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MD 13 (Plates 27-28)

Introduction

The maintenance of records of travellers who were allowed passage through a point of control on a communications' line is exemplified in UD 5 and TD 8, and, as will be seen, it is suggested that the individuals concerned in those documents were civilians rather than military personnel. By way of contrast, the document which is represented in the fragments of MD 13 was probably a record of passage granted through military lines, and the great majority of the individuals who are specified were officers serving in the forces. The strips include not only the names and titles of the officers but also the reasons for their journeys ⁽¹⁾ together with the date and time of the occasion. In all cases the officers were proceeding inwards, usually to go to the headquarters of the hou-kuan. Probably the record was made at one of the watch towers of the main defence line, and the officers who are named ⁽²⁾ came from units which were established further forward. Some of the named units that are mentioned here appear ⁽³⁾ in the reconstructed order of battle of Itō as subordinate parts of the Chia-ch'ü hou-kuan, and it is likely that the headquarters of that unit was the destination of the officers concerned.

There is considerable variation in the length of

these inscriptions, owing to the different circumstances or reasons that are given for each case. The dates are given precisely, but unfortunately no year is specified. The overriding similarity of form and handwriting strongly suggests that the strips derive from the work of one clerk, but as the dates will not fit any single calendar year (between 100 B.C and 100 A.D.), the period that is covered must be ^{taken} ~~etern~~ to extend over two or more years. If two years only were involved, dates can be suggested as follows:

for nos. 1-9 and no. 46: 56 B.C. or 2 A.D.

for nos. 10-37 55 B.C. or 3 A.D.

59 and 60 A.D. would be possible years for these strips with the exception of no. 46, where the reading is questionable. If more than two years were concerned, there are obviously more possibilities. If the tentative reading suggested for no. 31 is accepted, that ^{text} ~~year~~ may be referring to the first year of the period yüan shih 元始 (1 A.D.); and in this case MD 13 could be dated at 2-3 A.D.

There are a few variations in the names of the hours that are mentioned. The fifth hour is usually termed 蚤食 (cf. MD 3), but occasionally it is called 食時 (nos. [16?] and 25) or 食坐 (no. 3; cf. TD 1 no. 1); the ninth hour, usually 下舖 (cf. MD 3 and TD 2) is once called 舖坐 (no. 29); and 免食, which is not understood, is seen in no. 36.

The fact that 乚 is usually written 十 in Han documents has frequently led to confusion between the two

(4) numbers 7 and 10. Although there are several cases in MD 13 (e.g. nos. 3, 17, 27, 28) where 十 occurs, 采 is probably written in no. 1. (5) In commenting on this question, Lao Kan (K'ao p. 75) cites the use of 采 in 61.24, which is dated 31 A.D., and observes a case of corruption arising from the use of this character in the Shih-chi. (6) He states that 采 is seen in inscription no. 12, which is dated in 534 A.D., and that this character was subsequently used by T'ang writers. The reading 采, which is preferred here, is supported by inscription no. 9 (dated 12 A.D.; both Jung Keng 容庚 and Lao Kan, loc. cit., read 采) and by a similar form 采, which appears several times in Ch. 592 (dated 20-21 A.D.; Chavannes reads 采).

毋狀 is usually understood to mean "unbecoming", "disrespectful" or "lacking proper behaviour", but in the contexts of two strips here (nos. 2 and 33) the phrase seems to imply failure to fulfil the duties of an official. A connotation of culpable failure is seen in several other ~~cases~~ cases, where the application of legal processes is concerned with a "lack of competence" (e.g. 40.6; 55.13, 224.14, 224.15; 185.23; 264.39; 317.11; and 326.7). 人, 185.24

There are references in these strips to 部卒 (nos. 10, 15, 22, 23 and 47) and 省卒 (nos. 6, 17 and 32). 部卒 presumably denotes subordinate troops, i.e. those who were members of the unit itself. The phrase is also

seen in 32.7, and is comparable with 部吏 in no. 14.

省卒 is also seen in 58.16; 59.33; 133.8; 139.39A; 159.21; 176.18; 234.9; 269.4; and, possibly, M 68. (7) The term is thought to denote troops detached from their own units for temporary service elsewhere, and this explanation is supported by the following strips, in which 省 is used with the meaning "detached to" or "transferred to": 87.7, 87.8; 127.27; 132.29; 145.33; 214.118; 254.17; 285.1; and, possibly, 78.46; see also no. 33 in MD 13, where the meaning is by no means certain.

In the notes that follow the translation of these strips, variant readings are not mentioned in two cases:

- (a) 召 is read in nos. 1, 4, 8, 9, 13, 19-21, 26, 37, 41, 43 and 50, but this is usually taken as 召 in SW, Chia and LK. The character is seen in a similar context in 140.19 and 459.2, and the same element is seen in the character 詔 in 495.9, 503.7 and in inscription no. 1, column 11.
- (b) 粟 in nos. 10, 15 and 22-24; SW, Chia and LK usually read 廣 (in no. 23 Chia reads 入粟); a further instance is seen in 222.6, 222.7; in the instances here the character is written variously 粟 or 粟, but not with 广.

Other fragments which can be identified as parts of a record such as MD 13 are seen in 59.36;95.3;110.7; 115.1;123.46;210.31;222.6,222.7;258.21;481.1B; and 482.20 (also, where the site of discovery is unknown, 78.13;140.19; 395.12; and 459.2). It is possible that 203.35 can be associated as part of the same strip as no.5.

A close parallel to the strips collected here is seen in Ch.436 and, possibly, Ch.375. Another form in which the movements of officers were recorded is seen in Ch.80-83.

It is to be inferred from Sommarström (pp.262-3 and 271) that group 458 was found at site P 9 locality 22, and not at one of the localities of MD. In this case either no.13 is incorrectly included here, or it has been misnumbered as 458.2.

Subsequent entries, in a different hand, have been made on nos.17 and 32; and no.29 (and possibly no.36) has been used later for practice in writing (these marks are omitted in the transcription).

1	26.12	140	194	187
2	??	---	---	---
3	203.38	159	---	188
4	203.17	162	---	188
5	203.64	159	---	188
6	203.1	133	---	186

(2)
No.1 in Jao; not shown
on Plate 27.

7	286.11	---	1560	---	
8	203.11	133	---	507	
9	176.39	240	---	203	
10	244.4 244.6	} 301	1291	207	
11	257.31		248	---	203
12	286.24	301	1566	207	
13	458.2	433	---	217	In SW as 458.
14	168.5 224.13	} 331	967	211	In SW as 168.
15	133.16		214	769	199
16	264.10	219	---	199	
17	254.15	229	1307	201	In LK as 254.25.
18	525.5	260	2297	204	
19	168.18	321	974	210	In SW as 168.16.
20	254.19	299	1311	207	
21	254.6	298	1299	234	
22	254.8	229	---	201	In SW, LK as 254.9
23	89.11	234	508	202	
24	254.2	299	1298	207	
25	286.21	---	1562	---	
26	254.9	229	---	201	In SW, LK as 254.8
27	203.24	162	---	188	In SW as 203.18
28	203.18	162	---	188	
29	160.7	230	2430	201	
30	266.4	313	1391	209	
31	203.40	159	---	188	

32	89.5	234	506	202	
33	133.15	218	765	199	
34	174.6	166	988	188	} Shown in Chia as pieces of the same strip.
35	174.10	166	988	281	
36	482.8	433	---	217	
37	161.7	302	958	207	
38	168.15	321	---	210	
39	287.22	444	---	476	
40	287.16	336	---	211	
41	188.24	310	---	208	
42	413.8	109	---	184	
43	286.30	242	2425	203	
44	178.26	289	---	206	
45	231.5	285	---	206	
46	231.28	284	---	206	
47	59.17	250	441	233	
48	174.14	167	---	189	
49	174.9	167	---	189	
50	52.62	188	---	196	

Notes:

- (1) Occasionally, e.g. nos. 5, 25, the reason is not stated.
- (2) For the existence of units outside the main lines see 288.7, which refers to 塞外亭隊, and HS XCIV A, 286.
- (3) See Itō p. 241. This scheme has been accepted by Lao Kan in TP (Preface pp. 9-11), although a different and earlier

scheme is given in K'ao pp.38-40. The Che-yao hou, which is mentioned in no.13, is assigned by Itō and Lao to the San-shih-ching 卅 井 hou kuan, but the evidence is by no means certain; there are also reasons for doubting whether no.13 has been included here correctly (see p.404)

- (4) See Hulsewé (1) p.11 and Yang (1) p.75. The different forms of the characters used for numbers are discussed in Yü shih VIII,32a et seq. (BSS pp.284f.).
- (5) Various readings are suggested; see note to no.(1) below.
- (6) 來始 in place of 泰始 ; ~~cf. HS XXII, 16b for 七始~~
; Lao Kan also cites inscriptions nos.10 and 11.
- (7) See Hulsewé (1) pp.34-5; Fujieda (1) p.307; Mou (7) p.350.

第十三隊長黨召詣官未月癸丑蚤食入

城北僕長克職事數毋狀詣官自數八月甲申平旦入

第十七僕長譚持射具詣官射八月甲午食口入

口口士吏寢召詣官八月甲午日中入

長口詣官八月甲午下舖入

第廿八隊長馬萬將者卒詣官八月乙未蚤食入

臨之隊長咸為部市藥詣官封符八月戊戌平旦入

敬馬虜隊長詡召詣官八月戊戌平旦入

制虜隊長虜召詣官八月戊戌

：口將部卒詣官稟正月戊寅蚤食入

第廿三隊長忠行塞還詣官正月戊寅蚤食入

第廿二隊長袞調守臨木僕史詣官正月辛巳下舖入

遮要僕長上官客召詣官三月己卯平旦入

第廿三僕史良詣官受部吏奉三月乙酉平旦入

第二隊長袞將部卒詣官稟三月丙戌蚤食入

第廿一隊長尊口死詣官取喪五月辛巳食時入

第十七僕長譚送省卒詣官五月己丑蚤食入
四人

：口四僕長放詣官六月辛亥蚤食入

三堆隊長良召詣官六月辛亥下舖入

第八隊長宣召詣官六月壬子下舖入

第九隊長宣召詣官六月壬子下舖入

第一隊長訥將部卒詣官直未六月癸丑平旦入

第十四隊長鳳將部卒詣官直未六月癸丑平旦入

萬歲隊長放將口詣官直未六月癸丑平旦入

鉞庭僕長永詣官六月癸丑辰時入

口僕史良召詣官六月甲寅平旦入

春遠僕長放昨日詣官上功不持射具當會月廿八日部遠不及到部謹持弩詣官射 ||

七月丁亥蚤食入

口口僕長口

上功不持射具口

遠不及到部謹持弩詣官射 ||

七月丁亥蚤食入

士吏晏召卒還詣官八月辛未舖坐入

萬歲士吏就對府還詣官十月庚午下舖入

口口僕長譚詣官上元口元年口口十一月甲戌蚤食入

察微隊長昌將者卒詣官土月甲戌平旦入

馬望卒趙小奴十二月正月巳酉未

第十僕史殷省伐慈其第十三隊卒高鳳去作亡賜中部田舍鬥傷男徐武毋狀 11

詣官自口十一月辛巳食坐入

第廿三僕史良詣廷受部

吏奉十一月庚子平旦入

十二月甲寅免食入

第十七僕長立召詣官十二月己巳蚤食入

亥下舖入

第一隊長趙並初除詣官

蚤食入

臨桐隊長誼官召詣官

己酉日下舖入

萬歲僕史段召詣官 四月甲寅平旦入

平旦入

木僕長王客詣官受

武彊隊長並持延水卒責錢 詣官 閏月辛酉

第六隊長護將部卒

不侵僕長晏詣

第十守僕長欲詣官受吏奉十一月

第四僕長放召詣官三月口戌

- 1 Tang, OC no. 13 sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as summoned; admitted at 5 hours, on kuei ch'ou, seventh month. ...
- 2 K'o, OC Ch'eng-pei hou, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan for [voluntary detention ?], in view of his frequent failure to carry out his duties competently; admitted at 3 hours, on chia shen, eighth month.
- 3 T'an, OC no. 17 hou, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan with archery equipment for shooting; admitted at [5?] hours, on chia wu, eighth month.
- 4 Pao, shih li of ..., proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as summoned; admitted at 7 hours, on chia wu, eighth month.
- 5 ... OC ..., proceeding to the [hou]-kuan; admitted at 9 hours, on chia wu, eighth month. ...
- 6 Ma Wan, OC no. 28 sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan with a party of detached men; admitted at 5 hours on i wei, eighth month.
- 7 Wei, OC Lin-chih sui, purchasing medicine for his troops, and proceeding to the [hou]-kuan to [obtain a] sealed pass; admitted at 3 hours, on wu hsu, eighth month.
- 8 Hsu , OC Ching-lu sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as summoned; admitted at 3 hours, on wu hsu, eighth month. ...
- 9 Fang, OC Chih-lu sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as summoned ... wu hsu, eighth month. ...

- 10 ...proceeding to the [hou]-kuan with a party of his men to draw rations;admitted at 5 hours,on wu yin,first month.
- 11 Chung,OC no.23 sui,proceeding to the [hou]-kuan after returning from a tour of the defence lines;admitted at 5 hours,on wu yin,first month ...
- 12 Pao,OC no.22 ~~hs~~ sui,proceeding to the [hou]-kuan on transfer to be hou-shih,on probation,of Lin-mu hou; admitted at 9 hours,on hsin ssu,first month. ...
- 13 Shang-kuan K'@,OC Che-yao hou,proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as summoned;admitted at 3 hours,on chi mao,third month. ...
- 14 Liang,hou-shih of no.23 hou,proceeding to the [hou]-kuan tp take receipt of pay for the officers of that unit; admitted at 3 hours,on i yu,third month. ...
- 15 Pao,OC no.2 sui,proceeding to the [hou]-kuan with a party of his men to draw rations;admitted at 5 hours,on ping hst,third month. ...
- 16 Tsun,OC no.21 sui,proceeding to the [hou]-kuan [to obtain a coffin ?] on the death of ...;admitted at [5 hours,on hsin ssu,fifth month.]
- 17 T'an,OC no.17 hou,proceeding to the [hou]-kuan with detached men under escort;admitted at 5 hours,on chi ch'ou,fifth month. Four men. ...
- 18 ...Fang,OC ...4 hou,proceeding to the [hou]-kuan;

- admitted at 5 hours, on hsin hai, sixth month.
- 19 Liang, OC San-tui sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as summoned; admitted at 9 hours, on hsin hai, sixth month,
- 20 Hsüan, OC no. 8 sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as summoned; admitted at 9 hours, on jen tzu, sixth month.
- 21 Hsüan, OC no. 9 sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as summoned; admitted at 9 hours, on jen tzu, sixth month.
- 22 Hsü, OC no. 1 sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan with a party of his men to draw rations; admitted at 3 hours, on kuei ch'ou, sixth month.
- 23 Feng, OC no. 14 sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan with a party of his men to draw rations; admitted at 3 hours, on kuei ch'ou, sixth month.
- 24 Fang, OC Wan-sui sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan with a party of ...to draw rations; admitted at 3 hours, on kuei ch'ou, sixth month.
- 25 Yung, OC Ping-t'ing hou, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan; admitted at 5 hours, on kuei ch'ou, sixth month. ...
- 26 ...Liang, hou-shih of ..., proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as summoned; admitted at 3 hours, on chia yin, sixth month.
- 27 Fang, OC T'un-yüan hou; on the previous day he had^{teen} proceeded^{Sing} to the [hou]-kuan to submit the reports on the degrees of merit of his subordinates, without carrying archery equipment. The 28th day of the appointed month was at hand; his unit was some distance away, and he

- could not reach it. As in duty bound, he was proceeding to the [hou]-kuan with a bow; admitted at 5 hours, on ting hai, seventh month.
- 28 ...OC ...hou ...to submit the reports on the degrees of merit of his subordinates, without carrying archery equipment...some distance away, and he could not reach it. As in duty bound, he was proceeding to the [hou]-kuan with a bow; admitted at 5 hours, on ting hai, seventh month.
- 29 Yen, shih-li, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan on return from summoning certain men; admitted at 9 hours on hsin wei, eighth month.
- 30 Chiu, shih-li of Wan-sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan on return from answering charges at the [tu-wei]-fu; admitted at 9 hours, on keng wu, tenth month. ...
- 31 T'an, OC ...hou, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan to submit ...of the first year of yüan ...; admitted at 5 hours, on chia hsi, eleventh month. ...
- 32 Ch'ang, OC Ch'a-wei sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan with a party of detached men; admitted at 3 hours, on chia hsi, eleventh month. Chao Hsiao-nu, private, of Ssu-wang [sui], drew rations for the twelfth and first months.
- 33 Yin, hou-shih of no. 10 hou, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan to make a personal ...in view of his failure to carry out his duties. While Yin was detached to Fa tz'u, private

Kao Feng, of no.13 sui in his command, went out to work in the farming settlement of the central sector, Wang tz'u; there was fighting, and Hsu Wu, male, was wounded. Admitted at [5?] hours on hsin ssu, eleventh month.

- 34, Liang, hou-shih of no.23 hou, proceeding to the t'ing
35 to take receipt of pay for officers of that unit; admitted at 3 hours, on keng tzu, eleventh month. ...
- 36 ...admitted at ...hours, on chia yin, twelfth month. ...
- 37 Li, OC no.17 hou, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as summoned; admitted at 5 hours, on chi ssu, twelfth month.
- 38 ...admitted at 9 hours, on ...hai ...
- 39 Chao Ping, OC no.1 sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan on taking up his appointment ...
- 40 ...admitted at 5 hours ...
- 41 I Kuan, OC Lin-t'ung sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as summoned ...
- 42 ...admitted at 9 hours on the day chi yu ...
- 43 Tuan, hou-shih of Wan-sui hou, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as summoned; admitted at 3 hours on chia yin ...month.
- 44 ...admitted at 3 hours ...
- 45 Wang K'o, OC ...mu hou, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan to take receipt of ...
- 46 Ping, OC Wu-ch'iang sui, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan with the monetary claims of private soldiers of

[Chüyen and Chien-shui ?] ...on hsin [yu?], inter-
calary month. ...

- 47 Hu, OC no.6 sui, with a party of his men ...
- 48 Yen, OC Pu-ch'in hou, proceeding to ...
- 49 Yü, OC (probationary) of no.10 hou, proceeding to
the [hou]-kuan to take receipt of officers' pay
...eleventh month ...
- 50 Fang, OC no.4 hou, proceeding to the [hou]-kuan as
summoned; ...hsü...third month ...

Notes

- 1 黨 LK 當
 采 SW 審 Chia 采 LK 采
 丑 LK 齒
- 2 數 is written 數, and 數 is used for 數; see Jao (2).
- 3 乂 SW, LK 一
 持 SW, LK 將
 射 SW, LK 射 Cf. nos. 27, 28.
- 5 口 SW, LK 寂
- 6 卒 SW 亭
 蚤 LK 多
- 8 詡 is not known elsewhere as a surname; it appears again
in no. 22.
- 10 口 SW, Chia 禪 LK 俾
- 11 還 LK 置
 蚤 LK 君

- 12 褒 this form is seen in no.15; SW 褒
 守 for the meaning of this term see Hulsewé (1) p.31.
- 15 褒 SW, Chia 褒 LK 褒
- 16 口 SW, LK 口 不幸
- 17 送 SW 道
- 18 四 SW, Chia, LK 第四
- 19 亥 SW, Chia 未
- 20 宣 LK omits
- 21 宣 SW, LK 宜 召 Chen (4) 名
- 22 稟 SW, LK 集
- 丑 SW 西
- 23 稟 Chia 入 粟
- 24 口 SW, Chia 部
- 27 七月 SW, LK 十月

The meaning of the strip is not certain. It seems that Fang was making a journey to the hou-kuan with his reports, and realised, on arrival at the point of control, that the date specified for the tests in archery was near at hand. However, he was not carrying the requisite equipment, and would be unable to return to his own unit to collect it and be back in time for presentation at the tests. After a day, in which he was able to acquire a bow, he proceeded on his way, being admitted within the defence lines to do so. See Fujieda (1) pp. 338-9, who adds dake in his translation of the strip "carrying a bow only".

It has been suggested above that these strips can be dated in 55 B.C. or 3 A.D. (or possibly 60 A.D.),

In these cases ting hai fell on the 13th (14th) day of the seventh month. If the explanation of the strip is accepted, it would follow that the interval of fifteen (or fourteen) days until the 28th was insufficient for Fang to make the journey from the control-point to his unit and thence to double back to the hou kuan for the tests.

28 □□ SW, LK 肩水
七月 SW, LK 十月

This strip is almost certainly couched in terms that are identical with those of no. 27.

29 The shih li was a military official on the establishment of the hou kuan. Yen had presumably been sent out on a mission from the hou kuan to summon certain soldiers, and the strip records his admittance on reentry.

30 Whereas Wan sui appears as the name of an hou and a sui, it has not been seen as an hou kuan, but the title Wan sui shih li implies that such a unit existed.

For the meaning of 對 see Remnants p. 76.

31 □□ 僕 SW, LK 第六僕. This is unlikely in view of the numbering system of the hou; see Yoneda (1) p. 59.

上元□元年□□ SW, LK 上元得二□□□

32 趙 Chia 楊

33 The translation is tentative. 伐慈 and 亡賜, which have been taken as proper names, have not been traced.

者 SW, LK omit

伐 SW, LK 伐 l Ch'en (4)

其第 SW, LK 其

七 SW, LK 毋

自口 SW, Chia, LK 自閉

- 34 It is not understood to what establishment this refers. In other instances in which pay was being collected (e.g. nos. 14, 49), visits were made to the hou-kuan.

37 長 LK 官

41 臨桐 SW 口桐

誼官 SW 調

諧 LK 謁

42 己酉 LK 口酉

43 召 SW, Chia 名 LK 者

甲寅 LK 庚申

45 僕 SW 隊

- 46 延水 Not traced as a proper name. The type of abbreviation on which the tentative translation is based has not been observed elsewhere.

47 護 SW, LK 言貝

49 十一月 SW 十月

50 口戌 LK 庚戌

MD 14 and 15 (Plates 6 and 3)

Introduction

The work to which soldiers were put when they were not engaged in military duties is illustrated in MD 14, MD 15 and MD 16. Two of these records (MD 14 and MD 15) were made out in a very similar form, i.e. each strip shows the tasks on which individual, named soldiers were engaged over a consecutive period; an introductory strip probably specified the period, and possibly the major unit, that was concerned. In MD 14 the name of the soldier is regularly followed by the entries for seven occasions of work; there is then a space on the strips, and entries for two further occasions. Probably the fragments refer to the work done in the last nine days of a short month; similar records made out for the two earlier parts of the month would each have carried entries for ten days, without a space such as that in MD 14. Alternately, the spaces where no entry was made, may have been due to the absence of men from work on a particular day. Elsewhere, however, absence from work is entered and a reason given, e.g. sickness or rest (MD 15 no. 3 and MD 16 no. 10), and it is therefore unlikely that the spaces in MD 14 are to be explained on such grounds. In MD 15 the form of the document was identical with that of MD 14, except that the month was divided into

two rather than three parts, so that each strip may have recorded the work done on fifteen (or fourteen) occasions.⁽¹⁾

Of the types of work mentioned in MD 14

治製 i.e. the manufacture of sun-baked bricks, is the most easily understood. Sommarström (p. 262) gives the figures of 37 by 15 by 11 cm. as the "normal Han size" for bricks, and cites Stein as giving 13 by 7.5 by 4 inches as the "regulation size". These figures may be compared with those given in the following strip (187.6, 187.25):⁽²⁾

製廣八寸厚六寸長尺八寸一枚用土八升水二升

"For each brick, of breadth 8 inches, width 6 inches and length 1 foot 8 inches, use .8 shih clay and .22 shih water"⁽³⁾ [I.e. 41 by 18 by 14 cm.]

This task also features in strips found at Tunhuang, e.g. Ch. 99-101, 279, 281-4, 287, 673⁽⁴⁾. Here however the word tso 作 is used in place of chih 治. A further difference is to be seen in the quantity of bricks made daily. In MD 14 this is given regularly as 80 bricks, and this figure is comparable with that of 65 to 80 which is seen in some of the fragments from Tunhuang. There are also instances (Ch. 279, 281-4 and 287) in which 150 bricks were made by each man daily. Chevannes (note to no. 99) explains the difference as being due to the different size of the bricks that were made; alternatively, conditions of climate or location may have been responsible. A further possibility

is that the difference depended on the skill or experience of the men. In this connection there may be some significance in the words 初作 "The first occasion on which [these men] made bricks"; these are appended to Ch. 99, which records the manufacture of 70 bricks during the day.

除土, which is seen also in MD 15, is taken by Fujieda (1) p. 320 to mean the work of scaling wind-blown deposits from the walls as a means of protection. 土 however may refer to the clay used to make the bricks, as in 187.6, 187.25 and in the phrase 椎土 "clay hammering" (MD 14 no. 3); and the meaning of 除 could possibly be "to put aside for a purpose" (cf. the use of the character to mean appointment of officials). The rendering that is given here is tentative.

Fujieda (1) p. 321 explains 塗 (MD 15 no. 3) as the work of plastering or white-washing the walls of the towers (See Serindia II, p. 658; Ch. 102-111).

案壘, which occurs repeatedly in MD 15, is taken by Fujieda (1) p. 320 as the work of stacking bricks, either at the place of store or on the working site. The comparable phrase 積壘 is seen in Ch. 98, where two men stacked 5560 bricks, presumably during one day's work; 累 (MD 15 no. 3) may refer to the same type of work. (Fujieda (1) p. 319 offers no explanation).

The very clear similarity of form and writing in MD 14 strongly supports the association of these

MD 14,15

fragments as parts of the same document, and it is remarkable that the pieces derive from no less than ten different groups. It is probable that nos. 3 and 4 can be fitted together (no. 3 overlapping no. 4); and the two pairs 5 and 6, and 7 and 8 may each have formed parts of one strip.

MD 14

1	286.29 61.7	}	158	433	229	In SW as 67.7
2	89.22		234	---	232	In SW as 9.22
3	220.8		287	1231	234	
4	525.7		260	---	233	
5	188.28		310	---	235	
6	482.6		433	---	238	
7	168.16		320	---	236	
8	27.8		506	---	239	
9	254.22		230	---	231	
10	27.12		503	---	239	

MD 15

1	525.4	260	---	233
2	76.49	181	---	230
3	203.8	133	---	229

Notes:

(1) Cf. MD 17, where the month is divided, for working purposes, into either two or three parts.

- (2) I.e. 33 by 19 by 10 cm. The dimensions of bricks are given in Serindia II pp. 568, 651, 658, 662, 680 etc.; and 737, note 14; and in Sommarström pp. 34, 39, 88 etc.
- (3) For the interpretation of these quantities as parts of the shih 石 see Grain measurement pp. 64 and 87f.
- (4) The form of these strips is comparable with that seen in MD 16.

第廿四隊 卒孫長 治塹八十 治塹八十 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 1

第廿四隊 卒審承 治塹八十 治塹八十 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 2

第十四隊 卒韓勳 除土 樵土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 3

... 八十 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 4

... 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 5

... 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 6

... 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 7

第廿三隊 卒司馬忠 治塹八十 治塹八十 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 8

第廿三隊 卒口口 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 9

第五隊 卒高登 治塹八十 治塹八十 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 除土 10

MD 14 Translation

- 1 Sun Chang, private, no. 24 sui:brick manufacture, 80
bricks; brick manufacture, 80 bricks; brick manufacture,
80 bricks; apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay;
apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay; apportion-
ment of clay; apportionment of clay.
- 2 Shen Ch'eng, private, no. 34 sui:brick manufacture, 80
bricks; brick manufacture, 80 bricks; brick manufacture,
80 bricks; apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay;
apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay; apportion-
ment of clay; apportionment of clay.
- 3 Han Hsün, private no. 14 sui: apportionment of clay; clay
pounding; apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay; ...
- 4 ... apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay; ...
- 5 ... 80 [bricks]; apportionment of clay; apportionment of
clay; apportionment of clay; ...
- 6 ... apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay.
- 7 ... apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay.
- 8 Ssu-ma Chung, private, no. 23 sui:brick manufacture, 80
bricks; brick manufacture, 80 bricks; brick manufacture,
80 bricks; apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay; ...
- 9 ... private, ... sui: apportionment of clay; apportionment of
clay; apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay; appor-
tionment of clay; apportionment of clay; apportionment of
clay; apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay.

10 Kao Teng, private, no. 5 sui: brick manufacture ...;
 brick manufacture, 80 bricks; brick manufacture, 80
 bricks; apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay;
 apportionment of clay; apportionment of clay; appor-
 tionment of clay; apportionment of clay.

Notes

In nos. 1, 2, 8 and 10, some of the entries are either
 omitted or repeated in the transcriptions of SW, Chia
 or LK; such errors are not listed below.

- 1 長 SW 良
- 2 卅 LK 廿
- 3 椎土 SW, LK 除土
- 5 八十 SW □
- 9 卒 LK □
- □ SW, LK □ 當

第十隊卒史譚

案整

案整

案整

案整

案整

...

1

□

案整

...

2

...

案整

案整

案整

治簿病

||

案整

治簿

除土

案整

||

塗

累

除土

...

3

MD 15 Translation

- 1 Shih T'an, private, no. 10 sui: brick storage; brick storage;
brick storage; brick storage; brick storage; ...
- 2 ...brick storage; ...
- 3 ...brick storage; brick storage; brick storage;
stationery making; sick; brick storage; stationery
making; apportionment of clay; brick storage; plaster
work; plaster work; [stacking ?]; apportionment of clay; ...

Notes

- 2 SW, LK 井
- 3 塗 (first occurrence) SW 除土

MD 16 (Plate 7)

Introduction

Whereas in other records (MD 14 and MD 15) each strip shows the work on which one man was engaged for a period of several days, in the document represented here each strip shows the various duties to which several members of a squad were assigned during a single, specified day. The numbers of the men involved (from ten or less to twenty nine) together with the nature of the work suggest that these squads were organised at the level of hou or hou-kuan. In some cases (nos. 3, 5 and 8) a distinction was drawn between members of the squad who were engaged on non-productive tasks, or who were absent from duty, and those who were assigned to working tasks.

A number of the terms that are used are difficult to interpret. 削工 (nos. 1, 4 and 6) presumably refers to a particular task, but this cannot be identified with certainty. Fujieda (1) p. 321 suggests sheath making; other possibilities include engraving or scraping strips. Lao Kan (K'ao p. 46) takes 守邸 or 守閣 (nos. 2 and 9) to mean guarding the store house, and cites a number of literary passages in which 邸閣 denotes a military depot, usually of food. These passages refer to the post-Han period. Fujieda (loc. cit.) gives the same explanation. In a passage of the Han-shu (1), which describes the arrival,

incognito, of a newly appointed Grand Administrator in his commandery, the term 守邸 denotes the watchman or doorkeeper of the Administrator's official residence. It is clear from nos. 2 and 9 that a distinction must be made between the duties of 守邸 and 守客 (or 守閣) and that two establishments were involved. The identification of the buildings remains problematical. 園, which is rendered "garden" may refer either to vegetable plots or orchards.

[Insert paragraph from following page]

There is secondary, intrusive writing on nos. 3 and 6 (omitted in the transcription). No. 9 consists of three fragments, and the order in which they are presented here may be subject to doubt; the reverse side has been used for scribbling. Practice at writing the terms of the sexagenary cycle is seen on the reverse side of no. 1, and addresses? are seen on the reverse sides of nos. 3 and 6.

1	4.14A	377	---	237	
2	267.17	271	1405	233	
3	30.19A	241	---	232	
4	267.22	268	1406	233	
5	133.21	205	---	230	In SW as 131.21
6	142.25A	238	---	232	
7	188.10	310	---	235	

MD 16

8	132.40	132	---	229
9	139.39A	207	---	230
10	46.18	345	338	236-7
11	317.31	326	---	236
12	264.4	176	---	229-30

Notes:

(1) HS LXIVA, 12b

(2) A different arrangement is seen in the photograph of the reverse side (TP 208), but on TP 207 the three fragments are shown separated. Lao Kan (LK pp. 79-80) supports the order that has been adopted here.

For insertion on previous page:

Records of work are also represented in the following fragments, some of which are of similar form to MD 16: 53.6 (from UD); 143.3, 217.24; 220.4 (from MD); 505.24 (from TD); and 269.4; 395.9 (unidentified sites); Ch. 95-112; 196; 279-288; 555; 673.

四月己卯鄭卒十人

其一人口
一人削工
一人左口
一人吏養良

八月丁丑鄭卒十人

其一人守客
一人守邸
一人取狗湛
一人治計

八月甲辰卒廿九人

其一人作長
三人卒養
右解除四人
定作廿五人

卯鄭卒十人

一人守園
一人助園
一人治計
一人取狗湛

二人馬下

一人吏養良
一人使
一人守園
一人助

二人山木
二人積芟
十四人運芟四千六十率人二百九十
二人綴絡具

一人吏養良
二人馬下
一人削工

十月丁巳卒廿四人

其一人作長
三人養
一人病
二人口

右解除七人

定作十七人伐廿五年五口
率人伐廿
其口五千五百廿束

一人削工
一人守園
一人口

一人治射埽
又卒養

二人病

其一人作長
二人養
一人病
右解除四人

六人病
一人吏養

省卒三人

其一人守邸
一人守閣
一人馬下
一人口

口口人
口吏口養
口載靡
口賜車

丁酉卒六人

...

其一人作長

一人守園

一人口口

其一人養

一人病

四人伐葦百廿束

...

一人木工

三人養

一人病

廿六休不作

一人作長
一人美良

...

MD 16 Translation

- 1 On chi mao, fourth month; ten men of the defence force: of these, one man ...; one man was engaged in cutting; one man [assisted?] ...; one man prepared officers' meals; ...
- 2 On ting ch'ou, eighth month; ten men of the defence force: of these, one man guarded [garrison buildings?]; one man guarded [garrison quarters?]; one man collected ...; one man worked at accounts; two men groomed horses; one man prepared officers' meals; one man was sent on a mission; one man guarded the garden; one man assisted.
- 3 On chia ch'en, eighth month; twenty nine men: of these, one man acted as OC; three men prepared mens' meals; four men were released from work as above; twenty five men were detailed for working tasks; two men worked on mountain timber; six men stacked fodder; fourteen men transported fodder, at [290 each, totalling 4060?]; two men worked at [weapon repair and maintenance?]; ...
- 4 On ...mao, ... ten men of the defence force: ...; one man guarded the garden; one man assisted in the garden; one man worked at accounts; one man collected ...; ...; one man prepared officers' meals; two men groomed horses; one man was engaged in cutting.
- 5 On ting ssu, eleventh month; twenty four men: of these, one man acted as OC; three men prepared meals; one man was sick;

two men ...; seven men were released from work as above; seventeen men were detailed for working tasks, cutting reeds, 5 ...; each man cut 30 ...; ...5520 bundles.

- 6 ...one man was engaged in cutting; one man guarded the garden; one man ...; one man made archery targets; one man prepared mens' meals; two men were sick; ...
- 7 ...six men were sick; one man prepared officers' meals; ...
- 8 ...of these, one man acted as OC; two men prepared meals; one man was sick; four men were released from work as above; ...
- 9 ...and three men on detachment: of these, one man guarded [garrison quarters?]; one man guarded [garrison buildings?]; one man groomed horses; one man ...
- 10 ...of these, one man acted as OC; one man guarded the garden; one man ...; one man worked on timber; three men prepared meals; one man was sick. Twenty six rested and did not work.
- 11 On ting yu, six men: of these, one man prepared meals; one man was sick; four men cut 120 bundles of reeds.
- 12 ...one man acted as OC; one man prepared meals; ...

Notes

1 韋 SW, LK □
 左 □ SW 左園
 一人吏養 SW, LK 一人病 一人養

2 鄣卒 LK omits

狗湛 This recurs in no.4, but the meaning is untraced. The term could possibly be the name of a plant.

園 LK 園

3 右解除 SW, LK □ □ □

十四人運 LK 十四軍

六十率 SW, LK 廿卒

綴絡具 LK 繳絡其 see Fujieda (1) p.321.

□ SW, LK □ □ □ 功 Evidently one man's task was entered.

4 卯 SW, Chia, LK □

養 SW, LK 着

Tasks are described for eight of the ten men only, and it is clear that a piece has been split away from the right side of the strip.

5 三人養 LK 一人養

二人□ SW 二人積葦 LK 二人積

又人 SW, LK 十人

定作十人伐葦五□ SW 凡作十人收葦五百□

LK □ + 作又人收葦五百□

率人 SW 苛人 LK □ 人

其 SW, LK 與

束 SW 苛

6 守 SW, LK 申

卒養 SW, LK 作 □

二人病 SW, LK 二人市

8 作長 SW, LK 伍百

隊 SW, LK 隊

9 At least four men were assigned tasks here, but only three detached soldiers are shown in the heading. Presumably the strip concerned a mixed party of detached men and other troops.

三人 SW 二人

□ SW, LK 門

The readings for the entries of the lower band are as given in SW and LK. No translation is suggested, as the text is very doubtful.

10 一人作長 SW, Chia, LK 一 隊長

園 SW, Chia 衛 LK 衛

一人 □ □ LK 一人 □ 馬

廿六 SW 廿七 Chia 廿七日

11 葦 SW, LK 葦

MD 17 (Plate 8)

Introduction

In addition to their responsibilities for maintaining a watch for enemy movements by day, the sui stationed along the Han defence lines were obliged to patrol and inspect specially prepared sandbanks (t'ien t'ien 天田)⁽¹⁾ which were designed to reveal the presence of nocturnal intruders. These duties were performed by both private soldiers and officers, and they sometimes feature in the estimates of the degree of merit to which an officer was entitled.⁽²⁾ From the strips assembled here it seems that each sui was responsible for inspecting its appointed sector, and that normally, or ideally, the duty was shared by three soldiers, for periods of ten or nine consecutive days each. However, ~~xxx~~ if the full complement of men was not present in the sui, one man could be detailed for the duty for a half, or even a complete month; in one instance several men were employed on this task at the same time. The records that were made of the performance of these duties include the names of the men and the dates of their turns at this duty, together with a routine statement to the effect that no intruders were observed. Exceptionally, if a man was taken away from his turn of duty before the expiry of the full period, the reason is noted on the record, as are the reasons why less than three men were available to do this work.

The records represented here could have been maintained either chronologically, with the ^{per}formances of all sui appearing together for a given month, or according to the units involved, i.e. with a separate ledger for each sui over a comparatively longer period of time. There is no means of determining which type of document has survived in these fragments. A caption (139.5) to a similar record which reads: 不侵部黃龍元年六月吏卒迹簿
"Record of daily patrols performed by officers and men of the Pu ch'in section, for the sixth month of the first year of Huang lung [49 B.C.]" suggests that in that instance the reports for a number of sui were assembled together for the month in question.

The periods specified for the patrols can be fitted to the following years (all B.C.) in the reconstructed calendar:

<u>No.</u>	<u>year</u>	<u>month</u>		<u>year</u>	<u>month</u>
1	48	9	or	17	9
2	46	4	or	36	8
3	46	6	or	36	10
4	43	11	or	32	3
5	41	9			
6	38	10			
7	35	2			
8	35	9			

Thus the strips can probably be dated within the span of 48-35 B.C. It is not surprising that several hands can be discerned, but there is a remarkably high degree of uniformity in the style and layout of the reports.

The work of searching for footprints in or 迹 sandbanks, i.e. patrolling, is described as 迹 or 迹. (the character is used in this sense in HS XXXVII, 1a and LXXI, 9b).

The performance of these duties by individual officers is recorded in terms very similar to those used in the fragments of MD 17, but sometimes a detailed specification of the sector is given (e.g. 6.7; 206.2). Small fragments, which probably refer to patrols performed by either officers or men, are seen in 103.37; 455.3; and 455.20; and 219.15 provides a list of consecutive dates, for some of which this duty is recorded. References to the preparation of the sandbanks and their inspection are seen in Ch. 88-94, 97, 289, 290; the onerous nature of these duties can be inferred from Ch 495.

Clerical errors are seen in no. 2, where the final term that is mentioned should read 癸丑 and not 癸未; and in no. 4 壬巳 has been written in place of 癸巳 (壬巳 does not figure in the sexagenary cycle). In no. 6 the total number of days is given as 9 instead of 29.

1	285.1	371	1537	213	In SW as 282.1
2	18.8	530	---	222	
3	257.3	247	---	203	In SW as 257.5
4	507.15	116	---	484	
5	132.29	149	---	484	
6	257.19	247	---	203	
7	214.118	448	---	218-9	
8	145.33	187	---	230	In SW as 115.53
9	56.3	442	---	238-9	

Notes:

- (1) This term was wrongly believed to refer to agricultural activities by Chavannes and Wang Kuo-wei (see Chavannes (2) p.xiv and s.v.no.88; and Wang (1) Shih II,24a). The correct interpretation is given in Maspero p.7, where it is attributed to Haneda Akira 羽田明; see also Fujieda (1) pp.258 and 306-7. Part of an instruction regarding the t'ien t'ien is seen in Ch 265, and reports on the infringement of these areas are seen in 10.22 and 13.4.
- (2) See UD 1 and X 2.

次各隊

卒曹傑外：九月甲午迹盡庚申積廿七日者殍北
卒口常魯曾當時壽詩樂九月甲午迹盡癸亥 積廿日

卒郭口乙酉迹盡甲午積十日 月迹廿九日毋人馬蘭越塞天田出入迹

卒董聖乙未迹盡甲辰積十日

卒郭賜乙巳迹盡癸未積九日

卒口口甲申迹盡癸巳積十日

卒韓惠金甲辰迹盡壬子積九日

卒口甲午迹盡癸卯積十日

月迹廿九日毋馬蘭越塞天田出入迹

口迹盡丁丑十四日

月口

口迹盡壬巳積十六日

口光九月癸未迹盡丁酉積十五日迹

月積廿日毋人

李安九月戊戌迹盡壬子積十五日迹

口賜九月旦省治口

第三隊

第三隊

十月丙寅卒董益迹盡乙亥十日
十月丙子卒王相迹盡乙酉十日

十月丙戌卒王健迹盡甲午九日
凡九日迹毋越塞出入迹

卒呂弘三月壬午迹盡丙申積十五日
卒郵安世二月丁酉迹盡庚戌積十四日
卒橋建省治萬歲塢

凡迹積廿九日毋人馬越塞天田出入迹

三月己酉卒吾丘受迹盡丁丑積廿九日
九月庚戌卒董輔少自作廿二隊
三月癸亥卒孫安女省作廿二隊

凡迹積廿九日毋人馬

甲辰卒慶安取口盡口
甲寅卒慶安高迹盡口

- 1 Tzu-t'un sui:patrol carried out by private Lu Hou Wai Jen,from chia wu to keng shen inclusive,ninth month, for a total period of twenty seven days;transferred to T'ien pei;patrol carried out by privates * Ch'ang, Lu Tang Shih and Shou Lo,from chia wu to kuei hai inclusive, ninth month,for a total period of thirty days. ...
- 2 ... :patrol carried out by private Kuo *,from i yu to chia wu inclusive,for a total period of ten days;patrol carried out by private Tung Sheng,from i wei to chia ch'en inclusive,for a total period of ten days;patrol carried out by private Kuo Tz'u,from i ssu to kuei wei [sic] inclusive, for a total period of nine days.In all twenty nine days' patrol;no traces of illegal passage of the defences or sandbanks by men or horses.
- 3 No.3 sui:[patrol carried out by private ... from chia shen] to kuei ssu inclusive,for a total period of ten days; patrol carried out by private ... [from chia wu] to kuei mao inclusive,for a total period of ten days;patrol carried out by private Han Hsien Chin from chia ch'en to jen tzu inclusive,for a total period of nine days.In all twenty nine days' patrol;no traces of illegal passage of the defences or sandbanks by men or horses.
- 4 ... patrol carried out ... to ting ch'ou inclusive,for fourteen days;patrol carried out ...to jen ssu [sic]

- inclusive, for a total period of sixteen days. In all ...
- 5 ... patrol carried out by * Kuang from kuei wei to ting yu inclusive, ninth month, for a total period of fifteen days; patrol carried out by Li An from wu hsi to jen tzu inclusive, ninth month, for a total period of fifteen days. * Tz'u was transferred to work at ... on the first day of the ninth month. In all a total of thirty days' patrol; no ... ^{men} ~~entry~~ ...
- 6 ... patrol carried out by private Tung I from ping yin to i [hai] inclusive, tenth month, for a period of ten days; patrol carried out by private Wang Hsiang from ping tzu to i yu inclusive, tenth month, for a period of ten days; patrol carried out by private Wang Chien from ping hsi to [shen wu inclusive for a period of] nine days. In all nine [sic] days' patrol; no traces of illegal passage of the defences.
- 7 No. 3 sui patrol carried out by private Lü Hung from jen wu to ping shen inclusive, second month, for a total period of fifteen days; patrol carried out by private Chih An Shih, from ting yu to keng hsi inclusive, second month, for a total period of fourteen days; private Ch'iao Chien was transferred to work on the tower of Wan-sui. In all a total of twenty nine days' patrol; no traces of passage of the defences or sandbanks by men or horses.
- 8 ... patrol carried out by private Wu Ch'iu Shou from

chi yu to ting ch'ou inclusive, ninth month, for a total period of twenty nine days; private Tung Fu was transferred to work in no. 21 sui on keng hsu, ninth month; private Sun An NU was transferred to work in no. 21 sui on kuei hai, ninth month. In all a total of twenty nine days' patrol; no ...men or horses.

- 9 ...[patrol carried out by private Ch'ing Ch'u from chia ch'en ... inclusive; patrol carried out by private Ch'ing Kao from chia yin to ...inclusive] ...

Notes

- 1 □ SW 蕙 Chia 蕙 LK 蒲
For the meaning of 省 as "transfer" both here and in nos. 5 and 8, see MD 13 Introduction and 254.18. pp. 402-3
- 2 □ SW 鈞 LK 鈞
癸未 sic
毋人 SW LK 其人
出 LK omits
- 3 甲申 SW LK 甲辰
□ SW LK 張榮
- 4 生巳 sic. SW 癸巳 LK 癸 □
凡 SW omits LK 日
- 5 □ 光 SW 離光 LK 儲光
者治 □ SW LK 者 詣文
卅日毋人 SW LK 廿日 □ □

6 丙寅 SW LK 戊寅
 乙亥十日 SW 十月十日 LK 乙百乙口
 丙子 SW LK 戊子
 乙酉十日 SW 十月十日 LK 乙百乙日
 丙戌 SW LK 戊戌
 甲午九日 SW 十月十日 LK 口口乙日
 九日 SW LK 五日

8 ...月 (twice) SW LK 九月

輔者 LK 輔者
 女 SW 世 LK 毋

9 The readings given are as in SW and LK, with the exception of the dates. These are given there as 戊辰 and 甲辰, but it is unlikely that these are correct as they cannot fall within the same month in that order.

MD 18 (Plate 5)

Introduction

Fragment no.1 is a preliminary strip or caption for a register of weapons held by guardsmen, for the year 54 B.C. The association of this piece with the other three fragments depends partly on the identity of the handwriting, and this conclusion is supported by the presence of a further piece from group 82 (no.2).49.12 was probably also written by the same scribe, but as the form of that piece is slightly different (the order of aristocratic rank and age are recorded, but there is no certain reference to weapons) it has not been included here. It is possible that the headings and entries of nos.3 and 4 were made by different hands.⁽¹⁾ Other fragments that may derive from similar documents are seen in 7.24;562.16; Ch.73-74; Ch.682; Huang 52. See also Ch.39-41 for a precise description of specified weapons.

1	82.39	332	483	497
2	82.10	332	---	395
3	159.1	257	---	390
4	42.22	340	314	396

Note:

- (1) For the preparation of documents by several writers see TD 3.

甲渠萬歲侯長就部五鳳四年七月戌卒械簿

戌卒魏郡元城和里呂楊

四口

...

2

戌卒陳留郡平丘陰里徒口中

弩帽一口

...

3

戌卒東郡聊城宋里恭樂

六石具弩一完
弩帽一完

高木矢口口

4

MD 18 Translation

- 1 Chia ch'ü [hou kuan], Wan sui hou, OC Chiu Pu; register of weapons held by guardsmen, for the seventh month, fourth year of Wu feng [54 B.C.]
- 2 LÜ Yang, guardsman, of Ho li, Yüan ch'eng [hsien], Wei chün:
...four ...
- 3 T'u * chung, guardsman, of Yin li, P'ing ch'iu [hsien],
Ch'en liu chün: ...one bow-[case?] ...
- 4 Kung Lo, guardsman, of Sung li, Liao ch'eng [hsien], Tung
chün: one bow, strength six shih, assembled; one bow-[case?];
...[kao type arrows?] ...

Notes

- 1 火 SW, Chia, LK 十
械 SW, Chia 被 LK 級
- 2 和 SW, LK 利
呂 LK 召
四 Probably the beginning of an entry for a bow of 四石。
四 LK 弦
- 3 口 SW 奉 LK 將
中 SW, LK 忠
幅 For the meaning of this term see Wang (1), Shih II, 37b;
and K'ao p.49.
一 口 SW, LK 十 幣
- 4 恭 LK 菱
豪 矢 口 口 sic LK; SW, Chia omit. For the types of arrows
used see Wang (1), Shih II, 38b; and K'ao p.49.

MD 19 (Plate 29)

Introduction

Various types of strip provide information regarding the equipment used by Han troops, e.g. registers of standard sets of equipment for issue or use, reports on the state of weapons issued to individual soldiers or collectively to a unit, labels made to identify particular weapons or other articles. In addition it may be possible to derive a comprehensive idea of the standard fittings of one of the Han watch towers from the strips of MD 19, which consists of reports regarding the state of the sites occupied by particular sui. In all probability these strips were made out as a result of an inspection of the lines. The hand and form of the reports are uniform, and the strips are headed by the designation of the unit and the name of the commanding officer; this information is followed by individual entries regarding the condition of the sui's defences and weapons. Usually the entries are arranged in bands that are placed below the two binding strings, and intermediate bands are inserted if further space is required (e.g. nos. 1, 5, 6, 8 etc.). A descriptive label, which may have been made out to identify a set of reports of this type, is seen in Ch. 307, which reads (reverse side):

兵完折傷簿 (7)

Unfortunately the entries in these strips have been written in very small handwriting, and the terms that

are used are by no means always clear. There is thus considerable difficulty in providing a complete interpretation, and in many cases only tentative conclusions can be reached. Although there are no literary descriptions of the fortifications used in Han times, accounts of the round watch towers which were built for the T'ang armies appear, in slightly different versions, in the T'ung-tien 通典 and Wu-ching-tsung-yao 武經總要⁽⁸⁾, and there are significant parallels between those descriptions and the entries for individual items that are seen in MD 19.

One of the principle difficulties involved in MD 19 lies in the meaning of the two terms 塢 and 堞, which cannot always be distinguished with certainty in the strips. Both terms are probably seen in no. 15, where two entries were made to report the existence of the same type of deficiency, in one case on the 塢, in the other on the 堞. Possibly both terms appear, again in similar contexts, in no. 12, and also in 89.21 (for text of this ^{strip} see note to no. 5 below); in UD 7 there are several reports of the observation of signals from the 塢 and one from the 堞. Fujieda (1) p. 254 writes that in Han times the watch tower was termed 堞 or 堞樓, and uses the term 塢 to denote the wall⁽⁹⁾; Lao Kan also takes 塢 as wall⁽¹⁰⁾. In the translations given below for the strips of UD 7 the reverse interpretation has been adopted, on the grounds that the signals would be more likely to emanate from the

signal-towers than the wall. A further complication is seen in at least one case (428.6) where signals are reported from on top of the 堠 . Fujieda supports his view of 堠 by reference to MD 19 nos. 10 and 15; however, the readings are by no means clear in no. 10; and in no. 15 either solution could apply. In 175.19, where the dimensions of various parts of the fortifications are given, there are several terms which are not understood; 塙 could refer either to the wall or the tower, but again the reading is not certain; probably the text is referring to the wall rather than the tower, as the height is given as 14.5 feet (Han), and the watch towers were, at least sometimes, of greater height. (11)

In 6.8 an officer reports his recovery from an accident due to a fall from the 塙; either part of the fortification could be implied, but the tower may be more likely in view of its extra height. It is possible that an exact distinction must not always be drawn between the two terms, or that usage varied during the period of the Han defences. (12)

Fujieda writes that both characters, together with 亭 and 隊 were used to denote fortification (toride) or watch tower. In these circumstances the renderings tower (for 塙) and wall (for 堠) have been adopted below to maintain uniformity with the translations of UD 7; the interpretations must remain open to question.

The layout of the Han fortifications has
(13)
been studied elsewhere, largely on the basis of the archaeological evidence. From the strips of MD 19, and others, it is known that the sites were fitted with doors which could be secured by means of bars and [bolts?]; a supply of water was kept in jars, and may have been conveyed by pipes. The units were equipped with supplies for mending and maintaining their weapons (e.g. glue and grease); with tools such as axes and saws; with cooking vessels; dried dung, for use as fuel or plastering; and, possibly, with materials for writing.

(14)
Dogs were kept, probably to assist in patrolling; when they were not thus engaged they were kept in their kennels.

The defensive equipment may have included bows which were fixed on revolvable mountings; there were sights for use in shooting, which were attached to the towers and the wall; the bows themselves may have been kept in a protective casing.

(15)
A supply of the two standard types of arrow was kept, possibly in large quivers fixed to the buildings; units may have had butts for shooting, and there is one reference to a map. Faults in iron armour and helmets also feature in some of the reports. For signalling, coloured pennants and flags were hoisted by means of rope, of which a specified length was kept on the site. Sometimes the flags had been in use too long and were spoilt; the dye may have worn out, so that the fabric was bleached white. For signalling in

case of emergency, the units used small or large woodpiles; possibly a total of eight were kept in readiness. These piles were stacked in a prescribed fashion, the layers being placed in alternate directions at right-angles to each other. At the apex the structure had to be vertical. Possibly the piles were treated with a coating of plaster to protect them from the elements. Flares, for signalling (16) by smoke or flame, were also kept at the posts; as a store of thirty seven flares is mentioned in one instance, it is possible that the standard equipment amounted to fifty or more. The flares may have been made with a device to direct (17) the smoke in the direction required. From another strip it appears that the standard equipemnt of the sui may also have included hammers, spare arrow heads and a medicine chest.

Reports of a similar nature to those of MD 19 may be seen in 47.4; 47.5; 82.15, 52.17; 89.21 and Ch. 433. 68.61 and 68.112 may possibly belong to the same series of documents as MD 19. Part of an adverse report on a unit, framed in an entirely different form, may be seen in 127.24 (possibly also in Ch 437).

(18)

Intrusive writing is seen on nos. 13 and 15.

In view of the difficulty of reading some of the strips the transcriptions and translations given below must be regarded as doubtful; the usual signs of reservation or modification have not been included. In a number of ^{Cases} ~~cases~~ the

transcriptions are given on trust, from SW Chia or LK,
and it has not been possible to suggest a translation.

1	82.1	315	475	209	
2	214.108	449	---	219	
3	3.26	527	12	409	
4	3.7	528	---	409	
5	214.47	451	---	220	
6	214.49	450	2431	220	
7	127.22	127	---	378-9	
8	285.18	370	1541	213	
9	214.8	359	1169	213	
10	214.5	450	---	219-220	
11	258.16	237	1352	202	
12	264.32	175	1383	191	
13	311.31A	445	---	218	
14	44.82	448	---	218	
15	142.30	237	797	202	
16	68.63	186	---	195	
17	68.65	186	---	195-6	
18	68.95	182	---	193	
19	68.105	182	---	193	
20	68.109	182	---	194	
21	68.41	182	---	194	
22	578.1	428	---	216	Not shown on Plate 29

Notes:

- (1) E.g. 506.1; Ch. 257; see also MD 18.
- (2) E.g. 283.12; Ch. 184; 274; and, possibly, Hueng 52.
- (3) E.g. the strips shown on Plate 50; Ch. 588, 676, 705; M 44.
- (4) Fujieda (1) p. 265 raises the possibility that the strips may be the reports of loss or damage. As remediable faults are included in the entries, as well as material damage, it is more likely that the strips derive from an inspector's report than from the voluntary statement of the commander of the sui (see also the entries in no. 3 which remark the existence and subsequent correction of a deficiency).
- (5) This detail is not included in no. 15.
- (6) A slightly different layout is seen in no. 15.
- (7) Further details, of the date and the unit, are furnished on the obverse side. Part of a caption of one of these reports, ~~dated in~~ ^{from} the Chin period, may be seen in Ch. 758.
- (8) T'ung-tien CLII (Commercial press edition pp. 801 b, c) and Wu-ching-tsung-yao ch'ien chi 前集 V, 23b (Ming, Cheng-te 1506-1521 edition). The text from the T'ung-tien, together with a translation, is given in Fujieda (1) pp. 252-3 (for corrections, and diagram, see Fujieda (4) pp. 152f.) An illustration of a somewhat different structure from those envisaged here is seen in Wu-ching-tsung-yao XIII, 25a.

- (9) Fujieda (1) p.256, diagram 7. Cf. also HHS XXII (biog. xii) 7b 皆築保壁起烽火塚十里一候 where 候 may refer either to military units or to the sites they occupied.
- (10) K'ao pp.42f.
- (11) Examples of higher watch towers were seen by Stein at T.ii, T.vib, T.viđ, T.xii etc. ; see Serindia II pp.640,644,654,680.
- (12) Fujieda (1) p.257
- (13) E.g. K'ao pp.42f.; Fujieda (1) pp.253f.
- (14) For the use of dogs see K'ao p.51
- (15) It is not known how many arrows were kept at a site; the highest figures mentioned are 90 (kao type) and 30 (meng type). An issue of 150 arrows ^{per} ~~per~~ man is mentioned in Ch.71
- (16) See Maspero p.3 for the distinction between 烽火 (smoke signals, used by day) and 苣 (flaming torches used by night).
- (17) 506.1
- (18) In addition there is a short inscription on the reverse side of no.13 (unrelated to the obverse side)

第七隊長尊

口繩廿四不事用
毋父介
口屏風少
深目一不事用

極直不調利
中御哭哭不動
弩一弦急
前編不事用
劍削敵中

口火尊二不事用
塙上深目一不事用
圖毋惠果
大小積新薄隋王
奎首少世七
門關口不事用

表二不事用

第八隊長侏宗

口傷書不鮮明
小積新一上口頃

卒張田馬矢不在署山

第十五隊長李嚴

鐵鞞教自二中毋如象今已裝
鐵鎧二中毋如象今已裝
六石弩一組緩今已更組

五石弩一大弦三分今已古字
高木矢十二千哢哢未能會二
七虫矢三十千哢哢未能會二

第十六隊長口宣

鐵鏢二口
鐵口口口
口口口一統三口
口口口半寸已口

高梁矢九十咩咩未能會日
高梁矢十二口未能會日
口口口口干咩咩未能會日
口口口口口治

第十六隊長單威

斤升决
布升决
中何表三事用
毋帽

蓬久用口口咩

轉榜皆毋棍

狗少一

小積廿新一上伯頃

第十六隊長于福

轉榜毋棍
口矢口不聖
杆辟一咩咩
鈎一不事用

蓬一不任事

小積廿新二伯頃

卒十一人艾

第其隊長魏利中

斧一不任事
口關折
毋脂

大積薪二上口
小積薪一上口

口口皆破
口陽口口隨
狗籠皆破

...

第其隊長李宮

鋸不任事
斧一不任事
釜一不任事

脂少一杯
轉櫓皆毋棍
口六石具如弓一口

口傷書白口口

第廿九隊長王禹

鋸不任事用
膠少
轉櫓皆毋棍
口

小積薪一上口頃
大積薪二上口頃
候樓不堪心

...

第廿六隊長宋登

弦角上口破
蓬一不事用
鋸一不事用

轉櫓皆毋棍
洞皆毋角冒
塊樓不垂塗塊
口口一頃

第八隊長高遺

口章口城黑不解除
長辟月口黑不解除
轉榜皆毋棍
芝蓬久用口口叫

望虜隊長充光

積新八毋將契子蓬壤
大積新二未更積
小積新二未更
毋卒取契其交席
諸水與女少二口
汲桐少一
沙少三石見一石又多

口黑不貫
口口少一
口十二小

塢上口丙少二
塢上大表一古惡
塢上不騷除子馬矢蓬
毋候其蘭
毋乾馬牛矢內毋屋
狗少一見不入籠
毋彖火苞七十

繩索二所絞
口里不口
蓬布索皆小

狗籠一破
口口口口口口
蓬皆白

察微隊

塙上深目少
塙上深目少
積薪少皆毋呂

...

口不積具
口不事用
口為辟蓋解隨
轉橈比自毋棍

狗少
蓬皆白
地表干頃
...

毋射塙
口口塙

臨木隊長橫

口毋棍毋口
外塙戶下口
內塙戶毋口
汲桐少一
蓬絹不呂

...

⋮

口毋大楬

深目ニ不事用

口火尊ニ折不事用

口毋口

口口不事

⋮

口口口口口

柀柱回井東ニ小

菅一幣一鍋子利

塙上深目ニ不事用

努長辟ニ不口ニ不事用

口一不人口少一

⋮

⋮

口嘗

口斗五毋磨

口上椴子莫亦塗

口繩少十丈

口口口

狗少一

兩行少廿

連榎繩解

⋮

門關成墮

地表幣

塢戶內躬
口口殘鉏
口少一

地表劫木埃
口口

口尹蘭
口不致署
口少一

口口
前口
候口

加口不口明
轉梅毋棍

MD 19 Translation

- 1 Tsun, OC no. 7 sui. Twenty four ... rope unusable; no axe; one ... missing ...; one wind screen missing; one sight unusable; ... not adjusted; defensive weapons not mobile; one bow string tight; forward fence unusable; sword sheath spoilt; one brazier unusable; one sight on the tower not usable, six missing; case for the map missing; large and small woodpiles poor and dilapidated; thirty seven ~~spares~~ ^{flares} missing; ... of door bar unusable; two flags unusable.
- 2 Hsu Tsung, OC no. 8 sui. Casualty record not clear; upper ... crooked in one small woodpile; dung, in keeping of private Chang T'ien, not ...
- 3 Li Yen, OC no. 15 sui. No lining in iron helmets, fitted in meantime; no lining in two sets of iron armour, fitted in meantime; cord of six shih strength bow loose, changed in meantime; ... five shih strength bow ... ; shafts split in twelve kao type arrows, impossible to fit ...; shafts split in thirty meng type arrows, impossible to fit ...
- 4 ... ^{Hsian} ~~£~~, OC no. 16 sui. ... in two sets of iron armour ...; ... iron ... ; ... ; ... ; shafts split in ninety kao type arrows, impossible to fit ...; ... in twelve kao type arrows, impossible to fit ...; shafts split ... , impossible to fit ... ;
- 5 Ch'an Wei, OC no. 18 sui. ... edge cut; ... edge cut; two ... flags not distinct; a bow case missing; pennants long in use, with ... split; handles missing in the

- revolving turrets; one dog absent; upper ... crooked in one small woodpile.
- 6 Ch'un-yü Fu, OC no. 24 sui. Handle missing in the revolving turret; ... ; ... ; one hook unusable; one pennant unserviceable; ... crooked in two small woodpiles; fodder ... eleven privates ...;
- 7 Wei Li-hung, OC no. 26 sui. One pennant unserviceable; ... bar broken; no grease; upper ... in two large woodpiles; upper ... in one small woodpile; ... all damaged; ... ; all dog kennels broken.
- 8 Li Kung, OC no. 27 sui. Saw unserviceable; one axe unserviceable; one cooking pot unserviceable; grease short by one cup; handles missing in the revolving turrets; ... six shih assembled bow ...; ... casualty record ...
- 9 Wang Yü, OC no. 29 sui. Saw unserviceable; glue in short supply; handles missing in the revolving turrets; ... ; upper ... crooked in one small woodpile; upper ... crooked in two large woodpiles; stairway of wall not plastered.
- 10 Sung Teng, OC no. 36 sui. Upper ... of bowstring horn broken; one pennant unusable; one saw unserviceable; handles missing in the revolving turrets; water pipe ... all missing; stairway of wall not plastered; one ... crooked.

- 11 Kao I, OC no. 38 sui. ... black, not cleared; bowstock ... black, not cleared; handles missing in the revolving turrets; pennants long in use, with ... split.
- 12 Ch'ung Kuang, OC Wang-lu sui. Eight woodpiles without ... and not plastered; in two large woodpiles the stacking was not alternated; in two small woodpiles the stacking was not alternated; no matting for collection of fodder by troops; two water storage jars missing; one water pipe missing; sand short by one shih, on hand one shih and a large quantity of ^{earth} ~~sand~~; two ... handles missing on the tower; one large flag on the tower old and damaged; wall unswept and unplastered; quiver for use of the hou missing; no dried horse or cattle dung ... ; one dog absent, dog/dogs present not kept in kennel; no ^{pennants;} smoke or flame flares: seventy.
- 13 ...; one ... missing; ... twelve ... small ...; ropes twisted in two places; ... ; fabric and ropes of pennants shrunk; one dog kennel damaged; ...; pennants all white.
- 14 ...; ... unusable; ... ; handles missing in the revolving turrets; ... dog[s] absent; pennants all white; ground flag pole crooked; ...
- 15 Ch'a-wei sui. Eight sights missing on the wall; four sights missing on the tower; woodpiles defective, all without ...; no shooting butt; ... plastered.

- 16 Wang Heng, OC Lin-Mu sui...handle missing,...missing;
... below door of outer wall;no ... for door of inner
wall;one water pipe missing;pennants' ... not ...; ...
- 17 ... no large stakes;two sights unusable;one brazier
broken,unusable; ... no ... ;... unusable; ...
- 18 ...; ... ;one flare spoilt,in one flare the smoke tube
device was not angled;two sights on the tower unusable;
two bowstocks not ...,one unusable;one ...not inserted,
one missing; ...
- 19 ...; ... ; upper ... not plastered;...rope short by
ten chang;...; one dog absent; twenty broad stationery
strips missing; rope connecting the ... loose; ...
- 20 ... bolt of the door bar dropped;tower door defective;
...;one ... missing;ground flag spoilt;ground flag
discoloured and soiled; ...
- 21 ...quiver missing;...;one ...missing; ... ;forward ... ;
... hou ...; ...
- 22 ...;handle missing in the revolving turret.

Notes

- 1 □ SW Chia 藥 LK 藥
- 屏 SW Chia 服屏
- 深目 This expression is explained as a sighting device
(see K'ao p.51;Fujieda (1) p.258)
- 極真 not understood. 極 LK 極
- 前 LK 箭

口火 SW Chia 尊火 LK 算木 The item may recur in no.17
 塢 LK 塢
 毋 燹 sic Chia, supported by Ch'en (3); SW LK 如 賣
 燹 SW Chia 燹 LK 燹
 燹 SW Chia 燹 ; for 燹 as an abbreviation for 燹
 see no.7.

口口 SW Chia 按接 LK 口備
 2 口 SW LK 倚
 傷 SW LK 陽 cf. entry in no.8.
 口 SW Chia LK 僮 ; the same character probably
 recurs in nos.5,6 and 9, where it is variously
 read 便 or 性.

在署山 not understood

3 十五 SW LK 五
 石 LK 直
 今 LK 令
 太 LK 左

听 (twice) SW Chia 听 (also twice in no.4)

For kao and meng type arrows see K'ao pp.49f., and
 Ch.38, note.

會 = The reduplicating marks (in two entries) are not
 noted in SW or Chia (cf. no.4, where the mark is
 noted in LK). The readings of the expressions
 會日 etc. here and in no.4 are far from certain,
 and the meaning is not clear.

虫 LK 虫

- 4 第十六 SW LK 口土
 把口 SW inserts 甲殼 after this
 九十 LK 九牛
 口序 see note to no.3
 會 see note to no.3

- 5 守何...明 LK 河口口口明
 久用口口 SW 火固函柝 LK 火固函口

轉檣皆用柝 LK 轉柝皆用. The reading for the entry that is tentatively adopted here recurs in nos.6,8,9,10, 11,14 and 22 (with some variants suggested in SW, Chia and LK). 檣, whose reading is by no means certain, is explained in the eleventh century 類篇 as being equivalent to 櫓, meaning a turret (cf. HHS LXXXIX (biog.lxxxix) 3b 上作樓櫓 置於壘上以拒匈奴); 柝 is explained variously as the handle of a silk reel or as a brake used to halt vehicles. The interpretation of these entries must be considered in association with the following passages in 89. 21: 塢上轉射 二所深目中不辟除一所轉射空小不承長臂 and 塢上轉射一所深目中不辟除一所轉射 毋 口

"Of the revolving shooting devices on the tower, in two places the centre of the sight was not cleared; in one place the [groove?] of the revolving shooting device was small and did not fit the bowstock" and "Of the revolving shooting devices

on the wall, in one place the centre of the sight was not cleared; in one place the ... of the revolving shooting device was missing." In this connection 轉射 (which occurs in Mo-tzu XIV, 18b) is taken by Lao Kan (K'ao p. 51) and Fujieda (1) p. 258 to mean a frame or rest for the crossbow; 轉榜 is taken to mean a pulley used for hoisting signals (K'ao p. 35, Fujieda (1) p. 266), but this explanation is unlikely in view of the use of the expression 鹿廬 elsewhere (MD 7 no. 1). Take in from below

- 口 SW LK 便 ; see note to no. 2.
 6 榜 SW Chia LK 弩
 矢 LK 夫
 口 SW Chia LK 便 ; see note to no. 2.
 7 第廿六 SW LK 口下
 利 LK 和
 峯 一不任事 LK 口不口事 For the use of 峯 as an abbreviation for 火峯 see no. 1 and, possibly, no. 12.
 關 SW 索
 胎 LK omits
 二上 SW 廿七 LK 廿七斤
 一上 SW 十二 LK 十二斤
 口口皆破 LK 捻尚皆口
 隋 LK 九道
 皆破 LK 口口

Take in above: (no. 5) See Sommarström pp. 308-309 for fragments of a "revolving appliance" found at A 32.

- 8 鋸 Chia 鋸一
 釜一 SW Chia 鑿一 LK 釜
 口 SW Chia 𠵼 薪
 具弩 Lao Kan (K'ao p.48) distinguishes between bows assembled ready for use (具弩) and spare bows, whose component parts were not fitted together (承弩).
- 口 SW Chia 絃起火 LK 繩口丈
 口傷 SW Chia LK 何傷
 口口 SW Chia LK 咋咋
- 9 棍 Chia 揆
 口 LK 口口口口 𠵼
 口 (twice) SW Chia LK 住 ; see note to no.2
 樓 SW Chia LK 榜
 堦 SW Chia LK 堪
- 10 破 SW LK 口
 肩昌 not understood; LK reads 容 for 肩
 口口 SW LK 狗藏
- 11 高 SW 富
 口城 LK 轉榜
 口 SW Chia 堵
 棍 SW Chia 杆
 蓬久用口 LK 蓬 口
 口咋 SW Chia LK 咋咋

12 將梨 not understood; LK 將梨
 未更 i.e. the layers were not placed in alternate directions; see Fujieda (1) pp.258-9.

菱 LK 菱
 嬰 LK 關 cf. 506.1 for the entry 儲水嬰
 (Fujieda reads 嬰 (1) 260)

塢 Chia 塢
 口 SW Chia 塢 LK 塢
 丙 SW Chia LK 塢
 二 LK 一

塢 SW Chia LK 塢
 蘭 Lao Kan (K'ao p.50) distinguishes between quivers carried on the back (蘭) and lighter containers worn on a belt (服)

馬牛矢 Fujieda (1) p.265 explains this as being used for fuel. Dung was also used for plastering the walls (see Ch.104-107, where 夫 should be read 矢)

毋屋 not understood
 角 SW Chia 角 LK 角
 七十 not understood. SW Chia and LK read 五十; for the form of 七 see TD 7 no.1 note.

13 口黑不貫 LK 里不實
 繩 LK 口
 絞 LK 絞
 里 LK 坐
 蓬布索 LK 口 口 口

狗籠 SW 胡籠 LK 口 襲
 口口口口口 SW LK 卒毋傷出弩絲絃

(LK reads 田, for 毋)

14 積 LK 堵
 蓋解隨 LK 口 初 隨
 轉檣 LK 口 口
 少 SW LK 八
 皆白 LK 口 百
 表 SW LK 蓬
 干 LK 牛

15 土僕 Chia 塢 LK 堦
 少 SW Chia omit; LK 八
 口口 SW Chia 石所 LK 塗布
 口口 堦 SW LK 以 塹 迺 上

16 口毋 掘毋 口 LK 口 折毋
 堦 (twice) SW LK 塢
 毋 SW 毋一
 絹 not understood; LK 口

17 大 SW 六
 深 LK 口
 毋口 SW 毋 榑

18 重 LK 其
 一幣 SW 二幣
 利 SW LK 刮

深目二 SW 矢目二 LK 粗 十二
 口 SW 韋 LK 事
 子 LK 石

19 甯
斗
幕
少
十丈
兩行

LK 署
LK 竹
LK 最
LK 四

I.e. 100 feet (Han)

This expression appears in ^{138.7}~~185.7~~, 183.2; 10.9 and 10.8, which can probably be identified as external labels describing the contents of boxes or other containers (Cf. Ch. 588, which is the lid of a medicine chest suitably inscribed.) In these cases the contents included 200 strips of wood for stationery (札), fifty 兩行, and 100 feet of string used for binding the strips together. These materials are also mentioned in Ch 63A which reads " ... 札兩行 隸五十 纒 廿丈 " ...strips and liang hsing, fifty to each sui, and twenty chang of string ...

In commenting on the latter document, Wang Kuo-wei (Wang (1) Shih II, 19a) took 札兩行 together as meaning broad strips, for writing in two columns, but it is clear from the contexts of the strips from Chüyen that 札 and 兩行 denoted different commodities. See K'ao p.6

20 戍 隋

SW 戈 隸 LK 戍 隸. For the reading 戍 cf. 506.1, Ch 433 and Ch 606, which refer to 戶戍 or 戶關戍.

The suggested meaning "bolt" for 戍 cannot be directly substantiated; Wang (1) Shih 27a suggests that the word may be a loan for 牡 which has that meaning, and Ch.606 can possibly be identified as part of a box which contained two door bars and bolts. For the reading 陸 cf. MD 19 no.1; the same character is probably seen in Ch.433 (Ch reads 與).

殘 LK □
 地 LK 阝也
 地表 LK 隊長

22 加 □ 子 □ 明 SW 放 舉 子 解 明

UD 1 (Plate 9)

Introduction

UD 1 and UD 2 consist of fragments of reports on the performance of officials. UD 1 differs somewhat from other material found at Chüyen in that the officials who are concerned are described with the titles of civil rather than military posts; in addition the posts formed part of the establishment of the central government itself or of provincial organisations situated elsewhere than in the four north-western commanderies. The role of these officials in Changi is nowhere stated; Ch'en (1) p. 33) cites two of the fragments to show that metropolitan and provincial officials were detached to serve at the frontier, and it seems that officials from widely separated parts of China were posted to vacancies in the civil government of the north-west. However, there is no clue in these fragments regarding the positions which these men held. Although none of the pieces in UD 1 is of full length, it is likely that the report was made out with particulars for three officials on each strip.

(1)

Reports on officials were made in the autumn, and forwarded by the senior ranking officers of a commandery to the central government. The name of the official was recorded, together with a statement of his degree of merit (kung 功) and his length of service (lao 勞). As has been shown by Ōba (1), these were important

features in determining an official's career. The means of assessing the degree of merit, which is done here by numbers, is unknown; length of service was calculated as time and a half in the north west. In addition, there were ~~x~~ ways in which extra service time could be gained, e.g. by proficiency at annual tests in archery (see MD 6) or by the completion of specified number of days of patrol duty.

These conclusions are supported not only by fragments which provide for the institution itself, but also by records of its practice. The text of ordinance no. 4, for the borders, is seen in 10.28, and in a shorter or incomplete form in 198.7 and 562.19. This prescribes that two days should be counted as three, in respect of days spent in patrol duty by officers commanding hou and the civil officials of a hou, and in respect of time spent in service by officers subordinate to general officers. In view of this regulation, the need to record the performance of patrol duties is self-evident, and MD 17 consists of just such records, made however for men and not for officers. Individual examples of the calculation of service on a 3:2 basis are seen in 159.14 (dated 55 B.C.) and Ch. 592 (dated 20-21 A.D.). Ōba (1) p. 216 shows that service time could be discounted, as a penalty for poor service.

No. 4 mentions the hsiang of Hsin-tu [kuo]. A kuo, rather than a chün, of Hsin-tu existed between 37 and 23 B.C., and again for thirteen years from 5 B.C.. The

title Cheng-hsin-shao-fu (see no. 2) was adopted in the time of Ching ti, but changed in 4 A.D. The document can thus be dated between 37⁽³⁾ and 23 B.C. or between 5 B.C. and 4 A.D.

A title to a report of this type is seen in 258.11 which reads 甲渠令史伐閼簿 (As 258 group was found at MD, 258.11 cannot be associated with the fragments collected here⁽⁴⁾).

Nos. 7 and 8 can be fitted together and are shown as one piece in Chie.

No. 9 is shown in TP (and on Plate 9 here) as consisting of three fragments; in SW the upper portions only are transcribed, and these are numbered there 336.12 and 336.13. The third fragment, numbered 340.9 in TP, has probably been associated with the other two incorrectly, as it bears a formula which appears in strips of a different type of document (i.e., as in UD 5). For this reason, 340.9 is omitted in the transcription and translation of UD 1.

1	41.10	34	301	483	
2	41.22	79	305	484	
3	131.1	91	774	Not found	
4	53.7	79	379	484	
5	53.8	26	370	483	
6	100.24	40	---	483	
7	335.49	25	1725	483	
8	335.50	25	1725	571	
9	336.13 336.12	} 49	---	483	TP adds 340.9; see above.

Notes:

- (1) I.e., the season when the central government took stock of its resources. See Kamada pp. 189f. Possibly the appraisal or tests of the individual were completed in the eighth month, and the report forwarded in the ninth month. See individual cases in MD 6; Han chiu i B, 4a; Hulsewé (2) p. 253.
- (2) Cited in Remnants p. 47; Fujieda (1) p. 338; Ōba (1) pp. 214-5; Ch'en (1) pp. 41-2.
- (3) If LK reading 濟 is accepted in no. 5, the terminus a quo can probably be advanced to 33.
- (4) See Fujieda (1) p. 297; Ōba (1) p. 213.

歲六月廿七日 西河北部都尉董永勞二歲五月三

十月五日 長信少府丞王涉勞一歲九月十日

日 天水都尉李由勞二歲五月二日

九日 信都相長史吳口功一歲三歲六日

張掖屬國司馬趙口功一歲三歲十月廿六日 漁陽守口司馬宋宣口

勞二歲八月廿日 信口

尉丞候雷朝功二口

六月廿八日

都尉丞何望功一歲二月十日 北地北部口候杜旦功一歲三歲

UD 1 Translation

- 1 ...years, ~~six~~ months, twenty-seven days. Tung Yung, tu-wei of Hsi-ho [chün], north; length of service two years five months three ...
- 2 ...eleven months five days. Wang She, assistant to the Chang-hsin-shao-fu; length of service one year nine months ten days. ...
- 3 ...days. Li Yu, tu-wei of [T'ien]-shui [chün]: length of service two years, five months two days.
- 4 ...nine days. Wu *, chang-shih of the hsiang of Hsin-tu [kuo]; degree of merit one; length of service three years six days ...
- 5 Chao *, ssu-ma, Changi ^{dependency} ~~protectorate~~; degree of merit one: length of service three years ten months twenty six days. Sung Hsüan, acting ... ssu-ma, Yüyang [chün] ...
- 6 ...length of service two years eight months twenty days. ...Hsin ...
- 7 ...Hou Pa, assistant ... [tu]-wei; degree of merit two: ...
- 8 ...six months twenty eight days ...
- 9 Ho Wang, assistant ... tu-wei; degree of merit one: length of service two years one month ten days. Tu Tan, ... hou, Pei-ti [chün], north; degree of merit one: length of service three years ...

Notes

- 1 歲 SW, Chia ☑ LK omits
廿七 LK 廿

According to HS XXVIII B1, 29b, the tu-wei of Hsi-ho chün, north, was established in the hsien of Tseng-shan 增山 (This name is not given under Hsi ho chün in HHS, tr XXIII B, 6a et seq.)

- 2 The Chang-hsin-shao-fu was responsible for administering the residence of the Empress Dowager. See HS XIX A, 19b.

- 3 天? Chia, LK ☐
都尉 LK ☐
由 Chia 田 LK 函 辛
勞 = 歲 Chia 葛 三石 LK 第三 歲
五月二日 Chia 王田 = 石 LK 一月二日

- 4 功一 SW, LK ☐ =

For the role of the hsiang 相 in the kingdoms (kuo 國) see HS XIX A, 26e, b.

- 5 趙 ☐ SW, Chia, LK 趙 樂
功一 LK 功
漁 SW, Chia 樂 LK 濟
☐ 司馬 SW 部司 LK, Chia 部司馬
宋宣 ☐ SW, Chia 宋室 ☐ 護 LK 宋宣到 護

A ~~protectorate~~ ^{dependency} (shu kuo 屬國) of Changi is mentioned for 78 B.C. (see HS XVII 27b and XCIV 28b). The unit is listed in HHS tr. XXIII A, 40a.

- 6 信 □ SW, LK omit
- 7 尉 SW, Chia, LK 府
工力 LK 勞 also Chen (4)
- 二 □ SW, Chia, LK 二 歲
- 9 北部 □ LK 北利 鄣 SW omits.

UD 2 (Plate 9)

Introduction

More details are included in these reports on military officers than in the reports on the performance of civilian officials seen in UD 1, and the three strips assembled here may seem to be more in the nature of certificates of adequacy than appraisals of conduct. The length of service has presumably been calculated in accordance with the provision for local service in the north west (see UD 1 Introduction). In the three strips shown here this entry is preceded by the word chung 中, and comparison with similar strips (see below) shows that this denotes the degree of merit (kung 功). Whereas in UD 1 this quality is expressed by figures, here it is assessed by a series such as 上 中 and 下⁽¹⁾. The inclusion of a note of the distance of the official from his home is associated by Ōba ((1) p. 214) with the ability of the officer to return to his home for the statutory days of rest to which he was entitled; an alternative explanation is that the information was included in order to demonstrate that the official was not serving in his home district; and it is not impossible that conditions of service varied with the distances that were involved. The procedure of delivering reports of this sort to a superior office is possibly referred to in 95.3.⁽²⁾

The strips used in these reports were longer than

(3)
 the standard length of one foot . This feature, together with the professional nature of the handwriting, may suggest that the original document had been compiled in the interior of China and was sent to the north-west for the attention of the particular authorities where the individuals concerned in the report were serving. In this connection it is noteworthy that very similar fragments have been found at MD (see (ii) ^{and (iii)} below), and it is not impossible that sets of very similar records, concerning different persons, were prepared by the same official in the interior and sent to different localities on the frontier.

In a number of other fragments the formula and wording is very similar to that seen here, but for various reasons such pieces cannot be associated with UD 2:

- (i) From UD; 37.57. The lay-out varies (part of the inscription is written in two narrow columns), and the length is the normal one foot.
- (ii) From MD; 49.9; 57.6; 89.42 and 136.2. Of these, 57.6 and 89.42 are longer than the standard foot, and the writing is very similar to that of the strips of UD 2. ⁽⁴⁾
- (iii) 38.21; 40.8 and 58.2 (all from MD) are upper parts of strips which may have been similar to those shown here. They may have been written by the same hand.

1	13.7	39	114	439
2	179.4	83	1014	446
3	562.2	38	2359	439

Notes:

- (1) 上 may possibly appear in 89.42 (usually read 五)
- (2) For a discussion of these strips see Fujieda (1) pp. 296f.; Oba (1) pp. 213f.; K'ao p. 17.
- (3) The strips measure 1.1 feet (Han). For the different lengths of strip see pp. 110f.
- (4) It is possible that 89.42 is an incorrect number, and that the strip should not necessarily be associated with MD. TP includes the complete series of 89.1 to 89.23, but apart from 89.42 other members of this group are not traced. 89.42 is thus suspect as being an isolated number in an otherwise complete series.

肩水僕官並山隄長公乘司馬成中勞二歲八月十四日能書會計治官民頗知律令 〓

武年卅二歲長七尺五寸 〓 得成漢里家去官六百里

肩水僕官執胡隄長公大夫累路人中勞三歲一月能書會計治官民頗知律令文 〓

年卅七歲長七尺五寸 〓 氏池宜藥里家去官六百五十里

和僕長公乘蓬士長富中勞三歲六月五日能會計治官民頗知律令武年卅七歲 〓

長七尺六寸 〓

UD 2 Translation

- 1 Ssu-ma Ch'eng, order of kung ch'eng, OC Ping-shan sui, Chien-shui hou-kuan: [degree of merit] medium; length of service two years eight months fourteen days; capable of writing, keeping accounts, administration both within the [hou]-kuan and over civilians; good knowledge of statutes, ordinances and military matters; age thirty two years; height seven feet five inches; native of Ch'eng-han li, Li-te [hsien]; distance of home from the [hou]-kuan 600 li.
- 2 Lei Lu Jen, order of kung ta fu, OC Chih-hu sui, Chien-shui hou-kuan [degree of merit] medium; length of service three years one month; capable of writing, keeping accounts, administration both within the [hou]-kuan and over civilians; good knowledge of statutes, ordinances and ~~military~~ civil matters; age forty seven years; height seven feet five inches; native of I-yüeh li, Ti-ch'ih [hsien]; distance of home from the [hou]-kuan 650 li.
- 3 Feng shih Ch'ang fu, order of kung ch'eng, OC ...hou ...; [degree of merit] medium; length of service three years six months and five days; capable of writing and keeping accounts, administration both within the [hou]-kuan and over civilians; good knowledge of statutes, ordinances and military matters; age thirty seven years; height seven feet six inches; ...

Notes

1 漢里 SW 漢豈

3 和 LK 和

計 SW 計

武 LK 文

卅 SW, Chia 卅

<歲> Chia □

UD 3 (Plate 30)

Introduction

In all probability these fragments are parts of a nominal roll, made out to record the issue of stores or equipment to individual servicemen (cf. MD 4, MD 18, TD 3). In general the handwriting of the strips is identical (possible exceptions are seen in nos. 11 and 20), but several documents may be represented. It will be noted that, in addition to cases where no entry follows the names of the cavalrymen concerned (e.g. nos. 1, 6?, 7, 12?, 24?, 25), marks of various types are sometimes included, i.e.: (i) record of an item (no. 16); (ii) numbers (nos. 14, 15, 22); (iii) check-marks? (nos. 2, 15, 22); (iv) vertical strokes, also possibly check-marks? (nos. 11, 17-20); and (v) horizontal strokes (not shown in the transcriptions; see nos. 3?, 4, 13, 23). These additions may be various ways of checking the acceptance of official material. Marks classified as (iii) to (v) are not represented in the translation.

The main organisation of the Han forces posted at the border areas comprised infantry units, which were established on static defence lines. The role of cavalry was presumably that of a mobile force which could be called out in emergency; ⁽¹⁾ at other times cavalrymen were employed on non-military duties as needed in the administration of the service. ⁽²⁾ Nothing emerges from the wooden material regarding the subordination or organisation of

cavalry units. However, there are several distinctive features which can be seen by comparing the strips which describe cavalrymen with those which record details of other servicemen. Whereas the age is usually given for guardsmen and fieldsmen (see MD 4, TD 3, X 2), this detail does not usually appear for cavalrymen. So far no cases have been seen in which cavalrymen are described with one of the orders of aristocratic rank (contrast the case of guardsmen and officers, e.g. MD 4). In addition, it can be shown that guardsmen and fieldsmen originated both from the interior of China and from the border areas; cavalrymen, however, came only from the border areas ⁽³⁾. Finally, in a number of instances cavalrymen are described in a distinctive way; their titles are prefixed by the name of a hsien, as if the hsien qualified the type of cavalryman. This feature is not seen in the cases of other types of servicemen.

These details may be of significance in regard to the method of recruiting cavalrymen. A well-known passage from the Han-chiu-i, whose meaning has been subject to doubt, ⁽⁴⁾ has sometimes been taken as referring to three branches, infantry, cavalry or marine, in which conscript soldiers served for one of their years of duty. According to Lao Kan (K8ao p. 55), who seeks support from Wang Kuo-wei ⁽⁵⁾, men were conscripted as cheng-tsu 正卒 at the age of 23, and served usually as infantrymen; however, in

in the frontier areas they served as cavalrymen, and it is these men who feature in strips such as those of UD 3. Nishimura (pp.170f.) believes that the cavalrymen were recruited from Chinese immigrants, who had made their way to the border areas from the time of Ch'ao Ts'o and later ⁽⁶⁾, and that they may have been specially selected after serving their time as conscripts ⁽⁷⁾.

Fujieda ((1) pp.273-274) suggests that the cavalrymen may have been conscripted from non-Chinese inhabitants locally. While there is no proof of this suggestion, as Fujieda recognises, he is probably correct in his surmise that the cavalrymen were non-Chinese, but they may possibly have served as volunteers rather than conscripts. As is shown elsewhere (see ^{pp. 521f)} ~~UD 5, Introduction~~ there may be reason to believe in the existence of an intermediate zone partially under Chinese protection and administration, situated on the perimeter of the Chinese commanderies. Cavalrymen could well derive from the non-Chinese inhabitants of such parts, who were not entirely subject to Chinese authority. If they were not obliged to serve as conscripts within a prescribed age-group, there would be no need to specify their age on the strips which recorded their particulars. Similarly, if the non-Chinese inhabitants were not subject to the requirements of Han officials, they would not benefit from the bounty of the

Han emperors, and would not automatically receive orders of rank when these were bestowed. (8) It would clearly be expedient to the Han commanders to recruit local inhabitants from the steppe as cavalrymen, as they would be likely to be more skilled horsemen than the Chinese conscripts. Possibly the use of the term shih ± is of significance in regard to the status of these men. (9)

The suggestion that the cavalrymen mentioned on the strips were recruited as volunteers need not preclude the existence of other systems whereby conscripts served in this capacity elsewhere in China.

The qualification of cavalrymen by the name of a hsien need not imply that the men in question were registered inhabitants subject to officialdom. The name could well have been prefixed as a means of discriminating between various types of cavalrymen, and could conceivably refer to units in which they were organised. The qualification does not appear in all strips which describe cavalrymen; examples are seen as follows:

- (i) Small fragments, possibly to be associated with UD 3:
77.39; 77.42; 116.19; 562.11; 565.19.
- (ii) Other fragments found at UD, with different form or details: 15.4; 15.24; 51.3; 387.21; 560.3; 560.13; 564.6.
- (iii) From TD: 149.17; 511.31; 303.43; 491.4; 511.3; 511.11;
516.28; 517.9.

(10)

(iv) From unidentified sites : 232.1; 247.54; 522.43.

(v) From Tunhuang: Ch.416,417.

The name Wang She Chih 王赦之 which appears in no.12 is also seen in 560.30, possibly as the commander of a sui. Although the two strips are members of the same group, the same man may not necessarily be concerned.

The inscription on the reverse of no.25

(560.25A) reads: 前過北初食用菱四百九十二束夜用二百五十束

1	560.21	30	2347	437	
2	560.23	30	2349	437	
3	560.15	30	2341	438	
4	560.22	30	2348	438	
5	564.4	41	2390	440	
6	562.22	38	2376	438	
7	560.26	30	2357	438	
8	407.5 146.38	} 91	832	449	
9	250.21				31	1323	180
10	564.2	41	2387	439	In SW as 664.2
11	562.26	38	2382	439	
12	560.19	25	2352	--	
13	560.14	30	---	437	
14	560.20	30	2346	437	
15	564.14 562.23	} 88	---	448	In SW as 565.14
16	560.8					20	2337	420
17	387.14	42	1799	440	
18	560.27	30	---	437	

19	560.6	20	2326	435	
20	564.3	4	2388	432	
21	564.9	4	2396	432	
22	560.12	20	2340	435	
23	560.28	30	2356	438	
24	562.25	38	2380	439	
25	560.25B	65	2351B	262	
26	560.29	17	---	435	Not shown on Plate 30.

Notes:

- (1) E.g. see 57.29
- (2) For reports of everyday work done by cavalymen see Ch. 279-288.
- (3) Figures of cavalymen, analysed according to their hsien, are given in Nishimura p.170. In addition to the hsien mentioned in UD 3, there are a few examples from Ch'üyen, Yüeh-lo, P'an-ho, Wu-lan (Changi chün) and P'eng-yang 彭陽 (An-ting chün). Ch. 416 mentions Ying-ch'üan 穎川, possibly in this connection, but the strip is very much faded and the reading is questionable.
- (4) Han-chiu-i B, 4a. For a summary of views and a general discussion of the types of servicemen and forms of service, see Yang (1) pp. 108-116. See also Wang (1) Shih II, 23b et seq.; Remnants p. 17; Nishimura pp. 175f. and pp. 177f. above. below
- (5) See Wang (1) loc. cit.
- (6) For Ch'ao Ts'o's colonial policy, see Aristocratic Ranks p. 128. For his suggestion regarding the use of non-Chinese cavalymen see HS XLIX 11b et seq.

- (7) In this connection Nishimura cites 510.3:however the text is too poor and the fragment too small to justify undte reliance.
- (8) See Aristocratic ranks p.125.Individual cases in which non-Chinese received orders,for parti ular reasons,are seen in the marquisates bestowed on Hsiung nu leaders (see HS XVII,6b et seq.).See also Aristocratic ranks p.156.
- (9) Nishimura,pp.165-8,distinguishes between tsu 卒, i.e. servicemen subject to labour and military service,and shih 士 ,i.e. specially picked men. 人
- (10) Group 232 is possibly to be associated with MD (see MD 6 no.12)

Add to
Note
(9)

For the recruitment of cavalymen from the liang-chia-tzu 良家子, see pp.177 and 189 (note 1).

氏池騎士平明里鉏昌

氏池騎士常與里孟復

氏池騎士安定里彭公成

氏池騎士千秋里孫廣

氏池騎士安漢里解它

氏池騎士富昌里鄭已

氏池騎士大昌里孫地

氏池騎士口平里宋慶

氏池騎士口口里口口

八
}

· · · · ·
· · · · ·
· · · · ·

氏池騎士富昌里司非子

...

10

氏池騎士武定里杜延年

|

...

11

氏池騎士千秋里王赦之

...

12

氏池騎士昌樂里丁竟

氏池騎士安定里陳光

十

14

顯美騎士並廷里輔憲十四

9

15

刪丹騎士定安里楊霸

卒馬一匹

16

昭武騎士宜象里孫偃

|

...

17

昭武騎士市陽里儲壽

|

18

昭武騎士樂成里羊田 |

昭武騎士宜春里高明 |

樂得騎士敬老里張德

樂得騎士安定里楊山 十 |

樂得騎士常利里乙昌

樂得騎士武安里王賞

樂得騎士常利里趙湯

樂得騎士口口里狄口之

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UD 3 Translation

- 1 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman Ch'u Ch'ang, of P'ing-ming li.
- 2 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman Meng Fu, of Ch'ang-yü li. 8
- 3 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman P'eng Kung Ch'eng, of An-ting li.
- 4 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman Sun Kuang, of Ch'ien-ch'iu li.
- 5 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman Chieh T'o, of An-han li. ...
- 6 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman Cheng I, of Fu-ch'ang li. ...
- 7 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman Sun Ti, of Ta-ch'ang li.
- 8 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman Sung Ch'ing, of * -p'ing li. ...
- 9 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman * * * , of * * li. ...
- 10 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman Ssu Fei Tzu, of Fu-ch'ang li....
- 11 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman Tu Yen Nien, of Wu-ting li. ...
- 12 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman Wang She Chih, of Ch'ien-ch'iu li
- 13 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman Ting Ching, of Ch'ang-lo li.
- 14 Ti-ch'ih cavalryman Ch'en Kuang, of An-ting li. 10
- 15 Hsien-mei cavalrymen Fu Hsien, of Ping-t'ing li. 14
- 16 Shan-tan cavalryman Yang Pa, of Ting-an li. One
serviceman's horse.
- 17 Chao-wu cavalryman Sun Yen, of I-chung li. ...
- 18 Chao-wu cavalryman Ch'u Shou, of Shih-yang li.
- 19 Chao-wu cavalryman Yang t'ien, of Lo-ch'eng li. ...
- 20 Chao-wu cavalryman Kao Ming, of I-ch'un li. ...
- 21 Li-te cavalryman Chang te, of Ching-lao li. ...
- 22 Li-te cavalryman Yang Shan, of An-ting li. 10
- 23 Li-te cavalryman I Ch'ang, of Ch'ang-li li.

- 24 Li-te cavalryman Wang Ch'ang, of Wu-an li. ...
 25 Li-te cavalryman Chao T'ang, of Ch'ang-li li.
 26 Li-te cavalryman Ti * Chih, of * * li.

Notes

- 1 平 SW, LK 奉
 * 2 與 LK 興 Ch'en Pang-huai 興
 4 LK reads the horizontal lines as 三 一 二 一 二 三
 8 口 SW, LK 王 Chia 三
 平 SW, Chia, LK 樂
 宋慶 SW, Chia 宋廣 LK 康慶
 9 見 SW, Chia 見 LK 視
 13 LK adds 充 口 二 食
 14 十 SW omits
 15 The check-mark is rendered 弓 in SW and P in LK.
 16 刪丹 SW, Chia, LK 樂 得
 22 定 LK 全
 十 LK omits
 23 LK reads 之 after the entry.
 24 武安 LK 武
 * Insert above:
 2 八 followed by check-mark. SW, Chia omit. LK 入 亭

UD 4 (Plate 31)

Introduction

The fragments assembled here are parts of one or more records of the issue of grain to servicemen. The quantities of wheat are measured on the large scale (ta shih) at a monthly allowance of two shih per head for a full month. As a slightly different formula is seen in some of the pieces (i.e. nos. 11-15 and 22-23, where 以稟 is written in place of 以食) and the strips may have been written by several hands, it is possible that at least two documents are represented. However, the general similarity of the fragments justifies their consideration together as parts of one series of records. Another piece that may be concerned is seen in 219.14.

Vertical lines, probably acting as check-marks, are seen in nos. 10 and 11. The word 隊 has probably been omitted, in error, in nos. 4 and 12.

An attempt can be made to date these fragments. If it is assumed that nos. 7-9 were written by the same hand and apply to the same year, they can be dated in 94, 61, 34 or 18 B.C., or in 21 or 43 A.D., i.e. years in which the fourth and fifth months were long, and which also included an intercalary month. Of these years, 61 and 34 B.C. and 43 A.D. are perhaps more likely than the others; the intercalary month was inserted between the fourth and the fifth months, and nos. 7-9 could thus be the work of the same clerk, who was on duty for a period comprising those three months.

(In 94, and 18 B.C. and 21 A.D. the intercalary month was inserted after the ninth month).

Years which lie close to those mentioned above and which suit the circumstances of the other strips can be seen in the following list. It may perhaps be concluded that nos. 3, 4 and 7-10, with the formula 以食 date from 61-60, 36-34 B.C. or 41-43 A.D.; and that nos. 11 and 12, with 以稟, derive from a contemporary record of 60, 34 B.C. or 43 A.D.

<u>No.</u>		B.C.	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.	A.D.	A.D.
3 and 4		96	61	36	20	19	41
		93		32	17	22	45
7, 8 and 9		94	61	34	18	21	43
10		95	60	35	19	20	43
		90		34	14	23	
				33			
11		94	62	34	18	21	43
			61				
			60				
12		95	63	34	19	20	43
		93	60		17	22	
1	332.17	42	1722	256			In Chia as 332.21
2	126.4	32	691	254			In SW as 124.4
	124.12						
3	183.9	74	1036	264			
4	13.3	39	118	255			
5	274.37	31	1461	253			
6	7.37	33	64	254			
7	10.26	39	85	255			

8	332.24	25	1720	251	
9	332.14	25	1712	251	
10	10.3	13	65	248	
11	253.10 284.14	31	---	253	
12	337.9	41	1731	255	In SW PP LK as 337.35
13	253.6	51	---	259	
14	116.5	40	654	255	In SW as 166.5
15	559.2	552	---	349	
16	239.20	549	---	348	
17	126.17	401	---	323	
18	126.14	401	---	323	
19	126.32	402	---	323	
20	239.105	550	---	348	
21	118.2	94	683	269	
22	255.33	78	---	265	
23	146.52	536	---	341	In SW as 146.43

出麥二石

以食當井隊卒

...

1

...

以食安竟隊卒赦不信五月食

卒楊甲取

...

2

出麥一石九什三升少

以食始安隊卒口十月食

3

出麥二石

以食夷胡卒徐德十一月食口口口

...

4

...

以食窮寇隊卒王廣十一月食

...

5

...

以食成卒謝安國等

...

6

出麥八石

口如意隊卒程充等四人四月食

...

7

...

以食窮寇隊卒黃丹傷閏月食

...

8

： 麥二石

以食安樂隊成卒陳廣五月食

：

出麥一石九什三升少

以食庠竟隊成卒田事所九月食

|

10

出麥二石

以稟水門隊成卒王縶五月食

乙

|

11

出麥二石

以稟水門卒田安年八月

：

12

出口麥二石六什

以稟夷胡隊成卒

：

13

： 以稟夷胡隊成卒田充口

：

14

： 石口

以稟夷

：

15

出麥二石

：

16

UD 4

出麥二石

⋮

出麥二石

□

⋮

出麥二石

⋮

出麥一石九斗三

⋮

出麥二石

⋮
□

以稟□□隊戍卒關遂四月食

⋮

⋮

以稟夷胡隊

⋮

UD 4 Translation

- 1 Issued:wheat 2 shih;as rations for ...,private,Tang-ching sui ...
- 2 ... as rations for She Pu Hsin,private,An-ching sui; allowance for the fifth month;received by private Yang Chia.
- 3 Issued:wheat 1.93' shih;as rations for ...,private,Shih-an sui;allowance for the tenth month.
- 4 Issued: wheat 2 shih;as rations for Hsü Te,private,I-hu [sui];allowance for the eleventh month. ...
- 5 ... as rations for Wang Kuang,private,Ch'iung-k'ou sui; allowance for the eleventh month, ...
- 6 ... as rations for guardsmen Hsieh An Kuo and others ...
- 7 Issued :wheat 8 shih; ... Ch'eng Ch'ung,private,Ju-i sui,and others,being four men;allowance for the fourth month.
- 8 ...as rations for Huang Wu Shang,private,Ch'iung-k'ou sui;allowance for the intercalary month.
- 9 ...wheat 2 shih;as rations for Ch'en Kuang,guardsman, An-lo sui;allowance for the fifth month.
- 10 Issued:wheat 1.93' shih;as rations for T'ien Shih So,private, [Hsiang-ching ?] sui;allowance for the ninth month.
- [check mark]
- 11 Issued:wheat 2 shih;as supplies for Wang Hsieh,private, Sui-men sui;allowance for the fifth month. [check marks]

- 12 Issued:wheat 2 shih;as supplies for T'ien An Nien,
private,Sui-men [sui];allowance for the eighth month....
- 13 Issued: ...wheat 2.6 shih;as supplies for ...,private,
I hu sui ...
- 14 ...as supplies for T'ien Ch'ung,private,I-hu sui ...
- 15 ...shih ...;as supplies for ...,I ...
- 16 Issued: wheat 2 shih; ...
- 17 Issued:wheat 2 shih; ...
- 18 Issued:wheat 2 shih; ...
- 19 Issued:wheat 2 shih; ...
- 20 Issued:wheat 1.93' shih; ...
- 21 Issued:wheat 2 shih; ...
- 22 ... as supplies for Kuan Sui,guardsmen, ** sui;allowance
for the fourth month. ...
- 23 ...as supplies for ... I-hu sui ...

Notes

- 1 井 SW 日
- 2 竟 Ch'en (4) 克
赦 SW Chia 數 LK 郭
- 五月 SW omits 月
楊 Chia 考揚
- 3 一石 LK = 石
什 SW Chia LK 斗 (also in nos.10 and 13)
卒 LK 口
- 4 出 LK 土

- 7 SW Chia 廩 LK
 程 LK
 四人 LK 人
- 9 隄 LK 陞
- 10 出 SW Chia LK omit
 石 SW 右
 庠竟 SW LK 漢克 Chia 庠克
 SW Chia LK omit check mark
- 11 稟 SW Chia LK 廩 (also in nos.12-15; in no.15 LK
 reads 粟). For 稟 meaning to supply or distribute
 grain see Wang (1) Shih II, 29b; HHS LXXXVI (biog.
 lxxvi) 7b; and Chiu-chang-suan-shu 九章算術
 III 5a, 6a. For the form of the character see MD 13
 Introduction p. 403.
 SW LK omit check marks.
- 12 出 LK 土
 年 SW omits
- 13 SW LK 穰
 夷 SW LK 乘
- 14 田 SW Chia 扣
- 15 SW LK 六
 夷 SW LK
- 20 三 SW LK
- 22 SW LK omit
 以稟 SW LK 入廩
 SW 哱 哱 LK 哱 竟
- 23 夷 SW 貴

UD 5 (Plates 32-33)

Introduction

The establishment of official posts or barriers at important points of communication by land and water had been practised in China before the Han period. The institution was abolished during Wen ti's reign (168 B.C.; see HS IV, 14a and HFHD I, p. 252) but it was reestablished shortly afterwards (in 153; see HS V, 4b and ~~HW~~ HFHD I, p. 315) and used as a means of controlling the passage of individual travellers. The officials of the passes had a particularly important part to play at the frontiers, in so far as it had proved desirable to control communications and trade between Chinese and non-Chinese as early as the time of the empress Lü (see HS XCV, 10b). With the extension of communication lines towards central Asia, the establishment of further control points became necessary; well-known examples are seen in the Yümen and Yang passes of Tunhuang commandery, where high-ranking officials, termed kuan tu wei 關都尉, were appointed as the officers in charge. ⁽¹⁾ Similarly a pass called the Chin kuan 金關 was established near Ulan pass called the Chin kuan 金關 was established near Ulan ⁽²⁾

Passage through such points was permitted to travellers who furnished the correct documents or passports, ⁽³⁾ examples of which survive in the material found at Chüyen .

In addition, the officials of the pass maintained a record of the travellers who had been allowed through, on ^hwhich they noted details which were sufficient to identify the individual. That such details might be needed in the case of absconders or criminals whose arrest had been ordered is clear from several strips. (4)

There was also included on the record a note of any equipment or merchandise, e.g. weapons, means of transport, whose export from China was subject to official control. It is to be noted that the material from Tunhuang includes references to the submission of reports of this very type, with a full registration of men, livestock, vehicles, horses and manufactured equipment. (5)

The fragments which are presented as UD 5 and TD 8 are believed to be pieces of just such records. The travellers who were allowed passage include men who came from the interior of China, e.g. Honan or Hotung, as well as some whose homes lay in the commanderies of the north-west. There is no reason to assume that these men were necessarily soldiers or officers, though Mori (6) has expressed the view that fieldsmen or officers are concerned in some cases. However, fieldsmen, guardsmen and officers are almost inevitably described with their full military designation. This practice is borne out in a particular instance here (UD 5 no. 10) and throughout MD 13, which records the passage of military personnel through a

strong-point that was part of the defence-line, rather than a control situated on a civilian route. In addition there are fragments of labels or captions of records, which may have been very similar to those under discussion here, which clearly indicate that civilian travellers were concerned, e.g. 29.3A, B (Plate 48 nos. 11 and 12) which reads: 陽朔元年六月吏民出入籍 "Register of outgoing and incoming officials and civilians for the sixth month of the first year of Yang so [24 B.C.]." (7)

The material from Chüyen also includes quite a number of certificates, mostly fragmentary, on which named individuals are stated to be qualified to receive travelling documents; these cases include civilians proceeding from central China to the north west for private purposes of trade. (8)

There is not sufficient information on these fragments to suggest a ^{precise} date for the records, and it cannot be said for certain that all the pieces derive from one document. Nos. 1-14, and nos. 15-17 were probably written by different clerks; and it is by no means certain that nos. 25-30 were written by the same hand as nos. 1-14. As the strips bear the same information in the same form, they can ~~either~~ be regarded either as parts of a consecutive series of records or as parts of one document, which was made out by a number of different officers on duty at the pass. (9)

It will be seen that the lower parts of most

of these fragments are missing, and actual references to passage through the point of control are seen on nos. 7, 20, 33 and 34 only. The statement on no. 7 was made in respect of a number of individuals, and may refer to persons whose descriptions were recorded on ^{several} different strips. On nos. 8, 14, 22 and 24 no statement ^{of passage} was entered, and these strips could well refer to members of groups of travellers who were allowed through on the same occasion and whose passage was recorded ^{together} on one strip only.

The final word written on nos. 7 and 8 is read variously 五 or 丿, and cannot be interpreted with certainty. Mori (8) p. 90 takes one instance (no. 8) as the beginning of a date 五月, but this is unlikely, as the character appears at the foot of the strip, with no space below, but ample room above for the inclusion of a longer inscription. In no. 7 Mori (loc. cit.) explains the sign as a check-mark, written in the form of the character 丿. In all probability the same character is intended in no. 7 and no. 8; in view of the entry 丿出 in no. 34, 丿 is perhaps preferable to 五, but the meaning is not clear.

In most cases the strips start with the place of origin of the individual, given in the order of chün, hsien and li. On occasion an intermediate unit, the hsiang,⁽¹⁰⁾ is inserted between the hsien and the li. A problem is presented in nos. 5 and 7, where, in place of the name Wu wei chün, the text reads pao ^保. This term is also seen as

follows, in contexts where the designation of a major administrative unit (i.e. chün) might be expected: (11)

- 97.9 葆姑臧西北口里 □
 119.67 葆小張掖有義里
 62.43 葆樂得敬老里王嚴
 334.29 遣葆樂得瀛國里韓口鳥

Ch'en (1) p.44 cites some of these passages and takes pao to mean "recommend" or "guarantee". Pao occurs in the following passage of the Shih-chi (CX,28) with reference to the activity of the Hsiung nu early in the Wen ti period: 侵盜上郡葆塞蠻夷. In the corresponding passage of HS (XCIVA,10a) the text reads 區支侵上郡保塞蠻夷 and Yen Shih-ku (581-645) explained the last four characters as "those who were originally subordinated to Han and dwelt at the defences of the borders, protecting themselves". Morohashi (31381/8) renders 葆塞 as toride, i.e. fortress; this compound is also seen in SC CXXX,56 (with reference to Shih-chi CXV), and in HS XCIVB,6b it is used (with 保 not 葆) in the sense of "to defend the frontiers". (12)

The contexts in which the term is used in the strips, together with the passage on which Yen Shih-ku comments, suggest that the word was used as a topographical designation, and the meaning may be something like "protected area". In this way it could refer to territory which lay outside the main defence lines and to which access was reached through controlled points of communication. Although

hsien were established in this zone, it was of an intermediate nature in so far as it was inhabited by Chinese and non-Chinese inhabitants, subject in different ways to the demands of Chinese officials. The existence of such a zone has been suggested in connection with the recruitment of cavalymen from among non-Chinese inhabitants (~~see UD 3 Introduction p. 499~~), and it is not impossible that the concept of a protected zone should be associated with Chinese practice in regard to hostages. Yang Lien-sheng^(Yang) (1) pp. 43f.) has discriminated between hostages that were taken by the Chinese (a) from non-Chinese states and (b) "from [Chinese] military or civil officials, especially from those who were stationed along boundaries or sent out on an expedition". In connection with (b) Yang (pp. 50f.) cites the use of the expression 葆 (or 保) 宮, meaning "surety house" in the Mo-tzu and the Han-shu. The intermediate zone as conceived here would be one wherein Chinese lived under the protection of Chinese officials and troops, while non-Chinese were tolerated subject to the submission of hostages. It is to be noted that in both nos. 5 and 7 inhabitants of the pao are described with orders of aristocratic rank; presumably they were counted as Chinese inhabitants.

Acceptance of this interpretation of the term pao would imply that hsien qualified by that term were situated beyond or outside the main lines of defence and communication; these could then be placed, in an east-west direction, to the south of the hsien of ⁽¹⁴⁾ Hsiao-Chang-i, Ku-tsang and Luan-niao (Map 1 nos. 2, 1 and 6). In this connection there is an interesting statement in HS LXIX, 6b, to the effect that Wu-wei hsien, Chang-i and Yüeh-lo lay north of the defence line; the statement refers to c. 61 B.C.

The use of the term pao gives rise to a further inference, which concerns the dating of the strips. The hsien of Luan niao, which is mentioned in nos. 5 and 7, was eventually included in the chün of Wu wei; these two strips, then, were written before that event took place. There is some doubt regarding the time when this chün was founded; but, as is shown elsewhere ^(see pp. 247 f.) Appendix ~~2~~, it has generally been agreed that it was established some time between 81 and 67 B.C. These two strips, together with any that can be associated with them for certain, can therefore be dated after the Han settlements in the north-west (c. 100 B.C.) and before the establishment of Wu-wei chün (81-67 B.C.).

In addition to the fragments shown here, there are a number of other pieces which may have derived from similar documents.

(a) Where the date and time of passage is recorded, below the space for the lower binding string: 15.25; 51.4; 51.13, 121.25; 51.16; 53.15; 62.13; 62.24; 62.33; 62.55; and 395.8.
(15)

(b) Where details similar to those given in UD 5 are written, together with the number of the pass which was held by the traveller: 11.4; 280.3.

(c) Other fragments: 15.20; 37.30; 62.4; 62.19; 62.21; 62.32; 228.18; 323.3; 336.23; 336.43; 340.9; 387.3; and, in Su's collection p. 24, 6.3.
(16)

It is possible that the following pairs each formed part of one original strip: nos. 5 and 6; nos. 13 and 14; and nos. 36 and 37.

Unexplained vertical marks are seen on nos. 7 and 10.

1	43.7	139	----	456	
2	75.5	141	---	456	
3	43.2 77.81	139	---	456	
4	340.39				145	---	456
5	51.5	144	----	456	
6	119.27	144	---	456	
7	15.5	100	---	451	
8	51.25	145	---	457	In SW as 51.35
9	37.42	137	---	455	

10	37.38	137	----	455	
11	340.25	145	----	457	
12	37.23	138	----	455	
13	43.4	139	----	456	
14	43.9	139	----	424	
15	77.53 } 77.56 }	89	----	448	
16	11.19	39	112	Not found	
17	43.20	139	----	424	
18	340.19	145	1748	457	
19	407.15	555	----	480	
20	62.34	111	----	184	
21	15.14	101	----	451	In SW as 15.4
22	14.13	1	128	432	
23	126.19	32	720	438	
24	??	----	*37	----	*Supplementary series. Not shown on Plates 32-33
25	334.28	59	----	444	
26	334.35	59	----	443	
27	334.45	59	----	443	
28	334.46	59	----	443	
29	334.36	59	----	444	
30	334.41	59	----	443	
31	334.37	59	----	443	In SW as 334.47
32	334.42	59	----	369	

33	[334.33]	58	---	369	Original number uncertain. In TP, LK this is given as 334.13B, 334.33B; in SW as 334.13, 334.33. See no. 35 below.
34	334.32	58	---	443	
35	334.13	58	---	443	
36	334.6	59	---	444	
37	334.31	58	---	443	In SW as 634.31

Notes:

- (1) For the kuan-tu-wei see HS XIXA, 29a, and XXVIII, B1, 19b. A decree of 99 B.C. (HS VI, 34b; HFHD II 106) enjoined such officials to maintain a careful control of passage through the passes. The relationship of the kuan-tu-wei, and the tu-wei of the chün, is discussed in Ōba (2) pp. 9-10.
- (2) The fact that external address labels inscribed 肩水 金門 have been found at the sites of UD indicates that the Chin-kuan was situated there (see 32.22 (Plate 47 no. 8); 62.38; 74.5 (Plate 47 no. 7); and 288.2. Group 62 can be associated with UD by virtue of no. 20 in UD 5). That this was somewhat separated from other organs established at UD is shown by strips such as 332.1 (Plate 47 no. 3), which is an external address label addressed to the hou-kuan of Chien-shui, and which was delivered there by Private Hung, of the Chin-kuan.
- (3) E. g. 29.1; 29.2; 65.7; 65.9; 65.10. The subject of passes and passports is discussed in K'ao pp. 3f and pp. 18f and in

Ōba (2). In former Han times these documents were described, in general terms, as chuan 傳 (e.g. HS IV, 14a and V, 4b) but by the time of Chang Yen 張晏 (third to fourth century; see note to HS IV.14a) the expression kuo-so 關所 was used, and this term was in use in T'ang documents (See Ōba (2) p.1; K'ao p.19; and Morohashi 39002/126). The stages whereby this expression came into use can perhaps be illustrated from the Chüyen material. (i) Certificates declaring that travellers were qualified to receive passports (傳) often include a request that such information should be forwarded to the appropriate posts. In the only extant complete example of these documents (15.19) these are specified as 肩水金關居延縣索關 "The Chin pass of Chien-shui and the So pass of Chüyen prefecture." In a number of fragments the posts are described in more general terms as such as 過所津關 "passes and fords at places en-route", e.g. 140.1A (dateable at 83 or 21 B.C.); 170.3A (11 B.C.); 218.2; 213.44A, 213.28A (64 B.C.); 303.12A (78 B.C.); 506.20; and 562.3A (39 B.C.). (ii) Cheng Hsüan explained chuan by using the term kuo-so (Chou-li IV, 20a; Biot I, p.332) 傳如今物過所文書 . This is cited by Wang (2) 10a, with the omission of the important word 物 . Dubs (HFHD I, 252) renders Cheng Hsüan's note as "A chuan is like the present ko-so

documents which are transmitted". An alternative rendering is "The chuan were like those documents which are nowadays transmitted to places in transit."

(iii) There are at least two examples where kuo so is written, without qualification, as an address for documents: (a) 39.2 (See Plate 47 no.12). This is an external address label of the usual shape and size. (b) 175.20A (See Plate 49 nos.5 and 6). This fragment cannot be identified for certain, but in all probability is the upper portion of a hsi 檄, with the address inscribed so as to surmount the notch cut for a seal. It is thought that in these two cases the expression kuo-so is used as a general address "Places en route", in a way that is comparable with the English usage "To whom it may concern".

(iv) It is possible that documents such as those mentioned in (i) may have been carried by individual travellers for presentation where necessary, and that these could have borne the external address label 過所 as seen in (iii); and that, by transference, the term came to be applied to the certificates for travel or passports themselves.

(4) E.g. 40.1; 157.24A; 513.17, 303.15.

(5) See Ch. 148-9 and 150, and Fujieda (1) pp. 317-8.

Oba (2) pp. 8-9 stresses that the restrictions on export were imposed for military rather than economic reasons.

- (6) Mori (8) p.88.
- (7) Another example is seen in 50.26 (Plate 48 no.5)
 where the text probably reads: ...民出入關^{KK}津^{KK}口^{KK}藉...
 See also Su p.24,no.3.3.The operation of the system of passes elsewhere in China at this time is shown by two instances in which the regulations were relaxed, exceptionally,in view of popular distress (in 23 and 17 B.C. See HS X,7a and 10b;HFHD II p.389 and 400)
- (8) A collective study of these fragments has been made in Ōba (2) pp.14f;in particular see 15.19 and 140.1.
- (9) It is not known whether the passes were kept open throughout the twenty four hours of the day,or whether there was a system of relief or rota for officials on duty. It is possible that there is a slight difference of form in some instances in UD 5 wherein the chün is not specified,but these may be cases in which the chün was too well known to need inclusion (e.g.no.24 mentions a li in Ch'angan itself; and the chün of Chang-i was concerned in nos.3,4,12, 29,33,35 and 36).
- (10) I.e. nos.26 and 27.On the relationship of the hsiang and the li see Hibino (2) and Miyazaki,Les villes en Chine à l'époque des Han (T'oung Pao XLVIII pp.376f)
- (11) Pao occurs as a proper name in 160.13 and ?181.2A.
 It may also be seen in 209.6 (as given in K'ao p.16; other readings are given in SW and LK);and 509.17
 (see Chia 2046 for a clearer photograph than TP 71).

- (12) ⁺⁺保 is also used verbally in SC CXXX,56 (with reference to SC CXIV).
- (13) See ~~UD 3 introduction~~,^{p.503}note(8)
- (14) In Wu wei chün. See K'ao p.30
- (15) Of these, 62.13;62.24 and 62.55 can probably be identified as the work of one hand.It is not known where group 395 was found (395.3 may possibly associate the group with site P.9 rather than UD)
- (16) Two strips numbered 336.23 are shown on TP 41;the piece under reference here is the one shown on the left,which is correctly numbered (i.e. Chia no.1714). For the inclusion of 340.9,see UD 1 no.9. It is not known where group 323 was found.

河南郡河南縣北中里公乘史存年卅二長七尺二寸黑色

口年廿 長七尺五寸黑色 十月辛

居延都尉給事佐居延始至星萬賞善年卅四歲長七尺五寸黑色

居延安故里孫白龍軍年廿三劍一黑色長

葆繼鳥鳥大昌里不更李惲年十六

口長七尺黑

葆繼鳥鳥憲泉里上造顧收年十二曰長六尺黑色 皆六月丁巳出

黑色

河東襄陵陽門亭長郵里郭彊長七尺三寸

東郡田卒清口口里大夫耳顯德年廿四長七尺二寸黑色

10

9

8

7

6

5

4

3

2

1

居延西道里不更許宗年卅五長七尺二寸

自有善人里所
居延同里口口

尺五寸黑色

十月辛?

金城里公乘京如口

口方相一乘馬牡馬一匹齒八歲

子頽

口口里唐宣年廿三長七尺三寸黑色五月

五十二長七尺一寸黑色

乘口

尺五寸黑色

輶車乘

卅長七尺七寸黑色

一長七尺五寸黑色

UD 5

口陽里唐並年十九長七尺三寸黃黑色八月辛酉出

魏郡敏系陽高武里大夫謝牧年卅長七尺二寸黑色

口口口里上造王福年六十長七尺二寸黑色

安國年卅長七尺二寸黑色

長安有利里宋買年廿四長七尺二寸黑色

河內郡溫西故里大夫蘇罷軍年卅五長七尺三寸黑色

魏郡敏系陽北鄉佐左里公乘張世

河南郡雒陽北鄉北昌里公乘口忠年

河南平陰口口君陽里公乘魏聖年

口口 樂得口都里 郝毋傷 年廿六歲 長七尺二寸 黑色 口

公乘 孫輔 年十八 長七尺一寸 黑色

尺三寸 黑色 口口口五

牛車一兩 弓一矢 卅

驪軒 萬歲里公乘 兒倉 年廿長七尺二寸 黑色 劍一已入 牛車一兩

黑色 不出

口口 樂得安世里公乘 工未央 年廿長七尺二寸 黑色

昭武 千秋里大夫 陸勝 口

年廿九 長七尺二寸 黑色

UD 5 Translation

- 1 Shih Ts'un, of Pei-chung li, Ho-nan hsien, Honan chün; order of kung ch'eng; age 32; height 7 feet 2 inches; colouring black; ...
- 2 ...age 20; height 7 feet 5 inches; colouring black; ...on hsin ...eleventh month ...
- 3 Wan Shang Shan, chi-shih-tso of the Chüyen tu-wei, of Shih-chih li, Chüyen [hsien]; age 34 years; height 7 feet 5 inches; colouring black; ...
- 4 Sun Ch'ung Chün, of An-ku li, Chüyen [hsien]; age 23 ; one sword; colouring black; height ...
- 5 Li Yün, of Ta-ch'ang li, Luan-niao [hsien], in the protected zone; order of pu keng; age 16; ...
- 6 ...height 7 feet; ...black ...
- 7 Ku Shou, of Hsien-chung li, Luan-niao [hsien], in the protected zone; order of shang tsao; age 12; height 6 feet; colouring black. All persons proceeded out on ting ssu, sixth month. [?not]
- 8 ...colouring black; [?not]
- 9 Kuo Ch'iang, t'ing-chang of Yang-men, of Yu-li, Hsiang-ling [hsien], Ho-tung [chün]; height 7 feet 3 inches; ...
- 10 Nieh te, fieldsman, of * * li, Ch'ing [hsien], Tung chün, order of ta fu; age 24; height 7 feet 2 inches; colouring black; ...
- 11 ...feet 5 inches; colouring black; ...on hsin ... tenth month ...

- 12 Hsü Tsung, of Hsi-tao li, Chüyen [hsien]; order of pu keng; age 35; height 7 feet 2 inches; personally possessing ... of Shan-jen li ... the same li, Chüyen [hsien] ...
- 13 ... Ching Ju ..., of Chin-ch'eng li ... order of kung ch'eng; ...
- 14 ... one box-cart,; one male, white-faced, horse aged 8; child [named] Chiung ...
- 15 ... T'ang Hsüan, of ... li ... age 23; height 7 feet 3 inches; colouring black; ... fifth month ...
- 16 ... 52; height 7 feet 1 inch; colouring black; riding ...
- 17 ... feet 5 inches; colouring black; light vehicle; ...
- 18 ... 30, height 7 feet 7 inches; colouring black; ...
- 19 ... 1, height 7 feet 5 inches; colouring black; ...
- 20 ... T'ang Ping, of *-yang li, ... age 19; height 7 feet 3 inches; colouring yellow-black; proceeded out on hsin yu, eighth month. ...
- 21 Hsieh Mu, of Kao-wu li, Fan-yang [hsien], Wei chün; order of ta fu; age 40; height 7 feet 2 inches; colouring black; ...
- 22 Wang Fu, of ... li ... age 60, height 7 feet 2 inches; colouring black; ...
- 23 ... An kuo . . age 40; height 7 feet 2 inches; colouring black; ...
- 24 Sung Mai, of Yu-li li, Ch'angan; age 24; height 7 feet 2 inches; colouring black.

- 25 Su Pa Chün of Hsi ku-li, Wen [hsien], Ho-nei chün,
order of ta fu; age 35; height 7 feet 3 inches; colouring
black; ...
- 26 Chang Shih, of Tso-tso li, in the northern hsiang,
Fan-yang [hsien], Wei chün; order of kung ch'eng; ...
- 27 * Chung, of Pei-ch'ang li, in the northern hsiang,
Loyang [hsien], Ho-nan chün; order of kung ch'eng; age ...
- 28 Wei Sheng, of Chün-yang li, P'ing-yin [hsien], Ho-nan
[chün]; ... order of kung ch'eng; age ...
- 29 Ho Wu Shang, of *-tu li, Li-te [hsien] ... age 36 years;
height ~~is~~ 7 feet 2 inches ... black ...
- 30 ... Sun Fu, ... order of kung ch'eng; age 18; height 7 feet
1 inch; colouring black; ...
- 31 ... feet 3 inches ... 5 ...
- 32 ... one ox-cart; one bow, thirty arrows.
- 33 Erh Tsang, of Wan-sui li, Li-hsien [hsien], order of
kung ch'eng; age 30; height 7 feet 2 inches; colouring
black; one sword; already entered; one ox-cart; ...
- 34 ... colouring black; did not proceed out ...
- 35 Kung Wei Yang, of An-shih li, Li-te [hsien] ... order of
kung ch'eng; age 30; height 7 feet 2 inches; colouring
black; ...
- 36 Lu Sheng, of Ch'ien-ch'iu li, Chao-wu [hsien]; order of
ta fu; ...
- 37 ... age 39; height 7 feet 2 inches; colouring black; ...

Notes

1 縣北中 Sic SW, LK and Mori (8) p.88. If right, 縣 is exceptional, as the term is not included in similar contexts in the other strips.

3 給 LK 結. The title 給事佐 is untraced (for 給事 see HS XIXA 24b)

至 LK 后

4 龕 LK 龕. Cf. Ch.150, note.

Both here and in 501.8 軍 is written 軍; however the form 軍 is also seen in the Chüyen material (e.g. 504.10)

6 Illegible marks (intrusive?) appear before the description of the height; similar marks are seen in no.7.

7 十二 SW 廿二

8 不 SW, LK and Mori (8) p.89 五

9 郭 LK 郭

10 口口 SW, LK 靈里一

二寸 SW, LK 三寸

11 十月辛 SW, LK 十月二

12 西 SW, LK 耶

13 如 SW, LK 口

For the form of 京 see X 2 no.9 note.

14 口 SW 入

The phrase 方相車 is seen in 53.15 and 62.13, which are fragments of the same type as those collected

here. The rendering that has been adopted is based on the explanation of 役車 by Cheng Hsüan (Chou-li VI, 52a; Biot II, p. 128) as follows: 方箱可載在器以共役

馬_龍 LK 馬_龍; cf 62.13.

15 □□ SW 小_孰 LK 就

五月 SW, LK □□

16 七尺 LK 十尺

20 □ SW 前 LK 當

並 SW 芝

七尺 LK 十尺

21 敏_紮 A possible alternative would be 紮_紮

27 鄉 SW 部

□ 忠 SW, LK □□

28 □□ SW 尉史

29 □□ 樂得□都 SW 給車 樂得郡都

郝 SW 都

黑 □ SW, LK 黑色

31 □□□ 五 SW, LK omit

32 一兩 SW, LK 十八兩

33 軒 SW, LK 軒 . See Dubs pp. 24-5 for various ways of

writing the name of this hsien.

牛車一兩 SW, LK 牛車二

35 □□ LK □ 車

37 九 SW, LK 八

UD 6 (Plate 10)

Introduction

Three of these pieces (nos.2-4) have been identified by Lao Kan (K'ao pp.40-41) as part of a report of the observation of signals indicating enemy activity. The association of no.1 with the other three strips may be questioned in view of the differences of spacing between the characters; the handwriting, however, is probably the same, and Hsi 喜 appears as the name of the originator of the report in both nos.1 and 4. A very similar hand is seen in UD 9.

The terms of no.1 suggest that the report was sent from the hou-kuan of Chien-shui to the immediately superior unit, i.e. the tu-wei-fu. The form of the document can be tentatively reconstructed as follows:

- (a) Introductory statement of the submission of the report (no.1).
- (b) Reference to the receipt of information from a neighbouring unit, i.e. the hou-kuan or hou of Kuang ti, referring in turn to a despatch describing the events of the previous day (nos.2-4)⁽¹⁾.
- (c) Account of action taken by the originator of the report (final words of no.4).

No.4 may follow directly after no.3.

There is no means of dating this document, and it can be imagined that many reports of this type were

submitted during the years of Han military activity.

Use of the expression 昧死 in no.1 may suggest a time before Wang Mang. (2)

Two characters, possibly intrusive, appear on the upper half of no.2; these are not included in the transcription. (3)

1	562.17 } 387.12 }	42	1802	14
2	562.9 } 407.2 }	41	1824	13
3	407.3 } 564.13 }	41	1825	13
4	403.19 } 433.40 } 564.28 }	41	1805	13

Notes:

(1) Chia shen, the day specified in no.3, precedes i yu in no.2 (cyclical terms nos.21 and 22).

(2) See Introduction p.198f.

(3) SW and Chia read 四卒 ;LK□□;K'ao p.40 還

肩水僕官令史樂得敬老里公乘糞土臣喜昧死再拜上言變事書

1

十二月乙酉廣地僕

2

口檄曰甲申僕卒望見塞外東北

3

口火四所大如積也新去塞百餘里臣喜愚

4

UD 6 Translation

- 1 I, by name Hsi, of Ching-lao li, Li-te [hsien], order of kung ch'eng, the ling-shih of Chien-shui hou-kuan; being totally unworthy; conscious that my conduct merits death, and with doubled salutation; beg leave to submit a written report of an incident.
- 2 ...on i yu, of the twelfth month, Kuang ti hou ...
- 3 ...despatch, stating that on chia shen, soldiers of the hou on watch observed to the north-east, outside the defence lines
- 4 ...fires in four places, as large as wood piles used for signalling, at a distance of about an hundred li from the defence lines. I, Hsi, foolishly

Notes

- 1 糞 翊 Chia 翊 .Ch'en (3) p.44 shows reason to support 糞 and cites the use of the phrase 糞土臣 by Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 (see CHHW LXXII, 1a)
- 熹 LK 熹 (similarly in no.4)
- 穽 LK omits
- 4 火 SW 大 LK 火

Introduction

The existence of watch-towers from which enemy movements over large areas of territory could be kept in view and signals clearly passed along the Han line of defences has been testified by both Stein and Bergman⁽¹⁾. In addition, material evidence of the signal piles or torches that were used has been brought to light both at Tunhuang and further afield at Loulan,⁽²⁾ and literary evidence shows that torches or smoke were used to convey information by soldiers throughout the Han period.⁽³⁾

The importance of this activity at the sites of Tunhuang and Chdyen is illustrated by a number of strips which provide for the code of signals to be used and for the acquaintance of troops therewith.⁽⁴⁾ The system probably comprised the use of routine and emergency signals; routine exchanges were made at set times by flag (表 or 蓬) or smoke (烽) during the day, and by torch (炬) at night. In cases of emergency, signal piles were lit to denote the presence of enemy raiders. On observation of a signal a unit was obliged to repeat it, thus acknowledging its receipt⁽⁵⁾ and conveying it to the next unit along the line; and a written log was made of the signals that were observed. There are a number of references to the equipment used in signalling.⁽⁶⁾

There can be little doubt that the nine fragments collected here were written by the same, somewhat distinctive, hand. They record the exchange of routine signals by several sui, and it is therefore likely that the original document was compiled at an hou. The particular unit cannot be identified, and in the absence of a complete strip, the form of the document cannot be reconstructed in full. If, as seems likely, no. 5 is the lower end of a strip, it is possible that the record was not made out according to a set form for single strips, and that the text was continued from one strip to another; nos. 1 and 2 have probably not been broken off at the head.

Unusual, and unidentified, terms for the hours are seen in nos. 1, 2, 4 and 6. The interpretation of 下舖 as the ninth hour, that has been adopted elsewhere (MD 3 and TD 2) is unlikely in no. 6, which records the observation of a day signal for that time.

受, which is read in nos. 1, 2, 5 and 6, is taken variously in SW, Chia and LA as 使, 史 or 發; see TD 1 no. 1 (note).

The term 旁蓬 which is seen in nos. 3, 4 and 7 is not understood with certainty. Fujieda (1) p. 311 contrasts the terms 大表 and 旁表, and suggests a possible distinction between main and supplementary flags. P'ang could possibly be descriptive of the shape, size or even

colour of the signals; the rendering "forked", which is highly tentative, is based on a meaning of the character that is given in the Erh-ya.

Other references to the observation or exchange of signals are seen in 13.2; 28.1; 170.4; 225.21; 428.6; Ch. 84-87; Ch. 694; and M 47.

The order in which these fragments are shown is arbitrary, but nos. 1 and 2, which refer to the same day, should precede no. 7.

A difficulty is presented in no. 1. In its present state this records the observation of both daytime and night time signals without any differentiation of the hours. It will be noted that no. 1 is composed of two fragments, but it is not clear from the photographs whether the junction of the two is made after the 13th or the 21st character of the inscription. If the break occurs after the 21st character, as seems probable, it cannot be taken as certain that the fragments have been joined together correctly as parts of the same strip.

1	126.40	}	32	719	180	In SW, TP, LK as 439.14
	536.4					
2	332.5	25	1705	179		
3	349.27	38	1782	180		
4	349.14	88	1777	183		

5	536.3 349.29	}	88	1781	183	
6	332.13		25	1695	179	
7	349.11		38	1770	180	In SW, Chia as 349.2

Notes:

- (1) See Serindia II, pp. 571-4; Sommarström pp 85f., 306, 340, 345f. For the subject of signalling see Chavannes (2) pp. xi-xiii; Wang (1) Shih II, 15a et seq.; K'ao pp. 34f.; Maspero pp. 3f.; and Fujieda (1) pp. 258f. and 310f.
- (2) Serindia II, pp. 650 and 678; Huang, Plate 27.
Illustrations from these works are reproduced in Fujieda (1) pp. 259 and 262.
- (3) Reference is made to the practice by Chia I 賈誼 (died c. 166 B.C.) in HS XLVIII, 17a. See also HS XCIVA, 15b (refers to 158 B.C.); YTL I, i, 1b; and HHS XXII (biog. and VIII, xlv, 7b; xii) 6a, 7b (restoration of the system of defences in 36 and 38 A.D.). A much later reference (c. 178 A.D.) is seen in a memorial of Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 (cited in the notes to HHS (tr.) III, 45a).
- (4) E. g., 14. 11; 288. 7; 305. 15; Ch. 273; Ch. 432; M 42.
- (5) See Ch. 273, where the text reads: ... 北塞隊即舉表皆和盡南端亭... "Once the sui of the northern defence line hoist flags, all will acknowledge, as far as the t'ing at the southern extremity" (Chavannes

punctuates differently and reads ^歸 rather than
 立端). A similar use of 和 is seen in the Lieh-tzu,
 as cited by Graham (Asia Major, New Series, vol. VIII/
 part 2, p. 178) 西王母為王謹王知之

"Shiwangmu sang for the King, who sang in reply"
 (tr. Graham); and in SC VII, 69.

- (6) E. g. flags, poles or torches; there are various
 references in MD 19; see also 127.24; 393.9A; and
 506.1.

4) 7

臨莫隊長留人戊申日西中時受口虜隊塢上表再通口塢上莖火三通

...

1

樂昌隊長已戌申日西中時受並山隊塢上表再通夜人定時莖火三通己酉日西?

...

2

... 檄塢上旁蓬一通 ...

3

... 旁蓬一通夜食時 ...

4

... 火一通人定時受塢上莖

5

... 巳午日下舖時受居延蓬一通夜食時塢上莖火一通居延莖火

...

6

塢上旁蓬一通同時付並山丙辰日入時

7

UD 7 Translation

- 1 Lin-mo sui, OC Liu Jen, observed two flags from the tower manned by *-lu sui at * * hours on wu shen; ... three flares from the tower ...
- 2 Lo-ch'ang sui, OC Ssu, observed two flags from the tower manned by Ping-shan sui at * * hours on wu shen, and three flares at 12 hours; at ... hours on chi yu ...
- 3 ... despatch; one [forked ?] pennant from the tower ...
- 4 ... one [forked?] pennant; at [9?] hours ...
- 5 ... one flare; at 12 hours observed ... flare from the tower ...
- 6 ... observed one pennant from Chüyen at ... hours on ... wu; one flare from the [wall?] and ... [flare] from Chüyen at ... hours ...
- 7 ... one [forked?] pennant from the tower; passed to Ping-shan at the same time; at 10 hours on ping ch'en ...

Notes

- 1 人 SW, Chia, LK 入
 受 SW, LK, Chia 使 ; see pp. 591-592.
 口虜 SW, Chia 迹虜 LK (夷)虜
 塢 is read here and in nos. 2, 3, 5 and 7; contrast 塢 in no. 6 (see ~~note in MD 19~~ p. 457-8)
- 2 巳 Chia 己
 受 SW, LK 使 Chia 史 (similarly in no. 6)
 日西 SW, Chia 日 口 日 LK 日 再
- 5 受 SW, Chia 使 LK 發
- 6 日 LK •

UD 8 (Plate 34)

Introduction

In general the decrees that are mentioned in the Shih-chi and Han-shu are presented in an abbreviated or summarised form, and wooden fragments provide valuable information regarding the original form in which such documents were drawn up or promulgated. ⁽¹⁾ In UD 8, where the fragments are associated together thanks to a distinctively formal type of handwriting, distinctively long strips were used; in UD 9, and other examples which will be cited below, both the handwriting and the size of the stationery approximate more to those of normal administrative material. It is possible that two types of document are represented:

- (a) A formal book, incorporating decrees dated from some considerable time in the past, and being circulated to administrative units as a formal record of the decrees of the Han emperors. Such documents would be expected to be made out by professional scribes of the central government, in a hand and style that was more expert and regular than that seen usually. UD 8, which includes parts of decrees of Wen ti, Ching ti and Wu ti, may be an example of such a book.
- (b) Texts of current contemporary decrees, issued in the first instance by the authorities of the central government for implementation, and copied by lesser authorities during the course of promulgation. Such documents would be framed

forms
 in ~~forms~~ similar to those of administrative material rather than the formal books used for reference, and may be exemplified in the fragments cited below (see UD 9, Intro-^{11.577b,} ~~duction~~, for reasons why ^{UD 9} that document cannot be cited with certainty as a genuine example).

The distribution of decrees (詔書) is evidenced in some of the fragments of mail registers seen here (e.g. TD 2 nos.5 and 6), and these could refer to documents of either of the types envisaged. In addition the text of 20.4, which was probably part of a label or caption of a document, suggests that decree books were held at units of the level of hou kuan. This fragment reads: 肩水候官元康二年盡三年詔書... "Book of decrees for the 2nd and 3rd years of yüan k'ang [64-63 B.C.] of the Chien-shui hou-kuan ...".

Many of the decrees issued by Han governments comprised three parts: (i) a memorial, or request for action, submitted to the throne by senior servants of state; (ii) the actual decree itself, consisting of the three words 制曰可 "a decree was made stating approval"; (iii) a statement of the promulgation of the decree, for implementation, through the hierarchy of officials. Texts of the three parts are seen most clearly in two stone inscriptions (nos.1 and 17), which are dated in 153 and 181 A.D., ⁽²⁾ and there are a few examples in the histories where the complete set of texts has been inserted rather than the usual ⁽³⁾ summary that is made. The use of the three word formula of

the decree itself can be evidenced from an early period.

Certain conventions can be discerned^d in the way in which the texts of Han decrees were written down. The columns of writing were usually started at a short interval from the head of the strip or stone tablet, so that special terms which merited honorific treatment could be raised to a higher position;⁽⁵⁾ and often a space was left after the word chih 制⁽⁶⁾, as a mark of respect. But some of the wooden strips which bear the final part of these documents (i.e. that part concerned with promulgation or implementation) are written as normally, from the head of the strip.

Parts of the texts of decrees are seen in the strips found recently at ^{Mo-chü-tzu; (7)} Wu-wei; in Ch. 138-140 and 206; M 113; and in the following fragments from Chüyen:

- 16.11 Regarding the circulation of the wu shu 五銖 coin, 118 B.C.; see Swann p. 378; K'ao p. 21
- 303.8 Regarding the removal to Tunhuang of the head of the king of Lou-lan, in 77 B.C.; see Hulsewé (1) p. 7; K'ao p. 23.
- 65.18 Dateable between 74 and 72 B.C.; see K'ao p. 7
- 267.19 Regarding monetary compensation for casualties, during Hsüan ti's reign (73-49); see K'ao pp. 13 and 24.
- 53,1 16-14 B.C.; this fragment refers to Wang Mang by title; see K'ao p. 9.
- [7.2] As numbered by Su; dated in 12 B.C.

312.6 Dated 8 A.D.; see K'ao p.22.

210.35 Dated 10 A.D.; see K'ao p.22.

95.5 Dated 15 A.D.

In addition the following strips have been assembled ^m in ~~by~~ Ōba (3) as a subject of a special study. Ōba has used (8) these fragments to reconstruct a decree of 61 B.C.:

10.33; 10.30; 10.32; 10.29; 10.31; 10.27; 5.10; and 179.9. Ōba also cites the following strips in connection with the promulgation or implementation of decrees: 209.6; 18.5; 157.24A; 334.48; 11.9; 267.25; 203.22; 61.9; 238.36; 214.33A (Ōba (3) nos. 15-24). Finally, there are some fragments which may have formed part of a decree which are assembled here as UD 9.

The arrangement of the fragments of UD 8 must often remain arbitrary, but in some cases it is possible to relate the texts to references in the histories. Many of the conclusions given below have been reached independently by Ōba.

Nos. (1) and (15) are probably concerned with the arrangements made for the issue of "tiger" and bamboo emblems to senior officials in 178 B.C. According to the ⁽⁹⁾ Shih-chi and Han-shu, the first distribution of these badges of authority was dated in the ninth month of the second year of Wen ti (i.e. 178 B.C.), but no mention is made in those texts to a preparatory decree. In commenting on the passage, Ying Shao (應劭 c.140-206) referred to bronze tiger tallies numbered from one to five, and the use of five shafts of bamboo for the emblems of the authorised messengers,

and it is likely that fragment no.(15) is concerned with the system of numbering the badges. The opening words of no.(1) are believed to be the end of a request for the establishment of " an ordinance for ...emblems", but no traces of such an ordinance have been found elsewhere. (10)

A certain amount of difficulty is involved in the date of this fragment, which is read as 三年十月 in SW, Chia and LK, but as 二年九月 here and by Ōba. (11) There can be little doubt that 九 is correct (contrast 十 in the same strip); and the day keng ch'en occurred in the seventh month of the second, but not the third year of Wen ti. (12) For these reasons the date is taken here as the seventh month of the second year, i.e. 178 B.C.; and no difficulty need be caused by the delay of two months between the approval of the suggestion and its implementation as recorded in HS.

Nos.(2) and (3) can possibly be fitted together as parts of the same strip. (13) No decrees are recorded in SC X or HS IV for the year in question (175 B.C.); the latter (14) text however notes the abolition of the ban on coining money and the return to the coin of four shu, and it is possible that these measures were ordered by means of the usual memorial and approval, though no such details are furnished in HS XXIV 4a, b or in SC XXX, 5.

No decree is recorded in HS IV, 11a, b for the twelfth month of the third year of Wen ti (i.e. 177), and no. (4) can perhaps be dated in 154 (third year of Ching ti)

and associated with a decree of pardon and reinstatement granted to Chia ^嘉加, Marquis of Hsiang-p'ing ^{襄平} (15)

Nos. (5) and (6) can be identified as parts of a decree issued in 142 B.C., in encouragement of responsible behaviour on the part of officials. The full text is given in HS, and there are no textual variants with the fragments, other than differences of "spelling".⁽¹⁶⁾ In the Han shu the two pieces of text are separated by 51 characters.

Similarly nos. (7) and (8) can be identified as parts of a decree issued in the eleventh month of 128, regarding the recruitment of suitable men for the official service. The text is given in the Han-shu,⁽¹⁷⁾ and the following variants are seen between the two versions:

No. 7	傳不云年	HS	夫
No. 8	於 ⁽¹⁸⁾	HS	于
No. 8	長官	HS	官長
No. 8	綱紀	HS	紀綱

Lao Kan and Ch'en Chih regard the text of the strips as being more authentic than the transmitted text of the Han-shu.

The question of the length of the complete strips on which this decree book was written and the number of characters to each strip has been discussed by Lao Kan and Ōba (see K'ao p. 21 and Ōba (3) p. 25), and it has been suggested that there were originally 43 characters to each strip of 2.2 or 2.4 feet (Han). However, this suggestion is inconsistent and unacceptable, for various considerations;

the general evidence of the fragments leads to a tentative view that the strips may have been made in lengths of about 2.2 feet; that a "margin" of one inch (Han) was usually left uninscribed at the head and foot of each strip; and in the examples before us some sixty characters were spaced regularly over the remaining length of the strip. This view is supported as follows:

- (1) Examples of the blank margin are seen in nos. 4, 6, 8, 11, 15 and, possibly, 20. (It is possible that the margin at the head may have been left so that terms of honour could be raised if necessary).
- (2) No. 21, which is unfortunately broken at each end, measures 2 feet.
- (3) No. 11, which is broken at the head, measures 1.35 feet; this includes one inch, uninscribed, at the foot; 37 characters are written on a length of 1.25 feet. It thus appears that a strip with margins at each end, and with 43 characters written in the style of nos. 5-8 or no. 11 would have measured about 1.6 feet, rather than 2.2 or 2.4 feet.
- (4) The suggestion of a column length of 43 rests on the assumption that nos. 7 and 8 form the lower ends of consecutive strips. Although the lower margin is clearly visible in no. 8, the space following $\frac{1}{2}$ in no. 7 need not necessarily be taken as such, and can be explained differently (see below ^{M. 559-60}). It is possible that nos. 7 and 8 formed parts of one and the same strip, which carried some sixty characters

and measured 2.2 or 2.3 feet as follows:

margin at head	uninscribed	feet .1
No.7	19 characters (16 in HS)	.65
intervening text	28 characters (as in HS)	.9
No.8	15 characters	.55
margin at foot	uninscribed	.1
total	62 characters	2.3

HS gives 85 characters of text for the initial part of the decree preceding the text of no.7; it is possible that this passage, together with introductory formulae and phrases, was written on two strips.

(5) The decree represented in nos.5 and 6 can be divided into sections as follows:

initial passage	88 characters (as in HS)
No.5	9 characters
intervening passage	51 characters (as in HS)
No.6	12 characters
total	160 characters

If it is assumed that the text of the decree is substantially as that given in HS, and that it was preceded by an introduction of some 20 characters, no.6 can be taken as the tail end of the third strip on which the document was written; no.5 would have appeared towards the end of the second strip.

(6) A blank space will be noticed between the 18th and 19th characters in no.11, being placed at .75 feet from the foot

of the strip. There is also a blank space discernible in no. 10. It is believed that these spaces were left uninscribed owing to the presence of binding strings, and that the space following 信 in no. 7 is to be explained on similar grounds. In the latter case the space would appear at about .75 feet from the head of the strip. If the strings were placed at intervals of one third of the length, as is the case with the shorter strips, the total length of the strips used here can be calculated at 3 times .75 i. e. 2.25 feet.

(7) If a length of 2.2 feet is assumed for no. 11, there would have been space for about sixty characters.

The inclusion of no. (9) in UD 8 is somewhat questionable, although at first sight there are obvious similarities with some of the other fragments. The handwriting could well be the same as in other cases, and the subject of no. 9 is similarly concerned with the enactment of civil government, rather than routine matters of military administration. However, if a length of 2.2 feet is accepted for the fragments considered above, no. 9 can hardly be regarded as homogeneous, as it measures about 3 feet, incomplete as it is. There is also a further difference in the layout of the strip. Ōba ((3) p. 31) has made the brilliant suggestion that the strip is the second in a series of ten, on which a list of decrees was written; he explains such a list as a table of contents, presumably to a book of decrees which were entered in chronological order and duly enumerated from 1 to at least 52. The entries would have been read in ^{horizontal} bands,

in numerical order.

This suggestion can probably be accepted, with the modification that the table of contents belonged to a book of Han Statutes 律 or Ordinances 令 rather than decrees. It will be seen below that some of the entries on the strip can be associated with recorded acts of government; as these may have been prescribed by decree initially and implemented by means of a statute or ordinance, there is no a priori means of determining to which type of document the entries refer. However, references to the use of strips of three feet for legal documents (19) lend some support to the modification that is suggested. There is however no direct evidence to show that Decrees, Statutes (20) or Ordinances were referred to by number.

Subject to difficulties of reading, the entries on no.(9) can be related to institutions or acts of government:

- No.2 The establishment of the san lao in the hsien, in 205 B.C. According to HS IA, 31a (HFHD I, pp.74-5) this institution was introduced by ordinance.
- No.12 Unidentified.
- No.22 The establishment of the hsiao ti and li t'ien. HS III, 2a (HFHD I, p.193) records the initial establishment in 187. This is to be distinguished from an occasion in 192, when these individuals were to be treated with privileges (HS II, 5a; HFHD I, p.182) and from a decree of 168 (HS IV, 14b; HFHD I, p.254) which enjoined the correct appointment of these men.

No. 32 Oba reads the seventh character as ^廿符 and associates this entry with the introduction of emblems in 178 (see UD 8 nos. 1 and 15). Alternately, if 符 is accepted as the reading for the first character, the reference could be to one of the provisions regarding the conduct of judicial cases (Ching ti period; see HS XXIII 19a, b; Remnants pp. 343f.; Uchida pp. 68-9; and remarks on UD 8 no. (14) below).

No. 42 Unidentified. This possibly refers to a provision regarding the inspection of arms held by marquises instituted during the time of Wen ti or Ching ti.

No. 52 The arrangements for lenient detention for certain groups, for charitable reasons. An edict of 141 provided for the preparation of an ordinance to this effect (see HS XXIII 19a, b; Remnants p. 344; Uchida pp. 70-71)

UD 8 Nos. (10-12) and (16) are parts of decrees which ordered the distribution of bounties or the exemption from obligations for needy or worthy sections of the population. As decrees of this nature were promulgated very frequently, and it is by no means certain that the full text is always accurately preserved in the Han-shu, the fragments cannot be identified more precisely. Some examples of such actions follow (these examples include cases in which HS does not specify that a decree was published):

B.C.	HS	HFHD
205	IA, 31b	I, p. 75
179	IV, 6b, 7a	236-7
177	11b	247
167	14b	255
155 157	21a	271-2
122	VI, 13b	II, p. 59
117	17b	70
113	18b, 19a	74
110	26a	89
65	VIII, 12a	229
64	12b	231
63	14a	234
62	15b	238
61	16b	240
51	23a	260
etc.		

Some of the foregoing examples are cited in connection with these fragments by Lao Kan (K'ao pp. 12-13) and Ōba (3) pp. 32f. Lao Kan points out that no. 11 must be dated before 8 B.C., as nei shih 內史 were not established in the kingdoms after that year (see note to UD 8 no. 11, below). The occurrence of the phrase 不時使人存問 in the decree recorded for 179 might suggest the association of no. (10) therewith; Ōba, however, shows that the details given in nos. (10) and (11) differ from those specified for 122, 117 and 110, and that no. (11) cannot be identified with the decree of 179; he suggests an association with the decree of 205. There is a further possibility that nos. (10) and (11) should be associated with no. (13), and thus with the bounty that was given in 63. However, the inclusion of no. (13) in this series is by no means certain, in view of certain marks on the left side of the strip, and the date is considerably later than those of identified fragments. Ōba does not include no. (13) in his study.

Finally, Ōba suggests that nos. 16 and 12 should be fitted together to form a single fragment.

No. (14) is possibly part of a decree which regulated judicial procedure, and the very similar phrase ... 各請所屬二千石官 "... [doubtful judicial cases] ... are always to be submitted to the (official ranking at) two thousand picul under whom (the prefecture or march) resorts ... " (tr. Hulsewé) invites comparison. This passage occurs in a decree of 200; other decrees on the same subject were dated in 145 and 143. (21)

Ōba suggests a connection between no. (18) and the decree of bounty of 205; and between no. (19) and the institution of emblems in 178.

The text of nos. (20) and (21) suggests that they should be considered together. The fragments consist of a list of names of civilians, whose homes lay in various li in the hsien of Fang-tzu 房子; this name occurs among the hsien of Ch'ang-shan chün 常山郡. (22) Possibly the fragments derive from a list of individuals singled out for special treatment. No. (17) may be a fragment of the same or a similar list. (23)

(In the following list, the number assigned in Ōba (3) is shown in the final column of figures).

1	[179.5] 332.9	} 96, 119	2550A,B	26	9	Given in TP,LK 96 as 119.5 332B; SW, Chia write 119.5, but 179.5 has been accepted in view of a further strip 119.5 on TP 421.
2	118.1	94	676	562	43	
3	117.43 255.25	} 94	675	26	44	In SW as 256.25
4	126.29	32	721	8	33	
5	349.9 349.22	} 38	1772	12	35	
6	306.18	42	1621	14	39	
7	126.30	32	713	8	29	
8	332.16	25	1723	7	30	In TP,LK as 332
9	5.3 10.1 13.8 126.12	} } } }	2551A,B,C	--	45	Shown on Plate 34 in two parts, with an overlap.
10	5.13	28	41	8	32	
11	126.41 332.23 332.10	} 74, 75	2547A,B	22	41	In TP,LK as 126.10, 332.23,332.41.
12	306.22	42	1620	13	38	
13	74.19	26	468	565	--	
14	126.31	32	711	8	34	
15	332.12	25	1716	168	31	
16*	124.17	74	698	579	40	
17*	349.15	88	1778	448	--	In TP as 346.25; in LK as 336.25
18*	349.2	38	1771	12	36	
19*	349.16	88	1775	375	42	In TP,LK as 439.16
20	349.17	38	1779	573	37	
21	12.2	495, 496	2555	477	--	*Not shown on Plate 34

Notes:

- (1) The form of decrees is discussed in Wang (1) Shih II, 1a et seq.; K'ao pp.7-8; Remnants p.383 note 184; Hulsewé (1) p.41; and Ōba (3).
- (2) For similar texts see inscriptions nos.13 (dated 119 A.D.); nos.3 and 14 (220); and no.15 (222).
- (3) See HS XXIII,14b (Wen ti period; Remnants p.336) and SC LX passim (Wu ti period). (Watson I, p.366)
- (4) See SC VI,52 (213 B.C.); VI,71 (209 B.C.); and X,47 (157 B.C.)
- (5) I.e. references to the emperor or his actions; see UD 9 nos.1 and 10, and inscription no.1; similarly the word 制 is protruded to the head of the column in some of the strips of decrees found at ~~Wu wei~~ Mo-chü-tzu
- (6) E.g., UD 9 no.10; 206.5; 311.22; and Ch.206; see also the strips from ~~Wu wei~~ ^{Mo-chü-tzu}. The convention is not observed in 185.2 or in UD 8 no.1.
- (7) See pp.27-28.
- (8) Ōba (3) nos.1-8; Ōba also includes 332.26, which is shown here as UD 9 no.10. For 10.30. see K'ao p.8; for 10.27 and 5.10 see K'ao p.12 and Mori (8) pp.84-5.
- (9) SC X,23; ~~HH~~ ^{Watson I}, p.353; HS IV,10b; HFHD I, p.245.
- (10) No such ordinance is listed in Remnants pp.42f.
- (11) See Ōba (3) pp.9 and 26. Ch'en (4) also reads =.
- (12) Sic Hoang and Ch'en Yüan. According to Tung, where the enumeration of the months in the year is different, the reverse case took place.

- (13) Comments appended to the transcriptions in LK (nos. 1943 and 1949) should probably be interpreted as relating to these two fragments and not to LK nos. 1841 and 1847 as stated.
- (14) HS IV, 12b; HFHD I, p. 250.
- (15) HS V, 4a; HFHD I, p. 313. There is some difficulty in reconciling the terms of this decree with the entry for the marquisate in HS XVI, 43b.
- (16) HS V, 9b; HFHD I p. 328. The text is not carried in SC XI. Where HS reads 疆 and 脩, the strips read 强 and 脩.
- (17) HS VI, 8a, b; HFHD II, pp. 45-6. The fragments are discussed in K'ao pp. 20-21; Remnants pp. 312-3, where reference is made to an early article on the subject by Lao Kan; Ch'en (2) p. 13; and Oba (3) pp. 24-5.
- (18) 大令 is also seen in an abbreviated form of the decree that is given in TCTC XVIII, 10a.
- (19) See ~~Introduction~~ p. 117.
- (20) For a list of Statutes and Ordinances by their title, see Remnants pp. 32f.; ordinances entitled in the series 甲乙丙 are shown on pp. 42-3. On the subject of 10.28 which is the text of 北邊禁令第四, Hulsewé writes (Remnants p. 47): 'It should be noted that this is one of the cases where an ordinance evidently contained numbered articles, as the strip in question bears the title "Ordinances on essential points for the Northern Borders, No. 4"'. A similar example may be seen in MD 6 nos. 18-20, which give the text of

功令第卅五 (see Remnants p.43).

(21) See HS XXIII, 19a; Remnants pp. 343-4; Uchida pp. 68-9;
and HS V, 8b; HFHD I, p. 326.

(22) HS XXVIII A2, 55a.

(23) Hsiang-kuo 襄國 is shown as one of the administrative
units in the kingdom of Chao 趙; HS XXVIII B2, 14b.

符令制曰可孝文皇帝二年七月庚辰下凡六十六字

孝文皇帝五年

十一月壬寅下凡卅八字

前三年十二月辛巳下凡九十一字

害^ハ强毋攘弱家毋暴寡老

甚無謂也其令二千石各脩其

幾成風紹休聖緒傳不云乎十室之邑必有忠信

子雍於上聞也二千石長官綱紀人倫

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

縣置三老二

口口口口十二

置孝弟力田廿二

獄吏二千石以口世二

||

郡興謂列侯兵卅二

年八十及及至未需頌數系五十二

...

9

酒一石丞致朕且 時使人問存口

...

10

...月存視其家賜月卅斤酒二石長尊寵郡太守 諸侯相內史所明 ||

智也不奉詔當以不敬論不知日

11

...十戶一人復身毋有所與身不當事

...

12

...元康三年二月甲子朔己

...

13

...口獄屬所二千石

...

14

從第一始太守從五始使者符合口

口口其家一

襄國東麓里

相長若丞常以

市亡符及折

房子

房子周里簪裏堪

房子承里公乘廣

UD 8 Translation

- 1 ...ordinance for ... tallies. A decree was made stating approval. Promulgated on keng ch'en, in the seventh month, second year of the emperor Hsiao Wen; in all sixty-six words. [7th August 178 B.C.]
- 2 ...fifth year of the emperor Hsiao Wen ... [175 B.C.]
- 3 ... promulgated on jen ying, in the eleventh month ... in all thirty-eight words. ...
- 4 ...promulgated on hsin ssu, in the twelfth month, third year of the early period; in all ninety-one words. ... [3rd February 154 ?]
- 5 ...injury, the strong should not oppress the weak, the many should not do violence to the few. The aged ...
- 6 ...in a manner that is highly improper. Let the officials who rank at 2000 shih be ordered to reform ...
- 7 ...in the hope of forming a custom, and providing an heritage of delight for our holy succession. It is not stated in the tradition: "Even in a settlement of ten houses there will certainly be trustworthy and sincere ...
- 8 ...men of quality are prevented from submitting their opinions to the emperor. Officials who rank at 2000 shih and the senior offices discipline and regulate human relationships...
- 9 The establishment of the san lao in the hsien, no. 2. ...no. 12. The establishment of the hsiao ti and the li t'ien, no. 22. Judicial officials and officials of 2000 shih ..., no. 32. [Arrangements in the chün for the

- inspection of arms held by marquises ?],no.42.
- Lenient detention for those aged eighty years, pregnant women and [dwarfs?],no.52.
- 10 ... one shih of wine, to be delivered by the ch'eng [of the hsien]. We are further intending to send messengers in due season to enquire after the well-being ...
- 11 ...month, to make enquiry and visit their houses, and to present 40 chin of meat and 2 shih of wine to senior, honoured and favoured persons. This is clearly understood by the t'ai shou of the chün, and the hsiang and the nei shih who serve the marquises. Failure to observe the decree warrants a trial on a charge of a lack of respect. Ignorance ...
- 12 ...one man in every [ten?] households shall be exempted from personal obligations, shall have no contributions to make and shall not be liable for service ...
- 13 ...on chi ..., second month (of which the first day was chia tzu) of the third year of yüan k'ang ... [63 B.C.]
- 14 ...cases of justice, the appropriate officials of 2000 shih ...
- 15 ...beginning from no.1; for the t'ai-shou, beginning from no.5; in the case of messengers, the tallies are fitted together ...
- 16 ...their houses. One ...
- 17 ...Tung-lu [li?], Hsiang kuo, ...

- 18 ...the hsiang, the ch'ang or the ch'eng shall regularly ...
 19 ...in the markets without passes, and with broken ...
 20 Fang-tzu [hsien] ...
 21 ...K'an, of Chou li, Fang-tzu [hsien], order of tsan niao;
 Kuang, of [Ch'eng ?] li, Fang-tzu [hsien], order of
kung ch'eng. ...

Notes

- 1 二 SW, Chia, LK 三
 七 SW, Chia, LK 十
 符 SW, Chia, LK 符
 5 害 SW, Chia ☐
- 7 The passage cited in this fragment is seen in the
Hun yü V, xxvii (J. Legge, The Chinese classics, vol. 1, Oxford 1893, p. 183)
- 8 Dubs (HFHD II, pp. 46-7) renders this passage "...so
 that superior men who have piled up their [meritorious]
 actions are blocked from being reported to the
 emperor. ..."
- 9 ☐☐☐☐☐ Chia, ōba ☐☐☐ 與 肱; this reading is questioned
 in Ch'en (3).
 獄 Chia, ōba 徵
 ☐ ōba 符
 及 孕 Chia 予 ☐ Ch'en (3) 及 ☐
 未 需 ōba 朱 需 (cf. HS XXIII, 19a 朱 儒) For the meaning
 of this expression see Remnants p. 404, note 272.
 繫
 繫 Chia ☐

- 10 For the meaning of 丞致 see HS IV, 7a, as cited in
 Ōba (3) p. 34.

問 LK 周

Equivalents for the units of measurement that are seen
 here and in no. 11 are given in Grain measurement, pp. 65-6.

- 11 其家 SW, LK 具最 Chia 無最
 月卅 SW, LK 月卅 Chia 月(肉)卅
 二石 Ōba 一石 (see Ōba (3) p. 32)
 長 Ōba □

This strip is translated in Remnants p. 188, on the basis
 of transcriptions published before photographs were
 available.

A difficulty is presented by nei shih 內史, as these
 officials served the kings (i.e. chu hou wang 諸侯王),
 and not the marquises (i.e. chu hou 諸侯 or ch'e hou
 徹侯); see HS XIXA, 26a, b.

- 12 十戶 SW, LK, Ōba 十戶 Chia 制 日
 15 符 SW, Chia, LK 符
 □ SW, Chia 為
 16 冢 SW, Chia, LK 冢
 17 麓 LK 鹿
 里 SW, Chia, LK □
 18 以 LK omits

The three officials who are named cannot be identified
 for certain. Probably the hsiang (if this is not qualified)
 refers to the official serving the marquises; the ch'ang

to the senior officials in small hsien; and the ch'eng
to their assistants (see HS XIXA, 26a, 29a, b).

19 亡 SW 毋

符 SW, Chia, LK, Ōba 符

21 𠄎 SW, Chia, LK 𠄎 月 𠄎

承 SW 石 Chia, LK 𠄎 Ch'en (4) 成

UD 9 (Plate 12)

Introduction

These fragments are associated together in view of the similarity of the subject matter and handwriting. In addition, as far as can be seen, the strips are used in the characteristic way associated with imperial decrees, i.e. a margin is left at the head, so that special terms can be raised to a more honourable position (see ^{p. 554} ~~UD 8 Introduction~~).

The possibility that the fragments derive from parts of a decree is supported by the text of no. 1. In addition, no. 9 includes phrases that are used in memorials presented to the throne, and no. 10 carries the three words of a decree proper. ⁽¹⁾ However, as will be seen below, there are certain difficulties regarding the inclusion of no. 9; and no. 10 ⁽²⁾ may be part of an entirely different set of documents.

The titles and proper names which occur in the fragments indicate quite clearly that the original documents referred to relations between the Han government and various tribal units in the west, during the period 53 to 32 B.C. These years saw the capitulation of one Hsiung nu leader (Hu-han-hsieh) to the Han court in 52-51 and the destruction of Chih-chih, ⁽³⁾ his chief rival, in 36; Chih-chih had first risen to prominence from about 55. Nos. 1 and 2 refer to Wu-chiu-t'u ^{烏就屠}, who was established as the Lesser K'un-mi of Wu-sun, under ⁽⁴⁾ Han auspices, probably from about 53 to 32. Finally, no. 1 refers to an officer entitled chü-ch'i-chiang-chün

車騎將軍, a post which was not established regularly throughout the Han period; in addition to earlier incumbents, HS XIXB (35a et seq.) records the names of officers holding this position in 61; 56-53; 49-43; 43-41; 41-30; 22-15 etc. Usually the title was combined with that of ta-ssu-me 大司馬, and it was doubtless in such a capacity that an individual was responsible for the promulgation of decrees, as stated in no.1.

The exact nature of the document must probably remain problematical, and it will not be possible to identify the particular decree concerned. Lao Kan considers some of the fragments (K'ao pp.23-24) and suggests that a decree of 49 or a little later was involved. The fragments may derive from a résumé of the relations existing between the Han and other powers, and the propagandist flavour of no.3 may well reflect a deterioration of a state of friendship or a justification for a rupture of relations. It is not impossible that the document may be concerned with the campaign which led to the death of Chih-chih in 36. According to the Han-shu's account, in the absence of authority from the central government to prosecute the campaign, an officer serving in a local task force forged the documents that were needed to mobilise forces from elsewhere. In this connection the evidence of no.9 may be of crucial importance. It has been suggested that whereas the self-derogatory phrases that occur in that fragment

were in use by the Hou Han period, there is little evidence to show that they were current before the time of Wang Mang. Excessive importance must not be placed in this suggestion, and the association of no. 9 with the other fragments is by no means proved. However, if these two possibilities are accepted:

- (1) There is reason to doubt whether the fragments can be dated at a time that was contemporary with the events to which they refer.
- (2) The fragments could derive from a much later document, ^{genuinely} compiled to justify Han diplomatic or military action and recalling earlier stages in foreign relations. No. 1 is hardly consistent with such a possibility.
- (3) The document of which these fragments are a copy could possibly derive from the first half of the first century A.D., having been ^{deliberately drafted} made to support the action of Ch'en T'ang in 36 B.C., and having been recognised and branded as a forgery by Pan Ku.

There is some considerable difference between the form of these fragments and those of a formal decree book (cf. UD 8). Their presence at Ch'üyen leads to the supposition that they are parts of a decree issued for local implementation, and the subject matter suggests a decree which envisaged military activity; in these ² circumstances the association with the events of 36 B.C. remains not unlikely.

It is possible that no.2 may follow directly after no.1, and this arrangement has been adopted in the translation. Nos.5 and 6 are shown fitted together as one piece in Chia, and it is likely that no.7 should be joined thereto to form a complete strip. There is at least one other fragment, 346.18, which may possibly be associated with UD 9.

1	562.27 387.19	)	42	1803	13
2	562.4		88	2361	13
3	387.7 564.15	)	42	1801	14
4	387.24 387.25	)	42	1804	14
5	387.17		42	1800	13
6	407.14		42	1800	13
7	387.16		42	1808	13
8	387.1		42	1793	14
9	407.4 387.22	)	42	1811	14
10	332.26		42	1721	13

Notes:

- (1) See ^{p. 553} ~~UD 8 introduction~~ for the component parts of decrees.
- (2) Obs (3) pp. 2-24 associated⁵ this with strips which record a decree dated in 61 B.C.
- (3) See HFHD II pp. 190f. and 279f.; Dubs pp. 5f.; HS VIII, 21b et seq. (HFHD II pp. 256f.); IX, 11a, b (HFHD II p. 331); LXX, 5a et seq.; and XCIVB, 1a et seq.

- (4) See HS XCVIB, 8a to 9b; Hsü Sung 徐松 (c. 1800; his comments are cited in the notes to HS) dates his establishment in 53 and his death in about 32.
- (5) Cf. advice rendered to the throne by Chao Ch'ung-kuo 趙充國 in 63 B.C. (HS LXIX, 2a et seq.)
- (6) The act of forgery is stated in HS IX, 11b (HFHD II p. 331) and HS LXX, 8a, 10b and 11a; see Dubs p. 9.
- (7) See ~~Introduction~~ pp. 198f.

皇帝陛下車騎將軍下詔書曰烏孫小昆彌烏

就屠與匈奴呼韓單于謀

夷狄貪而不仁懷狹二心請偽?

郵支為名未知其變

塞外諸節穀呼

：韓單于

往來技表是樂

小月氏仰羌人

愚贛觸諱忘言頓首

制曰可

- 1 His imperial majesty. A decree was promulgated by the
 2 general of cavalry, stating that Wu-chiu-t'u, Lesser K'un-mi
 of Wu-sun, together with Hu-han, Shan-yü of the Hsiung nu,
 planning ...
- 3 ...the barbarian peoples, being avaricious, having no cogni-
 sance of the humanities and harbouring insincerity,
 requested with deception
- 4 taking Chih-chih as his name; not appraised of that change
 5 outside the defences ... Hu-han the Shan-yü ; hither and
 6
 7 thither [attacking?] Piao-shih and Lo-
- 8 ...the Lesser Yüeh-chih, relying on the Ch'iang people
 9 ...in my foolish stupidity, with heedless words and forget-
 ful speech, prostrate my head on the ground
- 10 A decree was made stating approval.

Notes

3 狹 LK 狹

偽 SW Chia LK 編

5 外 LK 北

諸節穀 meaning not understood.

7 往來 LK 來往

技 SW Chia LK 投

Piao-shih and Lo-kuan 涓 are the names of hsien
 in Chiu-ch'üan commandery (see Map 1 nos. 25 and 26)

8 仰 SW Chia LK 柳

TD 1 and 2 (Plates 13 and 14)

Introduction

These are fragments of registers of mail handled at TD during transit to further destinations. The registers are very similar to those found at MD (MD 2 and MD 3) in so far as particulars of the same type are entered, i.e. date of handling, direction and number of documents, destination of each piece of mail, and a record of the time of delivery and the persons responsible for conveyance in the course of relay from post to post. A particular feature of these fragments is seen in the method of dating that is used and the lay-out of the heading, whereby the date is written in one column and the description of the documents in another. In the headings of TD 2 the date is designated by number, (1) but the terms of the cycle are used when the circumstances of delivery are being recorded. No date is mentioned in the headings of TD 1; elsewhere ^{in TD 1} the number of the day is checked by the cyclical term.

There is a difference in the layout of the two documents. TD 2 divides into three bands, with spaces for the two binding strings, and the columns of each band are read consecutively in the normal way (see Introduction pp. 67f.) In TD 1, although there is a clear space for a lower binding

string in no.2, the spacing of the characters on the corresponding part of no.1 is less certain; moreover the text is read in two, and not three parts, (a) Heading (both columns) and (b) Remainder, in consecutive columns (cf. the method of reading the columns in X 1). In TD 2, the entries in the second and third bands are always written in two or more columns, except for nos. 2 and 12; in these instances it was probable that only one document was being handled, and it was therefore not necessary to split ^{the second band} into columns. It is possible that nos. 2 and 12 are parts of the same strip.

The close similarity of form and content of these two documents, together with references to units of the same name and in the same topographical relationship, make it likely that TD 1 and TD 2 should be dated fairly closely to each other. The dates mentioned in the fragments will fit the following years of the reconstructed calendar:
(2)

TD 1						
nos. 1, 2		64	33	7 B.C.	25	92 A.D.
TD 2						
nos. 5, 7	98	68		5	22 27	94
TD 2						
no. 1				4	23	90
TD 2	98	67		7	22	91
no. 3				6	27	95
				5		

	(3)					
TD 2						
no. 6	98	68		5 B.C.	22	94 A.D.
		67			27	95
		66				
TD 2						
no. 9	98	66	33	7	22	93
				6	25	95
TD 2						
no. 10	98	68	33	7	22	92
		66		6	25	95
				5	27	
					28	

It cannot necessarily be assumed that all the fragments of TD 2 were written in the same calendar year; the most likely of the foregoing dates for the two documents are (a) 7-4 B.C.; (b) 22-25 A.D.; or (c) 90-95 A.D. Of these three possibilities, the first is perhaps less likely than the others, in view of the method used to denote dates. (4)

Similarity with MD 2 and MD 3 perhaps supports 22-25 A.D., but the same reservation must be made in respect of the place-names that are mentioned (see ^{p. 297} ~~MD 2, 3 Introduction~~). The very similar wording that is seen in X 1 (dated 89-98) possibly supports 90-95. (5)

Many of these strips, together with those shown in MD 2 and MD 3 above, are cited in K'ao pp. 31-33, in connection with the situation of some of the units and place-names that are mentioned. However, insufficient attention is paid there to discrimination between the sites where the various strips were found, possibly because such information was not available to the author. In a recent article (5) (6)

Mori has cited TD 1 no.2 as evidence for believing that the tu-wei-fu of Chien-shui was situated at TD. This view however is incorrect, as the piece in question should not be regarded as ~~part of~~ an external address label (as is done by Mori), but as part of a register of mail in transit. For this reason, both the strips of TD 1 (as well as several in TD 2) show that the tu-wei-fu of Chien-shui was on the contrary situated to the south of TD. TD 2 no.8 shows that Chien-shui itself lay to the north of TD.

TD 2 no.5 gives some idea of the time needed for the despatch of mail. Unfortunately the means of conveyance are not stated, but it can be seen that it took nine days for mail to reach TD from the tu-wei-fu of Chien-shui; seventeen days, from the t'ai-shou of Changi (possibly situated in Li-te hsien); and forty-eight or fifty-one days from the t'ai-shou of Hotung (modern Shansi 山西. The office of the t'ai-shou was probably situated in the hsien of An-i 安邑.)

The terms used here to denote the hours vary from those given in K'ao,^{m.67k.} and have been tentatively interpreted as follows:

- TD 1 no.1 日食坐 and 日東中 ; 5th and 6th hours.
- 2 日蚤食 and 日食時 ; both used for the fifth hour.
- TD 2 no.1 西中 ; 7th hour.
- nos. 7, 8 下舖 ; 9th hour.
- no. 5 夜昏 ; 11th hour.

TD 2 nos.9,10 昏 時 ;11th hour.

Of the posts or units whose soldiers carried the mail,Hsing pei lay to the north,and Hsing ma,P'o lu and Pu * to the south of Sha t'ou.

There are a few other fragments of mail registers found at TD which are of a different form from those of TD 1 and TD 2.These fragments are: 19.22;495.6B;502.1; 505.19;505.23;505.39;506.19 and 513.4.

Random writing is seen on the reverse sided of TD 2 nos.1 and 5. TD 2 nos.6,8 and 9 can be identified as parts of registers of northbound,nos.10 and 13 of southbound mail.

		TD 1			
1	506.6	75	1992	124	
2	505.2	76	1951	124	In SW, ^{TP} TP ,LK as 504.2
		TD 2			
1	495.3	376	1918A	154	In SW,TP,LK as 187.23A
2	505.31	77	1975	124	
3	503.3	87	1922	126	
4	506.4	87	1990	126	
5	505.22) 502.9)	86	1914A	125	502.9 is not listed in TP,SW,LK
6	495.2	92	1917	127	

7	506.17	75	2007	124	In SW as 506.1
8	506.16	75	1999	124	
9	505.6	76	1955	124	
10	495.28 495.13	}	92	1874	126-7 495.13 is not listed in TP, SW, LK
11	495.15		92	1875	
12	495.19	92	1867	127	
13	495.21	92	1891	127	

Notes:

- (1) TD 2 no.11 may be exceptional, but the reading is far from clear.
- (2) For TD 2 nos.1,3,6,9 and 10, the table shows only those years which are close to the dates that are possible for TD 1 nos.1,2 and TD 2 nos.5 and 7.
- (3) Reading i mao 乙卯; if ting mao 丁卯 is read (as in SW Chia and LK) the following years will fit: 88,78,52,16 B.C.; 6,11,42 and 73 A.D.
- (4) See Notes pp.308f.
- (5) Further support for 90-95 is possibly provided by the place-name Sha t'ou (TD 1 nos.1,2; and TD 2 nos.1,5 etc.). HHS (tr.) XXIII A,39a gives this as the name of a hsien; for the Ch'ien Han period, HS XXVIII B 1,17b gives the name as Ch'ih-t'ou 三也頭
- (6) Mori (8).

南書一輩一封潘知尉印
詣肩水都尉府

六月廿三日庚申日食坐五分沙頭亭長受驛北卒音
日東中六分沙頭亭卒宣付驛馬卒同

南書一輩一封張掖尉印
詣肩水都尉府

六月廿四日辛酉日蚤食時沙頭亭長受驛北卒音
日食時二分沙頭亭卒宣付驛馬卒同

TD 1 Translation

- 1 One southbound letter, with the seal of the wei, P'an-ho, for the tu-wei-fu, Chien-shui. Received by the OC Sha-t'ou t'ing, at [5?]/5 hours, on keng shen, the twenty-third day of the sixth month, from private Yin, Hsing-pei [sui]; handed by private Hsüan, Sha-t'ou t'ing, to private T'ung, Hsing-ma [sui], at 6/6 hours.
- 2 One southbound letter, [with the seal of] the hou, Chien-[shui], Changi, for the tu-wei-fu, Chien-shui. Received by the OC Sha-t'ou t'ing, at 5 hours, on hsin yu, the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month, from private Yin, Hsing-pei [sui]; handed by private Hsüan, Sha-t'ou t'ing, to private T'ung, Hsing-ma [sui], at 5/2 hours.

Notes

- 1 潘和 i.e. 番和, a hsien in Changi chün (Map 1 no. 22). This lay to the south of Chien-shui, and the letter was presumably written by the wei when absent on travel.
- 輩 SW, Chia, LK 輩; for the use of this character to enumerate parties of travellers, see HS LXX, 7a 漢遣使三輩至康居 see also 503.8, 503.17.
- 受 The character 受, which is seen in TD 1 nos. 1 and 22, and TD 2 nos. 1, 5, 7, 9, 10 and 12 is usually read 使 in SW, Chia and LK (In TD 1 no. 1, LK reads 發; the variant 使 will not be included in the notes to TD 1 and TD 2 below). However, it is clear from other registers of mail which are formulated in very

similar terms

similar terms (i.e. MD 2, MD 3, X 1) that the character should be taken as an abbreviation for 受. This suggestion is supported by the appearance of 父 in UD 7 nos. 1, 2, 5 and 6 (in connection with the receipt of signals) and MD 12 no. 5 (receipt of salary). There are also a number of individual strips in which the abbreviation is seen (e.g. 37.21; 142.35; 188.3; 188.21, 194.11; 203.2; 214.125; 225.21; 495.6B and Huang no. 19); and 父 appears as the lower part of the complete character in ^{W 2} ~~UD~~ no. 23 and 10.12.

付馬 辭 LK 付馬 翠

2 肩候 presumably short for 肩水候; see TD 2 no. 3.

音 Chia 言

九月九日
南書二封居延都尉

比自詣張掖大守府

九月丙辰口時沙頭卒昌受
同西中二分因卒同付破虜卒口

十月十五日
南書一封

一封去案他塞尉詣

2

十圍書六封

一封詣肩水府十二月丙午起
一封張掖肩僕詣肩水府

3

十一月十八日
十圍書二封詣口

其二封皆張掖大守章詔書封書一封皆十

一月丙午起詔書一封十月甲辰起

4

十二月三日
北書四七封

一封十月戌戌起皆詣居延都尉府

十二月乙卯日入時卒憲受子口卒恭

5

二封河東大守章皆詣居延都尉一封十月
甲子起一十月丁卯起一封府君章詣肩水

夜昏時沙頭卒忠付驛北卒護

十二月十二日

二封張掖大守章一封詔口十二月乙卯起

一封十二月丁巳起四封皆府君章共三

6

十二月廿五日
南書一封

張掖居延都尉詣
張掖太守府十二月乙丑起

十二月丁丑日亭卒口受口
下舖時口

二封皆詣肩水一封詣居延都尉十二月下舖時沙頭卒忠付驛北卒朝

府皆口月口寅起

二月甲子日入時卒憲受不口口史白安
昏時沙頭卒忠付驛北卒護

封居延都口肩水府五月甲午起
詣肩水府

昏時驛馬卒良受沙頭卒同口
時良付不口卒豈

南書二封

甲寅起

日入時受口口卒口付
沙頭口時

時驛馬卒憲付不口卒恭

- 1 Ninth day, ninth month; two southbound letters, [with the seal of] the tu-wei Chüyen, both for the t'ai-shou-fu, Changi. Received by private Ch'ang, Sha-t'ou [sui], at * hours, on ping ch'en, ninth month: ...; handed by private T'ung ... to private *, P'o-lu [sui], at [??]/2 hours on the same day.
- 2 Fifteenth day, tenth month; one southbound letter, [with the seal of] the sai-wei, T'o-t'o, for ...
- 3 ... six southbound letters; one for the [tu-wei]-fu, Chien-shui, originated on ping wu, eleventh month; one from the hou, Chien-[shui], Changi, for the [tu-wei]-fu Chien-shui ...
- 4 Eighteenth day, eleventh month; two southbound letters for ...
- 5 Third day, twelfth month; seven northbound documents, including:-
 - two letters, both with the seal of the ^Tt'ai-shou, Changi, and one decree; of these one letter and one ... were originated on wu hsu, eleventh month; all these were for the tu-wei-fu, Chüyen;
 - two letters with the seal of the t'ai-shou, Hotung, both for the tu-wei, Chüyen; one of these was originated on chia tzu, tenth month and one on ting mao, tenth month;

one letter with the seal of the OC [Chien-shui tu-wei]-fu, for Chien-shui, originated on ping wu, eleventh month; one decree, originated on chia ch'en, eleventh month. Received by private Hsien at 10 hours, on i mao, twelfth month, from private Kung, Pu-* [sui]; handed by private Chung, Sha-t'ou [sui] to private Hu, Hsing-pei [sui], at 11 hours.

- 6 Twelfth day, twelfth month ...; two letters with the seal of the t'ai-shou, Changi ... decree, originated on i mao, twelfth month ... one letter, originated on ting ssu, twelfth month; four letters, all with the seal of the OC [Chien-shui tu-wei]-fu, of which three ...
- 7 Twenty-fifth day, twelfth month; one southbound letter [with the seal of] the tu-wei, Chüyen, Changi, for the t'ai-shou-fu, Changi; originated on i ch'ou, twelfth month. Received by private *, ... t'ing, on ting ch'ou, twelfth month ... 9 hours.
- 8 ... two letters [both ?] for Chien-shui, one letter for the tu-wei, Chüyen ... twelfth month ... handed by private Chung, Sha-t'ou [sui] to private Ch'ao, Hsing-pei [sui] at 9 hours ...
- 9 ... one letter ... fu, both ... originated on ... yin, ... month. Received by private Hsien, from ... shih Yen, Pu-* [sui] at 10 hours, on chia tzu, second month; handed by private Chung, Sha-t'ou [sui], to private Hu, Hsing-pei [sui] at 11 hours.

- 10 ...letter...Chüyen tu-...for the [tu-wei]-fu,
Chien-shui, originated on chia wu, fifth month ...
for the [tu-wei]-fu, Chien-shui. Received by private
Liang, Hsing-ma [sui], from private T'ung, Sha-t'ou
[sui] at 11 hours; handed by private Liang to
private Feng, Pu-* [sui] at ... hours.
- 11 ...two southbound letters...
- 12 ...originated on chia yin. Received from private *,
... [sui] at 10 hours; handed to ... Sha-t'ou [sui]
...hours.
- 13 ...handed by private Hsien, Hsing-ma [sui], to private
Kung, Pu-* [sui] at ...hours.

Notes

- 1 □時 SW, Chia □□時 LK 食時
昌受 SW, Chia 良付 LK 昌 □□
- 2 十月 LK 七月
詣 SW, Chia, LK □
- 3 六封 SW, Chia, LK 五封
肩水府 SW, LK ... 肩水僕 Chia 肩水肩
一封張掖肩僕 SW 一封詣張掖肩僕 LK 一封張肩肩僕
- 4 詣 □ SW 皆丞送萬歲 Chia 皆呈送萬歲 LK 皆並 □ 萬歲
- 5 其二封皆 SW, LK □ = 封 Chia □ = 封皆
章 SW, LK 廩
詔 SW, LK □
書一封 SW, LK 一封

十一月戌戌 SW, LK 十二月戌戌
 太守章 SW, LK 太守丞
 居廷都尉 SW, LK add 府
 一十月 LK omits 一

君 is used here and in no.6, perhaps honorifically, with reference to the senior officer of the post to which the writer's unit was subordinated.

受不口 SW, Chia, LK 父不今 .The unit 不口 is also seen in nos.9,10 and 13. For other sui named pu..., see K'eo p.39.

Although the text of this strip is reasonably clear, there are difficulties of interpretation in respect of the right hand column of the lower two bands. Despite the different arrangement that may be implied in LK, it seems best to read the strip in the usual way, i.e. the four columns of the middle band, followed by the three in the lowest band. However, shih 十, which appears as the last character of the right hand column of the middle band, should probably be taken with the words i yüeh - 月 (first characters of the right hand column, lowest band), as there can be no question of mail, which was handled in the twelfth month, being originated in the first month. It is possible that the displacement of shih is to be explained as an omission, later rectified by the clerk. The characters preceding shih are somewhat difficult to explain,

and it is not possible to fit this part of the text to the form used elsewhere on the strip. It is quite possible that the clerk was muddled by the large amount of detail to be recorded, and that some of the characters are incorrect. The general meaning of this part of the strip is believed to be as rendered. There is possibly a further case of error, in the fourth column of the middle band

← where 一十月 should more correctly be 一封十月
 護 SW, Chia, LK 復

6 詔口 SW, Chia 詔書

乙卯 SW, Chia, LK 丁卯

口 (second band, second column) SW, Chia 封口口口口

7 南書 SW, Chia, LK 口書

詣 LK 詔

乙丑起 SW, Chia, LK 乙丑記

丁丑口亭卒口受口 SW, Chia, LK 丁丑口會口卒忠口口

8 皆 SW, Chia, LK 記

沙頭 SW, Chia, LK 口部

朝 LK 朔

9 府皆口月口寅起 SW, Chia 府記一致廣地塞廣地

LK 府記口口口口廣地

卒憲受不口口史晏 SW, Chia 卒憲使不口小史晏

LK 不意火出小史晏

10 SW, LK read / 一封 initially (Chia omits /)

☐ SW, Chia, LK 尉旨

驛 SW, Chia, LK 驛 (also in 13 below)

付不口 SW, Chia 付不令 LK 付口

11 ☐ SW, Chia 口月己酉 LK 月己酉

12 受口口卒口付 SW, Chia, LK 使來卒同付

沙頭☐時 SW, Chia 沙頭卒同 口口時 LK 沙頭卒日口時

13 憲~~驛~~ to 恭 SW, Chia 實付介令卒若 LK 口時不口卒若

TD 3 (Plate 35)

Introduction

The record which is represented here includes certain features which are seldom seen elsewhere and which give some indication of the methods whereby administrative ledgers were compiled. The fragments can be identified as parts of a list of items of clothing which were issued to fieldsmen. The men are described with the usual details of identification, i.e. place of origin, order of aristocratic rank, name and age. Nos. 1-9, and probably no. 10, concern men whose homes were in Huai-yang chün; nos. 11-19, and probably nos. 20-21, men who came from Ch'ang-i kuo. The headings of the strips, i.e. the names and descriptive details of the fieldsmen, were probably written by the same hand for both categories of men. In other respects there are conspicuous differences between nos. 1-10 and nos. 11-21. (a) The layout varies; in nos. 1-9 the entries for the items of clothing were inserted immediately below the space for the upper binding string; in nos. 11-21 those entries start after the lower binding string. (b) In general, different sets of clothing were issued in the two cases, though there are further variations. It cannot be stated for certain whether the same hand wrote the individual entries for the garments on both nos. 1-9 and nos. 11-21. It is probable that these entries were not written by the scribe who wrote the headings. (c) Different types of

check marks are seen at the foot of the strips;a vertical line is seen in nos.1-10;a sign shaped like a capital P appears on nos.12-20.

These strips can be interpreted in several ways. (1) The most probable explanation is that they are records of clothing issued at Taralingin durbeljin to men who had newly arrived as conscripts from within China, and who had been detailed for duties as t'ien tsu 田卒 i.e. fieldsmen. Probably a nominal roll was made of the men, shortly after their arrival, and they were then sent to draw the equipment that they would need in their newly acquired tasks. Precise details of the items of clothing with which they were issued were thereupon inserted on the nominal roll, presumably at the stores from which the goods were issued. These details may have been written by the official who was in charge of the store rather than by the clerk who made out the nominal roll. (2) Finally, the men to whom the stores had been issued were required to acknowledge their receipt; and as, in all probability, they were illiterate, they were ordered to make simple conventional signs, to act as evidence that the goods had been received.

Fujieda (1) p.286 regards the difference in the sets of equipment issued as a possible reason for believing that the clothing was supplied by the different authorities of Huai yang and Ch'ang i. However, it is more likely that

the goods were issued at Chüyen. In the first place, identical kits were not issued to all the men, either of Huai-yang or Ch'ang-i. Moreover the authorities in the home commanderies could hardly know to what part of the service their men would be detailed, or whether they should be equipped as guardsmen or fieldsmen. Finally, there is reason to believe that large stores of clothing were present in the north west, and these were presumably intended for the equipment of troops on the spot. ⁽³⁾ The difference in the sets of equipment issued to the men of Huai-yang and Ch'ang-i can be simply accounted for by differences of circumstance, e.g. season, availability of certain supplies, etc.

It can be imagined that these strips are fragments of records which were made out on two separate occasions fairly close to each other in time. In the first instance (nos. 1-10) a new batch of recruits had arrived from Huai yang; for some reason the clothes were not accepted personally by the men, and an officer called Kuan Tsan usually took receipt of the stores on their behalf; this fact was duly entered in the ledger, and a vertical mark was made by the fieldsmen, or by Kuan Tsan, to show his acknowledgement of the transaction. ⁽⁴⁾ It will be noticed that in the case of no. 3 the fieldsmen accepted the clothes personally, and no vertical mark appears on the strip. On the second occasion, when the draft from Ch'ang-i kuo arrived, a different storeman may have been on duty; or a new ledger may have been started.

The items of clothing were entered on the ledger at a slightly different position, and the men were apparently available to take possession of their equipment in person. The storeman asked them to "sign" by making the characteristic mark used for checking which is seen in other examples. (5)

Small circular marks are seen on nos. 1-3, 12 and 19, and these can be compared with a larger circle that appears on Ch 383, which is also concerned with the distribution of clothing; the significance of these marks is not understood.

The records represented here can be dated with some certainty between 97 and 74 B.C., i.e. the period when Ch'ang-i kuo existed as an administrative unit. (6)

The meaning of the terms used to denote particular garments has been discussed elsewhere. (7) It will be noticed that the men from Huai-yang usually drew three pairs of socks, of which one is consistently described as 犬絛. Ch'en Chih (8) compares this expression with 狗布絛, which is seen in a similar strip from Tunhuang, (9) and explains 狗布 as the name of a particular type of cloth which was in general use in the north west. Leo Kan (K'ao p.63) suggests the possibility that the articles were made of dog skins. The other two pairs of socks are prefixed 私, i.e. privately owned; there are cases in which other types of clothing are described in this way, in contrast with articles that were issued officially. (10) Fujieda (1) p.277 raises

the question whether property of this sort was taken by conscripts ~~personally~~ personally on their way to the north-west, or whether it was sent to them afterwards from their homes, and inclines to the latter view. As is stated above it is believed here that the ledger records issues of equipment made at Chüyen rather than in interior China; probably the issue comprised garments provided officially and some which were available for acquisition privately, e.g. by purchase. ⁽¹¹⁾ It will be noticed that privately owned socks were not issued in every case.

Identification of the place-names that are mentioned here is subject to some difficulty. In some cases the readings are doubtful. In addition there is no complete list of administrative units which can be applied directly to the period concerned, as the information provided in HS XXVIII refers specifically to the years 1-2 A.D., and considerable changes had occurred between the time of ^{Chao} ~~Chao~~ ti and then. Thus the constituent hsien that formed Ch'ang-i kuo during the period 97-74 will be found in HS XXVIII under the chün (i.e. Shan-yang chün 山陽) in which the territory was incorporated when the kuo was abolished.

It is probable that the same hsien is mentioned in nos. 11-13 and nos. 16-19, and this has been read variously as 郟 or 邵. ⁽¹²⁾ Writing before photographs of the strips had been published, Hibino (1) pp. 98f. accepted 郟 as the correct reading throughout, and drew attention to a number of

(13)
strips where the hsien of 東郡 and 西郡 feature as parts of Ch'ang i kuo. However, hsien of these names do not appear anywhere in the lists of HS XXVIII. On the basis of a comment of Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕, supported by early notes to passages in the Ch'un-ch'iu and the Hou-Han-shu, Hibino accepted the identification of 西郡 (or 西防) as the correct name of a marquissate, which is listed as part of the chün of Shan-yang, in 2 A.D., as Hsi-yang 西陽⁽¹⁴⁾. Similarly, Yang Shou-ching has included a marquissate of 西防 in his map of that commandery. Hibino concludes that in the time of Wu ti and Chao ti the three hsien of 東郡, and 西郡 existed as parts of Ch'ang-i kuo. This view however is not altogether acceptable; although it is very likely that changes of administrative organisation took place between the reign of Chao ti and 1 A.D., the marquissate in question was not founded until 11 B.C., and it cannot necessarily be accepted that its name, 西陽 or 西防⁽¹⁵⁾, derived from the name of an existing hsien

In the case of no. 11 the reading 奠⁽¹⁶⁾ is given in LK; a marquissate of that name is duly listed under Shan-yang chün. However, the character in the strips cannot be accepted as an abbreviation for 奠⁽¹⁷⁾, as that marquissate was not founded until 38 B.C., and the same objection applies as in the case of the marquissate of Hsi-yang.

(18)
Ch'en Chih believes that the correct reading is 郿; although this character is not usually seen in

(19)
 dictionaries it is explained as an abbreviation for
 東 (20), and a hsien of that name appears under Shan-yang
chün; at the same time Ch'en Chih accepts 東部 and 西部 as
 names of hsien which existed temporarily as parts of Ch'ang-
 i kuo.

In view of the very clear example of 石 which
 is seen in no. 14, it is by no means certain that 部 can be
 accepted in the other strips, and 方 is not convincing.
 It is possible that the character should be read 部, and
 this has been included in the transcriptions with some
 reserve; no evidence can be found to support ~~kkk~~ this
 suggestion.

There is a further difficulty with 長平, which
 features in nos. 1-9 as the name of a hsien in Huai-yang chün;
 elsewhere (21) it appears as a hsien in the chün of Ju-nan
 汝南. Yang Shou-ching places the hsien in the extreme
 northern part of Ju-nan, very close to the borders of Huai-
 yang. Probably the hsien was within Huai-yang chün until
 63, but when the kuo of that name was reestablished ~~it~~ in that year, it
 may not have comprised all the territory of the chün, and
 certain parts such as Ch'ang-p'ing may have been assigned
 to neighbouring commanderies.

Further fragments which are concerned with the
 issue of clothing to servicemen can be seen in 19.41; 28.14;
 159.16; 332.19; 498.12; 498.14; 504.8 (possibly part of the
 series of records represented in TD 3); and 509.26. The

interesting entry 右縣官所給 "The foregoing items were issued by governmental authorities" appears after the last item listed in 498.14; and the lengths of cloth and articles of clothing entered on 509.26 are preceded by the descriptive phrase 縣官. Items of official issue also feature in a strip (287.24) that may be a record of the property of a dead serviceman; 179.2A (see Plate 51 no. 8) comprises a list of articles which was probably compiled for attachment to an individual's property rather than as a record of stores that had been issued (101.23 may be a fragment of the same type). Miscellaneous references to clothing, and sometimes to the value of these articles, are seen in 217.30; 257.17; 258.7; and 326.20A, B. (22)

The subject of clothing features in a few strips found at Tunhuang, e.g. Ch 72 (each entry is followed by the word 出, written in a different hand) (23); Ch 383; (24) Ch 79; 351; 561; and M 94.

A clerical error can be detected in no. 12 where 年 has been written in place of 里; in no. 11 衣 has probably been omitted after 單, and the name of the hsien has probably been omitted in no. 14. Nos. 14 and 15, and nos. 17 and 18, can probably be fitted together to form complete strips.

1	303.46	27	1600	363	
2	513.30 513.28 513.34	} 120	2182	377	Also shown in Chia 2043, without transcription. (see no.8)
3	303.34	27	1599	363	
4	19.40	5	162	358	In SW as 29.40
5	509.10 513.43	} 46	2041	367	In SW as 53.43
6	509.2	71	2030	371	In SW as 509.6
7	509.6	71	2032	371	In SW as 510.26
8	509.14	81	2043	373	Chia gives transcription only. (see no.2)
9	509.7	71	2035	371	
10	90.22	499	---	---	
11	509.30	81	2053	373	In SW as 506.30
12	303.40	11	1597	360	
13	19.36	5	163	357	
14	513.31	70	2180	445	
15	513.37	70	2171	371	
16	513.35	70	2172	445	
17	513.41 513.8	} 66	2142	445	SW omits 513.8
18	509.22	82	2039	374	
19	303.47	27	1605	363	Kn SW as 303.46
20	509.12	66	2060	370	In SW as 509.2
21	509.3	--	2054	---	

Notes:

(1) For a special study of many of these strips see Okazaki.

- (2) Examples of strips where the headings and entries may have been made by different hands may be seen, possibly, in MD 18; see also UD 3.
- (3) Large consignments of clothing are mentioned in 504.19 and 41.17.
- (4) These marks are not represented in SW, Chia or LK.
- (5) E.g., MD 8; also Ch. 114, 122, 124 etc. See pp. 269-270 above.
- (6) Hwai-yang existed as a chün during this period (at other times the area was administered as a kuo; a chün existed for various short periods before 155 and from that year until 63). Lao Kan (K'ao p. 56) takes the view that the strips concerned with the men from Ch'ang-i should be dated between 73 and 67; he believes that in general men from the kuo were not conscripted to serve in the north-west; and that, although Ch'ang-i ceased to be a kuo in 74, it should not be considered as a chün proper from then, as the first known record of the appointment of a t'ai-shou 太守 dates from 67. However, as Hibino has pointed out (Hibino (1) p. 100), there is reason to show that conscripts from other kuo were present at Chüyen; and the Han-shu cannot be depended on to provide a complete list of all appointments to the post of t'ai-shou 太守.
- (7) Wang (1) Shih II, 41b; K'ao pp. 63-4; Okazaki pp. 264f.; Fujieda (1) p. 286; Hulsewé (1) pp. 38f.

- (8) Ch'en (1) pp.28-9 and 66.
- (9) Ch 72; this reading was suggested by Lao Kan; see the supplementary parts of SW and LK which give the revised readings of the strips from Tunhuang.
- (10) See 217.30 and (as discussed below) 287.24; 498.14; 509.26.
- (11) For the shortage of clothing at the front and private transactions in cloth and clothes see K'ao pp.6 and 63.
- (12) In one instance (no.11) Chia reads 邵, and LK reads 鄭.
- (13) 90.14; 299.9A, 299.32A; 149.39; 510.29; 512.24; 515.23.
- (14) HS XXVIII, A2, 37b.
- (15) There is a further complication provided in HS XV B, 47a, which gives the history of the marquissate of Hsi-yang and places it in the commendery of Tung-lai 東萊. In all probability this name is an error for Tung-p'ing 東平 (Tung-p'ing kuo lay immediately to the north east of Shan-yang chün, and the lands in question could have been variously assigned between these units at different times).
- (16) HS XXVIII, A2, 37b.
- (17) HS XV B, 29b.
- (18) Ch'en (3) s.v. no.2053 and 2172.
- (19) Morohashi, no.39357, states that the meaning is not clear.
- (20) HS XXVIII, A2, 25b.
- (21) HS XXVIII, A2, 6b.

- (22) On the question of trading practised by servicemen in respect of clothing see Hulsewé (1) p.39; K'ao p.63; Ch'en (1) pp.60-62.
- (23) Hulsewé (1) p.40 takes this to mean "withdrawn".
- (24) The single item of clothing is followed by the word 見, written in the same hand; the date and the word 出 have been inserted by another scribe; cf. Chüyen 19.41.

田卒淮陽郡長平容里公士程縮年廿

龍表一 犬絛一
綺一 今史貫贊取

|

1

田卒淮陽郡長平里公士索象年廿三

龍表一領 犬絛一兩
貫贊為取

|

2

田卒淮陽郡長平里公士李竹年廿九

龍表一領 犬絛一兩
綺一兩 私絛二兩
自取

|

3

田卒淮陽郡長平業陽里公士口尊年廿七

龍表一領 犬絛一兩
綺一兩 私絛二兩
貫贊取

|

4

田卒淮陽郡長平口口里公士口口年廿八

龍表一領 犬絛一兩
綺一兩 私絛二兩
貫贊取

|

5

田卒淮陽郡長平北朝里公士李宜年廿三

龍表一 犬絛一
綺一
貫贊為取

⋮

6

田卒淮陽郡長平北利里公士陳世年廿三

龍表一領 犬絛一兩
綺一兩 私絛二兩
貫贊取

⋮

7

田卒淮陽郡長平市陽里公士宋建年廿二

龍表一領 貫贊為取

|

8

T) 3

田卒淮陽郡長平東洛里公士尉充年廿

龍衣一領 私單口一犬絛一兩
絛一兩 私口口 私絛二兩

母負替取

田卒昌邑國邳靈里公士包建

龍衣一領 皂履一兩
單一領 絛一兩

P

11

田卒昌邑國邳宜年全鄉奉德年廿三

袍一領 皂履一兩
單衣一領 絛一兩

P

12

田卒昌邑國邳良里公士費逢人年廿三

袍一領 皂履一兩
單衣一領 絛一兩

P

13

田卒昌邑國石里公士

...

龍衣一領 皂履一兩
單衣一領 絛一兩

P

15

田卒昌邑國邳靈里公士朱廣年廿四

...

16



3

田卒昌邑國邳成里公士丘異

田卒昌邑國邳成里公士暴叨之年廿四

⋮

⋮

⋮

⋮

龍一領 皂履一兩
單衣一領 絝一兩

袍一領 皂履一兩
單衣一領 絝一兩

襲一領 皂履一兩
單衣一領 絝一兩

袍一領 皂履一兩
口一領 絝一兩

17

P

18

P

19

1

20

21

TD 3 Translation

- 1 T'i Wan, fieldsman, of Jung li, Ch'ang-p'ing [hsien], Huai-yang chün, order of kung shih, age thirty; tunic, one; trousers, one; dog socks, one. Received by Kuan Tsan, ling shih. [check mark]
- 2 So T'uan, fieldsman, of P'ing li, Ch'ang-p'ing [hsien], Huai-yang chün, order of kung shih, age twenty three; tunic, one. Received on his behalf by Kuan Tsan. [check mark]
- 3 Li Hsing, fieldsman, of P'ing li, Ch'ang-p'ing [hsien], Huai-yang chün, order of kung shih, age twenty nine; tunic, one; trousers, one pair; dog socks one pair; private socks, two pairs. Received in person.
- 4 * Tsun, fieldsman, of Yeh-yang li, Ch'ang-p'ing [hsien], Huai-yang chün, order of kung shih, age twenty seven; tunic, one; trousers, one pair; dog socks, one pair; private socks, [two?] pairs. Received by Kuan Tsan. [check mark]
- 5 ..., fieldsman, of ... li, Ch'ang-p'ing [hsien], Huai-yang chün, order of kung shih, age [twenty eight?]; tunic, one; trousers, one pair; [dog socks, one pair]; private socks, two pairs. Received by Kuan Tsan. [check mark]
- 6 Li I, fieldsman, of Pei-ch'ao li, Ch'ang-p'ing [hsien], Huai-yang chün, order of kung shih, age twenty three; tunic, one; trousers, one; dog socks, one. Received on his behalf by Kuan Tsan ...
- 7 Ch'en Shih, fieldsman, of Pei-li li, Ch'ang-p'ing [hsien], Huai-yang chün, order of kung shih, age twenty three; tunic, one; trousers, one pair; dog socks, one pair; private socks,

- one pair. Received by Kuan Tsan ...
- 8 Sung Chien, fieldsman, of Shih-yang li, Ch'ang-p'ing [hsien],
Huai-yang chün, order of kung shih, age twenty two; tunic,
one. Received on his behalf by Kuan Tsan. [check mark]
- 9 Wei Ch'ung, fieldsman, of Tung-lo li, Ch'ang-p'ing [hsien],
Huai-yang chün, order of kung shih, age thirty; tunic, one;
trousers, one pair; private [singlet?], one; private ...,
one; dog socks, one pair; private socks, two pairs. Received
by Kuan Tsan. [check mark]
- 10 ... [check mark]
- 11 Pao Chien, fieldsman, of Ling li, [P'ei ? hsien], Ch'ang-i
kuo, order of kung shih; tunic, one; singlet, one; hemp sandals,
one pair; trousers, one pair. [check mark]
- 12 Ch'ing Feng Te, fieldsman, of I [li, P'ei? hsien], Ch'ang-i
kuo, order of kung shih, age twenty three; under-garment,
one; singlet, one; hemp sandals, one pair; trousers, one pair.
[check mark].
- 13 Fei Tu Jen, fieldsman, of Liang li, [P'ei ? hsien], Ch'ang-i
kuo, order of kung shih, age twenty three; under-garment,
one; singlet, one; hemp sandals, one pair; trousers, one pair.
[check mark]
- 14 ... , fieldsman, of Shih li, Ch'ang-i kuo, order of kung
shih, ...
- 15 ... tunic, one; [singlet?], one; hemp sandals, one pair;
trousers, one pair. [check mark]

- 16 Chu Kuang, fieldsman, of Ling li, [P'ei ? hsien], Ch'ang-i kuo, order of kung shih, age twenty four, ...
- 17 Ch'iu I, fieldsman, of Ch'eng li, [P'ei ? hsien], Ch'ang-i kuo, order of kung shih ...
- 18 ... tunic, one; singlet, one; hemp sandals, one pair; trousers, one pair. [check mark]
- 19 Pao Tao Chih, fieldsman, of Ch'eng li, [P'ei ? hsien], Ch'ang-i kuo, order of kung shih, age twenty four; under-garment, one; singlet, one; hemp sandals, one pair; trousers, one pair. [check mark]
- 20 ... tunic, one; singlet, one; hemp sandals, one pair; trousers, one pair. [check mark]
- 21 ... under-garment, one; ..., one; hemp sandals, one pair; trousers, one pair.

Notes

- 1 命 SW Chia LK 介 .The name Kuan Tsan is also seen in 214.60 (from MD), but this does not necessarily refer to the official mentioned here.
- 2 平二 SW 平二 (also in no.3)
索 SW Chia 雲 LK 害家 Ch'en (4) s.v.no.2043 reads the complete name as 周 處
- 3 竹 SW LK 休
二兩 SW LK 一兩
- 4 口 SW 兪 Chia 口 LK 豐 Ch'en (4) 儿
二兩 SW Chia LK 一兩

- 5 □□里 Chia 業陽里
- SW LK 王□□ Chia □尊
- 廿八 SW Chia 卅 LK 世
- 龔 SW LK 袍
- 綺 LK 袴
- 私綺 SW Chia LK 私袴
- 二兩 SW Chia LK 一兩
- 6 為取 SW Chia 取 LK 自取
- 9 私單□一 SW Chia 私單綺一 LK 私單綺一
- 私□ SW Chia LK 私綺練
- 二兩 Chia 一兩
- 11 邵 SW 邵 Chia 邵 LK 鄭 See Ch'en (4)
- 泉 SW LK 素 ~~Chia~~
- 12 邵 SW omits; Chia 邵 LK 豪
- 宜年 sic
- 鄉 Ch'en (4) 丁 ; a further example of this abbreviation is seen in 32.12A and ,possibly, 505.19.
- 13 田卒 SW Chia □卒 LK □
- 邵 SW Chia LK 邵
- 14 □ SW Chia LK 庶辟陽
- 15 單 SW LK 禪
- 16 邵 SW Chia LK 邵
- 19 田 LK 戌
- 邵 SW Chia LK 邵
- 暴 Chia □

SW Chia and LK orten omit the check marks in nos.13-21.

TD 4 (Plate 36)

Introduction

The form of this document is very similar to that of W 2. In both cases the fragments represent a record of the receipt and disbursement of grain, which was maintained on a monthly basis, with suitable captions for each part of the document. ⁽¹⁾ Unlike W 2 there is no clue here to the identity of the unit or office that was concerned with the transactions or their date. Comparatively long periods of time and large amounts of grain are mentioned, and it may be concluded that the strips derived from a more important centre of distribution than that of W 2. Other documents (e.g. TD 3, TD 6, TD 7, TD 9) give reason to believe that agricultural activities may have been directed from one of the offices established at Taralingin-durbeljin ⁽²⁾, and the existence of a major centre of production at that site is not unlikely.

It is probable that nos. 7 and 8 can be fitted together to form one complete strip.

The quantities of wheat (麥) which were concerned in these transactions were quoted in ta shih ⁽³⁾, but the scale of allowances cannot be determined precisely. It is not certain that nos. 2, 7 and 8 refer to men engaged in hard labour only, or whether ordinary fieldsmen were included (see note to no. 2), and the length of the months is unknown. If, as is likely, the strips are concerned with a standard

allowance for men classified in a single category in each case, the following calculations can be made:

<u>No.</u>	<u>Figures given</u>			<u>Nearest solution</u>	
	<u>grain</u> <u>(shih)</u>	<u>no. of</u> <u>men.</u>	<u>period</u> <u>(months)</u>	<u>monthly</u> <u>ration</u>	<u>total</u> <u>amount</u>
2	580.88	66	4	2.2	580.8
7,8	37.6	9 ?	2	2.1	37.8
5	37.6	6	3	2.1	37.8
6	7.8	2	3	1.3	7.8

The allowances suggested for nos. 2, 7 and 8, for men engaged in hard labour, are higher than those quoted elsewhere for soldiers on active service. ⁽⁴⁾ In the case of no. 6, where private servants are concerned, the allowance is the same as that given elsewhere for certain members of soldiers' ⁽⁵⁾ families .

It is likely that the word 田 was accidentally omitted before 卒 in no. 10; the spacing of the entries on this strip varies slightly from that on the others.

It is by no means clear whether the tenth part of the shih is expressed in these fragments as tou 斗 or shih 升; tou has been adopted in the transcriptions.

1	303.38	501	---	501	
2	303.24	11	1601	248	
3	303.2	2,6	1577	245	In SW as 302.12
4	182.7	79	1042	265	Distinguish a further 182.7 shown on TP 387.

5	303.51	2,6	---	245
6	303.9	11	1587	248
7	182.37	79	1047	265
8	303.28	2,6	---	245
9	102.10) 102.1)	9	585	247
10	19.38	5	170	245
11	[90.23]	44	---	257
12	90.46	44	---	257
13	192.38	15	---	249
14	19.45	45	167	257
15	182.46	500	---	337
16	102.12	44	---	256
17	102.7	44	592	257

The original number 90.23, though given in SW TP and LK, is probably incorrect; a strip 90.23 is fitted with 216.2 in TP 44, Chia 534, SW p.15.

In SW as 14.45

Notes:

- (1) The association of no.1 with the other strips may be subject to doubt. Examples of strips giving total sums, such as those seen in MD 8 or W 2 have not been included here, but some have been found at TD (e.g. 182.1;192.40).
- (2) Sommarström p.343 (note 1) writes: "The fort is called Taralingin-durbeljin, which means the "Walled Enclosure near the Agricultural Settlement" (this name is sometimes used for the whole site). There are, in fact, undoubted

traces of ancient cultivation, e.g. canals and fields, in the neighbourhood of the site, but nowadays the district is completely sterile, the ground being covered with gravel interspersed with occasional sand-dunes."

- (3) See ~~W 2 Introduction~~ p. 675
- (4) See ~~MD 8, 9, 10 Introduction~~ ^{pp. 357f.} for the monthly rates of 3 and 3.3 shih (small scale), corresponding to 1.8 and 2 shih (large scale). Slight support for the suggested figure of 2.2 for men engaged in hard labour is provided in 28.9, which is extremely difficult to read. SW and LK give the following text: 止官隄率羊胡 三月十六 作加食二斗二升大. It is conceivable that 日 should be read in place of 六, and the strip should be interpreted as referring to an additional allowance of grain, in respect of hard labour, of .226 shih for a period of ten days. This would amount to .678 for a full month of 30 days; the sum of the standard allowance of 3 shih and the additional .678 (i.e. 3.678 shih, small scale) is equivalent to 2.2 shih (large scale).
- (5) See ~~MD 8, 9, 10 Introduction~~ p. 360.

口穀出入簿

出麥五百八石八斗八升

以食田卒劇作六十六人五月盡八月

2

出麥廿七石五斗二升

以食口馬二匹五月盡八月

3

...

以食口口口騎二人五月盡

4

出麥卅七石六斗

以食田卒口六人六月盡八月

5

出麥七石八斗

以食吏私從者二人六月盡八月

6

出麥卅七石六斗

...

以食田卒劇作九人七月盡八月

8

...

出麥卅石

以食肩水卒九月十五日食 少十五石

9

口月入

TD 4

∴ 六石六斗四升
以食卒劇作世二人

出麥十四石一斗
∴

出麥六十石
∴

入麥廿石九斗八升
史掾口
∴

入麻十二石
四月庚戌史掾
∴

入麥廿口石六斗
∴

入麻廿七石二斗七升
癸酉史
∴

入麥二百一十五石六斗六
∴

TD 4 Translation

- 1 ... register of the issue and receipt of grain ...
- 2 Issued:wheat 580.88 shih;as rations for sixty six fields-
men engaged in hard labour for the fifth to the eighth
months inclusive.
- 3 Issued: [wheat?] 27.52 shih;as rations for [two ...
horses ?] for the fifth to the eighth months inclusive.
- 4 ...as rations for two ... cavalrymen from the fifth to
the ... months inclusive. ...
- 5 [Issued:wheat 37.6 shih;as rations for six ...fieldsmen
for the sixth to the eighth months inclusive ?].
- 6 Issued:wheat 7.8 shih;as rations for two officers'
personal servants for the sixth to the eighth months
inclusive.
- 7 Issued:wheat 37.6 shih ...
- 8 ...as rations for [nine?] fieldsmen engaged in hard
labour for the seventh to the eighth months inclusive.
- 9 Issued:wheat 41 shih;as rations for privates from Chien-
shui,for fifteen days in the ninth month.
15 shih short. Received ...month.
- 10 ... 6.64 shih;as rations for thirty two fieldsmen
engaged in hard labour.
- 11 Issued:wheat 14.1 shih ...
- 12 Issued:wheat 60 shih ...
- 13 Received:wheat 21.98 shih. Officials' ...
- 14 Received:red millet 12 shih;on keng hsu,fourth month,
officials' ...

- 15 Received: wheat 306 shih ...
- 16 Received: red millet 37.27 shih; on kuei yu; officials' ...
- 17 Received: wheat 215.66 shih ...

Notes

- 2 田卒劇作 For the meaning of 劇作 see Yang (1) p.111;
Yoneda (4) p.153; Fujieda (4) p.155 (correction to
Fujieda (1) p.291); Ch'en (1) p.49. An alternative
rendering for the whole phrase would be "fieldsmen
and men engaged in hard labour".
- 3 □ SW Chia 序僕驛 LK 左僕隊
- 4 □□□ SW LK 定 □□ Chia 序□胡
二人 LK omits
盡 SW Chia LK 食
- 5 Readings are given as follows for this strip:
- | | | |
|------------|---------|-----------|
| SW | □□十一石六斗 | 以食田卒六□□ |
| LK (no.20) | □□七石六斗 | 以食田卒六□六月□ |
| LK (no.90) | □五十石六斗 | 以食田卒六□□□ |
- 8 劇 SW LK 制
九人 SW LK 廿人
七 SW LK 二
- 9 卅 SW 卅
日 SW omits
□月入 SW Chia 食九月入 LK 九月入
(the two final entries 少十五石 and □月入 may have
been made by a different hand from the rest of the
inscription).

10 卒劇作 SW Chia 卒制作 LK 卒耐力作 Ch'en (4)
corrects 制 to 劇 .

13 廿 LK 十

史掾口 SW LK 史將簿

14 史掾 SW Chia LK 長掾

15 卅口石 SW LK 卅石

16 癸酉史 SW LK 口口口口

17 六 ... LK 大口

13,14 and 16 The meaning intended in the expression

史掾... is not clear; possibly it refers to the presence of certain officials to witness the receipt of the grain (cf. W 2 nos. 40-42 etc.)

TD 5 (Plate 37)

Introduction

Notes of the amounts of cash which were due to officers as regular pay are represented in MD 12, and the fragments assembled here derive from a complementary list of similar sums which were still due for payment. The information that is given includes the dates when the officers were first appointed, and it is of interest to note that in some cases officers held the same rank for long periods of two or three years. Two of the strips (nos. 2 and 10) concern the ^m same officer. In one case (no. 13) an exceptionally high sum is mentioned, for reasons which are not quite understood. In discussing these and other fragments Fujieda ⁽¹⁾ expresses the views reached by a study-group in Kyoto, to the effect that the failure to pay officials their dues in 81 B.C. may be associated with the difficulties of tax collection and the transport of large sums of cash to distant regions; and that these difficulties may in turn derive from the burdens of contemporary Han foreign policy. As Fujieda remarks, such questions must await the results of further research.

Most of these fragments are concerned with payments for the year 81 B.C., but nos. 15 and 16 are dated at 74 and 73 respectively. Nos. 1-9 and nos. 10-13 were probably written

by two different officials, and nos. 10 and 11 can possibly be fitted together to form one strip. It is tempting to believe that the task of making these lists passed from one clerk to another at some point between the occasions for drawing up the accounts for the tenth and eleventh months of 81 (i.e. between the time of nos. 9 and 10).

Fragments of similar reports, mostly from sites other than Taralingin-durbeljin, are seen in 11.17; 57.8; 280.16; 498.8; 507.4; and Ch 62⁽²⁾.

A clerical error may be seen in no. 12, where 元始 was probably written in place of始元.

The dates given in parenthesis after the translations are those corresponding with the days specified for the appointment of the officials.

1	303.49	12	1624	248		
2	19.50	45	166	257	In SW as 19.5	
3	90.21	}	9	540	247	
	90.3					
	90.32					
4	19.9	45	148	257		
5	303.21	11	1592	248	In LK as 303.31	
6	303.45	12	1616	248	In SW as 305.45	
7	216.7	10	1197	247		
8	513.40	44	2168	256	In SW as 673.40	
9	90.12	}	9	536	247	90.60 is not mentioned in SW TP LK
	90.2					
	90.60					

10	19.21	5	147	432	
11	513.38	66	2175	263	
12	90.11	9	512	433	In SW as 90.21
13	90.34 90.44	} 9	543	247	In SW as 90.44 only.
14	516.30	84	2259	266	In LK as 516.60.
15	514.4	66	2170	263	
16	520.5	43	---	256	In SW as 510.5

Notes:

(1) Fujieda (1) pp.330-1

(2) See Wang (1) Shih II, 11a.

書佐孫臨國始元四年六月丙寅除

未得始元六年五月奉用錢三百六十

· · · · ·
1

屬王廣始元三年六月丁丑除

未得始元六年五月

· · ·

2

侯李定國始元四年十月庚寅除

未得始元六年六月奉用錢

· · ·

3

· · · · ·
命史徐勝客始元六年五月乙卯除

未得始元六年七月奉用錢

· · ·

4

書佐樹奉始元三年六月丁丑除

未得始元六年八月奉用錢三百六十

5

命史覃高朔始元二年三月乙丑除

未得始元六年九月奉用錢四百

· · ·

6

· · · · ·
未得始元六年九月奉用錢七百廿

7

· · · · ·
除

未得始元六年九月奉用錢四百八十

· · ·

8

司馬令史行備始元六年七月甲子陳 未得始元六年十月奉用錢四百八十

屬王廣始元三年六月丁丑陳 未

得始元六年十二月奉用錢四百八十

僕陳橫元始二年二月庚寅陳

始元六年十一月奉用錢六千

口二月奉用錢九百六十

未得元平元年四月盡

未得本始元年十月奉

TD 5 Translation

- 1 Sun Lin Kuo, shu-tso, appointed on ping yin, sixth month, fourth year of Shih yüan; not yet received cash 360, being pay for the fifth month, sixth year of Shih yüan.
[5 July 83]
- 2 Wang Kuang, shu, appointed on ting ch'ou, sixth month, third year of Shih yüan; not yet received ... fifth month, sixth year of Shih yüan. [21 July 84]
- 3 Li Ting Kuo, hou, appointed on keng yin, tenth month, fourth year of Shih yüan; not yet received cash ..., being pay for the sixth month, sixth year of Shih yüan. [26 November 83]
- 4 Hsü Sheng K'o, ling-shih, appointed on i mao, fifth month, sixth year of Shih yüan; not yet received cash ..., being pay for the seventh month, sixth year of Shih yüan.
[13 June 81]
- 5 Fan Feng, shu-tso, appointed on ting ch'ou, sixth month, third year of Shih yüan; not yet received cash 360, being pay for the eighth month, sixth year of Shih yüan. [21 July 84]
- 6 T'an Ying, ling-shih, appointed on i ch'ou, third month, second year of Shih yüan; not yet received cash 4[...], being pay for the ninth month, sixth year of Shih yüan.
[15 May 85]
- 7 ... not yet received cash 720, being pay for the ninth month, sixth year of Shih yüan.

- 8 ... appointed on ...;not yet received cash 480,being pay for the ninth month,sixth year of Shih yüan.
- 9 Hsing Pei, [ssu-ma and ?] ling-shih,appointed on chia tzu,seventh month,sixth year of Shih yüan;not yet received cash 480,being pay for the tenth month,sixth year of Shih yüan. [21 August 81]
- 10 Wang Kuang,shu,appointed on ting ch'ou,sixth month,third year of Shih yüan;not yet ... [21 July 84]
- 11 ... received cash 480,being pay for the eleventh month, sixth year of Shih yüan.
- 12 Ch'en Heng,hou,appointed on keng yin,second month,second year of Yüan shih [sic] ... [10 April 85]
- 13 ... cash 6000,being pay for the eleventh month,sixth year of Shih yüan .
- 14 ... cash 960,being pay for the second month ...
- 15 ... not yet received ...for the fourth to the ... months inclusive,first year of Yüan p'ing.
- 16 ... not yet received ... pay for the tenth month,first year of Pen shih.

Notes

- 3 李 SW LK 丞
未得始元 LK 未得昭元
六月 SW omits
- 4 勝 sic Ch'en (4);SW Chia LK 脱
七月 SW Chia LK 十月

- 5 陳 LK 陳井
- 6 四百 SW Chia 四 ☑
- 7 未 LK □
- 8 陳 omktted in SW Chia LK
奉 LK 事
八十 SW Chia 八 ☑
- 9 七月 LK 十月
- 10 未 SW 朱 LK 主
- 11 四百 SW LK 百
- 12 元始 SW Chia 大治 (The date has been calculated on
the assumption that the nien hao should read 始元)
- 13 奉用錢 SW Chia LK 庚午錢
- 14 □ SW Chia 後
九百六十 LK □ □ □ □
- 15 年 LK omits

Introduction

There can be little doubt that these five fragments should be associated together; they are concerned with the same subject; characteristic phrases and statistics recur; and the handwriting can be identified as being one and the same. However TD 6 is in some respects the least satisfactory of the collections of strips; although the subject matter may comprise major aspects of agrarian administration, and it might be hoped that the document would bear a general significance in the application of Han institutions, the texts cannot be fully interpreted, and there are several problems which cannot yet be solved.

No. 1 is a caption to the other strips, which record the disbursement of money from official sources (cf. MD 11) from a time in 9 B.C. The transactions were concerned with waggon-loads, presumably of grain, and with individuals who are described as 賦就人. The home address (li and hsien) of these men is recorded on the strips, and no military designation is included in their description; they can probably be taken to be civilians. At least two hsien were concerned, both in the chün of Chiu ch'üan, and it appears from no. 1 that the report of the transactions was prepared for transmission to the wei 尉; officials of that title were established as part of the staff of the tu wei fu of the ~~chün~~ chün.

In the key expression 賦就人 (nos. 1, 2 and 4), the character 賦 may suggest an association with the poll-tax, which was levied on civilian members of the population; this tax was usually payable in coin. ⁽¹⁾ However, it has been shown by Yang Lien-sheng ⁽²⁾ that the word 賦 was used in Han times as a general term to cover govern^{nm}mental imposts of all types, even including taxes levied on the land; it is not impossible that it is used in this general sense here. 就 is sometimes taken as being equivalent to 僱, in the sense of hiring, and may be associated with the hiring ⁽³⁾ of men for transport or other forms of labour.

The strips concern the payment of sums of money which have been calculated very exactly on a basis that is completely consistent. The figure of cash 1347 is cited for one waggon-load (liang 兩) in no. 2 (also no. 3 ?), and this corresponds with the figures of 4714 and 10,776 for three and a half and eight loads respectively in nos. 4 and 5. It has been suggested elsewhere that the standard waggon-load amounted to 25 shih or hu of grain, and this suggestion is somewhat supported by the final entry in no. 4, which gives a break-down of three and a half loads as ⁽⁴⁾ 85 plus 2.83 shih.

The strips may thus record payments of 53.9 cash in respect of each shih [of grain], and this figure remains constant for the two hsien that are mentioned. The precise distances between those two places and the centre concerned

(i.e. Taralingin-durbeljin) cannot be known; it is however unlikely that they were equal, and it is thus improbable that the sum of 53.9 cash was concerned with the expenses of transport exclusively, as these would presumably vary according to time or distance. It is more likely that the payment should be associated with the grain itself. Possibly the strips are records of payments that were made to farmers in respect of grain brought to the official granaries, and the somewhat odd figures that are mentioned may have been reached by deducting a fixed proportion for taxation or other purposes, on a scheme such as the following: ⁽⁵⁾

<u>Gross payment</u>		<u>Deduction</u>	<u>Net payment</u>	<u>Percentage of deduction</u>
per waggon	per <u>shih</u>			
1400 cash	56 cash	53 cash	1347 cash	3.8%
or				
1425 cash	57 cash	78 cash	1347 cash	5.4 %
or				
1450 cash	58 cash	103 cash	1347 cash	7.1%
etc.				

The rendering "taxable individual", which has been adopted below for the expression 賦就人 should be treated with reserve.

Other strips whose content is comparable with that of TD 6 are seen in 505.20 and 505.36. The first instance concerns 58 waggon-loads at an expenditure of 79,774? cash, ⁽⁶⁾

i.e. approximately 1375 cash per liang .505.36 is concerned with twelve waggon-loads, and a note is appended regarding the loss of 59.3 shih through wastage or similar causes.

A spade for the upper binding string is visible in no.1.

1	506.26	87	2013	489	
2	506.27	87	2015	267	
3	502.8	86	1934	267	In SW as 510.8
4	505.15	77	1961	264	
5	506.11	87	1998	267	

Notes:

- (1) For the Han tax system see Swann pp.366f., Li Chien-nung pp.244f. and Hiranaka VIII p,p.15f.; for the payment of the fu in local products see Swann p.369. It is possible that the following pieces were labels made to accompany cash which was received from this or similar sources of revenue: 21.1A; 45.1A; 49.2A; 183.18A; 526.1A (see Plate 52 no.2; Plate 51 nos.3,1 and 2; and Plate 52 no.3).
- (2) Yang (1) pp.104f.
- (3) See Lao Kan in K'ao pp.56f. and CYYY XI, p.67. Ch'en (1) pp.30 and 34 cites 116.40 as evidence for the existence of hired labour and 3.4 for ^e就 meaning to lease, of property. 僱人 which is seen in Ch.390 (dated 87 A.D.)

is rendered "locataire" by Chavannes, and probably refers to the lease of land; 就人 may be used in the same sense in 214.125. 就 is used in connection with hired labour for transport in 267.16 (in the phrase 載就人; K'ao p.56 erroneously gives 僦) and 350.12 (K'ao ib., reads 僦), and in HS XC 14b. See also HS XXIVB, 19b 天下賦輸或不償其僦費 which Swann (p.314) renders " ...when imperial poll taxes fu were transported at times they did not compensate for the cost of cartage"; and 502.11.

- (4) The exact product of $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 25 is 87.5. Evidence regarding the size of the liang is seen in the Chiu chang suan shu (see Grain Measurement p.76). Quantities of grain are quoted as 25 shih, or one load, in 16.2 and 156.22; as 50 shih, or two loads, in 253.5; and as 100 shih, or four loads, in 122.6. Yoneda (4) p.151 suggests the use of a sack of five shih as a unit for loading, and a differentiation between waggon-loads of 25 shih (ta shih) and 35 shih (hsiao shih) according to the type of grain handled.
- (5) Figures can only be hypothetical, as it is not possible to cite evidence for the current price of grain at Chüyen in 9 B.C. It is worth noting that there are at least two strips from TD which cite prices of cash 35 or less (303.3 and 192.39, 90.64, 90.45, 19.26); for prices, both

TD 6

realistic and rhetorical, ranging from 5 to 10,000
cash, see K'ao pp. 57f., Ch'en (1) p. 69 and Grain measure-
ment pp. 67-8.

- (6) The reading of the figures is somewhat doubtful.

TD 6

元延四年八月以來將轉守尉黃良所 賦就人錢名

出錢千三百卅七

賦就人會水宜祿里蘭子房三兩

出錢千三百卅七

...

出錢四千七百二十四

賦就人表是萬歲里吳成三兩半

已入十五石
少石八什三分

右八兩

用錢萬七百七十六

...

TD 6 Translation

- 1 Names and monies of taxable individuals, for transmission to the office of Huang Liang, probationary wei, for the period since the eighth month of the fourth year of Yüan yen. [9 B.C.]
- 2 Paid out cash 1347; taxable individual Lan Tzu Fang, of I-lu li, Hui-shui [hsien]; for one waggon-load.
- 3 Paid out cash 1347; ...
- 4 Paid out cash 4714; taxable individual Wu Ch'eng, of Wan-sui li, Piao-shih [hsien]; for three and a half waggon-loads. 85 shih received; 2.83 shih short.
- 5 Foregoing is for eight waggon-loads; cash expended 10,776 ...

Notes

- 1 將 LK omits
所 could also be taken as part of the individual's name.
- 2 七 LK 十
房 Chia 所 Ch'en (4) prefers 房
- 3 七 LK 十
- 4 七百 SW 百七
- 就 K'ao p. 56 儗
- 什 SW Chia LK 斗

Introduction

Little is known regarding the conditions whereby officials or members of the forces were entitled to hold land in the "colonial" areas of the north west, and the value of these five pieces lies in their evidence regarding the levy of the land tax (tsu 租), at a given rate per mou of cultivated land. ⁽¹⁾ While the exact nature of the documents represented cannot be known, the fragments clearly derive from records of tax collected in kind in this way.

The five pieces probably belong to one set of documents, and the appearance of a single horizontal bar (not shown in the transcription) at the head of nos. 1 and 5 is a feature that is not seen elsewhere. The difference in the rates of taxation that were levied can be explained either by differences of time or owing to the different quality of the land, with a different assessment. The rate of .4 shih per mou that is specified in nos. 2 and 3 may recur in no. 1, if the acreage is read as 65 mou (if 67 mou is read, the rate was slightly less than .4 shih); and in no. 5 the rate of the tax was .335 shih.

Fragments which may refer to the levy of this tax or the measurement of land for the purposes of taxation may be seen in 303.17 and 494.1, and the subject features in Ch 415, 632 and 633.

TD 7

The meaning of the terms 長官 (no.1) and 處田 (nos.1 and 5) is not fully understood.

1	303.7	10	1585	225
2	19.43	5	165	245
3	182.25	22	1028	251
4	182.3	22	1027	251
5	303.25	27	1610	Not found

Note:

(1) On this subject see Wang (1) Shih II, 26b et seq.; K'ao p. 53; Swann pp. 366f.; Li Chien-nung pp. 253f.; Ch'en (1) p. 51; and Hiranaka VI.

右第二長官二處田六十七畝? 租廿六石

率畝四什

2

率畝四什

3

租十六石

4

右處? 五田六十五畝 租大石 廿二石八什

5

TD 7 Translation

- 1 Foregoing is for 6[7?] mou of cultivated land, [in two plots?], no. 2 ch'ang kuan: land tax: 26 shih.
- 2 ... at .4 [shih] per mou.
- 3 ... at .4 [shih] per mou.
- 4 ... land tax: 16 shih. ...
- 5 Foregoing is for 65 mou of cultivated land, [in five plots?]: land tax 21.8 shih (large)

Notes

- 1 第 LK 吏
長官 Cf. 501.11, where the text may read: ... 第四長官 ...
乚 Sic Ch'en Pang-~~kuai~~ huai 陳邦怀 (Kaogu 1960, 10, p. 52)
on the basis of comparison with 317.5 and 326.22A.
SW Chia and LK read 五, but contrast this character
in no. 5. For the form of 乚 see ^{pp. 401-2 and 726.} MD 13 Int. and X 1 Int.
- 畝 SW Chia 取
- 2 畝 (also in no. 3) SW Chia LK 取
什 SW Chia 斗 LK 升
- 3 什 SW Chia LK 斗
- 5 處 Chia LK 家; cf. 處 in no. 1 above and in Inscription
no. 19 column 1.
- 畝 Chia 取
什 Chia LK 斗

Introduction

As in UD 5, these pieces are probably fragments of a record of civilians who were allowed to pass through a controlled point on a communications' line. Information of the same type is entered, but the details differ from those in UD 5 (e.g. the bodily features are not described). If the three pieces are parts of a record that covered a single calendar year, they can be dated in one of the following years: 64, 61, 59, 50, 37, 26, 18 or 7 B.C.; 32, 43, 75 or 78 A.D.

Other strips found at TD, which can be identified as parts of comparable documents, include: 502.2 (several individuals are entered on one strip; in some cases they may be stated to be on their return journey, northward⁽¹⁾); 505.14 (records the inward passage of a guardsman; the form and writing are possibly the same as those in TD 8, but the date is expressed by numbers rather than cyclical terms); and, possibly, 506.3.

1	505.12	72	1958	421
2	505.13	72	1959	421
3	505.9	72	1957	422

Note:

(1) 復致北出 (SW, Chia, LK read 北上)

TD 8

敦煌效穀宜玉里瓊陽年廿八

輶車一乘馬一匹

閏月丙午南入

1

居延計掾衛豐

子男居延平里衛良年十三

輶車一乘馬一匹十二月戊子北出

2

口口長口里張信

輶車一乘用馬一匹

十二月辛卯北出

3

TD 8 Translation

- 1 Ch'ung Yang, of I-wang li, Hsiao-ku [hsien], Tunhuang [chün]; age 28; one light vehicle, one horse; admitted inwards, to the south, on ping wu, in the intercalary month.
- 2 Wei Feng, [accountant?] Chüyen; his son Wei Liang, of P'ing li, Chüyen [hsien], age 13; one light vehicle, one horse; proceeded out, to the north, on wu tzu, in the twelfth month.
- 3 Chang Hsin, of Chang * li, ...; one light vehicle, one working horse; proceeded out, to the north, on hsin mao, in the twelfth month.

Notes

- 1 效 SW, Chia 放. Ch'en (3) p.45 supports 效 by reference to HS XXVIII, B1, 19a and Inscription (4) column 1.
一匹 SW, LK 三 Chia 三 匹
- 2 居延 SW, LK 登 Ch'en (3) p.43 prefers 居延
計據 Title untraced.
- 3 用馬 This expression is seen in a list of taxable property belonging to an officer (37.35; valued at 4000 cash). Cf. 用牛 in 24.1B (valued at 2500 cash); working oxen also feature in the Linear ^B tablets (See Ventris and Chadwick, pp. 212-213).

TD 9 (Plate 16)

Owing to the small size of the fragments assembled here and the absence of a complete strip the nature of the original documents that are represented must remain doubtful, and the association of all the pieces together as parts of one series may be questionable. With this reservation the fragments can be identified as parts of a descriptive register of cattle used in one of the agricultural settlements near Taralingin durbeljin; a complete strip probably included details of colour, sex, age, height and other distinctive features of each animal.

There is good reason to show that cattle were used for ploughing in Han times. Their use is associated with the agricultural techniques which were introduced by Chao Kuo ⁽¹⁾ 趙過 (c. 85 B.C.) and applied as far afield as Chüyen. In addition, several strips testify to official recognition of the needs of working cattle, e.g., 238.36, which can be dated at about 42 B.C. and refers to the procedure for taking stock of cattle; ⁽²⁾ 217.13 which records the issue of fodder for cattle belonging to the authorities (官牛); and 509.20 which refers to the food supplies needed for working cattle (服牛) ⁽³⁾. Two other fragments (149.29 and 521.33) may possibly belong to records such as those represented here.

The expressions used in these pieces are by no means clear. 久, which is read in nos. 1, 7 and 13, is tentatively rendered "branded", on the assumption that the word is cognate with 久⁽⁴⁾. In nos. 1, 3, 5 etc. 斬 may refer to cutting the horns of the animals; similarly 剝, in no. 2 (if read correctly) may refer to the horns. It is not known what distinction should be drawn between 特 (nos. 5, 11) and 牡 (no. 13); one of the terms may denote oxen rather than bulls.

Several hands may be distinguished in these fragments. Nos. 4 and 5 can probably be fitted together to form one piece.

1	510.28	71	2071	428B	
2	504.2	77	1937	422	
3	512.6	70	2118	428B	
4	510.12	81	2059	428B	
5	514.41	66	2196	430	In SW as 514.14
6	515.19	84	2218	428B	
7	517.16	84	2264	580	
8	514.20	84	2158	580	
9	512.25	66	2131	430	
10	514.13	120	---	423	
11	517.14	84	2274	428B	
12	120.29	22	---	---	
13	512.34	120	2136	428B	

Notes:

- (1) See HS XXIVA, 18a (Swann pp. 187f.). The statement in the Han-shu that Chao Kuo's methods were applied in Chüyen may be partly corroborated by the evidence of W 2.
- (2) See K'ao p. 61 and Ch'en (1) p. 52. For the phrase 相牛, which is seen in the strip, cf. Ch'i-min-yao-shu 齊民要術 VI, lvi, 2a 凡相馬之法
- (3) For this expression see Ch'i-min-yao-shu VI, lvi, 1a
- (4) See GSR no. 993, and Morphashi s.v. 久

牛一黑牝左斬齒三歲久左右

...

1

左剽齒五歲高五尺九寸

...

2

牛一黑牝白頭左斬齒四歲

...

3

牛一黃

4

特左斬齒二歲

...

5

牛一黑牝左斬齒

...

6

尺七寸久左角

...

7

歲高五尺九寸

...

8

齒五歲 左角口

∴
左[^]斬_✓齒六歲 口 ∴

牛一黑特左斬齒八歲高[?]七尺三寸 ∴

∴ 一黑[?]牝左斬齒 ∴

牛[^]一黑_✓牝口斬_✓毋久[?]

TD 9 Translation

- 1 One black cow, cut on the left; age three years; [branded ?] on the left and right ...
- 2 ... pierced on the left; age five years; height five feet nine inches.
- 3 One black cow, with a white head, cut on the left; age four years ...
- 4, One light brown bull, cut on the left ~~sida~~, age two
5 years ...
- 6 One black cow, cut on the left; age ...
- 7 ... feet seven inches; [branded ?] on the left shoulder.
- 8 ... years; height five feet nine inches.
- 9 ... age five years. Left horn ...
- 10 ... cut on the left; age six years ...
- 11 One black bull, cut on the left; age eight years; height seven feet three inches ...
- 12 One black cow, cut on the left; age ...
- 13 One black bull, cut on the ...; no [branding?] ...

Notes

- 1 牝 SW Chia 牝
左 LK 左
齒 SW Chia LK 首 (so also in nos. 3, 5, 6, 9, 11 and 12)
久左右 SW Chia 久口在 □ LK 久口右
- 2 剽 SW LK □
- 3 牝 SW 牝
左 LK 左
- 4 黃 SW Chia LK □

- 5 特 SW omits; Chia 持 LK □
左 LK 尤
- 6 牛一黑牝 SW □ □ 牡 LK 黑牝 尤
- 7 尺七寸久 SW 七寸 □ Chia □ 七寸 □ LK □ 七寸久
- 8 □ 歲高 SW Chia □ □ 京 LK □ □ □
- 9 左角 □ SW Chia 左角屬 LK 尤以萬
- 10 左斬齒六歲 SW 齒六歲 LK □ 廿六歲
- 11 牛一黑特 LK 三俱持
八歲高 SW Chia □ □ 絜 LK — □ 蓬
- 12 牝 LK 牡
- 13 久 SW Chia LK 入 (see 陳邦 牝 怀 in Kaogu
1960, 10 p. 52)

TD 10 (Plate 11)

Introduction

The material found at Tunhuang includes excellent examples of Han calendars, whose forms can be reconstructed with some certainty. ⁽¹⁾ Considerably fewer fragments of this type of document can be recognised in the material from Chüyen, and apart from the three strips shown here it has not been possible to fit pieces together as parts ⁽²⁾ of the same calendar.

The text of these three fragments consists of consecutive terms of the sexagenary cycle, with indications to mark the tenth (十日) and last (晦日) days of the month. The terms are written in two horizontal lines, and ten terms are missing between the last term of the upper and the first term of the lower line. As the characters of at least one of the terms (庚辰) have been split vertically, so that they are now separated and appear on strips 2 and 3, it seems likely that the three pieces were originally parts of one single board. The terms that appear on the extreme right side of no. 1 are for the third and twenty fourth days of the month concerned, and the form of the original document can be reconstructed by the addition of:

(a) a narrow strip to the right of no. 1, with the terms for the 1st, 2nd, 22nd and 23rd days; and (b) a comparatively wider piece, to the left of no. 3 with the ^l terms for the 14th to the 21st days (upper line) and 2nd to 9th days

(lower line). Figures have been inserted in the transcription given below to indicate the arrangement that is envisaged.

The month to which these terms are referred would have comprised thirty days, beginning on Jen shen 壬申. As the upper line of entries appears at the extreme top of the strips it presumably referred to the first month in the year for which the calendar was made. However no such month (i.e. long, beginning on Jen shen) is to be found in the reconstructed calendar between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D. (the first months of 4 and 97 A.D. started on Jen shen, but in both cases the month was short). In addition it seems that the document was never completed; the characters were doubtless written in their very small size with the intention that the strips would accommodate all the lines that would be needed for the full calendar, but there are no traces of inscription, or erasure, after the second line. It is not unlikely that the three strips form part of an attempt to write a calendar which was started incorrectly and discontinued once an initial error had been recognised. Such an error would occur very easily if the first month were written with thirty instead of twenty nine terms; and, if this were so, the calendar represented here could have been intended for either 4 or 97 A.D.

No trans~~l~~iteration of the terms has been added after the transcription.

1	505.28	43	1972	556	
2	502.5	86	1908	557	No number is given in SW
3	505.29	43	1973	555	

Notes:

- (1) See Ch 9-24 and 25-35. The various forms of calendar are discussed in Notes pp. 312f.
- (2) The following fragments can be found. (The types are those described in Notes pp. 312-3). From MD: type (a) 39.37; 176.53; 286.1; 309.15; 482.9; from UD: type (a) 37.40; type (c) 97.5; type (d) 179.10; from TD: type (a) 503.5; 506.18; from W: type (a) 88.22; from unidentified sites: type (a) 87.18; 111.3; 111.6; 166.8; 166.9; type (c) 85.7; 290.^{11A}~~11~~; type (d) 457.19.

[21 ← 14	甲申	癸未	壬午	辛巳	庚辰	己卯	戊寅	丁丑	丙子	乙亥	甲戌	2 1]
	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	

[9 ← 2	□	晦	辛	庚	己	戊	丁	丙	乙	23 22]
	□	日	丑	子	亥	戌	酉	申	未	
	1?		30	29	28	27	26	25	24	

Notes

1 丙子 LK 甲子
 丙申 SW 丙甲

2 The readings of this strip are very doubtful, and are in many cases inferred on the basis of 庚子 (as agreed in Chia, LK; SW reads 庚午). Incomplete readings are given in SW Chia LK

W 1 (Plate 17)

Introduction

As in MD 7, the fragments collected here are thought to be parts of a document made out in tabulated form, but as the headings of the strips consist of cyclical terms for dates, the exact nature of the document cannot be determined. Probably the strips record the issue or consumption of stores by different units, which were shown on a guide-strip such as 68.36 or 478.10 (See ^{p. 348}MD 7 Introduction); alternately different items of equipment could have been listed on a guide-strip. The horizontal lines entered on the strips may represent successive occasions on which stores were issued or used (as in no. 15) or they may sometimes be the characters — — or — . These marks have been interpreted variously in SW, Chia and LK, and such differences are not included in ^{the} notes ^{that follow} after the translation.

1	273.17	389	1453	618	
2	308.39	437	1638	630	
3	308.13	436	---	631	
4	148.11	447	856	632	In SW with no number; in Chia, LK as 148.33
5	148.29	447	---	Not found	
6	88.21	392	---	Not found	
7	148.49	394	---	Not found	

W 1

8	148.39	394	---	618	
9	88.15	393	514	618	
10	555.17	384	---	3180	
11	534.27	437	---	630	
12	148.7	447	---	632	In SW as 148.29
13	148.50	393	---	618	Not included in LK
14	273.15	390	1454	618	
15	275.14	495	---	635	

W 1

☐ 壬子

甲辰

癸卯

戊戌

甲午

己卯



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	W 1	Translation					
1	<u>Chi mao</u>						...
2	<u>Chia wu</u>	1	1				...
3	<u>Wu hstl</u>	1					...
4	<u>Kuei mao</u>	1					...
5		...		2	1		
6		...		1	1		
7		...		2	1		
8	...	1	1	1	1		...
9	<u>Chia ch'en</u>	1	1	2	1	2	
10		...				2	
11		...				2	
12		...				3	
13		...	2	1	1	1	
14	<u>Jen tzu</u>	1	1	1			...
15	...	5	6	3	5	2	

Notes

- 1 己 Chia 奉
- 14 壬子 SW 壬午 Chia 壬午 LK 三午
- 15 The two characters of a cyclical term may appear at the beginning.

W 2 (Plates 38-42)

Introduction

Some of the earliest datable strips found at Chüyen are included in the material studied here. ⁽¹⁾ The collection represents the administrative files of a centre which was responsible for the supply of grain to soldiers and others who were employed in the service of the Han government, and it is evident that strict accounts of receipts and disbursements were maintained on a monthly basis. Presumably the centre was situated near Wayen-torei, where the strips were found, and acted as a forward base for the supply of troops and others deployed in the Han outposts. Two granaries are mentioned by name in the strips. ⁽²⁾ The centre may well have been similar to the forward supply base whose ruins were found by Stein at one of the sites of Tunhuang. ⁽³⁾

The remarkably large number of fragments ⁽⁴⁾ collected here covers a period of nearly ten years (90-82 B.C.), and can constitute no more than a fraction of the complete series of monthly statements that were submitted. The same handwriting occurs throughout the period, and the same individuals were concerned with the transactions that are reported. In general, identical formulae are used throughout the material, but some variations are only to be expected in view of the length of the period involved. The strips of W 2 have been classified and arranged as follows:

(1) Nos. 1-4. Titles or captions of the monthly returns.

Similar strips, incorporated in one document, appear at regular intervals in 128.2 (see Plate 43 nos. 1, 17, 33 and Plate 44 nos. 49, 63). There is no means of relating nos. 1-4 directly with other individual strips in W 2. (It is possible that no. 1 should be included in (6) below).

(2) Nos. 5-67. Individual entries for the receipt or disbursement of grain, as reported in monthly allotments over the period

90-82. ⁽⁵⁾ Although the years are not always specified, it is possible to date most of the pieces, thanks to the use of the sexagenary cycle, but nos. 52-65 and 67 cannot be placed.

Nos. 5-67 can be explained as being either (a) parts of one ledger, in which both receipts and disbursements were entered; or (b) parts of two ledgers, in which the two types of transaction were entered separately. An example of (b) is seen in 562.1 (see Plate 45 nos. 3 and 4), where disbursements made on consecutive days are made on the one piece of wood. However, fragments such as nos. 68-72 and 89-92 may imply the use of a single ledger for all transactions. (It is possible that no. 52 should be included in (6) below).

(3) Nos. 68-72. Totals of the amounts of grain issued in particular months. These cannot be placed in their correct order.

(4) Nos. 73-80. Captions following the entries made for each month. The use of similar captions to separate parts of long documents is seen in 128.2 (see Plate 43 nos. 8, 12 etc.).

(5) Nos. 81-93. Unplaced fragments, often too small for identification precisely. Some of these pieces may be summaries of the stock carried over from one month to the next (nos. 89-91; cf. 128.2, Plates 43-4, nos. 2, 34 and 50).

(6) Nos. 94-108. As far as can be ascertained, the fragments included above (nos. 1-93) are strips or parts of strips cut to the normal width, in lengths of about one foot (Han). In nos. 94-108 (which record individual receipts or disbursements) the handwriting and form is that of the other strips; the same period of time is concerned, and the same individuals are mentioned. However, the strips that were used were wider and markedly longer ⁽⁶⁾. The use of different sizes of stationery makes it unlikely that these pieces formed part of exactly the same record as nos. 1-93, and the relationship between the two sets of fragments can be explained variously.

(a) It can be postulated that two separate sets of documents were drawn up, for concurrent use in respect of two different sections of the supply base. This is probably unlikely, as no such subdivision of the unit is mentioned; despite the weakness of an argument based on negative evidence, it could reasonably be expected, in view of the precise nature of these documents, that such a subdivision would appear on some of the captions that have been found.

(b) Nos. 94-108 may represent a draft, i.e. rough notes

that were made immediately after the completion of a transaction, for later inclusion in a report compiled on stationery of standard size. (Alternately nos. 1-93 were a draft and nos. 94-108 derived from the final copy).

(c) It can be assumed that the return was made out in duplicate, on stationery of different sizes, and that we possess fragments drawn from the two copies. No evidence ⁽⁷⁾ can be found to substantiate either of these suggestions. On balance (c) is thought to be more likely than (b), and in view of the meticulous nature of Han administrative records the maintenance of duplicate copies of a report need occasion no surprise. ⁽⁸⁾ It will be seen below that a high proportion of errors are detectable in these fragments; these could well be due to careless copying.

In general, strips which record the issue of grain include a specification of the exact purpose of the disbursement, i.e. the number of rations to be supplied; exceptionally, (nos. 14, 97 and 102) such details are appended to strips recording the receipt of grain at no. 2 t'ing. The rendering of no. 93 is incomplete and highly tentative; the strip cannot be compared with any of the usual types seen in W 2, and may be part of an account of the system whereby the reports were compiled.

Little can be said regarding the nature and organisation of the centre that is involved in these transactions.

通澤第二亭

The full title, T'ung-tse ti erh t'ing implies the existence of a number of t'ing or establishments that were associated with or subordinate to T'ung-tse; this is presumably a geographical name or the title of an official establishment (or both). As Ch'en Chih has pointed out (Ch'en (1) p.58) agricultural t'ing of this type must be distinguished from the civil administrative units of this name. (9) Mori (5) p.143 notes the suggestion (based on the evidence of 273.28) that T'ung-tse was the name of an hou which was subordinate to the T'ien-pei 房北 hou-kuan, but this suggestion must remain unproven.

It will be noted that a granary entitled Tai-t'ien 代田 features in several strips (e.g. nos. 14, 41, 42, 44, 50, 51, 98, 100 and 102) as a depot which supplied grain to no. 2 t'ing. This name must be associated with the newly evolved agricultural technique of the tai-t'ien, or rotation of land, which is stated to have been put into operation by Chao Kuo 趙過, from the early part of the Chao ti period (86-74). In this connection considerable interest lies in the statement of the Han-shu that Chao Kuo had the arts of agriculture taught to soldiers and colonists "in the commanderies of the borders, extending as far as the walls of Ch'üyen". (10)

No strip gives the total amount of grain received by no. 2 t'ing for a given month. It will be seen from the following list that two named granaries and two other establishments

feature as units from which supplies were drawn, but it cannot be determined how many of these were operative at the same time:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Granary, or unit</u>	<u>Amount received (in shih)</u>	<u>Reference (W 2 no.)</u>
89	7	short ?	11.4	13
89	10	short (an individual)	10	96
89	11	long Tai-t'ien	?	14
88	1	long No.4	12	16
87	8	short No.6	14.5	97
		(11)		
86	1	short? No.6	14.5	23
85	6	long Hsiang-hu	15	28,29
85	11	short Tai-t'ien	14.5	41
85/84	12	long Tai-t'ien	15	42
84	1	short Tai-t'ien	14.5	44
84	4	long Hsiang-hu	15	47
84	6	long Tai-t'ien	15	50
84	7	short Tai-t'ien	1...	51
84/83	12	short Tai-t'ien	11.6	98
83	2	short ?	11.6	99
82	2	long Tai-t'ien	12	100
82	10	short ?	11.6	101

It will be noticed that there is a regular correspondence between the lengths of the months and the amounts drawn from the granaries, i.e. in long months 15 or 12 shih were supplied, but in short months these quantities were reduced to 14.5 and 11.6 shih. This difference can hardly have been accidental, and it seems that no. 2 t'ing was able to estimate its needs in sufficient detail to allow for the requirements of a single day. No certain reason can be provided to explain why consistently larger quantities were drawn between 87 and 84 than at other periods, but it is suggestive that it was during this period that no. 2 t'ing was supplying rations to men who came from distant parts of China, and whose presence

(12)

at Wayen-torei may not have been permanent. Probably no. 2 t'ing was in a position to order the supplies that it needed from the granaries in accordance with a ^{Varying} ~~vaying~~ situation.

Figures for the total monthly amounts issued by the t'ing are irregular, varying from 7 to 84 shih, and these amounts cannot be correlated with what is known of the amounts received.

It seems probable that between 89 and 85 a change occurred whereby the title of the senior official of the granaries was altered from Ch'ang 長 to Chien 長. Individual officials are mentioned in W 2 as holding posts as follows:

(14)

Yu	OC no. 2 <u>t'ing</u>	October 90 to March 82 (see nos. 94 and 100)
Yen Shou	OC no. 6 (unit or office not stated)	September 87 to February 86 (nos. 97 and 23)
Yen Shou	<u>Tu-ch'eng</u> , [no. 2 <u>t'ing</u> ?]	July 85 to May 84 (nos. 29 and 47)
Ping I	OC no. 7 <u>t'ing</u>	October and November 90 (nos. 6 and 95)
Kuang	OC Lin tao <u>t'ing</u>	(no. 9)
Ch'i	OC Tai t'ien granary	November 89 (no. 14)
Kuang	Supervisor Tai-t'ien granary	December 85 to January 83 (nos. 41 and 98)
Chih	Supervisor Tai-t'ien granary	March 82 (no. 100)
Chien	<u>Ku-li</u> , Hsiang-hu granary	July 85 (no. 29)
	Supervisor, Hsiang-hu granary	November 85 to May 84 (nos. 40 and 47)

(13)

Nothing is known regarding the position and function of the posts of tu-ch'eng and ku-li. Yen Shou, OC no. 6, may be the same individual as the tu ch'eng of no. 2 t'ing and the two entries shown above for Kuang may refer to the same man.

A significant feature of this document lies in the concurrent use of two notations (ta shih 大石 and hsiao shih 小石) for the measurement of grain. The normal ration issued to able-bodied men is expressed in these fragments as .1 shih (on the small scale) or as .06 shih (on the large scale). In a number of instances total quantities of grain are given according to one scale with a conversion made to the other. The interpretation of the two terms ta shih and hsiao shih has been subject to some discussion, and an attempt has been made elsewhere to summarise the views that have been put forward. No change is suggested in the conclusion already reached, that one unit was used to measure both unhusked grains, on the scale of small values and large quantities (hsiao shih), and refined grains, on the scale of large values and small quantities (ta shih)⁽¹⁵⁾.

The subject of the transactions recorded in W 2 is nearly always men 麻, which is seen but rarely in other contexts. Men is to be differentiated from mi 糜⁽¹⁶⁾, and has been described as a species of red millet.

The nien hao used in the Han calendar to denote the years 92-89 is given in texts such as the Han-shu in the form Cheng ho 征和, but the character 征 is regarded by

some scholars as a corruption of 延.⁽¹⁷⁾ The reading Yen seems preferable here, and this has been adopted consistently in the transcriptions. In no. 16 the same nien hao is used, somewhat unusually, to denote the year 88; in nos. 97 and 23 the years 87 and 86 are denoted by a number without a nien hao. Although a new enumeration of years had been started from 88, no nien hao had actually been promulgated for general use.⁽¹⁸⁾

There are a number of other fragments which can be associated with W 2.

(1) 148.36. This very small piece can probably be identified as part of the same set of records, and can be dated at the fourth month of 88 or 81 (In the latter case it would constitute one of the latest datable fragments in W 2).

(2) 275.10 and 148.45 are included in Mori (5) and (6) as nos. 39 and 40. They are to be related to several other fragments and are studied here as W 3 nos. 1 and 4.

(3) 11.3 (Mori (5) and (6) no. 63) is a fragment whose text is couched in the usual terms, but which was probably inscribed by a different hand. As group 11 is associated with UD, the fragment has not been included here.

(4) 112.2 (Mori (5) and (6) no. 71) is a part of a strip which records the amount of grain in stock, but the figure involved is disproportionately higher than the ~~amounts~~ amounts with which W 2 is concerned. In addition, ~~W~~ group 112 has been identified as deriving from one of the sites at MD.

(5) 523.13 (Mori (5) and (6) no.72). The site where 523 group was found is unknown, and the fragment is not sufficiently large or clear to warrant inclusion.

(6) There are in addition four strips which may be associated with Yu ~~王~~^王, who is mentioned repeatedly in W 2 in his capacity of officer in charge of no. 2 t'ing. Details ~~mentioned in~~ of these four strips follow:

No.	Mori (5) (6) no.	Date mentio- ned (month)	Hand- writing	Indivi- dual men- tioned	Title men- tioned
88.10	76	89 (10)	Differs from W 2	--	--
308.24	38	--	Same as 88.10 ?	Wang 王 Yu	OC no. 2 <u>sui</u>
557.8	37	89(12)	Same as W 2 ?	Wang Yu	No title
273.28	25	See below	Same as W 2	Yu	OC no. 2 <u>sui</u> , T'ien-pei [<u>hou</u>]

The wording of 88.10 follows the usual pattern of many of the fragments included in W 2, and the strip could well be part of the same series of records, made out, exceptionally, by a different official. 308.24 is not necessarily concerned with the receipt or distribution of grain at no. 2 t'ing. While 557.8 is concerned with such transactions, it is probably not drawn from the same series of records as W 2.

273.28 is possibly the earliest datable fragment found at Chüyen, but it has unfortunately been broken at a crucial point. The original piece was larger than the usual strips, and may have been of the same dimensions as W² nos.

94-108. The form of the piece varies from that of the fragments of W 2, and it cannot be identified for certain as part of a record of a transaction in grain. SW, Chia and LK read the initial part of the strip as 三月丙辰朔庚午 and Mori inserts □ before 三月; if this reading is accepted the strip must be dated in the third month of 103 B.C. Alternately 年九月 or 十二月 could possibly be read in place of 三月, and in this case the strip could be dated at 93 seventh month (still the earliest datable piece in the material from Chüyen) or at 78 twelfth month.

The most likely conclusion from these strips is that Wang Yu held the post of OC no. 2 sui until about 90, when he was appointed officer in charge of no. 2 t'ing, T'ung-tse; and that he remained in that capacity until at least 82. (20) It is tempting to conclude that, having served his time in the forces, Yu was offered a job in a civilian capacity, and settled down as a permanent emigrant to the northwest.

Fragments of a type similar to W 2 which have been found at Tunhuang include Ch. 165, 484-6, 563-6, 579 and M 114 (records of the receipt of grain) and Ch. 162-4 (statements of stocks held at the end of the month).

Readings have been adopted in the transcriptions as follows:

(a) 郵, as the personal name of the official in charge of no. 2 t'ing. SW, Chia and LK read 舒, which is supported in Ch'en (4). Mori reads 郵 throughout (also Chia in the case of no. 93).

(b) 監, meaning "supervisor", in nos. 40, 41, 42, 44, 47, 50, 51, 53, 54, 98, 100 and 102 (Cf. W 3 no. 5). This character is read 馬監 in SW and Chia and 監 in LK. Mori reads 監. For 監, see the final word in nos. 40, 41, 42, 50, 51, 53 and 54.

(c) 材士 (nos. 19, 21, 27, 33 and 37). SW Chia and LK usually read 校 in place of 材, and 校 is preferred by Ch'en Chih (Ch'en (4) s.v. no. 2299). The exact meaning of the term is unknown, but it may refer to men engaged on various forms of labour. 材士 is to be distinguished from 材官, meaning foot-soldier. (21)

(d) 庠 (nos. 29, 40, 47, 52 and 53). This reading is accepted in LK; Mori reads 庠 throughout; SW and Chia read 庠, 庠 or 卒. It is possible that the same character is seen in the expression 庠口 (Ch. 71, 682, 693, 703 and M 46), which is used to describe split arrow shafts. (see Ch 71 note and Wang (1), Shih II, 39b). The pronunciation of the character is subject to question.

Divisions of the shih 石 are usually given in W 2 as tou 斗 and exceptionally (e.g. no. 97) as shih 什. (22)

These terms, together with the further subdivisions of sheng 升 and fen 分, have been omitted in the translations, where quantities are rendered in shih 石, by means of the decimal system. The terms ta shih and hsiao shih are rendered "(large)" and "(small)".

Dates are expressed by the cyclical sign of the day in question, and that of the first day of the month is added as a checking device. (23)

Equivalents according to the

western calendar have been added in the translations where possible (in cases where a period of time is concerned the equivalent is given for the initial day of the period).

The following pairs can possibly be associated together in W 2 as being parts of the same strip: nos.17 and 18; nos.28 and 29; nos.32 and 38; nos.33 and 34; nos.35 and 36; nos. 75 and 76; nos.79 and 80; ~~and~~ nos.85 and 86; and nos. 89 and 84.

A single character is inscribed on the reverse side of no.13, written in the opposite direction from that of the inscription of the obverse side.

The presence of scribal errors can be detected in these fragments as follows:

No.14. The grain was evidently issued for a period of 28 days, but the dates are given for a period of 30 days. In addition 倉 has probably been omitted after 代田.

No.16. 申 is omitted

Nos.23 and 97. 亭 may have been omitted before 長 in 第六長.

No.28. 月 is omitted.

Nos.29 and 47. 臨 is omitted finally. (Possibly also in nos.23 and 97).⁽²⁴⁾

No.37. 朔 is probably omitted after 己亥.

No.64. The sign of reduplication has been omitted after 人.

No.81. The reading is by no means certain; the best solution is to assume the omission of 石 after 八.

No.84. 三斗 is apparently repeated in error.

No.89. 年 is omitted after 四.

No.95. The text at the end should probably read 病已以食吏卒四人 (cf. no.6). Instead of 已以, the strip reads 已二 (possibly due to confusion between 已 and 呂).

(In the following list, the number assigned in Mori (5) and (6) is shown in the final column of figures)

1	275.17	495	1484	501	1	
2	148.4	394	841	499	2	
3	308.9	391	1611	499	9	
4	273.20	389	1460	499	3	In SW as 273.24
5	308.46	437	1651	330	41	
6	148.43	393	868	320	15	
7	148.9	395	845	321	--	
8	563.9	384	2541, 1791	319	13	In SW (also Chia 1791) as 363.9
9	308.17	391	1613	320	--	
10	148.22	394	855	321	42	
11	148.37	394	850	618	--	
12	308.43	437	1643	330	43	
13	534.2A 534.15A	} 438	---	331	17	
14	557.6		396	2328	322	32	In SW as 337.6; in LK as 552.6
15	275.2	395	1462	321	--	
16	273.9	390	1443	319	19	
17	534.18	383	2302	3180	--	
18	557.10	396	2330	322	44	
19	275.16	495	---	336	45	
20	308.4	437	1615	330	46	
21	308.34	436	1631	330	47	
22	488.5	384	1833	3180	77	

23	278.9	511	1495	338	21	
24	273.10	390	1447	319	48	
25	534.13	437	2307	330	49	
26	148.46	394	872	321	50	
27	275.12	495	1480	336	51	
28	278.8	503	1422	337	78	
29	148.3	394	840	321	35	
30	88.26	393	----	320	52	
31	534.14 } 534.5 }	383	2304	3180	54	In SW as 134.14
32	563.14	384	2360	319	--	
33	534.4	383	2299	3180	53	
34	488.10	489	---	335	--	
35	557.2	396	2324	322	55	
36	148.28	395	859	618	--	
37	275.18	495	1482	336	57	
38	275.5	495	1473	336	56	
39	88.20	392	525	320	79	
40	308.45	437	1637	330	33	
41	273.24	389	1467	319	22	In SW as 273.22
42	275.19	395	1483	322	23	In SW, TP, LK as 295.19
43	148.5	394	842	321	80	
44	148.47	394	873	321	24	
45	148.6	395	2543	321	58	
46	534.1 } 534.11 }	383	----	315	59	SW omits mention of 534.11

47	273.8	440	1442	331	26	
48	273.13	440	---	331	60	
49	278.11	511	---	338	61	In SW as 278.2
50	273.14	440	---	331	27	
51	534.3	437	---	330	28	
52	148.48	394	875	321	36	
53	563.6	489	2374	335	34	
54	148.21	395	853	618	83	In LK as 148.12
55	555.11	384	2331	3180	82	
56	148.14	395	851	321	--	
57	148.2	447	864	332	--	In TP as 140.10
58	148.10	447	848	332	--	In SW, LK as 140.10; in TP as 148.2
59	148.24	395	867	321	67	In SW as 148.2
60	534.6	437	2300	330	--	
61	563.13	384	2400	319	--	In SW as 565.13
62	534.17	531	---	341	--	
63	[488.12]	489	---	335	--	In SW, TP, LK as 888.12
64	563.11	489	---	335	--	
65	488.8	531	---	341	--	
66	275.3	396	1457	322	65	
67	??	599	---	355	--	No number given in Sw, TP
68	308.12	436	1632	329	--	
69	88.4	392	520	320	73	
70	148.15	395	858	321	--	

71	555.12	384	2327	3180	--	
72	555.16	384	2355	3180	--	
73	275.4	396	1472	499	4	
74	273.26	389	1468	499	5	
75	148.33	447	863	332	6	In SW, Chia, LK as 148.11
76	534.12	437	2305	630	12	
77	273.23	440	---	500	7	
78	275.11	395	1476	499	8	In TP as 148.34
79	488.11	489	1843	501	10	
80	148.18	447	---	501	11	
81	555.14	489	---	335	--	
82	555.15	384	2353	3180	--	
83	488.9	531	---	341	--	
84	148.17	394	854	321	--	
85	308.11	391	1650	320	--	
86	278.10	503	1477	337	--	In SW as 278.18
87	308.41	437	1639	330	--	
88	273.11	390	1449	320	--	
89	488.3	384	1832	3180	69	
90	273.4	390	1440	319	70	
91	273.22	389	1466	319	68	
92	88.25	393	530	320	74	
93	273.25	389	1458	319	75	
94	148.1) 148.42)	447	838 839	332	14	Not fitted together in Chia

95	275.20	490-1	2545A, B	335	16
96	275.22	490-1	2546A, B	335	18
97	275.21	490-1	2549A, B	335	20
98	557.3	488-9	2548A, B	334	29
99	563.8	489	2386	335	62
100	275.23	490	1485	336	30
101	488.4	384	1831	3180	64
102	557.5	488	2323A, B	334	31
103	563.12	489	2399	335	--
104	563.2	489	2378	335	--
105	148.41	394	849	321	66
106	563.3	384	2379	3180	81
107	308.16	436	---	329	--
108	273.16	389	---	319	--

Notes:

- (1) The earliest date mentioned in a strip found at Chüyen is 102 B.C. (303.39, 513.23), but the text probably refers to events of the past and was written after that date (see Mori (5) p.153 note 4). 273.28, whose association with W 2 is considered below, may be dated as early as 103 or 93.
- (2) See MD 2 no.6 and MD 3 no.3 for references to granaries at Chüyen and Chien shui, and MD 1 no.25 for the Ch'eng granary 城倉 .88.14, found at W, can probably be identified as a label or caption of a document belonging to the Ch'eng granary, and it is thus possible that this establishment was situated near Wayen torei.
- (3) See Serindia II, p.712f., for a description of a large ruin at T.XVIII. Stein's identification of the building as a "magazine" rests both on the structure and on the content of the strips that were found there.
- (4) Many of these have been included in a special study by Mori (See Mori (5)); facsimiles of the strips in question are reproduced in Mori (6).
- (5) The period can possibly be extended to 81; see no.66.
- (6) The full length of these strips is about 38 cm. (1.65 feet Han). It will be seen that the handwriting is slightly larger than that of nos.1-93. As stated above, nos.1 and 52 should possibly be included here.
- (7) It is possible that no.95 records the same transaction

as nos.7 or 8, but the name T'ung-tse, which is seen in no.8 does not occur in no.95.

- (8) See Ventris and Chadwick ^{p.240-241} for an example of the maintenance ^{elsewhere} of early archive material in duplicate.
- (9) For the t'ing, see K'ao pp.41-2, and Hulsewé (1) pp.9-10, and Miyazaki, Les villes en Chine à l'époque des Han (T'oung Pao XLVIII pp.376f.)
- (10) HS XXIV A, 17a-19a; Swann pp.184-191; Ch'en (1) pp.51-3. In Kaogu 1960, 8 p.37 Ch'en Chih corrects a statement that appeared in K'aogu 1960, 1 to the effect that the tai t'ien technique was in operation at Chüyen in the last few years of Wu ti. However, if the date suggested for no.14 below is accepted, the tai-t'ien granary existed at Chüyen in 89.
- (11) See notes to nos.23 and 66 below.
- (12) I.e. men from the chün of Shu and Chien-wei who are described as ts'ai shih 材士 (for this term see below); see nos.27, 33, 34, 35, 37 and 38, dated between the sixth and ninth months of 85.
- (13) See Mori (5) pp.144f. The change may not have been general or permanent, as ch'ang is seen in MD 2 no.6 and MD 3 no.3, and these can hardly be dated before 85. The reading chien is discussed below.
- (14) The reading Yu, and the identity of this individual are discussed below.

- (15) See Grain measurement pp.78f. Utsunomiya's view, that actual measures of different sizes were used, is also taken by Ch'en Chih (Kaogu 1960, 8 p.38, in reply to the opposite view as asserted by Ch'en Kung-jou 陳公柔 and Hsü P'ing-fang 徐莘芳 in Kaogu 1960, 1); 陳公柔 and Hsü P'ing-fang 徐莘芳 in Kaogu 1960, 1); Tso Ming 作銘 (Kaogu 1960, 10 p.53); and Kao Tzu-ch'iang 高自強 (Kaogu 1962, 2 pp.92f.). Kao cites two standard which he believes to be examples of small measures, as the volume can be estimated at three fifths that of other known Han measures; the size of the pre-Ch'in measure can be related to other small units whose existence is postulated by Sekino Takeshi 關野雄 (see Toyo gakuho 東洋學報 XXXV (1953) nos.3-4 pp.1-30, for the existence of short and long foot measures during the Ch'in period, measuring 18 cm. and 22.5 cm. respectively; and Toyo bunka kenkyūjo kiyō 東洋文化研究所紀要 VII (1955) pp.1-35 for the existence of different units of weight during the Ch'in period.).
- (16) ^{See} Ch'en Chih in Kaogu 1960, 8 p.38.
- (17) See Hsia pp.235-8 and Ch'en (2) p.18.
- (18) For this question see Notes pp.317-8.
- (19) Mori incorrectly reads t'ing in place of sui.
- (20) The identity of the two officials is suggested in Mori (5) p.147.
- (21) See Yang (1) p.112.
- (22) See Grain measurement pp.87f.
- (23) See Notes pp.308f.

(24) Alternately it can be assumed that the character 臨_a has been erroneously omitted after the name Yen Shou in nos.23 and 97 as elsewhere (e.g.nos,29 and 47).In this case,the translations given below for nos.23 and 97 should read: " ...from no.6,[in the presence of] Yen Shou " in place of " ...from Yen Shou, OC no.6,";and Yen Shou should not be identified as the OC of no.6.

通澤第二亭正月食簿

1

通澤第二亭五月食簿

2

通澤第二亭七月食簿

3

通澤第二亭十月食簿

4

出麻束小石土石六斗

九月戌辰朔戌辰通澤

5

石六斗

九月戌辰朔戌辰通澤第二亭長郵付第七亭長病已以食吏卒四人

6

出麻束小石十二石

十月丁酉

7

西朔丁酉通澤第二亭長郵

8

臨道亭長光以食四人

出麥小石五十石

延和四年五月

六月癸巳朔

七月癸亥朔以食亭卒五人癸亥盡辛卯廿九日積百卅五人

麻
為大石六石八斗四分

延和四年七月癸亥朔乙丑第二亭長郵受口口口口

郵受代田長頗以食吏士四人辛酉盡庚寅廿八日積百一十二人

出麻小石三石為大石石斗以食卒三人十二月辛卯盡庚子十日積卅六升

入麻小石十二石為大石七石二斗延和五年正月庚申朔庚通澤第二亭長郵受口口第四長朱

出麻大石二石八斗

： 日一人四月戊午盡丁亥廿日積廿人_二六升

出麻六石二斗

六月丁巳朔以食昌邑材士四人盡丙戌廿日積百廿人_二六升

： 食吏卒四人八月丙辰盡乙

： 昌邑材士三人七月辛巳盡庚戌廿日積九十人_二六升

出麻六石二石八斗 以食吏八十二月己卯朔己卯

入麻六石五斗五升為六石八石七斗三年正月己卯朔辛巳第二亭長郵受第六長延壽

： 大石九石 以食吏卒五人四月丁未盡丙子廿日積百五十人_二六升

： 以食吏卒五人十月甲辰朔甲辰盡

出麻六石一石七斗四升 以食吏一人閏月甲戌盡壬寅廿九日積廿九人_二六升

出麻米大石三石六斗 始元二年六月庚午朔以食蜀材士三人盡己亥廿日積六十人^二六升

入麻米石十五石 始元二年六月庚午朔癸酉第 . . .

. . . 二亭長郵受庠胡主倉故吏建都丞延壽

出麻米大石^八石七斗四升 始元二年七月庚子朔以食吏一人盡戊辰廿九日積廿九人^二六升

. . . 八斗 始元二年八月己巳朔以食吏 . . .

出麻米大石三石四斗八升 . . .

始元二年八月己巳朔以食蜀材士二人盡戊戌廿日積 . . .

. . . 六十人^二六升

出麻大石三石六斗

始元二年八月己巳朔以食槩為口

...

盡戊戌廿日

出麻大石三石四斗八升

始元二年九月己亥以食蜀材士二人盡丁卯廿九日積五十八人六升

始元二年九月己亥朔以食槩為前部士二人盡丁卯廿九日積五十八人

出麥小石五石四斗

始元二年十月戊辰朔以

年十月戊辰朔戊辰第二亭長郵受庫胡倉監建都丞延壽時臨

入麻小石五斗始元二年十月戊辰朔戊辰第二亭長郵受代田倉監光都丞延壽時臨

十五名始元二年十二月丁卯朔丁卯第二亭長郵受代田倉監光都丞臨

始元二年十二月丁卯朔以食吏一人盡

入麻米少石十四石五斗始元三年正月丁酉朔丁朔第二亭長郵受代田倉監光

始元三年二月丙寅朔以食吏

大石二石八斗 始元三年四月乙丑朔以食吏一人盡甲午廿日積世人六升

小石十五石始元三年四月乙丑朔丙寅第二亭長郵受庠胡倉監建都丞延壽

出麻米大石七斗四升 始元三年五月乙未朔以食吏一人盡癸亥廿九日積廿九人六升

始元三年六月甲子朔以食戍田卒四人盡癸巳廿日積百廿人六升

入麻米少石十五石始元三年六月甲子朔甲子第二亭長郵受代田倉監光都丞臨

入麻米少石十四石始元三年七月甲午朔甲午第二亭長郵受代田倉監都丞臨

受庠胡倉故吏建

長郵受庫胡倉監建都丞延壽臨

監都丞臨

丙寅第二亭長郵受

出麻大石六石九斗六升以食昌

出麻大石七石五升

出麻大石五石四斗

...

53

...

54

...

55

...

56

始

57

日

58

...

日積百二十人六升

59

以食成田卒盡癸亥廿九日積百一十六人

60

六升

61

...

西廿日積百廿人

62

百五十人^二六升

63

百卅五人六升

64

日積口口人^二六升口口口口^二65

戊寅[^]盡丙午廿九日積廿九人^二六升

66

日積百十六人^二六升

67

月出穀七石一斗四升以食

68

月十月出穀小石八十四石

69

月出穀小石十五石為大石九石

70

月九月出穀卅七石三

71

月出穀十二石 十月

72

右第二亭二月食竹薄

右第二亭三月食竹薄

右第二亭四月食
...

...
竹薄

右第二亭六月食竹薄

右第二亭六月食竹薄

右第二亭
...

... 十月食竹薄 ...

... 大石八七斗 ...

... 糜小石三石九斗 ...

...

...

...

...

石五石二斗二升

大斗三斗三升一分

斗五斗二升為大斗

三斗一升二分

為大石十石七斗五升二分

小石二石二斗

受延和四六月々簿餘穀小斗五斗二升為

年十二月々簿餘穀小斗二斗二升

受延和三年十一月々簿餘穀小石五十五石二斗

凡出穀大石九石其一石五斗麥七石五斗糜

今六月々簿毋餘

：府食以八月出穀到延和四年二月十五日度盡餘口小斗二斗

出麻世三石二斗

延和三年八月戊戌朔己未第二亭長郵付屬國百長千長

...

出麻米小石十二石

延和三年十月丁酉朔丁酉第二亭長郵付第七亭長病已食吏卒四人

大石六石

：為小石十石

延和四年十月壬辰朔癸巳第二亭長郵受將軍從吏德

入麻大石八石七斗為小石十四石五斗二年八月辛亥朔辛亥第二亭長郵受第六長延壽

||

以食吏卒五人六升辛亥盡己卯廿九日積百世五人

十一石六斗

始元三年十二月壬戌朔壬戌通澤第二亭長郵受代田倉監光

入麻米小石十一石六斗

始元四年二月辛酉

...

入麻米小石十二石

始元五年二月甲申朔丙戌第二亭長郵受代田倉監雋

...

入糜小石十二石六斗

始元五年十月辛

...

己丑朔第三亭長郵受代田倉監隻

其六石以食口亭二人

入糜小石十五

...

入糜小石十二石

...

入糜小石十二石為大石七石二斗

...

入糜小石十二石

始

...

入糜六石四斗二升

延和

...

入糜小石十二石六斗

始?

...

W 2 Translation

- 1 Register of food supplies for the first month, no. 2
t'ing, T'ung-tse.
- 2 Register of food supplies for the fifth month, no. 2
t'ing, T'ung-tse.
- 3 Register of food supplies for the seventh month, no. 2
t'ing, ...tse.
- 4 Register of food supplies for the tenth month, no. 2
t'ing, T'ung-tse.
- 5 Issued: red millet 11.6 shih (small); ... T'ung-tse ...
on wu ch'en, ninth month (first day wu ch'en) ...
[12 October 90 B.C.]
- 66 shih; delivered by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, T'ung-tse,
to Ping 1, OC no. 7 t'ing, as rations for four officers
and men, on wu ch'en, ninth month (first day wu ch'en)
[12 October 90]
- 7 Issued: red millet 12 shih (small); ... tenth month
[(first day] ting yu) ... [10 November 90]
- 8 ... by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, T'ung-tse, ... on ting yu ...
(first day [ting] yu) ... [? 10 November 90]
- 9 ... [to] Kuang, OC Lin-tao t'ing, as rations for four
officers.
- 10 Issued: wheat 50 shih (small); ... fifth month, fourth
year of Yen ho ... [89]
- 11 ... sixth month (first day kuei ssu) ... [3 July 89]

- 12 ...seventh month (first day kuei hai), as rations for five men of the t'ing, for the period of twenty-nine days, from kuei hai to hsin mao inclusive, amounting to a hundred and forty five men, ...each [2 August 89]
- 13 ...: red millet 11.4 shih (small), equalling 6.84 shih (large); accepted by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, from ... on i ch'ou, seventh month (first day kuei hai), fourth year of Yen ho. [4 August 89]
- 14 ...accepted by Yu from Ch'i, OC the Tai t'ien [granary]; as rations for four officers and men, for the period of twenty-eight days, from hsin yu to keng yin [sic] inclusive, amounting to a hundred and twelve men [28 November 89?]
- 15 Issued: red millet 3 shih (small), equalling 1.8 shih (large), as rations for three men, for the period of ten days, from hsin mao to keng tzu inclusive, twelfth month; amounting to thirty men, at .06 shih each. [28 December 89]
- 16 Received: red millet 12 shih (small), equalling 7.2 shih (large); accepted by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, T'ung tse, from Chu, OC ...no. 4, on keng [shen], first month (first day keng shen), fifth year of Yen ho. [26 January 88]
- 17 Issued: red millet 1.8 shih (large) ...
- 18 ...one man, for the period of thirty days, from wu wu to ting hai inclusive, fourth month, amounting to thirty men, at .06 shih each. [24 May 88]
- 19 Issued: red millet 7.2 shih; sixth month (first day ting ssu), as rations for four [picked men?] from Ch'ang-i [kuo],

- for the period of thirty days, to ping hsu inclusive, amounting to a hundred and twenty men, at .06 shih each [22 July 88]
- 20 ...as rations for four officers and men ...from ping ch'en to i ... inclusive, eighth month ... [19 September 88?]
- 21 ...three [picked men?] from Ch'ang-i [kuo], for the period of thirty days, from hsin ssu to keng hsu inclusive, seventh month, amounting to ninety men, at .06 shih each. [10 August 87]
- 22 Issued: red millet 1.8 shih (large); as rations for one officer ...[from] chi mao, eleventh month (first day chi mao) ... [6 December 87]
- 23 Received: red millet 14.5 shih (small), equalling 8.7 shih (large); accepted by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, from Yen Shou, OC no. 6, on hsin ssu, first month (first day chi mao), third year. [6 February 86]
- 24 ...[equalling] 9 shih (large); as rations for five officers and men, for the period of thirty days, from ting wei to ping tzu inclusive, fourth month; amounting to a hundred and fifty men, at .06 shih each. [3 May 86]
- 25 ...as rations for five officers and men ...from chia ch'en to ...inclusive, tenth month (first day chia ch'en)... [27 October 86]
- 26 Issued: red millet 1.74 shih (large), as rations for one officer, for the period of twenty-nine days, from chia hsu to jen yin inclusive, intercalary month, amounting to

- twenty nine men at .06 shih each. [26 November 86]
- 27 Issued: red millet 3.6 shih (large); sixth month (first day keng wu), second year of Shih yüan, as rations for two [picked men?] from Shu [chün], for the period of thirty days, to chi hai inclusive, amounting to sixty men, at .06 shih each. [19 July 85]
- 28, Received: red millet 15 shih (small); accepted by Yu,
29 OC no. 2 t'ing, from Chien, ku-li of the [Hsiang?]-hu main granary, [in the presence of Yen Shou, tü^u-ch'eng, on kuei yu, sixth [month] (first day keng wu), second year of Shih yüan. [22 July 85]
- 30 Issued: red millet 1.74 shih (large); seventh month (first day keng tzu), second year of Shih yüan; as rations for one officer, for the period of twenty-nine days, to wu ch'en inclusive, amounting to twenty nine men, at .06 shih each. [18 August 85]
- 318 shih; eighth month (first day chi ssu), second year of Shih yüan, as rations for ... officer/s ... [16 September 85]
- 32 Issued: red millet 3.48 shih (large) ...
- 33 ... eighth month (first day chi ssu), second year of Shih
34 yüan, as rations for two [picked men?] from Shu [chün], for the period of thirty days, to wu hstü inclusive, amounting to sixty men, at .06 shih each [16 September 85]

- 35 Issued:red millet 3.6 shih (large);eighth month (first day chi ssu),second year of Shih yüan,as rations for ...of Chien-wei [chün] ... [16 September 85]
- 36 ...of thirty days to wu hsiü inclusive ...
- 37 Issued:red millet 3.48 shih (large);ninth month (first day] chi hai),second year of Shih yüan,as rations for two [picked men?] from Shu [chün],for the period of twenty nine days to ting mao inclusive,amounting to fifty eight men,at .06 shih each. [16 October 85]
- 38 ...ninth month (first day chi hai),second year of Shih yüan,as rations for two [officers of the forward sector?] Chien-wei [chün],for the period of twenty nine days to ting mao inclusive,amounting to fifty eight men at ...each. [16 October 85]
- 39 Issued:wheat 5.4 shih (small);tenth month (first day wu ch'en),second year of Shih yüan,as ... [14 November 85]
- 40 ...accepted by Yu,OC no.2 t'ing,from Chien,supervisor of the [Hsiang?]hu granary,in the presence of Yen Shou,tu-ch'eng,on ~~an~~ wu ch'en,tenth month (first day wu ch'en), ...year ... [14 November 85]
- 41 Received:red millet 14.5 shih (small);accepted by Yu, OC no.2 t'ing,from Kuang,supervisor of the Tai-t'ien granary,in the presence of Yen Shou,tu-ch'eng,on wu hsiü,eleventh month (first day wu hsiü),second year of Shih yüan. [14 December 85]

- 42 ... 15 shih; accepted by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, from Kuang, supervisor of the Tai-t'ien granary, in the presence of the tu-ch'eng, on ting mao, twelfth month (first day ting mao), second year of Shih yüan. [12 January 84]
- 43 ... twelfth month (first day ting mao), second year of Shih yüan, as rations for one officer ... inclusive ... [12 January 84]
- 44 Received: red millet 14.5 shih (small); accepted by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, from Kuang, supervisor of the Tai-t'ien granary, on ting yu, first month (first day ting yu), third year of Shih yüan. [11 February 84]
- 45 ... second month (first day ping yin), third year of Shih yüan, as rations for ... officer/s ... [12 March 84]
- 46 ... 1.8 shih (large); fourth month (first day i ch'ou), third year of Shih yüan, as rations for one officer, for the period of thirty days to chia wu inclusive, amounting to thirty men at .06 shih each. [10 May 84]
- 47 ... 15 shih (small); accepted by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, from Chien, supervisor of the [Hsiang?]-hu granary, [in the presence of] Yen Shou, tu-ch'eng, on ping yin, fourth month (first day i ch'ou), third year of Shih yüan. [11 May 84]
- 48 Issued: red millet 1.74 shih (large); fifth month (first day i wei), third year of Shih yüan, as rations for one officer, for the period of twenty nine days, to kuei hai inclusive, amounting to twenty nine men, at .06 shih each. [9 June 84]

- 49 ...sixth month (first day chia tzu), third year of Shih yüan, as rations for four guardsmen and fieldsmen, for the period of thirty days, to kuei ssu inclusive, amounting to a hundred and twenty men, at .06 shih each. [8 July 84]
- 50 Received: red millet 15 shih (small); accepted by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, from Kuang, supervisor of the Tai-t'ien granary, in the presence of the tu-ch'eng, on chia tzu, sixth month (first day chia tzu), third year of Shih yüan. [8 July 84]
- 51 Received: red millet ~~15~~ ¹... (small); accepted by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, from the supervisor of the Tai t'ien granary, in the presence of the tu-ch'eng, on chia wu, seventh month (first day chia wu), third year of Shih yüan. [7 August 84]
- 52 ...accepted from Chien, ku-li of the [Hsiang?]-hu granary.
- 53 ...accepted by Yu, OC ..., from Chien, supervisor of the [Hsiang ?]-hu granary, in the presence of Yen Shou, tu-ch'eng.
- 54 ...supervisor ..., in the presence of the tu-ch'eng.
- 55 ...accepted on [ping?] yin by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing ...
- 56 Issued: red millet 6.96 shih (large); as rations for ... of Ch'ang-[i kuo] ...
- 57 Issued: red millet 7.05 shih (large) ... Shih [yüan] ...
- 58 Issued: red millet 5.4 shih (large) ...
- 59 ...days, amounting to a hundred and twenty men at .06 shih each.
- 60 ...as rations for guardsmen and fieldsmen, for the period of twenty nine days, to kuei hai inclusive, amounting to a hundred and sixteen men ...

- 6106 shih ...
- 62 ... thirty days to ... yu [inclusive], amounting to a hundred and twenty men ...
- 63 ...a hundred and fifty men at .06 shih each.
- 64 ... a hundred and forty five men, at .06 shih [each].
- 65 ...days, amounting to ...men, at .06 shih each ...two ...
- 66 ...twenty nine days, from [wu yin] to ping wu inclusive, amounting to twenty nine men, at .06 shih each
- [4 April 86 or 7 May 81 ?]
- 67 ...days, amounting to a hundred and sixteen men, at .06 shih each.
- 68 Total of grain issued:7.14 shih; as rations for ...
- 69 Total of grain issued for the tenth month:84 shih (small) ...
- 70 Total of grain issued: 15 shih (small) equalling 9 shih (large) ...
- 71 Total of grain issued for the ninth month:47.3 shih ...
- 72 Total of grain issued:12 shih. Tenth month ...
- 73 Foregoing is the register of food supplies, no.2 t'ing, for the second month.
- 74 Foregoing is the register of food supplies, no.2 t'ing, for the third month.
- 75 Foregoing is the register of food supplies, no.2 t'ing,
76 for the fourth month.
- 77 Foregoing is the register of food supplies, no.2 t'ing, for the sixth month.
- 78 Foregoing is the register of food supplies, no.2 t'ing, for the sixth month.

- 79 Foregoing is the register of food supplies, no. 2 t'ing,
80 for the tenth month.
- 81 ... [8.7 shih ?] (large) ...
- 82 ... red millet 3.9 shih (small) ...
- 83 ... 5.22 shih ...
- 84312 shih (large) ...
- 8552 shih ([small]) equalling ... (large) ...
- 86312 shih ...
- 87 ... equalling 10.752 shih (large)
- 88 ... 1.2 shih (small).
- 89 Received, grain stocks in hand as on the register for the
sixth month, fourth [year] of Yen ho: .52 shih (small),
equalling ... [89 B.C.]
- 90 ... grain stocks in hand as on the register for the
twelfth month ... year ...: .22 shih (small).
- 91 Received, grain stocks in hand as on the register for the
eleventh month, third year of Yen ho: 55.2 shih (small)
[90 B.C.]
- 92 [Total?] amount of grain issued: 9 shih (large), comprising
1.5 shih wheat and 7.5 shih red millet. Present register
for the sixth month: no stocks in hand.
- 93 ... food supplies for the [tu-wei]-fu, taking grain issued
in the eighth month, reckoning through to the fifteenth
day of the second month of the fourth year of Yen ho;
stock in hand2 shih (small).

- 94 Issued: red millet 43.2 shih; delivered by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, to ~~ch'ien~~^{no-} ch'ang and ~~po~~^{ch'ien-} ch'ang of the ~~protected~~^{dependent} states ... on chi wei, eighth month (first day wu hsü), third year of Yen ho. [3 October 90]
- 95 Issued: red millet 12 shih (small); delivered by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, to Ping i, OC no. 7 t'ing, as rations for four officers and men, on ting yu, tenth month (first day ting yu), third year of Yen ho. [10 November 90]
- 96 ... 6 shih (large), equalling 10 shih (small); accepted by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, from Te, aide to the general, on kuei ssu, tenth month (first day jen ch'en), fourth year of Yen ho. [1 November 89]
- 97 Received: red millet 8.7 shih (large), equalling 14.5 shih (small); accepted by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, from Yen Shou, OC no. 6, on hsin hai, eighth month (first day hsin hai), second year; as rations for five officers and men, at .06 shih each; for the period of twenty nine days, from hsin hai to chi mao inclusive, amounting to a hundred and forty five men. [9 September 87]
- 98 ... 11.6 shih; accepted by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, T'ung-tse, from Kuang, supervisor of the Tai-t'ien granary, on jen hsü, twelfth month (first day jen hsü), third year of Shih yüan. [2 January 83]
- 99 Received: red millet 11.6 shih (small); ... second month ([first day] hsin yu), fourth year of Shih yüan ... [2 March 83]

- 100 Received:red millet 12 shih (small);accepted by Yu,OC no.2 t'ing,from Chih,supervisor of the Tai-t'ien granary, on ping hsu,second month (first day chia shen),fifth year of Shih yüan [22 March 82]
- 101 Received:red millet 11.6 shih (small); ...tenth month ([first day] hsin [ssu]),fifth year of Shih yüan ... [12 November 82]
- 102 ...accepted by Yu,OC no.2 t'ing,from Chih,supervisor of the Tai-t'ien granary,on chi ch'ou,first day of the month;of this amount,6 shih were for rations for two ...t'ing. [29 May 83 ?]
- 103 Received:red millet 15 shih (small) ...
- 104 Received: red millet 12 shih (small) ...
- 105 Received:red millet 12 shih (small),equalling 7.2 shih (large) ...
- 106 Received:red millet 12 shih (small); ...of Shih [yüan] ...
- 107 Received:red millet 6.42 shih;...of Yen ho ...
- 108 Received:red millet 11.6 shih (small);...of [Shih yüan[?]] ...

Notes

(Readings adopted in Mori (5) and (6) are preceded by M.
An asterisk * indicates those strips where scribal errors may have occurred (see pp.680 above))

3 七月 SW Chia LK 十月

4 亭 SW 亭長

5 戊辰朔 戊辰 SW 戊辰 LK □ □ 朔 □ □

通澤 LK 通 □

6 For the reading 郵 here and subsequently, see p. 678

乂 SW Chia LK 十

8 西 SW Chia M ☐ LK ☐

The strip is probably to be dated at the same time as no. 7; other possibilities are the ninth month of 95 or the third month of 84.

12 乂月 SW Chia LK 十月

Mori adds 六升 after 人 =

13 糜 SW LK 糜

為大石六 SW, LK ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

乂月 SW LK 十月

朔 LK omits

乙丑 LK 乙亥

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ SW LK M 却適隊長

14* 庚寅 Ch'en (4) 戊子

廿八 M 廿

15 糜 SW Chia LK 粟

卒 SW omits

二六升 SW Chia ☐ ☐ ☐

16* 入 SW, LK 出

朔庚 SW LK 朔庚申

二亭 SW LK 二十亭

☐ ☐ SW Chia LK 部農 M 却胡侯

18 積 LK 龜

19 A kingdom of Ch'ang-i 昌邑 existed in part of the chün of Shan-yang 山陽 from 97 to 74 (HS XXVIII A2 34a; and HS XIV, 21a)

For the reading 材 here and subsequently, see p. 679

- 卅 SW LK 三十
- 20 食 SW Chia LK 長
- 21 七月 SW Chia LK 十月
- 22 糜 SW Chia 糜 LK 粟
- 23* For the dating of this strip see Notes p. 317 and no. 66 below. For an alternative interpretation, see ~~W 2 Introduction~~ ^{p. 689} note (24).
- 24 卅日 SW LK omit
- 25 吏 M 成
- 26 出糜大石 M 石
以食吏一人 M omits
- 27 卅 SW LK 三十
- 28* 十五石 SW 小五百
- 29 For the reading 庠 here and subsequently, see p. 679
- 都 SW 部
- 30 糜 SW LK 粟
以食吏一人 SW 以一食吏
- 31 八斗 SW Chia M 石斗
- 32 八升 SW Chia 六升
- 33 卅 SW Chia 十
- 35 捷 M 捷 (also in no. 38). 捷 is the form that appears in extant versions of texts (e.g. HS XXVIII A3, 73b; and Hua-yang-kuo-chih 華陽國志, III, BSS ed. p. 38); however 捷 is seen in contemporary Han material (e.g. inscription no. 6, dated 148 A.D., in the heading and columns 9 and 11; inscription no. 18, dated 168, f. 8a in Hsü; and on a seal reproduced in Eokubi no. 24, (1953) p. [29]).

36 盡 SW Chia omit

37*

38 M adds 六升 after 人 =

39 以 LK 利

40 十月 SW 十一月

For the reading 監 here and subsequently, see p. 679

建 SW Chia LK 書

延 LK 艾

41 入 LK 八

光 SW Chia LK 見

42 十五 LK 五

朔丁卯 LK omits

光 SW Chia 見 LK □

43 盡 LK 三 SW Chia M omit

44 朔丁酉 M 朔

光 SW LK 見 Chia 之 Ch'en (4) suggests that the character is a variant of 乞

45 丙寅 SW 丙宣

46 盡 LK 遣

47*

48 廿九 SW LK 十九

49 三年 LK 年

戌田 SW 田

盡癸巳 SW LK 遣廿六巳

50 甲子 LK □ □

二亭 LK 三鳩

光 SW LK 見

51 十口 SW M 十五石口口

始元三年 LK 口口五年

七月 SW LK 十月

52 倉 SW Chia 粟

55 丙寅 SW Chia 口口寬 LK 丙寅 M 口寅. If 丙寅 is correct, the fragment could refer to the first day of the first month of 89 or the second month of 84.

57 石五 SW Chia LK 斗二

始口 SW Chia LK 河平三年四月

58 口 SW Chia LK 以食卒

60 癸亥 SW Chia LK 積. If 癸亥 is accepted, the fragment can be dated at the fifth month of the third year of Shih ydan (cf. no. 48)

62 西卅日 SW LK 口口日

63 人 = SW omits

64* 百卅 SW 卅 LK 百卅

65 SW reads 僕十 = 人 = 五斗共八 = 口

LK reads 口僕十 = 人 = 五斗共 = 口

66 戌寅 SW LK Chia 口口. The strip can be dated in 81 (as by Mori), and in this case it would be the latest datable piece in W 2. Alternately 86 may be a possible date. It has been suggested in connection with no. 23 (see Notes p. 317 note 2) that a slight alteration is necessary in the calendar as reconstructed for that year, and it is possible that this should take the following form:

Suggested form

As usually given

Year month

87	12 long,	starting on	己酉	short,	starting on	己酉
86	1 short	" "	己卯	long	" "	戊寅
86	2 long	" "	戊申	short	" "	戊申
86	3 short	" "	戊寅	long	" "	丁丑
86	4 long	" "	丁未	long	" "	丁未

In this case no.66 can be explained as applying to the third month of 86.

68 七石 SW Chia LK 十石
以食 SW Chia LK 口言

69 十月 Chia 九月

71 月九月 SW 口 口 六月 Chia LK 口 九月

72 月出穀 SW Chia LK 口 口 小石

78 SW and Mori indicate the existence of a hole at the head of the strip.

80 十月 SW LK 卒 M 口月

81* 大石八斗 SW 六石八十升 LK 大石八十斗

82 繫小石三 sic SW Chia. LK 口小石

84*

85 斗五斗 = 升 SW LK 斗五升

86 分 SW 辨 LK 口

87 為 SW LK 屬

十石 SW 七石

89* 六月 SW 大月

小斗五斗 SW M 小石五斗 LK 小斗

90 年 SW Chia LK 三. M 三

92 凡出 SW Chia LK · 出 M □ 出

93 □ SW Chia LK M 有

94 卅 SW 四

八月 Chia 八 □

郵 Sic Chia.Ch'en (4) s.v.no.839 prefers 舒 .

百長千長 M 千長百長 .The two terms,i.e.heads of the thousands and the hundreds,feature as leaders among Hsiung nu tribes (HS XCIV A,7a).They are also seen as officials entitled to wear emblems of Han official authority in states of the western regions which had accepted Han protection (HS XCVI B,36a).

95 米 亨 LK 十 亨

已 = SW Chia M 已 LK 已 已

96 大石六石 SW Chia □ 六名 M 六石石十石
為小石十石 □ 一石十石

97* 六長 SW 六亨長

人 = 六升 SW 人 = 六斗

For an alternative interpretation, see ^{p.689} ~~W 2~~ Introduction, note (24).

98 監光 SW Chia 訖 □ LK 訖 止

99 斗 LK 升

100 隻 SW 見

101 斗 SW 升

辛 SW Chia LK □

102 隻 SW LK 粟

口亭 SW Chia LK 小亭

Chi ch'ou fell on the first day of the twelfth month, 84, and the fifth month, 83; Kuang is mentioned as the supervisor of the Tai-t'ien granary for the twelfth month of 84 (see no.98), and Chih held that post from

at least the second month of 82 (see no.100);the
strip can thus be dated,probably,in the fifth month
of 83.

- 106 糜 SW 廩
- 始 SW Chia 幾
- 107 糜 SW LK □
- 延和 SW LK 長 □
- 108 始 SW LK omit

W 3

(Plate 10)

Introduction

This report was originated by Yu ^郵, who features frequently in W 2 as the officer in charge of no.2 t'ing. The two documents were almost certainly made out by the same hand, i.e. that of Yu himself, and it has been suggested by Mori ⁽¹⁾ that he is to be identified with the Wang Yu ^{王郵} who is mentioned in 308.24 and 557.8. It seems that armed men broke into the establishment under Yu's charge, and that he successfully fought the intruders and brought them under control. The final word in no.1 may suggest that an arrest took place, and no.5 may indicate that the report of the incident was prepared for forwarding to judiciary officials. ⁽²⁾

Nos.2 and 3 can probably be fitted together ⁽³⁾ (no.2 overlapping no.3); and there are two other fragments (88.9 and 275.13) which may be associated with this document.

1	275.10	495	1479	102	Mori (5) and (6) no.39
2	148.26) 308.29)	394 394	1635	174	In SW, Chia as 148.20
3	308.37	391	1681	400	
4	148.45	447	870	175	Mori (5) and (6) no.40
5	148.44	393	871	85	

Notes:

- (1) This question is discussed ~~in W 3 Introduction~~ on p. 677.
- (2) The meaning of the phrase 監獄 in no. 5 is not understood. Cf. HS LXXVI, 19b (in respect of Wang Tsun 王尊): 太守奇之除補書佐署守屬監獄
Yen Shih-ku (581-645) took this passage as meaning that Wang Tsun was ordered to supervise the prison.
- (3) Alternately 308.21 could be fitted to no. 2, but this is less likely in view of the width of the fragments.

始元年十月甲辰朔戊辰第二亭長郵口敢言之

捕

不知何人二男子帶刀劍持縣官六

2

石弩一豪

3

郵拔刀劍鬪郵以所持劍格傷不知何一男子左

4

敢言之以亭次傳監獄

5

W 3 Translation

- 1 Report submitted ...by Yu, OC no. 2 t'ing, on wu ch'en, tenth month (first day chia ch'en), first year of shih yüan. Arrest [20 November 86 B.C.]
- 2 two males, unknown, carrying swords and holding one
3 officially owned bow, of six shih strength, and ...kao [type arrows] ...
- 4 I, Yu, drew a sword and fought; I struck with the sword carried, wounding one man, unknown, in the [left?]
- 5 beg leave to submit this report. For relay delivery to the [supervisor of prisons?]

Notes

- 1 元 = SW Mori 元 元 LK 元
 郵 SW Chia LK 舒 Mori 郵
 □ 7 Chia LK 効 Mori 敢 (see Mori (5) p.147)
- 4 郵 郵 c Mori; SW □ Chia 部 LK 部
 技 LK 持
 郵 SW LK □ Chia 部 Mori □
 格 SW Chia LK Mori 格
 左 Chia 左 Mori □
- 5 監 SW LK □ Chia 監. The reading 監 is supported by similar examples in W 2.

X 1 (Plate 13)

Introduction

These fragments of mail registers, which probably derive from Tsakhortei, may include the latest datable Han documents found at Chüyen.

No number is given for no. 2 in SW, TP or LK; both in these books and in Chia the strip is associated with the long report of 77 strips to which the binding strings were still attached at the time of discovery. In the index to SW, the reference numbers 1.1-1.78 are given for all these strips; in Chia, these are given as 128.1, 128.2; in neither case is it stated which number refers to which document. In Sommarström Plate XIX the number 128.21 is attached to the complete roll and 128.22? to no. 2 as shown here. In these notes, 128.1 has been arbitrarily adopted for the single strip shown as no. 2, and 128.2 for the complete roll of 77 strips (see Plates 43-44).

The single strip 128.1 has thus been linked with the complete roll, which was found, according to Sommarström (p. 294) at Tsakhortei. However, an association of 128.1 and 128.2 together as part of the same document is unacceptable. Whereas 128.2 is complete, 128.1 bears one entry only, from a document that must have consisted of a number of strips. 128.1 can hardly refer to the handling of 128.2, as the dates do not coincide (128.1 mentions a date in 98 A.D.; 128.2 consists of reports

dated during the period 93-95).

A number of differences among the fragments shown here may lead to the conclusion that they derive from several registers:

(1) Several hands may be concerned. 書 is written in full in no. 2, whereas an abbreviated form appears elsewhere. A further difference is seen in the forms of words 永元 in nos. 1 and 2.

(2) Different details are given; no. 1 alone describes the method of delivery; and a statement of the condition of the mail is included in nos. 2 and 5 only.

(3) The phrase 出北 is seen in no. 6 only, and contrasts with the 入南 and 入北 of the other fragments. The meaning of 出北 can be taken either as "deriving from the north" or "outward bound for the north"; in the latter case the phrase would be in effect identical with 入北.

(4) The dates that are mentioned may cover a period of as long as fifteen years. Nos. 1 and 2 can be dated for certain in 89 and 98; assuming that no. 3 is in the Han period it can be placed in 40, 73 or 104.

Despite these differences the fragments are best considered together, in view of the great similarity of form, handwriting and layout, which vary considerably from some of the other registers (MD 2, MD 3, TD 1, TD 2).

Parallels to the phrases 入南, 入北 are seen in the headings of similar fragments found at Tunhuang:

(1)
Ch 275, [316?], 367, 614 and 615.

The form of the character 乚 has been clarified in this document and is more clearly distinct than usual from 十 (see no.3 六月十九日; also 128.2 no.60, Plate 44).

According to no.1, mail originated by the tu-wei of Chüyen on the tenth day of the month was received at the office where the register was made at 1 hour (i.e. midnight) on the same day. Presumably the clerk wrote tenth day in error for eleventh day.

1	130.8	496	---	163
2	[128.1]	570	1	413
3	552.3)	103	---	128
	552.4)			
4	130.12	496	---	163
5	130.11	496	---	163
6	130.15	103	---	128

Note:

(1) In Ch 275, Chavannes read 入戶書, but 戶 should be corrected to 西.

X1

入南書二封

皆居延都尉章九月十日癸亥起一詣敦煌一詣張掖府次行
永元二年九月十日日夜半楊受趙伯

1

入南書三封

居延都尉九年十二月廿七廿八日起詣府封完
永元十年正月五日蚤食時特狐受孫昌

2

三封口尉印一詣府一詣雲中大守府六月九日起

入南書五封

一口口田壘尉印詣口口壘尉六月十一日起一口口印詣府六月十五日起
十六年六月十七日平旦時素桑他施刑口世受破胡施刑口口

3

入北書五封

...

4

口口封完

口明受口口

5

出北書一封二合檄

...

6

X 1 Translation

- 1 Two southbound letters, both with the seal of the tu-wei, Chüyen, originated on kuei hai, the tenth day of the ninth month; one was bound for Tunhuang, one for the fu, Changi, for delivery by relay. Received by Yang, from Chao Po, at 1 hour, tenth day, ninth month, first year of Yung yüan [1 November 89 A.D.]
- 2 Two southbound letters [from the] tu-wei, Chüyen, originated on the 27th and 28th days, twelfth month, ninth year; the letters were undamaged. Received by T'e Hu from Sun Ch'ang, at 5 hours, fifth ~~xxxx~~ day, first month, tenth year of Yung yüan [24 February 98]
- 3 Five southbound letters, of which three were with the seal of the ... wei; of these, one was for the fu, and one for the t'ai-shou-fu, Yün¹chung, being originated on the ninth day, sixth month ...; one was with the seal of the sai-wei ... t'ien, for the sai-wei ..., being originated on the eleventh day, sixth month; one was with the seal of ... for the fu, being originated on the [fifteenth?] day, sixth month. Received by amnestied convict * Shih, of T'o-t'o, from amnestied convict * * of P'o-hu, at 3 hours, seventeenth day, sixth month, sixteenth year.
- 4 Five northbound letters ...
- 5 ... letter(s) undamaged... received by ... Ming from * *
- 6 One letter and two despatches on fitted pieces, sent from the north ...

Notes

- 1 皆 SW, LK □
 起 SW 封 LK □
 次 SW 郵 LK □
 永元二年 SW 一所二人 = LK 一口二人 =
- 2 起 SW, Chia, LK 謹
 特 SW, Chia, LK 時

- 3 The full text of the lower three columns, as given in SW and LK is as follows:

三封都尉印並詣會中大兼具月九日責成屬行 =
 謹口在尉所詣口壽掾革

一人之渠田塞尉郎詣會承尉六月十一日起 =
 下史僕史郎詣官六月十八日起

十六年六月十七日平旦時橐他隊長萬世 =
 令史胡頌弛刑孫明

In the first column:

都尉 is unlikely, in view of the expression 印 (see p. 298) ~~MD2, 3 Int.~~; also, the fu which is designated as the address of the three letters is probably the tu-wei-fu rather than the t'ai-shou-fu.

中大兼 LK 史寫
 行謹 LK □
 壽掾革 LK 教掾草

In the second column:

人之 LK 命

官 LK 寅

十八日 can hardly be right, in view of the date mentioned later in the strip.

In the third column:

命史 LK 卒

公頃 LK 口

弘 LK 施. For men of this status, see Remnants pp. 24lf, and Hulsewé p. 23.

If the year that is mentioned is the sixteenth year of Yung yüan, the date corresponds with 26 July 104.

- 5 口口 (second column) SW 發布 LK 登惠
- 6 檄 SW 九月 For 合檄 see p. 140.

X 2 (Plate 18)

Introduction

The collection of fragments shown here is somewhat exceptional in so far as they all derive from the same group. Unfortunately, the site at which group 162 was collected has not been identified; but, as 162.4 is probably to be taken as part of an external address label for the hou-kuan of Chia-
(1)
Ch'ü, it is possible that the group was found at MD. In addition, it is clear that the strips in question were made out by the same two hands, i.e. one clerk (a) for the entries at the head of the strips, and a second clerk (b) for the remainder. The handwriting of (b) is far more regular and practised than that of many of the scribes whose work is seen in other fragments. The presence of two hands on each strip indicates that these records were made out in two parts; the main record was written by (b), and a further insertion was made at a later time by (a).

All the ~~lower~~ available pieces have been broken at the lower end; it is possible that the form of the complete strips can be reconstructed by adding the details entered on no. 14 to those included on other fragments (e.g. nos. 1 and 2) in the corresponding position. In this case it would be necessary to assume the loss of a number of pieces similar to no. 14. The length of these strips is in any case longer than usual. If the foregoing suggestion is accepted, the length would have been at least 33 cm.; otherwise, at least 27 cm.

These strips can be identified as records
of the bestowal of orders of aristocratic rank. In
each case there is specified the name of an individual,
together with his place of origin and status. These details
are followed by eight cyclical terms and statements of the
bestowal of the orders of rank. All the individuals came
from the same hsien, in Wei chün, and all had risen to the
eighth order, of kung ch'eng, receiving their orders on
the same occasions. In view of the identity of these
circumstances, it seems more likely that the recipients
were given their orders as a result of a general bestowal
to all households, rather than as rewards for individual
valour or service.

The question arises of the purpose of this record.
The unusual length of the strips, together with the pro-
fessional nature of the handwriting of clerk (b), suggests
that the greater part may have been written at one of the
offices of Wei chün. The strips were probably made out by an
official responsible for civil administration there, and
forwarded to the frontier to accompany a batch of men who
were proceeding there for service. As the treatment of
individuals varied according to the orders that they
possessed, it may have been necessary for the administrative
authorities at the frontier to possess a record of their
status; and the entries at the head of the strips, recording
the number of days of patrol duty that had been accomplished,
were probably inserted on a later occasion, at Chüyen itself.

The inclusion of two cases of men of veteran status need not be an insuperable difficulty, although such men were not obliged to serve in the Han forces.

An attempt can be made to date the circumstances recorded on these strips.

(1) The entry of the fourth year of Yüan k'ang (62 B.C.) in no. 14 can be associated with the last bestowal that is recorded on the other fragments, and which is dated on ting ssu. HS VIII 15b (HFHD II, 238) records a decree of the third month of that year whereby bounties were given to various sections of the population, including the general gift of one order of rank. Ting ssu was the last day of the third month of Yüan k'ang 4.

(2) If this identification is accepted, it must be seen whether the seven preceding terms can be associated with other dates of bestowals. Unfortunately the exact day is not mentioned in HS, which mentions the following general bestowals as preceding that of the year 62.

63 spring
(HS VIII, 14a; HFHD II, 234)

Kuei yu was a possible day.

64 third month
(HS VIII, 12b; HFHD II, 231)

Kuei ssu fell in the third month.

65 third month
(HS VIII, 11b-12a; HFHD II, 229)

I hai is given as the last day of the second month, in the reconstructed calendar, where the 1st, 2nd and 4th months are shown as long and the 3rd month as short. If the alternative arrangement is adopted (months 1, 3 and 4 long, and 2 short), i hai would have been the first day of the third month.)

73 sixth month
(HS VIII, 5b; HFHD II, 210)

According to HS, events of a religious nature, which took place on the day keng wu, sixth month, were followed by various acts of bounty including a general bestowal. However, the reconstructed calendar, which places an intercalary month after the fifth month does not admit keng wu in the sixth month. If the intercalary month was taken as following the sixth rather than the fifth month, keng wu and wu yin would both have fallen in the sixth month. (6)

73 fifth month
(HS VIII, 5a; HFHD II, 209)

Ping ch'en fell in the fifth month.

77 first month
(HS VII, 8b; HFHD II, 170)

Following the majority of the emperor, on ting hai, a bestowal of orders took place, but the number given is not specified. Both ting hai and ting wei fell in the first month.

82 sixth month
(HS VII, 4b; HFHD II, 160)

The number of orders given is not specified. Ting wei fell in the sixth month.

(In addition to the foregoing, a bestowal of orders took place on wu shen, in the fourth month of 67, following the establishment of an imperial heir (HS VIII, 8b-9a; HFHD II, 220). On this occasion the orders were given to heirs rather than generally; and wu yin did not fall in that month.)

The earliest two occasions for bestowal, given as ting wei, ting wei, can either refer to separate bestowals in 82 and 77, or to the bestowal of two orders on the same occasion in 77. However, as it was not the practice in the Ch'ien Han period to confer more than one order at the general bestowals, the terms should probably be taken as referring to 82 and 77.

Acceptance of these dates need not necessarily imply that the individuals were present on the north-west frontier throughout the period (i.e. 82 or 77 to 62), particularly if the document was originated in the men's home chün, as suggested. As the period during which individuals were liable for service extended from the age of 23⁽⁷⁾ to 56, it would have been quite possible for men who received their first orders in 82 or 77 to be serving at Chüyen in 62 or later. These fragments cannot be used as evidence regarding the length of time spent by soldiers at the front.

In addition to designating the order of rank held by the individual concerned, the strips also state his age-group. This is given in two parts (i) ~~xxxxx~~ as tsu 卒, lao 老 or ta 大, for the age at the time when the document applied; and (ii) always in the terms ku-hsiao-nan 故小男, which is thought to refer to the age-group at the time when the first of the bestowals were made. Of the terms that are used here, tsu can be taken as referring to the age-group liable for service (i.e. 20 or 23 to 56) and lao to the veteran group (i.e. 57 and over). Ta is probably used to cover the two groups of tsu and lao, and hsiao to cover the two groups below the age of obligatory service, i.e. wei shih 未使 (six and below) and shih 使 (seven to fourteen).⁽⁸⁾

The individuals mentioned in nos. 2 and 4 are both described as lao at the time when the report applied. If, as is believed, the date of the first bestowal in question

was 82 (or 77), these men cannot have been over fourteen at that time, when they were still hsiao; they would thus not have reached lao status until 40 (or 35)^{B.C.}. It follows that the record of which we have fragments cannot have been written before one of those years. This conclusion, which is agreed by Nishijima, implies two consequences:

- (1) The receipt of orders of aristocratic rank was possible for men of hsiao status. This conclusion is supported by other strips, e.g., UD 5 nos. 5, ^{(7 and 30;} ~~and 7;~~ 185.14, 258.1; ~~1;~~ 387.3. See Nishijima pp. 278-280.
- (2) The men described in the fragments as tsu must have been at least 47 (or 42) when the document applied.

Records of patrol duty are seen elsewhere in MD 17. The first character in X 2 nos. 1, 3, 7, 8, 9 and 12 is read 𠄎 in SW and LK, usually. In no. 12, LK reads 豆, as does Nishijima throughout (these variants are not included in the notes below). Nishijima (pp. 208-209) explains 豆 as being equivalent to 𠄎, in the context of military law and discipline, but cannot understand the meaning of the term in these strips.

No. 13 carries considerably less detail than fragments of comparable length; it is possible that the surface has been scraped or damaged accidentally. In no. 11 the characters T'o Wu Ch'ou, presumably a proper name, are spaced somewhat lower down the strip than names in other examples. Of the shorter fragments, no. 3 should probably be fitted to no. 4, and no. 5 to no. 6; Nishijima also suggests that

nos.8 and 10 could be fitted together,If, as is suggested above,no.14 is the lower part of one of these strips,it could have been part of the same piece as no.12,or (less probably) nos.7,8 or 9.The significance of the curved line on no.14 is not understood.

(In the following list and in the notes after the transcription,N refers to the letters of reference and the readings shown in Nishijima pp.206-7.)

1	162.14	513	---	478-9	N k	
2	162.10	513	---	478	j	
3	162.2	275	---	466	f	
4	162.7	295	---	513	n	
5	162.16	275	---	466	g	
6	162.8	295	---	513	m	
7	162.1	275	---	466	h	
8	162.17	275	---	466	e	
9	162.18	275	---	466	d	In SW,LK as 162.9
10	162.12	295	---	513	p	
11	162.13	295	---	513	o	
12	162.15	296	---	514	q	
13	162.9	275	---	466	i	In SW,LK as 162.18
14	162.6	275	---	513	l	

Notes:

- (1) Only one other member of the 162 group is available,162.5 (162.1A,on TP 487,is mistakenly numbered for 262.1A,which is shown also on TP 485;162.3 and 162.11 do not feature in

SW, Chia or TP).

- (2) For this subject see Nishijima, who considers these strips on pp.204f.; and Aristocratic ranks (pp.145f.).
- (3) For the titles of the orders see Aristocratic ranks p.99; for their acquisition cumulatively, ib., p.149.
- (4) A further reference to the bestowal of orders is seen in the material from Chüyen in 217.3; see Aristocratic ranks p.119. Nishijima (pp.222-3) suggests □乙丑紹為爵三級 or □乙丑詔賜爵三級 as possible readings of the second column.
- (5) For the possible need of such documentation see Aristocratic ranks pp.141-2.
- (6) Nishijima considers this difficulty at length (pp.228-230). He suggests that 巳六月 is an error for 閏五月.
- (7) Until some time in Chao ti's reign the lower limit was 20. See Aristocratic ranks p.157 note (3), and p.181 above.
- (8) For this subject see Fujieda (1) p.327; Nishijima pp. 275f.; Yang (1) p.110; and pp.358f. above. Ta is used with reference to an individual aged 67 in MD 10 no.9, and to men of military age in MD 9 nos.4 and 6. Hsiao refers to boys and girls aged 7 to 14 in 29.1 and 29.2; and to a child aged two in MD 9 no.9.

X 2

迹卅七 公乘鄴宋里戴通

卒

故小男丁未丁未丙辰戌寅乙亥癸巳癸酉

||

令賜各一級丁巳令賜一級

□□□

公乘鄴池陽里解清

老

故小男

etc. as in no. 1

迹五十一日 公乘鄴池陽里陳穗

老

故小男

etc. as in no. 1

...

公乘鄴左都里山雀黃

卒

故小男

etc. as in no. 1

迹六十日 公乘

迹五十九 公乘鄴賜里史克

8

7

6

5

4

3

2

X₂

迹卅日

公乘鄴京里孟奉

卒

...

9

卒

故小男

etc. as in no. 1

10

口脱母紬

卒

故小男

etc. as in no. 1

11

迹卅三

公乘鄴京里馬丙

大

故小男丁未丁未丙辰

...

12

賜里陳義

...

13

令賜一級

元康四年令

乙

口

...

14

X 2 Translation

- 1 Forty-seven [days] patrol. Tai T'ung, order of kung ch'eng, of Sung li, Yeh [hsien], of serviceable age; formerly, while of minor status, granted one order of aristocratic rank each, by ordinance, on the days ting wei, ting wei, ping ch'en, wu pin, i hai, kuei ssu, kuei yu; granted one order, by ordinance, on the day ting ssu ...
- 2 ... Chieh Ch'ing, order of kung ch'eng, of Ch'ih yang li, Yeh [hsien], veteran; formerly, while of minor status, granted one order [etc. as in no. 1]
- 3 Fifty days patrol. Ch'en Sui, order of kung ch'eng, of Ch'ih-yang li, Yeh [hsien], ...
- 4 ... veteran; formerly, while of minor status, granted one order [etc. as in no. 1]
- 5 ... Ts'ui Huang, order of kung ch'eng, of Tso-tu li, Yeh [hsien], ...
- 6 ... of serviceable age; formerly, while of minor status, granted one order [etc. as in no. 1]
- 7 Sixty days patrol. ... order of kung ch'eng ...
- 8 Fifty-nine [days] patrol. Shih K'o, order of kung ch'eng, of Tz'u li, Yeh [hsien] ...
- 9 Forty days patrol. Meng Feng, order of kung ch'eng, of Ching li, Yeh [hsien], of serviceable age ...
- 10 ... of serviceable age; formerly, while of minor status, granted one order [etc. as in no. 1]

- 11 ...T'o Wu Ch'ou ...of serviceable age;formerly,while of minor status,granted one order [etc. as in no.1]
- 12 Forty-three [days] patrol.Ma Ping,order of kung ch'eng, of Ching li,Yeh [hsien],adult;formerly,while of minor status,[granted one order of aristocratic rank each,by ordinance,on the days] ting wei,ting wei,ping ch'en ...
- 13 ...Ch'en I,of Tz'u li ...
- 14 ...granted one order,by ordinance,... Ordinance of the fourth year of Yüan k'ang [62 B.C.] ...

Notes

- 1 鄴 This is listed as the first hsien in Wei 魏 chün
(HS XXVIII A2,46a)
- 2 解 SW 鮮
- 故 SW,LK 口
- 5 崔 SW 崔
- 7 迹 六十月 SW,LK 口口之N 豆六十三
- 8 克 SW,LK 克
- 9 卅 SW,LK 卅

Both here and in no.12 京 is written 京 .For other examples of this form see UD 5 no.13;498.4;and inscription no.8,column 1.Similarly the forms 景 and 景 are seen in Han writings (京 景 and 景 are all seen in inscription no.7,columns 2,6 and 7; 景 appears in inscription no.5,column 3 and last column;and 景 in MD 8 no.4;TD 6 nos.1,2 and 4;and inscription no.6, penultimate column).

奉 N suggests 年 tentatively.

12 卅 SW 卅

13 賜 SW, LK 陽

14 口 SW, N 出 LK 土

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- (i) Strips in the main collection from Chüyen (i.e. those included in TP, SW and Chia).
- (ii) Strips which are included in TP, SW or Chia but whose original numbers are not known.
- (iii) Strips included in minor collections from Chüyen (i.e. Jao (2) and Su).
- (iv) Strips found at the sites of Tunhuang (i.e. those published by Chavannes, Maspero and Hsia Nai).
- (v) Strips found by Huang Wen-pi.
- (vi) Strips included in Conrady.

References to the pages or entries in TP, Chia and SW are provided for (i) and (ii), unless they have appeared elsewhere in this study (i.e. for those strips which are included in the 43 documents or which are shown on Plates 43-57; for the references to these strips see pp. 8-9 and 230f. above).

(1) *Strips in the main collection from Chüyen*

	TP	Chia	SW	References
				pp.
2.10				(see 11.10)
68				(see MD 8 no.14)
3.2				(see MD 6 no.30)
4	527	---	517	640 note(3)
5				MD 11 no.13
7				MD 19 no.4
26				MD 19 no.3

	TP	Chia	SW	References
4.1	380	11	84	pp. 161 note (16)
4A,B	379-80	19A,B	243	40 note (20), 280
14A				MD 16 no.1
5.1				Pl.48 no.3
3				UD 8 no.9
9A,B	67-8	---	20-1	194,205
10	21	92	5-6	205
13				201 note (5),555, 566 note (8)
12 14	21			205
18	21	37	5	UD 8 no.10 Pl.48 no.4
6.5				MD 6 no.28
7	193	46	197	445
8	193	44	48	41 note (24),458
13				MD 6 no.29
7.6A				Pl.53 no.6
628				(see 7.6A)
2A	67	45A	21	322
24	33	56	364	318,453
28A				Pl.53 no.6
37				UD 4 no.6
8.1A,B	184-5	2446	493	74 note (6)
9.1A-C				Pl.57 nos.3-5
2A-C	520-5	---	561	244
22				244
10.1				(see MD 14 no.2)
3				UD 8 no.9
8	73	67	371	194
9	73	77	371	MD 19 no.19 note
12	29	75	429	MD 19 no.19 note (in SW as 101.9)
22	13	80	177	MD 11 no.14 note (in SW as 10.2)
24	13	93	360	446 note (1)
26				270
27	29	91	5	UD 4 no.7
28	29	87	562	68,201 note(5), 566 note (8).
28	29	87	562	(in SW as 10.117)
29	28	88	7	484,567 note (20)
30	29	89	8	555
31	28	90	8	555,566 note(8)
32	28	34	7	555
33	70	96	21	161 note (16),555
34A,B	67-8	95A,B	20	555
			123	41 note (23),68
39	29	99	429	MD 11 no.14 note
40	---	100	---	193
117				(see 10.27).

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
11.3	39	104	255		676
4	39	103	168		525
9	69	106	21		555
10	39	8	180		205 (in SW, Chia as 2.10)
14	545	----	164		205
16	545	----	84		205
17	39	113	439		630
19				UD 5 no.16	205
22	----	----	----		(see p.63 npte(14))
12.1A-D	462-9	2554 A-D	98	Pl.54 nos. 1-4	134f.;143 notes (14),(15); MD 1 no.6 note
.2				UD 8 no.21	205
13.2	39	116	180		331,547
3				UD 4 no.4	205
4	69	120	181		446 note (1)
6	39	115	171		41 note (24),68
7				UD 2 no.1	205
8	----	2551	----	UD 8 no.9	194,205
14.1A,B				Pl.49 nos.8, 9	
3				Pl.47 no.5	
11	69	117	181		548 note (4)
13				UD 5 no.22	
27B	----	125A	----		193
15.4	100	----	450		50;see UD 5 no.21
5				UD 5 no.7	205
14				UD 5 no.21	205
18	102	----	28		59 note (2)
19	101	----	27		528 note (3),530(8)
20	107	----	184		525
24	101	----	451		500
25	102	----	184		525
16.1				Pl.56 no.7	245
2	304	----	306		271 note (4),641(4)
5A,B	304-5	----	146		206
6	304	----	146		64 note (17),206
8	303	----	146		64 note (17),206
11	304	----	68		554
13	98	----	582		63 note (14)
22	544	----	345		63 note (14)
17.1					(see MD 9 no.7)
32	125	----	131		54,206
18.5	530	----	107		555
8				MD 17 no.2	
22	----	143	----		193
19.5					(see TD 5 no.2)
9				TD 5 no.4	
20					(see MD 9 no.7)
21				TD 5 no.10	
22					

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
19.22	45	154	122		588
26	5	156	244		641 note (5)
36				TD 3 no.13	
38				TD 4 no.10	
40				TD 3 no.4	
41	45	---	367		607,612 note (24)
43				TD 7 no.2	
45				TD 4 no.14	
50				TD 5 no.2	
20.1	73	172	124		143 note (18)
4	46	---	487		553
7	46	---	15		88 note (5)
12A,B	67-8	179A,B	20		175 note (13)
21.1A,B				Pl.52 nos.2, 1	640 note (1)
3A,B				Pl.49 nos.3, 4	(see 175.20)
4A,B				Pl.49 nos.1,2	
22.14					206; see 225.14
42					206; see 225.4
24.1B	220	181B	463		192 note (21), 367 note (7), TD 8 no.3 note
9B				Pl.46 no.7	
25.3A,B	412-3	---	559		245
26.12				MD 13 no.1	
21	414	200	325		179,270,360
27.3				MD 10 no.18	
4				MD 10 no.5	
8				MD 14 no.8	
10				MD 8 no.5	
11				MD 8 no.17	
12				MD 14 no.10	
28.1	220	211	52		547
9	219	---	291		623 note (4)
14	221	---	387		607
15				MD 6 no.32	
29.1	60	---	168		42 note (31), 527(3)
2	60	218	168		42 note (31), 738
3A,B				Pl.48 nos.11, 12	520 (see 39.12) (see TD 3 no.4)
12					
40					
30.4				MD 3 no.22	
12				Pl.50 no.6	
19A				MD 16 no.3	
31.6	34	220	560		244
9	34	220	560		244
32.1					(see 32.7)

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
32.7	90	---	375		403 (in SW as 32.1)
12A	90	227A	126		TD 3 no.12 note
15					(see 311.15A)
16	119	----	273		MD 11 no. 14 14 note
22				Pl.47 no.8	527 note (2)
23				Pl.47 no.4	300 note (1)
33.2				MD 1 no.31	
11				MD 3 no.6	
16				MD 3 no.20	
18				MD 5 no.6	
25				MD 2 no.2	
28				Pl.46 no.6	
34.8A	211	----	231		189 note (6)
13				MD 6 no.2	
35.11				MD 1 no.16	
36.4	32	260	487		206
15B	----	240A	----		193
37.6	137	----	424		206
21	425	----	91		TD 1 no.1 note
23				UD 5 no.12	206
30	137	----	424		525
35	137	----	455		192 note (21), 367 note (7), TD 8 no.3 note;
				(distinguish a further 37.35 on TP	425)
38				UD 5 no.10	206
40	425	----	559		661 note (2)
42				UD 5 no.9	206
57	137	----	455		492
38.21	245	----	464		492
39.2				Pl.47 no.12	529 note (3)
4				Pl.46 no.13	
6				MD 8 no.16	
8				MD 8 no.12	
12				Pl.46 no.11	
2... .					(see MD 8 no.10)
37	347	----	558		661 note (2)
45				MD 6 no.26	
40.1	296	285	173-4		175 note(13), 529 note (4)
6	296	288	66		189 note (1), 402
8	266	----	465		492
21				MD 1 no.21	
41.5	404	----	155		206
10				UD 1 no.1	206
17	34	294	365		610 note (3)
22				UD 1 no.2	206
42.22				MD 18 no.4	

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
43.2				UD 5 no.3	
4				UD 5 no.13	
7				UD 5 no.1	
9				UD 5 no.14	
20				UD 5 no.17	
44.11	132	----	274		396
82				MD 19 no.14	
45.1A,B				Pl.51 nos.3 and 6	640 note (1)
13				MD 6 no.13	
21				MD 6 no.19	
23				MD 6 no.18	
24				MD 1 no.26	
46.5	345	333	78		41 note (23)
17A,B	345-6	2445	498		60 note (8),75 (6)
18				MD 16 no.10	
47.4	9	344	359		460
5	9	345	419		460
49.2A,B				Pl.51 nos.1 and 4	640 note (1)
7				Pl.50 no.10	
9	583	----	481		492
12	423	355	403		453 (in LK as 49.32)
13	423	----	243		280
14				MD 6 no.25	
22				MD 3 no.5	
29	423	----	157		206 (in TP as 51.15)
32					(see 49.12)
33				MD 3 no.19	
50.20					(see 50.26)
26				Pl.48 no.5	(in SW as 50.20)
51.3	423	----	475		530 note (7)
4	144	----	187		500 (in SW as 51.5)
5				UD 5 no.5	525
13	145	----	187		525
16	423	----	215		525
15	423	----	not found		206 (in TP as 49.29)
25				UD 5 no.8	
35					(see UD 5 no.8)
52.4					(see MD 1 no.26)
17	190	362	196		460,MD 6 no.18note
62				MD 13 no.50	
53.1A,B	35	359B,A	10		193,554
6	82	364B	227		435 (in SW as 53.2)

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
53.7				UD 1 no.4	
8				UD 1 no.5	
15	82	368	422		525, UD 5 no.14 note
43					(see TD 3 no.5)
55.5				MD 11 no.3	
6				MD 4 no.8	
8				MD 8 no.11	
11	253	383	56		300 note (2)
13	253	385	56		300 note (2), 402
17				MD 8 no.15	
20				MD 9 no.3	
22				MD 8 no.21	
23	253	393	56		300 note (2)
24				MD 8 no.13	
25				MD 10 no.7	
27				MD 8 no.15	
56.3				MD 17 no.9	
37				MD 3 no.2	
57.1A,B				Pl.45 nos.1,2	193
6	157	---	458		492
8	134	399	275		630, MD 11 no.12 note
29	164	410	188		502 note (1)
58.2	199	425	462		492 (see MD 1 no.18)
11				MD 1 no.18	
16	199	***	492	MDxi0 no.23	403, MDxi0
16				MD 10 no.23	403
24				MD 1 no.11	
59.12				MD 11 no.5	
17				MD 13 no.47	
19	250	421	142		209
33	251	432	233		403
36	251	---	203		404
38	327	---	560		244
61.3	---	431	---		193
4 7				MD 14 no.1	
9	158	---	43		555
24	158	2418	43		402
62.4	114	---	452		525
13	106	---	423		525, UD 5 no.14 note
19	106	---	452		525
21	111	---	129		525
24	106	---	452		525
32	114	---	423		525
33	111	---	184		525
34				UD 5 no.20	207
38	114	---	not found		207, 527 note (2).
43	114	---	452		522
55	111	---	184		525

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
64.9					(see 256.4)
65.7	1	---	167		42 note (31), 527 note (3)
9	1	---	167		42 note (31), 527 note (3)
10	1	---	167		42 note (31), 527 note (3)
18	26	---	7		174 note (7), 554
66.3				Pl.53 no.5	
67.7					(see MD 14 no.1)
68.3	183	---	566		207
18				MD 7 no.3	207
36	183	---	194		348, 664
40				MD 7 no.9	207
41				MD 19 no.21	207
56	182	---	194		348
61	182	---	194		460
63				MD 19 no.16	207
65				MD 19 no.17	207
95				MD 19 no.18	
105				MD 19 no.19	
109				MD 19 no.20	
112	182	---	194		460
70.21	334	---	149		281
71.1				MD 5 no.12	207
3				MD 5 no.10	207
6	169	---	459		323
9	169	---	459		323
18				MD 5 no.17	207
22				MD 5 no.18	207
35	169	---	600		323
47				MD 5 no.14	
57					(see MD 5 no.14)
58				MD 5 no.11	
83	169	---	459		88 note (3)
72.7				MD 11 no.6	
14				MD 10 no.20	
74.1	19	453	119		207
2B	--	455A	---		193
4				Pl.47 no.6	207, 300 note (1)
5				Pl.47 no.7	207, 527 note (2)
6B	--	460A	---		193
18	1	---	482		207
19				UD 8 no.13	207
75.5				UD 5 no.2	207
14	424	---	156		299
76.6	598	---	166		207
36				MD 11 no.7	207
49				MD 15 no.2	207

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
77.39	99	---	450		500
42	99	---	450		500
53				UD 5 no.15	207
56				UD 5 no.15	207
81				UD 5 no.3	207
78.1	172	---	282		207, 354, 356
2	172	---	282		207, 388
13	172	---	190		207
46	213	---	231		403
80.8	50	---	627		207
	(distinguish 80.8A,B on TP 430-1)				
9	426	---	---		207
11	408	---	86		207
13	50	---	not found		207
81.2				Pl.47 no.10	
82.1				MD 19 no.1	
7				Pl.50 no.5	
10				MD 18 no.2	
15	190	362	196		460, MD 6 no. 19 18 note
18A,B				Pl.48 nos.6 and 7	
39				MD 18 no.1	
84.24				MD 3 no.16	
85.7	168	---	557		661 note (2)
21	588	---	561		244
86.11				Pl.53 no.4	
87.1	19	495	179		141 note (2)
7	19	493	225		403
8	19	493	225		403
				(not listed in SW)	
10					(see MD 8 no.5)
18	507	---	559		661 note (2)
88.4				W 2 no.69	
9	393	533	618		720
10	392	527	320		677
12	392	516	85		59 note (2), 74 (2)
14	392	528	320		686 note (2)
15				W 1 no.9	
17	506	2531A-C	337		189 note (2)
18	506	2531A-C	337		189 note (2)
20				W 2 no.39	
21				W 1 no.6	
22	392	529	558		661 note (2)
25				W 2 no.92	
26				W 2 no.30	

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
89.5				MD 13 no.32	
11				MD 13 no.23	
22				MD 12 no.5	
17	234	511	293		396
20	303	509	563		41 note (29)
21	233	---	201-2		457, MD 19 no.5 note
22				MD 14 no.2	
42	505	---	478		492
90.2				TD 5 no.9	
3				TD 5 no.3	
11				TD 5 no.12	
12				TD 5 no.9	
14	9	535	433		611 note (13)
21				TD 5 no.3	(see TD 5 no.12)
22				TD 3 no.10	
[23]				TD 4 no.11	
32				TD 5 no.3	
34				TD 5 no.13	
44				TD 5 no.13	
45	5	156	244		641 note (5)
46				TD 4 no.12	
56	9	547	359		396
60				TD 5 no.9	
64	5	156	244		641 note (5)
95.3	280	549	206		404, 491 (in SW as 93.5)
5	280	570	61	MD 5	555
6				MD 5 no.7	
16--					
20				MD 9 no.7	
97.1B	---	553A	---		193
18				Pl.56 no.4	244, 246 note (7)
5	19	565	555		661 note (2)
9	19	569	167-8		522
(two strips numbered 97.9 are shown on TP 19. Reference here is to the strip on the right)					
100.24				UD 1 no.6	
101.2					(see MD 1 no.12)
11A				MD 1 no.12	
23	427	---	403		608
25B	---	581B	---		193
102.1				TD 4 no.9	
7				TD 4 no.17	
10				TD 4 no.9	
12				TD 4 no.16	
103.17				MD 3 no.12	
24	592	---	482		356
37	135	597	186		445

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
104.22A	---	606A	---		193
32				MD 3 no.17	
35				MD 11 no.12	
107.2	---	598 598	598		207 (error for 117.2)
110.7	195	620	197		404 (in SW as 110.27)
111.3	102	---	557		661 note (2); (un-numbered in SW).
4A-C				Pl.55 nos. 5-7	136
5A-D				Pl.55 nos. 8-11	136
5	102	***			661 note (2); (un-numbered in SW)
6	102	---	557		676
112.2	202	---	287		
113.16A,B				Pl.48 nos. 9-10	
19					(see 113.16A)
24	226	---	292		354
115.1	185	645	195		404
53					(see MD 17 no.8)
116.1					(see 166.1)
5				UD 4 no.14	
19	409	---	473		500
34	40	672	180		53
40	48	---	258		640 note (3)
117.2	94	598, & 662	268		207 (in SW and Chia 598 as 107.2)
43				UD 8 no.3	
118.1				UD 8 no.2	
2				UD 4 no.21	
17	95	678	26		130,179
18	95	680	172		41 note (24),68 (see UD 8 no.1)
119.5					
27				UD 5 no.6	
67	421	---	90		254 note (7),522
120.29				TD 9 no.12	208
121.25	145	---	187		525
29	---	679	---		193
122.2	135	---	132		54,208
6	135	---	276		641 note (4)
8				MD 10 no.14	208
19				MD 10 no.2	208
21				MD 10 no.1	208
123.30				MD 11 no.10	
46	155	---	188		404
60	---	694	---		193

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
124.4					(see UD 4 no.2)
12				UD 4 no.2	208
17				UD 8 no.16	208
125.38A,B				Pl.56 nos. 5,6	245 (in SW as 125.39)
39					(see 125.38)
126.4				UD 4 no.2	
5	49	---	564		41 note (28),107 (16)
8B	---	723A	---		193
10					(see UD 8 no.11)
12				UD 8 no.9	193
14				UD 4 no.18	
16B	---	710B	---		193
17				UD 4 no.17	
19				UD 5 no.23	
26B	---	701B	---		193
27B	---	708A	---		193
29				UD 8 no.4	
30				UD 8 no.7	
31				UD 8 no.14	
32				UD 4 no.19	
40				UD 7 no.1	
41				UD 8 no.11	
42B	---	705B	---		193
127.2				MD 1 no.3	
22				MD 19 no.7	
24	126, 127	715	378		460,549 note (6)
25				MD 3 no.10	
27	126	714	33		403
128.1				X 1 no.2	
2				Pl.43-44	272 note (8),669f, 724; (see 158.2; unnumbered in SW)
130.8				X 1 no.1	208
11				X 1 no.5	208
12				X 1 no.4	208
15				X 1 no.6	208
131.1				UD 1 no.3	
21					(see MD 16 no.5)
132.27				MD 3 no.9	
28				MD 2 no.8	
29				MD 17 no.5	403
40				MD 16 no.8	
133.2B				Pl.47 no.13	
3				Pl.46 no.9	54
5				Pl.46 no.10	54
7				MD 8 no.2	
8				MD 10 no.22	403

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
133.9				MD 4 no.9	
10				MD 11 no.4	
14				MD 6 no.10	
15				MD 13 no.33	
16				MD 13 no.15	
20				MD 9 no.4	
21				MD 16 no.5	
23	216	767	199		300 note (2)
134.14					(see W 2 no.31)
136.2	434	778	476		492
39				MD 1 no.22	
43				MD 2 no.6	
44				MD 1 no.19	
137.2				MD 4 no.2	
6	253	383	56		300 note (2)
14				MD 4 no.10	
20				MD 8 no.14	
22				MD 8 no.6	
138.7	73	782	371		MD 19 no.19 note
					(in TP,LK as 183.7)
139.5	207	785	494		444
39A				MD 16 no.9	403
140.1A	412	----	86-7		528 note(3),530 (8)
10					(see W 2 nos.57,58)
19	416	----	474		403,404
142.12				Pl.50 no.9	
16				MD 6 no.17	
25A				MD 16 no.6	
30				MD 19 no.15	
34				MD 1 no.25	
35	238	815	294		TD 1 no.1 note
143.3	369	799	237		435
20				MD 11 no.11	
145.33				MD 17 no.8	403
146.5A,B	67-8	833A,B	523		53,208
38				UD 3 no.8	53,208
43					(see UD 4 no.23)
52				UD 4 no.23	208
95A,B	67-8	833A,B	523		53,208
96	40	832	449		53,208
147.1	143	---	596		208
9A	419	---	543		208
148.1				W 2 no.94	
2				W 2 no.57	(see W 2 nos.58,59)
3				W 2 no.29	
4				W 2 no.2	
5				W 2 no.43	
6				W 2 no.45	

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
148.7				W 1 no.12	
9				W 2 no.7	
10				W 2 no.58	
11				W 1 no.4	(see W 2 no.75) (see W 2 no.54)
12					
14				W 2 no.56	
15				W 2 no.70	
17				W 2 no.84	
18				W 2 no.80	
20					(see W 3 no.2)
21				W 2 no.54	
22				W 2 no.10	
24				W 2 no.59	
26				W 3 no.2	
28				W 2 no.36	
29				W 1 no.5	(see W 1 no.12)
33				W 2 no.75	(see W 1 no.4)
34					(see W 2 no.78)
36	395	866	618		676
37				W 2 no.11	
39				W 1 no.8	
41				W 2 no.105	
42				W 2 no.94	
43				W 2 no.6	
44				W 3 no.5	
45				W 3 no.4	676
46				W 2 no.26	
47				W 2 no.44	
48				W 2 no.52	
49				W 1 no.7	
50				W 1 no.13	
149.17	22	877	435		500
29	46	883	573		652
39	22	890	436		611 note (13)
156.22	170	899	282		641 note (4)
157.2	447	---	333		270, 368 note (17)
				(distinguish a further 157.2 on TP 174)	
11	361	910	515		59 note (2)
14				MD 3 no.7	
17				MD 1 no.13	
24A,B	360-1	919A,B	80		175 note (13), 529 note (4), 555
26	361	920	538		203 note (6)
158.2	191	922	286		354 (in SW as 128.2)
6				MD 1 no.20	(see MD 1 no.7)
8				MD 2 no.3	
16				MD 1 no.7	
22					(see MD 1 no.4)

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
159.1				MD 18 no.3	
14	259	941	57		68,330,333 note(2), 484
16	258	---	391		607
21	258	---	57		68,403
160.7				MD 13 no.;29	
13	231	2433	231		530 note (11)
161.1				MD 10 no.3	(see MD 8 no.7) (see MD 10 no.3)
2					
5				MD 11 no.17	
7				MD 13 no.37	
10				MD 8 no.7	
162.1				X 2 no.7	
1A	487	---	---		737 note (1)
2				X 2 no.3	
4	296	---	145		731
5	601	---	413		737 note (1)
6				X 2 no.14	
7				X 2 no.4	
8				X 2 no.6	
9				X 2 no.13	
10				X 2 no.2	
12				X 2 no.10	
13				X 2 no.11	
14				X 2 no.1	
15				X 2 no.12	
16				X 2 no.5	
17				X 2 no.8	
18				X 2 no.9	
163.4	98	---	582		130
19				MD 3 no.8	225
166.1A,B				Pl.50 nos.1, 2	
5					(see UD 4 no.14)
8	230	---	557		661 note (2)
9	230	---	558		661 note (2)
167.4				Pl.56 no.3	244
168.					(see MD 13 no.14)
5				MD 13 no.14	
15				MD 13 no.38	
16				MD 14 no.7	(see MD 13 no.19)
18				MD 13 no.19	
169.1A,B				Pl.56 nos.2, 1	141 note (4),244
170.3A	109	---	168-9		528 note (3)
4	109	---	129		547
173.24	274	---	513		331
174.6				MD 13 no.34	
9				MD 13 no.49	
10				MD 13 no.35	
14				MD 13 no.48	
34				Pl.48 no.8	

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
175.1				MD 6 no.24	
19A,B	173-4	---	190-1		458
20A,B				Pl.49 nos. 5,6	137,529 note (3); (see 21.3; on TP 455 as 213A)
176.18	249	---	233		403
24				MD 1 no.5	
27				MD 10 no.13	
35				MD 1 no.6	
38	240	992	495		354
39				MD 13 no.9	
45	249	---	296		354
53	240	---	558		661 note (2)
178.8				MD 1 no.29	
25A	289	1010A	64		281 note (1)
26				MD 13 no.44	
179.2A,B				Pl.51 nos.8, 10	608
4				UD 2 no.2	209
5				UD 8 no.1	209
8					(see MD 1 no.29)
9	83	1016	23		175 note (13),555
10	83	1017	556		661 note (2); (un- numbered in SW)
180.27				MD 1 no.32	
39				MD 2 no.4	
390					(see MD 2 no.4)
181.2A	62	---	19		530 note (11)
182.1	22	---	251		622 note (1)
3				TD 7 no.4	
7				TD 4 no.4	
25				TD 7 no.3	
37				TD 4 no.7	
46				TD 4 no.15	
183.2	73	782	371		MD 19 no.19 note
7				(not listed in SW)	(see 138.7)
9				UD 4 no.3	
13	74	1039	171-2		175 note (13)
15B	---	1049B	---		193
18A,B				Pl.51 nos.2, 5	640 note (1)
184.1	422	---	156		209
185.2	261	1092	58		566 note (6)
3				MD 3 no.5	
13				MD 9 no.1	
14	265	1051	59		736
20	265	---	560		244
22				MD 1 no.4	

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
185.23	} 265	1053	59	MD 1 no.10	402
24					
29					
187.6	15	1066	361		424
22	15	1087	249		396
23A					(see TD 2 no.1)
25	15	1066	361		424
188.3	311	1238	146-7		TD 1 no.1 (note)
10				MD 16 no.7	
18				MD 3 no.18	
21	311	1081	146		TD 1 no.1 note
24				MD 13 no.41	
28				MD 14 no.5	
32				MD 4 no.4	
15				MD 4 no.5	
190.10	240	992	495		354
29				MD 2 no.9	
33				MD 2 no.4	
191.10	433	1095	500		356
11	433	---	329		368 note (17)
192.27	---	156	---		193
38				TD 4 no.13	
39	5	156	244		641 note (5)
40	15	1097	249		622 note (1)
193.7	240	992	495		354
194.3				MD 9 no.10	
11	311	1081	146		TD 1 no.(1) note
12	---	431	---		193
13				MD 9 no.10	
18				MD 4 no.3	
20				MD 9 no.2	
198.7	222	1123	563		484
199.21	---	1130	---		194
202.2				MD 1 no.28	209
7				MD 1 no.27	209
18				MD 6 no.11	209
203.1				MD 13 no.6	209
2	133	---	132		299
3				MD 9 no.5	209
4				MD 10 no.15	209
6				MD 8 no.18	59 note (2), 209
7				MD 10 no.8	209
8				MD 15 no.3	209
10				MD 8 no.19	209
11				MD 13 no.8	209
12				MD 9 no.6	209; (see MD 10 no. 10)
13				MD 10 no.10	209; (see MD 9 no. 6)

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
203.14				MD 8 no.3	209
15				MD 10 no.21	209
16				MD 9 no.8	209
17				MD 13 no.4	209
18				MD 13 no.28	209 (see MD 13 no.27)
19				MD 10 no.11	209
22	163	---	43		555
23				MD 9 no.9	209
24				MD 13 no.27	209
25				MD 8 no.1	209
27				MD 10 no.19	209
32				MD 10 no.16	209
34	160	---	279		354 (in SW as 203.124)
35	163	459 ---	459		356,404
36				MD 8 no.9	209
37	160	---	279		356
38				MD 13 no.3	209
40				MD 13 no.31	209
64				MD 13 no.5	209
124					(see 203.34)
206.2	225	2434	200		270,445
5	225	---	52		566 note (6)
21				MD 6 no.23	
209.6	117	----	31		530 note (11), 555
210.5	----	1115	----		194
27	293	1149	305		396 (in SW, LK as 210.17)
31	293	----	207		404 (in SW as 210.33)
35	299	1152	67		555
212.39	566	----	352		388
68	57	----	123		210 (in SW as 612.68)
213.28A	36	1167A	10		528 note (3)
41B	37	----	11		268
44A	36	1167A	10		528 note (3)
214.5				MD 19 no.10	
6A					(see MD 3 no.1)
8				MD 19 no.9	
24				MD 2 no.1	
25				MD 12 no.1	
33A	357	1175A	79		161 note (16), 201 note (5), 555 (in Chia as 214.30)
34				MD 1 no.8	
35				MD 1 no.30	
47				MD 19 no.5	
49				MD 19 no.6	
51				MD 2 no.5	

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
214.60	449	---	219		TD 3 no.1 note
86A				MD 3 no.1	
108				MD 19 no.2	
118				MD 17 no.7	403
125	356	1192	471		641 note (3); TD 1 no.1 note (in SW as 213.121)
216.2	44	534	15		TD 4 no.11 note
7				TD 5 no.7	
217.3	519	1216	479		738 note (4)
12				MD 3 no.23	
13	432	1212	328		652
24	369	799	237		435
27				MD 6 no.6	
30	512	1209	408		608, 611 note (10)
218.2	145	---	39		528 note (3) (in SW as 260.6)
219.14	94	1220	268		509
15	16	1217	482-3		445
220.4	287	---	234		435
8				MD 14 no.3	
10				MD 4 no.7	
222.6	179	1233	283		403, 404
7					
224.3	253	383	56		300 note (2)
13	253	385	56	MD 13 no.14	300 note (2), 402
14					
15					
28					
31				MD 4 no.6	
				MD 10 no.12	
225.3					(see 225.14)
4					(see 225.42)
14	307	174	69		206 (in Chia as 22.14, 225.3)
21	308	---	207		547, TD 1 no.1 note
42	307	176	307		206 (in TP as 225.4; in Chia as 22.42)
226.21	93	---	428B		210
227.2				MD 7 no.6	210
3					(see MD 6 no.3)
4				MD 7 no.5	210
6	598	---	674		210
15				MD 6 no.31	210
18				MD 7 no.8	210
24				MD 7 no.7	210
31				MD 7 no.1	210
36	601	---	166		210
43	342	---	76		89 note (5), 331; (see MD 6 no.3)
100				MD 6 no.3	89 note (5)

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
228.2	555	---	not found		244, 246 note (6)
10	565	---	166		210
18	93	1253	375		525
229.21				MD 3 no.15	210
24				MD 3 no.4	210
231.2					(see MD 11 no.8)
3				MD 5 no.20	210
4				MD 5 no.2	210
5				MD 13 no.45	210
6				MD 5 no.1	210
7				MD 5 no.4	210
16	285	---	not found		323
21	285	---	608		323
25				MD 10 no.6	210
26				MD 5 no.8	210
28				MD 13 no.46	210
40				MD 5 no.16	210
44	284	---	496		323
67	284	---	467		323
90				MD 5 no.9	210
93A	284	---	62		210, 323
93B				MD 5 no.19	
94	284	---	467		323
98	283	---	467		323
105				MD 5 no.3	210
109	282	---	467		323
116				MD 5 no.15	210
117				MD 5 no.13	210
232.1	83	1262	446		331, 501
21				MD 6 no.12	210
234.7				MD 3 no.13	210
9	181	---	492		403
23					(see MD 8 no.8)
236.2	557	2477	165		210
7	557	2478	657		210
237.2				MD 11 no.8	210
3				MD 11 no.9	210
18	546	---	346		388
28				MD 3 no.14	210
238.36	151	---	42		555, 652
	(distinguish a further 238.36A, B on TP 150-1)				
239.20				UD 4 no.16	62 note (12), 210
22	29	1276	179		62 note (12)
36				Pl.47 no.9	
67	549	---	652		210
105				UD 4 no.20	210, 62 note (12)

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
242.25	564	---	661		210
244.4				MD 13 no.10	
6				MD 13 no.10	
247.54	10	2517	433		501
250.21				UD 3 no.9	
253.5	25	----	251		641 note (4)
6				UD 4 no.13	211
10				UD 4 no.11	211
254.1				MD 11 no.14	(see MD 10 no.9)
2				MD 13 no.24	
6				MD 13 no.21	
7				MD 11 no.15	
8				MD 13 no.22	(see MD 13 no.26)
9				MD 13 no.26	(see MD 13 no.22)
11				MD 10 no.9	
15				MD 13 no.17	
17	229	1305	201		403
18	299	1309	234		MD 17 no.1 note
19				MD 13 no.20	
21				MD 11 no.2	
22				MD 14 no.9	
23				MD 8 no.8	
24				MD 8 no.4	
25				MD 10 no.9	(see MD 13 no. 17)
255.21A, B				Pl.48 nos. 1,2	
22	21	37	5		211
25				UD 8 no.3	211
27	93	1316	172		175 note (13)
33				UD 4 no.22	211
40A	36	1318A	10		41 note (23)
256.2B					(see 9.1B)
4				Pl.53 no.3	
25					(see UD 8 no.3)
36				Pl.49 no.7	
257.3				MD 17 no.3	
5					(see MD 17 no.3)
17	576	----	411		608
19				MD 17 no.6	
26	249	1348	296		354
31				MD 13 no.11	
258.1	265	1051	59		736
3				MD 1 no.24	
7	235	1354	389		608
10	236	---	140		281
11	235	----	494		485
13				MD 11 no.16	
16				MD 19 no.11	
21	235	----	not found		404

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
259.1				MD 1 no.9	
4				Pl.46 no.1	54
5A,B				Pl.54 nos.8 and 7	136
15				Pl.46 no.5	
260.18A,B					
	430-1	----	561		245
262.1A	485	----	not found		737 note (1)
7				MD 11 no.18	
263.14A,B				Pl.54 nos.6 and 5	136
15				Pl.47 no.2	
264.4				MD 16 no.12	
10				MD 13 no.16	
19				MD 1 no.2	
20B	177	----	not found		201 note (5)
32				MD 19 no.12	
39	175	1380	46		402
265.29	132	1400	454		280
43	132	1386	241		280
266.3	----	1394	----		194
4				MD 13 no.30	
5	----	1395	----		194
22	----	1395	----		194
31	----	1392	----		194
32	----	1393	----		194
34	----	1390	----		----
267.11				MD 6 no.27	
12				MD 11 no.1	
13				MD 12 no.4	
16	271	1494	425		641 note (3)
17				MD 16 no.2	
19	268	----	59		554
20	268	2422	59		297
22				MD 16 no.4	
25	269	----	59		555
26A	269	----	299		356
27				MD 12 no.3	
268.49	548	----	651		270
269.4	31	1412	226		403,435 (in SW as 264.4)
270.21				Pl.47 no.14	
23				MD 6 no.21	
271.2				Pl.46 no.2	
15B	306	----	306		356
25	----	1439	----		194
273					(see MD 10 no.18)
.4				W 2 no.90	
6	506	2531A-C	337		189 note (2)
8				W 2 no.47	
9				W 2 no.16	

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
273.10				W 2 no.24	
11				W 2 no.88	
13				W 2 no.48	
14				W 2 no.50	
15				W 1 no.14	
16				W 2 no.108	
17				W 1 no.1	
20				W 2 no.4	
22				W 2 no.91	(see W 2 no.41)
23				W 2 no.77	
24				W 2 no.41	(see W 2 no.4)
25				W 2 no.93	
26				W 2 no.74	
28	512	1464	338		677
274.30	568	----	664		211
37				UD 4 no.5	211
275.2				W 2 no.15	
3				W 2 no.66	
4				W 2 no.73	
5				W 2 no.38	
10				W 3 no.1	676
11				W 2 no.78	
12				W 2 no.27	
13	495	1481	102		720
14				W 1 no.15	
16				W 2 no.19	
17				W 2 no.1	
18				W 2 no.37	
19				W 2 no.42	64 note (18), 212
20				W 2 no.95	
21				W 2 no.97	
22				W 2 no.96	
23				W 2 no.100	
24				Pl.49 no.10	
276.4B	529	---	502		356
14	529	---	221		404
	(two strips numbered 276.14 are shown on TP 529. Reference here is to the strip on the right).				
278.2					(see W 2 no.49)
7A,B				Pl.57 nos.1 and 2	132f., 142 note(9)
8				W 2 no.28	
9				W 2 no.23	
10				W 2 no.86	
11				W 2 no.49	
18					(see W 2 no.86)
279.7	324	---	310		354
11				Pl.46 no.3	300 note (1)
26	325	---	310		396

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
280.2	18	1497	571		59 note (1)
3	18	1505	419		525
7	18	---	119		211
15	537	---	502		211
		(distinguish a further 280.15 on TP 18)			
16	18	1502	250		630
282.1	262	---	560		244, 246 note (6); (see MD 17 no.1)
2				MD 7 no.4	
19				MD 7 no.2	
283.12	363	---	397		462 note (2)
16				MD 1 no.1	
63	417	---	325		299
284.2A	64	1524	19-20		59 note (2)
14				UD 4 no.11	
285.1				MD 17 no.1	403
15				MD 1 no.14	
17				MD 6 no.20	
18				MD 19 no.8	
23				MD 2 no.7	
286.1	300	1544	558		661 note (2) (in SW as 286)
3	----	1556	----		194
4	----	1557	----		194
8				MD 8 no.14	
11				MD 13 no.7	194
14				MD 4 no.1	
17				MD 12 no.2	
21				MD 13 no.25	194
24				MD 13 no.12	
29				MD 14 no.1	
30				MD 13 no.43	
287.16				MD 13 no.40	
22				MD 13 no.39	
24	336	---	242		608, 611 note (10)
288.2	113	---	130		527 note (2)
7	116	2409	185		331, 406 note (2), 548 note (4) (see MD 2 no.7)
23					299
30	113	---	130		661 note (2)
290.11A	580	----	559		(see 393.5)
293.5					64 note (18), 212 (see W 2 no.42)
295.19	----	----	----		611 note (13)
299.9A	52	----	259		299
17	417	----	156		611 note (13)
32A	52	----	259		212 (in SW as 308.2)
300.11	544	----	346		(see TD 4 no.3)
302.12					

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
303.2				TD 4 no.3	
3	27	1574	252		641 note(5); (see MD 9 no.5)
5	10	1583	359		396
7				TD 7 no.1	
8	10	1582	3		554 (in TP as 303.18)
9				TD 4 no.6	
12A	2, 6	1584A	2		248,528 note(3)
15	11	1590	3		161 note(16),175 note (13),272 note (8),529 note (4)
17	27	1595	179		645
18					(see 303.8)
21				TD 5 no.5	
24				TD 4 no.2	
25				TD 7 no.5	
28				TD 4 no.8	
30	9	547	359		396
31					(see TD 5 no.5)
34				TD 3 no.3	
38				TD 4 no.1	
39	11	1598	3		686 note (1)
40				TD 3 no.12	
43	498	1614	407		500
45				TD 5 no.6	
46				TD 3 no.1	(see TD 3 no.19)
47				TD 3 no.19	
49				TD 5 no.1	
51				TD 4 no.5	
304.1				Pl.53 no.1	62 note (14)
2				Pl.53 no.2	62 note (14)
305.15	99	---	183		548 note (4)
45					(see TD 5 no.6)
306.4A,B	67-8	1618A,B	20-1		212
18				UD 8 no.6	212
22				UD 8 no.12	212
307.3A	521-3	---	561		63 note (14), 98, 244 (in SW as 307.5A)
					(see 300.11)
308.2					
4				W 2 no.20	
9				W 2 no.3	
11				W 2 no.85	
12				W 2 no.68	
13				W 1 no.3	
16				W 2 no.107	
17				W 2 no.9	

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
308.21	391	1647	400		721 note (3)
24	391	1628	320		677, 720
29				W 3 no.2	
34				W 2 no.21	
37				W 3 no.3	
39				W 1 no.2	
41				W 2 no.87	
43				W 2 no.12	
45				W 2 no.40	
46				W 2 no.5	
309.3A					63 note (14)
12	302	1642	608		63 note (14)
13				Pl.53 no.7	62 note (14), 63 note (14)
14	506	---	not found		63 note (14)
15	294	---	558		63 note (14), 661 (2)
311.6				MD 1 no.15	
15A-D				Pl.55 nos.1-4	136
22	367	---	81		566 note (6), (in SW as 311.32)
31A				MD 19 no.13	
32					(see 311.22)
312.6	301	1668	67		555
9				MD 6 no.1	
13				Pl.46 no.8	
14				Pl.46 no.4	300 note (1)
317.1				MD 3 no.3	
2				MD 10 no.4	
5	329	1674	311		TD 7 no.1 note
11A, B	329-330	1680	74		402
21				MD 1 no.17	
27				MD 3 no.11	
30				MD 1 no.23	
31				MD 16 no.11	
323.3	47	---	441		525
324.11	568	---	166		212
326.7	338	---	75		402
8A, B				Pl.51 nos.7 and 9	
12				MD 11 no.12	
16				Pl.46 no.12	
20A, B	445-446	---	404		608
22A	337	1703	174		TD 7 no.1 note
329.1	4	1704	2		41 note (23)

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
332.1				Pl.47 no.3	527 note (2)
5				UD 7 no.2	212
9				UD 8 no.1	212
10				UD 8 no.11	212
12				UD 8 no.15	212
13				UD 7 no.6	212
14				UD 4 no.9	212
16				UD 8 no.8	212
17				UD 4 no.1	212
19	560	---	411		607
20	25	1719	7		212
21					(see UD 4 no.1)
23				UD 8 no.11	212
24				UD 4 no.8	212
25	565	---	662		53
26				UD 9 no.10	566 note (8), 212
39	376	---	318B		212
41					(see UD 8 no.11)
334.6				UD 5 no.36	
13				UD 5 no.35	
28				UD 5 no.25	
29	59	---	not found		522
31				UD 5 no.31	
32				UD 5 no.34	
[33]				UD 5 no.33	
35				UD 5 no.26	
36				UD 5 no.29	
37				UD 5 no.31	
41				UD 5 no.30	
42				UD 5 no.33	
45				UD 5 no.27	
46				UD 5 no.28	
47					(see UD 5 no.31)
48	59	---	17		555
335.5	441	---	631		212 (in SW as 335.54)
49				UD 1 no.7	212
50				UD 1 no.8	212
54					(see 335.5)
336.2					(see MD 10 no.4)
12				UD 1 no.9	88 note (5)
13				UD 1 no.9	88 note (5)
14A,B	64-5	1726	560		244
23	41	1714	439		525
25					(see UD 8 no.17)
34A,B	64-5	1734	560		244 (in TP as 336.37A)
37A					(see 336.34A,B)
43	49	---	not found		525

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
337.6					(see W 2 no.14)
8	48	1735	442		189 note (7)
9				UD 4 no.12	
35					(see UD 4 no.12)
339.10	49	----	429		MD 11 no.14 note
21A,B	67-8	833A,B	523		53
340.9	49	----	442		88 note (5), 485
					(see UD 1 no.9)
19				UD 5 no.18	
25				UD 5 no.11	
39				UD 5 no.4	
341.13	25	1719	7		53
14A,B	67-8	833A,B	523		53
346.7	8	1747	433		270
18	88	1759	581		580
25					(see UD 8 no.17)
349.2				UD 8 no.18	(see UD 7 no.7)
9				UD 8 no.5	
11				UD 7 no.7	
14				UD 7 no.4	215
15				UD 8 no.17	
16				UD 8 no.19	215
17				UD 8 no.20	
22				UD 8 no.5	
27				UD 7 no.3	
29				UD 7 no.5	
350.12	51	----	259 259		641 note(3) (in SW as 350.112)
363.9					(see W 2 no.8)
368.11				Pl.50 no.8	
371.1A-D	100-3	----	583-4		42 note (37) (in TP as 271.1C)
387.1				UD 9 no.8	
3	42	1794	440		525,736
7				UD 9 no.3	
12				UD 6 no.1	201 note (5)
14				UD 3 no.17	
16				UD 9 no.7	
17				UD 9 no.5	53
19				UD 9 no.1	
21	42	1810	440		500
22				UD 9 no.9	53,199
24				UD 9 no.4	
25				UD 9 no.4	
392.1				MD 8 no.10	214,225
2					(see MD 8 no.10)
9	----	----	----		333 note (4)
393.5				Pl.50 no.4	
8				Pl.50 no.11	

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
393.9A	124	---	378		333 note (4), 549 note (6)
394.3	124	----	33		214, 216
395.8	108	----	184		525
9	104	----	228		435
12	108	----	not found		404
401.2	103	----	128		214
4B	104	----	128		214
403.19				UD 6 no.4	
407.2				UD 6 no.3	53, 214
3				UD 6 no.3	53, 214
4				UD 9 no.9	53, 199, 214
5				UD 3 no.8	53, 214
14				UD 9 no.6	53, 214
15				UD 5 no.19	214
22	48	----	368		53, 214
413.8				MD 13 no.42	214
427.1A, B	457-8	----	160		137
2A-D	457-	----	97,		137
	460		220		
428.1				Pl.47 no.16	215
4				Pl.47 no.15	215
6	53	----	181		458, 547
433.40				UD 6 no.4	
438.1				Pl.50 no.3	
439.14					215 (see UD 7 no.4)
16					215 (see UD 8 no.19)
455.3	115	----	not found		445
20	115	----	184		445
457.19	53	----	556		661 note (2) (un- numbered in SW)
458.					(see MD 13 no.13)
2				MD 13 no.13	225
459.2	53	----	181		403, 404
465.5	128	----	131		215
469.1	124	----	not found		214, 216
476.6	79	----	580		216 (see 497.6)
478.10	344	----	212		348, 664
481.1B	153	----	458		404
2	589	----	166		216
482.2				MD 5 no.5	216
6				MD 14 no.6	216
8				MD 13 no.36	216
9	505	----	559		661 note (2)
20	505	----	231		404
484.9				MD 3 no.21	216
55				MD 6 no.9	216

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
485.1				MD 6 no.8	216
2					(see MD 6 no.15)
5				MD 6 no.5	216
9	297	---	145		216, 331
11				MD 6 no.33	216
13	228	---	201		331
14				MD 6 no.16	216
20				MD 6 no.15	216
28	297	---	66		331
36				MD 6 no.7	216
40				MD 6 no.34	216
50				MD 6 no.4	216
56				MD 6 no.22	216
59				MD 6 no.14	216
10	297	---	66		331
488.3				W 2 no.89	
4				W 2 no.101	
5				W 2 no.22	
8				W 2 no.65	
9				W 2 no.83	
10				W 2 no.34	
11				W 2 no.79	
[12]				W 2 no.63	218
491.4	12	1842	433		500
10B				Pl.47 no.11	143 note (18)
494.1	46	1856	226		645
495.2				TD 2 no.6	
3				TD 2 no.1	
4A,B	374-5	1862A,B	539		40 note (20), 42 note (38), 203 (7)
6B	24	1898B	179		588, TD 1 no (1) note
9	92	1866	25		89 note (5), 403
13				TD 2 no.10	
15				TD 2 no.11	
19				TD 2 no.12	
21				TD 2 no.13	
25				Pl.50 no.7	
28				TD 2 no.10	
496.1	398	---	---		37 note (11)
2	398	---	---		37 note (11)
497.6	79	1892	580		216 (in TP, SW as 476,6)
498.8	85	1894	266		630, MD 11 no.12 note
12	86	1903	375		607
14A,B	501-2	---	407-8		607, 608, 611 note (10)
501.11	43	---	487		TD 7 no.1 note
502.1	23	1910	120		588
2	85	1911	125		649 (in SW as 498.8)

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
502.5				TD 10 no.2	
8				TD 6 no.3	
9				TD 2 no.5	
10A	---	1909A	---		193
11	85	1915	422		641 note (3)
503.3				TD 2 no.3	
5	86	1923	557		661
7	92	1866	25		89 note (5),403
13	77	1927	505		xxx MD 1 no.15 note (see TD 1 no.2)
504.2				TD 9 no.2	
8	77	1944	445		607
19	77	1948	372		610 note (3)
505.2				TD 1 no.2	
6				TD 2 no.9	
9				TD 8 no.3	
12				TD 8 no.1	
13				TD 8 no.2	
14	72	1960	264		649
15				TD 6 no.4	
19	77	1963	124		141 note (2),588, TD 3 no.12 note 639
20	76	1964	264		
22				TD 2 no.5	
23	80	1967	125		588
24	76	1968	227		435,MD 1 no.15 note
28				TD 10 no.1	
29				TD 10 no.3	
31				TD 2 no.2	
36	76	1981	264		639
39	72	1983	124		588
43A,B	23-4	1919A,B	519- 520		40 note (20)
506.1	81	1991	372-3		462 note (1),463 note (17),549 note (6),MD 19 no.12note, MD 19 no.20 note (see TD 2 no.7) 649
3	87	1997	422		
4				TD 2 no.4	
6				TD 1 no.1	
11				TD 6 no.5	
12	---	2002	---		194
14	---	2005	---		194
16				TD 2 no.8	
17				TD 2 no.7	
18	82	2004	557		661
19	81	2014	125		588
20A	23	1873	6		528 note (3)
26				TD 6 no.1	
27				TD 6 no.2	
30					(see TD 3 no.11)

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
507.4	115	2018	272		630
15				MD 17 no.4	
508.3	----	2019	----		194
509.2				TD 3 no.6	(see TD 3 no.20)
3				TD 3 no.21	194
6				TD 3 no.7	(see TD 3 no.6)
7				TD 3 no.9	
10				TD 3 no.5	
11A	----	2042A	----		193
12				TD 3 no.20	
14				TD 3 no.8	
16	81	2045	227		178
17	71	2046	181		530 note (11)
20	71	2037	264		652
22				TD 3 no.18	
26	81	2049	373		318,608,611 note (10) (in SW as 509.2)
29A	----	2052A	----		193
30				TD 3 no.11	
510.3	3	----	432		503 note (7) (see TD 5 no.16) (see TD 6 no.3)
5					
8					
12				TD 9 no.4	
26					(see TD 3 no.7)
28				TD 9 no.1	
29	71	2073	445		611 note(13)
511.3	96	2080	450		500
8	----	2081	----		194
11	66	2089	444		500
18	66	2094	430		MD 11 no.14 note
23A	----	2096B	----		193
28	----	2101	----		194
31	22	877	435		500
36	----	2077	----		194
512.6				TD 9 no.3	
11	----	2123	----		194
24	120	2130	377		611 note (13)
25				TD 9 no.9	
34				TD 9 no.13	
35A	----	2112A	----		193
513.1A	----	2042A	----		193
4	399	----	155		588
8				TD 3 no.17	
17	11	1590	3		161 note (16),175 note (13),272 note (8),529 note (4).
23	11	1598	3		686 note (1)

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
513.28				TD 3 no.2	
29	70	2179	504		178
	(distinguish a further 513.29 on TP 120)				
30				TD 3 no.2	
31				TD 3 no.14	
34				TD 3 no.2	
35				TD 3 no.16	
37				TD 3 no.15	
38				TD 5 no.11	
40				TD 5 no.8	
41				TD 3 no.17	
43				TD 3 no.5	
514.4				TD 5 no.15	
13				TD 9 no.10	
14					(see TD 9 no.5)
20				TD 9 no.8	
41				TD 9 no.5	
515.12	----	2111	----		194
13	----	2111	----		194
19				TD 9 no.6	
23	84	2221	447		611 note (13)
516.28	84	2258	----		500
	(distinguish a further 516.28 on TP 84, Chia 2231)				
30				TD 5 no.14	
60					(see TD 5 no.14)
517.9	43	2272	440		500
14				TD 9 no.11	
16				TD 9 no.7	
520.5				TD 5 no.16	
11	----	2288	----		194
12	----	2289	----		194
14	----	2296	----		194
18	----	2282	----		194
19	----	2283	----		194
24	----	2290	----		194
26	----	2286	----		194
521.33	373	----	613		652
522.43	502	----	478		501
523.13	46	----	257		677
525.3				MD 10 no.17	
4				MD 15 no.1	
5				MD 13 no.18	
7				MD 14 no.4	
526.1A, B				Pl. 52 nos. 3 and 4	640 note (1)
530.9A-D	100-	----	583-4		42 note (37)
530.9A-D	100-	----	583-4		42 note (37)
	103				

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
534.1				W 2 no.46	
2A				W 2 no.13	
3				W 2 no.51	
4				W 2 no.33	
5				W 2 no.31	
6				W 2 no.60	
11				W 2 no.46	
12				W 2 no.76	
13				W 2 no.25	
14				W 2 no.31	
15A				W 2 no.13	
17				W 2 no.62	
18				W 2 no.17	
27				W 1 no.11	
536.3				UD 7 no.5	217
4				UD 7 no.1	217
545.1	3	---	569		143 note (18)
552.3				X 1 no.3	217
4				X 1 no.3	217
6					(see W 2 no.14)
555.11				W 2 no.55	
12				W 2 no.71	
14				W 2 no.81	
15				W 2 no.82	
16				W 2 no.72	
17				W 1 no.10	
557.2				W 2 no.35	
3				W 2 no.98	
5				W 2 no.102	
6				W 2 no.14	
8	488	2332	334-5		677,720
10				W 2 no.18	
558.1	3	---	119		218
559.2				UD 4 no.15	218
560.2A,B	36-7	2333A,B	226		179
			572		(in SW 226 as 14.26)
3	30	2335	438		500
6				UD 3 no.19	
8				UD 3 no.16	
12				UD 3 no.22	
13	20	---	435		500
14				UD 3 no.13	
15				UD 3 no.3	
19				UD 3 no.12	
20				UD 3 no.14	
21				UD 3 no.1	
22				UD 3 no.4	
23				UD 3 no.2	
25A	64	2351A	262		501 (in SW as 56.25)
25B				UD 3 no.25	

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
560.26				UD 3 no.7	
27				UD 3 no.18	
28				UD 3 no.23	
29				UD 3 no.26	
30	25	2354	436		501
561.26A,B				Pl.56 nos.2 and 1	141 note (4), 218 244
562.1A,B				Pl.45 nos.3 and 4	41 note (26), 60 note (8), 669
2				UD 2 no.3	
3A	47	---	15		528 note (3)
4				UD 9 no.2	
9				UD 6 no.2	53
11	404	---	621		500
16	88	2370	375		318,453
17				UD 6 no.1	201 note (5)
19	88	2406	562		484 (in SW, Chia as 592.19)
22				UD 3 no.6	
23				UD 3 no.15	
25				UD 3 no.24	
26				UD 3 no.11	
27				UD 9 no.1	
563.2				W 2 no.104	
3				W 2 no.106	
6				W 2 no.53	
8				W 2 no.99	
9				W 2 no.8	
11				W 2 no.64	
12				W 2 no.103	
13				W 2 no.61	
14				W 2 no.32	
564.2				UD 3 no.10	
3				UD 3 no.20	
4				UD 3 no.5	
6	41	2392	439		500
9				UD 3 no.21	
13				UD 6 no.3	53
14				UD 3 no.5	
15				UD 9 no.3	
28				UD 6 no.4	
565.13					(see W 2 no.61)
14					(see UD 3 no.15)
19	14	2402	434		500
22	48	---	368		53,218
578.1				MD 19 no.22	218
592.19					(see 562.19)

	TP	Chia	SW	References	pp.
612.68					(see 212.68)
634.31					{see UD 5 no.37}
664.2					{see UD 3 no.10}
673.40					{see TD 5 no.8}
796.5A	124	----	592		218
888.12					218 (see W 2 no.63)

(ii) Strips whose original numbers are not known

215					331
599			355	W 2 no.67	
		2436			TD 1 no.1 note; see Huang no.19
		2437			360; see Huang no. 40
		2443			194
		2461			194
		2468-9			194
		2471-2			194
		2483			194
		2486			194
		Supplementary			
		1-36			194
		37		UD 5 no.24	194
		38-41			194

(iii) Strips in minor collections from Chüyen

Jao (2) no.1

MD 13 no.2

Su	1.4				42 note (34)
	2.3				205
	2.6				205
	3.2				61 note (10)
	3.3				61 note (10), 530 note (7)
	3.4				41 note (23)
	5.2				42 note (34)
	6.3				525
	7.1				42 note (34)
	7.2				554

(iv) Strips found at the sites of Tunhuang

Chavannes see		Chavannes see	
nos.	pp.	nos.	pp.
	243		
1	98,107 notes(19) (20),141 note(4)	166	137
2	107 note (19),243	170	270
3-6	244	184	462 note (2)
7	141 note (4),244	196	435
8	244,246 note (5)	206	554,566 note (6)
9-24	59 notes (2) (3), 71,74 note (3), 348,661 note (1)	257	462 note (1)
25-35	59 note (2),74 note (3),348,661 note (1)	258	42 note (34),137
		260	245
		265	446 note (1)
		271	36 note (5)
		273	548 notes (4) (5)
		274	462 note (2)
39-41	453	275	726
62	630	279-288	424,435,502
63A	MD 19 no.19note	281-4	424
70	107 note (22)	287	424
71	463 note (15),679	289-290	445
72	318,608,611 note (9)	307	456
73-77	318,453,MD 6 no. 18 note	310-311	189 note (1),361
		312	189 note (1)
		313	42 note (34),137
79	608	316	726
80-83	404	328	361
84-87	547	351	608
88-94	445	367	726
95-112	435	375	404
97	445	383	608
98	425	390	640 note (3)
99-101	424	397	244
102-111	425	415	645
104-107	MD 19 no.12 note	416-7	501
113-131	348	432	548 note (4)
114	270,610 note (5)	433	460,MD 19 no.20 note
122	270,610 note (5)	434	318
124	270,610 note (5)	436	404
127	270	437	460
137	138	451	138
138-140	554	454-455	299
148-9	529 note (5)	456	318
150	529 note (5)	460	137
162-165	678	472	396

Chavannes nos.	see pp.	Chavannes nos.	see pp.
482	299	703	679
483	137, MD 1 no. 6 note	728-731	199 note (1)
484-486	678	733	199 note (1)
490	396	738	199 note (1)
492	203 note (6)	741	199 note (1)
495	445	758	462 note (7)
523-534	41 note (29), 59 notes (2) (3), 107 note (16)	810	59 note (1)
535	299	886	199 note (1)
536	36 note (5)	896	199 note (1)
538	245	913	199 note (1)
551	318		(Paper fragments)
555	435	921	203 note (6)
561	608	930	203 note (6)
563-566	678	932	203 note (6)
569	42 note (35)	935	203 note (6)
572	299	939	203 note (6)
579	678		
588	MD 19 no. 19 note	Maspero	see
589	137	nos.	pp.
592	68, 192 note (20), 402, 484	1	98, 107 notes (19) (20), 243
596	137, MD 1 no. 6 note	2	244
597	MD 1 no. 6 note	3-4	245
598-599	42 note (35), 107 note (21)	9-29	107 note (16), 245
603	244, 246 note (7)	36	356
606	MD 19 no. 20 note	42	333 note (4), 548 note (4)
614-615	105 note (3), 143 note (18), 726	46	679
617-618	137	47	547
632-633	645	61	137
640	245	66-68	360
662	137, 143 note (18)	68	403
669	243	69	360
671	244, 246 note (5)	88	189 note (7)
673	424, 435	94	608
675	137	113	554
682	453, 679	114	678
693	679	115	299
694	333 note (4), 547	120	318
697	245	130	299
		134	MD 1 no. 6 note

Maspero	see	Hsia	see
nos.	pp.	T.xvii	pp.
135	40 note (20), 299	N.4	318
142	40 note (20)	N.5	299
155	189 note (7)	N.7	318
169-173	245 note (1)		
183	203 note (6)		
214	199 note (1)		
216	199 note (1)		
249	203 note (6)		

(v) Strips found by Huang Wen-pi

Huang	see	Huang	see
nos.	pp.	nos.	pp.
3	194	35	194
13	42 note (34)	40	194, 360 (= Chia 2437)
18	194	52	453, 462 note (2)
19	194, TD 1 no.1 note (= Chia 2436)	53B	348
21	194		
26A	194		
30	189 note (3)		

(vi) Strips included in Conrady

Conrady	see	(paper fragments)	
nos.	pp.		
13	203 note (6)	3, 2	} 203 note (6)
49-52	199 note (1)	14, 1	
54	199 note (1)	27, 4	
59	199 note (1)	31, 1A	
64-65	199 note (1)	31, 2	
102	199 note (1)	31, 7	
107	107 note (22), 199 note (1), 200 note (2)		
109	107 note (22), 200 note (2)		