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Сборник, в который вошли статьи отечественных и зарубежных ученых, посвящен 80-летию известного российского востоковеда, доктора исторических наук, профессора Е.И. Кычанова. Проблематика сборника задана основными доминантами многолетнего исследовательского творчества юбиляра, который, являясь в первую очередь тангутоведом и опираясь на широчайшую источниковедческую базу, блестяще разработал многие актуальные проблемы истории государственности, права, этногенеза, письменного наследия народов Китая и Центральной Азии. Большинство авторов статей постарались показать, как вопросы, поставленные в свое время в работах Е.И. Кычанова, получили дальнейшее развитие в науке.

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## Study of Messenger Passports in the Xi-Xia Dynasty<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

**T**he Xi-Xia (Tangut) dynasty, whose court was in the modern Ningxia region, controlled a large area from Ordos (Inner Mongolia) to the Hexi Corridor (western Gansu province). Many scholars have pointed out that this dynasty controlled the trade routes between East and West, and prospered through *entrepôt* trade. The Xi-Xia government divided the territory of the state into several military districts, which were controlled by setting up government agencies named 監軍司 (Military-Police Departments) in each district. The majority of its territory comprised desert areas where it hardly rains with oasis areas interspersed among these deserts. The time taken to move from the capital to the farthest Military-Police Department was 40 days.<sup>2</sup>

In this way, the Xi-Xia government, which controlled a region with such a large and relentless natural environment, must have established a meticulous traffic system to enable envoys and merchants to move around freely and safely without delay. Pre-modern Central Eurasian and East Asian states built roads that connected the capital to the provinces so that messengers, officers, and merchants could move safely over long distances. Each state set up posting stations at fixed distances to supply beds, food, and pack animals for people holding government passports. The Xi-Xia dynasty must have also established a similar system, and Prof. Kychanov has already studied this topic.<sup>3</sup> Some scholars, however, have offered different opinions on the nature of the passports and the use of each passport. This paper focuses on the

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<sup>1</sup> This work was supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) KAKENHI (21720256), Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists (B).

<sup>2</sup> Sato 2007b, pp. 455–457.

<sup>3</sup> Кодекс, vol. 1, pp. 342–347.

passports held by messengers of the Xi-Xia who were sent from the capital to the provinces (or from the provinces to the capital). It analyzes the classification and use of passports considering the content of the *Tiansheng Code* (=TSC; Chin. 天盛改舊新定禁令: *The Revised and Newly Endorsed Code for the Designation of Tiansheng Reign*), which was compiled in the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>4</sup>

## 1. Paitza and ‘touzi’ documents

There is no doubt that a paitza (Chin. 牌子)<sup>5</sup> was a passport and a form of identification for messengers. Paitzas were given to confirm that messengers were sent by the government. According to the TSC, as Dr. Kychanov has mentioned, paitza holders could press a designated number of pack animals into service en route, and if someone impeded a paitza holder, he was punished ruthlessly. The number of days for a paitza holder’s journey was designated. Consequently, missing the deadline was punished. If a paitza holder destroyed, lost, or had their paitza stolen, he was also punished. As Dr. Kychanov also wrote, paitzas had been in use since the Tang dynasty, and were also used by the Liao and Jin empires. It is well-known that paitzas were also in use by the Mongol empire, which destroyed Xi-Xia.<sup>6</sup>

Researching the Tangut administrative documents unearthed at Khara-Khoto, we found descriptions of a “person bestowed with a golden paitza” and a “person bestowed with a silver paitza” as the titles of officers and commanders.<sup>7</sup> Bronze and silver paitzas also appear in the TSC (Article 978, ch. 13).<sup>8</sup> Although paitzas that were used for indicating titles were not exactly synonymous with their use as passports, the Xi-Xia government gave officers and commanders these paitzas to facilitate the acquisition of pack animals, etc.<sup>9</sup>

The Xi-Xia paitzas still are found in China. The most famous of them is engraved in Tangut characters meaning “paitza holding an imperial order and who rode a horse due to an emergency” (Chin. 勅燃馬牌). This paitza is round in shape, and made of

<sup>4</sup> For the research of the TSC, I read the original texts collected at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, and translated the Tangut texts into English directly. I would like to express to my appreciation to the Institute for the support.

<sup>5</sup> For how paitza was written in Tangut, see СТЯ, № 3120-0; Li Fanwen 2008, № 3697.

<sup>6</sup> See Кодекс, vol. 1, p. 343; Kychanov 2008, pp. 186–187.

<sup>7</sup> Танг инв. № 8185 (translation and study see in: Kychanov 1977; Nie Hongyin 2000; Sato 2007a), Танг инв. № 2736 (translation and study see in: Kychanov 1971; Matsuzawa 1984; Nie Hongyin 2000; Sato 2007a).

<sup>8</sup> For the Japanese translation, see Sato 2010b, pp. 112–113. Further, Du Jianlu mentioned that copper, iron, wood, and paper paitzas were used in Xi-Xia (1999, pp. 372–373).

<sup>9</sup> The Jin empire gave a golden paitza for Brigade Commander (Chin. 萬戶); Battalion Commander (Chin. 猛安) received a silver paitza, and Company Commander (Chin. 謀克) received a wooden paitza (*Jinshi* 金史 [History of Jin], ch. 58. See also Du Jianlu 1999, p. 373). The Mongol empire gave for Brigade Commander a tiger tally (Chin. 虎符), Battalion Commander (Chin. 千戶) received a golden paitza and a silver paitza as evidence of his command of Company Commander (Chin. 百戶). Yanai Wataru guessed that these paitzas were privileges awarded to military officers. See Yanai 1922 (repr.: 1930, p. 875–879).

copper.<sup>10</sup> We do not have any examples of round paitzas being used in the Liao and Jin empires. In the Mongol empire, however, messengers who conveyed emergency orders carried round paitzas.<sup>11</sup> Although the TSC describes that the number of days for a journey and the number of pack animals that could be pressed into service were designated beforehand, the existing paitzas are not engraved with such numbers. Article 972, ch. 13 of the TSC, however, describes that “When a paitza holder had used more pack animals than the number written in ‘touzi 頭子’...”<sup>12</sup> The fact that messengers held ‘touzi’ documents with their paitzas, and their number of pack animals, are written in the document.

We cannot find the original Xi-Xia ‘touzi’ documents, and so do not know the form such documents took. Nevertheless, some Xi-Xia administrative documents excavated at Khara-Khoto are inscribed in Chinese as follows: “(I) received ‘touzi’ from Anpaiguan (?) 准安排官頭子...,”<sup>13</sup> “(I) received a ‘tou(z)’ with silver paiza from Anpaiguan(?) 准銀牌安排官頭// (子) ...”<sup>14</sup> These documents indicate that ‘touzi’ documents were actually used in Xi-Xia. Sogabe Shizuo mentioned that the Bureau of Military Affairs (Chin. 樞密院) of the Song dynasty, which was a neighbor to Xi-Xia, issued ‘touzi’ documents, and sometimes issued silver paitzas instead of ‘touzi’ documents.<sup>15</sup> According to research by Sogabe Shizuo, we can infer that Song dynasty messengers either had ‘touzi’ documents or silver paitzas.

It seems that the Xi-Xia ‘touzi’ documents were influenced by the Song dynasty. According to the TSC articles, however, Xi-Xia messengers who received both ‘touzi’ documents and paitzas could press pack animals into service *en route*. Xi-Xia had a system different from the Song as to whether a messenger must hold both items. On the other hand, in the Mongol empire, messengers received a document called *puma shengzhi* 鋪馬聖旨 or *puma zhazi* 鋪馬箭子 with their paitzas. This document described the number of pack animals that could be pressed into service *en route*.<sup>16</sup> This system resembles that of Xi-Xia.

## 2. Tally

Ch. 13 of the TSC says that one messenger received another item in addition to his paitza and ‘touzi’ documents. The name for this item comprises the Tangut characters for “make clear”<sup>17</sup> and “pair, harmonious.”<sup>18</sup> Earlier researchers translated this term

<sup>10</sup> DX, p. 47, Kychanov 2008, p. 188. Zhang Xu mentioned that this kind of paitza resembles the “gold character paitza (Chin. 金字牌).” See Zhang Xu 2010, p. 81.

<sup>11</sup> Haneda 1930 (repr.: 1957, pp. 91–110).

<sup>12</sup> For the Japanese translation, see Sato 2010b, p. 108; cf. Кодекс, vol. 4, p. 48; Shi Jinbo, et al. 1999, p. 469, l. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Танг 349, инв. № 354; Sato 2010a, p. 17.

<sup>14</sup> Танг 349, инв. № 315; Sato 2006, pp. 65–66.

<sup>15</sup> Sogabe 1972, pp. 334–336.

<sup>16</sup> Haneda 1909 (repr.: 1957, pp. 8–11, 14–15); Yanai 1922 (repr.: 1930, pp. 889–892).

<sup>17</sup> СТЯ, № 5443-0; Li Fanwen 2008, № 2149.

<sup>18</sup> СТЯ, № 1630-0; Li Fanwen 2008, № 1233.

as “accompanying document,”<sup>19</sup> “order”<sup>20</sup> or “military tally.”<sup>21</sup> The phrase used in the TSC is as follows: “Verify in the presence of officers and Regional Inspectors (Chin. 刺史)” (Article 993).<sup>22</sup> “The shape is the same, but there is a slight mismatch” (Article 1003).<sup>23</sup> Due to these descriptions, I think this term should be translated as “tally” (Chin. 符).

Considering the related articles of TSC, we find that there were at least three types of tally. Below we present the study of the each type.

#### a) Type A: “Tally”

Type A is designated by the characters “make clear” and “pair, harmonious” (see above). Its usage is as follows:

Stamps, paitzas and tallies belonging to each Military-Police Department shall be registered. These shall be kept by the office of the person who holds the highest position among the key officers (directors and assistant secretaries) of the Military-Police Department. When the order to raise an army is received, verification shall take place in the presence of the officers and the Regional Inspector. (Article 993)<sup>24</sup>

If the Regional Inspector and the Military-Police Department failed to report to the capital in time despite being able, or if they raised an army by themselves before the arrival of a tally, or if they delayed raising an army, they were judged using the regulations concerning the loss of tallies. (Article 1006)<sup>25</sup>

If the paitza holder lost the tally for raising the army, and if the soldiers who should have been raised could have gathered in time to meet the deadline, the person who lost the tally shall be subject to three years’ penal servitude. If the soldiers who should have been raised were unable to gather in time to meet the deadline, the person who lost the tally shall be executed by hanging. (Article 997)<sup>26</sup>

According to these articles, we see that Military-Police Departments possessed Type A tallies, and when the Bureau of Military Affairs (Chin. 樞密) ordered the Military-Police Department to prepare the troops for action, this tally was given to a messenger as identification. According to Article 997, however, even if the mes-

<sup>19</sup> Кодекс, vol. 4, p. 57.

<sup>20</sup> СТЯ, № 5443-2.

<sup>21</sup> Shi Jinbo, et al. 2000, p. 474.

<sup>22</sup> For Japanese translation see Sato 2011, p. 106; cf. Кодекс, vol. 4, p. 57; Shi Jinbo, et al. 2000, p. 474, l. 13.

<sup>23</sup> For Japanese translation see Sato 2011, p. 113; cf. Кодекс, vol. 4, p. 59; Shi Jinbo, et al. 2000, p. 476, l. 6.

<sup>24</sup> For Japanese translation see Sato 2011, p. 106; cf. Кодекс, vol. 4, p. 57; Shi Jinbo, et al. 2000, p. 474, ll. 12–13.

<sup>25</sup> For Japanese translation see Sato 2011, p. 115. TSC has already been translated into Russian (Кодекс) and Chinese (Shi Jinbo, et al. 2000), but the most part of this article are not translated in either.

<sup>26</sup> For Japanese translation see Sato 2011, p. 108; cf. Кодекс, vol. 4, p. 58; Shi Jinbo, et al. 2000, p. 469, ll. 7–8.

senger conveying orders to ready the troops for action possessed a tally, he also needed to have a paitza. Military-Police Departments held half of the tally, and the other half was held by the Bureau of Military Affairs. The messenger from the Bureau of Military Affairs must visit the Military-Police Department with half of the tally. When the messenger arrived at the Military-Police Department, the Military-Police Department compared the messenger's half of the tally with the half that they held to verify that the messenger was authentic. Chinese researchers have pointed out that Song dynasty documents described how the 11<sup>th</sup> c. Xi-Xia dynasty mobilized their troops with the use of a “tally to mobilize the troops” (起兵符契).<sup>27</sup> I personally think that Type A tallies correspond to the “起兵符契” described in the Song documents.

Type A tallies used by messengers to pass the mobilization orders from Bureau of Military Affairs to local military agencies were also used in the Tang dynasty (where they were called *fabingfu* 發兵符), the Liao dynasty (where they were called *jinyufu* 金魚符), and the Song dynasty (where they were called *tongbingfu* 銅兵符).<sup>28</sup> It is evident that the Type A Xi-Xia tally was modeled by the systems of the other states.

#### b) Type B: “Mobilizing tally”

In the Tangut texts, the meaning of the character used for Type B tallies is “arise, give birth, mobilize,”<sup>29</sup> preceded by the word used for Type A tallies. This word can be translated directly as “mobilizing tally”. Because no object is used in the sentence, we cannot identify what was mobilized.

The TSC includes the following examples:

If the Commanders of the March (Chin. 行監) and the *inni* (Chin. 盈能?), who possess “mobilizing tallies” lost their tally at ordinary times, they shall be judged according to the article on “People awaiting orders (Chin. 待命者) lost their ‘sword tally’ (=Article 836)” as described in ch. 12. If an officer lost their tally through carelessness while moving troops along the frontier or when mobilizing troops in the course of the duties, the mobilizing officer shall be punished according to the articles on “Failure to mobilize the troops on time because the paitza holder lost their tally (= Article 997).” (Article 1002)<sup>30</sup>

The Superior Prefecture (Chin. 府), the Military Prefecture (Chin. 軍), the Commandery (Chin. 郡), the Prefecture (Chin. 県), and the Military-Police Department shall determine how many “mobilizing tallies” need to changeover from

<sup>27</sup> Chen Bingyin 1995, p. 21; Shi Jinbo 2007, p. 120. The other Song document reads that the Xi-Xia dynasty used silver paitza to mobilize the troops (*Xu zichi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編, ch. 120, December, 4<sup>th</sup> year of reign Jingyou 景祐 [1037]: 發兵以銀牌). The TSC was created in the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> c., so it is possible that the Xi-Xia dynasty initially mobilized its troops using silver paitzas, and then used tallies later.

<sup>28</sup> Yanai 1922 (repr.: 1930, p. 851); Nunome 1962, pp. 5–7; Matsui 1918, pp. 9–10.

<sup>29</sup> СТЯ, № 5475-0; Li Fanwen 2008, № 0009.

<sup>30</sup> For Japanese translation see Sato 2011, p. 112, cf. Кодекс, vol. 4, p. 59; Shi Jinbo, et al. 2000, p. 476, ll. 3–4.

old to new tallies for all the Commanders of the March, Leaders of March, and *inni*. And (report?) their results to the Affiliated Military Commissioner (Chin. 經略使). ...shall (report?) to the Palace and Capital Command (Chin. 殿前司) once every four months, and report to the Bureau of Military Affairs. (Article 1007)<sup>31</sup>

The Commander of the March, Leader of March and *inni* who appear in these articles are the leaders of medium and small-sized units of the Xi-Xia army. According to Article 1002, they hold the “mobilizing tallies”. This type of tally was used when they mobilized their own troops. Dr. Kychanov translated the tally into “order for mobilization.”<sup>32</sup> I think that this was not a paper document but a kind of metal or wooden tally, because Article 1007 described the “changeover from old to new tallies” and, from Article 1007, we can see that the Bureau of Military Affairs issued “mobilizing tallies,” whereas the Bureau of Military Affairs did not issue this type of tally to the Commanders of the March directly, but issued them by way of the Military-Police Department; that is to say, it is strongly possible that a pair of “mobilizing tallies” was held by the Commander of the March, the Leader of March and the *inni*, and another pair was held by the Military-Police Department. As the Military-Police Department must have controlled the local Commander of the March, Leader of March and *inni*,<sup>33</sup> it can be presumed that this “mobilizing tally” was used as an identification tag when the messenger bearing the order to mobilize the troops arrived from the Military-Police Department for the Commander of the March, Leader of March and the *inni*, or from the Commander of the March, the Leader of March and the *inni* to the smaller military units. Type A tallies were also used to identify messengers when troop mobilizations were ordered between the Palace and Capital military administration and local military administrations by other Chinese dynasties. Type B examples, however, which were used by local military administrations to order troop mobilizations by medium and small army units, are not described once in the Tang and Song dynasties. The majority of Xi-Xia soldiers were not stationed in military bases, and in times of peace they engaged in cultivation or livestock-farming, and in times of war they gathered at their designated location. Consequently, I think that Military-Police Departments required Type B tallies when ordering the leader of medium and small army units to mobilize their troops.

### c) Type C: “Sword tally”

Another type of tally called the “sword tally” appears in the aforementioned Article 1002 in the TSC. This term is expressed using the Tangut character for

<sup>31</sup> This article has not been translated into Russian and Chinese yet. For Japanese translation see Sato 2011, p. 115.

<sup>32</sup> See Кодекс, vol. 1, p. 440–441; СТЯ, № 5475-2.

<sup>33</sup> Article 383 in ch. 6 of the TSC (for Japanese translation see Sato 2009, p. 19, cf. Кодекс, vol. 2, p. 201; Shi Jinbo, et al. 2000, p. 265, ll. 13–14) says the Military-Police Department was concerned with the selection of the *inni*. Probably, the Military-Police Department was also concerned with the selection of the Commander of the March.



“sword”<sup>34</sup> and another character meaning to “make clear” (see above). Dr. Kychanov translated this term as “knife-order 刀令.”<sup>35</sup>

There are very few examples in the TSC; however, Article 836, ch. 12 says:

Servants of emperor’s bed chamber (Chin. 帳門末宿), Servants of the palace (Chin. 内侍), Defenders of the Imperial Court, and their leaders are not permitted to lose, pawn or lose by brawling their “sword tally”, mallet, and stick, on which are written their belongings and names.<sup>36</sup>

Servants of the emperor’s bed chamber and Servants of the palace are the names of posts of people who guard and perform miscellaneous duties within the palace. This shows that they possessed “sword tallies”, and their names were inscribed therein.

Some wedge-shaped metal objects made of copper have been collected in China. These are carved with the Tangut inscription, “Servants of the emperor’s bed chamber who await orders (Chin. 帳門末宿待命)” and “Night watchman who awaits orders (Chin. 内宿待命)” etc., and still more of them are engraved with people’s names.<sup>37</sup> These metal objects are known to researchers, and I believe that they are Type C “sword tallies”. Although we do not know clearly how to use these objects, palace servants who possessed these “sword tallies” described in Article 836 above were expected to be dispatched to foreign countries as messengers.<sup>38</sup> The “sword tally” might have been used as identification for people working in the palace, which they took with them when they were dispatched as messengers.

### 3. “Iron arrow”

Prof. Kychanov has indicated that special messengers who were dispatched from among the emperor’s bodyguards carried “iron arrows,” the holder for which was treated as a paitza holder.<sup>39</sup> For example, Article 883, ch. 12 in the TSC says,

When all “iron arrow” holders who need to commandeer pack animals did so, but exceeded the regulation numbers, judge the holders using the regulation regarding “Paitza holders who commandeer more than the regulation number of pack animals” described in ch. 13.<sup>40</sup>

These “iron arrows” were a form of personal identification for people working in the palace. When communicating orders from the emperor, they carried their “iron arrows” with them. With the “iron arrows” in their possession, they could commandeer pack animals *en route* in the same way as paitza holders.

<sup>34</sup> СТЯ, № 1440-0; Li Fanwen 2008, № 5037.

<sup>35</sup> СТЯ, № 1440-5.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Кодекс, vol. 3, p. 191; Shi Jinbo, et al. 2000, p. 429, ll. 13–14.

<sup>37</sup> ТМСС, p. 78–81.

<sup>38</sup> See Article 1319, ch. 13 in the TSC (for Japanese translation see Sato 2003, pp. 204–205, cf. Кодекс, vol. 4, pp. 161–162; Shi Jinbo, et al. 2000, p. 568, l. 9. p. 569, l. 1)

<sup>39</sup> Кодекс, vol. 1, pp. 322, 346.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Кодекс, vol. 3, p. 209; Shi Jinbo, et al. 2000, p. 469, ll. 9–10.

Japanese researchers have already found examples of messengers carrying arrows as identification in Central Eurasia. Okazaki Seiro indicated that messengers sent to raise armies and conscripts carried items called an “arrow (Chin. 箭)” or “arrow for transmission (of orders) (Chin. 傳箭)” as identification in the Later Tang dynasty (established by Shatuo-Turk in northern China in the 10<sup>th</sup> c.), Tangut (before the establishment of the Xi-Xia dynasty), Khitan (the Liao empire), Jurchen (the Jin empire), and Tufan (the Tibetan empire). Okazaki traced their origins as far back as the Turks (Chin. 突厥; the Ancient Turkish empire).<sup>41</sup> Mori Masao also mentioned that arrows were used to identify messengers who arrived to communicate orders for raising armies and for conscription, and that Turkish messengers carried arrows as identification in case it was necessary to requisition people other than soldiers. He has indicated that arrows were used as the symbol of messengers sent by leaders from Northeast and North Asian hunting-livestock societies.<sup>42</sup> Although we have not found any actual “iron arrows” yet, as described above, “tallies” were used to identify messengers who came to communicate conscription orders. It is not known what issues were communicated by messengers who were in possession of “iron arrows.” Due to the very existence of a system by which messengers sent from the Xi-Xia emperor carried “iron arrows,” however, we know that the Xi-Xia dynasty was deeply influenced not only by the Chinese empire but also by pre-modern Central Eurasian nomadic states.

## Conclusion

This paper examined the different applications of paitzas, tallies and “iron arrows” held by Xi-Xia government messengers, and studied the resemblance between Xi-Xia and other states. Some applications were common to the Tang, Song, Liao, Jin, and Mongol empire, and some of them (e.g., the “iron arrow”) originated not in the Chinese empire but the nomadic states of Central Eurasia. There is already an established theory that Xi-Xia Buddhism was influenced by Tibetan Buddhism. With regard to its administrative and military systems, however, the majority of researchers are apt to research the resemblances only between Xi-Xia and the Chinese empire. The Tangut who established the Xi-Xia dynasty were originally nomads. The Uighurs and the Tibetans lived as the indigenous people of the Hexi region, which was conquered by Xi-Xia in the early 11<sup>th</sup> c., and the Shatuo-Turks had also lived there during the 8<sup>th</sup> c. To research Xi-Xia systems, it is necessary to compare Xi-Xia with the nomadic states of Central Eurasia.

<sup>41</sup> Okazaki 1948.

<sup>42</sup> Mori 1952, pp. 85–88.

## Abbreviations

- DX — *Daxia xunzong* — *Xixia wenwu jicui* [Selection of the Relics from the Lost Xi-Xia] 大夏尋踪——西夏文物輯萃. Ed. by Zhongguo guojia bowuguan 中国国家博物館 and Ningxia huizu zizhiqu wenhuating 寧夏回族自治区文化庁. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 北京: 中国社会科学出版社, 2004.
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