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# I

## China's Trade on the Western Frontier, Second-First Centuries BCE

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### I

SIMA QIAN

#### *Records of the Grand Historian of China*

*Early First Century BCE*

*Sima Qian (ca. 145-ca. 86 BCE) was court historian during the reign of Wudi (r. 140-87 BCE) of the Han dynasty. He was also an astrologer and adviser, and he intended his compilation of historical data to provide sound history lessons to the emperors. To present events as close to the truth as possible, he relied on the imperial archives under his custody, including files inherited from previous regimes and reports from officials stationed all over the empire. The narrative tradition he developed, which included the use of dialogue based on the records, influenced later Chinese historians, and Sima Qian is recognized as the father of Chinese historiography. During his time, the nomadic tribes on the steppe north of agricultural China had long been engaged with the Chinese as both adversaries and trading partners. In his Records of the Grand Historian of China, Sima Qian used reports from frontier officers to detail the politics of the Xiongnu tribal confederation, the dominant power on the steppe, and the conflicts and commercial exchanges between the Xiongnu and the Chinese dynasties that ruled from the fourth to the second centuries BCE. This excerpt describes interactions between the Xiongnu and other nomadic peoples, and with the Han dynasty. How would this account differ if it had been written by the nomads?*

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Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 2:160-66.

Finally Ch'in<sup>1</sup> overthrew the other six states, and the First Emperor of the Ch'in dispatched Meng T'ien to lead a force of a hundred thousand men north to attack the barbarians. He seized control of all the lands south of the Yellow River and established border defenses along the river, constructing forty-four walled district cities overlooking the river and manning them with convict laborers transported to the border for garrison duty. He also built the Direct Road from Chiu-yüan to Yün-yang. Thus he utilized the natural mountain barriers to establish the border defenses, scooping out the valleys and constructing ramparts and building installations at other points where they were needed. The whole line of defenses stretched over ten thousand *li* from Lin-t'ao to Liao-tung and even extended across the Yellow River and through Yang-shan and Pei-chia.

At this time the Eastern Barbarians<sup>2</sup> were very powerful and the Yüeh-chih<sup>3</sup> were likewise flourishing. The *Shan-yü* or chieftain of the Hsiung-nu<sup>4</sup> was named T'ou-man. T'ou-man, unable to hold out against the Ch'in forces, had withdrawn to the far north, where he lived with his subjects for over ten years. After Meng T'ien died and the feudal lords revolted against the Ch'in, plunging China into a period of strife and turmoil, the convicts which the Ch'in had sent to the northern border to garrison the area all returned to their homes. The Hsiung-nu, the pressure against them relaxed, once again began to infiltrate south of the bend of the Yellow River until they had established themselves along the old border of China.

T'ou-man's oldest son, the heir apparent to his position, was named Mo-tun, but the *Shan-yü* also had a younger son by another consort whom he had taken later and was very fond of. He decided that he wanted to get rid of Mo-tun and set up his younger son as heir instead, and he therefore sent Mo-tun as a hostage to the Yüeh-chih nation. Then, after Mo-tun had arrived among the Yüeh-chih, T'ou-man made a sudden attack on them. The Yüeh-chih were about to kill Mo-tun in retaliation, but he managed to steal one of their best horses and escape, eventually making his way back home. His father, struck by his bravery, put him in command of a force of ten thousand cavalry.

Mo-tun had some arrows made that whistled in flight and used them to drill his troops in shooting from horseback. "Shoot wherever you see

<sup>1</sup> Qin. Because this translation of Sima Qian uses Wade-Giles romanization, significant proper names are converted to pinyin in footnotes.

<sup>2</sup> Nomadic group in Mongolia, east of the territory of the Xiongnu.

<sup>3</sup> Yuezhi.

<sup>4</sup> Xiongnu.

my whistling arrow strike!" he ordered, "and anyone who fails to shoot will be cut down!" Then he went out hunting for birds and animals, and if any of his men failed to shoot at what he himself had shot at, he cut them down on the spot. After this, he shot a whistling arrow at one of his best horses. Some of his men hung back and did not dare shoot at the horse, whereupon Mo-tun at once executed them. A little later he took an arrow and shot at his favorite wife. Again some of his men shrank back in terror and failed to discharge their arrows, and again he executed them on the spot. Finally he went out hunting with his men and shot a whistling arrow at one of his father's finest horses. All his followers promptly discharged their arrows in the same direction, and Mo-tun knew that at last they could be trusted. Accompanying his father, the *Shan-yü* T'ou-man, on a hunting expedition, he shot a whistling arrow at his father and every one of his followers aimed their arrows in the same direction and shot the *Shan-yü* dead. Then Mo-tun executed his step-mother, his younger brother, and all the high officials of the nation who refused to take orders from him, and set himself up as the new *Shan-yü*.

At this time the Eastern Barbarians were very powerful and, hearing that Mo-tun had killed his father and made himself leader, they sent an envoy to ask if they could have T'ou-man's famous horse that could run a thousand *li* in one day. Mo-tun consulted his ministers, but they all replied, "The thousand-*li* horse is one of the treasures of the Hsiung-nu people. You should not give it away!"

"When a neighboring country asks for it, why should I begrudge them one horse?" he said, and sent them the thousand-*li* horse.

After a while the Eastern Barbarians, supposing that Mo-tun was afraid of them, sent an envoy to ask for one of Mo-tun's consorts. Again Mo-tun questioned his ministers, and they replied in a rage, "The Eastern Barbarians are unreasoning beasts to come and request one of the *Shan-yü*'s consorts. We beg to attack them!"

But Mo-tun replied, "If it is for a neighboring country, why should I begrudge them one woman?" and he sent his favorite consort to the Eastern Barbarians.

With this the ruler of the Eastern Barbarians grew more and more bold and arrogant, invading the lands to the west. Between his territory and that of the Hsiung-nu was an area of over a thousand *li* of uninhabited land; the two peoples made their homes on either side of this wasteland.<sup>5</sup> The ruler of the Eastern Barbarians sent an envoy to Mo-tun saying, "The Hsiung-nu have no way of using this stretch of wasteland

<sup>5</sup> The Gobi Desert. [Translator's note.]

which lies between my border and yours. I would like to take possession of it!"

When Mo-tun consulted his ministers, some of them said, "Since the land is of no use you might as well give it to him," while others said, "No, you must not give it away!"

Mo-tun flew into a rage. "Land is the basis of the nation!" he said. "Why should I give it away?" And he executed all the ministers who had advised him to do so.

Then he mounted his horse and set off to attack the Eastern Barbarians, circulating an order throughout his domain that anyone who was slow to follow would be executed. The Eastern Barbarians had up until this time despised Mo-tun and made no preparations for their defense; when Mo-tun and his soldiers arrived, they inflicted a crushing defeat, killing the ruler of the Eastern Barbarians, taking prisoner his subjects, and seizing their domestic animals. Then he returned and rode west, attacking and routing the Yüeh-chih, and annexed the lands of the ruler of Lou-fan and the ruler of Po-yang south of the Yellow River. Thus he recovered possession of all the lands which the Ch'in general Meng T'ien had taken away from the Hsiung-nu; the border between his territory and that of the Han empire now followed the old line of defenses south of the Yellow River, and from there he marched into the Ch'ao-na and Fu-shih districts and then invaded Yen and Tai.

At this time the Han forces were stalemated in battle with the armies of Hsiang Yü, and China was exhausted by warfare. Thus Mo-tun was able to strengthen his position, massing a force of over three hundred thousand skilled crossbowmen.

Over a thousand years had elapsed from the time of Ch'un-wei, the ancestor of the Hsiung-nu, to that of Mo-tun, a vast period during which the tribes split up and scattered into various groups, sometimes expanding, sometimes dwindling in size. Thus it is impossible to give any ordered account of the Hsiung-nu rulers. When Mo-tun came to power, however, the Hsiung-nu reached their peak of strength and size, subjugating all of the other barbarian tribes of the north and turning south to confront China as an enemy nation. As a result of this, it is possible to give an account here of the later Hsiung-nu rulers and of the offices and titles of the nation.

Under the *Shan-yü* are the Wise Kings of the Left and Right, the left and right Lu-li kings, left and right generals, left and right commanders, left and right household administrators, and left and right Ku-tu marquises. The Hsiung-nu word for "wise" is "t'u-ch'i," so that the heir of the *Shan-yü* is customarily called the "Tu-ch'i King of the Left." Among

the other leaders, from the wise kings on down to the household administrators, the more important ones command ten thousand horsemen and the lesser ones several thousand, numbering twenty-four leaders in all, though all are known by the title of "Ten Thousand Horsemen." The high ministerial offices are hereditary, being filled from generation to generation by the members of the Hui-yen and Lan families, and in more recent times by the Hsi-pu family. These three families constitute the aristocracy of the nation. The kings and other leaders of the left live in the eastern sector, the region from Shang-ku east to the lands of the Hui-mo and Ch'ao-hsien peoples. The kings and leaders of the right live in the west, the area from Shang Province west to the territories of the Yüeh-chih and Chi'ang tribes. The *Shan-yü* has his court in the region north of Tai and Yün-chung. Each group has its own area, within which it moves about from place to place looking for water and pasture. The Left and Right Wise Kings and Lu-li kings are the most powerful, while the Ku-tu marquises assist the *Shan-yü* in the administration of the nation. Each of the twenty-four leaders in turn appoints his own "chiefs of a thousand," "chiefs of a hundred," and "chiefs of ten," as well as his subordinate kings, prime ministers, chief commandants, household administrators, *chi-ch'ü* officials, and so forth.

In the first month of the year the various leaders come together in a small meeting at the *Shan-yü*'s court to perform sacrifices, and in the fifth month a great meeting is held at Lung-ch'eng at which sacrifices are conducted to the Hsiung-nu ancestors, Heaven and Earth, and the gods and spirits. In the autumn, when the horses are fat, another great meeting is held at the Tai Forest when a reckoning is made of the number of persons and animals.

According to Hsiung-nu law, anyone who in ordinary times draws his sword a foot from the scabbard is condemned to death. Anyone convicted of theft has his property confiscated. Minor offenses are punished by flogging and major ones by death. No one is kept in jail awaiting sentence longer than ten days, and the number of imprisoned men for the whole nation does not exceed a handful.<sup>6</sup>

At dawn the *Shan-yü* leaves his camp and makes obeisance to the sun as it rises, and in the evening he makes a similar obeisance to the moon. In seating arrangements the left side or the seat facing north is considered the place of honor. The days *wu* and *chi* of the ten-day week are regarded as most auspicious.

<sup>6</sup>Sima Qian is inviting a comparison with the situation in China in his own day, when the jails were full of overflowing with men awaiting sentence. [Translator's note.]

In burials the Hsiung-nu use an inner and an outer coffin, with accessories of gold, silver, clothing, and fur, but they do not construct grave mounds or plant trees on the grave, nor do they use mourning garments. When a ruler dies, the ministers and concubines who were favored by him and who are obliged to follow him in death often number in the hundreds or even thousands.

Whenever the Hsiung-nu begin some undertaking, they observe the stars and the moon. They attack when the moon is full and withdraw their troops when it wanes. After a battle those who have cut off the heads of the enemy or taken prisoners are presented with a cup of wine and allowed to keep the spoils they have captured. Any prisoners that are taken are made slaves. Therefore, when they fight, each man strives for his own gain. They are very skillful at using decoy troops to lure their opponents to destruction. When they catch sight of the enemy, they swoop down like a flock of birds, eager for booty, but when they find themselves hard pressed and beaten, they scatter and vanish like the mist. Anyone who succeeds in recovering the body of a comrade who has fallen in battle receives all of the dead man's property.

Shortly after the period described above, Mo-tun launched a series of campaigns to the north, conquering the tribes of Hun-yü, Ch'ü-she, Ting-ling, Ko-k'un, and Hsin-li. Thus the nobles and high ministers of the Hsiung-nu were all won over by Mo-tun, considering him a truly worthy leader.

At this time Kao-tsu, the founder of the Han, had just succeeded in winning control of the empire and had transferred Hsin, the former king of Hanu, to the rulership of Tai, with his capital at Ma-i. The Hsiung-nu surrounded Ma-i and attacked the city in great force, whereupon Hann Hsin surrendered to them. With Hann Hsin on their side, they then proceeded to lead their troops south across Mount Chü-chu and attack T'ai-yüan, marching as far as the city of Chin-yang. Emperor Kao-tsu led an army in person to attack them, but it was winter and he encountered such cold and heavy snow that two or three out of every ten of his men lost their fingers from frostbite. Mo-tun feigned a retreat to lure the Han soldiers on to an attack. When they came after him in pursuit, he concealed all of his best troops and left only his weakest and puniest men to be observed by the Han scouts. With this the entire Han force, supplemented by three hundred and twenty thousand infantry, rushed north to pursue him; Kao-tsu led the way, advancing as far as the city of P'ing-ch'eng.

Before the infantry had had a chance to arrive, however, Mo-tun swooped down with four hundred thousand of his best cavalry,

surrounded Kao-tsu on White Peak, and held him there for seven days. The Han forces within the encirclement had no way of receiving aid or provisions from their comrades outside, since the Hsiung-nu cavalry surrounded them on all sides, with white horses on the west side, greenish horses on the east, black horses on the north, and red ones on the south.<sup>7</sup>

Kao-tsu sent an envoy in secret to Mo-tun's consort, presenting her with generous gifts, whereupon she spoke to Mo-tun, saying, "Why should the rulers of these two nations make such trouble for each other? Even if you gained possession of the Han lands, you could never occupy them. And the ruler of the Han may have his guardian deities as well as you. I beg you to consider the matter well!"

Mo-tun had previously arranged for the troops of Wang Huang and Chao Li, two of Hann Hsin's generals, to meet with him, but though the appointed time had come, they failed to appear and he began to suspect that they were plotting with the Han forces. He therefore decided to listen to his consort's advice and withdrew his forces from one corner of the encirclement. Kao-tsu ordered his men to load their crossbows with arrows and hold them in readiness pointed toward the outside. These preparations completed, they marched straight out of the encirclement and finally joined up with the rest of the army.

Mo-tun eventually withdrew his men and went away, and Kao-tsu likewise retreated and abandoned the campaign, dispatching Liu Ching to conclude a peace treaty with the Hsiung-nu instead.

<sup>7</sup>These four colors are symbolic of the four directions in Chinese belief and, if the narrative is correct, of the Xiongnu belief as well. [Translator's note.]

*History of the Former Han Dynasty**Late First Century CE*

*Ban Gu (32–92 CE) was court historian in the Later Han dynasty (25–220 CE), and he compiled the official history of the Former Han dynasty (206 BCE–24 CE) based on imperial archives. He followed Sima Qian's method of compiling data, but restrained the tone of his narrative to adopt a more official style. The following passages are from his biography of Zhang Qian and his description of the Western Regions. Zhang Qian (d. 114 BCE), the envoy of the Han emperor Wudi to the Yuezhi chief, was the first historically recorded Chinese to travel through Mongolia and Central Asia to Da Xia, or Bactria, as the Greeks called it, in northern Afghanistan. Thirteen years later, he returned to the Han court with information about the nomadic tribes and oasis states west of China. His descriptions of the wonders and curiosities of the Western Regions, especially the "heavenly horses," were of great interest to China's commercial communities. What was the most important accomplishment of Zhang Qian's mission?*

**[Zhang Qian]**

Zhang Qian, from Hanzhong, was serving as a royal attendant during the Jianyuan era.<sup>1</sup> At that time, defectors from the Xiongnu brought information that the Xiongnu had defeated the Yuezhi and had made the Yuezhi king's skull into a ritual drinking vessel. The Yuezhi people had retreated, hating the Xiongnu, but could not find an ally to help them take revenge. The Han court was just getting ready to attack the Xiongnu when this bad news arrived. The emperor then decided to send an envoy to the Yuezhi court. Knowing that this would be a dangerous

<sup>1</sup> Hanzhong is in present-day Shaanxi Province; the dates of the Jianyuan era are 140–135 BCE.

Ban Gu, *Han Shu* [History of the Former Han Dynasty] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962), 61:2687; 96a:3894–95. Translated by Xinru Liu.

mission because the envoy would have to pass through the territory of the Xiongnu before he could make contact with the Yuezhi, the emperor asked for volunteers. Zhang Qian, a low-level courtier, answered the call and became the imperial envoy. His companion on the trip was Gan Fu, a slave of the Tangyi family. They exited Han territory through Longxi.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, Xiongnu tribesmen caught them and sent them to the court of the Shanyu, who was their chief. The Shanyu said, "The Yuezhi are located to the north of my territory, so how can the Han send an envoy to them? If I wanted to send an envoy to the Yue,<sup>3</sup> would the Han court let me pass through their territory to get there?" He detained Zhang Qian for more than a decade, during which time he also provided him with a Xiongnu wife who bore him a son. Zhang, however, always kept the emblem that identified him as a Han envoy and never forgot his mission.

Eventually, when Zhang Qian was living on the western frontier of the Xiongnu domain, he got an opportunity to escape and headed west toward the Yuezhi, along with his retinue. After walking several dozen days, they arrived at Dayuan.<sup>4</sup> The king of Dayuan had heard about the wealth of the Han Chinese and was willing to have talks and establish trade with them. Thus, delighted to see an envoy from the Han, he asked about Zhang's mission. Zhang told him, "I was sent out as an envoy to the Yuezhi, but I was blocked by the Xiongnu. Now I am free from the Xiongnu. If your majesty provides me with a guide to help me find the Yuezhi, once I have returned to the Han court, the Han emperor will grant you countless gifts." The king of Dayuan believed him and sent him a guide and interpreter who would travel with him to Kangju.<sup>5</sup> The Kangju people then helped them reach the court of the Great Yuezhi. After the king of the Great Yuezhi had been killed by the Xiongnu, his wife had become the chief of the tribe. The Yuezhi had then conquered Da Xia<sup>6</sup> and ruled that state where the land was fertile and peaceful. The Yuezhi people enjoyed life there very much and felt that China was too far away to be a useful ally, and they knew that it was not in their best interest to try to avenge the wrongs done to them by attacking the Xiongnu. Thus, when Zhang visited the Yuezhi court in Bactria, he could not persuade their chief to ally with the Han and attack the Xiongnu.

<sup>2</sup> In present-day Gansu Province.

<sup>3</sup> Tribes in southeastern China.

<sup>4</sup> Ferghana, in present-day Uzbekistan.

<sup>5</sup> Sogdiana, in present-day Uzbekistan, west of Dayuan.

<sup>6</sup> Bactria, in present-day northern Afghanistan.

After living more than a year with the Yuezhi, Zhang left Bactria and started on the trip back home to China. He tried to follow the routes through the mountains that would take him to Qiang<sup>7</sup> in order to avoid the Xiongnu, but that plan did not work, and again he was caught by the Xiongnu. A year later, the Shanyu's death was followed by a civil war. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Zhang escaped, together with his Xiongnu wife and children as well as Gan Fu, and they then eventually returned to the Han court in Chang'an. Zhang was honored with the title of Grand Minister, and Gan Fu received the title of Companion of the Envoy.

Zhang was energetic and steadfast, as well as generous and tolerant, and thus the barbarians all loved him. Gan Fu was a native of the steppe and a good archer. When they ran out of food, Gan Fu shot birds and other animals to feed the group. Zhang Qian had left Chang'an with a retinue of one hundred. Thirteen years later, he came back with only Gan Fu.

Zhang Qian visited Dayuan, Great Yuezhi, Da Xia, and Kangju, and he had heard about five or six other major states in that area. He described all the geographic features and the products of all the countries. These details are recorded in the chapter on the Western Regions in this book.

### [The Western Regions]

The king of Dayuan ruled from the city of Guishan, which is about 12,500 *li*<sup>8</sup> from Chang'an. It has sixty thousand households, with a population of three hundred thousand (which includes the sixty thousand soldiers among them). A viceroy and a prime minister assist the king. Some 4,031 *li* east of it is the headquarters of the Han Protectorate established in the Western Region; 1,510 *li* north of it is the Beitan city of Kangju; 690 *li* southwest of it is where the Great Yuezhi are located. It thus borders Kangju to its north and the Great Yuezhi to its south. Its geography, customs, and products are similar to those of the Great Yuezhi and the Parthians. Dayuan and its surrounding region make wine from grapes. Rich households store as many as 10,000 *shi*.<sup>9</sup> The wine is stored so well that it maintains its quality for several decades. People there love drinking wine, and the horses there like alfalfa.

<sup>7</sup> Present-day Qinghai.

<sup>8</sup> During the Han dynasty, one *li* was about one-third of a kilometer, or one-fifth of a mile. The numbers here seem exaggerated.

<sup>9</sup> During the Han dynasty, one *shi* was the equivalent of forty-one liters today.

There are more than seventy cities other than the capital in Dayuan. There are many excellent horses, which sweat blood.<sup>10</sup> It is said that the horses are descendants of the heavenly horses.

Zhang Qian once advised the emperor Wudi to get horses from Dayuan. An envoy carrying a thousand units of gold and a golden horse tried to purchase these good horses from Dayuan. The king there thought that the Han court was too far away to send very many troops to his land, and he loved his horses too much to give them away. The Han envoy then reprimanded the king, and the king killed the envoy and took possession of the gifts that the Han emperor had sent. The Son of Heaven<sup>11</sup> sent General Li Guangli to punish Dayuan. The campaign took four years, and more than ten thousand soldiers were involved. The people of Dayuan killed their own king Mugua and surrendered his head, as well as three thousand horses to appease the Han. Only then did the troops of the military expedition turn around and go home.

<sup>10</sup> Some modern scholars believe that the blood-sweating horses must have been sick. During the Han dynasty, the Chinese (and presumably the horses' breeders) did not see this phenomenon as a problem. They called them "heavenly horses," and there was never any question about the quality of the Dayuan horses.

<sup>11</sup> The Han emperor.

### 3

## Documents Excavated from Juyuan Fort on the Great Wall

ca. 103 BCE-40 CE

*After Emperor Wudi ascended the throne in 140 BCE, the Han dynasty built the Juyuan Fort on the Great Wall in modern Gansu Province. Here soldiers were stationed in watchtowers to guard against nomadic invasions. In time, they were encouraged to settle there and farm so that the garrison communities could be self-sustaining. The soldiers' daily lives are known to us through notes they made on wooden slips deposited inside the watchtowers and discovered during an archaeological survey sponsored by*

Chen Zhi, *Juyuan Hanjian Yanjiu* [Studies of the Wooden Slips from Juyuan] (Tianjin: Guji Chubanshe, 1986), 492-93, 204, 205, 327-29. Translated by Xinru Liu.

*the Chinese government in 1930-1931. The following selection includes a letter from a Chinese officer of low rank to his wife, two passports or travelers' documents of the kind examined by the soldiers on duty, and lists of work assignments that indicate how tasks were allocated among the soldiers and what work was necessary to maintain irrigation systems, repair tools, cook food, and take care of horses on the frontier. The letter was written in classical Chinese and followed the writing customs of the time, though its composition and calligraphy are poor. What do these documents reveal about the life of a soldier on the Great Wall and about the reasons travelers requested permission to go outside the gates? What do they suggest about the Han dynasty's control of its subjects?*

### Letter from an Officer to His Wife

*Xuan<sup>1</sup> prostrate to pay respect.*

Yousun,<sup>2</sup> my dear wife, your life is really hard. Being at the frontier in the summer, I hope you have enough food and clothing. If this is true, I feel happy at the frontier. Only because of the support of Yousun, Xuan can serve at the frontier faithfully, and have no need to worry about home.

Your brother Youdu followed the county governor to arrive at Juyan on the tenth day of the [?] month. He told me that your parents were fine. As he came here for business in a great hurry, he probably did not get a chance to see you before his departure.

... On the eleventh day, I came here to report to Houguan.<sup>3</sup> As the work is not finished yet, I take time to write this letter, wish all my best.

XUAN

PS

*Yousun my dear wife:*

I just received a letter from Zhu Youji, saying the station chief has arrived at the Linqu watchtower. I am writing this letter to you Yousun. The Houguan will be gone tomorrow. The inspector has not arrived yet. I had better work hard now so that I will not receive a low grade of assessment among the officers when inspected.

<sup>1</sup> Name the officer called himself.

<sup>2</sup> Name of the officer's wife.

<sup>3</sup> Title of Xuan's superior officer.

### Travelers' Passports

1

The fifth year of the Yongshi era,<sup>4</sup> the day of Jisi, the first day of the month, the hour of Bingzi, Zhong, the Officer of Beixiang, reports the following: Cui Zidang, a man from the neighborhood of Yichengli, applies for a passport to travel to Juyan for family business. The man has no criminal record; therefore he should be cleared for passing Shuijin Gate and Suo Gate in Juyan County. Thus I report.

In the leap month, the day of Bingzi, Peng, the Deputy Magistrate of Lude County, approves [Cui's] passing of Shuijin Gate and Suo Gate in Juyan County, according to the statute and decree.

[Signed By]

YAN, Subordinate official

JIAN, the Scribe

2

The second year of the Yuanyan era,<sup>5</sup> the tenth month, the day of Yiyou, Shang, the Magistrate of the county, and Zhong, the Deputy Magistrate, issued the passport for counties, roads, waterways and fords, and gates for Wang Feng, the Police Chief. Wang is going to purchase horses ordered by the court of emperor in Jiuquan, Dunhuang, and Zhangye Prefectures. Guest house staff and managers should follow the order according to the statute and decree.

[Signed By]

YI, Scribe of [?]

BAO, Assistant

### Soldiers' Work Assignments

1

The Eleventh Month, Day Dingsi,

Twenty-four soldiers:

One is the chief.

Three cook food.

One is sick.

Two bind up reeds.

<sup>4</sup> 12 BCE, in the leap month of the lunar calendar.

<sup>5</sup> 11 BCE.

Therefore, seven are not in the main workforce.  
Ten people harvest reeds five hundred. . . .  
. . . arrow makers cut thirty [?], making 5,520 arrows.

## 2

The Eighth Month, Day Jiachen  
Twenty-nine soldiers:  
One is the chief.  
Three cook food for soldiers.  
. . . four people . . .  
Twenty-five are in the main workforce.  
Two cut wood.  
Six collect fodder.  
Fourteen transport fodder in the quantity of 4,020 bundles.  
[Other soldiers] do the 290. . . .  
Two make horse gears. . . .

## 3

Ten soldiers: . . .  
One guards the garden.  
One hoes the garden soil.  
One runs errands.  
One collects dog feces.  
One cooks food for officers.  
Two walk the horses.  
One carves bows.