led the general patrol to supervise the army lining up outside the gate, chasing the enemies to the embankment, beheading 41 people (65), capturing 12 people (66), seizing nine horses, laying tents, and more than a hundred pieces of equipments. Our army also shot more than three hundred people, and they even had no time to cut off their heads. This was the first great victory since the siege. After the enemy was defeated, they fled to the embankment, and the shouts of the enemies in the camp were getting closer and closer. Our army retreated into the city, offered the governor their merits, and was rewarded with three hundred taels of silver. Since then, our troops had gone out of the city every day, often back with small victories.

初八日丙子，陈总兵置酒宴劳将领，以牛酒饭饼，大飨士卒。夜出南门劫贼营，斩二百余级。

On the eighth day, Bingzi, General Chen set up a banquet to comfort the generals. He used ox, wine, rice and bannocks to make the soldiers feast on. At night, the soldiers went out of the South Gate to rob the enemy camp and killed more than two hundred enemies.

是日五鼓，劫贼营于土堤上，尽杀窝铺中贼，割其首，收其布帐、食物。从此，各营或交战、或劫营，无日无之。

At three o'clock in the morning that day, the soldiers robbed the enemy which camped on the embankment. Kill all the enemies lying in the quilt, cut off their heads, collect their cloth and food. From then on, some battalions were responsible for fighting, and some battalions were responsible for robbery. Everyday remained the same.

初九日丁丑，东岳庙施粥三日。

On the ninth day, Ding Chou, Dongyue Temple gave porridge to people for three days.

城中妇女数十万，昼坐衢路，夜即卧地，死者不可胜数。黄推官见之恻然。选乡约五人、社长十人、椽史三人，施粥于东岳庙，三日用米四十五石。

There were hundreds of thousands of women in the city, sitting on side roads during the day and lying on the ground at night. The dead were countless. Official Huang felt very sympathetic. There were

about five people in the village, ten people in the organization, and three officials, who served porridge in Dongyue Temple together, and used 45 shi of food in three days.

十一日己卯，义勇营击贼，生员王有根殒焉。

On the 11th day, Jimao, the valiant camp attacked the enemies, and student Wang Yougen died.

王有根，乡绅之玺之子，开封府学生员也。背坐纛奋勇直前，过土堤，被贼砍倒。社兵夺尸鼻回。黄推官备棺葬城下⁽⁶⁷⁾，为文以祭。之玺止一子，家亦贫薄，巡抚、推官各赠赙五十两。

Wang Yougen, the son of the squire Zhixi, was also a student of Kaifeng Prefecture. He went forward bravely, carrying the banner and crossing the embankment. He was chopped down by the enemy. The soldiers of the organization seized the corpse back. Official Huang prepared a coffin to bury him under the city (67), and wrote an article to commemorate him. Zhixi had only one son, and the family was also poor. The governor and the official each donated fifty taels to them.

十二日庚辰，巡抚手书富人姓名，凡十八家，共借银三万两⁽⁶³⁾，立完一万。

On the twelfth day, Yu Chen, the governor had handwritten the name of the rich men. Eighteen families lent him thirty thousand taels of silver in total(68), and immediately gave him ten thousand taels of silver.

十三日辛巳，尽以前银犒军。

On the 13th, Xin Si, the government used all the previous silver to reward the army.

得河北檄，云：“十四日援兵渡河。”城中悉发兵接应，故用此赏。

He received the ordnance from Hebei, and said: "Reinforcement would cross the river on the 14th." The soldiers in the city sent troops to meet them, so he used this to reward them.

十四日壬午，东北角烽火连起，未见船只、人马。总兵刘泽清过河击贼，两日皆捷。营中忽自惊扰，仍退还河北。

On the 14th, Renwu, a beacon fire broke out in the northeast corner, and no ships or horses could be seen. General Liu Zeqing crossed the river to hit the enemies and won the victory for two days. The people were all suddenly shocked and returned to Hebei.

十五日癸未，壁创车营式，欲夜出北门，直抵黄河，接济河北兵马，开运粮道。

On the 15th, Guiwei, Dian created a car battalion mode. He wanted to go out of the North Gate at night and reached the Yellow River directly to help the soldiers of Hebei and opened up a food transportation road.

用四轮车一辆，车厢上一面纵横钉栏木六根，高八尺，长与车齐。以榆柳板厚三寸者钉栏木上。板中作五、六小孔，看外放铕。每车一辆，用大麻搭二，大坛六，以四盛水，二盛火药，载大炮一，临放，安车轮，下铕四杆，用十二人，四人推车，八人放火器。

A four-wheeled vehicle was used. The upper side of the carriage had a total of six nail bars, which were eight feet high and were as long as the vehicle. Then nail them to the fence with three-inch thick elm willow boards. Make five or six small holes in the board so that people could watch out. One for each car and two with marijuana. Make six more altars, four for water and two for gunpowder. Carry a cannon, installing the wheels and blowing four shots before installation. A total of twelve people were needed, four people pushed a cart, and eight people were required to set firearms.

备水与麻搭者，此系木城防贼用火箭也。自北门至朱家寨仅七里，每里三百六十步，每车长两步不等。左右分列两行，在右者钉右厢，在左者钉左厢，各一千二百辆，共用二千四百辆⁽⁶⁹⁾。先于城中演熟推车之法，乘夜令识路人为导。开北门，一拥便到朱家寨。贼即闻之，且惊疑，不知何物。贼来攻时，营盘已定，有大炮、鸟铕，贼不得近，城上设左右两翼援兵，每翼用大炮手二百人，安大炮百位，贼攻车营之左，左翼放大炮击之；攻右，右亦如之。大炮可及十里、七里，车营尽可防护。此车，借之民间，一呼可集，且无损其车，事毕还之。壓家制成一辆。十五日晚呈黄推官验看，并言推法、用法。黄甚喜，赏壓造车家人各银牌一。

The reason for preparing water and marijuana was to prevent the enemy from shooting the wooden gates with rockets. The distance from the North Gate to Village Zhu was only seven miles, with three hundred and sixty steps per mile, and the length difference of each vehicle was about two steps. There were two rows on the left and right, the right car was nailed to the right, and the left car was nailed to the left, each with 1,200 cars. So there were 2,400 cars in total⁽⁶⁹⁾. They first trained in the city to learn how to use the carts, and let people who know the road act as guides during the night. After open the North Gate, the armies all rushed to Village Zhu. The enemies were very surprised and puzzled when they heard it, and they didn't know what to do. When the enemy came to attack, the layout of the barracks had been determined, with artillery and bird bludgeoning, and the enemy could not approach it. Reinforcements were set up on the left and right wings of the city. Each wing used two hundred gunners and a hundred cannons. The enemy attacked the left of the car battalion, and the left wing released the artillery. The same as the right side. The artillery could reach ten or seven miles, and the car battalion could be protected as much as possible. This car, borrowed from the private sector, could be collected at one call. Without damaging, and the car could be returned after all. Dian's family made a car. On the 15th night, Dian presented it to official Huang for inspection, and the method and usage were also discussed. Huang was very happy and rewarded Dian's carmakers with one silver medal.

十六日甲申，推车式上西城，同黄推官见巡抚，巡抚详视，大喜，赏大银牌一，命五门速如式分造。

On the 16th, Jiashen, the cart mode was launched to the west city, and met the governor with Official Huang. The governor looked at it closely and was overjoyed. He rewarded him with a silver medal and ordered the five departments to build something like this immediately.

曹门造八百辆，南、北、东、西四门，各造四百辆。

Cao Gate built 800 vehicles, and the four Gates of the South, North, East, and West built 400 vehicles each.

十七日乙酉，贼划土城⁽⁷⁰⁾，周围俱尽。土城，旧外城也，去城五里，**空上**堤内。

On the 17th, Yiyou, the enemies planed City Tu (70), and the surrounding area was razed to the ground. City Tu, the old outer city, was five miles away from the city, which was inside the embankment.

贼划平土城如壁立，前此犹间留一段，至此尽矣。下掘深沟，以防出入，间留一、二小路，昼则下土城哨探，夜即用草塞之。周围俱步贼，每夜发喊鸣更，火光不断，马贼俱在大堤上。

The enemies drew a line in front of the City Tu, allowing the City Tu to stand like a wall, leaving a section in front of the city, and it was gone here. Dig a deep ditch to prevent people from entering and leaving the city, leaving one or two small paths in between. During the day, they approached the City Tu to inquire it quietly, and stuffed it with grass at night. Enemies were all around the city, shouting and chanting every night. The flames continued, and the enemies were all on the embankment.

十八日丙戌，曹门将官高禄领兵夜劫贼营，被贼断双手，众兵夺回，昇至城上。黄推官一见，放声痛哭，给麦一石，米五斗，银五十两。

On the 18th, Bingxu, the General of Cao Gate, Gao Lu, led the troops to rob the enemy camp at night. The enemy broke his hands, and the soldiers took his hands back and carried him back to the city in a cart. Official Huang cried bitterly when he saw him, and gave Mai one shi of wheat, five buckets of rice, and fifty taels of silver.

回家一月全愈，河水冲城后，犹能渡过河北。

Going home for a month, he was all healed. After the water rushed into the city, they could still cross Hebei.

二十二日庚寅⁽⁷¹⁾，道标营中军周世忠骂贼而死，经纶社社副井大汉为贼擒去。

On the 22nd, Geng Yin (71), Zhou Shizhong, general of the Dao Biao Battalion scolded the enemies until he died. The assistant Jing Dahan of Jinglun Organization was captured by the enemies.

世忠本西关市肆人，有胆气，勇力绝人，出城击贼，以马蹶被擒。贼逼之降。世忠大骂不屈，贼怒，磔之。武生井澄状貌雄伟，人称为大汉，善弓马，是日同出，亦被擒，不知所终。

Shizhong was originally from Xiguan City, and he had the courage to go out of the city to attack the enemies. But he was captured by the enemy. The enemies forced him to surrender. Shizhong yelled at them unyieldingly, and the enemies were angry and brutally killed him. The martial arts student Jing Cheng looked majestic and was called a strong man. He was good at using bow and arrow and horse riding. Going out with Shizhong that day, he was also captured, and no one knew where he went.

二十三日辛卯⁽⁷²⁾，曹门东北角城塌一段⁽⁷³⁾，斩管工衙役徐文科及作头张二。

On the 23rd, Xinmao (72), a section of the northeast corner of the city wall of Cao Gate collapsed (73). Beheaded Xu Wenke, the government officer in charge of the project, and Zhang Er, the contractor.

先是，此处本一郡王监工所修，洞内未用砖土填实，仅以柏木门板塞其中。连日大雨，遂坏，杀二役，连夜修完。贼不知其故，讶曰：“又开一小门何为？”于是，城上安一小门，以疑之。

First of all, this place was repaired by the superintendent of the king of this county. The cave was not filled with bricks and soil, but only cypress door panels were used to plug it. After days of heavy rain, it broke down. Two person were killed, and it had been repaired overnight. The enemies didn't know the reason, they were surprised and asked, "What is the purpose of opening another small door?" As a result, a small door was installed in the city wall to confuse the enemy.

二十四日壬辰，贼放毒烟，烧苇草。

On the 24th, Renchen, the enemies put poisonous smoke and burned reeds.

曹门外南、北隅⁽⁷⁴⁾，有苇坡数十顷，兵民日出刈苇，贼亦刈苇饲马。是日，贼用毒烟烧三日夜。城上见烟直起，闻气臭，知有毒，各含槟榔、甘草。置大缸百余于城头，满注水及甘草解毒之药，毒烟不能为害。

There are thousands of acres of reed slopes in the south and north corners of Cao Gate (74). The soldiers and civilians went out to mow reeds during the day, and the enemies also mowed reeds to feed their horses. On that day, the enemies burned the reeds with poisonous smoke for three days and nights. The people on the city wall saw the smoke straight up and smelled it stinky, knowing that it was poisonous. So people had betel nuts and licorice in their mouths and put more than a hundred big

tanks at the head of the city, which were filled with water and licorice detoxification medicine so that the poisonous smoke couldn't do harm.

二十五日癸巳，贼移三营于曹门外。

On the 25th, Guisi, the enemies moved their third camp outside Cao Gate.

正东土城外三千贼扎一营，名新营。东北土城外石牛角地方扎二营，伪副将罗贼、伪都司张贼。

On the east side outside City Tu, three thousand enemies set up a camp called Xin Camp. A second camp was set up at Shiniujiang to the northeast of City Tu. Fake lieutenants and fake conductors seduced the enemies.

二十六甲午，总社交回推官原发买粮银一千六百两。

On the 26th, Jiawu, the general organization returned the 1,600 taels of silver which were originally distributed to the officials to buy the grain.

前此犹曰少粮，“至此将绝粮矣，无处可买，遂将银交回。计三十五日，凡买粮一万二千四百七十余石，止银一千六百两，循环运转。

Before this, it was still said that there was little grain, "At this point, there will be no grain and nowhere to buy grain, so I handed in the silver." For thirty-five days, a total of 12,470 shi of grains were bought and 1,600 taels of silver were spent. The city was based on this cycle of operation.

二十七日乙未，贼断送麦壮丁五百人手，悉至门外。

On the 27th, Yiwei, the enemies chopped the hands of five hundred men who had delivered wheat and sent them outside the city gate.

壮丁五百人，各负麦三、四斗，自城西青孤堆过河⁽⁷⁵⁾，夜走大堤外，经贼老营被擒，尽去双手，驱至西门，望城跪拜，投濠死者半，进城者半。闯贼断手，必至尺部。曹贼止断手指一半，间有断中三指尖者，犹不至为废人。

Five hundred young men, each with three or four buckets of wheat, crossed the river from Qinggudui in the west of the city (75). When they walked outside the embankment at night, they were captured by the enemy's old camp, and their hands were all chopped down by the enemies. The enemies drove them to the West Gate and bowed them down to city. Half of the people died in the moat, and the other half successfully entered the city. Li Zicheng's army cut a man's hand, which must start from the back of the hand. Cao's army only chopped off half of the finger, and some people only had the fingertips of the middle three fingers chopped off so that they would not become useless.

二十八日丙申，申请巡抚给义勇大社总巡扎付：

On the 28th, Bingshen, applying to the governor for the delivery of the general information of Loyal and Brave Organization:

“照得义勇，已成营头，各官俱有取掌，军事浩繁，必有分理⁽⁷⁶⁾。察得贡士李光壁心细于发，才大于渊，急公敏能，多谋善算，合行委用。为此，仰本生营总巡事务。一切军营之不整，器械之不精，人才之不堪，事机之不便者，本生不时巡察。务使人皆超距之雄⁽⁷⁷⁾，营成细柳之垒。事平叙功，本生其首也。勉之。”⁽⁷⁸⁾

"The Loyal and Brave Organization has become a role model for all military camps. It has participated in all parts of the military. The military affairs are busy and must be divided reasonably (76). I have observed that Li Guangdian is careful, talented, agile and capable, and has many ideas. His work ability is qualified and he can be employed credibly. Therefore, I hope you can lead the general patrol affairs of the barracks, such as all the irregularities of the barracks, the inadequate equipment, the inadequate talents, the inconvenient timing, and the irregular inspections of officials. Be sure to purge the military style (77), make the barracks as flexible as thin wicker. When making credit after the war, you are the one who made the most credit. Hope to encourage you with this."⁽⁷⁸⁾

二十九日丁酉，制车营布帐及食用小事。

On the 29th, Ding You, doing small things such as making cloth tents and managing food issues.

矾白布为帐，凡八十余件，一切器用俱备。

The soldiers used alum white cloth to make tents and had made more than 80 pieces in total. All tools were ready.

八月初一日戊戌，演车营。

On the 1st of August, Wuxu, practice how to connect cars as a camp.

于东盐坡，列车成阵，愿为前驱者三千余人。

The army lined up the cars into a camp in Dongyan Hill. There were more than 3,000 people willing to be the pioneers.

初二日己亥，请高巡抚、陈总兵、苏守道、吴知府、曹承奉同看车营，择初三日庚子出师⁽⁷⁹⁾。

On the second day, Jihai, Governor Gao, General Chen, Su, Prefect Wu, and Official Cao were invited to watch the car battalion together. On the third day, Gengzi, the army went to fight (79).

车营内安大帐房，巡抚上坐，总兵金坐，余以次列坐。细阅车营，皆曰：“好。”适有卒于城外生擒一贼至，极肥大，即磔车营前。黄推官白巡抚曰：“今民间十两银易麦一升不得。乘此时

人尚有力，犹可驱使。推官愿以车营出城取粮，不用官军一人，只义勇大社兵足矣！城以外，推官与李总社任之。但祈总镇发火器手四百，城上左右救援。”总镇微笑不应。巡抚问壁曰：“道路岂无崎岖乎？汝能熟识乎？”壁曰：“自北门至河上，大道如砥。路旁草庄被贼，前已毁尽。有大树百株，令健儿上树远瞭⁽⁸⁰⁾，贼来某处即大呼某处有贼。”巡抚曰：“炮扬起放无力，七里远能击死贼乎？”壁曰：“扬头大炮十里外⁽⁸¹⁾，恐不能命中。车营甫抵河上，每车取一人，得二千四百人，依河为背水阵，信炮到城上，城上放炮，以四里为的，河边放炮击三里，遣善泅者逾河请援，河北兵有不飞渡来乎？河北兵直抵濠外扎营，连放两日夜大炮，贼不能近车营，河北兵有不尽渡乎，河北粮有不多运乎？不战功成，贼惟喘哮遑遁。贼未至时，壁曾诣河上阅视此路⁽⁸²⁾，并无坑穴。兵法云：‘知彼知己。’又曰：‘得地利者必胜。’此之谓也。”巡抚曰：“西兵前有信，八月出关，中秋前后可到。吾儿前月初四日进京，面圣请援。料今已到河北，且再俟半月何如？”众皆默然。黄推官拂袖出帐外，抗声曰：“事不可为。莫若澍尽焚其车，跳入火中作厉鬼以杀贼。”吴知府出，慰曰：“半月亦不为久，姑待中秋未迟。”黄曰：“此时人有日食半餐者，犹可用力。若半月后，尽成饿莩，能驱饿鬼而用之乎？无论中秋即重阳，亦无援兵也。”巡抚闻而不语，乘马上西城，各官俱回汛地，竭二十昼夜之力，竟成画饼矣。

The entire big tent was placed in the car, the governor sat on the top, the General sat by the side, and the others sat in sequence. They checked the car battalion carefully and all said that it was really good. A soldier happened to capture an enemy alive outside the city. He was so fat that he was escorted to the camp. Official Huang told the governor: "Today, in the folk, people will not succeed in exchanging one liter of wheat with ten taels of silver. Taking this time that this person still has strength, he can be used by us. Official can make the car battalion out of the city to take food, while official soldiers are not needed. It is enough to only have the soldiers from the Loyal and Brave Organization! Outside the city, Officials and General Li agree with his opinion, and only hope that the General will send four hundred soldiers who are good at fire devices here, while people on the city wall can rescue the injured." The General smiled and didn't answer. Governor asked Dian: "Is there any rugged road? Are you familiar with the road?" Dian said: "From the North Gate to the river, the avenue is like a grinding stone. For a long time, the roadside grass house has been destroyed by the enemy. There are hundreds of big trees, which can let the strong man climbed to observe the far place (80). If the enemy comes to somewhere, they can shout out the position of the enemy." The governor said: "If the cannon is erected, it will be no power. Can you kill the enemy from the distance of seven miles?" Dian said: "If the erected cannon issued a bomb (81) from ten miles away(81), I am afraid you can't hit your aim. When the car battalion just arrived on the river, every car sent one person. And you can get a total of 2,400 people. Back to the Yellow River Array, you can sent the signal bomb to the city wall, the soldier on the wall can issue the cannon to four miles. The cannons beside the Yellow River can hit three miles away and the people who are good at swimming can swim across the Yellow River to look for help. Won't the Hebei troops hurry to help us? The Hebei army

directly reach the moat and camp in the ground, and they issue cannons in two days and night. The enemy can not come close to the car battalion. Isn't the army of Hebei all come over to help? Don't they carry a lot of food of Hebei there? Therefore, the army succeed without a fighting. The enemy can only breathe heavily, and quickly escape. When the enemy does not arrived, Dian once look at this road on the river(82), and find that there is no pit on it. The Art of War said: 'you must have a thorough understanding of yourself and the opponent so that you can win. "Someone else once said: 'The one who occupies the advantage of land can win this war. 'That's exactly what I want to express. " The governor said: "The Western Army had a letter saying that it will leave the customs in August and will be there around Mid-Autumn Festival. My son has just entered the capital for four days last month and personally asked the emperor for assistance. It is estimated that he has arrived in Hebei now, and how about waiting for another half a month.?" Everyone kept silent. Official Huang flicked his sleeves and walked outside the tent and said loudly, "This thing can't be done. It's better to let Peng burn all the cars, jumping into the fire and become a ghost to kill the enemy. " Prefect Wu came out and comforted him: "Half a month is not too long, and it is not too late to wait for the Mid-Autumn Festival for the time being." Huang said: "Now people eat half of their dinner a day, and they still have strength. If half a month later, people all starve to death, how should we use evil spirits? No matter the Mid-Autumn Festival or Double Ninth Festival, there will be no reinforcements." The governor did not speak, and rode up to the west City. The officials all returned to the military garrison area. After 20 days and nights of hard work, Dian's effort became a false hope in the end.

初三日庚子，五门夜巡拔儿兵，俱割首级献周王报功，每一级要赏钱三千文。

On the third day, Gengzi, the Five Gates patrolled at night. They dedicated their enemy's heads to Emperor Zhou to repay their merits, and each head was rewarded with three thousand coins.

一门有七、八级，或二、三十级者。五门巳时齐至端礼门要赏。赏讫，买民间食，一颗犹直银三、四两。数日如是。王与巡抚传令擒活贼。于是无献功者。前此皆割负麦民或出城民首也。

There were people with seven or eight heads, or people with twenty or thirty heads. Five Gates all arrived at Duanli Gate at 9 am for reward. After receiving the reward, it could be used to buy folk food, and one head could be exchanged for three or four taels of silver.

It had been like this for several days. The king and the governor sent orders to capture the enemies alive. So there were no people who contributed. The heads before were the heads of people who cut wheat or people who went out of the city.

初四日辛丑，巡抚买粮，不得尽委富民、巨商、宦裔买。追不出者，发镇标、抚标，各营将校自追，各有折数。

On the fourth day, Xin Chou, the governor bought food, but he could not give it all to the descendants of the wealthy, businessmen, and officials. For those who could not be recovered, they would be pursued personally by the green camp soldiers under the command of the general army and the pacesetters of the directly under the governor. The generals of each battalion would personally supervise them, which had their own punishments.

坐名某人买粮若干石，每石初折八十两，后折一百三十两。追完万金者，生员张养蒙、崔应星也。应星完万金，犹不免一死。贡生崔应朝完七十五石，其人竟无下落。有完三、五千两，一、二千两者，亦多不完者。营官百方锻炼，死而后已。每至欠粮家，先捉幼男女，以大针数百刺其肤，号叫冤惨。至九月十五日，各营押追者，仍纷纷未已。闻巡抚至，九月心乱，亦不知其详，任群小十余辈内外作祟，杀死富民殆尽。

They sat there and asked people to buy grain. Each shi of grain was about eighty taels of silver, and later it was about 130 taels of silver. Students Zhang Yangmeng and Cui Yingxing spent 10,000 gold. Ying Xing spent ten thousand gold, still unavoidable death. Cui Yingchao, a student at the Imperial Academy, bought seventy-five shi of grain, but was missing. There were people who spent three to five thousand taels, one to two thousand taels, and many people who did not spend money to buy the grain. All military camps were working tirelessly to contribute everything. Whenever they went to a home that lacked food, they first caught boys and girls, and pricked their skin hundreds of times with big needles. The children screamed about their grievances. Until September 15th, there were still many people wanted by the battalions. When people heard about the governor, they were upset in September, and they didn't know the details. They let the younger generation make trouble inside and outside, killing the wealthy people.

初五日壬寅，推官出示令民间报粮，亲至一二家验视。

On the 5th day, Renyin, officials asked the people to report the number of the grain, and went to one or two households to check in person.

管粮通判彭士奇往搜之，获粮一石，赏报者三升，取其十之七八，随予值。胥役兵士随去，敢有取一文钱者立死。如是者旬日。至十五日后搜亦无也。

Peng Shiqi, the official in charge of supervising the grain, went to search, and got one shi of grain. He rewarded the person who reported it three liters, and took seven or eight of the grain by himself. A small officer asked soldiers to follow him, and said that anyone who dared to take a penny died immediately. It had been like this for several days. After fifteen days, nothing could be found.

初六日癸卯，周王令宋、张二伴读搜王府及民间粮。搜出，照巡抚例，一斗给银四钱。搜不出，亦无苛求。

On the sixth day, Guimao, King Zhou ordered Companion Song and Zhang to search the palace and folk for food. If it was found, according to the governor's practice, one bucket would be given four silver coins. If it was not found, there were no other exacting requirements.

初七日甲辰，巡抚发令箭搜民间粮。

On the seventh day, Jiachen, the governor issued an order to search for food from the folk.

一将弁领数十饿兵，持令箭直入人卧内，囊筐尽开，至掘地、拆屋、破柱以求，有一搜竟日不了者，有一日搜六七次者。若粮尽取去，揭一贴于门，某日搜某粮若干。惟郡王府第，仅免一搜，然犹闭门以避，虽管理府事镇国将军无不搜。至八、九月之交，则糠、秕、盐、酱、油、醯，无不搜矣。兵士或假令箭，沿门搜夺，搜获随予银几分，满城纷纷，俱搜粮者往来。巡抚莫克禁，亦不自知令箭几支，命黄推官核数而已。

An officer led dozens of hungry soldiers, holding the arrow straightly into the bedroom of others. They went from opening all suitcases to digging the ground, demolishing houses, and breaking pillars. Some had to be searched all day, others had to be searched six or seven times a day. If all the food was taken, they would put a note on the door, which stated that a lot of food was found here one day. Only the Imperial Mansion escaped the search, but they still closed the door to avoid them. Even General Zhen Guo's Mansion did not escape the search. By the end of August and the beginning of September, there was nothing left to be searched for. Chaff, bad millet, salt, sauce, vinegar, and oil, nothing escaped. Soldiers forged arrows and searched for food along the gate, and gave people very little money. There was a lot of discussion in the city. Only the food seekers had their own exchanges. The governor could not ban, and even didn't know how many arrows there really were. So the governor ordered Official Huang to verify the number of the arrows.

初八日乙巳，人相食。

On the eighth day, Yisi, people ate each other.

有诱而杀之者，有群捉一人杀而分食者。每擒获一辈，辄折胫擲城下，兵民兢取食之，至八月初九月初，父食子、妻食夫、兄食弟、姻亲相食，不可问矣。

Someone seduced others and then killed him. And there was a group of people who caught a person and then killed him and ate him. Every time a batch was captured, people broke their legs and threw them under the city wall. The army and the people took them carefully to eat. From August to early September, the father ate the son, the wife ate the husband, brothers ate the younger brothers, and relatives ate each other. There was nothing left to say.

十五日壬子，巡抚以中秋大赏各营，总兵令各营鼓吹终夜，兵士皆坐堞口上，饮酒高歌。

On the 15th, Renzi, the governor rewarded the camps for the Mid-Autumn Festival. The General ordered the camps to preach all night, so the soldiers sat on the pits, drinking and singing.

镇标营赏银一千两，抚标营六百两，大小各营二三百两有差。共赏银一万一千三百两有奇。

The Zhenbiao camp was rewarded with one thousand taels of silver, the Fubiao camp was rewarded with 600 taels of silver. There was a difference between each camp that was two to three hundred taels of silver. A total of more than 11,300 silvers had been rewarded.

十六日癸丑，令乡约报民间牛、骡、马、驴充饷。

On the 16th, Gui Chou, they ordered the township to report the number of the cattle, mules, horses, and donkeys of the folk as military pay.

乡约开数目，报理刑厅，即遣人召其人送城上给价，每兵给肉一斤，准粮一升，五日俱尽矣。

The township reported the approximate figures to the Criminal Department. They immediately dispatched people to send them to the wall and give the price. Each soldier was given one catty of meat and one liter of quasi-grain, which would be exhausted in five days.

十七日甲寅，开五门放妇女。

On the 17th, Jiayin, they opened the five gates to release women.

先闻闯贼有令：窝铺内藏匿妇女者斩。放出三万余口，任其所之。有持数升粮复进城者。

Someone had heard that the enemy had ordered that people who hide women in the house would be beheaded. So they released more than 30,000 women, whatever they want. Some of these women came back to the city with several liters of grain.

十九日丙辰，暨申文理刑厅：

On the 19th, Bingchen, Dian wrote a document to the Criminal Justice Department:

“连年河工未修，今贼又掘开堤防。每九月十七日，俗传河神生日，必发水。若微流渐至，犹可无患，万一怒浪滔天，为之奈何？暨备木料、人工，愿造小船一只，以防不测。伏候裁夺。”

"The river work has not been repaired for years, and today the enemies are digging the dikes. Every September 17th is the birthday of the river god, and floods are bound to occur. If the current is small, we don't need to worry about it. What should I do about this in case that the flood comes? Dian prepares raw materials and labor. I want to build a small boat to prevent accidents. Waiting for the prince to decide. "

理刑厅批：“造船为今日第一急务，木料、人工，本厅自备，借重门下督造可也。一只之外，不妨多造。”黄推官发榆皮四十斤，麸曲二十斤，为匠作食。暨复措杂粮四斗，南瓜十个，木匠八人，铁匠一人，六日造船一只，广一丈二尺，长三丈，可容百人，极坚致，篙橹皆具。然力已竭，不能多造。拨兵三百人，舁至曹门。九月初二日，出城击贼，欲渡濠，复舁置濠中作桥，以通往来。兵收尽，日已暮，黄推官令乐把总看守，椽二枚，以铁索系之。十五日夜，水至，乐把总乘船走。黎民闻，往繁塔寺，莫能追也。

The Criminal Justice Department replied: "Shipbuilding is the first urgent task today. The raw materials and manpower are provided by our department, and you can supervise the construction. Besides this one, you might as well build a few more ships." Official Huang distributed 40 cattles of elm husk and 20 cattles of wheat husk to make food for the craftsmen. Dian raised four pockets of grains, ten pumpkins, eight carpenters, and one blacksmith. A boat was built in six days, one foot two feet wide and three feet long. It could accommodate a hundred people and was extremely strong, which was equipped with pennies and shields. But they had tried their best and could not do more. The government sent 300 troops to Cao Gate. On the second day of September, our army went out of the city to attack the enemy. The soldiers wanted to pass the moat, so they built a bridge on the moat to get there. After all the soldiers were collected, the sun was already down. Official Huang let Yue Bazong took care of it. The ends of the rafters were tied with iron ropes. On the night of the fifteenth, when the flood came, Yue Bazong went away by boat. People went to Fanta Temple to chase him when they heard that, but they couldn't succeed in it. On the 20th, Ding Si, people began to eat cowhide and leather jackets.

二十日丁巳，食牛皮、皮袄。

On the 20th, Dingsi, eat cow skin, leather jackets.

二十一日戊午，取市肆药材。


On the 21st, Wuwu, taking the commercially available medicinal materials.

山药、茯苓、莲肉为上，巡抚尽舁上西城。次则何首乌、川芎、当归、广桂、芍药、白术、地黄、黄精、门冬、苁蓉、兔丝子、车前子。又其次椽子皮⁽⁸³⁾、杜仲、川乌、草乌、柴胡、白芷、桔梗、蒺藜，无不食之。

Yam, Poria, and lotus meat were the best, and the governor sent them all to the west city. The second class was Polygonum multiflorum, Chuanxiong, Angelica, Guanggui, Peony, Atractylodes, Rehmannia glutinosa, Polygonatum, Asparagus, Cistanche, Tusizi, Psyllium. The third class was acorn peel (83), Eucommia, Chuanwu, Caowu, Bupleurum, Angelica dahurica, Platycodon grandiflorum, Tribulus terrestris. People ate everything.

二十二日己未，民间食水草、水虫、粪蛆、胶泥、新马粪。

On the 22nd, Jiwei, people began to eat aquatic plants, water worms, dung maggots, clay, and fresh horse dung.

城四隅有盐坡，水深三、四尺，忽生纓络草，鲜嫩可食，男、妇入水中，随取随食。水绵本不堪食，亦强吞之。水中小红虫，他时取以饲金鱼者，皆缝纱布为囊取之，名曰金鱼子。入葱油炒食，味似鱼米，每斤卖八百钱，后至三千钱，绝无矣。食屋上瓦松，每斤卖二百钱，后至一千二百，无有矣。粪堆中子，肥白寸长，积一、二年者愈多，悉掘食之。食尽，食胶泥。有骑马者过，群随之，拾其新下粪，炒淡黄色，用水吞之。

There were salt slopes at the four corners of the city wall, and the water was three to four feet deep. Suddenly, Yingluo grass grew, which was fresh and edible. Men and women were standing in the water, picking while eating. Algae were not edible, but they were reluctantly swallowed. The small bloodworm in the water was used to raise goldfish in the past. They were sewn with gauze as a package to obtain it, and they were named goldfish roe. Stir-fried with scallion oil, it tasted like fish rice, which was sold for 800 yuan per catty and later the price rose to 3000 yuan. Finally it was all sold out. People ate the moss on the roof tiles and sold it for 200 yuan per catty. Later the price rose to 1,200, and it was exhausted. People ate the worms in the garbage dump. They were fat and white, about an inch long, one or two years old, and they were all dug out and eaten. After eating it, people began to eat clay. There were horse riders passing by. And a group of people followed him, picking up the shit from the horse, frying it into a pale yellow, and swallowing it with water.

二十四日辛酉，妇女街头卖药酒。

On the 24th, Xinyou, women sold medicinal liquor on the street.

人食药材，面目浮肿，用甘草、广桂煮汤，饮之立愈。色如黄酒，一文钱一杯。

People who ate medicinal materials had swollen faces. After drinking a cup of soup made of licorice and Guanggui, those people immediately recovered. The color of the soup was like rice wine, one coin for a cup.

二十五日壬戌，安留报粳米，起获四十包。

On the 25th, Renxu, An liu reported the japonica rice and the government obtained 40 packs of the japonica rice.

安留，杨举人家仆，报通许刘生员避难曹门内书院前，蓄有粳米。黄推官亲至其家搜，屋后厕间，四壁实垒，果获四十包，每包八斗，送巡抚二包，余舁至城上，将校人给三升，兵三合，煮汤以延残喘。

Anliu, the servant of Yang Ju, reported that Xu Liusheng had taken refuge in front of the Cao Gate Inner Academy and found that they had japonica rice. Official Huang went to his house to search. In the toilet at the back of the house, all sides of the walls were solid. As a result, he obtained 40 packs, each with eight buckets, and gave the Governor two packs. The rest were carried to the city wall, giving the generals three liters and the soldiers zero point three liters, and boiled soup to linger their last breathe.

二十六日癸亥，陈总兵雨豆数夜。

On the 26th, Guihai, General Chen asked people to sprinkle beans in the city like rain for several nights.

二十七日甲子，仍雨豆。

On the 27th, Jiazi, still sprinkling beans in the city like rain.

总兵潜令人以黄、黑豆撒街衢及空闲处。次晨，饿民见而拾之，群相讶曰：“上天雨豆，救我残黎。”有拾至半升者。

General secretly ordered people to scatter soybeans and black beans in the streets and the empty spaces. In the early morning of the next day, the hungry people picked them up after seeing them. Everyone said in amazement: "God drops beans from the sky and saves me." Some people even picked up half a liter.

二十八日乙丑，获张贾客茶八百包，每包七十斤。

On the 28th, Yi Chou, receiving eight hundred packets of tea from Businessman Zhang, each of which was 70 kilograms.

一车夫报理刑厅：张贾藏茶甚多。往视之，获八百包。每将弁先给十斤，兵一斤，以滚水渍去汁，曝干为末，入面少许，作饼食之，或食叶及煮食亦可。

A coachman reported to the Criminal Justice Department: The businessman Zhang secretly hid a lot of tea. The government went to check and got 800 packs. They give ten catties to the generals and one catty to the soldiers. Soak it in hot water to remove the juice, dry it and grind it into the powder. Add a little to the flour to make a bannock. You could also eat the leaves directly or boil them.

九月初一日戊辰⁽⁸⁴⁾，城中白骨山积，断发满地，路绝行人，神号鬼哭，天日为昏。

On the first day of September, Wuchen (84), bones piled up in the city, with broken hairs all over the ground. No pedestrians were walking on the road, ghosts crying, and the sky was dim.

间有一二人，枯形垢面如鬼魅，栖墙下，敲人骨吸髓，自曹门至北门兵饿死者，日三四百人，夜则城头寥寥，处处鬼叫，官府与诸郡王将校旦夕北面而哭。黄推官制绝命辞三十首。Occasionally, there were one or two people under the city wall, with dry and dirty faces which just looked like ghosts, sucking the marrow of the human bones. Three or four hundred people from the Cao Gate to the North Gate army starved to death every day. The soldiers wailed on the city gate at night and screamed everywhere. The government and various county kings and generals cried towards the north from morning till night. Official Huang had made thirty deadly remarks.

初二日己巳，客将谢廷玺领大社残兵出城探贼。

On the second day, Jisi, the Guest General Xie Tingxi led the remnants of the organization to go out of the city to investigate the enemies.

巳时点兵，未时收兵，并未见贼。惟右翼程丹领南人尚近千人，日夜登城，北望号泣，枵腹之众，焉能负戈？

At nine o'clock in the morning, the soldiers who were about to go out were summoned and reviewed, and the army was withdrawn in the afternoon, but no enemy was found. Only the right-wing Cheng Dan led nearly a thousand southerners, climbing the city wall day and night, looking north and crying. How could a hungry person fight?

初九日丙子，生员张尔猷掘麦一窖，计三十余石。城头奄奄残喘，不能动履者，闻之色起，谓性命可以再延须臾也⁽⁸⁵⁾。

On the ninth day, Bingzi, student Zhang Ertha dug a pit of wheat with a total of more than 30 shi. The people who were dying and unable to walk on the city wall immediately became energetic when they heard it, thinking that their lives could be delayed for a moment (85).

一老农住曹门下，藏麦一窖。张生员访知之，而不识其处，乃至其家，谓曰：“汝有麦不敢卖，不敢食，埋之何为？我为汝起送城头，活官府郡王，功甚大，更为汝留少许自食。”老农点首曰：“埋在灶前”。张生员开窖，先以六斗报黄推官，请委官验起。一郡王误听六斗为绿豆。绿豆磨粉最佳⁽⁸⁵⁾。推官令壑取数升作粉公用。尽发之，得三十二石。送巡抚一石，守道五斗，诸郡王将弁分食五日。

An old farmer lived under Cao Gate, hiding a cellar of wheat. Student Zhang found him, but did not know the specific place, and said to him: "You have wheat, but you dare not sell it or eat it. Why? I will deliver the wheat to the city wall for you so that the officials and the county king can live. This is a great contribution. I will leave some for you to eat." The old farmer nodded and said, "Buried in front of the stove." Student Zhang opened the cellar and first reported Official Huang with six buckets, and asked the government to prove it. A county prince misunderstood six pockets as the mung bean. Mung beans were best ground into powder (86). Official ordered Dian to take a few liters

and grind them into powder for public use. After it was completely excavated, a total of thirty-two shi of wheat were found. Give the governor one shi, official five pockets, which let the kings and officers of the counties ate for five days.

此第三次闯、曹二贼合围汴，步贼十万，马贼三万，每一贼有马三匹，胁从之众近百万。

This was the third time that Li and Cao have surrounded Bianzhou. They had one hundred thousand infantry and thirty thousand cavalry. Every enemy had four horses, and there were nearly a million people who was threatened to follow them.

十四日辛巳，夜，河伯震怒，水声远闻，

On the fourteenth night, Xin Si, the river god was angry, and people heard the sound of the flood from far away.

十五日壬午，黎明水至城下，西南贼俱远遁，东北贼溺死无算。

At dawn on the fifteenth, Renwu, the flood came to the city. The enemies in the southwest all fled, and the countless enemies in the northeast drowned.

十六日癸未，水大至。

On the 16th, Guiwei, the flood really arrived.

黄推官坐城下，壓与张尔猷抱土率两营兵塞门，水从隙入，势不可扼。推官登城，壓领家丁数人于甬道上扎筏，甫完，水声如雷，冲开曹门，水高丈余，进门辄南下。壓距门未五十步，幸免，遂乘筏至辘轴湾，复从间道涉水登城，请黄推官速移居。因新署在城门，上为瓮川，门已冲去，倘瓮川一陷，衙舍俱陷。曹门北有旧署三间，在城墙实地，可速移之。壓复归家扎筏。黄推官夜半方移，移未毕，已陷矣。仅携其孥出，衣物食用及二婢俱沉。是日，南门先坏⁽⁸⁶⁾，北门冲开，至夜，曹门、东门相继沦没。一夜水声如数万钟齐鸣。

Official Huang sat down under the city wall. Dian and Zhang Ertha held the soil and led the two battalions to block the door. The water entered through the crack, unstoppable. Official climbed the city wall, and Dian led the servants of his family to pierce a raft on the corridor. Just after that, the water was rushing to destroy the Cao Gate, sounds like the thunder. The water was more than one foot high, and when it broke the gate, it rushed towards south. Dian was less than fifty steps away from the door, luckily he did not die. So he took a raft to the Luzhou Bay and waded from the small road to the city, asking Official Huang to move quickly. Because the new office was at the gate of the city, the upper part was Wengchuan, and the gate had been rushed away. If Wengchuan sank, the government buildings would be sunk. There were three old offices in the north of Cao Gate, which could be moved quickly from the site of the city wall. Dian went home and tied the raft. Official Huang didn't transfer until midnight. The city had fallen before the transfer completed. He was just able to take out

his sons and daughters. Clothes and food, and two maids all sank into the water. On this day, the South Gate was destroyed first (87), and then the North Gate was destroyed. At night, Cao Gate and East Gate fell one after another. That night, the floods resounded like tens of thousands of bells.

十七日甲申，黎明，满城俱成河汉⁽⁸⁷⁾

At dawn on the 17th, Jiashen, the whole city became a water city. (88)

只存钟、鼓两楼及各王府屋脊、相国寺寺顶、周府紫金城。惟壑所居土街，乃夷山顶，水及门基，门内皆干地，避水者满集。壑乘筏上曹门，中途被风阻回。

Only the bell tower, the drum tower and the roofs of the palaces, the top of the Xiangguo Temple and the Zijin tower of Zhou Mansion were left. And only the Dirt Street where Dian lived was on the top of a flat hill. The water just reached the base of the door, and the inside of the door was dry, which was crowded with the water avoiders. Dian took the raft up to Cao Gate but was blocked by the wind.

十八日乙酉，壑复乘筏上曹门，中途落水几死。

On the 18th, Yiyou, Dian took the raft to Cao Gate again, and almost died in the water.

黄推官遣善泅家丁李用、柳体直过河请救，泛一木水上，三昼夜始达土堤。监军道王燮得推官手书，连夜督二十余船，自乘小船从北门扬帆直入。高巡抚、黄推官各乘舟到紫金城上，见周王，抱头痛哭，遂请王北渡，官眷五、六百人同行。百姓有在城头、屋角、树杪者，俱渐次渡过河北，柳园煮粥食难民。壑二十五日始得携妻子乘筏至河北。噫！此古今未有之苦，古今未有之厄也。

Official Huang dispatched Ding Liyong and Liu who were good at swimming to cross the river for help. They used a piece of wood to cross the water and reached the earth embankment after three days and three nights. The supervising army said that Wang Xie obtained official documents and supervised more than 20 boats to sail straightly from the North Gate overnight. Governor Gao and Official Huang each took a boat to Zijin City, and when they saw King Zhou, they cried very sadly. So they asked the king to move to the north, and five or six hundred officials and family members would go with him. The people who hid on city walls, corners, or treetops gradually crossed the Yellow River. Liuyuan cooks porridge for refugees. Dian was able to take his wife and children to Hebei on a raft on the 25th. well! This is suffering that has never existed in the past or the present, and a danger that has never existed in the past or the present.

闯、曹发难，逆恶滔天，屠名城，杀豪杰，所至风鹤，或弃城先逃，或一、二日而失守，或三、五日而旋陷。惟汴梁七昼夜恨攻，安如磐石，二十昼夜对垒，斩馘不少。五月围困，万死一生，犹能一心镇定，百折不回，万苦备尝，铮铮自信者，济济有人焉。今汴梁已成泽国，夫复何言。

Li and Cao launched a rebellion, and the crime was very serious. They destroyed historical cities and killed many heroes. When heard about the news that they were coming, some people abandoned the city and fled, some city fell within one to two days, and some city fell within three to five days. Only Bianliang couldn't be conquered for seven days and nights, and it was as solid as a rock. After 20 days and nights, the enemy was even beaten up a lot. During the five-month siege, only one out of tens of thousands of people survived, but they was still able to remain calm and unrecoverable. After tasting all the hardships, there were still many strong and confident people. Now that Bianliang had become a water country, there was nothing left to say.

崇禎癸未（1643）九月初二日，大梁李光壓述于金陵旅次。

On the fifteenth day of Chongzhen (1643), on the second day of September, Li Guangdian of Daliang narrated this article when he was temporarily living in Jinling.

校记

Annotation

(1) 昭代丛书本作：大梁李光壓熙亮口授 鄞县周斯盛岷公重编。

(1) Zhaodai Series showed that it was dictated by Li Guangdian of Liang, also named Xiliang, and re-edited by Zhou Sisheng from Yin County.

(2) 此记雒阳失陷于崇禎十四年正月二十二日戊戌。有误。《明史》卷二四《庄烈帝二》作是年正月“丙申（二十日），李自成陷河南，福王常洵遇害”。

(2) In this book, Luoyang was lost in the 14th year of Chongzhen, Xin Si (1641), on the 22nd of the first lunar month, which was wrong. "History of the Ming Dynasty" volume two and four "Emperor Zhuang Lie II" was written in the first month of this year "Bingshen (20th), Li Zicheng conquered Henan, and King Fu Chang Xun was killed".

(3) 所在震动：昭代丛书本无此四字。

(3) Caused an uproar: Zhaodai Series don't have these words.

(4) 十二日丁巳：昭代丛书本讹“十二日”为“十三日”。

(4) On the 12th day, Dingsi: Zhaodai Series mistake “12th” to “13th”.

(5) 开封府推官黄澍协守西门：原本无“开封府”三字，据说铃本、昭代丛书本补。

(5) Official Huang Shu of Kaifeng Mansion helped guard the West Gate together: Originally, there was no "Kaifeng Mansion". The revision is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series.

(6) 有能出城斩贼一级者：原本无“有”字，据说铃本、昭代丛书本补。

(6) If there were people who could go out of the city and slash the heads of the rebels: Originally, there was no "there were". The revision is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series.

(7) 能射杀一贼者：原本无“能”字，据说铃本、昭代丛书本补。

(7) Anyone who could shoot an enemy to dead: Originally, there was no "could". The revision is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series.

(8) 弓矢刀槊：原本作“刀矢”，据昭代丛书本改。

(8) Bows, arrows, knives and guns: Originally it was "sword and arrow". The revision is based on the Zhaodai Series.

(9) 上排横木十余如筏：昭代丛书本无“如筏”二字。

(9) More than a dozen logs horizontally placed on it just like a bamboo raft: Zhaodai Series don't have the words "just like a bamboo raft".

(10) 十四日己未：原本讹“己未”为“巳未”，据说铃本、昭代丛书本及清钞本改。原本“己”多讹为“巳”，以下直改。

(10) On the 14th day, Jiwei: Originally mistake "Jiwei" to "Siwei". The revision is based on the Trivial version, Zhaodai Series and the Manuscript version of the Qing Dynasty. Originally mistake "Ji" to "Si". The following is directly corrected.

(11) 此条昭代丛书本作：“十五日丙申，贼舁云梯将攻城，朱之沧杀之。”另行记：云梯百余座，下同原本。

(11) Zhaodai Series record that on the 15th day, Genshen, the enemy carried many ladders to attack the city. Zhu Zhicang killed them. And noting separately: hundreds of ladders. The rest is the same as this article.

(12) 关于李自成左目被射伤事，此记“守备陈德射伤闯贼李自成左目。”周在峻《大梁守城记》附录记其事：“曹太守鼎言：‘围城时，身任西门右所总社，日则出城打仗，夜则守城。军中削竹为箭，其大如箸，略长一二寸，铁镞如锥。刻木为槽，安放于中，引弦激槽，其箭可射三百余步。闯围汴时，满城放箭，遂中贼目，实用此箭。究不知为何人所射，陈总镇遂攘为其子陈德功，以守备擢游(击)。’又传闻云：‘承奉谢象台名下人谢三者，实射贼。三名不显，故为陈所掩云。’”

(12) Regarding Li Zicheng's left eye being shot, in this article it is recorded as "the Guard Chen De shot the enemy leader Li Zicheng's left eye". The appendix of Zhou Zaijun's "The Story of the Great Liang Guarding the City" recorded this events as follows. "Official Cao said: "During the siege, I served as the

leader of the organization of the West Gate. I went out of the city to fight during the day and defended the city at night. Soldiers in the army cut bamboo and made it into arrows, which were as big as chopsticks and slightly longer than one or two inches. The iron arrow was like an awl. The wood was carved into a groove. It was placed in the groove and the string was pulled. This arrow could shoot the place more than 300 steps away. When Li Zicheng surrounded Bianzhou, soldiers all over the city were shooting arrows. The arrow hit his eyes. But no one knew who shot it. So Official Chen remarked it as his son Chen De's credit, and thus promoted him to become a defensive. ' It was also rumored that: 'Xie Xiangtai's subordinate Xie San was the one who really shot Li Zicheng. However, Xie San's reputation was not enough, so he was overshadowed by Chen.' ”

(13) 始知为闯贼也：昭代丛书本无“也”字。

(13) So everyone finally knew that this was Li Zicheng: Zhaodai Series don't have the word 'finally'.

(14) 著蓝甲贼首一人：昭代丛书本无“一人”二字。

(14) An enemy leader who was wearing a blue armor: Zhaodai Series don't have the word 'an'.

(15) 昭代丛书本无此条。

(15) Zhaodai Series don't have this part.

(16) 为未雨绸缪之计：昭代丛书本无此七字。

(16) As a precautionary method: Zhaodai Series don't have these words.

(17) 陈济民：昭代丛书本作“陈济”，误。

(17) Chen Jimin: Zhaodai Series mistake it to 'Chen Ji'.

(18) 颍川郡王在**錄**：说铃本、昭代丛书本及清钞本俱作“颍川郡王阙名。”郑廉《豫变纪略》卷四作颍川郡王在**錄**。”《明史》卷一〇〇《诸王世表》载颍川郡王名“在錄”。

(18) The county prince of Yingchuan who was named on the official status: Trivial version、Zhaodai Series and the Manuscript version of the Qing Dynasty all write as “The county prince of Yingchuan who did not leave his name in the history”. Zheng Lian's "Documentary of Henan coup" Volume Four writes as “The county prince of Yingchuan who was named on the official status(another Chinese word 'Ji')”. "History of Ming Dynasty" Volume 100 " writes as “The county prince of Yingchuan who was named on the official status(another Chinese word 'Ji')”.

(19) 朱在**铉**：诸本同，《豫变纪略》卷四作“朱在铉”。

(19) Zhu Zaiyun: All versions are the same. "Documentary of Henan coup" Volume 4 writes as "Zhu Zaixuan".

(20) 东城: 昭代丛书本作“东门”。

(20) The East city: Zhaodai Series write as "the East Gate".

(21) 暨次回见知县: 原本讹“回”为“同”, 据说铃本、昭代丛书本改。

(21) Dian went to visit Prefecture Wang the next morning: Originally mistake "hui" to "tong" (Chinese characters are written similarly). The revision is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series.

(22) 各照汛地防守: 汛地, 原本作“凡地”, 据说铃本、昭代丛书本改。下同。

(22) Referring to the defensive measures in the flooded area: the flooded area, originally wrote as "the fan area" (Chinese characters are written similarly). The revision is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series. The rest is the same.

(23) 巡抚高名衡守南门: 昭代丛书本此作“巡按高名衡。”核之谈迁《国榷》卷九四, 巡按河南御史高名衡为右佥都御史, 巡抚河南, 时在崇祯十四年三月甲午。此时高名衡应为巡抚, 巡按系误。

(23) The governor Gao Mingheng guarded the South Gate: Zhaodai Series write as "the grand coordinator Gao Mingheng". After reviewing Tan Qian's Volume 94 of "the discussion of Ming period history", it shows that it was Jiawu in March of the 14th year of Chongzhen. Gao Mingheng, the grand coordinators of Henan, is the official of the Metropolitan Procuratorate, governing Henan. At that time, Gao Mingheng should be the governor, not the grand coordinator

(24) 周府出苇柴: 昭代丛书本作“令社中出苇柴”。

(24) The Zhou Mansion provided the reed firewood: Zhaodai Series write as "ask the organization to provide the reed firewood".

(25) 贼攻东北愈急: 东北, 昭代丛书作“东门”。

(25) The enemy stepped up its attack on the northeast City: the northeast City, Zhaodai series write as "the East Gate".

(26) 城上用一大炮击杀贼更多: 昭代丛书本作“城上用一大炮击杀贼数百人。”

(26) The soldiers on the city wall used a large artillery to kill more enemies: Zhaodai Series write as "the soldiers on the city wall used a large artillery to kill hundreds of enemies".

(27) 贼率众数千：数千，说铃本、昭代丛书本俱作“数十”。

(27) The enemy led thousands of soldiers: thousands of, Trivial version and Zhaodai Series both write as “dozens of”.

(28) 汴人：昭代丛书本作“牛人”，误。

(28) People in Bianzhou: Zhaodai Series write as “the soldiers who were just the tenants in fact”, which is wrong.

(29) 壓每社拨社兵十名：昭代丛书本此句无“壓”字。

(29) Dian sent ten soldiers to each organization: Zhaodai Series don't have the word “Dian” in this sentence.

(30) 城上：昭代丛书本作“城下”。

(30) On the wall: Zhaodai Series write as “under the city wall”.

(31) 百姓蜂拥愿雇：昭代丛书本无“愿雇”二字。

(31) The people flocked there and were willing to be hired: Zhaodai Series don't have the words “be willing to be hired”.

(32) 城上以阳门阵破之：破，原本作“攻”，据说铃本、昭代丛书本改。

(32) Our soldiers defeated them with the Yangmen Array on the city wall: defeated, originally was “attacked”. The revision is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series.

(33) 此记李自成军所筑柏台大小为：长十丈余，广五丈余，高可三丈。《大梁守城记》记其事谓：“纵横三丈为台”。二者相异。

(33) According to this article, the cypress platforms constructed by Li Zicheng were more than ten meters long, five meters wide, and three meters high. "Daliang' s Guarding of the City" records it as “the length and width of this platform are three feet each”. There is a difference between the two.

(34) 李狗皮：原本作“李狗皮”。按说铃本、昭代丛书本、《大梁守城记》、《豫变纪略》卷五俱作“李狗皮”，故改。下同。

(34) Li Goupi: Originally wrote as “Li Lupi”. The revision is based on the Trivial version、Zhaodai Series、“Daliang’ s Guarding of the City” and “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume five, which all write as “Li Goupi”. The rest is the same.

(35) 令宫人运出国外：国外，原本作“围外”，据昭代丛书本改。

(35) Asked people to transport the firewood out of the courtyard: out of the courtyard, originally wrote as “out of ‘wei’” (Chinese characters are written similarly). The revision is based on the Zhaodai Series.

(36) 拆上方、观音二寺砖：原本讹“拆”为“折”，据说铃本、昭代丛书本改。以下直改。

(36) Demolished the bricks of the Shangfang Temple and Guanyin Temple: originally mistake “demolish” to “fold” (Chinese characters are written similarly). The revision is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series. The rest is the same.

(37) 惟殿宇拆半壁而已：已，原本此为“巳”。据昭代丛书本改。以下直改。

(37) Only the outer half of the temple was demolished: Yi, originally wrote as “Si”(Chinese characters are written similarly). The revision is based on the Zhaodai Series. The rest is the same.

(38) 颓圮如坂：颓，原本讹作“颓”，今改。

(38) The city was beaten by cannons, and was ruined: ruin, originally mistake as “tui” (Chinese characters are written similarly). Therefore, it is corrected here.

(39) 添筑城墙，添一层，打透一层：原本此句作：“添筑城墙一层”，无“添一层打透”五字，据说铃本、昭代丛书本补。

(39) To build the walls. However, if one layer was added, the layer was penetrated: Originally this sentence was like “one layer was added”, without the words “if one layer was added, the layer was penetrated”. The supplement is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series.

(40) 迷昧如深夜：原本讹“昧”为“眯”，据说铃本、昭代丛书本改。

(40) Just looked like late night: Originally mistake “mi” to another “mi” (Two Chinese characters with the same pronunciation but different writing). The revision is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series.

(41) 范文举者殿御车人：原本此句无“者”字，据昭代丛书本补。

(41) Fan Wenju was Dian's driver: Originally there was not the word “zhe”. The supplement is based on the Zhaodai Series.

(42) 牛驴马头皮肠肺：原本此句无“马”字，据昭代丛书本补。

(42) Cows, donkeys, horses' scalp intestines and lungs: Originally there was not the word “horse”. The supplement is based on the Zhaodai Series.

(43) 贼所遗妇女二千三百余人：诸本同。《大梁守城记》记其事作三千三百口。

(43) More than 2,300 women left behind by the enemies: All versions are the same."Daliang's Guarding of the City" records as 3300 people.

(44) 令家仆数十监视填实：此条诸本相异。说铃本作“令家仆数人监视填实。”昭代丛书本作“令家仆人监视填实。”

(44) He ordered dozens of domestic servants to monitor and confirm them: Each version of this sentence is different. Trivial version writes as "he ordered dozens of domestic servants to monitor and confirm them". Zhaodai Series writes as "he ordered the domestic servants to monitor and confirm them".

(45) 重伤者二千八百七十三人：诸本同。《豫变纪略》卷五记其事作重伤者“三千八百七十三人”。

(45) 2,873 people who were seriously injured: All versions are the same. "Documentary of Henan coup" volume five records it as "3,873 people who were seriously injured".

(46) 追至郾城白沙河：郾城，原本作“偃城”，据昭代丛书本、《豫变纪略》卷五及《明史》卷二六二《汪乔年传》改。

(46) Chased the enemies to Baisha River: Yancheng, originally wrote as another "Yancheng" (Two Chinese characters with the same pronunciation but different writing). The revision is based on the Zhaodai Series, "Documentary of Henan coup" Volume five and "The Biography of Wang Qiao" in Volume 262 of "History of Ming Dynasty".

(47) 此记“二贼走项城，杀西兵三千。”诸本同。本书记其事于崇祯十五年正月。核之《豫变纪略》卷五、《明史》卷二六二《汪乔年传》等记，此时李自成军趋襄城，并于二月十七日，攻克襄城。本书记“二贼走项城”，待考。

(47) In this article, it is written as "the two enemies went to Xiangcheng and killed three thousand soldiers". All versions are the same. In this book, it is recorded in the first month of the fifteenth year of Chongzhen. After comparing with the Volume five of the "Documentary of Henan coup" and "The Biography of Wang Qiao" in Volume 262 of "History of Ming Dynasty" and so on, they show that at this time, Li Zicheng's army had approached Xiangcheng. And on February 17th, they captured Xiangcheng. As a result, "the two enemies are going to Xiangcheng" in this book has yet to be verified.

(48) 灰贩魏德欠壓灰一百二十包，一百二十包，昭代丛书本作“一百十二包”。

(48) The ash dealer Wei De owed Dian one hundred and twenty packs of ashes: one hundred and twenty packs, Zhaodai Series write as "one hundred and twelve packs".

(49) 躬视版筑：昭代丛书本作“躬版筑城”。

(49) Personally observing the city wall: Zhaodai Series write as “personally construct the city wall”.

(50) 三月二十七日丙申：诸本俱作“三月二十七日”。按该书体例，分日记事，日后书干支，补之。

(50) On March 27th, Bingshen: All versions write as “on March 27th”. According to the book’s writing habit, keep notes on the date and write down the heavenly stems and earthly branches. So it is supplemented.

(51) 此条，原本作“四月十二日”日后无书干支。依该书体例，补作“四月十二日辛亥。”《豫变纪略》卷五亦谓是月“辛亥(十二日)，贼堕杞县。”另，说铃本、昭代丛书本俱作“四月十六日。”二说相异。

(51) In this sentence, it was originally written as “on April 12” without the heavenly stems and earthly branches. According to the book’s writing habit, make a supplement as “on April 12, Xinhai”.

“Documentary of Henan coup” Volume five also said that in this month "Xinhai (12th), the enemies came to Qi County." Besides, Trivial version and Zhaodai Series both write as “on April 16”. These two statements are not the same as each other.

(52) 二十八日丁卯：诸本俱作“四月二十八日丁卯”。按该体例，前有四月十二日条，此条又书“四月”，系衍，故删。

(52) On the 28th, Dingmao: All versions write as “on the 28th, Dingmao”. According to this writing style, there is April 12 before it, and this sentence has also written "April", which is repeated, so it is deleted.

(53) 阎李寨：《大梁守城记》作“阎家寨”。

(53) Yanli Village: “Daliang’s Guarding of the City” writes as “Yanjia Village”.

(54) 昭代丛书本脱此条。

(54) Zhaodai Series don’t have this sentence.

(55) 买麦四斗：原本讹“买”为“卖”，据说铃本改。

(55) Buy four buckets of wheat: Originally mistake “buy” to “sell”. The revision is based on the Trivial version.

(56) 壁访有粮者：者，昭代丛书本作“家”。

(56) Dian visited people who have food: people, Zhaodai Series write as “house”.

(57) 换者遂众：说铃本、昭代丛书本无“遂”字。

(57) As a result, there were more people who came to exchange money: Trivial version and Zhaodai Series don't have the words "as a result".

(58) 刑牲祭关壮缪侯：说铃本讹“壮”为“社”。

(58) People slaughtered livestock to worship Guan Yu: Trivial version mistakes "Guan Yu" to "organization".

(59) 张志瑄：诸本同。《豫变纪略》卷五亦载如是。《大梁守城记》作“张瑄”。

(59) Zhang Zhixuan: All versions are the same. "Documentary of Henan coup" Volume five is also written like this. "Daliang's Guarding of the City" writes as "Zhang xuan".

(60) 三十日戊辰：原本讹三十日为“二十日”，据说铃本、昭代丛书本改。

(60) On the 30th, Wuchen: Originally mistake "30th" to "20th". The revision is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series.

(61) 浦江郡王阙名：诸本同。《明史》卷一〇〇《诸王世表》载：浦江王在叙，万历四十二年封长子，既而袭封。

(61) An anonymous king of Pujiang County: All versions are the same. The "List of Kings" in Volume 100 of "History of the Ming Dynasty" records that Zaixu, the King of Pujiang, was named the eldest son in the 42nd year of Wanli, and then inherited the throne.

(62) 遂平郡王阙名：诸本同。《明史》卷一〇〇《诸王世表》载：遂平王恭权，万历三十七年封长子，天启元年袭封。

(62) An anonymous king of Suiping County: All versions are the same. The "List of Kings" in Volume 100 of "History of the Ming Dynasty" records that Gongquan, the King of Suiping, was appointed the eldest son in the 37th year of Wanli, and he inherited the throne in the first year of Tianqi.

(63) 宝宁郡王阙名：诸本同。宝宁，《河南通志》作“保宁”。另《明史》卷一〇〇《诸王世表》载：保宁王绍妃，恭嫡一子，袭封。崇祯十六年，为李自成所掠。

(63) The king of Baoning County, who also didn't leave name in the history: All versions are the same. Baoning, "Henan chorography" writes him as "Baoning" (different Chinese characters with the same pronunciation but different writing). Besides, the "List of Kings" in Volume 100 of "History of the Ming Dynasty" records that concubine Shao of King Baoning gave birth to a son who later inherited the throne. In the 16th year of Chongzhen, he was plundered by Li Zicheng.

(64) 吴之琮：语本同。《豫变纪略》卷五亦载如是。《大梁守城记》作“吴之纪”。

(64) Wu Zhicong: All versions are the same. So does “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume 5. ”Daliang’s Guarding of the City” writes as “Wu Zhiji”.

(65) 斩首四十一级：诸本同。《大梁守城记》记其事谓“斩首四十”。

(65) Beheading 41 people: All versions are the same. ”Daliang’s Guarding of the City” records it as “beheading 40 people”.

(66) 生擒十二人：诸本同。《豫变纪略》卷六、刘青芝《江村山人文稿·书李熙亮传后》里亦从其说。《大梁守城记》述其事作“生擒十三。”

(66) Capturing 12 people: All versions are the same. “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume Six and Liu Qingzhi's "Manuscripts of the Hermit in Jiangcun recorded: After the Biography of Li Xiliang" also agree with this statement. ”Daliang’s Guarding of the City” records it as “capturing 13 people”.

(67) 黄推官备棺葬城下：棺，昭代丛书本作“报”，误。

(67) Official Huang prepared a coffin to bury him under the city: coffin, Zhaodai Series mistake it into “bao”.

(68) 共借银三万两：三万，说铃本作“二万”。

(68) Lent him thirty thousand taels of silver in total: thirty thousand, the Trivial version writes as “twenty thousand”.

(69) 共用二千四百辆：二千，说铃本、昭代丛书本作“三千”。

(69) So there were 2,400 cars in total: two thousand, the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series write it as “three thousand”.

(70) 贼划土城：土城，说铃本作“上城”。

(70) The enemies planned City Tu: City Tu, the Trivial version writes it as “City Shang” (Chinese characters are written similarly).

(71) 二十二日庚寅：原本及说铃本作“二十日庚寅”。按是月朔为己巳，二十日当为戊子，庚寅当为二十二日。据昭代丛书本及《大梁守城记》改。

(71) On the 22nd, Geng Yin: The original version and the Trivial version wrote as “on the 22nd, Geng Yin”. According to the calender of this month, the first day of the month is Jisi, the 20th should be Wuzi, and Gengyin should be the 22nd. The revision is based on the Zhaodai Series and “Daliang’s Guarding of the City”.

(72) 二十三日辛卯：原本及说铃本作“二十二日辛卯”，按是月朔为己巳，二十二日为庚寅，辛卯为二十三日，据昭代丛书本改。

(72) On the 23rd, Xinmao: The original version and the Trivial version wrote as “On the 22nd, Xinmao”. According to this month, the first day of the month is Jisi, The 22nd is Gengyin, and Xinmao is the 23rd. The revision is based on the Zhaodai Series.

(73) 曹门东北角城塌一段：原本无“城”字，文义不明。据昭代丛书本补。

(73) A section of the northeast corner of the city wall of Cao Gate collapsed: Originally there was no “city”. So the meaning of the sentence is unclear. The supplement is based on the Zhaodai Series.

(74) 曹门外南、北隅：昭代丛书本作“曹门外南隅”。

(74) The south and north corners of Cao Gate: Zhaodai Series write as “The south corners of Cao Gate”.

(75) 自城西青孤堆过河：青孤堆，说铃本、昭代丛书本作“首孤堆”。

(75) Crossed the river from Qinggudui in the west of the city: Qinggudui, the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series write as “Shougudui”.

(76) 必有分理：《豫变纪略》卷六作“必资分理”。

(76) Must be divided reasonably: “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume Six writes as “Must provide division reasonably”.

(77) 务使人皆超距之雄：皆，《豫变纪略》卷六作“有”。

(77) Be sure to purge the military style: All, “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume Six writes as “have”.

(78) 勉之：《豫变纪略》卷六作“勉之勿忽”。

(78) Encourage you with this: “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume Six writes as “the encouragement cannot be ignored”.

(79) 择初三日庚子出师：初三日庚子，原本作“初二日庚子”。按是月朔为戊戌，初二日当为己亥，庚子为初三日。据说铃本、《豫变纪略》卷六改。

(79) On the third day, Gengzi, the army went to fight: On the third day, Gengzi, originally wrote as “on the second day, Gengzi”. According to this month, the first day is Wuxu, the second day is regarded as

Jihai, and the third day is Gengzi. The revision is based on the Trivial version and “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume Six .

(80) 健儿：原本讹“儿”为“见”，据说铃本、昭代丛书本改。

(80) The strong man: Originally mistake “man” to “jian”. The revision is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series.

(81) 扬头大炮十里外：十里，《豫变纪略》卷六作“七里”。

(81) The erected cannon issued a bomb from ten miles away: ten miles, “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume Six writes as “seven miles”.

(82) 壁曾诣河上阅视此路：昭代丛书本讹“诣”为“请”。

(82) Dian once look at this road on the river: Zhaodai Series mistake “yi” to “qing”.

(83) 橡子皮：橡，原本作“椽”，说邻本、《大梁守城记》俱作“椽”，据改。

(83) Acorn peel: Acorn, originally wrote as “chuan” (Chinese characters are written similarly). The revision is based on the Note-fiction version and ”Daliang’s Guarding of the City”, which both write as “Acorn”.

(84) 九月初一日戌辰：原本讹“戌”为“戌”，据说铃本、昭代丛书本改。

(84) On the first day of September, Wuchen: Originally mistake “wu” to “shu”. The revision is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series.

(85) 此条“计三十余石”下，诸本相异。说铃本作：“城头奄奄残喘，不能动履者，闻之色起。误听六斗为绿豆者，诸郡王也。”昭代丛书本作：“奄奄残喘，闻之色起。误听六斗为绿豆，诸郡王也。”

(85) About “with a total of more than 30 shi” in this sentence, each version differs from each other. The Trivial version write as: “the people who were dying and unable to walk on the city wall immediately became energetic when they heard it. And a county prince misunderstood six pockets as the mung bean.” Zhaodai Series write as: “The people who were dying on the city wall immediately became energetic when they heard it. And a county prince misunderstood six pockets as the mung bean.”

(86) 此记“一郡王误听六斗为绿豆。绿豆磨粉最佳。”疑有脱字。说铃本、昭代丛书本作：“一郡王曰：绿豆磨粉最佳。”

(86) There may be some words missed in the sentence “A county prince misunderstood six pockets as the mung bean. Mung beans were best ground into powder”. The Trivial version and Zhaodai Series write as: “A county prince said that it was best to grind mung beans into powder.”

(87) 南门先坏：原本讹“坏”为“壤”，据说铃本、昭代丛书本改。

(87) The South Gate was destroyed first: Originally mistake “huai” to “rang”. The revision is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series.

(88) 满城俱成河汉：汉，说邻本、昭代丛书本作“洪”。

(88) The whole city became a water city: In the Han dynasty, the Note-fiction version and Zhaodai Series write it as “flood”.

附题叙塘报

Attaching the prologue of the newspaper in Ming Dynasty

崇祯十五年十月日，江西道监察御史黄澍题为守汴为古今奇苦，叙功为鼓舞微权，乞速覃皇仁，广励忠义，以作后来榜样，以收未散人心事⁽¹⁾。云云。内云：贡生李光璜、生员张尔猷，或提兵城下，或巡缉城头⁽²⁾，要皆万死一生，与臣相依为命者，可无分别优叙，以示劝乎！本年十一月初七日，奉圣旨：“汴城坚守不屈，文武军民忠义可嘉，前谕作速旌叙，何至今未行？这本内有各员并黄澍、任浚，通行议叙，奏夺朝廷，褒忠酬力，典宜优速，以示风劝。”该部即与覆核，不得再稽。兵部覆请。崇祯十五年闰十一月十九日，奉圣旨：“叙功必由巡按取其详察确知。今汴城事局变换，追核殊难。黄澍事内身经，其言可据。着即照本议覆。俟苏京疏至，再行参稽覆叙”⁽³⁾。

In 1642 (15th year of the reign of Ming Emperor Chongzhen), Huang Shu who was an investigating censor of the Jiangxi, argued that the guard of Bianzhou was one of the most extreme misery from the ancient times to the present, and recorded that the credit was to encourage the tiny imperial power, begging the King's mercy, and thus extensively encouraged the loyal people to be the aim of the younger generation, which also aimed at gathering the people who hadn't leave the country and so on. (1) It was also said that the student who studied in the Imperial Academy named Li Guangdian and the student named Zhang Eryou sometimes led the army under the city wall (2), or patrolled on the city wall. They were the ones who survived among the tens of thousands of dead, who always lived and died with me. How could they not be praised separately to show the encouragement! On November 7th, according to the Emperor's order, people in Bianzhou were really unremitting. The army and ordinary people were worth praising because of their loyalty. Why had the people not been praised by the previous imperial edict? The edict including Huang Shu, Ren Jun and other officials. They were permitted to discuss issues and report them to the emperor. And all the loyal people should be praised and requited for their contribution. The celebration ceremony should be held as soon as possible, which showed the great encouragement from the government! This department must check with them right now and never examine that again. The ministry of war requested again. In 15th year of the reign of Ming Emperor Chongzhen, November 19th, the Emperor's order showed that if you wanted to review and recognize various achievements, grand coordinators must comprehend the total process and confirm that the situation must be real. Nowadays, the situation of the Bianzhou had been changed. So it was hard to search and check the truth. Huang Shu had experience these things personally. So his word was trustworthy. Therefore, the assessment would be made according to the document first, and when he arrived in the capital, it would be referenced and re-narrated." (3)

兵部一本守汴为古今奇苦等事：崇祯十五年十二月二十七日，奉圣旨：“守汴文武各官及乡绅举贡人等，劳辛备至，忠义可嘉，宜予叙赏特典以昭激劝。高名衡加兵部左侍郎⁽⁴⁾，病痊起用，仍赏

银四十两。任浚实授京堂起用，不必加级。黄澍、王燮已经考选，候俸满日优升京堂，各赏银三十两。梁炳授三品卿衔致仕，赏银三十两。苏壮加二级，吴士讲于新任加一级，各赏银二十两。苏茂灼、彭士奇加赠二级，荫一子，入监读书。陈永福加职二级，赏银三十两。陈德加职一级，赏银三十两⁽⁵⁾。谭国祯等十八员⁽⁶⁾，各加实职一级。无实职者，从小把总加授。杨铨、宋恕俱授七品京职。李光璧选授知县。张尔猷功贡优选。吴之综加级改授。车登科、谢廷玺复原官。承奉曹坤司礼监优叙”⁽⁷⁾。

The book from the ministry of war had recorded the extremely difficulties in guarding the Bianzhou. In 15th year of the reign of Ming Emperor Chongzhen, December 27th, the Emperor's order showed that the civil and military officials, country gentleman and the tribute students who guarded the Bianzhou were literally toilsome, and their loyalty was really worthy praising. So special celebrations should be held for them to show the encouragement of the imperial. Gao Mingheng accepted a commission as the left assist minister (4) of the Ministry of the War after he recovered, and was rewarded forty taels of silver. Ren Jun accepted a commission as the official of the Capital Hall, and he didn't need to be added grade. Huang Shu and Wang Xie had already passed the imperial examination. When their observation period expired, they were would be given priority to be promoted to the Capital Hall as officials. And they were each rewarded thirty taels of silver. Liangbing accepted a commission of the third grade until he retired, and was rewarded thirty taels of silver. Su Zhuang had been added one grade. Wu Shijiang had been appointed to a new commission and added one grade. They were each rewarded twenty taels of silver. Su Maozhuo and Peng Shiqi had been added two grades and their sons could be allowed to study in the Imperial Academy. Chen Yongfu had been added two grades and accepted thirty taels of silver. Chen De had been added one grade and also accepted thirty taels of silver (5). Tan Guozhen and the other eighteen officials (6) had been added one grade. For those who didn't have any real position, they were appointed from small positions. Both Yang Quan and Song Shu were appointed officials of the seventh grade in the capital. Li Guang Dian was granted the post of county magistrate. Zhang Eryou had done a lot and gave him the first choice. Wu Zhizong had been added grades and was given other official positions. Che Dengke and Xie Tingxi had been reinstated to their original position. Cao Kun was promoted to the position of the court which was in charge of the imperial ceremony” (7).

校记

Annotation

(1) 以收未散人心事：原本无“以”字，据说铃本、昭代丛书本补。

(1) Aimed at gathering the people who hadn't leave the country and so on: Originally it didn't have the word“yi”. The supplement is based on the Trivial version and Zhaodai Series.

(2) 或巡缉城头：城，原本讹作“贼”，据说铃、昭代丛书本改。

(2) Patrolled on the city wall: city wall, originally was mistaken as“the enemies”. The revision is based

on the Note-fiction version and Zhaodai Series.

(3) 再行参稽覆叙：原本及道光二十三年同。覆，昭代丛书本作“核”。

(3) Be referenced and re-narrated: Originally the same as the one in 23rd of Daoguang. Fu, Zhaodai Series wrote as“he”.

(4)高名衡加兵部左侍郎：诸本同。《平寇志》卷五、《豫变纪略》卷六载作：“高名衡加兵部右侍郎。”

(4) Gao Mingheng accepted a commission as the left assist minister of the Ministry of the War : All versions are the same. "Records of Sweeping Rogues" Volume five and “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume Six write as“Gao Mingheng accepted a commission as the right assist minister of the Ministry of the War”.

(5) .此记陈永福加职二级，赏银三十两。陈德加职一级，赏银二十两。《豫变纪略》卷六所载亦如是。昭代丛书本作：“陈永福加职二级，陈德加职一级，各赏银二十两。”

(5) Chen Yongfu had been added two grades and accepted thirty taels of silver. Chen De had been added one grade and also accepted thirty taels of silver. “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume Six also records like this. Zhaodai Series write as“Chen Yongfu had been added two grades and Chen De had been added one grade and each accepted twenty taels of silver.”

(6) 谭国祯等十八员：原本无“等”字，据《平寇志》卷五、《豫变纪略》卷六补。

(6) Tan Guozhen and the other eighteen officials: Originally it didn't have the word“other”. The supplement is based on the "Records of Sweeping Rogues" Volume five and “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume Six.

(7) 承奉曹坤司礼监优叙：昭代丛书本作：“承奉曹帅加级优叙。”；清钞本在“承奉曹坤”下注：“下三字模糊。”《豫变纪略》卷六所记，曹坤前无“承奉”二字。

(7) Official Cao Kun was promoted to the position of the court which was in charge of the imperial ceremony: Zhaodai Series write as“Official Cao Kun was promoted”. The Manuscript version of the Qing Dynasty notes under the “Official Cao Kun” that “these three characters are blurred”. In the “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume Six , it didn't have the word“official” before Cao Kun.

附录一

Appendix I

钦定四库全书史部杂史类存目提要

The historical part of the general catalogue of Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature made by imperial order

《守汴日志》一卷⁽¹⁾，明李光壓撰。

The first roll of "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng" (1) was written by Li Guangdian of Ming Dynasty.

光壓，祥符人，崇禎十五年（1642），以城守功，由贡生议叙知县。是编成于崇禎癸未（1643），光壓流寓南京之时，记李自成三攻开封，终于河决城没之事。大致与史传相出入，而分日记载，于情事委曲，特为详细。

Guangdian came from Xiangfu. In the fifteenth year of Chongzhen (1642), he was promoted to county magistrate from the student who studied in the Imperial Collage for his contributions to guarding Bianzhou. This book was completed on the 17th day of Chongzhen (1643), when Guangdian temporarily lived in Nanjing. This book recorded the story of Li Zicheng attacking Bianzhou for three times, and finally the Yellow River burst and Bianzhou was submerged. The content was roughly the same as the historical biography, but it was recorded on a daily basis, and the ins and outs of the incident were written in particular detail.

史称陈永福射李自成，眇其左目。此记为永福之子守备陈德所射。光壓登陴目击，当得其真。光壓创造车营，拟连抵河畔，以应北岸之援兵，众议相持，车成未试而城圯⁽²⁾，颇以为恨。然时非三代，而车战是资，恐终为房琯之续。故康熙乙巳（1665）鄱陵梁熙跋是书，亦深以是举为疑。又诸书记城中拟决河以灌贼，反以自灌。光壓此志，殊无是事。且《志》称：九月初一日以后，守城之兵，每日饿死三、四百人，其枵腹待尽者，不满千人。守陴尚且不能，况能撓贼之锋，出而荷锄！熙跋亦谓：决灌寇营，乃谏垣之议，城中不及与闻，或亦持平之论乎！是役也，贼三攻不克，光壓与生员张尔猷最为有力，而推官黄澍、总兵陈永福，拒守尤坚。其后，永福终降自成，澍亦归附国朝，复潜入徽州，诱执金声，皆非忠于所事者，此特记其一时之功耳（3）。

According to history, Chen Yongfu shot Li Zicheng and blinded his left eye. According to the record here, Li Zicheng was shot by Guard Chen De, the son of Yongfu. Guangdian climbed the tower and witnessed it with his own eyes. So it should be true. Guangdian manufactured a car battalion and connected it to the riverside in response to the reinforcements on the north bank. Everyone was very supportive. It was a pity that the car battalion had been done while had not been tested yet, but the city wall had collapsed (2). But

the time was no longer the three dynasties of Xia, Shang, and Zhou, and the chariot battle was only theoretically feasible. And I was afraid that he would eventually continue the story of Fang Guan. Therefore, on the 22nd of Kangxi (1665), Liang Xi of Yanling wrote this epilogue, and he was deeply skeptical of this move. At the same time, many books recorded that people in the city wanted to let the Yellow River burst to flood the enemy. Instead, people drowned themselves. In the record of Guangdian, there was no such thing. Moreover, the "Record" said that after the first day of September, there were three or four hundreds of soldiers guarding the city who starved to death every day, and only less than a thousand people were hungry but not yet dead. They couldn't defend the city, let alone face the enemy's edge, carrying a shovel and coming out to fight! Xi's postscript also said that the decision to flood the enemy's camp was the suggestion of the admonishment bureau. Some people in the city hadn't heard of it yet, and some held a neutral attitude! In this battle, the enemy failed to conquer Bianzhou three times. The plan of Guangdian and student Zhang Er was the most effective, while Official Huang Shi and General Chen Yongfu were the firmest in resisting the enemy. Later, Yongfu finally surrendered to Zicheng, Shu also attached to the court and sneaked into Huizhou again. They were not completely loyal to the people they served, this was just a record of their momentary merits (3).

校记

Annotation

(1) 《四库全书总目提要》总五四《史部十·杂史类存目三》载：《守汴日志》一卷，下有“大学士英廉家藏本”七字。（万有文库本）

(1) It is recorded in the Volume 54 of "The tenth of the historical part· Category Three of the Miscellaneous History" of "The general catalogue of Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature made by imperial order" that there are seven words "books collected by the scholar Yinglian" on "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng". (Book of Wanyou Library)

(2) 车成未试而城圯：城圯，原本、道光七年本及合刻本，均作“成圯”。据《四库全书总目提要》改。

(2) The car battalion had been done while had not been tested yet, but the city wall had collapsed: city was originally written as "bridge", which was the same as the version of the seventh year of Daoguang and the Joint publication. The revision is based on the "The general catalogue of Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature made by imperial order".

(3) 道光二十三年本此句下有“河间臣纪昀撰”六字。

(3) In the version of the twenty-third year of Daoguang, there are six words "written by Hejian Chen Jiyun" under this sentence.

附录二

Appendix 2

原序

Original preface

周斯盛

Zhou Sisheng

戊辰（1688）冬，余再过杞，友人侯敬韦持大梁李君熙亮《守汴日志》一编示余⁽¹⁾，曰：“此李君避乱金陵时，病且革，口授其子奎，且戒之曰：‘吾三度围城中，万死一生所亲历，今虽死不忍忘，然信口追述，复语俚字⁽²⁾，所不暇计，他日有为我删定者，汝其图之。’奎泣而受之以付梓⁽³⁾。今四十余年矣。子盖校之，以成李君之志。”读数过，乃删去繁复二千有余言⁽⁴⁾，稍加审定。嗟乎！明季当辛巳、壬午间，中原寇讧已极，然贼素无大志，唯务残掠，攻陷城邑，不能自守。虽乌合实繁，而扑灭犹易。乃秉钧者专讲门户而置封疆，司阃者复养寇氛以邀爵赏，号令不一，痛痒不关，任贼出入，两年攻围三次，而无有发一矢以相救者。势穷力竭，举汴而委之波臣，然后起旧督于累囚，付以讨贼之任，资既刚愎，趣战复急，师携粮绝，一败涂地。贼于是入关、入晋，势同拉朽⁽⁵⁾，不二年，而神京遂陷。然则汴之存亡，固天下存亡之所系也。使当轴者早为汴计，腐城者尽如汴之坚守，贼焉能得志至此！痛定思痛，可为恸哭矣。然汴以孤立危城，当方张巨寇，军无锐士，庾无见粮⁽⁶⁾。百计环攻，人皆死奋，斩首俘馘，往往而有，至于困甚罗雀，惨同析骸，犹莫不北望哀愤，思为厉鬼以杀贼。此亦可见众志成城，而去兵去食者之果可与立也。且夫王有根、周世忠之勇决，张坚、张尔猷之谋略，而李君更以精悍之才，奋其忠智，不惜赀产，不恤妻子；周旋于锋镝之间之数君者，或为诸生，或为市侩，或生或死，要皆立志较然，之死靡贰，岂不皎皎与日月争光，而足以愧当时之操国柄⁽⁷⁾，拥重兵者哉！嗟乎，使李君车营之计得行⁽⁸⁾，通饷馈以活饥军，引援兵以挫贼势⁽⁹⁾，内外夹击，纵不尽歼，必且溃去。而乃有谋不用，坐待死亡⁽¹⁰⁾，徒使五百壮士冒险持粮，断手愤泣，自投隍下，而城亦随之以尽，不亦重可哀乎！庞勋之乱⁽¹¹⁾，围刺史杜愔于泗州者凡十月，食尽。人为薄饘以给⁽¹²⁾，赖处士辛说冒围出入，引辑援师，卒完一州。汴之危急，何减于泗，君之智略不啻如说，谋之用与不用，而有功与无功异焉。盖幸则为辛说，不幸则为李君，古今来仁人志士，奋区区之忠，以扶倾救陷为己任，而卒于无成，赍恨以歿者，何可胜道？凡此，皆李君之类也⁽¹³⁾。读是编者，可以知其人而伤其志矣⁽¹⁴⁾。

Wuchen (1688) Winter, I passed by Qizhou again. My friend Hou Jingwei took Da Liang's Li Xiliang's book "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng" and showed it to me (1). He said that: "This was dictated to

his son Luan when Li was critically ill and took refuge in Jinling. He also warned: 'This is my personal experience of surviving though thousands of hundreds of people died during the three sieges of the city. Although I am dying now, I dare not forget it. But I said casually based on my memory. Regarding the folk words (2), I don't have time to think about it, and someone will edit it for me later. I hand it to you today.' Luan sobbed and accepted it to print(3). It had been more than forty years till now. You could correct and edit it to fulfill Li's ambition." I had read it for several times, so I deleted the extra two thousand words(4), and gradually finalized the manuscript. well! During the Xinsi and Renwu years of the Ming Dynasty, the numbers of the rebels in China were coming to the extreme. However, the enemies never had big ambitions, and they only worked hard to capture and conquer the city, which could not defend themselves. Although there were so many mobs, it was easy to fight them out. So the ruling authorities set up borders by studying the portals. The local military chiefs rehabilitated the enemy to ask for rewards. The orders were varied and unrelated, allowing the enemies to come to attack and siege for three times in two years. There was no one actually rescuing the army. They were exhausted, and they arrived in Bianzhou and were entrusted with important tasks, and then released the imprisoned people to the task of crusade against the enemy. He was very conceited and the battle was urgent. The army was out of food, and was then defeated. The enemies then unstoppably entered the country(5). Less than two years later, the capital fell. However, the survival of the Bianzhou army was certainly tied to the survival of the world. If those in power had planned for Bianzhou long ago, and those who surrendered would stick to it like the people of Bianzhou, how could the enemies get here! After the pain had passed, how could it not be painful to think about it at that time. However, in this isolated and dangerous city of Bianzhou, the army did not have elite soldiers, and the open-air grain warehouse had no grain. But it could withstand the two enemies of Fang and Zhang (6).The enemy tried every means to attack, and the people in the city fought hard to kill the enemy. People were trapped like sparrows in a frame, dissecting their corpses to eat, but still looking angrily at north, thinking of transforming into ghosts to kill the enemies. In addition, Wang Yougen and Zhou Shizhong had courageous determination. Zhang Jian and Zhang Eryou had strategy. And Li had strong talents, using his loyalty and wisdom, who did not spare his own property and did not care about his wife and son. Among the sharp arrows, some were students or market merchants, some lived and some died. In short, they were determined to be firm and did not have other ambitions. Didn't they enough to compare with the sun and the moon? Didn't they enough to make the people who held the power of the country (7) and the soldiers at that time feel ashamed! Alas, suppose that Le's plan of the car battalion could be realized (8), and he would receive military payment to save the hungry army and bring reinforcements to defeat the enemy's forces (9). Attacking from inside and outside, even if it the enemy could not be completely annihilated, the enemy must be scattered and left. But if there was a plan but not to use, just sitting there and waiting for death (10), only let the five hundred strong men take the risk of taking food, breaking their hands and crying in anger, jumping into the moat, and the city was finally conquered, wasn't it a pity! In the Pang Xun's Rebellion (11), the governor Du Xuan was sieged in Sizhou for ten months and all food was exhausted. Everyone was eating the thin rice cereal (12). Fortunately, the hermit Xin Jian broke through the encircle and led reinforcements, and finally preserved a state. How could the crisis of Bianzhou's army

be smaller than that of Sizhou? Your wisdom was not inferior. Whether the strategy was used or not, there was a difference between active and reactive power. Probably, if you were lucky, it would be Xin Jian. And unfortunately, it would be Li. From ancient to modern times, people with lofty ideals had exerted their loyalty to provide relief and assistance to people in distress, but they did not succeed in the end. What could be said for those who died with resentment? These people were all similar to Li (13). Readers who read this book could know his character and felt sad for his ambitions (14).

康熙己巳（1689）秋八月七日，鄆县周斯盛祀公撰⁽¹⁵⁾。

In the autumn of Kangxi Jisi (1689), August 7th, edited by Zhou Sishengqi, who also named Qigong, of Yin County (15).

校记

Annotation:

(1) 友人侯敬韦持大梁李君熙亮：昭代丛书本侯敬韦下空二字格，无“持大梁”三字。康熙三十四年《开封府志》卷三六《艺文·周斯盛守汴日志序》（简称府志周文）：侯敬韦作“侯运昌”，李君熙亮作“李光暨”。

(1) My friend Hou Jingwei took Da Liang's Li Xiliang's book: Zhaodai Series have the two-character grid empty under Hou Jingwei, and don't have the words "took Da Liang's". The 34th Year of Kangxi "Kaifeng Mansion Chronicles" Volume 36 "Art-Zhou Sisheng's Preface of The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng" (Abbreviated as Chronicles of Zhou) write Hou Jingwei to "Hou Yunchang" and Li Xiliang to "Li Guangdian".

(2) 复语俚字：字，昭代丛书本作“言”。

(2) Regarding the folk words: words, Zhaodai Series write as "yan".

(3) 嗟泣而受之以梓：昭代丛书本作“嗟泣而志之”。

(3) Luan sobbed and accepted it to print: Zhaodai Series write as "Luan sobbed and set aspirations".

(4) 乃删去繁复二千有余言：昭代丛书本脱“有”字。

(4) Deleted the extra two thousand words: Zhaodai Series don't have the word "you".

(5) 势同拉朽：原本讹“朽”为“祐”，据昭代丛书本改。

(5) Unstoppably: Originally mistake "xiu" to "you" (Chinese characters are written similarly). The revision is based on Zhaodai Series.

(6) 庾无见粮：原本讹“庾”为“度”，据府志周文及说铃本改。

(6) The open-air grain warehouse had no grain: Originally mistake “yu” to “shou”(Chinese characters are written similarly). The revision is based on the Chronicles of Zhou and Trivial version.

(7) 而足以愧当时之操国柄：当时，昭代丛书本作“当世”。

(7) Make the people who held the power of the country and the soldiers at that time feel ashamed: at that time, Zhaodai Series write as “at that world”.

(8) 府志周文此句下有“居今用古，骇贼听闻，眩其心目”十二字。

(8) “The Chronicles of Zhou” has the words “living in the present and studying the past, horrified the enemy's hearing, and dazzled their hearts” under the sentence.

(9) 引援兵以挫贼势：昭代丛书本无“以”字。

(9) Bring reinforcements to defeat the enemy's forces: Zhaodai Series don't have the word “yi”.

(10) 此记“内外夹击，……坐待死亡，”府志周文作：“皆未敢知也，与其匡坐以待毙，何若出奇以听天，有谋不用”。

(10) In this article, “Attacking from inside and outside, ……just sitting there and waiting for death ,” “the Chronicles of Zhou” writes as : “The reason could not be known. Rather than sitting and waiting for correction, it is better to obey the fate and plan but never use.”.

(11) 庞勋之乱：府志周文作“唐庞勋之乱。”

(11) Pang Xun's Rebellion: “the Chronicles of Zhou” write it as “Pang Xun's Rebellion of Tang Dynasty”.

(12) 人为薄饘以给：人，府志周文、昭代丛书本供作“恹”。

(12) Everyone was eating the thin rice cereal: Everyone, “the Chronicles of Zhou” and Zhaodai Series both write as “tao”.

(13) 此记“盖幸则为辛谿，……凡此，皆李君之类也。”原本“凡”后无“此”字，据府志周文无昭代丛书本科此，另作他记，因文字较长，不录。

(13) In this article, “Probably, if you were lucky, it would be Xin Jian. And unfortunately, it would be Li.” Originally there was no “ci” behind “fan”. The revision is based on “the Chronicles of Zhou” and Zhaodai Series. The reason for not being recorded is due to the long text.

(14) 可以知其人而伤其志矣：府志周文作“可以知其人而不忘其功也。”

(14) Could know his character and felt sad for his ambitions: the Chronicles of Zhou write as “could know his character and never forget his merits.”

(15) 鄞县周斯盛此公撰：昭代丛书本作“周斯盛敬序”。

(15) Edited by Zhou Sishengqi, who also named Qigong, of Yin County: Zhaodai Series write as “Zhou Sisheng respectfully writes the preface”.

重刻守汴日志叙

Reengraving preface of “*The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*”

陈鸿

Chen Hong

衡茅之士，未始无才，而苦于谋画之不用。稽考之，儒未始无学，而患其忠孝之不知。夫忠孝不知，则学非所学，遑问其事业耶！

People who lived in simple huts were not without talents, but suffered from their tactics not being used. After investigation, Confucian students were not without knowledge. People were only worried that he did not know loyalty and filial piety. For those who did not know loyalty and filial piety, learning was useless, let alone career!

李君熙亮《守汴日志》一书，世之览之者，无不惜其才，而余独深服李君之学。明社之移也，虚兵糜饷，纵寇殃民，不独汴为可慨。方李君奋义勇，殫勤劳于围城之中，至再至三，愈出愈奇，非平日讲明于君臣大义者，何以能此？《志》中附载当日邸报，朝廷有“汴城坚守不屈，文武军民忠义可嘉，前谕作速旌叙，何至今未行”之旨。此李君之所以不遇。夫我国朝，崇祀乡贤。李君虽不遇于一时，未始不遇于千载也。昔狄武襄折节读书，悉通秦汉以来兵法，岳武穆览经史，恂恂如书生。若李君者，虽功名不类，亦可云无愧矣。嗟乎！圣贤教人，无非躬行实践，自来小人皆极有才，而助恶党逆，为天下笑。岂非学术不明之故哉！兹李君族孙漱芳明府，因差来滇，出是编，重付梓，余故乐而为之序。

No one in the world who read this book “*The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*” which wrote by Li Xiliang did not cherish his talent, and I was deeply impressed by Li's knowledge. The change in the organization of the Ming Dynasty was a useless army wasting military salaries and indulging the enemy to harm the people. It was not only Bianzhou that made people feel so sad. Fang and Li worked hard and courageously in the besieged city. By the second and third time, they became more and more pleasantly surprised. How could they did this if they were not usually loyal to the emperor and the righteous? The "Record" attached the news for notification that day. The imperial court stated that "Bianzhou insisted on unyielding, and the loyalty of the military and civilian was commendable. The emperor's decree was previously issued to praise them and hired them as officials. Why hadn't it been done so far." This was the reason why Li was not appreciated. The court of our country respected the virtuous of the township. Although Li was not appreciated for the time being, he would be appreciated one day in the future. In the past, Di Wuxiang changed his old habits, studying eagerly, and mastered the art of war since the Qin and Han dynasties. Yue Fei read the classics and history, respectfully like a scholar. People like Li, even though they had not gained fame, could be said to have no shame. Alas! When sages taught others, they all practiced by themselves first. The bad guys had been extremely talented since ancient times, and they helped the evil

party rebel and were ridiculed by the world. Wasn't it because of the academic ignorance! The grandson of the Li family, Shufang, came to Yunnan because of a business trip. So I compiled this book and reprinted it. I was very happy and wrote the preface for this book.

道光乙酉(1825)秋九月，云南学使者通政使司参议钱塘陈鸿拜撰。

In the autumn of September of Daoguang Yiyou (1825), Chen Hong, the general political envoy of the Yunnan Academy of Education who was from the Qiantang, wrote.

重刻守汴日志序

Reengraving preface of “*The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*”

佟景文

Tong Jingwen

李漱芳明府自湘奉差来滇，因公接见，为人忠实伉爽，学养醇粹，与余谈甚相洽。询其家阍，知为大梁名族。因获读其族祖熙亮公《守汴日志》一书，见公忠义智勇，毁家纾难，数出奇策，以挫贼锋。黄侍御澍所称有豪杰之作为，有圣贤之心肠，洵非虚语。乃车营之计不行，至于势穷力竭，万死一生，终以无济。公之才不遇，公之志可悲矣！

Master Li Shufang went to Yunnan from Sichuan, and I met him on business. He was a loyal, upright and bold person, and he had pure and profound knowledge. He talked with me very happily. I asked about his family history and I knew that his family was a famous clan. So I obtained and read the book "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng" by his grandfather Xiliang. I saw him being loyal, wise and brave, ignoring his own family, solving problems for everyone, and counting out strange strategies to defeat the enemy.

Official Huang Peng said that he had a heroic deeds and a sage heart, which was really not a lie. Due to the car battalion plan could not be realized and his power was exhausted, though he would survive through hundreds of thousands of people died, his talent did not meet the opportunity, and his ambition was a pity!

按史崇祯辛巳春正月，李自成陷河南府，杀福王常询，乘胜围开封，周王恭枵及副将陈永福拒却之。冬十一月，自成再攻开封。壬午春二月，复围开封，总兵陈永福射中自成目，贼攻益急。左良玉藉口剿张献忠不赴援。六月，开封围急，杨文岳合四镇兵次朱仙镇，良玉见贼盛，一夕拔营走襄阳，众皆溃。九月，巡抚高名衡议决河灌贼，贼侦知之，移营高阜，驱难民数万决河，河水自北门入，贯东南门出，庐舍人民荡尽。贼浮舰入城无所得，拔营西去。《日志》载：崇祯辛巳正月，贼攻河南府，巡抚李仙凤出剿河北土寇，副将陈永福往雒阳，收辑残破未回。二月初九日，贼自雒疾走三昼夜，十二日，直抵汴。巡抚高名衡合文武御之。十七日，陈永福子陈德射伤自成左目。十八日，贼遁，破密县，走登封。十二月二十三日夜，自成屯土堤，罗汝才屯繁塔寺。二十四日，贼攻东北门，不克。壬午正月，贼南通。五月初三日，贼屯阎李寨⁽¹⁾。十五日，左良玉兵次朱仙镇。十七日，贼夜遁。二十五日，贼复回阎李寨。六月十四日，贼掘河口上流。七月初三日，贼以掘河不能淹城反碍攻城之路，杀倡议决河者。八月初二日，众请巡抚、总兵出师。陈永福笑不应，高名衡答以且缓半月。初七日，高名衡令搜民粮。九月十六日，河水灌开封，城陷；西南贼俱远遁，东北贼溺死无算。周王北渡。梁鄆陵曰：“黄河之沉开封，天也。闯寇有智伯攻赵之举，而水势不从。至于决灌寇营，或有局外条陈，非守城者所与闻也。”鄆陵之辨河决有同《日志》。而射伤贼目之人与其年月，史与《日志》皆不合。岂射贼者固陈德而归功于其父耶！

According to the historical records, in the first month of the spring of the year of Chongzhen Xinsi, Li Baicheng captured Henan Mansion, killing the King Fu Zhu Changxun, and surrounded Kaifeng by victory. King Zhou Zhu Gongchan and his deputy Chen Yongfu resisted him. In November, Zicheng attacked Kaifeng again. In February, he surrounded Kaifeng again. General Chen Yongfu shot Zicheng in his eye, and the enemy's attack became more fierce. Zuo Liangyu excused to eliminate Zhang Xianzhong and thus did not come to support them. Since June, the siege of Kaifeng had been in critical condition. Yang Wenyue united soldiers from the four towns to station in Zhuxian Town. Seeing the large number of enemies, Liangyu led his army to escaped from the camp to Xiangyang at one night, and everyone collapsed. In September, Governor Gao Mingheng decided to flood the enemy with the Yellow River. After the enemy detected it, they moved to the higher ground and expelled tens of thousands of refugees. The river entered through the north gate and exited from the southeast gate. The houses and the people were gone. The enemies went into the city by boat but had no gain, so they went west. "Records" contained that on the first month of the Xinsi year of Chongzhen, the enemy attacked Henan Mansion. The governor Li Xianfeng went out to suppress the bandits in Hebei, and the deputy general Chen Yongfu went to Luoyang to clean up the mess, who had not returned. On the 9th of February, the enemies ran away from Luo for three days and nights. And on the 12th, they arrived in Bianzhou. The governor Gao Mingheng and civil and military officials jointly defended them. On the 17th, Chen Yongfu's son Chen De shot Zicheng's left eye. On the 18th, the enemies fled and captured Mi County and went to Dengfeng. On the night of December 23rd, Zicheng stationed at the earth embankment and Luo Rucai stationed at Fanta Temple. On the 24th, the enemy attacked the northeast gate but not succeed. In the first lunar month of Renwu, the enemies escaped south. On the third day of May, the enemies stationed in Yanli Village (1). On the 15th, Zuo Liangyu sent troops to Zhuxian Town. On the 17th, the enemies escaped at night. On the 25th, the enemy returned to Yanli Village. On June 14th, the enemy dug the upper stream of the river. On the third day of July, the enemy killed the proponents who suggested that digging the river could not flood the city, and instead hinder the road to siege. On the second day of August, the governor and the General were requested to send the troops. Chen Yongfu smiled but did not answer. Gao Mingheng said that he would wait for half a month. On the seventh day, Gao Mingheng ordered a search for civilian food. On September 16th, the river flooded Kaifeng and the city fell. The enemies in the southwest fled far away, and the countless enemies in the northeast drowned. King Zhou crossed the Yellow River to the north. Liang Yanling said: "Whether the Yellow River can submerge Kaifeng depends on God's will. Li Zicheng's army had moved to attack Zhao, but the water of the Yellow River did not allow it. As for flooding the enemy's camp, it might be the outsiders said, none of the defenders had heard of it." Yanling's breaking of the river and the dike was the same as the "Journal". The person who shot the enemy's eyes as well as the year and month of the historical records are different from those of the "Journal". Was it true that the person who shot the enemy was Chen De and was then attributed to his father?

汴之久围，其罪在左良玉之拥众兵而不速援，若高名衡虽用车营之策，未必果能剿贼，然知其不能剿而安于不剿，国家安用此怯夫！为当析骸易子之日，饥而死，何如战而死？名衡虽未倡谋掘

河而坐失事机，使餐蛆茹泥之众，皆为鱼鳖，咎将谁委乎！若熙亮公者谋虽不用，亦可以愧当时之秉国钧握兵柄而进退失据者已！是为序。

Bianzhou had been under siege for so long, and it was blamed on Zuo Liangyu's possession of an army but not prompt assistance. Even if Gao Mingheng really used the strategy of the car battalion, he may not really be able to eliminate the enemy. However, knowing that he could not be suppressed and then contented not to suppress, how could the country use this cowardly man! Instead of dying of hunger on the day when the food was exhausted, why not fight to death? Although Mingheng did not propose to dig a river and missed the opportunity, the result was that people used maggots and mud as food. All were fish and turtles, who was to blame for! Even if Xiliang's plan was not used, it could still shame those who were in high positions, holding the power of the army but do nothing at the time! So I wrote this preface.

道光丙戌（1826）春仲，云南分巡迤南使者长白佟景文拜撰。

The second month of the Summer calendar in the year of Daoguang Bingxu (1826), written by Tong Jingwen of Changbai who was the official of Yunnan.

校记

Annotation

(1) 贼屯阎李寨：阎李寨，原本作“阎李塞”，据《守汴日志》、《豫变纪略》卷五改。

(1) The enemies stationed in Yanli Village: Yanli Village, Originally wrote as “Yanli Sai”. The revision is based on “The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng” and “Documentary of Henan coup” Volume five.

重刻守汴日志序

Reengraving preface of "*The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng*"

李棠阶

Li Tangjie

嗟乎，流寇之祸，至明季极矣！而吾乡实当贼冲，方贼之陷洛而趋汴也，鸱张豕突，虐焰滔天，谓汴可指日下，而卒以百余万强梁之众，攻一区区孤立无助之危城，或败或遁，至再至三，而究不能得志。而一时豪杰之士，登城守陴，厉忠义，悉智勇，至于餐蛆茹泥，苟延残喘，白日昏昏，冤鬼夜哭，终无二志，而卒乃委于河伯之一怒。则汴之亡，非贼之能亡之也，天亡之也！亦非天之肯亡之也，乃当事者，不用吾家熙亮君车营之计，而自亡之也。夫熙亮君，一总社耳，非如抚镇诸公高爵厚禄，膺朝廷之重寄，而作饼充饷，设钱募役，不恤其家，出城乞师，毅然自任，不惜其身。凡其枕戈尽瘁，奋智勇之略而愈出愈奇者，苟非忠义之所固结，何以至此？至车营之计，论者谓当时即用，亦未必有济。夫为人臣子，值事势艰危，计无复之而复鼓其百折不回之气，以冀天命之一回，则又安知其不为胯下之炮与尺许之墙也。若高名衡之借口于援兵，陈永福之微笑而不应，误国殃民，束手待毙，复何为哉？复何为哉？兹因熙亮君之族孙漱芳明府奉差来滇，得借读《守汴日志》一书，哀公之遇，壮公之志，而不禁叹息，痛恨于当日之拥兵纵寇而坐失事机者也。因撮书其大略于简端而论之如此。

Alas, the scourge of gangsters reached the top in the Ming Dynasty. Our city kept out the enemy's assault when the enemy captured Luoyang and after that they wanted to occupy Bianzhou. They were aggressive like sparrow hawks and rushing like wild boars. They set the fire which was burning fiercely and said that the day was not too distant when they finally captured Bianzhou. But they lead the millions of valorous to capture the isolated city which no one could help it. Someone were defeated and someone had escaped. They had tried to capture the city again and again, but they never had a successful result. But at the same time, the outstanding talents climbed the city wall to guard the city. They encouraged the loyal people and elaborated the ordinary and brave people. Even they had to eat the food which were full of maggots and clay and reluctantly kept living. The fool who died unjustly cried from morning to night. Until the last minute, they never had any other ambition, and finally they died because of the anger of the god of the river. So we had known that the subjugation of Bianzhou was not attribute to the strong ability of the enemy but the god wanted Bianzhou subjugated. Actually it was not the god wanted Bianzhou subjugated. The real reason was the potentate didn't take the XiLiang's stratagem of using chariots, so they brought the disaster to themselves. XiLiang was the leader of organization and he were not like the other officials which had the high rank of nobility and high government pay. He made the bannock as the soldier's food and recruited the military by raising money. He didn't sympathize with his own family and prayed for the army at the outside of the city. He persisted in designating by himself and didn't take good care of himself. The people who slept on the weapon and tried their best to protect the city worked out the smart and brave

strategies and raised the new strategies which were more and more wonderfully. If they were not gathered because of loyalty, why would they do that? We thought if the strategy of using chariots was used, it may not really play a part in the war. The ministers had known the situation was dangerous. There was no good strategy and I could not help but think so. I really appreciated the courage that they had underwent many frustration but still insisting on guarding the city. Looking forward to the heavens to let it go, then how did you know that it was not the cannon under the hip and the wall of about a foot that were actually helping them. Chen Yongfu just smiled and had no response to Gao Mingheng's peg of aided troops, which was harming the country and bringing calamities to the people, only waiting for dying. Why do that? Why do that? Nowadays Shufang, also named Mingfu, who was the grandson of XiLiang received orders to come to Yunnan. So I was able to borrow the book named "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng" to read. I really grieved the situation which his grandfather met and felt proud of his grandfather's dream. So I couldn't help sighing and hating the person who had the army but indulged the enemy and that missed the chance. So we extracted the book and briefed it and discussed about it like that.

道光丁亥（1827）仲春，云南提学使者翰林院编修同里李棠阶拜撰。

In the middle spring of 1827 (19th year of the reign of Qing Emperor Daoguang), Li Tangjie, the official in the Imperial Academy in Yunnan, composed the article respectfully.

守汴志、崇祀录合刻序

"The Preface of the guardian of Bianzhou's Log and the record of sacrificial ceremony"

许乃钊

Xu Naizhao

余读《守汴日记》毕，喟然叹曰：“嗟乎！如李公者洵所谓豪杰之士、慷慨任事人也。”继又得《崇祀录》一编，读之肃然起曰：“嗟乎！如李公者，非独豪杰之士慷慨任事人也。”其忠义淳挚，出于性生者，实有硕廉懦立之风焉。方公之守汴也，人心未固，守御未坚，内鲜宿粮，外无援救，以屹然孤城；而当百万鸱张之寇，前后困守至七阅月，不幸河流横决，城社皆虚，大事既去，而公之力竭矣！夫公之所任者，不过一左所总耳，非有事权之属，人民之寄也，而毁家纾难，奋不顾身如是，岂非慷慨任事人哉！虽然公之功烈见于守城者，人咸知之。至其避难金陵，隐居通许，甘心泯没而不悔者，孤忠自矢，人犹未知其用心之苦也。夫以公之才智，能御鸱张之寇，岂不能效用兴朝，以平祸乱，以守汴奇功，仅得甄叙拔贡、县令。设使优命立功酬庸，褒绩取青紫如拾芥耳，岂不勋名赫奕哉！然而流徙异乡，沉沦邻邑，视功名若草芥，弃身家如敝屣，公之心知有忠义而已，他何所系恋哉！

After reading "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng", I said thoughtfully: "Oh! People like Mr. Li are really so-called bold and generous people." And I also got "the record of sacrificial ceremony" to edit. After I finished reading, I awed and said: "Oh! People like Mr. Li are not just heroes who are generous." This kind of loyalty and sincerity was out of nature, and could make greedy people clean and cowardly people set their ambitions. His influence was very powerful. When he was guarding Bianzhou, people's hearts were unstable and their defenses were not strong. There was little food in the country and no foreign aid, making Bianzhou an isolated city. When millions of arrogant enemies besieged Bianzhou until July, unfortunately the Yellow River burst its banks. The city was weak and the favorable situation had been lost and could not be restored. But he has already tried his best! At that time, his position was just a leader of the Left Institute, which was not a position of power. But he was the hope of the people. He disregarded his own family, solving problems for the people, and worked so hard to do this. Wasn't he a generous person? But the people who defended the city had seen his merits, and everyone knew it. As for him to take refuge in Jinling, staying in Tongxu silently, being willing to be an ordinary person without regrets and being lonely, loyal, and determined, people still didn't know his intentions. If he could resist arrogant enemies with his talent and wisdom, wouldn't he be reused by the court to quell disasters? With such great contributions as guarding Bianzhou, he could only get the reward of entering the Imperial College and being promoted to magistrate. If he was rewarded for his meritorious service, praising his merits and obtaining high-ranking officials, which was as simple as picking up grass, how could he not be famous! However, he was exiled to a foreign land and lived in seclusion in a small county. He regarded his fame as

if it was just grass, and abandoned his own family like giving up his broken shoes. Only his heart knew loyalty, what else was there for nostalgia!

故由守汴观之，实一时御大灾捍大患之伟人，由后之避迹合观之，实千古名教中之完人也。俎豆馨香，奚止式一乡型一邑已哉！公之族孙大令开邺以合刻二编，索序于余，爰就公之经济与出处之大者，序而述之，为世道人心之助焉。

Therefore, from the perspective of guarding Bianzhou, in fact, a great man who prevented and resisted major disasters for a while, but later chose to avoid it. This was really a perfect man among the ancient famous religions. He had been remembered forever by future generations, and he was not confined to a village or a town! His grandson ordered the second series to be co-printed, and asked me for the preface. So I wrote a preface about his life and experience, trying to correct the social atmosphere and people's mind.

时道光二十有三年岁次癸卯重九日，河南学政钱塘许乃钊并书。

It was written by Xu Naizhao from Qiantang, an academic and political official in Henan, on the ninth day of September in Guimao in the 23rd year of Daoguang.

附录三

Appendix 3

原跋

Original Postscript

梁熙

Liang Xi

都门旧书肆中，偶见此册，其原序已失，余有衔名，系仲霖黄公题也。

In Beijing's second-hand bookstore, I occasionally saw this book. Its original preface had been lost, leaving only the official title and name, written by Huang Zhonglin.

予脱汴厄，二十有三载，洪涛恶状，时入梦间，对此蠹编，怆然有感⁽¹⁾，李氏固德黄公甚。独搜粮之事，予亦愿颂德焉。盖壬午（1642）之六月二十七日，黄公曾至予寓正所，谓劝谕卖粮。时也，先府浚一公详言邑破入城状，见今家口颇多，饔飧难给。厅役验粮者谓囤中之麦不足三十石，蒙慨然舍之而去。未浹旬，而粮厅彭公至矣，其衣貌颇类长者，乃亲阅斗数，竟欲均取十一石。据云取半以给兵，留半以养民，此宪谕也，更有见价。先府君哀办过激，虽不怒亦漠然如不闻也。此后，始图窖藏。至八月初，每夕密出四升，以二升杂白术、黄耆、牡丹皮，乘夜急为屑，用充次午之一餐计。予腹日可受麦两合耳。先府君必取二升，手付苍头，令匿袂中，且窥避搜括者，往给先八叔。盖叔家绝粮已月余，其寓相去尚里许也。中秋日，院、司、道、府会议，周王府曹承奉言：“昨尽盘仓廩，略充俸粮。至十月一日，更无一粒可支矣。”相视皆掩泣。然予家之麦⁽²⁾，本可延初冬，乃混同土著，漫被强分⁽³⁾，向非浮河而出计⁽⁴⁾，至九月二十三日，我家与叔家一十余口，当同作饿莩。夫一死也，若不得效死于城破而误死于食尽，将不彭公是怨而谁怨哉！

It had been 23 years since I escaped the predicament in Bianzhou. The rough look of the flood often came into my dreams. I felt very moved and had many thoughts about this book that had been damaged by insects (1). Li really respected Huang very much. Only in the matter of searching for grain, I would also like to praise his character. On June 27th of Renwu (1642), Huang once came to my house to persuade me to sell food. At that time, he sent a person to explain in detail the tragedy of the enemy entering the city after the city was broken. He saw that my family had a large population and there was not enough food. Huang asked the food inspector to check, and he said that the wheat in the granary was less than 30 shi, so he generously gave up and left. In less than ten days, Peng, an official of the Food Bureau, arrived. His clothes looked like those worn by older people, and he personally inspected several bags of wheat. He actually wanted to take away eleven shi. It was said that half was used to supply the army and half was

used to feed the people. This was the order of the superior, which was more weighty. The prefect who had passed away earlier expressed sorrow for this extreme behavior, even though he was not angry and pretended not to know indifferently. After that, we began to consider using scenting as a collection. By the beginning of August, we quietly took out four liters of wheat every night and use two liters to mix with *Atractylodes*, Huang Lao, and Moutan Bark. I quickly grind them into crumbs while it was dark, and used them for lunch the next day. My stomach could only eat two he (an ancient utensil for measuring grain) of wheats a day. The former deceased prefect took two liters of wheat and handed it to his servant. And let him hide in the baggage, while looking around and avoiding the searcher. He went to the Eighth Uncle's house first, because his family had been out of food for more than a month, and his residence was about one mile away from here. On Mid-Autumn Festival, the leaders of all departments of Bianzhou held meetings. Cao of the Zhou Mansion said: "Yesterday all the warehouses were liquidated and the wheat was used as salaries. By October 1st, there were no more grains of rice." They looked at each other and cried. However, the wheat (2) given to my family could have been mixed with the soil and eaten until early winter if it were not forcibly divided. (3) If we hadn't escaped here by crossing the Yellow River (4), by September 23, more than ten people in my family and uncle's family would starve to death together. People would die eventually. If you died not of guarding the city, but of lack of food, then if you didn't resent Peng, who should you resent?

时康熙三年岁次甲辰三月十五日，梁熙书于京邸之心远楼。

In the third year of Kangxi, the year of Jiachen on March 15th, Liang Xi wrote in Xinyuan Building in Beijing.

校记

Annotation

(1) 怆然有感：有，康熙三十四年《开封府志》卷三六《艺文》辑梁熙《城守日志后序》（简称府志梁文）作“百”。

(1) felt very moved and had many thoughts about: the 34th Year of Kangxi "Kaifeng Mansion Chronicles" Volume 36 "Art" which was edited by Liang Xi (Abbreviated as "Chronicles of Zhou") wrote "had" to "hundreds of".

(2) 然予家之麦：然，府志梁文作“时”。

(2) However, the wheat given to my family: However, "Chronicles of Zhou" wrote to "at the time".

(3) 府志梁文无“乃混同土著，漫被强分”九字。

(3) "Chronicles of Zhou" did not have the words "been mixed with the soil and eaten until early winter if it were not forcibly divided".

(4) 其后府志梁文书作：“至十月一日，王与院、司、道、府皆饿莩，我家与叔家二十余口，能独存哉？夫一死也，与其死于贼，无宁死于食尽，而况得波流以济者也，将不李公是念而谁念哉！”

(4) After that "Chronicles of Zhou" wrote that: "By October 1st, the king and the officials of various government departments were starving to death. My family and my uncle's family had more than 20 people. Could they survive alone? People died, rather than died from the enemy, it was better to die from food exhaustion. What's more, those who escaped from the flood were not grateful to Li, so who should they be grateful for!"

又跋

Complemented Postscript

梁熙

Liang Xi

天水郭给谏克昔在垣中，曾见决水灌寇之议，因向予以諮其详。予谓：黄河之沉开封，天也。闯寇则有智伯攻赵之举，而水势不从。至于决灌寇营，或有局外之条陈，作城守者所与闻也。

Guo of Tianshui proposed to conquer the enemy. He said that he had been in the city in the past and had seen the strategy of irrigating enemy camps with floods, so he consulted me carefully. I said that Kaifeng was submerged by the Yellow River, which was the idea of heaven. Li Zicheng's army was like Zhibo attacked Zhao, but the water did not allow it. As for the use of floods to wash away the enemy's camp, perhaps an outsider reported it and was heard by people as defenders of the city said.

予于壬午六月十五日，登上方寺铁塔之最上层，见黄流东去，漫漫如旧。其南来数渠，为自成所督挑者，承映日影，明灭如线。贼骑蚁聚蜂攒，往来相视，即援兵且何能一人到南岸乎！向使城内车营，果可以北抵河干，自援兵南视，当不异螳臂奋辙，孰肯策一旅同置死地乎？在黄公矜张愤激，势若必行，用以鼓闾閻同仇之气，消健儿内啮之萌，亦不可谓非胜算也。若夫输攻之智愈狡，而巷战之志不衰，则贼计自失耳。盖辛巳春，自成因洛阳兵变而袭其城，此流寇陷府城之始也。其气骄甚，谓汴梁可一蹴而破。不意流矢伤其目，既不得射者之主名，遂誓屠开封，以雪其痛。且营贼皆倡为俚语云：“开封破时，虽苕帚亦定剃三刀。”语既播传，贩夫灶姬，咸为咋舌⁽¹⁾，虐焰日炽，人知必死，此三版可沉，镇营之所以一卒不二也！予尝怪夫中州为舆地通衢，沉城为沧桑奇变，耳目之前，传闻多有失实。即此编车营之说，岂不启坐失事机之疑！予故因给谏之言，再为缕书，俾览者折衷。予言得以不没枕戈者劳苦之情事足矣。

On June 15th of Renwu, I climbed to the top of the iron tower of Zheng Temple and saw the Yellow River flowing eastward, still flowing slowly as it used to be. There were many small canals to the south of it, which were urged by Li Zicheng to build. The shadows in the sun flickered and appeared like threads. The enemy's cavalry gathered together like ants and bees, looking at each other. Even if there were reinforcements, how could they go to the South Bank alone! If the car battalion in the city could really go north to the river, and the reinforcements saw from the south, wouldn't it be that they fail because they didn't understand their true strength. Who would send a brigade soldier over to die? Huang was open and angry, thinking that action must be taken. He used the momentum to encourage the common people to share the same hatred of the enemy, and eliminated the germs of other ideas of the strong men. It could not be said that it was not a chance of victory. If the attack tactics became more and more cunning, and the idea of fighting in the streets of the town did not diminish, the enemy would know that they had lost their time. Probably in the spring of Xinsi, Li Zicheng attacked his city because of the Luoyang mutiny. This

was the starting point for the gangsters to conquer the city. They were very arrogant and said that Bianzhou would be conquered soon. Unexpectedly, the arrow hurt his eyes. Since he didn't know the name of the person who shot the arrow, he swore to wash Bianzhou with blood and wash away the shame at the same time. The enemy said in slang: "When Kaifeng is broken, even the broom will be chopped three times." As soon as the words spread, the small merchants and the kitchen women were all speechless due to surprise (1). The brutal arrogance spread, and people knew they would die. This was why the boards used to build walls and tombs in ancient times could be sunk, and the soldiers in the barracks were absolutely undivided! I once blamed Zhongzhou for its low terrain and its convenient geographic location. The inundation of the city was a huge change. From what we had seen and heard with our own ears, we could know that the rumors had been misrepresented. With regard to this fabricated car battalion statement, wouldn't it be true that the suspicion of missing the opportunity was real! Therefore, I once again wrote the advice in words, so that readers could reconcile various opinions to make it moderate. As long as I lived up to the kindness of people who slept with their weapons on their backs and wanted to avenge their ancestors, it would suffice.

时康熙乙巳（1665）季秋望后，鄱陵梁熙再跋于巩昌公署之霜霁阁⁽²⁾。

After the fall of Kangxi Yisi (1665), Liang Xi of Yanling once again wrote a postscript in Gongchang, which was signed as Shuangji Pavilion (2).

校记

Annotation

(1) 咸为咋舌，说铃本缺“咸”字。

(1) all speechless due to surprise: The Trivial version don't have the word "all".

(2) 鄱陵梁熙再跋于巩昌公署之霜霁阁，说铃本无“再”字。

(2) Liang Xi of Yanling once again wrote a postscript in Gongchang, which was signed as Shuangji Pavilion: Trivial version don't have the word "again".

跋

Postscript

李銮

Li Luan

此书旧有刻板，岁久漫漶，欲重梓之未遑也。甲辰三月，侍御鄱陵梁先生得一本于京师，虑后世不知大梁守城之苦与守祸之惨，又恐先君子忠义才节，淹没无闻，遂梓，以广其传。阅二十余年，至乙丑岁，不肖始见其刻，捧读而泣。夫侍御与先君子素无交往，特以同在围城，信为直笔，故不吝表彰如此。不肖守先人遗刻而忽焉，废置将何所逃罪，于是掇拾残简，重付剞劂。且乞侍御序以冠之。庶几此书可以不朽矣。然先君子曾有遗命云：“系病中草草未遑修饰，倘后有君子代为文之，俾能传于久远，则吾且感德于地下。”不肖恪奉此言，常以语人，率皆逊谢。岁己巳四明证山周先生客杞，见此书，太息曰：“是可传第未文耳。”欣然删定，数易稿而后无憾。呜呼！先君子以一诸生与回事诸公，左提右携，力抗闾焰，卒使危城不辱于贼手，若非忠孝至诚，可以贯金石而光日月，何以梁侍御重刻于前，周先生删订于后，皆不待不肖陈乞而感动如此也！书成，周先生手录一卷，易名曰：《守汴日志》。不肖捧读，又复泣下，复乞一序，再付剞劂。当年初刻时，原名《汴围日录》，梁侍御重梓，易为《城守日志》，较原名为文矣。周先生易今名，又觉文而切当，今而后，此书为定本，而先君子真可以不朽矣。嗟乎！在两先生留心世道，固非市德于不肖，而不肖心铭此德，实没齿不能忘也已。

This book was originally rigid, but it became blurred over time. It had to be reprinted but there was no time. In March of Jiachen year, Mr. Liang who served the prince of Yanling found one in the capital. He was worried that future generations would not know the pain and tragedy of Liang's defense of the city, and he was also worried that Li's loyalty would be submerged and no one would know about it. So it was reprinted to expand its spread. After more than 20 years, in the year of Yi Chou, I just saw his book and cried while holding it. Liang and my father had no relationship, but they all experienced the siege of Bianzhou. I believed that he was writing straight and objective records, so I didn't hesitate to praise like this. I guarded the book left by my ancestors but ignored it, thinking about how it would escape punishment if I abolished it. So I picked up the incomplete book and re-delivered it to engrave. And I asked Liang to add a preface to the front of the book, hoping that these books can become immortal. But my father once said: "I have no time to modify it when I am sick. If there is a gentleman who can write it as an article for me in the future, so that it can be spread for a long time, then even if I die, I must thank him for his kindness." I often said this to others to express my shame and gratitude. In the past few years, Mr. Zhou from Siming Mountain was a guest in Qizhou. He saw this article and sighed and said: "This can be passed on even when it is not written." He was happy to delete and edit it, and after several revisions, finally he did not feel sorry. Alas! As a student, my father discussed matters with the officials, supported each other, tried his best to resist the enemy's arrogance, and ultimately prevented the dangerous city from

being conquered by the enemy. If it was not loyalty, filial piety, and sincerity, which could penetrate the gold and stone and add glory to the sun and the moon, why Liang Shiyu re-engraved it before and Mr. Zhou deleted it afterwards and I don't need to request them but they so moved. After it was written, Mr. Zhou copied it by hand and renamed it as " The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng". After reading it, I shed tears again. And I asked him to write another preface so as to engrave the book. When it was first engraved that year, the original name was "The report of the guard of Bianzhou". When Liang Shiyu reprinted it, it was renamed as "the log of the guard of the City ", which was more literary than the original name. Mr. Zhou changed it to its current name, and I thought it was literary and appropriate. From now on, this book was the final version, and my father could really be immortal. Alas! The two gentlemen paid attention to the world, not to show their virtues in front of me. But I would remember their kindness, and never forgot it.

康熙岁次己巳（1689）嘉平之吉，不肖男奎沐手敬识。

At the end of the Kangxi reign, Jisi (1689), Jiaping, the son of shameless Luan washed his hands and
wrote respectfully.

跋

Postscript

李为淦

Li Weigan

是书乃先王父病革口授，家君受而敬梓之。是时，淦犹未生也。戊子撤棘后，见此书，历年已久，旧简将敝，而家君几耄，力弗逮也。重为较刊，聊以志祖德于不衰尔。

This book was personally dictated by my grandfather when he was about to die from a serious illness. After my father accepted it, he respectfully took it to print. At that time, Gan had not been born yet. On Wuzi Day, after I finished the imperial examination, I saw this book. It had existed for a long time, and the old book was going to be broken. But my father was eighty or ninety years old, and he didn't have the energy to spend on it. So I re-edited the printing, and hoped that my grandfather's virtue would not disappear.

时康熙戊子（1708）秋菊月重阳后二日，孙为淦敬识。

In the autumn of Kangxi Wuzi (1708), two days after the Double Ninth Festival in September, Sun Weigan wrote respectfully.

跋

Postscript

李开邨

Li Kaiye

李氏旧居北平，前洪武初年迁汴，传至邨七世祖中宪公讳应元，嘉靖丙午（1546）举人，癸丑（1553）进士，由户部郎中出守山西太原府。八世祖赠通议公讳似梓，由拔贡任文华殿中书舍人，以仲孙光座中顺治己丑（1649）进士，仕至云南提学道、江西按察司使，诰封如其官。九世祖赠廷尉，公讳荣，前历庚子（1600）举人，以仲孙锦中顺治辛丑（1661）进士，仕至大理寺正卿，诰封如其官。十世祖广文公讳光圻，前万历戊午（1618）举人，任山东胶州学正，与十世叔祖县尹公讳光圻为同祖，兄弟共居一宅，少同砚，长同攻举业，兼习武备，遭明季流寇之厄，围汴三次，县尹公分任城守之责，身冒矢石，万死一生，如志中所云，作饼饵以给军，取毡被以御寒。先广文公实阴助之，恨汴没于水，绩用弗成，并不乐居佐守之名焉。嗣后，县尹公述守汴始末为一书，诸名公先后梓之。至国朝崇祀乡贤，各宪台及诸亲友惠赠诗词，又刻成《崇记录》一书，用光家乘。惜历年已久，二板多有残缺。邨太高祖讳近董，岁贡生，赠浙江西安知县。高祖父讳维嵩，康熙丙午（1666）举人，任浙江西安知县。曾祖父讳懋勋，康熙乙酉（1705）举人，任江西兴安知县，祖父讳方泰，雍正丙午（1726）副榜，己酉（1729）举人，任甘肃灵台知县。父讳公讚，乾隆己卯（1759）举人，候选知县。每有重刻二书之意，惜有志未逮。近三十年来，开封屡受黄河之害，《崇记录》板已无存，《守汴日志》板残缺更多。邨手录一册，久藏行篋，今奉差来滇，公事少暇，检校付梓，以企先县尹公守汴之功，不至终于没于天壤云。

The Li family once lived in Beijing, and then moved to Bianzhou in the early years of the former Hongwu period. It was passed down to the seventh ancestor of Ye, Zhongxian Gong Yu Ying Yuan, who was a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level in the year of Bingwu (1546) of Jiaping, and a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations at the country level in the year of Gui Chou (1553). Being the official who was in charge of household registration, soil and land, taxation, rejuvenation, and marriage, and then leaving to guard Taiyuan Mansion of Shanxi. The eighth ancestor named Si Zi who was also the Tongyi Gong, was promoted from a student of the Imperial College to an official who was in charge of the edict of Wenhua Palace. He was the second grandson, being a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations at the country level in the year of Jichou (1649) of Shunzhi. He became an official in charge of education and politics in prefectures and counties in Yunnan, and an envoy of Jiangxi's prosecutors, and he was honored according to his official position by the king. The ninth ancestor named Tingwei who was also the Huirong Duke was a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level in the year of Gengzi (1600) of previous calendar. He was also the second grandson, being a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations at the country level in

the year of Xin Chou (1661) of Shunzhi. He became the Chief Minister of the Dali Temple, and he was honored according to his official position by the king. The tenth ancestor named Guangqi who was also the Guangwen Duke was a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level in the year of Wuwu of the previous dynasty Wanli (1618) . He served as an officer of the Shandong Jiaozhou Local School, and had the same ancestor with the tenth ancestor Xianyin Duke named Guangqi. The brothers lived in the same house and used the same inkstone to practice calligraphy when they were young. When they grew up, they prepared for the imperial examination together and also studied martial arts together. They experienced the predicament of gangsters in the late Ming Dynasty and three encirclements of Bianzhou. Xianyin Duke was appointed the responsibility of the city and county guard, braving the arrow stone himself, and survived though hundreds of thousands of people died. As the report said, he made bread to feed the army, and took felts to keep them out coldness. Guangwen Duke actually helped him secretly. He regretted that Bianzhou was submerged in water and had no practical function. Therefore, he was unwilling to obtain the name of the prefect's assistant. From then on, Xianyin Duke wrote the story of guarding Bianzhou from beginning to end as a book, which was later printed one after another by the well-known dukes. Nowadays, people worshiped the sages of the village, and various officials, relatives and friends wrote poems to it. And they had also carved into the book "the record of sacrificial ceremony", which was used to illuminate the history of the family. Unfortunately, it had taken a long time, and there were many defects in the two boards. The great ancestor of Ye was named Jindong, who was a student at the Imperial College. He served as the magistrate of Xi'an, Zhejiang. Gao's grandfather named Weisong was a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations at the country level in the year of Bingwu (1666) of Kangxi. He also served as the magistrate of Xi'an, Zhejiang. The great-grandfather's name was Maoxun, being a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level in the year of Yiyou (1705) during the period of Kangxi. He served as the magistrate of Xing'an, Jiangxi. The grandfather's name was Fangtai, who was announced in the additional list in the imperial examination in the year of Yongzheng Bingwu (1726), being a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level in the year of Yiyou (1729) . He served as the magistrate of Gansu, Lingtai. The father's name was Gongzan, being a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level in the year of Ji Mao (1759) of Qianlong . He served as the candidate of the magistrate. Whenever there was an idea to re-engrave the two book, it was a pity that I had this ambition but I couldn't actually do it. In the past 30 years, Kaifeng had suffered many damages from the Yellow River. The board of "the record of sacrificial ceremony" had already disappeared, and the board of "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng" was even more incomplete. Ye copied a volume by hand and hid it in a box for a long time. Now Ye came to Yunnan on a business trip, and he was busy with official business and had less leisure time. So Ye inspected the book and put it into print, hoping that the past Xianyin Duke's merits of guarding Bianliang's would not end up disappearing between the heavens and the earth.

道光六年（1826）季夏，族裔孙开邨书于昆明旅舍。

In the summer of the sixth year of Daoguang (1826), Kaiye, the descendant of the family, wrote in
Kunming Hostel.

守汴日志跋

The postscript of “The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng”

沈懋德

Shen Maode

雒阳居天下之中，而以汴梁为东南门户。汴梁亡，则雒阳之形势孤，而天下危矣！此闯贼所由攻汴也。

Luoyang resided in the country, and Bianzhou was the gateway to its southeast. The death of Bianzhou meant that Luoyang was isolated, and the country was in danger! This was where the enemies attacked Bianzhou.

李君豪杰士也，城既被围，家于何有？不惜倾才以充军费，而又日夜随守臣巡城御侮，求所以克贼者。迨至扶渠夜灌，城破，不能守，不得已逃奔白下。其卒也，举守汴之事口授，其子识之。康熙间，周君从而编次之，至今一为展卷，令人忠义勃兴。李君诚豪杰士哉！

Li was a hero. How could his home exist after the city was besieged? He didn't hesitate to pay for the military expenses, and he patrolled the city with the guards day and night, begging to defeat the enemy. When the canal was flooded at night, the city was broken and could not be guarded. He had no choice but to flee to Baixia. Before he died, he dictated the matter of defending Bianzhou, so his son knew it. During the Kangxi period, Zhou arranged this book after agreeing, and it was only shown for the first time to everyone today. After reading this book, people became loyal. Li was indeed a hero!

辛丑（1841）冬日，吴江沈懋德识。

In the winter of Xin Chou (1841), Shen Maode from Wu Jiang wrote.

又跋

Complemented Postscript

李开邨

Li Kaiye

邨草茅下士，未获读书中秘。《守汴日志》早经收入《钦定四库全书》，邨不知也。

Ye was a civilian without official positions, and did not feel the mystery of reading. "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng" had long been included in "The Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature made by imperial order", but Ye didn't know it.

道光七年，滇南差次，重刻是书，成进呈制军阮芸台先生，且求作叙，以垂久远。先生云：“是书叙、跋如林，意见各异，再叙亦未必足以取信于人。现有纪文达公所撰《钦定四库全书史部杂史类存目提要》一篇⁽¹⁾，用冠诸叙之首，庶是书乃有定论，可以万古常存矣。”邨纸领付梓。道光九年差竣回湘，进呈本省大宪钧览，皆许为有用之书。十二年，江华瑶民蠢动⁽²⁾，常德府军门海、宝庆府副镇马失事，大兵云集。邨守土沅江，地当水陆冲途，羽书旁午之日，奉大宪飞檄调取《守汴日志》三百本⁽³⁾，分发各州县，为守御之计。逮小丑殄灭后，邨接到行知沅江任内平瑶官兵，过境弹压，应付经理，始终无误。钦奉谕旨赏给军功随带加一级。邨感激涕零、抚心自惭。方今海宇义安，不敢将是书秘置篋中，仍愿广为印送，以备当代大人先生采择焉。

In the seventh year of the Daoguang period, Ye went to southern Yunnan on a mission to re-engrave the book. Cheng Jin submitted it to the Governor Ruan Yuntai, and asked him for a narrative so that the book could be passed on for a long time. He said: "This book contains too many narratives and postscripts, and the opinions are all different. Re-narration may not be enough to win people's trust. There was an existing article "The historical part of the general catalogue of Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature made by imperial order" which was written by Ji Wenda (1) can be used to crowned the first of all narratives, so that this book can have a final conclusion and then last forever." After Ye finished writing, it was printed. In the 9th year of Daoguang Emperor, Ye returned to Hunan after the business trip and submitted the book to the literati in the province for reading. They all agreed that it would be a useful book. In the twelfth year, the Yao people of Jianghua rioted (2). The army of Changde Mansion and the deputy town of Baoqing Mansion had a crash, and soldiers gathered. Ye was responsible for guarding the land of the Yuanjiang River, where the waterway met. One day when the letter was busy, Ye Feng received the urgent letter from the governor, and collected three hundred copies of "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng" (3), and then distributed it to various states and counties to make plans for defense. After the perpetrators were wiped out, Ye received a document to notify the matter. During Yuanjiang's tenure, Ye calmed down Yao's officers and soldiers, crossed the border to suppress them, and dealt with various matters, which were always correct. Therefore, the imperial commission was ordered to reward him with

an additional level of military service. Ye was so moved that he shed tears and touched his chest to ask himself, feeling very ashamed. Now that the situation of the country was stable, Ye dare not put the book secretly in a box, but he still wished to print it widely for the contemporary people to read.

道光二十二年（1842）孟夏，侄昆孙开邨书于大梁旧墅。

Nephew Kai Ye in the old villa of Daliang.

校记

Annotation

（1） 现有纪文达公所撰《钦定四库全书史部杂史类存目提要》一篇：原本无“纪文达公所撰”五字，据道光二十三年本补。

（1） There was an existing article "The historical part of the general catalogue of Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature made by imperial order" which was written by Ji Wenda: Originally it did not have the words "written by Ji Wenda". The supplement is based on the version of twenty-third year of Daoguang.

（2） 江华瑶民蠢动：瑶民，原本作“猺民”系对少数民族之蔑称，今改。下同。

（2） The Yao people of Jianghua rioted: The Yao people, originally wrote as "The Yong people", which was a slanderous term for ethnic minorities, and was changed today. The rest is the same.

（3） 奉大宪飞檄调取《守汴日志》三百本：原本无“大宪”二字，据道光二十三年本补。

（3） Received the urgent letter from the governor, and collected three hundred copies of "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng": Originally it did not have the words "the urgent letter from the governor". The supplement is based on the version of twenty-third year of Daoguang.

补刊守汴日志书后

Supplementing after "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng"

杜梦麟

Du Menglin

考是记，初未甚显，先止见于《说铃》，纪文达《四库全书提要》仅存目，迨先生族昆孙漱芳公宦湘中，因差至滇南，重为雕版，始稍稍流传，序、跋连篇，无虑表扬乏人。惟文达谓其创造车营之议为非是，且云：“时非三代，而车战是资，恐终为房琯之绪。”是说也，梦麟窃有感焉。按记中明言，板车由汴北郊排列至河上作饷道，并借通援兵一线之路，且令健儿猱升树杪瞭望，城头、河干两处支炮作犄角势。初无一字及战，何至蹈有唐房次律覆辙乎！使当易子析骸之日，能用此策，苟有升斗足资，与坐而待亡何如即用而不效，不过与枵腹饿毙、灌城溺死等耳。乃不暇深索，反引梁熙跋中深疑是举为宜，毋以文达甫睹车营之语，即以迂阔置之而未暇卒读耶。此其所以未收入《四库》也。同治庚午（1870）秋，梦麟与漱芳公家嗣良楫，同官河郡，屡索其帙未获，近移官来杞，值山左孙鲁阶直刺权邑篆，百废俱举，征及文献，梦麟于漱芳公后嗣流寓在杞者，搜得湘中重刊，版已多残失，直刺以为有用之书，订讹补缺，将使大显于世。梦麟窃恐览者牵于文达所论，目先生为不知时务，致一腔热血，当时仅博大吏之一笑，后世又为文人所交訾，岂不痛哉！故不敢苟同于文达，力为先生辨证，以写佩服诚心，并以志三十年夙愿，一朝得偿之幸云。

To study this record, you can't see related records at the beginning, but you can only see it on the Trivial version at first. Ji Wenda's "the general catalogue of Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature made by imperial order" only had the catalogue left. His grandson Shufang was an official in Hunan. When he was on a business trip to southern Yunnan, he engraved and printed it again, and the book began to circulate a little. The prefaces and epilogues were continuous, so there was no need to worry that no one would appreciate it. Only Wenda thought that his idea of creating the car battalion was incorrect, and said: "But the time was no longer the three dynasties of Xia, Shang, and Zhou, and the chariot battle was only theoretically feasible. And I was afraid that he would eventually continue the story of Fang Guan." Regarding this statement, Menglin also had doubts. According to the record, the carts lined up from the northern outskirts of Bianzhou to the river as a road for food delivery and a narrow rescue road for reinforcements. And let the athletes climb up the tree and look into the distance. The two cannons at the head of the city and the river stem were like horns. There was no word about the battle at the beginning, so how could it be the same as the failure of Fang of the Tang Dynasty! If this strategy could be used on days when people changed their children and eat or even ate corpses, there may be enough supplies. Instead of sitting and waiting to die, why not try this strategy, even if it didn't work. Otherwise, they could only starve to death or drown in the city or died for other reasons. I didn't have time to delve into it, so I quoted Liang Xi's postscript that expressed doubts about the correctness of this move. Supplementing by Wen Dafu's observation of car battalions, that was to say, it was unrealistic and I had no time to read it. This was the

reason why it had not been enclosed by " the Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature made by imperial order". In the autumn of Tongzhi Gengwu (1870), Menglin and Shufang's descendant Liangji worked together as officials in He County. They searched for his books many times and failed to obtain them. Recently, I moved to Qizhou, and it happened that Sun Lujie of Shanzuo was in charge of the management there. He set up all the abandonment matters, and collected documents. Menglin searched for the reissue of Hunan from the descendants of Shufang who lived in Qizhou. Many editions had been lost, and Sun Lujie thought it was a useful book. So he corrected mistakes and made up for the missing parts, making it appear in the world again. Menglin privately worried that readers would stick to what Wenda talked about, thinking that you didn't know the current affairs. In the end, your enthusiasm only attracted the ridicule of officials at the time, and later generations would be criticized by literati. Was it not painful! Therefore, I dare not agree with Wenda, and tried to dialect the evidence for you. I admired my sincerity by writing, and used it to record the happiness that my long-cherished wish for thirty years was finally realized at this moment.

光绪二十四年三月上弦，汝后学杜梦麟敬书。

On the seventh day of March in the twenty-fourth year of Guangxu, Du Menglin, a graduate student, wrote
respectfully.

补刊守汴日志跋

Supplementing the postscript about “The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng”

孙叔谦

Sun Shuqian

叔谦以光绪二十三年秋八月，由祥符来权知杞县。杞为古雍丘地。史称唐至德初，张公巡起兵讨贼，至雍丘与令狐潮相拒，自春至冬，大小三百战，毙贼无数，移守睢阳，卒以身殉。当时褒录有加，迄今千有余年，大节犹彰彰在人耳目。予间与广文杜君论公逸事，杜君曰：“子知祥符有李光燮《守汴日志》乎？李本祥符贡生，当明季闯贼攻汴再三，至文武官几束手，李以一介儒生，出为运策，散家财，联社兵，屡出奇以挫贼困，守六七月。左良玉拥重兵朱仙镇，一夜走南阳，汴城人心惶惶，粮食乏绝，李公毁家纾难，激兵民以忠义，誓共效死勿去，饵草药疗饥，浙马粪为粮，死亡大半，易子相食，而人心不少懈。其创造木车为营，以通河北饷道，济援师，当道不能用，卒至城为河水所灌，闯贼亦不得逞而去。向使当日汴城不守，燕南之屏蔽尽撤，贼且乘势而北，直捣燕京矣。此一役也，不与张公之蔽遮江淮以遏贼势，后先辉映也耶。予既闻杜君言，因访知李之族裔，有居杞者，其《守汴日志》。曾重刻于滇中，板今藏其家，惜多残缺，乃亟为补刊以行世。俾读是书者，论其世，知其人，一旦猝遇变故，师李君之志，而敦张公之节，庶忠孝大端，常存于天壤间。其有裨于世道人心，岂浅鲜哉！”

In the autumn and August of the 23rd year of Guangxu, Shuqian came to manage Qi County from Xiangfu. The location of Qizhou was the ancient Yongqiu. In the first year of the Tang Dynasty, Zhang Xun sent troops to fight against the enemy. He went to Yongqiu to fight against Linghu Chao from spring to winter, fighting three hundred large and small war and killing countless enemies. He later moved to Suiyang, and finally defended the city with his life. At that time, many people praised and recorded him, and it had been more than a thousand years till now. His meticulous ethics was still clearly in front of people. I sometimes discussed with Mr. Du from Guangwen about anecdotes about him, Mr. Du said: “Do you know Li guangdian who had wrote “The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng” of Xiangfu? Li was originally a student of the Imperial College of Xiangfu. In the last years of the Ming Dynasty, the enemies repeatedly attacked Bianzhou. Li was just a Confucian scholar, who came out to provide strategies, sparing the family wealth, uniting the organization and soldiers, and repeatedly using the magic tricks. So he thwarted the enemy's siege and defended the city for about six or seven months. Zuo Liangyu had a lot of troops in Zhuxian Town, but he went to Nanyang overnight. The people in Bianzhou were panicked, and food was scarce. Li exhausted his family wealth to relieve the difficulties, motivating the soldiers and people with loyalty, and vowed to die together and not leave. People ate herbs to relieve hunger and used horse manure as food at that time. Even if most of the people died, and their sons are exchanged for food, people's hearts were not loose. He created wooden carts as a battalion, and used them to open up the roads of Hebei to transport food and help the reinforcements. When the roads were not available, the city was flooded, and the enemy

had no choice but to leave. If Bianzhou was defeated at that time, all the barriers to the south of Yan State were removed. The enemies would take advantage of the situation to go north again, and they would be able to go straight to Beijing. Didn't this battle radiate the same brilliance as Zhang's cover of Jianghuai to suppress the enemy's forces? I have heard Du said about this, and through inquiries, I understood that some of Li's descendants lived in Qizhou. His "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng" was re-engraved in Yunnan, and the board was now hidden in his house. Unfortunately, there were many incomplete parts, so he hurriedly re-engraved it for distribution. Anyone who read this book would know the person about his life. Once there was a sudden change one day, people would learn from Li Jun's ambitions and honor Zhang's morals. The loyalty and filial piety would always exist in the world, which was beneficial to the social atmosphere and people's hearts. Was this shallow?

光绪二十四年三月下浣，荣城孙叔谦谨跋。

In late March of the twenty-fourth year of Guangxu, Sun Shuqian of Rongcheng carefully wrote the
postscript.

又跋⁽¹⁾

Complemented Postscript⁽¹⁾

孙叔谦

Sun Shuqian

《守汴日志》，初名《汴围日录》，康熙初鄱陵梁侍御尝有刻本，既而四明周岷公游杞，得原书，略加删定，始易今名。道光中重刻于滇中，即今本是也。

《The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng》, initially named “The report of the guard of Bianzhou”. At the beginning of Kangxi, Liang from Yanling who served the emperor once had a block copy. When Zhou Qi was traveling in Qizhou, he obtained the original book and slightly deleted and revised it. It was then changed to today’s name and was re-engraved in Yunnan during the Daoguang reign, which was the version seen today.

予观《明史·本纪》书崇祯十五年九月壬午，贼决河灌开封。癸未城圯，士民溺死者数十万人。与此志所载月日正同。又《明史·高名衡传》：“会有献计于巡按御史严云京者，请决河以灌贼。贼侦知之，移营高阜，而驱掠民夫数万，反决马家口以灌城”。此志但载六月壬子贼掘河口上流事。盖当日身在围城中，不知贼再决河也。他书或记决河灌贼为高名衡本谋，则梁侍御熙尝辨其误。惟《明季北略》又记：李自成决河灌汴，城中诸贵官欲自为脱计，亦凿堤引水，汴梁遂陷。此犹于情事为近。观此志所最称者黄澍，后澍终降本朝。所不甚满意者高名衡。

"History of Ming Dynasty·biographic sketches of emperors " recorded that on September 17, the 15th year of Chongzhen, the enemy broke the bank and flooded Kaifeng. In Guiwei, the city wall collapsed and 100,000 soldiers drowned. The month and day was the same as the one contained in this record. In addition, the "Ming History · Gao Mingheng's Biography" said: “At that time, there were people who contributed to the grand coordinators Yan Yunjing and requested that they could let the Yellow River burst its dyke to flood the enemy. The enemy learned of this after reconnaissance, moving to the higher ground, and drove tens of thousands of civilian men, which in turn flooded Majiakou to flood the city." This record only wrote about Renzi in June when the enemies dug the upper reaches of the river. Probably because they were in the besieged city that day, they didn't know if the enemies would break the river again. Other books may record that it was Gao Mingheng's plan to make the Yellow River burst its banks and flood the enemies, but Liang Xi once discerned the mistake. Only the “The northern strategy of the Ming Dynasty” recorded that Li Zicheng let the Yellow River burst its banks and flooded Bianzhou. The noble officials in the city wanted to escape, and also chiseled embankments to divert water. As a result, the Bianliang collapsed. This was close to the situation. The person who was most satisfied with this record was Huang Shu, who finally surrendered to the Qing Dynasty. The person who was not quite satisfied was Gao Mingheng.

名衡为吾乡沂州人，既引疾归里，未几，大兵破沂州，夫妇殉难，详《明史》本传。乾隆四十一年（1776）赐谥忠节。今存有《更生吟》一卷，即在围城中所作也。

Ming Heng was a native of Yizhou, my hometown, and he had returned home for illness. It didn't take long for the soldiers to break into Yizhou, and the couple were martyred. "The biography of Ming History" was detailed about this. In the forty-first year of Qianlong (1776), the emperor bestowed him as loyal and disciplined. There was a volume of "Poem of resurgence", which was written by him in the besieged city.

李君此志，固可见当时守汴之奇苦，而亦朝廷赏罚犹足以激士民忠义之心。然且不二年，而明社墟矣。近岁辽东一役，夷兵所至州县，几无完区。独辽阳州坚守孤城，用能捍卫盛京，计所用军械，亦未必异于他人，特其忠诚奋发，能使人人知节义为可重，则士自用命耳。嗟乎，若使李君生今之世，得奋其智谋，以为当世用，又何至坐失事机，使岩疆二三千，几陷于外夷而不可收拾也哉！然则区区较量于车营之制抑未矣。补刊既讫，辄附所见于此。闰月十七日叔谦又跋。

This record of Li clearly shown the miraculous bitterness of guarding the Bianzhou at that time. And the rewards and punishments of the court were enough to arouse the loyalty of the people. However, in less than two years, the Ming Dynasty quickly became empty. In recent years, during the Liaodong Campaign, the prefectures and counties conquered by ethnic minority troops had hardly been intact. Only Liaoyang Prefecture stuck to the isolated city and used what it could to protect the capital. Thinking about the weapons they used, they was no different from others. It was just that their loyalty and hard work could let everyone know that morality and righteousness are important, so the officials and soldiers all sacrificed their lives to guide the city. Alas, if Li was born in the current era and could let his wisdom and strategies to be used by the people now, how would we lose the opportunity to make almost all the two or three thousand miles of land in the border area occupied by ethnic minorities and could not be cleaned up! However, the mere comparison of the car battalion system was not a fundamental matter. The supplement had been completed, and it was attached here as you see. Shuqian wrote the postscript on the 17th of the leap month.

校记

Annotation

(1) 原本此无标题，今据原本载文补。

(1) Originally this had no title. The supplement is based on the original article.

附录四

Appendix 4

李光壓传

The Biography of Li Guangdian

李敏修

Li Minxiu

李光壓，字康侯，号熙亮，祥符人，为诸生，豪侠，尚谋略。明季流寇李自成三寇开封。崇祯十四年（1641）二月，自成攻城，诸大吏议战守，知县王燮创立社兵，法五十人为社，凡八十四社，为兵四千二百，置社总五，分守城五门，号五所，以光壓为左所社总。会守备陈德射自成中目遁去。

Li Guangdian's style name was Kanghou and pseudonym Xiliang. He was a student of Xiangfu who was bold and strategic. At the end of the Ming Dynasty, Li Zicheng attacked Bianzhou for three times. In February of the 14th year of Chongzhen (1641), Li Zicheng attacked the city, and the officials discussed about the battle. The county magistrate Wang Xie founded the organization soldier. It was stipulated that fifty people were one organization while eighty-four organizations had four thousand two hundred soldiers. Set up five headquarters of the organizations and five gates in the city, named Wusuo, with Guangdian as the leader of the left organization. At that time, the guard Chen De shot Li Zicheng in the eye and then quietly left.

十二月，自成再寇开封，光壓以左所总社协守东北城。贼穴城洞，洞容数十人，矢石莫能及，成洞三十六，以计尽夺三十六洞尽为我兵有。时大雪，夜出奇兵五百袭贼。贼惊起，奇兵伪退。贼蹶追，洞兵齐出夹击，斩首甚众。光壓与推官黄澍立城头，雪沾衣寸余不知也。贼又为地雷裂城，城外崩，毙贼万余。

In December, Li Zicheng attacked Bianzhou again. Guangdian led the left organization to defend the Northeast City. The enemy hid in the holes in the city wall, which could contain dozens of people. The arrows and the stone couldn't attack them. They formed 36 holes and we seized 36 by tactics. Finally we had got all the holes. During the heavy snowfall, five hundred soldiers came out at night and suddenly attacked the enemy. The enemy was startled and the soldiers retreated. The enemy chased them carefully, and the soldiers in the holes came out from the front and back, beheading a lot of enemies. Guangdian and Official Huang Shu stood at the top of the city wall. The snow on their clothes was more than an inch thick, but they didn't know it. The enemies tried to break the city through mines, but they collapsed outside the city, killing more than tens of thousands of enemies.

十五年（1642）正月，贼解围南去。黄澍给光霁金，命修城，光霁曰：“无庸也。”自出灰材，钱三万八千，助以社兵，凡五昼夜而城完。五月，自成复合罗汝才，众号百万，围开封。黄澍结义勇大社，得壮士万人，分五营，曰前茅、曰中权、曰后劲、曰左翼、曰右翼。以光霁为总巡，督义勇击贼，战屡捷。时食缺兵寡，外无救援。光霁创车营法，欲直抵黄河，请援兵，开饷道。其车营法，用四轮，车二千四百乘，为左右列，车厢外从横栏木六，高八尺，长准车，外附三寸木板，蔽矢石，中穴孔六，四发銃，二瞭远；又大瓮六，四注水，二贮火药，麻搭二，大炮一，銃四，挽车四人，掌火器八人，水与麻搭，防火箭也。其进车营法，自北门至七里朱家寨，乘夜出北门，分左右两营，炮銃齐发，城上又设左右两翼为援兵，每翼置大炮百。贼攻车左，左翼以大炮击之；攻右，右亦如之。大炮可及十里、七里。车营一鼓而至朱家寨，自此抵黄河，每车拔一人，计得二千四百人，背河为阵。遣善没者逾河，请援兵，饷可至。车营成，巡抚高名衡等咸称善。期八月初三日出师。高名衡欲迟中秋后，黄澍曰：“今民已绝食，待至半月，尽为饿莩，能为饿鬼杀人乎？但得车营出城，城以外，澍与光霁任之，不用官军一人，只义勇大社足矣！”名衡终弗决。黄澍拂袖出，曰：“事不可为矣！”澍愿尽焚其车，跃入火中，作厉鬼杀贼。光霁止之，车营竟不用。

In the first month of the fifteenth year (1642), the enemies broke through the siege and went south. Huang Shu gave Guangdian gold and ordered the city to be repaired. Guangdian said: "Don't use this gold." He then bought the ashes by himself and spent 38,000 dollars on it. With the help of the soldiers of the organization, the city work was finished after five days and nights. In May, Li Zicheng and Luo Rucui, claiming to have a million troops, surrounded Kaifeng. Huang Shu organized a large organization of righteousness and bravery, winning tens of thousands of strong men. They were divided into five battalions, namely the forefront, the central power, the stamina, the left wing, and the right wing. With Guangdian as the general patrol, the Governor bravely repelled the enemies and fought many victories. At that time, there was a lack of food and no rescue. Guangdian created the car battalion method, he wanted to go straight to the Yellow River, asking for reinforcements, and opening a way to transport food. The car battalion method used four wheels, two thousand and four hundred cars as the left and right columns. The outside of the carriage was six wood from the horizontal rail, which was eight feet high. A three-inch wooden board was attached to the outside of the car, which could resist arrowheads. There were six holes in it, four shotguns, and two telescopes. There were six more large urns, four were filled with water, and two were stored with gunpowder. There were also two hemp, one cannon, four guns, four wagons, and eight firearms. Water and hemp are used to guard against the rockets. The method of entering the car and camp was from the North Gate to Zhujia Village, which was seven miles away. They went out of the North Gate by night, divided into two battalions on the left and right and fired artillery. The city had two wings as reinforcements, and each wing was equipped with a hundred cannons. If the enemy attacked the car to the left, and the left wing would shot it with large artillery. If the enemy attacked the car to the right and the right wing was the same. The cannon could reach ten or seven miles. car battalions arrived at Zhujiazhai at 3 a.m., and since then they had arrived in the Yellow River. Each car could let out one person, which

counted 2,400 people. They were back to the river, which could then send people who were good at swimming to cross the river, asking for reinforcements, and the food was available. After the completion of the car battalions, the governor Gao Mingheng and others all said that it was good, and they agreed to release the soldiers on the third day of August. Gao Mingheng wanted to postpone it until after the Mid-Autumn Festival, Huang Shu said: "The people of today are on a hunger strike. After half a month, they will be starved to death. Can the starving ghosts kill people? But as long as the car battalion leaves the city, Shu and Guangdian will direct them. There is no need of a single officer or army, just a large organization of righteousness and bravery is enough!" Mingheng couldn't decide finally. Huang Shu rolled his sleeves and walked out and said: "Nothing can be done!" Shu was willing to burn his car, jumping into the fire, and killed the enemies as a ghost. Guangdian stopped him, and the car battalion was not used in the end.

九月十六日，河决没城，全城殉焉。高名衡、黄澍挟周王扬帆去。后十日，光壑始结筏携家北渡。黄澍升江西道监察御史，疏光壑守汴功，授知县。明亡，不仕，历二十余年，卒于家，有《守汴日志》一卷。

On September 16, the Yellow River flooded Bianzhou, and the whole city died. Gao Mingheng and Huang Shu took King Zhou to sail away. Ten days later, Guangdian began to set up rafts and took his family to the north. Huang Shu was promoted to the official who was in charge of the Jiangxi Road Supervision. He told the emperor that Guangdian had meritorious services in guarding Bianzhou, and was awarded the position as the county magistrate. The Ming Dynasty was destroyed, but he had never being an official. He died at home after more than 20 years, leaving a volume of "The Diary of the Defense of Kaifeng".

《中州先哲传》卷三一《义行一》

"Biography of the Sages in Zhongzhou" Volume 31 "The Act of Loyalty and Righteousness 1"

后记

Postscript

本书在校点过程中，得到了郑州大学、北京、河南省、新乡市图书馆古籍部同志的热情支持。河南省教委高教处、郑州大学科研处也给予了大力支持。在此，谨致谢意。

In the process of proofreading and compiling this book, I received enthusiastic supports from comrades in the Ancient Books Department of Zhengzhou University, Beijing, Henan Province, and Xinxiang City Library. The Higher Education Office of Henan Provincial Education Commission and the Scientific Research Office of Zhengzhou University also gave strong support to me. Here, I want to express my gratitude.

由于笔者水平有限，校点不当之处难免，敬请诸位专家学者示正。

Due to the limited ability of the author, improper proofreading is unavoidable. I hope that experts and scholars can give their opinions.

点校者

Proofreader