

**The Origins of the Chinese Nation (Nicolas Tackett):**

**CHINESE VERSION OF TRANSLATED TEXT**

This table provides the original Chinese (and—in one case—French) of most of the translated text in the book *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). It does *not* include person names whose Chinese names appear in the index of the book.

page	translated text	original text (in Chinese)
3	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 <i>Zhonghua</i> [“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.	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。英吉利人稱曰差那。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。近世對外人稱每曰中華, 東西人頗譏彈之謂環球萬國自居中, 且華我夷人不無自尊卑人之意。
3	<i>Huaxia</i>	華夏
3n6	all under Heaven	天下
3n6	a myriad states	萬國
4	During the Han Dynasty, power and authority were extended to the northwest, so northwesterners refer to	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

	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 <i>Hua</i> . On all corners of the earth, there are none who do not submit to us; [the term <i>Hua</i> ] maintains the distinction between the center [i.e., the Middle Kingdom] and the exterior world.	僚上言, 邊俗指中國為唐、漢, 刑[形]於文書, 乞並改為宋. 謂如用唐裝漢法之類. 詔從之. 余竊謂未宜, 不若改作華字, 八荒之內, 莫不臣妾, 特有中外之異爾.
5	China consciousness	中國意識
5	distant precursor of contemporary nationalist thinking	近世民族主義思想的一個遠源
5	all under Heaven	天下
5	state	國家
5	see ethnic, cultural, and political boundaries as one and the same	民族、文化與其政權之範圍邊界視為一體
16	haltered-and-bridled	羈縻
17	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!	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!
18	Chanyuan	澶淵
22n53	as Chinese cannot farm without oxen, and Tibetans cannot travel without horses	漢非牛不田, 蕃非馬不行
25	even children a mere three feet in height would fervently wave their arms to encourage us	雖三尺童子, 爭欲奮臂鼓勇
31	Han Jin	韓近
31	just like one family	如同一家
31	Since antiquity, there has never been a friendship like the one between our two courts!	自古兩朝歡好, 未有如此!

31	in accordance with precedent	依例
33	ambassador	國信使
33	deputy ambassador	國信副使
33	welcoming commissioners	接伴使
33	hospitality commissioners	館伴使
33	parting commissioners	送伴使
33	chief ministers	宰相
33	deputy chief ministers	副宰相
33	commissioners of military affairs	樞密使
33	deputy commissioners of military affairs	樞密副使
33n5	Yelü / Xiao	耶律 / 蕭
33n6	guidance commissioners	引伴使
33n6	surveillance commissioners	押伴使
34n8	notaries of the Bureau of Military Affairs	簽書樞密院事
39	Tartar language	胡語
39n16	on the road to the [next] post station	在驛途
39n17	wherever envoys arrive	國信所至
41	Feng Jianshan	馮見善
41	one should urge another to drink only up to his capacity	勸酒當以其量
41	got drunk to the point of losing all sense of propriety	被酒不謹
41	nobody dared carouse	無輒感譁
41	that very evening the lot of them fell into great wantonness	是夕其眾遂大肆
41-2	fell into a drunken frenzy that lasted deep into the night, during which time they caused a shameful commotion, at times clasp the caitiff [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	深夜狂醉, 喧鬧無狀, 或執虜使之手, 或拍胡人之肩, 或聯嘲謔之詩, 或肆市廛之語
42	Jolly Wang	王見喜
42	Wang-May-He-Live-Forever	王萬年
42	first came to appreciate [Fu's] sincerity	始肯漸貢其誠實
42	Xiao Aozhi	蕭奧只
42	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].	兩朝盟好, 誓若山河, 毋以小嫌, 遽傷大信

42	exhausting what was on their minds	曲盡其懽
42	Xiao Linya	蕭林牙
42	Yang Xinggong	楊興公
42n33	[Fu Bi] spoke to them frankly, and did not treat them like barbarians	公開懷與語, 不以夷狄待之
43	spoke with them frankly	開懷與語
43	While among the barbarians, we are not suspicious of each other, so when I inquired about [their] customs, I obtained detailed responses.	虜中不相猜疑, 故詢胡人風俗, 頗得其詳.
43	<i>nabo</i>	捺鉢
43n35	speak more frankly	開懷譚話
44	Our Sworn Oath is [Firm] like the Mountains and Rivers	信誓如山河
47	Ornate wooden bowls brimmed with caitiff food. First came camel gruel, served with a ladle. There was boiled bear fat, mutton, pork, pheasant, and rabbit, and there was dried beef, venison, pigeon, duck, bear, and tanuki, all of which was cut into square chunks and strewn onto a large platter. Two Tartar youths wearing clean clothing, each with napkins and holding a knife and spoon, cut all of the various meats for the Han envoys to eat.	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, 牛鹿鴈鶩熊貉之肉為腊肉, 割之令方正, 雜置大盤中. 二胡雛衣鮮潔衣, 持帨巾, 執刀匕, 徧割諸肉, 以啖漢使.
50, 54	cleansing the Central Plains [i.e., China] of a century of humiliation	雪中原百年之恥
50n59	former lands	舊地 or 故地
55	what is meant by the advantages of ceding Yan	何謂割燕薊之利
55-56	After Emperor Zhenzong personally led the Six Armies and vanquished the caitiffs at Chanyuan, he recognized that they hoped to avoid more hostilities, and so enticed them with gold and silks. The caitiffs joyfully obeyed the command, sending envoys annually in order to maintain peace between the neighbors. It has now been over a century since the people on the northern frontier have seen the weapons of war. This is something that was not experienced even in the heydays of the Han and Tang dynasties. In the past, barbarians have come and gone; there was always some	眞宗皇帝親御六師, 勝虜於澶淵. 知其有厭兵之心, 稍以金帛啗之. 虜欣然聽命, 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. 謂之天之驕子, 非一日也. 今朝廷之所以厚之者, 不過於漢文帝, 而虜弭耳馴服. 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, 擅桑麻棗栗之饒, 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, 口甘麴蘖之美, 至於茗藥橘柚, 無一

	<p>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.</p>	<p>不享, 犬羊之心, 醺然而足, 俯首奉約, 習為禮義.</p>
56	haltered-and-bridled	羈縻
56	cherished those from afar [i.e., the Khitans] with the civilizing sway of its culture	用文德懷遠
57	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.	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.
57	Ever since [the Chanyuan Oath], the frontiers have not experienced the dusty stampedes [of cavalry attacks], and	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.

	village elders have not had to respond to the alarms of war... In the century since our dynasty's founding, we have had peaceful relations for sixty years. This is something past dynasties have not enjoyed.	
57	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.	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.
57-8	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.	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.
58	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.	至今幾二百年, 兵不識刃, 農不加役. 雖漢唐和戎, 未有我宋之策也.
58	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.	中國與契丹講和, 今踰百年. 間有貪憚, 不過欲得關南十縣而止耳; 間有傲慢, 不過對中國使人稍虧禮節而止耳.

59	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.	今四野肅清, 邊不告遽, 而縉紳先生、四方寒士, 或北首憤悱、爭道利害者, 非願於太平無爲之時生事覓功, 特以中國之地、前王之舊, 有未復而已。
60	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	若謀臣必欲收復燕雲故疆, 臣雖萬死, 不敢恭奉詔旨
60	shall no longer remain on the throne	不克享國
60	if today His Majesty is lured into abandoning the treaty in order to recover Yan, I fear the wrath of Heaven	今若導主上棄約復燕, 恐天怒
60	abide by the norms of the [former] emperors Zhenzong and Renzong	守真宗仁宗法度
60	today among court officials, there are those who feel humiliated that Yan lies outside the realm	今搢紳中有恥燕薊外屬者
61	choose good generals to defend the frontier, select able officials for diplomacy, externally adhere firmly to the peace, and internally bolster border defenses	擇良將以守邊, 選能臣而修聘, 外固歡和之形, 內修守禦之備
61	out of respect for the peace oath of my imperial ancestors	以祖宗盟好之重
61	brush away the humiliation	刷恥
61	The people of Hebei have only just now been spared the misfortunes of war; how could I do such a thing?	河朔生靈始免兵革之禍, 吾安能為此?
61	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	西取靈武, 北取燕薊, 謂之有功可也, 而國之長短, 則不在此
61n97	policy of carrying on the past [emperor's] will	紹述先志之政

62	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?	今承太平之業, 父老幸不識兵, 雖不得燕雲地, 何闕於漢?
63	The caitiffs [i.e., Liao officials], too, enjoy my poetry!	虜亦喜吾詩!
63	I myself have observed their assembled officials; there are many Chinese <i>shidafu</i> among them.	臣觀其朝廷百官之眾, 而中國士大夫交錯其間.
63	Zhao Wei	趙微
64	May friendship between our two courts last millions of years!	兩朝通歡千萬年!
64	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!	兩朝通好日久, 往來如一家, 可謂太平!
64-5	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	兩朝通好多年, 國信使副與接伴使副相見如同一家
65	treacherous people to achieve their goal of creating a rift	姦人得逞其離間之計
65	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	將來兩朝遣使, 必慎擇其人, 使通兩主之意, 以解其疑
66	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.	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, 昔所諱者, 臣皆言之. 以是得詳知其情狀.
66	I will have deceived my emperor and bungled state affairs	臣為罔上且誤國
66n115	mere trifle	瑣瑣細故
67	diplomatic missives are sufficient to handle this; why would we rush to raise troops?	移文足以辦之, 何遽至興甲兵哉?
67	acted in accordance with what is right or wrong	舉動亦顧曲直



67	Given that there are currently no rifts [between us], why would they rush to plot a southward invasion [i.e., into Song territory]?	今無釁隙, 何緣遽有南牧之計?
68	If we wait until they [actually] build fortifications within [our territory], then we can handle the matter with an exchange of diplomatic communiques.	若待彼移口鋪向裏, 乃可與公牒往來理會.
68	minor border officials	邊吏
68	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.	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.
68	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.	契丹主即位幾二十年, 所為詳審, 必不肯無故生事.
68-9	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	北朝皇帝年顏見今六十以來, 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, 見其臣僚年高曉事...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. 有接伴臣等都管一人, 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, 能彈壓蕃漢保其祿位否耳.

	<p>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.</p>	
71	<p>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!</p>	<p>初, 元豐中, 蔡京使虜, [李]儼館之, 情好頗厚. 及崇寧後, 二人者皆專國, 每因使聘往來, 輒問安否, 而二人者卒為國禍基, 可怪也.</p>
74-5	<p>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</p>	<p>夷狄之為中國患, 其來尚矣.... 今欲考衆說之是非, 以求至當之說. 若驗之於已行之迹, 然古之禦戎者, 不過有命將帥而伐之者, 有築長城而絕之者, 有奉金贖幣而和親之者... 嚴尤以為古無上策, 周得中策, 漢得下策, 秦無策焉.... 然則考古之事, 酌今之宜, 務求最上之策, 以外威四夷, 內強中國, 子大夫以為何施而可乎?</p>

	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?	
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	禦戎無上策
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. 或度塞以麇兵, 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	<i>heqin</i>	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!	煬帝不擇人守邊, 勞中國築長城以備虜. 今我用勦守并, 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.	至于秦築長城而黔首叛亂...逞一時之心, 為萬代之笑.
86	straw mat	衽席
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, 連亙萬里, 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.

	land is flat for hundreds of miles, devoid of any notable mountains or great rivers that might serve as obstacles... It is for this reason that we have lost the advantages of favorable terrain, thereby causing harm to the Middle Kingdom.	
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. 古者未失燕薊之地, 有松亭關、古北口、居庸關為中原險要, 以隔闕匈奴不敢南下, 而歷代帝王尚皆極意防守, 未嘗輕視. 自晉祖棄全燕之地, 北方關險, 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. 北人若以精騎禱滄、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	馳驟山嶺谿谷之間, 如踐平地

90	This will obstruct the barbarian horses, while greatly benefiting our infantry troops.	此可以限其戎馬而大利我之步兵也。
90	not deep enough for boats to pass, and not shallow enough to cross on foot	深不可以舟行, 淺不可以徒涉
90	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.	契丹奄有幽陵, 遂絕古北之隘, 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, 爲險濬之勢, 就其要害屯以銳兵.
91	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.	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, 南望而踟躕, 抑知此之為憚也.
91	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	其水或有或無, 夏秋可徒涉, 遇冬冰凍即無異平地
91-2	As of the present year, the old regulations governing the water depths have long since been abandoned; moreover, [the system] was wrecked by	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?

	the waters of the Yellow River. What should we do to return [the system] to its former state?	
93	Weizhou	渭州
93	sufficient to block the caitiffs	足以限虜
93	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	軍境川原夷曠, 便於騎戰, 非中國之利
93	along the old Great Wall	緣古長城
93	new trench	新壕
93n60	Zhenrong	鎮戎
93n60	Binzhou	邠州
93n60	Qinzhou	秦州
94	Previously, along the border [here], there has been no trench, such that Tangut tribesmen raid frequently.	緣邊舊無濠塹, 致蕃部屢有侵略.
94	Huanzhou	環州
94	border trench	邊壕
94	strategic points	要害
94	Yuanzhou	原州
94	Kelan	崂嵐
94	blocking barbarian horses	限戎馬
94	terrain is flat and broad	地形平闊處
94n64	beyond the border trench	邊壕外
94n65	border trench	邊壕
94n65	Tangut territory beyond the trench	壕外蕃界
95	Dingchuan defeat	定川之敗
96	hedge / screen	藩籬 / 屏蔽
96	archers	弓箭手
96	Shaanxi relies on archers to serve as a hedge for the state	陝西恃弓箭手為國藩籬
96	familiar with the hidden paths crossing the frontier, understood the Tangut language, and could withstand the bitter cold	習障塞蹊隧, 曉羌語, 耐寒苦
96	assimilated [lit., "cooked"] households	熟戶
96	subordinate households	屬戶
96	Western soldiers	蕃兵
96n74	righteous braves	義勇
96n74	local men	土丁
96n74	stalwarts	壯丁
96n74	lancemen	槍手

97n78	<i>Fan</i> language	蕃語
97n78	<i>Fan</i> 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, 共爲籬落.
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	峒丁
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、蕃兵馬雜爲一軍, 今未論出戰, 而其它爲害已多. 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
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



108n14	Fuzhou	府州
109	crossing the four circuits from Fuyan [in the east], through Huanqing, Jingyuan, and Xihe [in the west]	首起鄜延，經涉環慶、涇原、熙河四路
109	forbidden hills	禁山
109	Lü Dafang	呂大防
109	Qingcheng	青城
109n21	Saimen (Suizhou)	塞門(綏州)
110n27	drew in color a map	彩畫地圖
110n27	unfolded a map to discuss border demarcation	展圖議分畫
110n28	Fengzhou	豐州
110n28	Map of the Twelve Stockades	十二寨圖
111	get the Northern Court [i.e. Liao] to understand the whole picture	令北朝稍知本末
111	whole picture	本末
111	the caitiff envoy, stunned and unable to respond, withdrew his claim	虜使驚不能對，乃寢其請
111	inspected the frontier, [but then] drew a map that was unclear	相視地界，畫圖不審
111n32	Map of the Hedong Border	河東地界圖
111n32	did not dare contest	不敢爭
112	Yanzhou	延州
112	Suizhou model	綏州體例
112	Kelan model	岢嵐軍例
112	Bureau of Demarcation	分畫地界所
112	Huanqing	環慶
112	Fuyan	鄜延
113	Servant	臣
114	clearly establish mounds and border ditches	明立封堠界壕
115	establishing the border [with Xia] unilaterally	自立界至
115	jointly establish the border	合立界至
115	waited for the northerners to come to discuss	候北界來計會
115n46	earth cows	土牛
116	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	已指揮諸路經略司，令各據巡綽所至處，明立界至，并約束城寨兵將官，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。

	[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	崙嵐軍例
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	邊釁
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...擄掠財物.
126	perfidious scheming of border officials	邊臣之姦計
126	Suicide has not delineated its border, so the Tanguts are naturally unwilling to demobilize their troops.	綏德不畫界, 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 <i>li</i> at its widest, several <i>li</i> 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, 而爭鬪息矣. 今恃封溝之限, 則接壤之氓跣足相冒, 變安為危.

	land serves as a barrier, [allowing] the Hua [i.e., Chinese] and the barbarians to live separately, and agriculture and animal husbandry to be practiced without coming into contact, thus leading to the cessation of conflict. Depending now instead on separation [merely] by means of a trench and tumuli will lead the residents of the adjoining territories to trespass on each other, thus transforming what is now stable into a dangerous situation.	
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 <i>rong</i> [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 <i>rong</i> people will instigate a conflict.	臣訪聞五路舊界, 自兵興以來, 邊人乘利侵墾, 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	3) I have also heard that the <i>rong</i> and <i>di</i> 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.	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.

128	4) East from Linzhou and Fengzhou, west to Qinzhou and Weizhou, the land spans 1,500 to 1,600 <i>li</i> . 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.	東起麟、豐, 西止秦、渭, 地廣一千五六百里, 壕塹深高纔計方尺, 無慮五六百工. 使兩邊之民連歲大役, 轉戰之苦未蘇, 畚鍤之勞復起.
128	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.	臣又聞周官大司徒, 立封溝於邦國都鄙, 至於九服, 則職方氏辨之而已. 行人制貢, 而蕃國不與焉. 蓋聖王之於夷狄, 嘉善而矜不能, 以為號令賞罰之所不加則責之意略爾. 今乃推溝塗經界之法而行之夷狄之邦, 非先王之意也.
128	trench-tumuli system	溝封之制
129	[Fan] Yu says that the <i>Rites of Zhou</i> 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?	育言, 周禮但立中國封溝, 與夷狄接境, 即無之. 臣謂育, 中國是腹裏, 卻立封溝; 與夷狄接境, 乃不立封溝, 此何理?
129	If we do not...rapidly establish the line of demarcation, then after showing forbearance for some time, there will again be a violent incident.	若不...速定分畫, 即含容日久, 又成爭端.

129-30	when the border is not set, then skirmishes and raids will necessarily occur without pause	地界不定, 則爭鬪暴犯必無休時
130	clearly establish the border	明立界至
130	clearly establish the border mounds	明立界墩
130	separating Han [people] from Westerners [i.e., Tanguts] into inner and outer, will eliminate incidents of conflict	辯漢蕃出入, 絕交鬪之端
131	mark the midpoint between Westerners and Han people as the border	蕃漢所居乞畫中央為界
131	fix the border according to the places where one sees Han people and Westerners now residing and [respectively] ploughing or herding	依見今漢蕃住坐耕牧處定界至
131	when establishing the border, one should accord with the Qingli oath letter, and set it in between where Han people and where Westerners reside	立界依慶曆誓表, 依蕃漢見住中間為定
131	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.	元約分畫疆界...卓立封墩者, 為分別漢、蕃界. 至界墩內地, 即漢人所守; 界墩外地, 即夏國自占.
132	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.	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.
132	<i>za</i>	雜
132	not possible to govern all in accordance with Hua [i.e. Chinese] law	不可一以華法治也
132	difficult to govern	難治
132n110	<i>min/yi</i>	民/夷
134	people beyond the mountains	山後之民
134	all have a heart that pines for the Middle Kingdom	皆有思中國之心
134	they are also my people	彼亦吾民也
134	enemy people	敵人
134n119	<i>caitiffs</i>	虜
134n119	enemy	敵
134n119	foreign households	蕃戶

135	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.	臣近三上章, 乞罷免右僕射韓續, 至今未蒙施行. 竊謂續奸邪無狀.... 河東定地界一事, 獨擅其責. 臣聞續定界時, 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
136	Whenever he encountered somebody discussing with him the perfidy of [Han] Zhen and Yan Fu, he would want to eat [the man's] flesh.	每見人論續與燕復之姦, 即欲食其肉.
143	might be moved, might be filled with indignation, but might also be spurred into action	可以感, 可以憤, 然亦可以作興也
143	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!	中原土壤北屬幽燕, 以長城為境, 舊矣. 至五代時石敬瑭棄十六州之地也賂契丹, 而幽薊朔易之境不復為吾有者三百余年.... 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!
144	in order to maintain its transmission	以永其傳
150	Canon of Yao / delimited the Twelve Provinces / Tribute of Yu	堯典 / 肇十有二州 / 禹貢

150	Bright Hall	明堂
150	field allocation	分野
150n22	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.	今年春末至來年, 歲在宋分, 今年初秋至六年, 鎮在燕分.
151	royal domain / vassals' domain / pacified zone / zone of allied tribes / wilderness zone	甸服 / 侯服 / 綏服 / 要服 / 荒服
151	blocked	梗
151-2	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.	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.
152	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?	天地以沙漠山河限隔南北.... 豈敢上違天地之限?
152	that by which Heaven has delineated inner from outer and separated north from south	天之所以區分內外, 隔限南北者
152	<p>"Stirred by Circumstances"</p> <p>I have once examined the Central Plains, The terrain of which is flat as a whetstone.</p> <p>Myriads of miles in circumference, It is criss-crossed by the ruts of horse carts.</p> <p>The imperial palace is situated at its center,</p> <p>Much like the [Palace of] Purple Tenuity, which serves as the pinnacle of the celestial bodies.</p> <p>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:</p>	<p>感事</p> <p>吾嘗觀中夏, 地平如砥石.</p> <p>幅員數萬里, 車馬通轍迹.</p> <p>帝宅居土中, 紫垣當辰極.</p> <p>長江斷其南, 絕塞經其北,</p> <p>東海西流沙: 天為限夷狄.</p>

	Heaven has used these to separate out the barbarians.	
152-3	Two Boundaries / Northern Boundary / Southern Boundary	兩戒 / 北戒 / 南戒
153	that by which we are separated from the barbarians of the west and north / that by which we are separated from the barbarians of the south and east	所以限戎狄也 / 所以限蠻夷也
155	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.	La nature a posé elle-même les bornes qui devoient 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 Etats de cette puissance.
158	The Tang, throughout the dynasty, made use of foreign generals; then there was the disaster of the An Lushan Rebellion.	終唐世用蕃將, 後有祿山之禍.
158	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?	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!
162	I am a Hua person. My clothing, language and diet are different from those here. I would rather die than live like this!	臣華人, 衣服飲食言語皆不與此同, 生不如死!
162	Liao and <i>Zhongguo</i> have mutually unintelligible languages and different foods and diets.	遼與中國言語不通, 飲食不同.
162n56	their language, clothing, utensils, and food and drink do not, for the most part, resemble those of the Central Plains	其語言、衣服、器用、飲食, 大率與中夏不相侔
164	barbarians	夷人
164	referred to <i>Zhongguo</i> people as Han people	謂中國人為漢人
164	I am a man of Yan; along with the officials of the Southern [i.e., Song] Court, we are	六符燕人, 與南朝之臣本是一家, 今所事者乃是非類.



	all of one family. Nowadays, those whom I serve are not of my kind.	
167-8	in the prefectures of Yan, the population originally was Han in customs; their descendants continue to long for Han	幽燕數州, 人本漢俗, 思漢之意, 子孫不忘
167n71	as for the people of Yan, their clothing and their diets adhere to Chinese standards	燕人衣服飲食以中國爲法
168	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.	興、靈州等處多舊漢人, 皆元昊所擄致者, 常有思漢之心.
168	the people beyond the mountains [in Liao territory], who have long suffered under tyrannical rule, all have feelings of longing for the Middle Kingdom	山後之民, 久苦虐政, 皆有思中國之心
168	I cherish this region of Yan, which once was within our frontiers, but has fallen into the hands of the stinking caitiffs for fifty years now. Families there harbor great indignation, having lost their means of livelihood; they look with anticipation to Han [-controlled] territories, but their path there is obstructed... These northerners were once known as great warriors. Some will be able to welcome our armies and join forces with us. By means of our imperial campaign, they will cleanse themselves of a generation of shame.	睽彼北燕, 本為內地, 陷於醜虜, 垂五十年, 家懷憤心, 人失生計, 僣望漢土, 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.
168n75	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	慮尚有遺民在溪洞, 未能歸漢
169	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]	邊民蚩蚩, 不知聖意, 皆謂貪其土地, 致北戎南牧
169	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	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, 常恨中國不能與我為主, 徃往感憤, 形於慟哭.

	Song], and frequently resent the fact that the Middle Kingdom is not able to rule them; they are always filled with frustration, and appear to weep bitterly.	
169	We are after all Hua people; dying would be all the more fortunate!	吾等却爲華人, 死亦幸矣!
170	Middle Kingdom [i.e., Han] <i>shidafu</i>	中國士大夫
170	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.	幽燕之地, 自古號多雄傑, 名於圖史者, 往往而是. 自宋之興, 所在賢俊, 雲合響應, 無有遠邇, 皆欲洗濯磨淬以觀上國之光, 而此一方, 獨陷於非類. 昔太宗皇帝親征幽州, 未克而班師, 聞之諜者曰: 幽州士民, 謀欲執其帥以城降者, 聞乘輿之還, 無不泣下.
170	there will be a man of great valor who will seize [Yan] and join forces with us, asking to become our vassal	將有豪傑舉上以屬於我, 而請爲藩臣者
171	those people longing for Han will together take control of the land of Yan and submit it to our administration	思漢之民悉舉燕地來歸有司
171	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	漢人朝暮, 延頸鶴望, 日俟天兵, 欲歸王化
171	the slayings numbered in the tens of thousands; the main thoroughfares were drenched in blood	誅戮萬計, 通衢流血
171	population left behind / young and old alike cheered with joy	遺民 / 戴白垂髻歡呼
171	stupefied	驚愕
171	groundless talk	不根之語

171	Han people / will greet us at the border with pavilions of incense and flowers	漢人 / 當以香花樓子, 界首迎接也
172	How can we rely on this talk of pavilions of incense and flowers?	香花樓子之語, 果可憑乎?
172	from the beginning, the people of Yan did not have feelings of longing for Han	初, 燕人本無思漢心
172	day after day awaited the return of the imperial armies	日望王師之至
172	The people left behind look at each other and cry out to Heaven.	遺民相對向天泣.
172	wished to devour their flesh	欲食其肉
172	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!	遺民淚盡胡塵裡, 南望王師又一年!
172n95	righteous and patriotic armies	忠義軍
174	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.	蠻夷戎狄, 皆天下之有, 獨我漢壤, 謂之中國.
174	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'?	今汾晉未平, 燕薊未復, 謂之「一統」, 無乃過談?
175	recovered the distant limits of the Tracks of Yu, and recuperated the former territories of the Central Plains	恢禹迹之遐理, 復中州之故封
175	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	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.

	was for the first time [since the Tang] unified.	
175-6	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?	睠此北燕之地。本為中國之民，晉漢以來，戎夷竊據，迄今不復，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。
175n103	the tracks of the Great Yu were all possessed by the Song	大禹之跡，悉為宋有
176	sweep away the accumulated humiliation of the borderlanders [of Hebei]	掃邊民之積恥
176n107	brushing away the humiliation	刷恥
176n110	lost territories	失地
177	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
177	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，豈為敵對？遷徙鳥舉，自古難得制之。
177	The Khitans are not worth annexing; Yan is not worth seizing.	契丹不足吞，燕薊不足取。
177	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
178	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，瓜分糜潰，兵相吞噬，生民塗炭，二百餘年。太祖受天天命，四征弗庭，光

<p>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—</p>	<p>啟景祚。太宗繼之，克成厥勳，然後大禹之跡，悉為宋有。於是載戢干戈，與民休息，或自生至死，年至期頤，不見兵革。吏守法度，民安生業，雞鳴狗吠，烟火相望，可謂太平之極致，自古所罕侔矣。及神宗繼統，材雄氣英，以幽、薊、雲、朔淪於契丹，靈武、河西專於拓跋，交趾、日南制於李氏，不得悉張置官吏，收籍賦役，比於漢、唐之境，猶有未全，深用為恥，遂慨然有征伐、開拓之志。於是邊鄙武夫，窺伺小利，敢肆大言，祇知邀功，不顧國患，爭賈餘勇...；白面書生，披文按圖，玩習陳跡，不知合變，競獻奇策。</p>
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	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.	
179	our former land	我故地
179	ancient commanderies of the Tang and Han	唐、漢古郡
179	former territories of the Han and Tang	漢唐之舊疆
179	people left behind	遺民
179n117	surpassed the Tang and exceeded the Han	跨唐越漢
180	the former land of Hehuang	河湟故地
180	the people left behind since Tang and Han times	唐漢遺民
180	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.	且彼州父老, 我之遺人, 飲湏荷旃, 猶懷華土. 王師奄至, 可以恩信招徠, 則朔方之地庶復歸國.
180	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.	靈、夏、綏、銀不產五穀..., 千里黃沙, 本非華土.
180	useless land originally beyond our borders	本界外無用之地
181	Why must we throw away vast quantities of gold, silk, and grain to fight over a small amount of barren land?	奈何...棄金帛粟米之巨萬而爭不毛之尺寸哉?
181	the Middle Kingdom's former territory	中國故地
181	nest of Tibetans and other barbarians	吐蕃諸夷之巢穴
181	territories beyond the pale, even those that were once counties and prefectures of the Middle Kingdom, are equally of no use to us	雖常爲中國之郡縣而本屬外地者, 則亦無所用之
181	was not originally our land	元非吾土

181	their former land	其故地
181-2	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.	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。
182	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	中國之所以爲可貴者, 以其有禮恩信也; 遠方之所以可賤者, 以其貪婪暴虐也
182	crooked	曲
182	This is not the fault of the Westerners; it is entirely the result of the [Song] court's lack of righteousness.	此非西人之罪, 皆朝廷不直之故。
182	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.	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。
182	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!	願效至計, 以行天誅, 回幽、夏之故墟, 弔唐、晉之遺人, 流聲無窮, 爲計不朽, 豈不偉哉!
183	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	晉高祖以盧龍一道賂契丹, 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?

	the former territories of other dynasties, how would this be to the advantage of the Northern Court [i.e., Liao]?	
183	How could the Southern Court...agree to give up the former lands of the [Song] imperial ancestors?	南朝...豈肯失祖宗故地耶?
183	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?	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?
184	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.	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.
184	pained that the land of Yan is in the clutches of the barbarians	痛燕薊之地陷入契丹
184	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.	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.
184-5	Emperor Zhenzong's many policies were superb;	真皇多廟勝, 仁祖用功深. 卜宅遷九鼎, 破胡藏萬金.



	<p>Emperor Renzong's achievements were superior.</p> <p>After reestablishing the imperial capital upon founding our dynasty,</p> <p>We defeated the Tartars, though we still relinquish vast sums of gold [i.e., as an annual payment].</p> <p>For a century, we have rested our soldiers,</p> <p>After appeasing our foe on that day.</p> <p>Rather than striving to break the back of the Xiongnu [i.e., Khitans],</p> <p>It is better to stay the course [of paying for peace].</p>	<p>百年休戰士, 當日縱前禽。 欲斷匈奴臂, 不如留此心。</p>
185	former Han prefectures	舊漢州
185	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	為感南朝皇帝好意, 及燕京本是漢地, 特許燕雲與南朝
185	Yanjing and its attached prefectures were originally Han lands	燕京并所管州城元是漢地
185-6	the land of Yan, under occupation since the Five Dynasties, including the former Han lands, the Han people [residing there], and the [strategic] passes of Juyong, Gubei, Songting, and Yu, should be returned [to us] as already discussed	所有五代以後所陷幽薊等州, 舊漢地及漢民并居庸、古北、松亭、榆關, 已議收服
186n144	seized the former land of Yan, and consoled the people left behind in the clutches of the enemy	舉全燕之故地, 弔陷敵之遺民
186n146	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.	貞觀中, 西境在四鎮, 其後不善守, 棄之吐蕃。今故土盡復。
186n146	wished to recover the former land of Longyou [i.e., Gansu]	有意復隴右故地
187	We cannot allow them to disavow their subordination to us.	不可許以不臣。
188	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	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為功... 虜雖失燕, 知其本中國之舊而不以為吝, 中國亦與之講好修聘。

	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].	晉氏始出夷狄而微, 終為夷狄所滅.
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.	以中國而視夷狄, 夷狄之可也. 以五代之君而視十國, 夷狄之則未可也.
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.	自漢、魏之亂, 晉遷江南, 中國遂沒於夷狄.
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	議者皆謂元昊胡人也, 無居中國之心, 欲自尊於諸蕃爾. 臣等謂拓拔珪、石勒、劉聰、苻堅、赫連勃勃之徒皆胡人也, 並居中原. 近則李克用父子, 沙陀人也, 進據太原, 後都西洛.... 蓋漢家之叛人不樂處夷狄中, 心謀侵據漢地, 所得城壘必使漢人守之, 如契丹得山後諸州, 皆令漢人為之官守.

	Khitans, after obtaining the [Sixteen] Prefectures south of the mountains, ordered Han people to administer them on their behalf.	
191n163	arose from among the northern barbarians... the character of the barbarian is stubborn..., such that [Mingzong] often executed innocent ministers	出夷狄...夷狄性果, ...屢以非辜誅殺臣下.
192	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].	天下傾裂, 永嘉之亂, 彝倫咸斁, 羌、胡雜處於諸夏, 衣冠流布於荆、吳.
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	臣行君事、夷狄行中國事, 古今天下之不祥, 莫大於是. 夷狄行中國事, 非夷狄之福, 實夷狄之妖孽, 譬如牛馬, 一旦忽解人語, 衣其毛尾, 裳其四蹄, 三尺之童見之, 但曰“牛馬之妖,” 不敢稱之曰“人,” 實大怪也... 拓拔珪、十六夷國, 不素行夷狄之事, 縱如拓拔珪之禮樂文物, 僭行中國之事以亂大倫, 是衣裳牛馬而稱曰人也, 實為夷狄之大妖... 君臣華夷, 古今天下之大分也, 寧可紊哉! ...或曰, “拓拔氏及今極北部落, 皆黃帝後...” 曰, 譬如公卿、大夫之子孫, 棄墮詩禮, 或悅為皂隸, 或流為盜賊, 豈可復語先世之事, 而列於君子等耶! 況四裔之外, 素有一種孽氣, 生為夷狄, 如毛人國、猩猩國、狗國、女人國等, 其類極異, 決非中國人之種類, 開闢以後即有之, 謂黃帝之後、夏后氏之後則非也.

	<p>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 <i>Songs</i> and the <i>Rites</i>, 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 <i>qi</i>, 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.</p>	
194	prefectures beyond the pale	化外州
196	<i>Handy Geographical Maps of Successive Dynasties</i>	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	<p>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 <i>qi</i> [of the region] produces people of great integrity; Together with them, one might make great plans [of reconquest].</p>	<p>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，山川鬱盤紆。勁氣鍾義士，可與共壯圖。坡陀咸陽城，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？</p>

	<p>The mountainous city of Xianyang Is site of the old capital of the Qin and Han dynasties. [But now] The imperial <i>qi</i> 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?</p>	
198	Great Wall line of defense	長城之防
198	<p>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.</p>	<p>昔秦既稱帝, 以爲六國已亡, 海內無足復慮, 爲秦患者, 獨胡人耳, 於是使蒙恬北築長城, 却匈奴七百餘里。</p>
198n185	Surrender-Here Cities	受降城
199	<p>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</p>	<p>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... 秦之長城, 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, 而後中國不復可爲. 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.</p>

	household draws a line on the flat ground for defense.	
199n188	the hard labor of past dynasties that has been to the benefit of later kings	先代之勞, 後王之利
199n191	Liu Kuang / separate inside from outside	劉貺 / 限中外
200	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.”	青海通西域, 長城起朔方. 分明見地里, 悵望隔要荒.
200	ancient Great Wall	古長城
200	Zhao / Yan	趙 / 燕
201	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].	秦人萬里築長城, 不如壯士守北平.
201	serve as a Great Wall	作長城
201	There is a Great Wall in his five-syllable verse...fresh poetry strives to fly and stir, bringing light to old and tired eyes.	五字有長城...新詩欲飛動, 病眼爲開明.
201	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	一盾可受百箭攻, 蜿蜒其長高隆隆, 截如長城限羌戎
202	“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?	古意 千金募戰士, 萬里築長城: 何時青塚月, 卻照漢家營?
202	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.	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.
202	Sixteen Prefectures of Yan and Yun	燕雲十六州

202	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].	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。
203	never once failed to sigh... after the Later Jin bestowed the Sixteen Prefectures to the Khitans	未嘗不歎...自石晉以十六州畀契丹
203	<i>Journal of National Essence</i>	國粹學報
203	the governance of our China involved despotic governance by a foreign race, and not governance by our own people	國于吾中國者,外族專制之國,而非吾民族之國也
203	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.	致靖康之禍,在於取燕;追論靖康之失者,亦必曰取燕。
204	<i>Explications of the Geography of the Comprehensive Mirror</i>	通鑑地理通釋
204	A Study of the Sixteen Prefectures of the Later Jin	石晉十六州考
204	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 <i>shi</i> hexagram of the <i>Book of Changes</i> , “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 <i>Explications</i> on this note.	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。
204	protective screen	屏蔽
204	I have heard that, both today and in antiquity, topographic features have not changed. [Thus,] both Hua and the	伏聞今昔有不移之形勢,華夷有一定之土疆。故彼不可越燕、薊而南侵,猶我不能跨

	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，天地豈忍膾腥諸夏之區？
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.]迹茫茫萬里天，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，阜纛黃旗志未酬。 莫笑蓬窗白頭客；時來談笑取幽州。
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！ 即今埋骨丈五墳，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，齷齪生死真吾羞！



206	<p>"Spring Breeze Ode"</p> <p>A rainbow in the Heavens disappeared in the daylight, As the Central Plains became a territory of sheep and dogs. A stream of imperial banners crossed [south to] Jiang-Han, And the court officials hid out in one [remote] corner of the world. South as far as Wu, north as far as Yan, West to Qin and East to Lu, all destroyed by the Tartars. It has been three to four dozen years now; The people who fled [long for home like] birds pining for their nests. Whenever I think of home, the Huai River stands in my way; But my heart drifts far away alongside the soaring clouds.</p>	<p>春風引</p> <p>陰虹當天變白晝, 中原化作羊犬區。 黃旗悠悠渡江漢, 百僚竄伏天一隅。 南極三吳北燕薊, 西秦東魯殘羌胡。 至今申歷遍三四, 生民散盡悲巢鳥。 我每思家限淮水, 搖搖心與飛雲孤。</p>
206	<p>To this day, Yan and Dai [i.e., the Sixteen Prefectures] are teeming with Tartars; Whenever [the goose] dreams of flying home, he fears their archers. He fears their archers: Who is able to expel the Tartar caitiffs for us? Once the Tartar caitiffs are expelled, the way of the Han will flourish, Whereupon, despite a lifetime of misery [in exile], we will forget our suffering.</p>	<p>至今燕代滿胡兒, 每欲歸飛畏弓弩。 畏弓弩: 誰能為我驅胡虜? 胡虜驅除漢道昌, 一身雖困忘辛苦。</p>
207	<p>people left behind / former lands of the Han and the Tang / not a few will be filled with indignation</p>	<p>遺民 / 漢、唐故地 / 不無感慨</p>
207	<p>In a past year, with the crops about to sprout after the spring planting, I was pleased to see you arrive, your shoes tattered [from the long voyage]. This year, with peasants hard at work amid the poldered fields, You arrive with your brother aboard a clacking boat. Throughout our lives, across the realm, we exert great effort, Everywhere intoning poetry, without a day of rest. With lofty aspirations and a laugh, [we soar like] drifting clouds,</p>	<p>前年春種方萌蘖, 我喜君來屐幾折。 今年湖田農正忙, 君從伯氏聽漁榔。 平生四海饒足力, 到處哦詩不虛日。 高懷一笑無心雲, 暮秣燕冀朝吳餐。 從渠小知但莽蒼, 羈羈維絡游龍纈。 男兒遇合自有秋, 此志寧為溫飽休?</p>

	<p>In the evening, foddering [our horses] in Yan; in the morning breakfasting in Wu.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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	<i>jiguan hu</i>	鷄冠壺
216n15	<i>madeng hu / fang pi'nang hu</i>	馬蹬壺 / 仿皮囊壺
217	<i>changjing ping / pankou hu / pankou ping / sancai / haitang pan / changkou guan / labakou guan / biwen</i>	長頸瓶 / 盤口壺 / 盤口瓶 / 三彩 / 海棠盤 / 敞口罐 / 喇叭口罐 / 蓖紋
217	gate halls	門庭
220	<i>jitui ping</i>	鷄腿瓶
220	fragrant banquet	芳宴
220	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, 果菜碟各五片, 水菜碗三五隻.
221	sacrifice of repose	虞祭
221	calm	安
224	<i>huqiang / xiaozhang / guo / guanchuang / shichuang</i>	護牆 / 小帳 / 櫛 / 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

247	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.	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, 無非攻守戰鬪之事.
247	barbarized	胡化
252	<i>Tujing bencao</i>	圖經本草
253	Huixian Rock	會仙石
253	Sixiang Ridge	思鄉嶺
254	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.	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.
254	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.	轍生十有九年矣, 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, 仰觀天子宫闕之壯... 而後知天下之巨麗.
254-5	everything was included / people competed with each other to recite	備然盡在 / 人爭布誦
255	<i>Wujing zongyao</i>	武經總要
257	the cyan mountains are like a wall, the land like a platter.	青山如壁地如盤

257	A boundless plain faces this cluster of peaks—a green wall that winds back and forth in myriad layers.	平原不盡對群峰, 翠壁回環幾萬重.
257	The Yan Mountains are like a long snake, Separating Han from barbarians for a thousand <i>li</i> . Its mouth grasps the base of the Western Mountains; Its tail drapes across the shores of the Eastern Sea.	燕山如長蛇, 千里限夷漢. 首銜西山麓, 尾掛東海岸.
257	barbarian and Han territory are separated here	夷漢封疆自此分
259	the cliff walls are like a fortified passageway through which pedestrians pass like fish in a stream	兩壁如夾城, 行人貫衆魚
259	With a single man blocking its key point, a myriad horses could not rush through.	一夫扼其鍵, 萬馬不能趨.
259	[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.	關路崖狹, 一夫可以當百, 此中國控扼契丹之險也.
259	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.	兩旁峻崖, 中有路, 僅容車軌; 口北有鋪, 設弓連繩, 本范陽防阨奚、契丹之所, 最為隘束.
259	the cliff walls are high and precipitous; Heaven has set apart the Rong caitiffs by means of this very place	崖壁斗絕, 此天所以限戎虜
259	Heaven's barrier / separate north from south	天險 / 限南北
259	stretched for a myriad <i>li</i> east to west	萬里互東西
259	This morning, I recognized Heaven's will, which is to separate Hua from the land of barbarians.	今朝識天意, 正欲限華夷.
259	East and west, the layers of peaks stand profuse and tall.... It was Heaven's will that north and south should be divided here.	東西層巘鬱嵯峨.... 天意本將南北限.
261	Huayan Temple	華嚴寺
261	Minzhong Temple	憫忠寺
261	Guoye Temple	國業寺
261	Hall of Stone Scriptures	石經院

261	Ancient Great Wall	古長城
262	ten-thousand <i>li</i> wall of the King of Qin	秦王萬里城
262	there are no historical remains to talk about	無古跡可云
262	1000 <i>li</i> of [farmers] plowing and cultivating mulberry trees	千里耕桑
262	mulberry trees and grain are fertile and flourishing	桑穀沃茂
262	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 <i>li</i> 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 <i>li</i> 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.	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.
263	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.	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.
263	Heaven must have established this to set apart Hua from the barbarian lands.	蓋天設此以限華夷也.
263	No riding horses arrive here; no wheels leave from here. Heaven's barrier is clearly marked, with only one passage through.	來無方馬去無輪, 天險分明限一津.
263	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;	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.

	Thus, the customs and habits of the people here resemble those of Yanjing.	
264	the land is sparse in grain crops; throughout the year frost and snow are in abundance	土地稻粱少, 歲時霜雪多
264	Liu River	柳河
264	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.	遼土甚沃, 而地寒不可種, 春深始耕, 秋熟即止.
264n67	hunting by encircling	圍獵
265	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	自古北口即奚人地, 皆山居谷汲, 耕牧其中
265	Everywhere the inhabitants are occupied ploughing and herding, While yurt carts carrying entire families move back and forth.	居人處處營耕牧, 盡室穹車往復還.
265	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.	自過古北口, 即蕃境. 居人草菴板屋, 亦務耕種, 但無桑柘; 所種皆從隴上, 蓋虞吹沙所壅. 山中長松鬱然, 深谷中多燒炭為業. 時見畜牧牛馬橐駝, 尤多青羊黃豕. 亦有挈車帳, 逐水草射獵.
266	as for their clothing, food and drinks, and language, each followed their own customs	衣服、飲食、言語各從其俗
266	Han clothing / Tartar clothing	漢服 / 胡服
266	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.	恩州以東為渤海, 中京以南為東奚..., 其西南山間為西奚, 有故靺之區.

266-7	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.	自過崇信館, 即契丹舊境, 蓋其南皆奚地也.
267	from Gubei Pass to north of the Central Capital is the territory of the Xi	由古北口至中京北皆奚境
267	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.	山之南乃燕薊八州, 衣冠語言皆其故俗.
267	The residents [of Yan]...customarily all wear Han clothing. Among them are some who wear Tartar clothing, probably just miscellaneous Khitan and Parhae women.	民居...俗皆漢服, 中有胡服者, 蓋雜契丹渤海婦女耳.
268	Peerless Yang	楊無敵
268	When they see the [ethnic] Han envoy, they are sad in their hearts: "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."	目視漢使心淒然. 石塘竊位不傳子, 遺患燕薊逾百年. 仰頭呼天問何罪, 自恨遠祖從祿山.
268	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.	路傍二三老, 幅巾垂白鬚. 喜見漢衣冠; 叩首或歔歔: 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.
269	Jing Ke	荊軻

269	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.	荒雲涼雨水悠悠; 鞍馬東西鼓吹休。 尚有燕人數行淚, 回身卻望塞南流。
269	[They] caressed their children, telling them with a sigh, "You will not get to be subjects of Han. This is your fate."	撫其子嘆息曰: "爾不得為漢民, 命也。"
269	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.	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。
270	absconded traitor	逃叛者
270	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.	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。
270n91	noble king who understands how to still the halberds	君王悟止戈
271	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.	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。
281	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	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。



	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