

## DOCUMENTS ISSUING FROM THE REGION OF TUN-HUANG

by

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### TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

One cannot help but feel greatly honored to be one of those invited to contribute to a volume celebrating the 65th anniversary of Dr. Hu Shih's birth. It has been my pleasure to have known him since 1920 when I became a humble member of the Wên-yu hui 文友會 in Peking. From that time to this I have looked up to Dr. Hu both as an inspiring and productive scholar and as a wonderful human being. My contribution is not an original one, but I trust that it will be useful to those who do not read French or who do not have access to the original work of the late Henri Maspero, entitled *Les Documents Chinois de la Troisième Expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale*, published by the Trustees of the British Museum, London 1953. Permission to publish a translation has been given me by the secretary of the British Museum, Mr. B. P. C. Bridgewater, in a letter dated 17th November, 1955. I have taken the liberty of incorporating some of the emendations proposed by Professor Lien-sheng Yang of Harvard University in his review in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 18 (1955), 142-158, and two or three of my own. These are indicated by square brackets except where there is an obvious misprint (such as the use of 侯 for 候).

It may be remarked in conclusion that in making a translation into English of this important introduction by Maspero of his full treatment of the Chinese finds of Stein's third expedition, I am following in the tradition of Mme. Edouard Chavannes and Mr. H. W. House, who gave an English rendering of the introduction to Professor Chavannes' *Les Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan Oriental* (Oxford, 1913) in the *New China Review* IV, 1922, 341-359; 427-442.

## INTRODUCTION

The northern and north-western frontier has been, almost up to the XIXth century, the only one which the Chinese empire had to guard against dangerous enemies: the barbarians of the north; nomads, great horsemen and pillagers, had a military organization and equipment which were equal to those of the Chinese; often they defeated the Chinese, sometimes contenting themselves with sudden raids, sometimes seizing a province and establishing themselves there in more or less permanent fashion. The means which appeared best to the Chinese for protection against surprise was the construction of a system of fortifications: in the course of the IVth century before our era, the northern frontier from the Gulf of Peichihli to the Yellow River was protected by walls thrown up little by little by the feudal states of the time; these the emperor Ch'in Shih-huang, after unifying the empire, repaired, completed, and reinforced towards the end of the IIIrd century B.C. Fortification of this type appeared so satisfactory as the best protection against the barbarians that in B.C. 127 the emperor Wu after the conquest of the Ordos, had a new wall erected which, between B.C. 121 and 108, he continued in order to defend present day Kansu after the occupation of this territory.

It is the most westerly portion of these Kansu fortifications whence issue the Han period documents found by Sir Aurel Stein in his archeological expeditions of 1913 to 1916, and published below; the places of the expedition are farther to the west than those of the expedition of 1906 to 1908, the documents of which were published, twenty years ago, by Edouard Chavannes under the title of "*Les Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental.*"

Chavannes in the introduction of that volume assembled general information on the life of the garrisons of this Chinese Limes drawn as much from archeological documents as from literary texts. I shall not retrace his steps, but shall content myself with completing the general picture which he has sketched with the hand of a master by means of certain details on the civil and military administration of the region, necessary for the understanding of new documents brought back by Sir Aurel Stein and published here.

All the documents of the Han period are slips of wood deriving from the commandery of Tun-huang 敦煌郡, except for a very small number which come from the commandery of Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉郡 which is contiguous to it

on the east. From the point of view of civil administration, the commandery of Tun-huang was divided in Han times into six sub-prefectures, *hsien* 縣, of which only three are localized in an exact or almost exact fashion.

1. Tun-huang, where the *tu-wei* 都尉 of the central section 中部 had his seat; it approximates Tun-huang of today; the town of the T'ang era was to the south-west of the present town, on the other side of the river.

2. Ming-an 冥安.

3. Hsiao-ku 效穀, situated thirty *li* to the north-west of Tun-huang of the T'ang (*Sha-chou chih* 沙州志, in *Tun-huang shih-shih i-shu* 敦煌石室遺書): the sub-prefecture was extinguished in 385, but the name continued and was still that of one of the thirteen districts of Tun-huang in 750 (Bibl. Nationale, Ms. Pelliot no. 2805); it was almost half-way on the road from Tun-huang to present day An-hsi.

4. Yüan-ch'üan. 淵泉<sup>(1)</sup>

5. Kuang-chih 廣至, modern An-hsi where the *tu-wei* of I-ho 宜禾 resided.

6. Lung-lo 龍勒 = Nan-hu of the present, where the *tu-wei* of Yü-mên 玉門關 and of Yang 陽關 had his seat.

The three sub-prefectures, the precise location of which is unknown, were in the region of Tun-huang, for they were detached from Tun-huang as in the case of Hsiao-ku, and were joined to the eastern part of the commandery of Chiu-ch'üan and to the oasis of Hāmi in order to make of them the new commandery of Chin-ch'ang 晉昌郡: one may say that in general the first and sixth sub-prefectures are the west part and the four others the east part of the commandery of Tun-huang. It would not be impossible to reach a localization, approximate at least, for all of them, but as their names do not appear in our documents, I shall not attempt this profitless research into their interpretation.

The slips of the Tun-huang region are, in the main, official documents, administrative correspondence, receipts from granaries or from pay-offices, etc.: a small number are private letters. All derive from the military, officers or privates of the garrisons of the Limes.

The Han had inherited from the Ch'in a system of militia which they kept and developed. According to the Han Code, every man at the age of twenty had his name inscribed on the official registers for public service,

(1) The form Chên-ch'üan 眞泉 is a correction of T'ang times, made to avoid the personal name of the emperor.

both civil (statute labor) and military, except for those who had a rank in the hierarchy and those who were deformed, dwarfs, hunchbacks, etc. At the age of twenty-three they were summoned to military service and became soldiers of the first call, *chêng-tsu* 正卒: they were then guards, *wei-shih* 衛士, for a year, and, during a second year, cross-bowmen *ts'ai-kuan* 材官, or horsemen *ch'i-shih* 騎士, or soldiers who manned the light wheeled vehicles, *ch'ing-ch'ê* 輕車, or even boatmen, *lou-ch'uan* 樓船, depending on the region; they were freed at the age of fifty-six, and up to this point could be recalled as soldiers of the reserve, *kêng-tsu* 更卒. The service was not for a whole year in each class: it was only for an effective month, whether in the capital for the guards, or at the commandery for the cross-bowmen, horsemen, etc. The poor performed their service in person; the rich hired replacements, *chien-kêng* 踐更, at a tariff fixed at 2,000 *ch'ien* 錢 per month. In addition, there was a defense of the frontier service, *shu-pien* 戍邊, which theoretically amounted to three days a year, and was the duty of each man of the empire: it was what the Code called the distant guard, *yao-shu* 繇戍; actually, nobody was taken for a period of service, *kêng* 更, of less than a year at the frontier: those who did not wish to perform this duty redeemed themselves by paying a tax of 300 pieces of money. The yield was used to pay wages and to maintain true mercenaries, professional soldiers who performed a service of long duration; the Code calls them *kuo-kêng* 過更; on their liberation they returned to their original villages, and it is from their midst that the superintendents of police, *t'ing-chang* 亭長, were chosen.

On the other hand, there were soldiers recruited locally, such as Wang 王 of the village of Tung-wu 東武 in the *t'ing* of Tun-tê 敦德亭, that is Tun-huang, which had received this name under Wang Mang. The people of Tun-huang and of Chiu-ch'üan normally performed the service of the first call, just like the people of the commanderies of the interior. It is for this service that an order for a superintendent of police, to call together the young men (of his village?) for a kind of military court of appeal, refers.

But as the point in question has to do with commanderies of the frontier and our documents come from defense posts at the frontier, *shu pien*, the majority of the soldiers should be mercenaries, *kuo-kêng*. Also one finds among them others who hailed from various provinces of the interior of China: from the sub-prefectures of Fên-yin 汾陰 in the commandery of Ho-tung 河東, from that of T'un-liu 屯留 in the commandery of Shang-tang 上黨,



from Lo-yang the eastern capital, from Yang-ti 陽翟 in the commandery of Ying-ch'uan 潁川, etc. This should be the case even of soldiers of local origin, such as Wang 王 from the village of Tung-wu 東武. Finally there were likewise a certain number of convicts; men condemned to a punishment of four or five years of forced labor were deported to the Great Wall.

These soldiers of the frontier were charged above all with the protection of the fortification against barbarian attacks: the population was too thin and too dispersed for serious troubles ever to be feared in the interior. All the troops were stationed along the Great Wall. The defensive organization of the Limes appears to have been extremely complex.

Its fundamental element was the post, *t'ing* 亭<sup>(1)</sup>, or fort, *t'ing-chang* 亭鄣<sup>(2)</sup>, forming part of the wall, or independent of it; ordinarily it was called a "signalling tower," *sui* 燧, from the name of its apparatus for signalling by fire (a blaze by night, smoke by day) which was its most important piece of equipment. Chang Yen 張晏, in the first half of the IIIrd century, declared that *sui* 燧 was the word for a fire signal at night and *fêng* 烽 that of a smoke signal by day; and Yen Shih-ku 顏師古, in the VIIth century, affirmed the reverse<sup>(3)</sup>; it is clear that the two explanations are respectively only attempts to guess from the context<sup>(4)</sup> the exact meaning of words which were little understood. But before them, in Han times, Hsü Shên 許慎 in his *Shuo wên*, defined *sui* as "the most elevated structure of the fort, where the apparatus for signalling by fire is kept (*fêng huo*)" 塞上亭守燧火者<sup>(5)</sup>, and *fêng* as "the signal of a watch tower (where there is a *sui*)" 燧候表<sup>(6)</sup>. The documents of the Limes show that these definitions are quite in harmony with the usage current in this period: for them, the *sui* was the watch tower, military post, and garrison; the *fêng* was the apparatus for signalling itself. At the same time the commentators' definitions rest in part on fact: when one needs to distinguish daytime signalling by smoke from night-time signalling by fire, one uses *fêng* for the first; but it is *chü* 苺 = 炬 "flame" that

(1) *Ch'ien Han shu*, 19/16a.

(2) *Shih chi*, 117/28a.

(3) *Ch'ien Han shu*, 48/13a.

(4) Their notes concern a passage in Ssü-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如 who wrote with much precision, but in a different sense: "when the warriors of frontier commanderies hear it said that someone has raised the apparatus for signalling and lighted the signal..." 烽舉燧燔. The two words are there employed exactly as all the writers of the Han employ them.

(5) *Shuo-wên chieh-tzû* 說文解字, 10 A/14a.

(6) *ibid.* 14 B/4a.

one uses for the second<sup>(1)</sup>.

The watch tower with its signalling apparatus is described with precision by the writers of Han times. "In the frontier regions, against the Hu 胡 bandits, high towers of earth are built; on the towers they construct a well-sweep 桔槔; at the head of the well-sweep is suspended a basket in which straw and grass is put. (The well-sweep) is kept constantly lowered; if bandits appear (the straw) is ignited, and it is raised in order to give warning. That is what is called *fêng* 烽. On the other hand when a lot of straw is heaped up and it is set on fire<sup>(2)</sup> on the approach of bandits in order that the smoke may be seen, that is what is called *sui* 燧."<sup>(3)</sup> A detail is added to this already precise description by another writer of the same period: "The *fêng* is like a tray for drying rice 米箕 which would be turned upside down; it is hung at the head of a well-sweep..."<sup>(4)</sup> This well-sweep has a very long arm called *kan* 干 or 竿: at the tower of Chu-chüeh (T. XIX), it was not less than 30 feet in height<sup>(5)</sup>, or seven meters, the Han foot being .24 meters. It is probably this same arm of the well-sweep which is called *kan-piao* 竿鰲 and which costs 120 (cash?).<sup>(6)</sup> The elevated earthen towers on which these sweeps were perched had their dimensions fixed by rules which had no variation in the course of centuries: in the T'ang period they were required according to regulations to be 50 feet in height and 20 wide at the base against 10 feet only at the top;<sup>(7)</sup> these are almost exactly the

(1) For an example, see document no. 42. [Professor Yang Lien-sheng makes this important comment: "The words *feng* 烽 or 蓬 is traditionally interpreted as a smoke signal. From the Chü-yen 居延 documents (found by the Sino-Swedish expedition), however, it is clear that *feng* also indicated a sail-like signal made of silk or other cloth, red and white in color. It was known as *piao* 表 or *feng piao*. It was seven (Chinese) feet long and apparently was raised on a pole 30 feet high. Several sail-like signals were available at one beacon station. According to Lao Kan 勞幹, these sail-signals were used along with the smoke signal, the latter to sound the alarm and the former to determine the degree or grade of the alarm.

As observed by Lao in person, the Han beacon stations had one chimney each and therefore could send out only one smoke signal at a time."]

(2) It is useless to raise the apparatus for a signal by smoke, the smoke rising much higher than the flame.

(3) Wên Ying 文穎, commentary of the *Ch'ien Han shu*, cited by Yen Shih-ku in his commentary of the same, 48/13a. Wên Ying lived at the end of the Later Han, during the Chien-an era (196-220).

(4) *Han shu yin-i* 漢書音義, according to P'ei Yin 裴駰, *Shih-chi chi-chieh*, 117/28a. P'ei Yin, who wrote in the Vth century, could make use of three *Han shu yin-i* (lost today): those of Ying Shao 應劭, Wei Chao 韋昭, and Mêng K'ang 孟康; the first author lived in the first half of the IIrd century, the other two in the middle of the IIIrd century.

(5) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 694 蓬干長三丈.

(6) See document no. 53.

(7) *T'ung-tien* 通典, 152/7a.

dimensions of a *t'ing* dependent on Ling-hu 淩胡, of the Han period, the dimensions of which are provided in connection with repairs which were made: the east side of the *t'ing* was 14 feet wide and 52 feet high:<sup>(1)</sup> in sum towers of ten or so meters surmounted by sweeps whose arms were 6 meters long, such was the equipment for signalling at the frontier: it is what one document calls "the signal placed on the post," *t'ing-shang fêng* 亭上羣<sup>(2)</sup>. The towers, the ruins of which mark the Limes, were watch-towers, and, if not all, at least some among them carried sweeps, for signals. The ruin of that of T. X is still at this time 10 meters high and 7.5 meters wide at its base: it is built in the form of a "truncated pyramid" which corresponds to the difference between its side at the base and at the summit mentioned in old documents; that of T. XI is of the same type. The watch tower with its signalling apparatus was the fundamental element; but it did not make up the entire little fort: that had often an outer rampart,<sup>(3)</sup> "inner rooms" 內屋,<sup>(4)</sup> barracks for the soldiers of the garrisons, granaries, stockrooms, etc.

The number of soldiers forming the garrison of each small fort was necessarily variable, depending on the importance of the forts themselves. In every instance it had to be relatively high, for the duties of the garrison were numerous and minute; guarding the fort, signalling, patrols, postal service, maintenance of the fort, farming duties, etc. not to mention reports, correspondence, and registration which was the business of officers and scribes.

The most important service was the signalling which, by indicating to the authorities immediately the places of approach and the number of enemy, permitted the effective organization of defense. The regulating of optical signals in such a way as to form a kind of code giving precise information was ancient: there was already a system before the Han as may be seen from the military writings of the school of Mo-tzū:<sup>(5)</sup> "When in keeping a

(1) Chavannes, *Documents*, No. 111; Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, *Liu-sha chui-chien* 流沙墜簡 2/26b-27a; 二人脚○亭東面廣丈四尺高五丈二尺. Cf. *ibid.*, No. 108, where there is a matter of plastering another side, of which a portion measuring 42 feet in height by 16 feet in width has been done. In its present state, the Ling-hu tower (T. vi, b) measures 16 English feet (at .305 m = 20 feet of the Han) in height and 21 English feet in width at the base; besides, placed behind a height it could not have been destined to serve as a signalling post (*Serindia*, v. II, p. 644). It is not then the one which we are concerned with here.

(2) See document no. 42.

(3) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 66. [T. X and T. XI are illustrated in Stein, *Serindia* v. II, figures 174, 178. T. X is described on p. 572.]

(4) *Ibid.*, no. 198. In this case the garrison consisted of 145 men.

(5) *Mo-tzū*, 15/15a, Forke translation, p. 626; the technical terms are already exactly those of the documents of the Limes. 望見寇舉一竿 (=烽; the text has 垂: Sun I-jang 孫詒讓 [1848-1908] reads 表: I prefer 竿 which is the reading of the second passage; the sense remains in other respects the same).

watch one sees enemies, raise a signal; when they enter the frontier raise two signals; when they approach the outskirts, raise three signals; when they penetrate the outskirts, raise four signals; when they draw near to the wall raise five signals; in the night do the same with fire." In the Han period, the signals served to give two series of different types of intelligence: on the one hand regular signals at a fixed moment gave intelligence that all was well; on the other occasional signals gave word of suspicious activity. We are badly informed as to the first: in the T'ang era, they were given twice a day, at midnight and at dawn;<sup>(1)</sup> for the Han the documents say nothing precise; but there ought surely to exist some rule of this kind,<sup>(2)</sup> be it only so that the Chinese defense would not run the risk of being unaware for several days of the surprise seizure of a post by the enemy and of being unable to send a signal of alarm: in this case, the suppression of regular signals ought to inform neighbors and military authorities rapidly. We know more about the occasional signals; one slip has preserved a rule for the employment of signals to announce the number of the enemy: two signals if they are fewer than twenty, three signals if they are between twenty and a hundred.<sup>(3)</sup> It is without doubt a kind of circular giving precision for local use to a general regulation, unless it is simply a copy of a general regulation for the signal stations of the empire, destined specially to serve as an order to the watch towers of the post of Chih-chien 止姦 (T. XXII. e). Indeed, the fire signals were not just for the frontier region; they formed throughout the empire a vast network of optical telegraphy which permitted the rapid transmission in all directions and especially to the capital of news of local disturbances, and the organization of the Limes was only a special case appearing in this general category. The general regulation is the object of articles of the Han Code, *Han-lü* 漢律, which had a section entitled Apparatus for signalling, *Fêng-sui* 烽隧 under title VIII, *Hsing-lü* 興律, of Part I, *Chiu-chang lü* 九章律;<sup>(4)</sup> it had to be concerned above all, as later did the T'ang Code,<sup>(5)</sup> with faults committed by officers of the signal towers. We are not

(1) Tu Yu 杜佑, *T'ung-tien* 通典, 152/7a.

(2) Wang, 2/21a, à propos Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 84.

(3) See document nos. 42 and 154. Cf. an analogous rule, but less precise, of the T'ang period given in the *T'ang liu-tien*, cited by Chavannes, *Documents*, p. xii.

(4) *Han-lü Kao* 3/8b.

(5) *T'ang lü shu-i* 唐律疏義, 8/10b-12b. In T'ang times the ancient sweep had disappeared. The round towers, height fifty feet, twenty feet in diameter at the base and ten at the top, were covered by a structure of wood, without walls, exceeding by three feet on each side the platform on which it rested. The signals were made under this structure (designed to shield them from the rain) by means of equipment which is not described. There were three fire places side by side and they were lit up one by one or all together, but not successively as in Han times (*T'ung tien* 152/70a).

informed as to arrangements, but certain Ordinances of the Tsin, *Tsin-ling* 晉令 (IIIrd-IVth centuries), have been preserved for us and they should not differ much from the Han Code: "He who raises the signals by mistake will be punished by a penalty of a pound and five ounces of gold. He who does not raise (the signal) when there is reason (to raise it), will be executed with exposure on the market place."<sup>(1)</sup>

The signals were necessarily always alike: one or several flames, a cloud of smoke; all were made with the signalling equipment which I have described above. The manoeuvre of this apparatus is described in exact fashion in a passage of a work of astrology of the IIIrd century B.C. lost today, "The Observation of the Constellations," *T'ien-wen chan* 天文占 by Kan Tê 甘德, à propos the constellation Kuan 權<sup>(2)</sup>. "The four stars of Kuan are on the west side of the tail of (the constellation) Yüan 輿. When the chief of an earthly signal post observes the approach of bandits, he raises the fire signal. (It is) a sweep of a hundred feet, like that at a well, at the head of which fire may be set; if there is an alert, he lights the fire and releases (the sweep). The sweep is double\*: the lower part inclines towards the ground and the other end is raised in the air in order that men may see the signal fire." If the length of the arm of the sweep is brought together with the fact that it remained lowered in normal times, it is clear that the basket filled with straw which constituted its head rested always at the base of the tower and that it had to be lit there before being raised; after that the signal was sent to lower it in order to extinguish the flame, or on the other hand to raise it once more if it were necessary to send several signals in succession. Thus was it possible to measure exactly the duration of each signal and to despatch on each occasion the customary number of signals without loss of time. Besides they avoided obstructing the top of the towers with combustibles and of having to maintain a little hearth there for the kindling of the signals. The comparison with the sweep of a well suggests the only detail which is lacking for a complete description of the apparatus, to wit: the existence of a counter-weight at the lower extremity, like that which one sees in the well-sweep in kitchen scenes engraved on the second slab of the inner chamber of the

(1) *Tsin-ling*, according to the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 太平御覽, 335/5a.

(2) *Kan-shih t'ien-wen chan* 甘氏天文占, after *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 335/6b [The latter has the character *ch'üan* 權]. According to Schlegel, *Uranographie chinoise*, I, 440, these four stars are  $\lambda\phi\chi\psi$  of Cancer.

\* [The above is a faithful rendering of Maspero, but I think he has misread the words 權重. I would translate: "The weight (on the tower end of the pole) is heavy."]



seventh slab of the outer chambers of Wu-liang tz'ü in Shantung.<sup>(1)</sup>

The manoeuvre of a sweep as long, perched on the top of a tower quite high itself, was evidently a rather delicate business. The lookout-man by himself would not have been able to manage it, and besides, while he would have been occupied with it, he would necessarily have been obliged to suspend his job of scanning the environs of his post. The task was confided to a detail of five soldiers commanded by a subordinate officer.<sup>(2)</sup>

Despatching signals was not the only task; it was necessary to receive those of neighboring posts and pass them on: a post which has received a signal had to respond to it immediately in order that the sending post might know that it had been seen. The regulations are very clear: "Warning to put up a notice in an obvious spot of the post watch-tower, in order that all may learn it by heart and may know it. Observe with care: If there is a fire coming from a signal, the post watch-tower must raise (a signal) in response. Let there be no [mistake about this]."<sup>(3)</sup> The answering signal noticed by the next post is thus transmitted from place to place; at the same time, the signal received had to be registered: "Let the posts, *t'ing* 亭, in the sub-prefectures close to the Barrier watch attentively: as soon as the *sui* of the Northern Barrier raise a signal, all (posts) will do likewise up to the southern terminus, and the post chiefs, *t'ing-chang* 亭長, will inscribe on wooden slips the day and hour of the arrival of the signal."<sup>(4)</sup>

The chief of the post had then to write the day and hour of the arrival of the signals; the slips of registration in effect carry these indications, and in addition the direction from which the signal came,<sup>(5)</sup> and sometimes the name of the guard who saw it;<sup>(6)</sup> one slip even carries a number of an order

(1) Chavannes, *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*, pl. XLV, no. 76 (lower register, in the middle; pl. XLIX, no. 104 (lower register, at the right): in the last a bird is perched on the counterweight.

(2) *Wu ling* 吳令, according to the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 335/6b. This rule applies only to the kingdom of Wu in the IIIrd century of our era, but there is no reason to suppose that the emperors of Wu had modified the regulations of the Han whom they had succeeded in the south of China. The proof that we are not concerned here with a local rule, but a very general rule on the manipulation of signals in China, is that the T'ang regulations of the VIIIth century again mention the detail of five men under the command of a sixth (*T'ung-tien* 通典 152/7a).

(3) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 432, Wang, *op. cit.*, 2/20b (no. 37).

(4) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 273; Wang, *op. cit.*, 2/20b-21a (no. 35). The technical sense of the word *ho* 和 "to make an identical signal in response to the one received" follows clearly from the general regulation for signals; see document no. 42.

(5) Chavannes, *Documents*, nos. 86, 87.

(6) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 85; Wang, *op. cit.*, 2/20a (no. 38).



which no one has succeeded in interpreting in satisfactory fashion.<sup>(1)</sup>

Besides the signalling service, the garrison of the little forts performed a service of inspection of the neighborhood, not only by the look-out but also by patrols and reconnaissance. The posts had to send patrols several times a month on fixed days to survey their sector.<sup>(2)</sup> they had, moreover, to keep in liaison with each other, as three reports of patrols show:<sup>(3)</sup> in the most developed we see that "morning" parties opposite one another "met at the limit of each post's sector;" in order to indicate that the meeting had actually taken place, the two chiefs of patrol made a *ch'üan* 券,<sup>(4)</sup> i. e. wrote their report on the two sides of one slip which was then sawed lengthwise and each chief carried away his half. Another slip shows us not just simple liaison patrols, but a true reconnaissance beyond the lines, in the desert, by a detachment which went to reconnoiter a suspicious movement and carried a portable *fêng* in order to remain in communication by signals with the watchtowers.<sup>(5)</sup> It is only the application, besides, of a general rule for troops on campaign: when a detachment was obliged to turn away from the main body of the army, it took along vehicles furnished with signals as well as drums, in order to remain as much as possible in touch with the principal force.<sup>(6)</sup>

Another operation in reconnoitering, if not preventing, the passage of an enemy foray was the establishment of "heavenly fields" *t'ien-t'ien*<sup>(7)</sup> which were called literally "tiger snares" *hu-lo* 虎落 from a name which is not encountered in our documents. A writer of the third century Su Lin describes them thus: "*Hu-lo* are constructed at the foot of frontier forts: sand is

(1) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 84; Wang, *op. cit.*, 2/21a. "6th month, *ting-ssü* day: (no.) 210 of (the year) *ting-hai* (probably 34 B. C.) A fire signal has come from the east side." Wang Kuo-wei presumes that the figure 210 indicated the number of signals erected in this post since the beginning of the year, and concludes from the number raised that there had to be a daily signal to indicate all was going well. If he is correct, as the year 34 B. C. had a fourth intercalary month and commenced on the day *ting-wei* (44th of the cycle), and as there were as a consequence 193 days up to the day *ting-ssü* (54th of the cycle) of the 6th month, there would have been registered in six months 16 [17?] signals for neighboring posts announcing warnings more or less serious in more than 193 daily signals.

(2) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 670; Wang 2/21b, no. 42: "List of reconnaissances made on fixed days by the *hou-chang* 候長 of Chu-chüeh 朱爵 in the second month."

(3) See documents nos. 30, 62, 63.

(4) See document no. 62.

(5) See document no. 61.

(6) *Wei-kung ping-fa* 衛公兵法, according to the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 335/6b.

(7) I have adopted the conclusions of Haneda Akira 羽田明, Reflection on the word *t'ien-t'ien* 天田辨疑, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 I (1936), 543-546. Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 88, had supposed that it had to do with newly cleared lands, an explanation which ran up against the difficulty of finding cultivable soil in the vicinity of the forts.

spread outside (the fort), in the morning one looks for footprints and so one knows if the Huns have entered; another name given them is celestial fields" *t'ien-t'ien*.<sup>(1)</sup>

In the neighborhood of the posts, they cleared away the brushwood and dug away the soil: the ground had to be made softer so that it would take prints well. The soldiers of the post complained that this work added to service on the post, was an exhausting labor.<sup>(2)</sup>

It was done at the average rhythm of three paces a day per man or about 4.50 m. (6 feet of .24m. per pace) in length and about 6.50 square meters (1 pace at 1.48 m. wide) on the surface. The spaces thus prepared were, however, very small: one of them was 40 *mu*, or 1 *li* long by 32 paces wide, making approximately 1 1/2 hectares in size; its clearing had taken 100 days; another, still smaller, was only 6 paces wide by 1 *li* in length or approximately 1/2 a hectare<sup>(3)</sup>. It is likely that their upkeep required continual care.

It was necessary also to insure the postal service. There was an important courier service which passed through the posts of the Limes. Each letter had to be registered with the names of the sender and the recipient, the name and the post of the soldier who carried it, the day and hour of arrival<sup>(4)</sup>. It was not exclusively a local service; there were also orders received from the commandery<sup>(5)</sup>: one slip relates to the transmission of two letters addressed to the *wu-wei-chiang* 五威將 Wang Chi 王奇 sent as envoy to Central Asia by Wang Mang in 9 A. D.<sup>(6)</sup>. The mail was carried by persons of every rank: employees of bureaux of the commandery or of the subprefecture, *li*<sup>(7)</sup>, soldiers, former soldiers;<sup>(8)</sup> it appears also that the mail was forwarded from post to post, each detaching a soldier to carry it to the neighboring post, just like the official courier service by relays in the interior of the empire.

The *sui* was the base of the defensive organization of the Limes. Above it there was quite a series of echelons of command. These changed between the Former and Later Han.

(1) *Ch'ien Han shu*, 49/13b; cf. Haneda Akira, *op cit.*, 544.

(2) Chavannes, *Documents*, 30, 495.

(3) Chavannes, *Documents*, 89, 90.

(4) See documents nos. 52, 115; Chavannes, *Documents*, nos. 275, 367, 614.

(5) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 504; Wang 2/5b (no. 10).

(6) Wang, 2/12b.

(7) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 614; Wang 2/13a (no. 61).

(8) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 275.

Under the Former Han, in the 1st century before our era, the Tun-huang commandery was divided from the military point of view into four sections, *pu* 部:<sup>(1)</sup>

1. Section of I-ho 宜禾部 headquarters: post of K'un-lun. 昆侖鄣.
2. Section of the Center 中部 headquarters: post of Pu-kuang 步廣章.
3. Section of Yü-men 玉門部 headquarters: (post of the) barrier of Yü-men 玉門關.
4. Section of Yang-kuan 陽關部 headquarters: (post of the) barrier of Yang 陽關.

At the head of each section was a *tu-wei* 都尉,<sup>(2)</sup> officer of high rank, classed as "comparable to those who receive pay of 2,000 *shih* of grain," *pi-erh-ch'ien-shih* 比二千石.<sup>(3)</sup> Under his command he had an assistant *ch'êng* 丞,<sup>(4)</sup> and a secretary, *ssü-ma* 司馬,<sup>(5)</sup> who himself had an assistant, *ch'êng* 丞,<sup>(6)</sup> and in addition, two scribes of the (*tu*)-*wei*, *wei-shih* 尉史,<sup>(7)</sup> and two officers, *shih-li* 士吏<sup>(8)</sup> charged with inspection of the frontier."<sup>(9)</sup>

Each section, *pu*, was divided into sub-sections, *ch'ü* 曲, or *hou-kuan* 候官, each commanded by a *chün-hou* 軍候 or simply *hou* 候, officer "comparable to those who receive pay amounting to 600 *shih* of grain," *pi-liu-po-shih* 比六百石. He had with him an assistant, *hou-ch'êng* 候丞,<sup>(10)</sup> and a *tsao-shih*:<sup>(11)</sup> the functions of the last mentioned are well described in no. 574 of Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 124.

Below the *hou-kuan*, serving as intermediary between this post and the *sui*, stood another echelon which appears to have been called *kan-hou* 岸候 in the period of the Former Han, and *pu* 部 under the Later Han.<sup>(12)</sup> At its

(1) *Ch'ien Han shu* 28 B/3b.

(2) *Ch'ien Han shu*, 94 A/15b, commentary of Yen Shih-ku; Chavannes, *Documents*, nos. 136, 137, 275, 305.

(3) *Ch'ien Han shu*, 19 A/15b.

(4) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 137.

(5) Chavannes, *Documents*, nos. 275, 438, 461.

(6) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 461.

(7) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 452.

(8) Chavannes, *Documents*, nos. 49, 138, 143, 145, 378, etc.; Wang, 2/5a, 3a, 14a, etc.

(9) Yen Shih-ku, Commentary to the *Ch'ien Han shu*, 94 A/17b. The documents are sufficiently numerous and clear to show that the *shih-shih* 士史 in this commentary ought to be corrected to *shih-li* 士吏.

(10) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 150.

(11) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 378, reads 玉門候造史龍勒周生萌 "The *tsao-shih* dependent on the *hou* of Yü-mên, Chou-sheng Mêng of Lung-lo..." cf. Wang, 2/14a.

(12) Chavannes, *Documents*, nos. 328, 356; Wang, 2/28b, gives the correct reading 岸 in place of *hsü* 序. Kan 岸 is the pole of the signalling apparatus; a *kan-hou* is a watch tower post, *hou*, with a pole for signalling.

head was a *hou-chang* 候長, a subordinate officer classed as a *yu-chih* 有秩,<sup>(1)</sup> i. e. one having a wage evaluated at 100 *shih* of grain, and occupying the lowest rank of the administrative hierarchy; he was assisted by a *hou-shih* 候史.<sup>(2)</sup>

We have documents that are quite precise on three of the districts, P'ing-wang 平望, Wan-sui 萬歲, and Pu-ch'ang 步昌; but as they are not all dated and several seats of *hou-chang* were, either at the same time, or later, *hou-kuan*, they are not always easy to interpret. The dependence of the *hou-chang* with reference to the *hou-kuan* is clearly shown by a document of the time of Wang Mang in which the *hou-chang* of P'ing-wang 平望 appears as dependent on the *ch'ü* of Pu-kuang 步廣曲.<sup>(3)</sup> But his relations with the *sui-chang* are less clear: Chavannes made him a subordinate of the *sui-chang*,<sup>(4)</sup> while Wang Kuo-wei, after having stated that there are some districts with *hou-chang* carrying the same name as certain *sui*, appears to draw the conclusion from this that the *sui* and *kan-hou* are alike.<sup>(5)</sup> The documents of P'ing-wang and of Wan-sui adduce nothing either in favor of or against these two hypotheses: they show clearly the *sui*, Ch'ing-tui 青堆<sup>(6)</sup> and Chu-chüeh 朱爵<sup>(7)</sup> dependent on P'ing-wang and three *sui*, Yang-wei 楊威,<sup>(8)</sup> Hsien-wu 顯武<sup>(9)</sup> and Kao-wang 高望<sup>(10)</sup>, dependent on Wan-sui; but P'ing-wang and Wan-sui having been at a certain period *hou-kuan*<sup>(11)</sup> and the documents not being dated, it is impossible to know if it is as *hou-kuan* or as the seat of a *hou-chang* that they had subordinated *sui*. But the third series of documents, those of Pu-ch'ang, contradicts these two hypotheses and clearly shows the place of the *hou-chang*

(1) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 592. According to the regulations of *yen-p'ing* (106 A. D.), for 100 *shih* a man received each month 48 *tou* of grain in kind and 800 cash.

(2) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 62, where a *hou-shih* reclaims 2400 cash constituting four months' pay, or 600 cash per month, three quarters of the wage of the *hou-chang* his chief. It is only the half of his pay, the rest being in grain.

(3) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 592. The *ch'ü* of Pu-kuang in the time of Wang Mang is the *hou-kuan* of Chung-pu 中部 of the Former Han.

(4) Chavannes, *Documents*, Introduction, p. xi. It is probably according to no. 377 which he considers a command of the *sui-chang* to the *hou-chang*: but the word 令 in it does not signify here "to give a command," but designates an individual "having the function of...;" the *sui-chang* is charged with performing temporarily the function of a *hou-chang*.

(5) Wang, 2/14a-15a.

(6) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 274.

(7) Chavannes, *Documents*, nos. 484, 693.

(8) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 572.

(9) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 569; Wang 2/41a.

(10) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 377, Wang 2/19b.

(11) The *hou-kuan* of P'ing-wang is mentioned in Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 275, 1.2 (read 平望候官 in place of 平望縣內); on the other hand Wan-sui has surely been a *hou-kuan* also, although this term was never applied to it, since a *tsao-shih* is mentioned in it (no. 574).

between the commander of the *hou-kuan* and that of the *sui*. Pu-ch'ang was the seat of a *hou-chang*,<sup>(1)</sup> and from this seat depended the *sui* of Ling-hu 凌胡;<sup>(2)</sup> this in itself would not be a decisive argument, for the documents of P'ing-wang and Wan-sui reveal that there were *hou-kuan* and *hou-chang* posts carrying the same name, and as a consequence Ling-hu could depend on a *hou-kuan* of Pu-ch'ang, unknown solely because the documents would not have yielded the name to us. But this argument, *a priori* admissible, cannot be sustained in this particular case: the *sui* of Ling-hu was actually the seat of the *hou-kuan* of Ta-chien-tu 大煎都;<sup>(3)</sup> it cannot at one and the same time have been the seat of a *hou-kuan* and depended on another; finally, all the slips from Ling-hu as well as from Pu-ch'ang, being of the first century B.C., one cannot interpose a difference of date. This case gives us the proof that the *hou-chang* was the superior of the *sui-chang*.

At the very base of the organization was the *sui* of which I have already spoken in detail. It was commanded by the chief of the signal tower *sui-chang* 隧長 who was subordinate to the *hou*. Two documents show us exactly the position of the *hou*, commandant of the *hou-kuan*, receiving orders from the *tu-wei* and passing them on to the *sui-chang*:

Order of the *tu-wei* to the *hou*:<sup>(4)</sup> 二日庚午，敦煌玉門都尉子光丞○年謂大煎都候，寫移書到○郡○言到日如律令。

"The 2nd day, *kêng-wu*,...Nien, assistant of Tzu-kuang, *tu-wei* of Yü-men dependent on Tun-huang, says to the *hou* of Ta-chien-tu: when you copy a circular and send it on to the commandery, (you should) indicate the day of the arrival (of the circular to which you make response), in conformity with regulations."

Order of the *hou* to the *sui-chang*:<sup>(5)</sup> 三月癸酉，大煎都候嬰○下厭胡守士東方，奉書從事下當用者如詔書。令史偃。

"The 3rd month, on the day *kuei-yu*, the *hou* of Ta-chien-tu, Ying...orders

(1) Chavannes, Documents, nos. 58, 83.

(2) Chavannes, Documents, no. 258. 步昌凌胡 means "Ling-hu (dependent on) Pu-ch'ang" and not "Pu-ch'ang and Ling-hu."

(3) Stein, *Serindia* II, 648, and see below p. 2/8.

(4) Chavannes, Documents, no. 137; Wang, 2/3b.

(5) Chavannes, Documents, no. 138; Wang, 2/3a. Ya-hu is not called a *sui* here, but see no. 49. This slip, bearing no date, is of the year 58 or 54 B.C.: in effect "Ying...., *hou* of Ta-chien-tu," appears in no. 51 which is dated 57 B.C.; on the other hand it is not likely that the tenure of office of the commandant of Ya had lasted very long, and the temporary officer may be noticed in no. 139, likewise dated 3rd month, the day being *kêng-yin* (27th of the cycle): now the years 58 and 54 B.C. are the only ones (around 57) in which the 3rd month contains at the same time both *kuei-yu* and *kêng-yin*.



Fang, the officer (*shih-li*) charged temporarily with the command (of the *sui*) of Ya-hu: as soon as you receive this letter, etc...."

From the section, *pu*, to the signalling fort, *sui*, with all their intermediate echelons, *hou-kuan* and *kan-hou*, the defense of the Limes appears to have been very well articulated. One can appreciate better still the care with which this organization had been set up when one examines its dispositions on a map. The defense was secured by a wall, or rather, as Sir Aurel Stein very justly calls it, an *agger*, on the entire line facing the north: there is no interruption there save when such obstacles as a river, lake, etc. constitute a natural defense; and at various distances, but never very great, numerous towers situated not on the *agger* itself, but at some meters behind its line, which makes a circle before the towers so as to serve as the first line of defense. This *agger* proceeds to shoulder itself, at its western end, into the vast depression of salt marshes, the terminal basin of the Su-lo ho: this depression was by itself alone a defense, the marshes being quite impassable for the major part of the year;<sup>(1)</sup> but in order to anticipate every surprise, a line of isolated posts was established on the dunes which dominated it on the east or even, at certain points, at the bottom of the depression. Other isolated posts were installed more or less far away in front of the *agger* in spots which seemed particularly important; for example, the towers T. I and T. II on the dune of the right bank of the Su-lo ho on each side of the Lop-nōr road, doubtless to guard the passage of the river; or again T. IX,a on a spur of a dune in front of the wall, etc. The towers, connected or not between them by the *agger*, are the fundamental element of defense. Not all of them are towers for watching or signalling: certain ones among them were installed in places where they have no view to the fore, such as T. VI, b.<sup>(2)</sup> Still more, not all have been occupied in a permanent fashion and as a consequence were not distinct *sui*, but were towers dependent on one of the two *sui* situated to the east, and to the west, and they were provided with guards only in case of need, as for example T. IX, a.<sup>(3)</sup> This difference appears clearly in the statements of Sir Aurel Stein: certain towers are accompanied by buildings serving the quartering of troops, shops, etc., for example T. VI, c; T. VI, b; T. VI, a; T. V; T. IV, b; T. VIII; T. XI (?); T. XII, a; T. XIII; T. XXVII; etc.<sup>(4)</sup> but most stand isolated without any

(1) Stein, *Serindia*, II, 633 sq.

(2) Stein, *Serindia*, II, 644.

(3) Stein, *Serindia*, II, 662.

(4) Stein, *Serindia*, II, 644, 641, 636, 658, 667-8, 669, 681, 694, etc.



supplementary structure, or with just a guard house, and have yielded no document nor shown any trace of occupation, as, for example, T. IV, a; T. IV, c; T. VII; T. IX; T. IX, a; T. X; T. XVI; T. XVII; T. XVII, a; and the majority of the towers in the vicinity of T. XVIII up to T. XXVI.<sup>(1)</sup> The isolated towers which flank the Limes to the west are almost all *sui*; on the other hand, the isolated towers in front of the *agger*, such as T. I and T. II, are not posts, but receive their guards, when they have any, from a post of the Limes on which they depend.

On the other hand, even by taking account of the fact that many of the towers should not be *sui*, it is not likely that those, in more limited numbers, which constituted the *sui* had all been provided with an instrument as complicated and delicate as was the signalling apparatus which I have described above. One document (Chavannes no. 61) which enumerates the *fêng* of I-ho 宜禾部烽 appears decidedly to be the proof of it, for from I-ho to Pu-kuang it enumerates only 5 *fêng* and there were many more than 5 towers in this stretch. The name *kan-hou* 斥候 of the intermediate echelon between the *hou-kuan* and the *sui* suggests that these are the posts which had been provided with this equipment, for it means properly speaking a watch-tower (*hou*) equipped with a signalling pole; the increase at a certain period of the number of watch-tower chiefs, *hou-chang* (commandants of a *kan-hou*) would be due to the need of having information by signals less far apart than previously. Even if one does not adopt this hypothesis which I cannot prove, but which appears to me almost certain, it is necessary to admit that there was a selection amongst the posts charged with sending signals by fire and by smoke; with the custom of making a signal at a fixed hour to indicate that all was well, the towers placed on the rectilinear sections of the "Limes" would be mutually concealed and it would have been impossible or at least very difficult, even for neighboring ones, to ascertain if actually every post had signalled.

(1) Wang, 2/20 b, explains this small number by the difference in meaning which the lexicographers make between *fêng*, smoke signal by day, and *sui*, fire signal by night: the smoke during the day being less visible than the fire at night, fewer signals would have been made by day than by night; it is clear, on the contrary, that the less visible the signal the more was it necessary to bring the towers together, if one wished to see the signals, and on the other hand that, if the day and night signals had been separated, there would have been no need for fire signals, for it was necessary to raise the flame. Slip T. xxii. e. 03 (see document no. 42) indicates that, contrary to what Wang Kuo-wei thought, the smoke signals by day and the fire signals by night were made in the same post and the apparatus was indiscriminately used for one or the other.

What is best known of the Limes is its western extremity during the period of the Former Han: it is the part which has furnished the largest number of documents. It was the sector of the *tu-wei* of Yü-mên, *Yü-mên tu-wei* 玉門都尉. The person who had his seat at the little fort T. XIV<sup>(1)</sup>, controlled two *hou-kuan* 候官, that of Ta-chien-tu 大煎都 and that of Yü-mên 玉門.

The *hou-kuan* of Ta-chien-tu was the westernmost: it comprised the end of the *agger* and the isolated towers which flanked its extremity on the west.<sup>(2)</sup> The *kan-hou* of Pu-ch'ang 步昌, which was subordinate to it, supervised the signal towers *sui* of Pu-ch'ang (T. VI, a), Ling-hu 陵胡 (T. VI, b), Ya-hu 厭胡 (T. VI, c), and Kuang-ch'ang 廣昌 (T. VI, d), i. e. the most southerly group of isolated posts which marked the western edge of the terminal basin of the Su-lo ho.

The seat of the *hou-kuan* was near the southern end of the sector, at the tower of Ling-hu 凌 (or 陵) 胡 (T. VI, b):<sup>(3)</sup> it was the last one built on the spurs of dunes which dominate the entire territory at their feet; there the chief of the sector, the *hou*, resided, and near him the entire military administration with its bureaux, granaries,<sup>(4)</sup> shops, depots for weapons. At the northern extremity, on the contrary, at the point of departure of the *agger*, at the tower Fu-ch'ang 富昌, the adjutant to the *hou*, *hou-ch'êng* 候丞 had his "separate seat" 別治.<sup>(5)</sup> The sector of Ta-chien-tu was thus, between the chief and his adjutant, very much under control. The *hou-ch'ang* [correct to *chang* 長] had to have his residence originally in the middle of the line between these two posts, at the tower Pu-ch'ang (T. VI) which gave him his name; but it was soon recognized to be more practical to install him beside the *hou* so as to serve as its adjutant, since the titular adjutant, having his post farther north, could not fulfil the role of a true adjutant, and, since before the middle of the first century, he was likewise at Ling-hu (T. VI): his own adjutant, the scribe of the watch-towers *hou-shih* 候史, had also received a separate assignment and was at the tower Kuang-ch'ang (T. VI, d),<sup>(6)</sup> the final post, at that time the most southern and the most western of the entire defensive system, and the heads of post, *sui-chang*, of Ling-hu and Kuang-

(1) Stein, *Serindia*, II, 620 sq., 684-90; figs. 183, 184 (p. 685); plan 40.

(2) Stein, *Serindia*, II, 636.

(3) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 42.

(4) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 95.

(5) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 150; Wang, 2/4a (no. 7)...大煎都候丞軍別治富昌隆...

(6) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 62, where he carries the title *hou-shih* of Kuang-ch'ang.

ch'ang, were required respectively to serve as adjutants to the *hou-chang* and to the *hou-shih*. This system, which made each fulfil a function which was not his own, was undoubtedly destined to place in the posts the most important of the officers of the highest ranks, a *hou-ch'êng* in place of a simple *hou-chang* at the vital point where the *agger* ends and where the network of tiny isolated posts begins, in order to command the salient of T. V (Kuang-wu) at T. VII; a *hou-shih*, in place of a simple *sui-chang*, at the extremity of the line of posts.

Farther to the east was the *hou-kuan* of Yü-mên, the seat of which was at T. XV quite near the residence of the *tu-wei*,<sup>(1)</sup> stretching from the tower of Hsien-ming 顯明 (T. VIII), or perhaps from one of the towers T. III, T. VI, or T. VII the name of which is unknown, up to the neighborhood of one of the numbered towers T. XXIII. On this extended front, several *kan-hou* were dependent: Yü-mên, commanding the *sui* of Hsien-ming 顯明 (T. VIII), as well as T. IX, T. X, and T. XI, the name of which is unknown, a *sui* called Kuang-hsin 廣新 (T. XVII) in the time of Wang Mang— —and which, if it were not a new creation, was probably called Kuang Han 廣漢 in the time of the Former Han<sup>(2)</sup>, the *sui* of Tang-ku 當谷 (T. XIII) and perhaps another still farther east; next P'ing-wang 平望, the *hou-chang* of which lived at T. XXII, a<sup>(3)</sup> and on which the *sui* of Chu-chüeh 朱爵 (T. XIX) and of Ch'ing-tui 青堆 (T. XXII, b), as well as intermediate towers (T. XX, TXXI), depended. The part of the Limes situated to the north of Tun-huang formed the sector of the *tu-wei* of the Central Sector 中部都尉. We do not know exactly where the limit of the boundary of Yü-mên passed, but at least by stretching excessively the already considerable sector of the *tu-wei* of Yü-mên and by reducing the Central Sector to almost nothing, we can connect to this last only the *kan-hou* of P'o-hu 破胡<sup>(4)</sup> controlling the towers of Shou-kuan 受官 (T. XXII, c), Tsung-min 宗民 (T. XXII, d),<sup>(5)</sup> Chih-chien 止姦 (T. XXIX, e),<sup>(6)</sup> and probably some others closer by; as for the *sui* of Hsüan-wu 玄武 (T. XXIII, k), Wei-hu

(1) T. XV, a was a place of habitation, but no watch-tower stood there. Stein, *Serindia*, II, 693 sq.

(2) Wang Mang took Hsin 新 for his dynastic title, and put this word in place of Han in geographic names which bore the name of the dynasty which he had overthrown.

(3) The name of the *sui* where the *hou-chang* of P'ing-wang lived is written very clearly in Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 275, but the two characters of the name, written in abridged form, have remained undecipherable.

(4) See documents nos. 31, 44; Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 621.

(5) See document no. 31.

(6) See document no. 44.

威胡 (T. XXIII, 1),<sup>(1)</sup> and P'o-lu 破虜, which should be quite near, I do not know if they depend on the *kan-hou* of P'o-hu or on another, but it is certain that they were in the Central Sector, *chung-pu* 中部<sup>(2)</sup>. Besides, the *kan-hou* of Hu-mêng 虎猛,<sup>(3)</sup> with its *sui* Hu-mêng, I-ch'iu 宜秋,<sup>(4)</sup> Yung-kan 勇敢,<sup>(5)</sup> and that of Ta-fu 大福,<sup>(6)</sup> must still be placed in this region, but I am unable to localize it in precise fashion. The *tu-wei* had his residence at the *hou-kuan* of Pu-kuang 步廣, i. e. at T. XXVIII; subordinate to this *hou-kuan* were the *sui* of Yang-wei 揚威 (T. XXVI), Hsien-wu 顯武 (T. XXVII), and Kao-wang 高望; the *kan-hou* of this portion of the Limes are unknown.

Still farther to the east was the sector of the *tu-wei* of I-ho 宜和, which must have run to the east and west of present day An-hsi, including towers carrying the numbers XXXVII through XL. This portion of the Limes has furnished very few documents. But one of the slips published by Chavannes<sup>(7)</sup> supplies the list of signal towers, *fêng* 瓚, of the sector, *pu* 部<sup>(8)</sup> of I-ho and, as Wang Kuo-wei has demonstrated, they are lined up from east to west.<sup>(9)</sup> I have remarked above that in my opinion the *sui* did not possess the large apparatus of signalling called *fêng*, which was installed only in the *kan-hou*; this list as a consequence gives us the names of the five *kan-hou* subordinate to the *tu-wei* of I-ho:

1. Kuang-han 廣漢 (which has no relationship to the Kuang-hsin dependent on Yü-mên), the easternmost, one of the towers numbered XL.

2. Mei-chi 美稷, probably beside the small ruined fortress called Po-ch'ang-tzû, [Stein, *Serindia* III, 1139, romanizes P'o-ch'êng-tzû, and styles it 'the old town.' No characters given.] where there is a fragment of the *agger* numbered  $\alpha\beta\gamma$ .

3. K'un-lun 昆侖, in the sub-prefecture of Kuang-chih 廣至, seat of the *tu-wei* of I-ho, near present-day An-hsi, perhaps the little "village of ruins" to which Sir Aurel Stein draws attention.

(1) See document, no. 62. T. XXIII, 1. i, was dependent on P'o-hu (See document no. 54); and T. XXIII was under the control of the *tu-wei* of the Central Sector; cf. document no. 60.

(2) See document no. 60.

(3) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 536.

(4) Chavannes, *Documents*, nos. 482, 486, 535, 536, 541.

(5) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 482.

(6) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 309.

(7) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 61.

(8) Chavannes reads 都 and Wang reads 郡, but recognizes that there was no commandery of I-ho under the Han. The character, which is quite abbreviated, is certainly *pu* 部, the name of the sector of a *tu-wei*.

(9) Wang, 2/15a (no. 17).

4. Yü-tsê 魚澤, in the sub-prefecture of Hsiao-ku 效穀, the former seat of the *tu-wei* in Emperor Wu's time, probably the little fortress (T. XXXVII, g).

5. I-ho 宜禾, the westernmost of the series, bordering on Wan-sui (which is the name of Pu-kuang under the Later Han) to which the *sui* of Lin-chieh 臨介, the one *sui* of which we know the name in this sector,<sup>(1)</sup> was subordinate.

Some documents deriving from the Commandery of Chiu-ch'üan permit us to state that this organization was not peculiar to Tun-huang but remained the same throughout the Limes. In the region where the Su-lo ho, coming from the south, makes the great bend which throws it back to the west, were the sub-prefecture of Kan-ch'i, where the *tu-wei* of the western sector, *hsi-pu tu-wei* 西部都尉 of Chiu-ch'üan,<sup>(2)</sup> had his residence. and the sub-prefecture of Yü-mên 玉門.<sup>(3)</sup> We find mentioned therein a *hou-kuan* 候官 of —wang 望<sup>(4)</sup> and the *sui* of Chên-chung 楨中<sup>(5)</sup>, (T. XLIV, b), Tsêng-hu 憎胡 (T. XLIII, k),<sup>(6)</sup> Chih-k'ou 止寇,<sup>(7)</sup> Shou-hsiang 受降,<sup>(8)</sup> . . . .-hu 胡<sup>(9)</sup> in the towers numbered from T. XLI to T. XLVI, h.

After the Former Han, the documents appear to me to indicate a complete alteration in the organization of defense. The number of *hou-chang* increased enormously and the areas under their control took the name of a sector, *pu* 部; these sectors bear the names of the former *kan-hou* or *sui*, with determinations according to the cardinal points in order to distinguish them: this process gives a more curious aspect to the nomenclature because all the previous names are modified. In the central part, Pu-kuang had its name changed to Wan-sui 萬歲 and, concurrently, almost everyone of the *sui* became a sector under the command of a *hou-chang*: the *sui* of Hsien-ming and of Yang-wei became respectively the eastern and western sectors of Wan-sui 萬歲東西部;<sup>(10)</sup> the former seat of the *hou* of Pu-kuang (T. XXVIII) with the neighboring *sui* (T. XXXIII) became the eastern and western sectors of T'un-wu 吞武東西部;<sup>(11)</sup> in like fashion, P'o-hu was divided into eastern and western sectors.<sup>(12)</sup> In the

(1) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 572; Wang, 2/17a.

(2) *Ch'ien Han shu* 28/3b.

(3) See document no. 134.

(4) See document nos. 86, 90.

(5) See document nos. 88, 137.

(6) See document no. 119.

(7) See document no. 138.

(8) See document no. 93.

(9) See document no. 159.

(10) Chavannes, *Documents*, nos. 615, 618.

(11) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 615.

(12) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 621.



west part, there appeared analogous dismemberment: northern and western sectors of Yü-mên<sup>(1)</sup> and an eastern sector of Kuan-chi 官吉<sup>(2)</sup> are mentioned. This last name provides the date of this particular organization, for it was but a short time in use: it is that of Yü-mên in the time of Wang Mang (9-23 A.D.), and only during a portion of his reign since there is one document which bears "Post of Kuang-hsin 廣新 dependent on Yü-mên...."<sup>(3)</sup> beside another "Post of Kuang-hsin dependent on Kuan-chi."<sup>(4)</sup> Thus, in the first quarter of the first century of our era, in the time of Wang Mang, probably in response to the stronger pressure exercised by the barbarians in these years, the signal posts commanded by *hou-chang* multiplied and, with the posts, naturally the density of troops committed to defense.

But this new organization was of brief duration. The documents of the Later Han show that an organization comparable to that of the Former Han then returned; certain names, such as that of Wan-sui which definitively replaced that of Pu-kuang, perhaps at certain points some new posts, exist only in the Wang Mang period. The major change in the time of the Later Han is the abandonment of the entire extremity west of the Limes,<sup>(5)</sup> that which formed the Hou-kuan of Ta-chien-tu, and the part west of that of Yü-mên: all this section of the Limes has yielded no document posterior to Wang Mang. One new wall, more rudely constructed than that on the north face, forms the new line of defense: it parts from the former wall near T. XV (the *wei* of Yü-mên, replacing the one-time *tu-wei*, put his residence there, a little to the east of T. XIV, at the former seat of the *tu-wei* of the Former Han) in order to proceed almost directly towards the oasis of Nan-hu which was then the sub-prefecture of Lung-lo. The transportation of everything, men, animals, provisions, weapons, and so forth, across the desert was too toilsome and above all too costly: the retreat of troops from this particularly difficult sector was necessary to ease the burden on the civil population.

(1) Chavannes, *Documents*, nos. 492, 487.

(2) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 277.

(3) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 598.

(4) Chavannes, *Documents*, no. 596. Cf. p. 132, containing Chavannes' explanation of the name Kuang-hsin "signifying Wang Mang's reign."

(5) Stein, *Serindia*, II, 698.