
<table>
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<th>translated text</th>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Each country on earth, including England and France, is known to all by a single name. Only the Middle Kingdom lacks one. Tribesmen in the northwest refer to us as “Han”; islanders in the southeast refer to us as “Tang”; Japanese either call us “Tang” or “Nanjing,” where “Nanjing” refers to the [capital of the] Ming dynasty. But these all make use of a single dynasty’s name; they are insufficient to encompass all of our history. Indians refer to us as “Cīna” or “Shina”; Japanese also refer to us as “Shina”; Englishmen refer to us as “China”; and French refer to us as “Chine.” But these are all other countries’ transliterations; they are not names we have used ourselves. Recently, when addressing foreigners, we have come to use the name <em>Zhonghua</em> [“Central Illustriousness”]. But our neighbors have denounced us for this, pointing out that all countries on earth see themselves as situated in the center, and, moreover, that treating ourselves as “illustrious” and others as “barbaric” constitutes no more than glorifying oneself in order to demean others.</td>
<td>地球各國，若英吉利、若法蘭西，皆有全國總名。獨中國無之。西北各藩稱曰漢，東南諸島稱曰唐。日本亦曰唐，或曰南京，南京謂明。此沿襲一代之稱，不足以概歷代也。印度人稱曰震旦，或曰支那。日本亦稱曰支那。英吉利人稱曰支那。法蘭西人稱曰差能。此又他國重譯之音，並非我國本有之名也。近世對外人稱曰中華，東西人頗譏之謂環球萬國自居中，且華我夷人不無自尊卑人之意。</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td><em>Huaxia</em></td>
<td>華夏</td>
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<tr>
<td>3n6</td>
<td>all under Heaven</td>
<td>天下</td>
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<tr>
<td>3n6</td>
<td>a myriad states</td>
<td>萬國</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>During the Han Dynasty, power and authority were extended to the northwest, so northwesterners refer to</td>
<td>漢威令行於西北，故西北呼中國為漢：唐威令行於東南，故蠻夷呼中國為唐。崇寧間，臣</td>
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the Middle Kingdom as “Han.” During the Tang Dynasty, power and authority were extended to the southeast, so the Man barbarians [living there] refer to the Middle Kingdom as “Tang.” In the Chongning era [1102-07], various officials advised the throne that borderlanders customarily refer to the Middle Kingdom as “Tang” or “Han,” that [these customs] have taken form in official documents, and that all such references should be changed to “Song,” including cases like “Tang fashion” and “Han law.” An imperial edict approved this measure. I personally think this was not appropriate; better to change such references to the word *Hua*. On all corners of the earth, there are none who do not submit to us; [the term *Hua*] maintains the distinction between the center [i.e., the Middle Kingdom] and the exterior world.

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<th>5</th>
<th>China consciousness</th>
<th>中國意識</th>
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<td>5</td>
<td>distant precursor of contemporary nationalist thinking</td>
<td>近世民族主義思想的一個遠源</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>all under Heaven</td>
<td>天下</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>state</td>
<td>國家</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>see ethnic, cultural, and political boundaries as one and the same</td>
<td>民族、文化與其政權之範圍邊界視為一體</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>haltered-and-bridled</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>How are these trifles worth exhausting imperial power and intruding on the emperor’s concerns? ... The most significant border issues lie in the west and the north!</td>
<td>此之區區者，亦何足以累國威，煩聖慮哉！臣謂邊事之重，其在西、北乎！</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Chanyuan</td>
<td>滄淵</td>
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<td>22n53</td>
<td>as Chinese cannot farm without oxen, and Tibetans cannot travel without horses</td>
<td>漢非牛不田，蕃非馬不行</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>even children a mere three feet in height would fervently wave their arms to encourage us</td>
<td>雖三尺童子，爭欲奮臂鼓勇</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Han Jin</td>
<td>韓近</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>just like one family</td>
<td>如同一家</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Since antiquity, there has never been a friendship like the one between our two courts!</td>
<td>自古兩朝歡好，未有如此！</td>
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<td>in accordance with precedent</td>
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<td>ambassador</td>
<td>國信使</td>
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<td>deputy ambassador</td>
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<td>welcoming commissioners</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>chief ministers</td>
<td>宰相</td>
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<td>deputy chief ministers</td>
<td>副宰相</td>
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<td>commissioners of military affairs</td>
<td>樞密使</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>deputy commissioners of military affairs</td>
<td>樞密副使</td>
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<td>33n5</td>
<td>Yelü / Xiao</td>
<td>耶律 / 蕭</td>
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<td>33n6</td>
<td>guidance commissioners</td>
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<td>34n8</td>
<td>notaries of the Bureau of Military Affairs</td>
<td>簽書樞密院事</td>
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<td>Tartar language</td>
<td>胡語</td>
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<td>39n16</td>
<td>on the road to the [next] post station</td>
<td>在驛途</td>
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<td>39n17</td>
<td>wherever envoys arrive</td>
<td>國信所至</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Feng Jianshan</td>
<td>馮見善</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>one should urge another to drink only up to his capacity</td>
<td>勸酒當以其量</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>got drunk to the point of losing all sense of propriety</td>
<td>被酒不謹</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>nobody dared carouse</td>
<td>無輒感譁</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>that very evening the lot of them fell into great wantonness</td>
<td>是夕其眾遂大肆</td>
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<td>41-2</td>
<td>fell into a drunken frenzy that lasted deep into the night, during which time they caused a shameful commotion, at times clasping the caiff [i.e., Liao] officials’ hands, at times slapping the Tartars [i.e., Liao officials] on the shoulders, at times composing mocking lines of verse, at times speaking in the crude language of the street</td>
<td>深夜狂醉, 喧酗無狀, 或執虜使之手, 或拍胡人之肩, 或聯嘲謔之詩, 或肆市廛之語</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Jolly Wang</td>
<td>王見喜</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Wang-May-He-Live-Forever</td>
<td>王萬年</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>first came to appreciate [Fu’s] sincerity</td>
<td>始肯漸貢其誠實</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Xiao Aozhi</td>
<td>蕭奧只</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Our two courts are on friendly terms; our oaths [exchanged at Chanyuan] are [as firm as] the mountains and rivers. We should not let minor grievances shake up the great faith [our courts have in each other].</td>
<td>兩朝盟好, 誓若山河, 毋以小嫌, 遽傷大信</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>exhausting what was on their minds</td>
<td>曲盡其懽</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Xiao Linya</td>
<td>蕭林牙</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Yang Xinggong</td>
<td>楊興公</td>
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<td>42n33</td>
<td>[Fu Bi] spoke to them frankly, and did not treat them like barbarians</td>
<td>公開懷與語, 不以夷狄待之</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>spoke with them frankly</td>
<td>開懷與語</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>While among the barbarians, we are not suspicious of each other, so</td>
<td>虔中不相猜疑, 故詢胡人風俗, 頗得其詳.</td>
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<td>when I inquired about [their] customs, I obtained detailed responses.</td>
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<td>43n35</td>
<td>speak more frankly</td>
<td>拔鉢</td>
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<tr>
<td>43n35</td>
<td>speak more frankly</td>
<td>開懷譚話</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>Our Sworn Oath is [Firm] like the Mountains and Rivers</td>
<td>信誓如山河</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>Ornate wooden bowls brimmed with caitiff food. First came camel</td>
<td>文木器盛虜食, 先薦駱糜, 用杓而啖焉. 熊肪羊豚雉兔之肉為濡肉, 牛鹿犢熊貉之肉為腊肉, 割之令方正, 雜置大盤中. 二胡雒衣鮮潔衣, 持帨巾, 執刀匕, 傾割諸肉, 以啖漢使.</td>
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<td>gruel, served with a ladle. There was boiled bear fat, mutton, pork,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pheasant, and rabbit, and there was dried beef, venison, pigeon,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>duck, bear, and tanuki, all of which was cut into square chunks and</td>
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<td></td>
<td>strewn onto a large platter. Two Tartar youths wearing clean</td>
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<td></td>
<td>clothing, each with napkins and holding a knife and spoon, cut all</td>
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<td></td>
<td>of the various meats for the Han envoys to eat.</td>
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<td>50, 54</td>
<td>cleansing the Central Plains [i.e., China] of a century of humiliation</td>
<td>雪中原百年之恥</td>
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<td>50n59</td>
<td>former lands</td>
<td>舊地 or 故地</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>what is meant by the advantages of ceding Yan</td>
<td>何謂割燕薊之利</td>
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<td>55-56</td>
<td>After Emperor Zhenzong personally led the Six Armies and</td>
<td>眞宗皇帝親御六師, 勝虜於澶淵. 知其有厭兵之心, 稍以金帛喻之. 虔欣然聽命, 歲遣使介, 修鄰國之好. 逮今百數十年, 而北邊之民, 不識干戈. 此漢唐之盛所未有也. 古者戎狄迭盛迭衰, 常有一族為中國之敵. 漢文帝待之以和親, 而匈奴日驕. 武帝御之以征伐, 而中原日病. 謂之天之騶子, 非一日也. 今朝廷之所以厚之者, 不過於漢文帝, 而虜弭耳驯服. 則石氏之割燕薊利見於此, 夫熊虎之搏人, 得牛而止. 契丹據有全燕, 擅桑麻棲栗之饒, 兼玉帛子女之富, 重斂其人, 利盡北海, 而又益之以朝廷給予之厚. 賈生所謂三表五餌, 兼用之矣. 被氈飲乳之俗, 而身服錦繡之華, 口甘麴糱之美, 至於茗藥橘柚, 無一</td>
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tribe out there hostile to the Middle Kingdom. Emperor Wen of the Han handled them with marriage alliances, which only made the Xiongnu [tribesmen] more arrogant by the day. Emperor Wu [of the Han] controlled them with his military might, but the Central Plains [of China] became each day more impoverished. The generosity with which our court treats [the Khitans] today does not exceed that of Emperor Wen of Han, yet the caitiffs have been tamed. Thus, we recognize here the advantages of the Later Jin ceding Yan and Ji. If a bear or tiger pounces on a man, it will back off if it is given an ox. Ever since the Khitans came to occupy all of Yan, they have appropriated its agricultural riches, and have seized its treasures and its population. They overtax their people, while depleting their northern territories, and then supplement all of this with the generous goods our court gives to them. This is what Jia Yi called the “five baits”; we have made full use [of this strategy]. Though their customs are to wear felts and drink milk, yet now they partake of fine silks, sweet wines, teas, and citrus fruits, such that their hearts of beasts have become drunk with satisfaction. So they bow their heads and submit to our treaty, and learn to practice the [correct] rituals and rites.

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<th>haltered-and-bridled</th>
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<td>56</td>
<td>cherished those from afar [i.e., the Khitans] with the civilizing sway of its culture</td>
<td>用文德懷遠</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>The friendly relations between us and the Khitans have now lasted over thirty years; beginning with the Han dynasty, it has never been possible to make peace with the barbarians and then to adhere strictly to the treaty for as long as this.</td>
<td>我與契丹通好餘三十年矣, 自漢氏已來, 夷夏之和而能謹守信誓如今之久者, 未之有也.</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>Ever since [the Chanyuan Oath], the frontiers have not experienced the dusty stampedes [of cavalry attacks], and</td>
<td>自爾邊境長無風塵之驚, 父老不識金革之警... 國家承平百年, 其間通好居六十年, 前世所未有.</td>
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不享, 犬羊之心, 醉然而足, 俯首奉約, 賜為禮義.
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<td>57</td>
<td>After the court of Zhenzong established peaceful relations with [the Khitans], the populace has enjoyed a respite [from war] for nearly eighty years.... When considering the successive dynasties of the past, there have never been peaceful relations between the Middle Kingdom and the barbarians that have lasted for such a long period of time.</td>
<td>自真宗朝與通好,所以息民幾八十年....歷觀前代中國與夷狄通好,未有如今之悠久.</td>
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<td>57-8</td>
<td>When I consider the ways in which past dynasties guarded against [the people of] the northern deserts....it is only our dynasty that has implemented superior policies. Year after year for [now] seven decades, our frontier defenses have met with no calamities; the annual payments and diplomatic correspondence have elicited ever more respectful interactions. Travel [near the border] is unhindered; frontier cities can shut their gates late at night; and the local common people can grow old and die without seeing the weapons of war.</td>
<td>臣竊觀前世制禦朔漠之道... 至於我朝,乃得上策.年歷七紀而保塞無患,歲來信幣而致禮益恭. 行旅交通,邊城晏閉;黎民土著,至老死而不知兵革.</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>As of today, we have entered a second century in which soldiers do not see the weapons of war, and peasants are not burdened with corvée obligations. Although the Han and the Tang made peace with the barbarians, [what they did] never matched the policies of our Song dynasty.</td>
<td>至今幾二百年,兵不識刃,農不加役. 虽漢唐和戎,未有我宋之策也.</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>The peace between the Middle Kingdom and the Khitans has now lasted over a hundred years. During this time, the [Khitans] sometimes behaved greedily, but they never demanded more than the ten counties of Guannan; during this time, they sometimes behaved haughtily, but they never did more than shirk a few ritual protocols in the presence of the Middle Kingdom’s ambassadors.</td>
<td>中國與契丹講和,今踰百年. 間有貪惰,不過只得關南十縣而止耳;間有傲慢,不過對中國使者稍虧禮節而止耳.</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>Everywhere today things are calm; the frontier never raises the alarm. And so, though some may feel indignation and resentment when looking north [at Yan], or they may debate the advantages and disadvantages [of particular policies], government officials and local literati alike are all unwilling in this time of great peace to provoke an incident for the sake of the great merit [of leading a reconquest]. It is only for this reason that some of the Middle Kingdom’s lands—possessions of the former kings—have not yet been recovered.</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>if the emperor’s advisors insist upon reoccupying the former territories of Yan and Yun, even were it to mean I would die ten thousand deaths, I would not dare obey the imperial edict.</td>
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<td>shall no longer remain on the throne</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>if today His Majesty is lured into abandoning the treaty in order to recover Yan, I fear the wrath of Heaven.</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>abide by the norms of the [former] emperors Zhenzong and Renzong.</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>today among court officials, there are those who feel humiliated that Yan lies outside the realm.</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>choose good generals to defend the frontier, select able officials for diplomacy, externally adhere firmly to the peace, and internally bolster border defenses.</td>
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<td>out of respect for the peace oath of my imperial ancestors.</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>brush away the humiliation.</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>The people of Hebei have only just now been spared the misfortunes of war; how could I do such a thing?</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>certainly it might be called an accomplishment to seize Lingwu to the west and to seize Yan to the north, but the long-term survival of the state does not depend on this.</td>
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<td>61n97</td>
<td>policy of carrying on the past [emperor’s] will.</td>
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<td>62</td>
<td>Today we have inherited an era of Great Peace; the populace has had the good fortune of never witnessing warfare. Even if we were never to obtain this land of Yan and Yun, what would China really be lacking?</td>
<td>今承太平之業, 父老幸不識兵, 雖不得燕雲地, 何闕於漢?</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>The caitiffs [i.e., Liao officials], too, enjoy my poetry!</td>
<td>虜亦喜吾詩!</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>I myself have observed their assembled officials; there are many Chinese <em>shidafu</em> among them.</td>
<td>臣觀其朝廷百官之眾, 而中國士大夫交錯其間.</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>Zhao Wei</td>
<td>趙微</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>May friendship between our two courts last millions of years!</td>
<td>兩朝通歡千萬年!</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>The concord between our two courts has lasted a long time, such that we travel back and forth like members of a single family—this surely is the Great Peace!</td>
<td>兩朝通好日久, 往來如一家, 可謂太平!</td>
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<tr>
<td>64-5</td>
<td>the peace between our two courts has already lasted many years; the ambassadors (and their deputies) and their escorts (and their deputies) look upon each other as one family</td>
<td>兩朝通好多年, 國信使副與接伴使副相見如同一家</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>treacherous people to achieve their goal of creating a rift</td>
<td>嫌人得逞其離間之計</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>in the future, when our two courts dispatch ambassadors, we should select these men with care; ambassadors [should] make transparent the wishes of our two rulers, in order to dispel their suspicions</td>
<td>將來兩朝遣使, 必慎擇其人, 使通兩主之意, 以解其疑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>I have recently served as ambassador to the Khitans. I have met those officials in charge of their state policy whom Han envoys have never before met. I have discussed [those topics] that envoys from the two courts have formerly held as taboo. For this reason, I have achieved a detailed understanding of the situation.</td>
<td>臣昨奉使契丹, 彼執政之官, 漢使未嘗見者, 臣皆見之. 兩朝使臣, 曾所諱者, 臣皆言之. 以是得詳知其情狀.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>I will have deceived my emperor and bungled state affairs</td>
<td>臣為罔上且誤國</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66n115</td>
<td>mere trifle</td>
<td>瑣瑣細故</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>diplomatic missives are sufficient to handle this; why would we rush to raise troops?</td>
<td>移文足以辦之, 何遽至興甲兵哉?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>acted in accordance with what is right or wrong</td>
<td>舉動亦顧曲直</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
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<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Given that there are currently no rifts [between us], why would they rush to plot a southward invasion [i.e., into Song territory]?</td>
<td>今無釁隙，何緣遽有南牧之計？</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>If we wait until they [actually] build fortifications within [our territory], then we can handle the matter with an exchange of diplomatic communiques.</td>
<td>若待彼移口鋪向裏，乃可與公牒往來理會。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>minor border officials</td>
<td>邊吏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>The Khitan emperor has been on the throne already twenty years. His disposition is known; he is certainly not one to turn to war without any regard to reason and good sense.</td>
<td>契丹主即位已二十年，其性情可見，固非全不顧義理，務為強梁者也。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>The Khitan emperor has been on the throne some twenty years. Examining his past actions, [it is clear] he would certainly not provoke an incident for no reason.</td>
<td>契丹主即位幾二十年，所為詳審，必不肯無故生事。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68-9</td>
<td>The emperor of the Northern Court [i.e., Liao] appears to be over sixty years old, yet he remains vigorous and healthy; his appetite has not yet begun to decline. Having been on the throne so long, he has quite a good understanding of what is to [Liao’s] advantage. [Liao’s] friendship with our court has lasted many years, such that tribal and Han people enjoy tranquil existences, all living together in harmony, with no desire for war. Moreover, [the emperor’s] grandson, the Prince of Yan, is young and fragile. In one of the past years, powerful Khitan courtiers had his father executed. Thus, he has been seeking revenge, and looks for support from Chinese and from our court to consolidate his position. North of the border [i.e. in Liao territory], even commoners speak of this. After I crossed the border with my retinue [while on a diplomatic mission], I witnessed [Liao’s] wise, old officials...all speaking of our [two courts’] friendship, with a deep sigh, as something unprecedented since antiquity. They also related to me that the emperor of the Northern Court treats those in charge of</td>
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<td></td>
<td>北朝皇帝年顔見今六十以来，然舉止輕健，飲啖不衰，在位既久，頗知利害。與朝廷和好年深，蕃漢人戶休養生息，人人安居，不樂戰鬥。加以其孫燕王幼弱，頃年契丹大臣誅殺其父，常有求報之心，故欲依倚漢人，託附本朝，為自固之計。雖北界小民亦能道此。臣等過界後，見其臣僚年髙曉事...皆言及和好，咨嗟嘆息，以為自古所未有，又稱道北朝皇帝所以管待南使之意極厚。有接伴臣等皆管一人，未到帳下，除翰林副使...皆言緣接伴南使之勞。以此觀之，北朝皇帝若且無恙，北邊可保無事。惟其孫燕王，骨氣凡弱，瞻視不正，不逮其祖，雖心似向漢，未知得志之後，能彈壓蕃漢保其禄位否耳。</td>
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</table>
southern [i.e., Song] envoys very generously. One of the reception officials was [promoted to] deputy Hanlin commissioner even before we reached the Great Tent [of the Liao emperor]... Everybody said it was in recognition of his work receiving the southern envoy. From this, we can see that, as long as the emperor of the Northern Court remains healthy, we can be certain our northern frontier [with Liao] will remain free of incidents. [The problem] is only that his grandson, the Prince of Yan, is mediocre and weak in spirit, undignified in appearance, and [so] does not live up to his grandfather. Though his heart may seem to turn to China, we do not yet know whether or not, after he attains [the throne], he will be able to suppress the conflict between tribal and Han people, and secure his position.

71 Initially, in the Yuanfeng era [1078-1086], Cai Jing went on embassy to the caitiffs [i.e., Liao]. He was escorted by [Li] Yan; their friendship was quite profound. By the time of the Chongning era [1102-1107], both were in charge of their respective states [as chief ministers]. With the exchange of each embassy, they asked about each other’s good health. Yet, in the end, the two men were the foundations of the downfall of their states. How strange!

74-5 The barbarians have always been a threat to the Middle Kingdom; it has always been so.... Today, we would like you to evaluate the suitability of various approaches [to dealing with them] in order to seek out the most appropriate one. If one examines this according to the paths already followed, then [one finds that] the ancient ways of defending against the barbarians were limited to either ordering generals to attack them, building a Great Wall to cut them off, or offering them gold and silk in order to establish friendly relations... [The mid-Han general] Yan You believed there...
were no perfect plans in ancient times: the Zhou had an average plan; the Han had a poor plan; and the Qin had no plan at all.... That being the case, after examining the events of the past while taking into consideration what is appropriate for the present day, what is the most effective plan that we can implement in order to extend our prestige to the barbarians of the four directions while strengthening the Middle Kingdom’s interior?

<p>| 78n8 | The Middle Kingdom has few horses; moreover, the people do not learn to ride. | 中國馬少，又人不習騎。 |
| 79 | there is no best strategy for defending against the northern barbarians | 禁戎無上策 |
| 80 | Hulu [River] | 葫蘆 |
| 80n12 | Sanchuan | 三川 |
| 80n12 | Gaoping | 高平 |
| 81 | The northern barbarians are a peril to the Middle Kingdom; since antiquity it has been so. Ever since the Xia and the Shang dynasties, their ferocity and cruelty has only multiplied. All of the techniques for defending against them are contained within the historical records. Some [past dynasties] have crossed the frontier to engage in fierce battle; some have established good relations through dynastic marriages; some have won over certain tribes to divide up their strength; and some have sought to swear oaths of peace in order to fix their intentions. Among this diversity of schemes, not one has been fully successful. All that really works, in brief, is to train soldiers, accumulate grain provisions, divide up the garrisons along the frontier, then defend the line when [the barbarians] arrive, and hold back from pursuing them when they leave. | 北戎為患中國，自古而然，夏、商以還，桀暴滋甚。備禦之術，簡冊具存。或度塞以鏖兵，或和親而結好，或誘部落以分其勢，或要盟誓以固其心，謀議紛紜，咸非得策。舉其要略，唯練兵聚穀，分屯塞下，來則備禦，去則無追，是矣。 |
| 82 | Surrender—Here Cities | 受降城 |
| 82 | heqin | 和親 |
| 85 | half the people of Qin died beneath the Great Wall | 秦人半死長城下 |
| 85 | Emperor Yang [of the Sui] did not wield men to defend the border; instead, he made the Middle Kingdom labor to build the Great Wall to protect against the caitiffs. Now, I use [Li] Ji to defend Bing [i.e., Hedong], and the Turks do not dare move south. He is far more worthy than a Great Wall! | 燉帝不擇人守邊，勞中國築長城以備虜。今我用勣守并，突厥不敢南，賢長城遠矣！ |
| 85 | impressive as the Great Wall | 隱若長城 |
| 85 | mighty as the Great Wall | 勢若長城 |
| 85 | reliable as the Great Wall | 倚如長城 |
| 85 | a Great Wall for the country | 國家長城 |
| 85 | constructing a Great Wall...projects weakness...[and] will be laughed at by later generations | 築長城...自示弱...為後世笑。 |
| 86 | As for the Qin’s construction of the Great Wall, after which the common people rose up in rebellion...this satisfied the desires of one era, but became the laughingstock for a myriad generations. | 至於秦築長城而黔首叛亂...逞一時之心，為萬代之笑。 |
| 86 | straw mat | 禳席 |
| 86-7 | That which the Middle Kingdom relies upon are strategic barriers, and nothing more. In the far north, there are layers upon layers of difficult terrain, with remote mountains and deep valleys extending for myriad miles. This must be how Heaven and Earth have sought to separate Hua [i.e., the Middle Kingdom] from the barbarians, and to divide the inner from the outer. | 夫中國所恃者，險阻而已。朔塞而南，地形重阻，深山大谷，連互萬里，蓋天地所以限華戎，而絕內外也。 |
| 87 | Some would attack the frontier passes, but, in the end, none ever sought to flaunt their forces in the Central Plains by crossing the frontier defenses, and—barking and braying like dogs and sheep—charging southward towards Luoyang and the Yellow River. They feared that Han [i.e., Chinese] soldiers would entrench themselves at the strategic passes, thereby blocking off a retreat. | 或犯關塞，終未有窺兵中夏，徑越邊防，嘯聚犬羊，長驅河、洛者，慮漢兵守其險，而絕其後也。 |
| 87 | East of Feihu, as for the rugged passes crossing through multiple ranges of mountains—the great barriers of the northern frontier—all are in the hands of the Khitans. Southward from Yan, the | 自飛狐以東，重關複嶺，塞垣巨險，皆為契丹所有。燕薊以南，平壤千里，無名山大川之阻...此所以失地利，而困中國也。 |
| 87 | These [recent invasions] are all recorded in the histories. | 此皆見於史氏。 |
| 87-8 | I humbly submit that Hebei Circuit is the foundation of all under Heaven. Formerly, before losing the land of Yan, the passes of Songting, Gubei, and Juyong [in the Yan Mountains] served as strategic strongholds for the Central Plains, holding back the Xiongnu, who dared not cross south. Kings and emperors through the ages paid great attention to the defense [of these passes], without ever neglecting them. Since the founding emperor of the [Later] Jin abandoned the land of Yan, all the strategic passes of the north have belonged to the Khitans. When the Khitan [armies] arrive, there are no barriers that remain. | 伏以河北一路，盖天下之根本也。古者未失燕蓟之地，有松亭關、古北口、居庸關為中原險要，以隔閡匈奴不敢南下，而歷代帝王尚皆極意防守，未嘗輕視。自晉祖棄全燕之地，北方關隘，盡屬契丹。契丹之來，蕩然無阻，況又河朔士卒精悍，與他道不類，得其心則可以為用，失其心則大可以為患，安得不留意于此而反輕視哉？ |
| 88 | The topography in Hebei lacks strategic sites for its defense. South of Xiong and Mo, the land is flat for hundreds of miles… Ever since the Yellow River breached its dikes at Shanghu, and ceased following the old Henglong channel, the waters of Hebei have spread all over, such that we have lost the Middle Kingdom’s great riverine barrier, and can no longer keep out northern horsemen. In the dead of winter, when the waters freeze, armored cavalry can cross over. If the northerners were ever to send crack riders into the wastelands of Cang and Jing [in Song territory], they could charge south and wreak havoc in Jingdong [just east of the capital]. | 河朔地形，無險可守，自雄、莫以南，平壤千里… 自河決商胡，不由橫隴故道，河北水流散漫，失中國大河之險，不能限隔戎馬。盛冬冰合，鐵騎可過。北人若以精騎檮滄、景之虛，長驅南下，則京東搖矣。 |
| 88 | The cavalry’s advantage is on flat plains; the Middle Kingdom, with its many foot soldiers, benefits from strategic barriers. | 騎利在平地，中國多步兵，利於險阻。 |
| 89n43 | galloped over mountains and dales as if stomping on flat ground | 馳騁山嶺谿谷之間，如踐平地 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Simplified Chinese</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>This will obstruct the barbarian horses, while greatly benefiting our infantry troops.</td>
<td>此可以限其戎馬而大利我之步兵也。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>not deep enough for boats to pass, and not shallow enough to cross on foot</td>
<td>深不可以舟行，淺不可以徒涉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>The Khitans have extended their control over the hills of You [i.e., the Yan Mountains], and so have cut off the impediment of Gubei [Pass]. Back and forth, entire armies have invaded, crossing the Changshan range, and stomping over the region of Wei [in southern Hebei]. As a consequence of the Chanyuan campaign [of 1004], their horses drank from the Yellow River, and the populace [of Hebei] could no longer eke out a living. This came to pass not because the northern caitiffs [i.e., the Khitans] are brave and flourishing, but because we have lost our strategic strongholds. Nowadays, since there are no mountains or hills to serve as natural barriers, what we rely upon is simply the embankments that channel the flow of the rivers, consolidating accumulated waters to form a terrain of strategic waterways, within which crack troops are garrisoned at critical locations.</td>
<td>契丹奄有幽陵，遂絶古北之隘，往來全師入寇，徑度常山，陵獵全魏，澶淵之役以至飲馬於河，蒸民不聊生矣。非北虜雄盛如此，失於險固然也。今既無山阜設險，所可恃者，惟夾峙壘，道引河流，固其復水，為險濬之勢，就其要害屯以鋭兵。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>I went on a mission recently, and saw the waterworks on the northern border, vast like rivers and lakes, with a depth such that neither boats nor carts can cross over. It must occupy two thirds of the northern frontier. The caitiffs appear to be reluctant in their hearts. They look southward, but hesitate to advance, as if knowledge [of these defenses] has given them a fright.</td>
<td>臣頃年奉使，見北邊塘水渺渺如江湖，間有淺深，舟車皆不可渡。蓋占北疆三分之二，虜心依依，南望而踟蹰，抑知此之為憚也。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>water is sometimes present and sometimes not, such that one can wade across it in summer; when a deep freeze occurs in winter, [the hydraulic defenses] are tantamount to a flat plain</td>
<td>其水或有或無，夏秋可徒涉，遇冬冰凍即無異平地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91-2</td>
<td>As of the present year, the old regulations governing the water depths have long since been abandoned; moreover, [the system] was wrecked by</td>
<td>今歲久而淺深失舊制，且復有河水以盪之，當如何以復其故乎？</td>
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<td>Line</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Pinyin</td>
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<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>the waters of the Yellow River. What should we do to return [the system] to its former state?</td>
<td>水黃河。何應還[系統]於其故態？</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Weizhou</td>
<td>渭州</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>sufficient to block the caitiffs</td>
<td>足以限虜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>the open country surrounding the military command is broad and flat; it is convenient for cavalry warfare, and not to the Middle Kingdom’s advantage</td>
<td>軍境川原夷曠，便於騎戰，非中國之利</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>along the old Great Wall</td>
<td>續古長城</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>new trench</td>
<td>新壕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93n60</td>
<td>Zhenrong</td>
<td>鎮戎</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93n60</td>
<td>Binzhou</td>
<td>邠州</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93n60</td>
<td>Qinzhou</td>
<td>秦州</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Previously, along the border [here], there has been no trench, such that Tangut tribesmen raid frequently.</td>
<td>續邊舊無壕塹，致蕃部屢有侵略。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Huanzhou</td>
<td>環州</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>border trench</td>
<td>邊壕</td>
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<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>strategic points</td>
<td>要害</td>
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<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Yuanzhou</td>
<td>原州</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Kelan</td>
<td>岢嵐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>blocking barbarian horses</td>
<td>限戎馬</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>terrain is flat and broad</td>
<td>地形平闊處</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94n64</td>
<td>beyond the border trench</td>
<td>邊壕外</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94n65</td>
<td>border trench</td>
<td>邊壕</td>
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<tr>
<td>94n65</td>
<td>Tangut territory beyond the trench</td>
<td>壩外蕃界</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Dingchuan defeat</td>
<td>定川之敗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>hedge / screen</td>
<td>藩籬 / 屏蔽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>archers</td>
<td>弓箭手</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Shaanxi relies on archers to serve as a hedge for the state</td>
<td>陝西恃弓箭手為國藩籬</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>familiar with the hidden paths crossing the frontier, understood the Tangut language, and could withstand the bitter cold</td>
<td>習障塞蹊隧，曉羌語，耐寒苦</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>assimilated [lit., “cooked”] households</td>
<td>熟戶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>subordinate households</td>
<td>屬戶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Western soldiers</td>
<td>蕃兵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96n74</td>
<td>righteous braves</td>
<td>義勇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96n74</td>
<td>local men</td>
<td>土丁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96n74</td>
<td>stalwarts</td>
<td>壯丁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96n74</td>
<td>lancemen</td>
<td>槍手</td>
</tr>
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16

| 97n78 | Fan language | 蕃語 |
| 97n78 | Fan script | 蕃書 |
| 97n81 | receive their written complaints | 受其牒訴 |
| 97n81 | not to allow suspicions to give rise to a rift | 勿令猜阻以萌釁隙 |

98 North of Yongning and Anyuan, extending outward contiguously for fifty to a hundred kilometers, everywhere one finds assimilated households of western tribesmen. Among them are some who have not received supplementary titles of office [from the Song court], whose fighters and horses are not subject to government oversight, and who are consequently known as “unassimilated households.” They live interspersed with the assimilated households and, together with them, form a hedge. 永寧、安遠之北，綿亘一二百里之外，皆是西番熟戶，其間有不授補職名目，官中亦不勾點彼族兵馬者，則謂之生戶，并與熟戶交居，共為籬落。

98 the tribal households along the border | 緣邊熟戶 |
| 98 | hedge | 藩籬 |
| 98 | the Middle Kingdom’s hedge | 中國之藩籬 |
| 98 | screen | 屏蔽 |
| 99 | grotto men | 峴丁 |
| 99 | haltered-and-bridled prefectures | 羈靡州 |
| 99 | foreign generals | 蕃將 |

100 Han and “western” infantry and cavalry troops have been haphazardly combined into one army. This has already today caused quite a bit of harm, to say nothing of what would happen when they go to war. Since Han and Tibetans speak mutually unintelligible languages, when the troops are garrisoned, it has gotten to the point that mealtime has become inconvenient. 漢、蕃兵馬雜為一軍，今未論出戰，而其它為害已多。蓋由漢、蕃語言不通，部分居止，以至飲食悉皆不便。

104n106 local men | 土丁 |
<p>| 105 | Daizhou | 代州 |
| 105 | Ninghua | 寧化 |
| 105 | northern agriculturalist | 北界耕戶 |
| 108 | dig ditches and erect mounds | 開壕立堠 |
| 108 | Yanzhou | 延州 |
| 108 | Lanzhou | 蘭州 |
| 108 | Huizhou | 會州 |
| 108n14 | Huanqing | 環慶 |
| 108n14 | Linzhou | 麟州 |</p>
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<tr>
<td>108n14</td>
<td>Fuzhou</td>
<td>府州</td>
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<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>crossing the four circuits from Fuyan [in the east], through Huanqing, Jingyuan, and Xihe [in the west]</td>
<td>首起鄜延，經涉環慶、涇原、熙河四路</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>forbidden hills</td>
<td>禁山</td>
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<td>109</td>
<td>Lü Dafang</td>
<td>呂大防</td>
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<td>109</td>
<td>Qingcheng</td>
<td>青城</td>
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<tr>
<td>109n21</td>
<td>Saimen (Suizhou)</td>
<td>塞門(綏州)</td>
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<tr>
<td>110n27</td>
<td>drew in color a map</td>
<td>彩畫地圖</td>
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<tr>
<td>110n27</td>
<td>unfolded a map to discuss border demarcation</td>
<td>展圖議分畫</td>
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<td>110n28</td>
<td>Fengzhou</td>
<td>豐州</td>
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<td>110n28</td>
<td>Map of the Twelve Stockades</td>
<td>十二寨圖</td>
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<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>get the Northern Court [i.e. Liao] to understand the whole picture</td>
<td>令北朝稍知本末</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>whole picture</td>
<td>本末</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>the caitiff envoy, stunned and unable to respond, withdrew his claim</td>
<td>虐使驚不能對，乃寢其請</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>inspected the frontier, [but then] drew a map that was unclear</td>
<td>相視地界，畫圖不審</td>
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<tr>
<td>111n32</td>
<td>Map of the Hedong Border</td>
<td>河東地界圖</td>
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<tr>
<td>111n32</td>
<td>did not dare contest</td>
<td>不敢爭</td>
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<td>112</td>
<td>Yanzhou</td>
<td>延州</td>
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<td>112</td>
<td>Suizhou model</td>
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<td>112</td>
<td>Bureau of Demarcation</td>
<td>分畫地界所</td>
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<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Huanqing</td>
<td>環慶</td>
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<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Fuyan</td>
<td>郏延</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>臣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>clearly establish mounds and border ditches</td>
<td>明立封堠界壕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>establishing the border [with Xia] unilaterally</td>
<td>自立界至</td>
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<td>115</td>
<td>jointly establish the border</td>
<td>合立界至</td>
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<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>waited for the northerners to come to discuss</td>
<td>候北界來計會</td>
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<td>115n46</td>
<td>earth cows</td>
<td>土牛</td>
</tr>
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<td>116</td>
<td>I have already commanded the Military Intendancies of all circuits to order all places reached by our patrols clearly to establish the border, and to prevent fort and stockade commanders from sending out soldiers across the border unless the Westerners have violated the border</td>
<td>已指揮諸路經略司，令各據巡綽所至處，明立界至，並約束城寨兵將官，如西人不來侵犯，即不得出兵過界。爾亦當嚴戒緣邊首領，毋得侵犯邊境。</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
18 [first]; you too should admonish chieftains along the border to forbid violations of the border.

| 120 | the fertile land along the border has been entirely converted into pools and embankments, [such that] no tax revenue...is coming in | 沿邊沃壤又盡為陂塘，租稅...無所入 |
| 120 | forbidden zone | 禁地 |
| 121 | Kelan model | 岬嵐軍例 |
| 123 | borderlanders suddenly lost their livelihoods | 邊民遽然失業 |
| 124 | if there are bandits and robbers who abscond and flee, neither side shall allow them to seek asylum | 或有盜賊逋逃，彼此無令停匿 |
| 125 | sprouts | 萌芽 |
| 125 | border strife | 邊鬨 |
| 125 | command those in charge of fortified cities and stockades along the border to keep frontier households and patrols on mission under control; from now on, nobody should trespass across the border without cause | 指揮沿邊城寨使臣等，約束並邊人戶，及所遣探事人，今後不得於界外無故侵擾 |
| 125 | High ministers have been drawn to small gains; they peered at the profitable fields of the Xia state, and coveted them without end. | 恐大臣狃於小利，睥睨夏國便利田地，貪求不已. |
| 126 | Since the Yuanyou era, the court has not instigated a border incident; all [incidents] have arisen from the machinations of former border officials, who have repeatedly killed allied tribesmen...and plundered their wealth. | 自元祐以來，朝廷不起邊事，凡自前邊臣欺罔，累殺熟戶...攫掠財物． |
| 126 | perfidious scheming of border officials | 邊臣之姦計 |
| 126 | Suide has not delineated its border, so the Tanguts are naturally unwilling to demobilize their troops. | 緩德不畫界，則西人自然未肯休兵． |
| 126 | Incidents of encroachment often arise from a border that is unclear; if we want to prevent [our own] border officials from encroaching on the others, we need first to make the border clear. | 侵爭之端，常因地界不明．欲約束邊吏侵彼，亦須先明地界． |
| 126 | dual non-tilling zone | 兩不耕地 |
| 127 | 1) I once went to the border and enquired into the so-called “dual non-tilling zone.” Tens of li at its widest, several li at its narrowest, the designated | 臣嘗至邊，訪所謂兩不耕地，遠者數十里，近者數里，指地為障，華夷異居，耕桑樵牧動不相及，而爭鬨息矣．今恃封溝之限，則接壤之氓跌足相冒，變安為危． |
| 127 | 2) I have found out that, along the former borders of the five circuits, ever since skirmishes broke out, borderlanders have taken advantage of this opportunity to encroach and farm, [leading to a situation like] the interlocking of dog’s teeth, with some Qiang [under Chinese suzerainty] occupying fields within the territory of the *rong* [i.e. Tanguts]. If we now demarcate the border, we will have abandoned [this zone], [since] the fallow land on the frontier is not the Middle Kingdom’s territory. But if we now demarcate the border within [this fallow land], then we will have seized it. If we abandon what was formerly ours, then we will begin to lose the hearts of our people; if we take what is not ours, then the *rong* people will instigate a conflict. |
| 127-8 | 3) I have also heard that the *rong* and *di* barbarians are shameless in their endless deceits; they covet benefits without taking notice of righteousness. Now I hear that they have offered us land while harboring resentment, such that when our envoys approach the territory, they were still hiding there and would not go, and such that when there emerged a dispute over land, we put up with it without a fuss. What will come of this? If we arrive [at the border] in a lone cart, there will be no way for us to deal with a betrayal; if we come with armed troops, there will be no way to instill trust. |

| 127 | 臣訪聞五路舊界，自兵興以來，邊人乘利侵壑，犬牙相錯，或屬羌占田於戎境之中。今分畫，則棄之，窮邊生地非中國之土，今畫界其內，則當取之。棄舊所有，則吾人必啟離心；取舊所無，則戎人必起爭端。 |
| 127-8 | 臣又聞戎狄尚詐無恥，貪利而不顧義。今聞納壤有辭，及使臨境，彼且伏而不出，及地有分爭，且置而不校，則焉從之？單車以往則無以待其變，飾兵以臨則無以崇其信。 |
4) East from Linzhou and Fengzhou, west to Qinzhou and Weizhou, the land spans 1,500 to 1,600 li. Even a ditch only a foot wide and deep [would require] a total of 500 to 600 man-days of labor. [This project] will cause years of corvée duty for men on both sides of the border. No sooner will the bitterness of war have come to an end that the labor of the scoops and spades will begin anew.

I have also heard that in the Zhou system the Grand Minister over the Masses established trenches and tumuli in the states and fiefdoms; as for the Nine Zones of Submission, the Director of Regions did no more than distinguish these [without marking their divisions with trenches or tumuli]. When Masters of Hospitality took charge of [receiving] tribute, the outer frontier states did not participate in this. [The way] the Sage Kings treated the barbarians consisted of praising the good [among them] and pitying the incompetent; they believed that reprimanding them without ever amending the regulations, rewards, and punishments [to take into account their different situations] was a deficient notion. Now to impose on the barbarians the system of digging trenches to mark borders, this was not the intention of the ancient kings.

[Fan] Yu says that the Rites of Zhou only established trenches and tumuli in the Central States [i.e., in the interior] and that there were none in the territories adjoining the barbarians. Well I say to Yu: As for establishing trenches and tumuli in the heart of the Middle Kingdom and not establishing them in the territories adjoining the barbarians, how does this make any sense?

If we do not...rapidly establish the line of demarcation, then after showing forbearance for some time, there will again be a violent incident.
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<td>when the border is not set, then skirmishes and raids will necessarily occur without pause</td>
<td>地界不定, 則爭鬪暴犯必無休時</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>clearly establish the border</td>
<td>明立界至</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>clearly establish the border mounds</td>
<td>明立界堠</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>separating Han [people] from Westerners [i.e., Tanguts] into inner and outer, will eliminate incidents of conflict</td>
<td>間漢蕃出入, 絕交鬪之端</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>mark the midpoint between Westerners and Han people as the border</td>
<td>蕃漢所居乞畫中央為界</td>
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<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>fix the border according to the places where one sees Han people and Westerners now residing and [respectively] ploughing or herding</td>
<td>依見今漢蕃住坐耕牧處定界至</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>when establishing the border, one should accord with the Qingli oath letter, and set it in between where Han people and where Westerners reside</td>
<td>立界依慶曆誓表, 依蕃漢見住中間為定</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>When originally agreeing to demarcate the border...the mounds that were erected served as a border to separate Han people from Westerners. As for the land on the inner side of the mounds, this was to be defended by Han people; as for the land beyond the mounds, this was to be occupied by the Xia state.</td>
<td>元約分畫疆界...卓立封堠者, 為分別漢、蕃界. 至界堠內地, 即漢人所守; 界堠外地, 即夏國自占.</td>
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<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>The court has recently renegotiated the border with Xia. If we want to make use of the old Qingli model, we should fix it between where Han people and where Westerners reside. This principle is the most straightforward.</td>
<td>朝廷頃與夏人商量地界, 欲用慶曆舊例, 以漢蕃見今住坐處當中為界, 此理最為簡直.</td>
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<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>za</td>
<td>雜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>not possible to govern all in accordance with Hua [i.e. Chinese] law</td>
<td>不可一以華法治也</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>difficult to govern</td>
<td>難治</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132n110</td>
<td>min/yi</td>
<td>民/夷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>people beyond the mountains</td>
<td>山後之民</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>all have a heart that pines for the Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>皆有思中國之心</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>they are also my people</td>
<td>彼亦吾民也</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>enemy people</td>
<td>敵人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134n119</td>
<td>caitiffs</td>
<td>虜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134n119</td>
<td>enemy</td>
<td>敵</td>
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<td>134n119</td>
<td>foreign households</td>
<td>蕃戶</td>
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<td>135</td>
<td>Recently, I have thrice submitted letters [to court] asking for the demotion of chief minister Han Zhen, but this has not yet been implemented. I observe that Zhen is crafty and treacherous beyond bounds.... As for the demarcation of the border in Hedong, he arrogated all responsibility. I have heard that when Zhen was demarcating the border, he often discussed matters with that borderlander named Yan Fu. Fu advised him to accomplish the matter [quickly]. Taking 700 li of our ancestral land and handing it over to our foes was largely through the efforts of Fu. Fu was originally a local leader of the region straddling the Hedong border; many of his kinsmen are in the northern territory [under Liao control]. His mind cannot be fathomed.</td>
<td>臣近三上章, 乞罷免右僕射韓縝, 至今未蒙施行。竊謂縝奸邪無狀.... 河東定地界一事, 獨擅其責。臣聞縝定界時, 多與邊人燕復者商議。復勸成其事, 舉祖宗七百里之地以資寇讎。復有力焉。復本河東兩界首人, 親戚多在北境, 其心不可知。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Whenever he encountered somebody discussing with him the perfidy of [Han] Zhen and Yan Fu, he would want to eat [the man’s] flesh.</td>
<td>每見人論縝與燕復之姦, 即欲食其肉。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>might be moved, might be filled with indignation, but might also be spurred into action</td>
<td>可以感, 可以憤, 然亦可以作興也</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>It has long been the case that the territory of the Central Plains included Yan in the north, with the Great Wall marking the boundary. It was only during the Five Dynasties that Shi Jingtang [founding emperor of the Later Jin] abandoned the Sixteen Prefectures and offered them to the Khitans. It has been over three hundred years [since then], and [this territory] has yet to be returned to our possession... And now, east of the passes [in Western Shaanxi] and south of the Yellow River, a myriad miles of contiguous territory are in rebel [i.e., Jurchen] hands... How can one not shed tears and sigh deeply because of this? This surely fills one with indignation!</td>
<td>中原土壤北屬幽燕, 以長城為境, 舊矣。至五代時石敬塘棄十六州之地也賂契丹, 而幽薊朔易之境不復為吾有者三佰餘年.... 乃今自關以東, 河以南, 綿亙萬里, 盡為賊區... 可不為之流涕太息哉? 此可以憤也!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>in order to maintain its transmission</td>
<td>以永其傳</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Canon of Yao / delimited the Twelve Provinces / Tribute of Yu</td>
<td>堯典 / 臘十有二州 / 禹貢</td>
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<td>150</td>
<td>Bright Hall</td>
<td>明堂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>field allocation</td>
<td>分野</td>
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<tr>
<td>150n22</td>
<td>Between late spring of this year and next year, Jupiter will be in the Song sector [of the sky]; between early fall of this year and the year 989, Saturn will be in the Yan sector.</td>
<td>今年春末至來年, 歲在宋分, 今年初秋至六年, 鎮在燕分。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>royal domain / vassals' domain / pacified zone / zone of allied tribes / wilderness zone</td>
<td>甸服 / 侯服 / 綏服 / 要服 / 荒服</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>blocked</td>
<td>梗</td>
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<tr>
<td>151-2</td>
<td>I have heard that when Heaven created the four barbarian tribes, they were all situated outside of the realm of the ancient kings. Thus, they were blocked by the Deep Blue Sea to the east; divided by the Flowing Sands to the west; bordered by the Great Desert to the north; and impeded by the Five Peaks to the south. This is the means by which Heaven has separated [us from] the barbarians and divided inside from outside.</td>
<td>臣聞天生四夷, 皆在先王封域之外. 故東距滄海, 西隔流沙, 北橫大漠, 南阻五嶺, 此天所以限夷狄而隔中外也.</td>
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<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Heaven and Earth have separated north from south by means of deserts, mountains, and rivers.... How could we dare violate the boundaries of Heaven and Earth?</td>
<td>天地以沙漠山河限隔南北.... 豈敢上違天地之限?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>that by which Heaven has delineated inner from outer and separated north from south</td>
<td>天之所以區分内外, 隔限南北者</td>
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</table>
| 152   | “Stirred by Circumstances” I have once examined the Central Plains, The terrain of which is flat as a whetstone. Myriads of miles in circumference, It is criss-crossed by the ruts of horse carts. The imperial palace is situated at its center, Much like the [Palace of] Purple Tenuity, which serves as the pinnacle of the celestial bodies. The Yangzi River blocks off the south; The frontier passes lie across the north; To the east is the sea and to the west the Flowing Sands: | 感事
吾嘗觀中夏, 地平如砥石. 幅員數萬里, 車馬通轍跡. 帝宅居土中, 紫垣當辰極. 長江斷其南, 絕塞經其北, 東海西流沙: 天為限夷狄. |
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<td>152-3</td>
<td>Heaven has used these to separate out the barbarians.</td>
<td>邊界 / 北邊 / 南邊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Two Boundaries / Northern Boundary / Southern Boundary</td>
<td>所以限戎狄也 / 所以限蠻夷也</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Nature, itself, has placed the boundary markers that are to separate forever more France from Spain.... Following the natural division of the world established from the very beginning by the Creator, all lands in which the rivers enter France must constitute part of this kingdom; and those in which the rivers flow into Spain must constitute part of the states of that power.</td>
<td>La nature a posé elle-même les bornes qui devaient séparer à jamais la France de l’Espagne.... Suivant la division naturelle du globe formée dès son origine par le Créateur, tous les terrains dont les eaux viennent en France doivent faire partie des possessions de ce Royaume; et ceux dont les eaux coulent en Espagne doivent faire partie des États de cette puissance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>The Tang, throughout the dynasty, made use of foreign generals; then there was the disaster of the An Lushan Rebellion.</td>
<td>終唐世用蕃將，後有祿山之禍。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>After Tabgach Gui rose to power, the characteristic differences between the north and the south became fixed. As soon as the characteristics of the north and the south had become fixed, the south was annexed by the north [i.e., by the Sui]. Alas! After the Sui Dynasty, six to seven tenths of those attaining [political] prominence were descendants of Daibei [tribesmen]; what then was the point of ranking the great families?</td>
<td>拓跋珪興而南、北之形定矣。南、北之形既定，卒之南為北所并。嗚呼！自隋以後，名稱揚于時者，代北之子孫十居六七矣，氏族之辨，果何益哉！</td>
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<td>162</td>
<td>I am a Hua person. My clothing, language and diet are different from those here. I would rather die than live like this!</td>
<td>臣華人，衣服飲食言語皆不與此同，生不如死！</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>Liao and Zhongguo have mutually unintelligible languages and different foods and diets.</td>
<td>遼與中國言語不通，飲食不同。</td>
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<tr>
<td>162n56</td>
<td>their language, clothing, utensils, and food and drink do not, for the most part, resemble those of the Central Plains</td>
<td>其語言、衣服、器 用、飲食，大率與中夏不相侔</td>
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<td>164</td>
<td>barbarians</td>
<td>夷人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>referred to Zhongguo people as Han people</td>
<td>謂中國人為漢人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>I am a man of Yan; along with the officials of the Southern [i.e., Song] Court, we are</td>
<td>六符燕人，與南朝之臣本是一家，今所事者乃是非類。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167-8</td>
<td>all of one family. Nowadays, those whom I serve are not of my kind.</td>
<td>幽燕數州，人本漢俗，思漢之意，子孫不忘</td>
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<tr>
<td>167n71</td>
<td>in the prefectures of Yan, the population originally was Han in customs; their descendants continue to long for Han</td>
<td>燕人衣服飲食以中國爲法</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>as for the people of Yan, their clothing and their diets adhere to Chinese standards</td>
<td>興、靈州等處多舊漢人，皆元昊所據致者，常有思漢之心。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Around Xingzhou and Lingzhou, there are many former Han people, all of whom were seized by the [Tangut chief] Yuanhao; they often have feelings of longing for Han.</td>
<td>山後之民，久苦虐政，皆有思中國之心</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>the people beyond the mountains [in Liao territory], who have long suffered under tyrannical rule, all have feelings of longing for the Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>睦彼北燕，本為內地，陷於醜虜，垂五十年，家懷憤心，人失生計，僥望漢土，厥路無繇…．北邊民庶，本號雄豪，有能應接王師，糾合徒旅，憑茲天討，雪此世讎。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168n75</td>
<td>there still might be people left behind in the land of streams and grottoes [i.e., tribal territory], who have not managed to come home to Han</td>
<td>鄰尚有遺民在溪洞，未能歸漢</td>
</tr>
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<td>169</td>
<td>the borderlanders [i.e., people of Yan] are ignorant, and were unaware of your wise plan; they all thought you coveted their land, and so they invited the northern barbarians [i.e., Khitan troops] to come south [in their defense]</td>
<td>邊民蚩蚩，不知聖意，皆謂貪其土地，致北戎南牧</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>Although it has been over one hundred years since the land of Yan was ceded to the Khitans, yet the customs are all those of the Hua people, irrespective of the fact they are controlled by barbarians. In the end, they are of the mind to submit [to</td>
<td>燕地割屬契丹，雖逾百年，而俗皆華人，不分為戎人所制，終有向化之心，常恨中國不能與我爲主，往往感憤，形於慟哭。</td>
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<td>169</td>
<td>“We are after all Hua people; dying would be all the more fortunate!”</td>
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<td>170</td>
<td>“The land of Yan has, since antiquity, been known for its abundance of vigorous men, who grace the pages of the historical chronicles; it has always been thus. When the Song was established, worthy men everywhere congregated together regardless of distance, all wishing to be deemed deserving of imperial grace [i.e., all wishing to join the Song cause]; only this one territory [of Yan] fell into the clutches of men of another kind. Formerly, Emperor Taizong personally led a campaign to retake Youzhou [i.e., Yan], but failed and withdrew his troops. According to the reports of our spies, the population of Youzhou had plotted to seize [the Khitan] commanders and to surrender the city; when they heard the imperial carriage had returned [back to the south], there was no one who did not shed tears.”</td>
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<td>170</td>
<td>“there will be a man of great valor who will seize [Yan] and join forces with us, asking to become our vassal”</td>
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<td>171</td>
<td>“those people longing for Han will together take control of the land of Yan and submit it to our administration”</td>
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<td>171</td>
<td>“the Han people [of Yan] all day long lift their heads and crane their necks, awaiting day after day the imperial troops, yearning to submit to the [Song] emperor’s civilizing influence”</td>
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<td>171</td>
<td>“the slayings numbered in the tens of thousands; the main thoroughfares were drenched in blood”</td>
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<td>171</td>
<td>“population left behind / young and old alike cheered with joy”</td>
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<td>171</td>
<td>“stupefied”</td>
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<td>171</td>
<td>“groundless talk”</td>
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<td>171</td>
<td>Han people / will greet us at the border with pavilions of incense and flowers</td>
<td>漢人 / 當以香花樓子, 界首迎接也</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>How can we rely on this talk of pavilions of incense and flowers?</td>
<td>香花樓子之語, 果可憑乎?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>from the beginning, the people of Yan did not have feelings of longing for Han</td>
<td>初, 燕人本無思漢心</td>
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<td>172</td>
<td>day after day awaited the return of the imperial armies</td>
<td>日望王師之至</td>
</tr>
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<td>172</td>
<td>The people left behind look at each other and cry out to Heaven.</td>
<td>遺民相對向天泣.</td>
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<td>172</td>
<td>wished to devour their flesh</td>
<td>欲食其肉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>The tears of the people left behind seep into the Tartar dust [i.e., the dust stirred up by the nomads’ horses]; Looking southward, for yet another year, they await the imperial armies!</td>
<td>遺民淚盡胡塵裡, 南望王師又一年!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172n95</td>
<td>righteous and patriotic armies</td>
<td>忠義軍</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>The barbarian tribes to the south, east, west, and north all belong to all under Heaven; it is only our Han territory that we refer to as the Middle Kingdom.</td>
<td>蠻夷戎狄, 皆天下之有, 獨我漢壤, 謂之中國.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>As of now, Fen and Jin [in southern Hedong] have not been pacified, and Yan has not been recovered. How is it not an exaggeration to refer to [what I have done] as ‘unification’?</td>
<td>今汾晉未平, 燕薊未復, 謂之「一統」, 無乃過談?</td>
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<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>recovered the distant limits of the Tracks of Yu, and recuperated the former territories of the Central Plains</td>
<td>恢禹跡之遐理, 復中州之故封</td>
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<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>From the Tang through the sequence of Five Dynasties, the world was divided up for over a hundred years. Among Wu, Shu, Jiao, Yi, Jing, Jin, Min, and Yue, the largest [of these states] proclaimed themselves empires, while the smallest proclaimed themselves kingdoms. They collected tax revenue for themselves, without joining together under a [single] emperor and imperial bureaucracy. After Taizu finally secured the throne, within ten years, Wu, Shu, Jiao, Yi, [and Jing] were gradually forced to surrender. Soon after Taizong ascended the throne, Min and Yue [i.e., Wuyue] asked to submit to the court, and Binzhou [i.e., the Northern Han] was pacified, such that the world</td>
<td>自唐歷五代, 天下分裂百餘歲矣. 吳蜀交益荆晉閩越, 大者稱帝, 小者稱王, 其財賦自入, 不統天子有司. 及太祖受禪, 十餘年間, 吳蜀交益諸國稍誅降. 太宗即位閩越請吏入朝, 又定并州, 則天下始一統矣.</td>
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<td>was for the first time [since the Tang] unified.</td>
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<td>175-6</td>
<td>I cherish this region of Yan. It was originally [inhabited by] people of the Middle Kingdom, but, since the [Later] Jin and Han, it has been expropriated by barbarians. To this day, fifty years later, it has not yet been recovered. Our dynasty has already transformed the world [with its civilizing influence]; imperial grace has extended to all animals and plants. How can we allow the territory of Yan to persist as a land of [uncivilized people with] disheveled hair, and allow the survivors among the well-born to remain in a society where one consumes [an uncivilized diet of] raw meat? 睦此北燕之地，本為中國之民，晉漢以來，戎夷竊據，迨今不復，垂五十年。國家化被華夷，恩覃動植，豈可使幽燕奧壤，猶為被髮之鄉，冠帶遺民，尚雜茹毛之俗。</td>
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<td>175n103</td>
<td>the tracks of the Great Yu were all possessed by the Song 大禹之跡，悉為宋有</td>
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<td>176</td>
<td>sweep away the accumulated humiliation of the borderlanders [of Hebei] 掃邊民之積恥</td>
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<td>176n107</td>
<td>brushing away the humiliation 刷恥</td>
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<td>176n110</td>
<td>lost territories 失地</td>
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<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>what they most love is the hunt, and what they covet is material profit; aside from this, they have no other abilities 所嗜者禽獸，所貪者財利，此外無他智計</td>
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<td>177</td>
<td>With the pacification of [Wuyue] and the forcible seizure of Hedong, [the emperor] has bequeathed his extraordinary valor to posterity, while cleansing the indignation of the previous dynasties. The lands between the Four Seas [i.e., the civilized world] have all returned to our grasp; for ten years up through the Yongxi era [i.e., the present day] there have just been those barbarians [i.e., the Khitans], but how are they our rivals? Nomads, who can fly off like birds, have since antiquity been difficult to control. 至于平收浙右，力取河東，垂後代之英奇，雪前朝之憤氣，四海咸歸于掌握，十年時致于雍熙，唯彼蕃戎，豈爲敵對? 遷徙鳥舉，自古難得制之。</td>
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<td>177</td>
<td>The Khitans are not worth annexing; Yan is not worth seizing. 契丹不足吞，燕薊不足取。</td>
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<td>177</td>
<td>only understood that the Khitans could not be attacked, but did not understand that the region of Yan had to be taken 徒知契丹未可伐，而不知燕薊在所當取</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>From the mid-Tang, when the provinces came to dominate [at the expense of the central government], down to the Five 自有唐中葉，藩鎮跋扈，降及五代，群雄角逐，四海九州，瓜分麋潰，兵相吞噬，生民塗炭，二百餘年。太祖受天明命，四征弗庭，光</td>
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Dynasties, when numerous warlords contended for supremacy, the Nine Provinces between the Four Seas rotted like a carved up melon; armies swallowed each other up, while the common people wallowed in misery. This lasted over two hundred years. When Taizu received Heaven’s brilliant mandate, he sent out his armies against all those who would not submit, gloriously initiating the imperial way. Taizong succeeded him, bringing to fruition [Taizu’s] achievements, whereupon the Tracks of the Great Yu were all possessed by the Song. Subsequently, the weapons of war were put away, and the populace was granted a respite. People now can live to a very advanced age without witnessing warfare at any point in their lives. Administrators keep watch over the laws and standards, while the people are undisturbed in their occupations. Cocks crow, dogs bark, and smoke and flames [from the hearths] are in dense profusion. One might call this the ultimate in eras of peace; it is something that has rarely been matched since antiquity. When Shenzong inherited the throne [in 1068], the spirit [of his ministers] was heroic and martial. Because You, Ji, Yun, and Shuo [the Sixteen Prefectures] are in the hands of the Khitans; Lingwu and Hexi [in the northwest] are under the sole command of the [Tanguts]; and Cochin and Annam [in the far south] are controlled by the Ly family, it is no longer possible to establish bureaucrats there, nor to exact taxes or corvée labor. Compared to the territorial extent of the Han and the Tang, we are not yet whole. Fueled by the shame of this, there is now the fervent will to send out armies to open up [the frontier]. The result has been that military men on the frontier—who lie in wait for small gains, wantonly talking big and taking credit for the achievements of others without regard for the harm done to the state—
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<th>English</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
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<td>179</td>
<td>vie to show off their bravado... And pasty-faced bookworms—steeped in texts and diagrams, who delight in ancient precedents without a sense of how to adapt them to contemporary circumstances—compete with each other to present bizarre policy proposals at court.</td>
<td>我故地</td>
</tr>
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<td>179</td>
<td>our former land</td>
<td>唐、漢古郡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>ancient commanderies of the Tang and Han</td>
<td>漢唐之舊疆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>former territories of the Han and Tang</td>
<td>遺民</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179n117</td>
<td>surpassed the Tang and exceeded the Han</td>
<td>跨唐越漢</td>
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<td>180</td>
<td>the former land of Hehuang</td>
<td>河湟故地</td>
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<td>180</td>
<td>the people left behind since Tang and Han times</td>
<td>唐漢遺民</td>
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<td>180</td>
<td>The village elders of those [Tangut] prefectures are our people who have been left behind; though they drink milk and drape themselves in felt [in steppe nomadic fashion], they still think longingly of the land of Hua. When our imperial armies surround them, we can win them over by means of kindness and good faith, thereby bringing Shuofang [i.e., the original core of the Tangut state] back to the fold.</td>
<td>且彼州父老，我之遺人，飲湩荷旃，猶懷華土。王師奄至，可以恩信招徠，則朔方之地庶復歸國。</td>
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<td>180</td>
<td>Ling, Xia, Sui, and Yin [prefectures] do not produce the five grains.... [In consisting of] hundreds of miles of desert, they were not originally among the lands of Hua.</td>
<td>灵、夏、綏、銀不產五穀，..., 千里黃沙，本非華土。</td>
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<td>180</td>
<td>useless land originally beyond our borders</td>
<td>本界外無用之地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>Why must we throw away vast quantities of gold, silk, and grain to fight over a small amount of barren land?</td>
<td>奈何...棄金帛粟米之巨萬而争不毛之尺寸哉？</td>
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<td>181</td>
<td>the Middle Kingdom’s former territory</td>
<td>中國故地</td>
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<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>nest of Tibetans and other barbarians</td>
<td>吐蕃諸夷之巢穴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>territories beyond the pale, even those that were once counties and prefectures of the Middle Kingdom, are equally of no use to us</td>
<td>雖常為中國之郡縣而本屬外地者，則亦無所用之</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>was not originally our land</td>
<td>元非吾土</td>
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<td>181-2</td>
<td>Places around Lanzhou cannot be discussed in the same context as the Hedong border. The Hedong border is a strategic point for the state, and was handed down to us by the founding emperors. Who would dare give it up? ...As for the places around Lanzhou, these were originally former lands of the Western barbarians [i.e., the Tanguts]; obtaining these lands brings us costs but no profits.</td>
<td>臣謂蘭州等處與河東地界不可同日而語。河東地界，國之要地，祖宗相傳，誰敢失墜？ …至於蘭州等處，本西戎舊地，得之有費無益。</td>
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<td>182</td>
<td>that which makes the Middle Kingdom worthy of acclamation is its trustworthiness and adherence to propriety; what makes the distant lands worthy of contempt is their rapaciousness and brutality</td>
<td>中國之所以為可貴者，以其有禮恩信也；遠方之所以可賤者，以其貪婪暴虐也</td>
</tr>
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<td>182</td>
<td>This is not the fault of the Westerners; it is entirely the result of the [Song] court’s lack of righteousness.</td>
<td>此非西人之罪，皆朝廷不直之故。</td>
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<td>182</td>
<td>Nowadays, the northern barbarians [i.e., the Khitans] occupy the garrisons of Yan and northern Hedong, while the [the Tangut leader] Yuanhao plunders Lingwu, Yin, and Xia. All are our [former] prefectures and commanderies. Their ceremonial carts and costumes, their children, their precious goods are all identical to those of the Han.</td>
<td>今北戎據幽、燕山後諸鎮，元昊盜靈武、銀、夏，皆我之州郡，其衣冠、車服、子女、玉帛與漢同。</td>
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<td>182</td>
<td>I wished to take after the greatest of strategies [used in the past] in order to exact Heaven’s punishment; I would recover the former lands of Yan and Xia, thereby offering comfort to the people left behind since the Tang and [Later] Jin. I would [thereby] spread my reputation beyond all bounds, by implementing plans that would stand the test of time. How grand would that have been!</td>
<td>願效至計，以行天誅，回幽、夏之故墟，弔唐、晉之遺人，流聲無窮，為計不朽，豈不偉哉！</td>
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<td>183</td>
<td>Emperor Gaozu of Jin relinquished the province of [Yan] to the Khitans; emperor Shizong of Zhou recaptured Guannan. All these are matters of other dynasties. It has been ninety years since the founding of the Song; if both of us start claiming</td>
<td>晉高祖以盧龍一道賜契丹，周世宗復伐取關南，皆異代事。宋興已九十年，若各欲求異代故地，豈北朝之利乎？</td>
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<td>183</td>
<td>How could the Southern Court...agree to give up the former lands of the [Song] imperial ancestors?</td>
<td>南朝...豈肯失祖宗故地耶？</td>
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<td>183</td>
<td>Our state has been at peace with the people of Liao for a hundred years. Now we sit by and watch as their state disintegrates [before the Jurchen onslaught] without providing assistance, and then exploit their land. How is this not laying the foundation for the Jurchens to bring disaster on us?</td>
<td>國家與遼人百年之好，今坐視其敗亡不能救，乃利其土地，無乃基女直之禍乎？</td>
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<td>184</td>
<td>How can the wealth of the six cities of Hehuang compare to the wealth of Yan? Hehuang is remote; only by emptying the cities’ coffers can the Middle Kingdom defend it with some degree of confidence. By contrast, with the wealth of Yan, we can be sure it will be easy to defend. As for its urban layout, its agricultural work, the literary conventions of its administrative documents, and its military formations and ranks, none do not derive from the Middle Kingdom’s old customs. If we were today to rule it in accordance with the Middle Kingdom’s laws, its people would be easily pacified. Once we rule Yan, we would quickly control all former territories of the Later Jin.</td>
<td>陛下以河湟六城之富，孰與全燕？河湟遼遠，城中素空匱，中國且能保而實之，則全燕之富，其易守可知也。惟其城郭邑居、耕田作業、文書約束、營陣行伍，無一不出中國之舊，今以中國之法守之，其民宜易安。燕城既守，則凡石氏之故地猶不盡舉者，未之有也。</td>
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<td>184</td>
<td>pained that the land of Yan is in the clutches of the barbarians</td>
<td>痛燕薊之地陷入契丹</td>
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<td>184</td>
<td>As for the fact that our prestige exceeds that of all others on earth, yet two corners of the land cannot be [under our control] as before. How does this make any sense? It is for this reason that I feel deep resentment and profound regret, and call on our great generals to render on behalf of the emperor meritorious services unsurpassed in their excellence. I only ask that we plan carefully and proceed with caution.</td>
<td>夫以蓋天地四方之威，而兩隅之地乃不能如其故，是豈理之所當然？此臣之所以深憤痛惜，而又謂天將以資陛下立英偉不世之大功也，惟留神熟計之。</td>
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<td>184-5</td>
<td>Emperor Zhenzong’s many policies were superb;</td>
<td>真皇多廟勝，仁祖用功深。卜宅還九鼎，破胡藏萬金。</td>
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<td>185</td>
<td>former Han prefectures</td>
<td>舊漢州</td>
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<td>185</td>
<td>hand over Yan and Yun [the Sixteen Prefectures] to the Southern court as a special concession, both in appreciation of the good intentions of the emperor of the Southern Court, and because Yanjing [the principle city of Yan] was originally Han land</td>
<td>為感南朝皇帝好意, 及燕京本是漢地, 特許燕雲與南朝</td>
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<td>186n144</td>
<td>seized the former land of Yan, and consoled the people left behind in the clutches of the enemy</td>
<td>舉全燕之故地, 弔陷敵之遺民</td>
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<td>186n146</td>
<td>In the Zhenguan era, the western frontier stood at the Four Garrisons. Subsequently, they were not well defended, and were abandoned to the Tibetans. Now, this former land has been entirely recovered.</td>
<td>貞觀中, 西境在四鎮, 其後不善守, 棄之吐蕃. 今故土盡復.</td>
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<td>186n146</td>
<td>wished to recover the former land of Longyou [i.e., Gansu]</td>
<td>有意復隴右故地</td>
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<td>187</td>
<td>We cannot allow them to disavow their subordination to us.</td>
<td>不可許以不臣.</td>
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<td>188</td>
<td>Once our soldiers have pacified [Yan], the former territories of the [Later Jin] will have been recovered. I ask that we then respect the frontiers, scrupulously run</td>
<td>兵既定, 石氏之故地已復, 臣請謹封疆, 嚴斥候, 戒邊吏, 無得以非中國之地而利絲毫以爲功... 處雖失燕, 知其本中國之舊而不以爲吝, 中國亦與之講好修聘.</td>
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Emperor Renzong’s achievements were superior. After reestablishing the imperial capital upon founding our dynasty, We defeated the Tartars, though we still relinquish vast sums of gold [i.e., as an annual payment]. For a century, we have rested our soldiers, After appeasing our foe on that day. Rather than striving to break the back of the Xiongnu [i.e., Khitans], It is better to stay the course [of paying for peace].
patrols, and admonish border officials not to seek to profit on behalf of the throne from any lands not [belonging to] the Middle Kingdom...

Though the caitiffs [i.e., Khitans] will have lost Yan, they will recognize that it was originally former territory of the Middle Kingdom and will not be stingy on the matter. The Middle Kingdom will once again make peace with them and re-establish diplomatic exchanges.

191 The Jin dynasty arose from among the barbarians [i.e., the Shatuo]; in the end, it was destroyed by barbarians [i.e., by Khitans].

191 When looking at the barbarians from the perspective of the Middle Kingdom, it is acceptable to treat them as barbarians. [But] looking at the Ten Kingdoms from the perspective of the rulers of the Five Dynasties, it is not acceptable to treat them as barbarians.

191 After the chaos at the end of the Han Dynasty, and after the [Western] Jin fled south of the Yangzi, the Central Plains fell to the barbarians.

191-2 Advisors [favoring the peace terms] all assert that Yuanhao [the Tangut leader] is a Tartar, who [consequently] has no desire to occupy the Middle Kingdom, seeking only to establish his prestige among the frontier tribes. [But] we assert that the followers of Tabgach Gui, Shi Le, Liu Cong, Fu Jian, and Helian Bobo [founding emperors of fourth-century “conquest” dynasties] were all Tartars, yet every one of them took residence in [i.e., invaded] the Central Plains. More recently, Li Keyong and his son [founder of the Later Tang], who were Shatuo, established a base in Taiyuan and later a capital at Luoyang.... Indeed, rebels against the Han house [i.e., Chinese regimes] do not enjoy living amid the barbarian lands; they scheme in their hearts to conquer Han territory. They then force Han people to administer the cities that they seize, much like when the
<table>
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<th>191n163</th>
<th>arose from among the northern barbarians... the character of the barbarian is stubborn..., such that [Mingzong] often executed innocent ministers</th>
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<td>192</td>
<td>The world was torn asunder. In the chaos of the Yongjia era [307-313], all moral principles were shattered; Qiang and Tartar [tribesmen] lived scattered about the various Xia lands [i.e., the Central Plains], while [Han Chinese] officials spread out in Jing and Wu [in the South].</td>
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| 192-3   | A minister performing the functions of the lord, barbarians performing the functions of the Middle Kingdom—throughout history, among the sinister things of the world, none are greater than these. For barbarians to perform the functions of the Central State, this is not a blessing from the barbarians, but is actually a calamity brought on by them. It is as if an ox or a horse were one morning suddenly to understand the language of men while still wearing a hairy tail and standing atop four hoofs. Even a young child no more than three feet in height would, on seeing such a sight, do no more than exclaim “ox-horse demon!” He would dare not call such a thing a “human”; truly, it would be too bizarre a thing!... As for Tabgach Gui [founder of the Northern Wei] and the sixteen barbarian states [i.e., the Northern Dynasties], none of them properly performed the functions of the barbarians. Even if Tabgach Gui made use of the musical and ritual implements [of the Chinese imperial tradition], and usurped the functions of the Middle Kingdom, thus bringing chaos to the natural order of things, this was no different from clothing an ox or a horse and calling it a human.... Lord and minister, the civilized center and the barbarian states...
barbarian—these have constituted the great divisions of the world throughout history. How can one muddle [these distinctions]?.... Some will say, “The Tabgach clan, including tribesmen of the extreme north, are all descendants of the Yellow Emperor...” I say, if the scions of great ministers of state abandon the *Songs* and the *Rites*, some delighting in serving as yamen runners, some drifting off to be bandits, how is it acceptable to bring up the achievements of their ancestors and place them among the ranks of grandees? This is to say nothing of the lands beyond the remote frontiers, which, possessing a monstrous qi, produce barbarians—lands such as the country of hairy men, the country of apes, the country of dogs, and the country of women. Their kinds are very strange; they are not at all of the [same] seed and kind as people of the Middle Kingdom. Since [the world] was created, these have existed. To say they are descendants of the Yellow Emperor or descendants of the Xiahou clan [of the Xia dynasty of antiquity] is, thus, false.

| 194 | prefectures beyond the pale | 化外州 |
| 196 | *Handy Geographical Maps of Successive Dynasties* | 歷代地理指掌圖 |
| 197 | I beat my breast in distress | 拊吾膺 |
| 197 | overcome by solitary anger | 孤憤意 |
| 197 | I would mount my horse to attack the crazed Tartars [i.e., the Jurchens]; I would dismount to compose military dispatches. These were the ambitions I harbored at the age of twenty, [yet] At the age of fifty, I remain but an emaciated scholar. Between Dasan [Pass] and Chen Depot, There are mountains, rivers, thick forests, and sinuous terrain. The vigorous qi [of the region] produces people of great integrity; Together with them, one might make great plans [of reconquest]. | 上馬擊狂胡, 下馬草軍書. 二十抱此志, 五十猶癯儒. 大散陳倉間, 山川鬱盤纡. 勁氣鍾義士, 可與共壯圖. 坡陁咸陽城, 秦漢之故都. 王氣浮夕靄, 宮室生春蕪. 安得從王師, 汛掃迎皇輿? |
The mountainous city of Xianyang is site of the old capital of the Qin and Han dynasties. [But now]
The imperial qi dissipates in the evening mist;
The palace halls are overgrown with spring weeds.
How might I, in the tow of the imperial army,
Sweep clean [this region] and welcome back the emperor’s carriage?

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<th>Great Wall line of defense</th>
<th>長城之防</th>
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<td>198</td>
<td>In former times, as soon as the Qin had proclaimed its empire, because the six [warring] states were already defunct, there was nothing worth worrying about across the land. It was only the Tartars that still brought trouble to the Qin, whereupon Qin dispatched [the general] Meng Tian to the north to build the Great Wall, and to expel the Xiongnu to over 700 li further out.</td>
<td>昔秦既稱帝，以爲六國已亡，海內無足復慮，為秦患者，獨胡人耳，於是使蒙恬北築長城，卻匈奴七百餘里。</td>
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<td>198n185</td>
<td>Surrender-Here Cities</td>
<td>受降城</td>
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<td>199</td>
<td>I once traveled to Yan on a minor assignment [accompanying the Song ambassador] and saw firsthand the old frontier. The so-called Baigou River [marking the Northern Song-Liao border] was really no more than a trickle. The remains of the pools of water, elm and willow trees, and embankments at Ansu and elsewhere [i.e., the hydraulic defenses and tree palisade] were all man-made creations, and not a natural barrier. The Qin Great Wall has, since ancient times, been deemed [the product of] worthless policymaking, but at least it imposed restrictions... Ever since Zhou Dewei lost the strategic stronghold of Yu Pass, and the Later Jin gave up the territory of the Sixteen Prefectures, it has not been possible to restore the Middle Kingdom [in full]. It is as if a properly registered household adjoins that of a thief, and depends entirely on a wall for protection. One day, the thief breaks through the wall, whereupon the</td>
<td>臣嘗以假吏至燕，親見舊邊所謂白溝河者，真一衣帶水，而安肅等處水櫃、榆柳、塘泊之遺跡，亦皆人力設險，而非天險也... 廠之長城，千古以爲無策，然猶有以限制之。自周德威失榆關之要，石晉獻十六州之地，而後中國不復可為，此如編氓之家與盜爲鄰，所恃以禦之，惟垣墻耳。一旦盜入垣墻之內，而畫平地以守。</td>
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<td>Raw Text</td>
<td>Natural Text</td>
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<td>household draws a line on the flat ground for defense.</td>
<td>先代之勞，後王之利</td>
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<td>the hard labor of past dynasties that has been to the benefit of later kings</td>
<td>劉貺 / 限中外</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Liu Kuang / separate inside from outside</td>
<td>青海通西域，長城起朔方．分明見地里，悵望隔要荒．</td>
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<td>The azure sea [of Qinghai] traverses the Western Regions, The Great Wall rises up in the north. One can clearly make out the physiography— I long for when these separated us from the “wilderness zone.”</td>
<td>古長城</td>
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<td>The azure sea [of Qinghai] traverses the Western Regions, The Great Wall rises up in the north. One can clearly make out the physiography— I long for when these separated us from the “wilderness zone.”</td>
<td>古長城</td>
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<td>202</td>
<td>Sixteen Prefectures of Yan and Yun</td>
<td>燕雲十六州</td>
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<td>200</td>
<td>Zhao / Yan</td>
<td>趙 / 燕</td>
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<td>201</td>
<td>The men of Qin who built the Great Wall over the span of thousands of miles, Were not worth those [Tang-era] braves who defended Beiping [in Hebei].</td>
<td>秦人萬里築長城，不如壯士守北平．</td>
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<td>201</td>
<td>serve as a Great Wall</td>
<td>作長城</td>
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<td>201</td>
<td>There is a Great Wall in his five-syllable verse...fresh poetry strives to fly and stir, bringing light to old and tired eyes.</td>
<td>五字有長城…新詩欲飛動，病眼爲開明．</td>
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<td>201</td>
<td>like a single shield that can block a hundred arrow shots, tortuous its whole length, and great in height, obstructing [the waters] like the Great Wall holding back the northern barbarians</td>
<td>一盾可受百箭攻，蜿蜒其長高隆隆，截如長城限羌戎</td>
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<td>202</td>
<td>“Thoughts on the Past” Recruiting warriors with a thousand coins, Building the Great Wall across ten thousand li; When will the moon over the Green Grave [in Mongolia] Also shine upon the Han barracks?</td>
<td>古意 千金募戰士，萬里築長城：何時青塚月，卻照漢家營？</td>
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<td>202</td>
<td>The fortifications are interminably calm; there have been no calls to arm, Although we frequently raise our wine glasses and recite poems [about war]. The Great Wall spanning thousands of miles was the concern of heroes; We [by contrast] banter lightheartedly about the Classics, then nap through the afternoon.</td>
<td>亭障久安無檄到，盃觴頻舉有詩傳．長城萬里英雄事，應笑窮儒飽晝眠．</td>
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<td>Sixteen Prefectures of Yan and Yun</td>
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<td>202</td>
<td>After the [Later] Jin paid off the Khitans [with the Sixteen Prefectures] in 936, this land fell under caitiff control for over 450 years in total. Only after [Emperor] Taizu of our dynasty chased out the Yuan and restored the Middle Kingdom was [this land] pulled out from the mire [of barbarian control].</td>
<td>自晉天福元年以賂契丹，此地為虜所得者首尾四百五十餘年。我太祖始逐出元人而復為中國蓋拔之泥塗之中也。</td>
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<td>203</td>
<td>never once failed to sigh... after the Later Jin bestowed the Sixteen Prefectures to the Khitans</td>
<td>未嘗不歎...自石晉以十六州畀契丹</td>
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<td>203</td>
<td>Journal of National Essence</td>
<td>國粹學報</td>
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<td>203</td>
<td>the governance of our China involved despotic governance by a foreign race, and not governance by our own people</td>
<td>國于吾中國者，外族專制之國，而非吾民族之國也</td>
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<td>203</td>
<td>what brought about the disaster of the Jingkang era [the final two years of the Northern Song] was the seizure of Yan. Those seeking to explain the failure of the Jingkang era must conclude that it was [due to] the seizure of Yan.</td>
<td>致靖康之禍，在於取燕；追論靖康之失者，亦必曰取燕。</td>
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<td>204</td>
<td>Explications of the Geography of the Comprehensive Mirror</td>
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<td>A Study of the Sixteen Prefectures of the Later Jin</td>
<td>石晉十六州考</td>
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<td>204</td>
<td>When the founder of our dynasty brought out the map of Yan and showed it to [his close advisor] Zhao Pu, Pu believed what would be difficult was defending this territory [after its conquest]. [Yet] evil ministers during the Xuanhe era got together with the Jurchens for a joint attack to take the desolate cities of Yan and Yun, [the result of which is that] our former capitals are in ruins, and the Central Plains suffer from utter misery. According to the top line statement of the shi hexagram of the Book of Changes, “Petty men must not be used lest chaos be brought to the state.” My feelings swell with indignation over this, and so I end my Explications on this note.</td>
<td>藝祖出幽燕圖示趙普，普以為其難在守。宣和姦臣與女真夾攻得燕山雲中空城，而故都禾黍中夏塗炭矣。易師之上六曰: “小人勿用必亂邦也。” 余為之感慨而通釋終焉。</td>
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<td>204</td>
<td>protective screen</td>
<td>屏蔽</td>
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<td>204</td>
<td>I have heard that, both today and in antiquity, topographic features have not changed. [Thus,] both Hua and the</td>
<td>伏聞今昔有不移之形勢，華夷有一定之疆。故彼不可越燕、蓟而南侵，猶我不能跨</td>
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| barbarian lands have well-defined territorial extents. As a result, while they [i.e., the nomads] must not cross southward into Yan, we must not establish garrisons in Liaodong. Even Yao and Shun did not try to impose civilized practices on the barbarians. [At the same time,] how can Heaven and Earth tolerate having North China stink of goats and sheep [of the nomads]? | 遼、碣而北守。堯舜尚無冠帶百蠻之理, 天地豈忍膻腥諸夏之區?

| 204-205 “First Mountain” The Traces of Yu are vast, the sky immense, Everything in sight consists of our former mountains and rivers. Who thought to use the Huai River to demarcate north and south? Only when one has gotten as far as Yan does one first reach the frontier. | 第一山 禹[sic.]迹茫茫万里天, 望中皆我舊山川。誰將淮水分南北? 直到幽燕始是邊。

| 205 When will we hear of an imperial edict dispatching generals to move into Yan? | 何時聞詔下, 遣將入幽燕? |

| 205 In my breast reside a hundred thousand mighty soldiers, With military flags and imperial banners, but unrealized ambitions. Do not laugh at this old man by the thatched window; In a bit, I will joke around about seizing Youzhou [i.e., Yan]. | 胸中十萬宿貔貅，皁纛黃旗志未酬。莫笑蓬窗白頭客; 時來談笑取幽州。 |

<p>| 205 I remember encountering Emperor Gaozong and recognizing the physiognomy of a great man; Who would have thought I would [outlive him and] be left to grow old alone! To this day, his bones line in a tomb but five meters in height; Yet although his bones may turn to dust, his heart will not decay. Why do we not send an army as mighty as a comet to sweep Youzhou [i.e., Yan] clean [of our enemy]? Why do we not, like the men of old, set about to satisfy our undying need for vengeance? Whereas Great men are honored in temples with [posthumous] titles, To my great shame, I do not take action for fear of losing my life! | 憶遇高皇識隆準, 豈意孤臣空白首! 即今埋骨丈五塚, 骨會作塵心不朽。 胡不為長星萬丈掃幽州? 胡不如昔人圖復九世讎? 封侯廟食丈夫事, 齡齪生死真吾羞! |</p>
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<td>206</td>
<td>“Spring Breeze Ode”&lt;br&gt;A rainbow in the Heavens disappeared in&lt;br&gt;the daylight,&lt;br&gt;As the Central Plains became a territory&lt;br&gt;of sheep and dogs.&lt;br&gt;A stream of imperial banners crossed&lt;br&gt;[south to] Jiang-Han,&lt;br&gt;And the court officials hid out in one&lt;br&gt;[remote] corner of the world.&lt;br&gt;South as far as Wu, north as far as Yan,&lt;br&gt;West to Qin and East to Lu, all destroyed&lt;br&gt;by the Tartars.&lt;br&gt;It has been three to four dozen years&lt;br&gt;now;&lt;br&gt;The people who fled [long for home like]&lt;br&gt;birds pining for their nests.&lt;br&gt;Whenever I think of home, the Huai River&lt;br&gt;stands in my way;&lt;br&gt;But my heart drifts far away alongside&lt;br&gt;the soaring clouds.</td>
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<td>206</td>
<td>春風引&lt;br&gt;陰虹當天變白晝，&lt;br&gt;中原化作羊犬區。&lt;br&gt;黃旗悠悠渡江漢，&lt;br&gt;百僚竄伏天一隅。&lt;br&gt;南極三吳北燕蓟，&lt;br&gt;西秦東魯殘羌胡。&lt;br&gt;至今申歷三四，&lt;br&gt;生民散盡悲巢鳥。&lt;br&gt;我每思家限淮水，&lt;br&gt;搖搖心與飛雲孤。</td>
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<td>207</td>
<td>To this day, Yan and Dai [i.e., the Sixteen&lt;br&gt;Prefectures] are teeming with Tartars;&lt;br&gt;Whenever [the goose] dreams of flying&lt;br&gt;home, he fears their archers.&lt;br&gt;He fears their archers: Who is able to&lt;br&gt;expel the Tartar caitiffs for us?&lt;br&gt;Once the Tartar caitiffs are expelled, the&lt;br&gt;way of the Han will flourish,&lt;br&gt;Whereupon, despite a lifetime of misery&lt;br&gt;[in exile], we will forget our suffering.</td>
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<td>至今燕代滿胡兒，&lt;br&gt;每欲歸飛畏弓弩。&lt;br&gt;畏弓弩：誰能為我驅胡虜？&lt;br&gt;胡虜驅除漢道昌，&lt;br&gt;一身雖困忘辛苦。</td>
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<td>207</td>
<td>People left behind / former lands of&lt;br&gt;the Han and the Tang / not a few will be filled&lt;br&gt;with indignation</td>
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<td>207</td>
<td>遺民 / 漢、唐故地 / 不無感慨</td>
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<td>207</td>
<td>In a past year, with the crops about to&lt;br&gt;sprout after the spring planting,&lt;br&gt;I was pleased to see you arrive, your&lt;br&gt;shoes tattered [from the long voyage].&lt;br&gt;This year, with peasants hard at work&lt;br&gt;amid the poldered fields,&lt;br&gt;You arrive with your brother aboard a&lt;br&gt;clacking boat.&lt;br&gt;Throughout our lives, across the realm,&lt;br&gt;we exert great effort,&lt;br&gt;Everywhere intoning poetry, without a&lt;br&gt;day of rest.&lt;br&gt;With lofty aspirations and a laugh, [we&lt;br&gt;soar like] drifting clouds,</td>
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<td>207</td>
<td>前年春種方萌蘖，我喜君來屐幾折。&lt;br&gt;今年湖田農正忙，君從伯氏聽漁榔。&lt;br&gt;平生四海饒足力，到處哦詩不虛日。&lt;br&gt;高懷一笑無心雲，暮秣燕冀朝吳餐。&lt;br&gt;從渠小知但莽蒼，羈馽維絡游龍顔。&lt;br&gt;男兒遇合自有秋，此志寧為溫飽休？</td>
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In the evening, foddering [our horses] in Yan; in the morning breakfasting in Wu. Now ambling along a waterway with rustic knowledge of the nearby fields; Now trapped in the net [of officialdom], with the countenance of a roving dragon. When great heroes meet, their exploits will be fruitful. But would we not be better off just aspiring for warmth, rest, and nourishment?

<p>| 216 | using gold and silver to make masks and copper wire to envelop the hands and feet in a net | 用金銀為面具，銅絲絡其手足 |
| 216 | jiguan hu | 鷄冠壺 |
| 216n15 | madeng hu / fang pi‘nang hu | 馬蹬壺 / 仿皮囊壺 |
| 217 | changjing ping / pankou hu / pankou ping / sancai / haitang pan / changkou guan / labakou guan / biwen | 長頸瓶 / 盤口壺 / 盤口瓶 / 三彩 / 海棠盤 / 敞口罐 / 喇叭口罐 / 菱紋 |
| 217 | gate halls | 門庭 |
| 220 | jitui ping | 鷄腿瓶 |
| 220 | fragrant banquet | 芳宴 |
| 221 | represents the mutual love between husband and wife | 表夫妻相愛 |
| 221 | In any wine house, regardless of who they were, whenever two or more people sat down face-to-face to drink wine, they were invariably served a ewer with a warming bowl, two cups with cup stands, fruits and vegetables (five slices per dish), and a bowl of three to five pickles. | 凡酒店中，不問何人，止兩人對坐飲酒，亦須用注碗一副，盤盞兩副，果菜楪各五片，水菜碗三五隻． |
| 221 | sacrifice of repose | 虞祭 |
| 221 | calm | 安 |
| 224 | huqiang / xiaozhang / guo / guanchuang / shichuang | 護牆 / 小帳 / 椀 / 棺床 / 屍床 |
| 242 | Chief Administration Office of the Han and Parhae People of the Chongde Ordo | 崇德宮漢兒渤海都部署 |
| 243 | use national institutions to govern the Khitans, and Han institutions in treating the Han people | 以國制治契丹，以漢制待漢人 |
| 246 | Hebei precedent | 河北故事 |</p>
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<td>247</td>
<td>By the age of twenty, he had never heard of men of antiquity like the Duke of Zhou and Confucius. Instead, he played polo, drank alcohol, and hunted rabbits on horseback; when he spoke, his words without exception concerned matters of warfare, attack, and defense.</td>
<td>生年二十，未知古有人曰周公、孔夫子者，擊毬飲酒，馬射走兔，語言習尚，無非攻守戰鬬之事。</td>
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<td>247</td>
<td>barbarized</td>
<td>胡化</td>
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<td>252</td>
<td><em>Tujing bencao</em></td>
<td>圖經本草</td>
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<td>253</td>
<td>Huixian Rock</td>
<td>會仙石</td>
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<td>253</td>
<td>Sixiang Ridge</td>
<td>思鄉嶺</td>
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<td>254</td>
<td>If a scholar only stays in one place, he will stagnate there, and become narrow-minded and ignorant. One must travel the four corners of the earth, and scrutinize the patterns of human affairs, the social customs of the north and the south, and the layout of the mountains and rivers, in order to broaden one’s knowledge.</td>
<td>學者只守一鄉，則滯于一曲，則隘吝卑陋。必游四方，盡見人情物態，南北風俗，山川氣象，以廣其聞見。</td>
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<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>At the age of nineteen, when I lived at home, the people with whom I associated were limited to those around my hometown; what I got to see was limited to what was within a few hundred li. There were no tall mountains or vast plains from which I could expand my horizons. I had read all of the works of the masters, but these were all things of the past… So I resolved to leave home and seek out the strange phenomena and magnificent sights of the world, in order to become aware of the magnitude of Heaven and Earth. I passed by the old capital cities of the Qin and Han dynasties, then gazed at the heights of Mt. Zhongnan, Mt. Song, and Mt. Hua, then turned to the north to look upon the flowing waters of the Yellow River… In the capital, I beheld the majesty of the imperial palace… Thus, I became aware of the great beauty of the world.</td>
<td>載生十有九年矣，其居家所與游者，不過其鄰里鄉黨之人，所見不過數百里之間，無高山大野可登覽以自廣。百氏之書雖無所不讀，然皆古人之陳迹… 故決然捨去，求天下奇聞壯觀，以知天地之廣大。過秦、漢之故都，恣觀終南、嵩、華之高，北顧黃河之奔流… 至京師，仰觀天子宮闕之壯…而後知天下之巨麗。</td>
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<td>254-5</td>
<td>everything was included / people competed with each other to recite</td>
<td>儘然盡在 / 人爭布誦</td>
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<td>255</td>
<td><em>Wujing zongyao</em></td>
<td>武經總要</td>
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<td>257</td>
<td>the cyan mountains are like a wall, the land like a platter.</td>
<td>青山如壁地如盤</td>
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<td>257</td>
<td>A boundless plain faces this cluster of peaks—a green wall that winds back and forth in myriad layers.</td>
<td>平原不盡對群峰，翠壁回環幾萬重。</td>
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<td>257</td>
<td>The Yan Mountains are like a long snake, Separating Han from barbarians for a thousand li. Its mouth grasps the base of the Western Mountains; Its tail drapes across the shores of the Eastern Sea.</td>
<td>燕山如長蛇，千里限夷漢。首銜西山麓，尾掛東海岸。</td>
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<td>257</td>
<td>barbarian and Han territory are separated here</td>
<td>夷漢封疆自此分</td>
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<td>259</td>
<td>the cliff walls are like a fortified passageway through which pedestrians pass like fish in a stream</td>
<td>兩壁如夾城，行人貫衆魚</td>
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<td>259</td>
<td>With a single man blocking its key point, a myriad horses could not rush through.</td>
<td>一夫扼其鍵，萬馬不能趨。</td>
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<td>259</td>
<td>[Next to] the road at the pass, the cliffs are narrow; one man can block a hundred [men]; this is the strategic spot by which the Middle Kingdom can control the Khitans.</td>
<td>關路崖狹，一夫可以當百，此中國控扼契丹之險也。</td>
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<td>259</td>
<td>On both sides are high cliffs, with the road in between only suitable for the tracks of a single carriage; north of the pass is a stockade, [manned by] a row of archers, their bows fully drawn; this was originally where Fanyang defended against the Xi and Khitans; it is the most strategic of spots.</td>
<td>兩旁峻崖，中有路，僅容車軌；口北有鋪，彀弓連繩，本范陽防阨奚、契丹之所，最為隘束。</td>
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<td>259</td>
<td>the cliff walls are high and precipitous; Heaven has set apart the Rong caitiffs by means of this very place</td>
<td>崖壁斗絕，此天所以限戎虜</td>
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<td>259</td>
<td>Heaven’s barrier / separate north from south</td>
<td>天险 / 限南北</td>
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<td>259</td>
<td>stretched for a myriad li east to west</td>
<td>萬里亙東西</td>
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<td>259</td>
<td>This morning, I recognized Heaven’s will, which is to separate Hua from the land of barbarians.</td>
<td>今朝識天意，正欲限華夷。</td>
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<td>259</td>
<td>East and west, the layers of peaks stand profuse and tall.... It was Heaven’s will that north and south should be divided here.</td>
<td>東西層巘鬱嵯峨，.... 天意本將南北限。</td>
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<td>261</td>
<td>Huayan Temple</td>
<td>華嚴寺</td>
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<td>261</td>
<td>Minzhong Temple</td>
<td>憂忠寺</td>
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<td>Guoye Temple</td>
<td>國業寺</td>
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<td>Hall of Stone Scriptures</td>
<td>石經院</td>
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<td>261</td>
<td>Ancient Great Wall</td>
<td>古長城</td>
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<td>262</td>
<td>ten-thousand li wall of the King of Qin</td>
<td>秦王萬里城</td>
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<td>262</td>
<td>there are no historical remains to talk about</td>
<td>無古跡可云</td>
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<td>262</td>
<td>1000 li of [farmers] plowing and cultivating mulberry trees</td>
<td>千里耕桑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>mulberry trees and grain are fertile and flourishing</td>
<td>桑穀沃茂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>Ascending to a high spot and looking back towards Jieshi in the east and Wutai in the west, the land of [Yan] consists of 1000 li of fertile ground, bordered to the north by great mountains... In the lands south of the mountains, nowhere does one not find the five grains, the hundred fruits, and fine vegetation and trees. Not more than a few dozen li beyond the passes, however, the mountains are bare of trees, the rivers are murky, and everywhere [the soil] is poor and salty. One sees nothing but yellow thatch and dry grass, extending out who knows how far.</td>
<td>登高回望, 東自碣石, 西徹五臺, 幽州之地, 沃野千里, 北限大山... 山之南地, 則五穀、百果、良材、美木, 無所不有. 出關未數十里, 則山童水濁, 皆瘠鹵, 彌望黃茅白草, 莫知其極.</td>
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<td>263</td>
<td>The frontier of Yan ends at Gubei Pass, Beyond which the mountains dissipate into numerous flat fields. Here, Xi people build grass huts for themselves, And Khitan horse carts rest near the springs. Camels, sheep, and horses scatter in the river valley, Moving on when the water and grasses dry up.</td>
<td>燕疆不過古北關, 連山漸少多平田. 奚人自作草屋住, 契丹駢車依水泉. 駱駝羊馬散川谷, 草枯水盡時一遷.</td>
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<td>263</td>
<td>Heaven must have established this to set apart Hua from the barbarian lands.</td>
<td>蓋天設此以限華夷也.</td>
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<td>263</td>
<td>No riding horses arrive here; no wheels leave from here. Heaven’s barrier is clearly marked, with only one passage through.</td>
<td>來無方馬去無輪, 天險分明限一津.</td>
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<td>263</td>
<td>After the snows, the hue of the sky has become clearer; At a rustic inn, suddenly I hear a cock’s crow. Mountains, rivers—topographic features—all accord with Yu’s plan;</td>
<td>雪餘天色更清明, 野店忽聞雞一聲. 地里山川從禹畫, 人情風俗近燕京.</td>
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Thus, the customs and habits of the people here resemble those of Yanjing.

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<td>the land is sparse in grain crops; throughout the year frost and snow are in abundance</td>
<td>土地稻粱少, 歲時霜雪多</td>
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<td>264</td>
<td>Liu River</td>
<td>柳河</td>
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<td>264</td>
<td>Liao soil is very rich, but the land is cold and one cannot plant [much]; plowing begins in late Spring and [farming] ceases in early Fall.</td>
<td>遼土甚沃, 而地寒不可種, 春深始耕, 秋熟即止.</td>
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<td>264n67</td>
<td>hunting by encircling</td>
<td>圍獵</td>
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<td>265</td>
<td>beginning at Gubei Pass is the land of the Xi people, all of whom live in the mountains, drawing water from the valleys, where they plow and herd</td>
<td>自古北口即奚人地, 皆山居谷汲, 耕牧其中</td>
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<td>265</td>
<td>Everywhere the inhabitants are occupied ploughing and herding, While yurt carts carrying entire families move back and forth.</td>
<td>居人處處營耕牧, 盡室穹車往復還.</td>
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<td>265</td>
<td>Once one has crossed Gubei Pass, one is in tribal territory. The inhabitants live in grass huts or wooden cabins. They still occupy themselves plowing and cultivating, but there are neither mulberry nor cudrania trees. [The seeds] which they plant are all placed atop the [ridges of the] furrows, probably because they fear [the grooves] would be covered up by wind-blown sand. In the mountains, the pine trees are abundant, so, in the more remote valleys, they make a living burning charcoal. Frequently, one sees them herding cattle, horses, camels, and, especially, black sheep and yellow pigs. There are also some who lead yurt carts in search of water and pasture or in pursuit of game.</td>
<td>自過古北口, 即蕃境. 居人草菴板屋, 亦務耕種, 但無桑柘; 所種皆從壠上, 蓋虞吹沙所壅. 山中長松鬱然, 深谷中多燒炭為業, 時見畜牧牛馬槖駞, 尤多青羊黄豕. 亦有挈車帳, 逐水草射獵.</td>
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<td>266</td>
<td>as for their clothing, food and drinks, and language, each followed their own customs</td>
<td>衣服、飲食、言語各從其俗</td>
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<td>266</td>
<td>Han clothing / Tartar clothing</td>
<td>漢服 / 胡服</td>
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<td>266</td>
<td>East of Enzhou is Parhae; south of the Central Capital is Eastern Xi...; in the mountains to the southwest is Western Xi, which includes the ancient district of the Hsi.</td>
<td>恩州以東為渤海, 中京以南為東奚..., 其西南山間為西奚, 有故霫之區.</td>
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<td>266-7</td>
<td>Beginning just past the Chongxin Hostel [near the Central Capital] is the ancient territory of the Khitans; further south must all be the land of the Xi.</td>
<td>自過崇信館, 即契丹舊境, 蓋其南皆奚地也。</td>
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<td>267</td>
<td>from Gubei Pass to north of the Central Capital is the territory of the Xi</td>
<td>由古北口至中京北皆奚境</td>
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<td>267</td>
<td>South of the mountains is none other than the eight prefectures of Yan and Ji; the clothing and language are all according to old customs.</td>
<td>山之南乃燕薊八州, 衣冠語言皆其故俗。</td>
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<td>267</td>
<td>The residents [of Yan]...customarily all wear Han clothing. Among them are some who wear Tartar clothing, probably just miscellaneous Khitan and Parhae women.</td>
<td>民居...俗皆漢服, 中有胡服者, 蓋雜契丹渤海婦女耳。</td>
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<td>268</td>
<td>Peerless Yang</td>
<td>楊無敵</td>
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<td>268</td>
<td>When they see the [ethnic] Han envoy, they are sad in their hearts: &quot;It's been over a century since Shi Jingtang Usurped the throne, bringing calamity to Yan and Ji. I raise my head and ask heaven what were my crimes, And harbor resentment against my forebears who had followed [An] Lushan.”</td>
<td>目視漢使心淒然。石瑭竊位不傳子, 遺患燕薊逾百年。仰頭呼天問何罪，自恨遠祖從禄山。</td>
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<td>268</td>
<td>By the roadside are two or three old fellows, Wearing headscarfs, white beards hanging down. Delighted they are to see a Han official; They kowtow, while one of them sighs: There is no way now to resolve their troubles, For it has been a hundred years since this remote territory was lost. The Heavenly numbers [of fate] ultimately have their pre-determined correspondences, Thus, the map of Dukang was given up. I pour a libation of wine to commemorate the people left behind, Whose tears moisten this corner of the blue mountains.</td>
<td>路傍二三老, 幅巾垂白鬚。喜見漢衣冠; 叩首或欷歎: 不能自拔掃, 百年落鬼區。天數終有合, 行上督亢圖。酹酒弔遺民, 淚濕蒼山隅。</td>
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<td>Jing Ke</td>
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<td>269</td>
<td>Dreary clouds and cold rain, water in abundance; Saddled horses to the east and west, the musicians pause. Still now there are people of Yan who shed streams of tears, As they turn to look back, at the flowing waters south of the border.</td>
<td>荒雲凉雨水悠悠；鞍馬東西鼓吹休。尚有燕人數行淚，回身卻望塞南流。</td>
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<td>269</td>
<td>[They] caressed their children, telling them with a sigh, “You will not get to be subjects of Han. This is your fate.”</td>
<td>撫其子嘆息曰：“爾不得為漢民，命也。”</td>
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<td>269</td>
<td>Elders of Yuyang still shed tears: Where is there a fierce general to campaign against the enemy? But the emperor’s lenience and tolerance does not distinguish south from north, And so I realize his imperial virtue is on par with Heaven.</td>
<td>漁陽父老尚垂涕：燕頷將軍誰請纓？容覆不分南與北，方知聖德與天平。</td>
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<td>270</td>
<td>absconded traitor</td>
<td>逃叛者</td>
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<td>270</td>
<td>When Han people immigrated is not clear; Their clothing has gradually changed, but their language remains the same. For generations, they have been guests here, toiling at the plow and dividing up the harvests. The taxes and corvée duties were light, providing them with temporary comfort.</td>
<td>漢人何年被流徙，衣服漸變存語言。力耕分穫世為客，賦役稀少聊偷安。</td>
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<td>270n91</td>
<td>noble king who understands how to still the halberds</td>
<td>君王悟止戈</td>
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<td>271</td>
<td>Among the enemy, there are many individuals from Yan and Ji who were kidnapped and [now] live scattered through foreign territory. All of them shave the tops of their heads and let loose their hair in accordance with [local Khitan] customs. Only their headscarves and shirts are a little different, permitting one to distinguish Han people from foreigners.</td>
<td>敵中多掠燕薊之人，雜居番界，皆削頂垂髮以從其俗，惟巾衫稍異，以別番漢耳。</td>
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<td>281</td>
<td>Order the various circuits to produce printed pamphlets, with everything written in both Chinese and Tangut. Dispatch lone horsemen to gallop at least a hundred miles into [Tangut] territory. With one [pamphlet], [our message] can</td>
<td>令諸路多作印本，以漢書、蕃書兩兩相副。散遣輕騎馳于賊疆百里之外。以一傳十，以十傳百，則乙逋姦謀，眾當共知。</td>
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be conveyed to ten people; with ten, it can be conveyed to a hundred people. Thus, [the Tangut ruler’s] perfidy will be known to all.

| 282 | wilderness zone | 荒服 |