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The Paizi of the Mongol Empire*

Abstract

This survey of eighteen existent Paizi of the Mongol Empire is made according to the date they were discovered or published. Based on their different use, these Paizi can be divided into four groups: the postal tablets of Chinghis Khan and the Yuan dynasty (five tablets), the tablets for official positions used in the Yuan dynasty and the Golden Horde (eight tablets), the Yuan local government tablets used for night travel or patrol according to the curfew decree (four tablets) and one tablet made by the common people as lucky charm in the Yuan period.

0 Introduction

A lot of *Paizi* 牌子 (i. e., tablet of authority, see Doerfer 1963: 239-241; the Mongolian name is *gerege*, see Cleaves 1953: 255-259) were made in the Mongol Empire.[1] These different kinds of tablets were used for the post-station system, official positions and the curfew decree. A study of these tablets may help to better understand the political history of the Mongol Empire.

Since the middle of the 19th century many tablets were found.[2] A few academic works have been published since then.[3] The following is a general introduction of eighteen tablets,[4] including the time and location of their discovery, the material they are made of, their appearance and inscription. There are further interpretations concerning their use and dates, which are based on the documents of that time.

1 A Survey of the Tablets

The eighteen tablets are arranged according to the time at which they were discovered or published. When the present author further discusses

the tablets in this paper, he will use the numbers given below as the code names for the tablets.

(1) In 1846, an oblong tablet with the inscription in 'Phags-pa script was found in the Yenisei valley in eastern Siberia, Russia[5] (fig. 1)[6]. The tablet is not decorated. In the upper part it has an orifice for attachment to which an iron ring is embedded. On the rim of the ring its serial numbers in Chinese are engraved: "Xuan zi sishi'er hao 宣字四十二号" (i. e. Xuan 42)[7]. The serial numbers are made up by two parts. The first is a Chinese character according to the order of characters in the *Qianzi Wen* 千字文(One Thousand Characters Literary Text),[8] the second part is a number in Chinese. The tablet is silver, but the engraved inscription is gilded. The inscription consists of five lines of Mongolian in 'Phags-pa (obverse: three lines; reverse: two lines). The inscription can be translated as follows: "By the strength of the eternal Heaven. Let the name of the emperor be sacred. He who has no respect shall be guilty and die" (Poppe 1957: 56). This tablet is kept in the Hermitage Museum in St.Petersburg (Münküyev 1977: 200, n. 67).

(2) In 1848, an oblong Mongolian silver tablet with an inscription in Uighur script was discovered near the Zaporozskaja Sec, in the valley of the Dnieper (fig. 2). This tablet was issued by the Abdullah Khan of the Golden Horde. He reigned from 1362 to 1370. The tablet has a stylized tiger's head engraved at the top. Below the tiger's head are small representations of two birds. On each side of the tablet are two lines of Mongolian in Uighur script. It can be translated as: "By the strength of the eternal Heaven and by the protection of the great might and radiance. An edict of Abdullah. Any person, who shall not respect [this], shall be slain and die."[9] This tablet is kept in the Hermitage Museum (Греков & Якубовский 1950: fig. 22, Münküyev 1977: 203, n. 75). Until now only one piece of this type is known.[10]

(3) In 1853, another oblong silver tablet with text in 'Phags-pa script was excavated in the Transbaikalian Region, Eastern Siberia. This tablet is very similar to tablet no. 1. Its Chinese serial number is "[?] zi sasi hao [?] 字卅四号 " (i. e. [?] 34), we cannot read the first character.[11] It now belongs to the Hermitage Museum (Münküyev 1977: 202, n. 70).

(4) In 1881, a round iron tablet also in 'Phags-pa script was excavated in the Tomsk Government, Eastern Siberia (fig. 3). It is engraved with a tiger in the upper part. On the top a ring is soldered to it from which to suspend the tablet. The tablet is of iron, but the five lines of the inscription are inlaid in silver. The text of the inscription means: "By the strength of the eternal Heaven. An edict of the emperor. He who has no respect shall be guilty" (Poppe 1957: 58). It now belongs to the Hermitage Museum (Münküyev 1977: 202, n. 73).

(5) In the nineties of the 19th century, another oblong silver tablet with a Mongolian text in Uighur script was found on the left bank of the Volga. A local silversmith cut off half of it. The Mongolian inscription in Uighur script is very similar to that on no. 2 (Ligeti 1972: 284). According to the inscription, this tablet also belonged to the Golden Horde, because it bears the name of Toghtogha Khan (1290-1312), the Khan of the Golden Horde. On top attached is an embedded ring (Спицынъ 1909: 135, fig. 5, 6). On the upper part there are engraved ornaments: pictures of flowers and clouds on the obverse; clouds and an arrowhead on the reverse.[12] This tablet is missing since 1909.

(6) At the end of the 19th century, a silver tablet with the name of Öz Beg Khan (1312-1340), the khan of the Golden Horde, was bought by a collector at the annual fair in Niznij Novgorod, Georgia (fig. 4). The ornaments on this tablet are the same as on the no. 5. The Mongolian inscriptions are the same, except for the name of the khan. This tablet used to be on view in the State Historical Museum, Moscow (Münküyev 1977: 207, n. 80).

(7) In 1916, the Chinese scholar Lo Zhenyu 罗振玉 published an oblong tablet with 'Phags-pa script. He called it "Yuan Guoshu pai 元国书牌", i. e. the 'Phags-pa script tablet of the Yuan dynasty (fig. 5). The upper part is decorated with a tiger. Along the other three edges there are stylized clouds. In the upper part is a round hole. In the center is a line of 'Phags-pa. Pelliot transcribed it as follows: "gay-gon-dzin-lü" and thought the pronunciation is something like "kai-kouan-tsing-lu". He believed that it was transcribed Chinese, but he could not find a meaning (des Rotours 1952: 27 and fig. 11). The present author conjectures it as " 改官旌庐" (Improve the official and honor the family!).[13] It is very different from the inscriptions on the other tablets discussed below. Wang Guowei 王国维 argued that this tablet is a tiger-head tablet of the Yuan dynasty (Wang Guowei 1921[1983]: 16). According to its appearance and inscription, this tablet cannot be a tiger-head tablet issued by the Yuan government. It must be a private tablet made by the common people. See the discussion at the end of this paper.

(8) Around 1925, a Chinese scholar, Ke Shaomin 柯劭忞, bought a round tablet of the Yuan period. Later the tablet was in the possession of the Russian scholar B. I. Pankratov (Cai Meibiao1980: 130, de Rachewiltz 1982: 415). Now it belongs to the National Museum of Mongolian History, Ulaanbaatar (Edward 1997: 6) (fig. 6). This tablet is made of copper. Its diameter is about 10 cm and its height is 13 cm.[14] A round ring is on the top. There are inscriptions in Mongolian, Chinese and Arabic-Persian on the tablet. On the obverse are inscriptions in Chinese. In the middle there is one large Chinese character "ling 令" (order). On the right side of this is a line in Chinese reading "Guanwei fangjian buxu 關偽防奸不許". Another line on the left side reads "Jiedai weizhe zhizui 借帶違者治罪". These two lines make up one sentence. It means: "Beware of those who pretend. Prevent the wicked. It is forbidden to lend [this tablet]. Who acts against this will be punished." At the right edge of the obverse, there is a line of serial numbers in Chinese: "Di zi wushi hao 地字五十号"(i. e. Di 50). On the reverse are several inscriptions in Arabic-Persian (two lines, left), Mongolian in 'Phags-pa script (two lines, middle) and Mongolian in Uighur script (two lines, right). The Persian reads: "the tablet authorizing [the holder] to go around about at night" (de Rachewiltz 1982: 417, n. 23). The Mongolian reads: "Proclamation. Beware of wicked ones" (Poppe 1957: 57; 102, n. 71). There are ornaments on the upper part. On the obverse is a picture of a lotus leaf turned upside down. The ornament on the reverse is complicated. Haneda argued that it is the image of a falcon and the tablet is a falcon tablet (Haiqing pai 海青牌) for the postal system of the Yuan dynasty (Haneda 1930 [1957]: 100-101). Cai Meibiao argued that it is a lotus leaf (Cai Meibiao 1980: 125). On the photograph (Poppe 1957: pl. X, Edward 1997: 6), we see that the ornament of the reverse can be divided into two parts. The outside part is a lotus leaf, but the central part is like an animal or a fighter, certainly not a falcon or a lotus leaf, because it has a head and two arms. Its nose, eyes and arms are exaggerated in order to demonstrate the power. Because the ornament depicts an animal or a fighter, this tablet is not a falcon tablet. The Persian inscription makes it clear that this tablet is an authorization for night patrol. Its use will be analysed below.

(9) About 1934, an oblong copper tablet was discovered in northern Hebei (fig. 7). It is 22 cm long and 6.5 cm wide.[15] An iron ring is embedded in the top. There is no ornament on this tablet. On the obverse, the

inscription is arranged in three lines of gilt in Chinese: "Tianci Chengjisi huangdi shengzhi tao 天賜成吉思皇帝聖旨**疾**"[16] ("An imperial edict of the emperor Chinghis, the Granted by Heaven. Urgent." – cf. Münküyev 1977: 187). On the reverse, there are two Khitan words, which translated into Chinese are "Zou ma 走马" ("riding horse", see Haneda 1934 [1957]: 134-135, Zheng Shaozong 1974: 83). This tablet is kept in Kyoto University, Japan (Haneda 1934 [1957]: 132).

(10) In the 1930s, an oblong silver tablet was found in northern Hebei, but only the top of the tablet is left. The inscription is the same as the tablet no. 9. It is preserved in Tenri University, Japan (Haneda 1934 [1957]: 132 and pl. VII).

(11) In 1962, a round copper tablet was discovered in Yangzhou 扬州, southern Jiangsu (fig. 8).[17] The tablet is round; the top has a perforation so that it can be attached. The measurements are 17 cm in height, 14 cm in width. On one face it bears an inscription in Chinese (three lines), and on the other side there is a double inscription consisting of one line in 'Phags-pa script (left) and one line in Arabic-Persian script (right). The central line of the Chinese inscription is in large characters and reads: "Xuanweishisi duyuanshuaifu 宣慰使司都元帥府" (Pacification Commission and Chief Military Command). This was the title given to the joint military authority in the regional administration that issued this tablet. As the office was founded in 1355 (*Zhizheng* shiwu nian), the tablet must have been made not earlier than in 1355 (Cai Meibiao 1980: 131, see also *YS*, vol. 92: 2339). The two lateral lines, in smaller characters, read: (left) "Gongwu jisu 公務急速" (official business in haste); (right) "Chi ci yexing 持此夜行" (holding this, travel at night). At the left edge of the obverse, there is a line of serial numbers in Chinese: "Xuan zi shi hao 玄字拾号" (i. e. Xuan 10). The Mongolian inscription on the reverse consists of a single line in 'Phags-pa script, which literally means: "tablet of authority to go round about". The Persian text consists of three words. It can be interpreted as: "By God. Night going round about [tablet]" (de Rachewiltz 1982: 417). Some scholars argued that the tablet was used for the postal system of the Yuan dynasty (de Rachewiltz 1982: 416, ECCH 1992: 1404), but according to the issuing government and the inscriptions on the tablet, this tablet was used only for traveling at night in the local area. It is not related to the postal station. This topic will be discussed below.

(12) In 1965, a round iron tablet was found in Lanzhou 兰州, Gansu. It is 18cm heigh and 11.7 cm wide. It weighs 249 gram (Qiao Jintong 1980: pl. XI). There are five lines of a 'Phags-pa Mongol text on it. The inlaid silver text is the same as on tablet no. 4.

(13) In 1967, an oblong silver tablet was discovered near Simperopol, Ukraine (fig. 9). The Uighur Mongolian inscription is nearly the same as no. 2, 5 and 6, except for the khan's name on the tablet. This tablet was issued by Keldi Beg Khan of the Golden Horde. He reigned from 1360 to 1362. It is 29.7 cm long and 8.8 cm wide. In the upper part is an embedded ring, which is approximately 2.4 cm in diameter. There are ornaments on the tablet, which Münküyev took them to be either tigers or lions (Münküyev 1977: 206-207). But it is obvious that they are not animals. The ornaments are just clouds, moon and flowers. Calling this tablet a tiger-head tablet 虎头牌 is not appropriate.

(14) In 1985, a round copper tablet of the Yuan dynasty was discovered in the Ke'er'qin Youyi Zhongqi 科尔沁右翼中旗 (the Middle Banner of the Khorchin Right Wing) of the Xing'an meng 兴安盟 in Inner Mongolia (fig. 10). It is 16.3 cm high, 11.3 cm wide and 0.6 cm thick. It weighs 725 gram. On the top there is a ring. Below the ring are engraved small sun and moon and a word in 'Phags-pa, which means "five".[18] The major part of the body is round. Around the edge of the tablet are engraved ornaments: on the obverse are propitious clouds; on the reverse are twined leaves of grass.[19] On its obverse, the central inscription is one large Chinese character, it reads: "yuan 元". A line of Tibetan on the left side means: "tablet for night patrol". On the right side are Chinese serial numbers and the name of the tablet: "Tian zi shi'er hao yexun pai 天字拾二号夜巡牌" (i. e. "tablet no. Tian 12 for night patrol"). There are five different languages used on this tablet. In the middle of the obverse is a line of Mongolian in 'Phags-pa. On the left side is Mongolian in Uighur script. Both of them mean: "tablet for patrol". On the right side is a Persian inscription in Arabic script. It means: "tablet for night patrol" (Cai Meibiao, et al. 1995: 51-55, Hao Sumin & Liu Wenxing 1996: 71-72). This tablet bears five inscriptions in 'Phags-pa Mongolian, Uighur Mongolian, Tibetan, Arabic-Persian and Chinese. No other tablet of the Mongol Empire so far found uses as many different languages as this one.

(15) In 1990, a round tablet of the Yuan dynasty kept by Huang Jun 黄濬 was published (Huang Jun 1990: 151-152) (fig. 11). There is a line of

'Phags-pa inscription in the middle of the obverse. To the left there is a line of Mongolian in Uighur script. Both of them are the transcriptions of Chinese "Bensheng xunpai 本省巡牌" (patrol tablet of this province). On its right is a line of Chinese in seal characters "Shengfu xunpai "省府巡牌 (patrol tablet of the provincial government). In the center of the reverse is a 'Phags-pa word transcribing the Chinese "sheng 省" (province). On the left is the date "Zhizheng er'shiwu nian yue ri 至正二十五年月日 " ("month, day, the 25th year of *Zhizheng*"). This year is 1365. On the right side is the serial number of this tablet " Tian zi nianliu hao 天字廿六号" (Tian 26).

(16) In 1993, the Metropolitan Museum of New York acquired a round iron tablet from D. G. Bennett. This tablet is 18 cm high and 11.5 cm wide. It corresponds to tablets no. 4 and no. 12 (Berger & Bartholomew 1995: 32, Edward 1996: the double map).

(17) In 1999, the Institute of Cultural Relics of Inner Mongolia bought an oblong silver tablet with an inscription in 'Phags-pa script. It is 29 cm long and 8 cm wide. The serial numbers in Chinese are engraved on the rim of the ring: "Ding zi bashi hao 丁字八十号" (Ding 80). The gilt 'Phags-pa inscription is the same as on tablets no. 1 and no. 3 (Shanghai Museum 2000: 249). This is the first tablet of such kind discovered in China.

(18) In April 2000, the Institute of Mongolian Culture Studies of Inner Mongolian University bought an oblong golden tablet with an inscription in 'Phags-pa script. This golden tablet was discovered in Xing'an meng 兴安盟 of Inner Mongolia. It is 25.7 cm long, 8 cm wide and 0.1 cm thick. It is not decorated. On top is a moulded ring inserted in the orifice. The hole is about 2 cm in diameter. Near the edge of the tablet is engraved the Chinese serial numbers: "Zhang zi jiushiliu hao 张字九十六号 " (Zhang 96). The inscription of five lines is the same as on the other 'Phags-pa oblong tablets such as no. 1, 3 and 17. It is made of an alloy of gold and silver. The content of gold is 58.44 %. Because of this, it weighs 350 gram. It is much heavier than a tablet of the same size made of silver. This is the only gold-silver tablet of this type that has been discovered until now (Hou Feng 2000).

These are the available eighteen Mongolian tablets. In the following, they will be classified according to their use.[20]

1 The Postal Tablet

These tablets can be divided into three groups. The first group is the postal tablets "Chengyi paizi 乘驿牌子" (the tablet authorizing the use of *yam*, the government post-service network, see Olbricht 1954: 33, 64, Doerfer 1975: 110-118, Farquhar 1990: 218-220). The holder of this kind of tablet is entitled to travel by the government post. He can request horses, equipment, provisions, etc., while *en route*. In the JSDDZC (I: 6b), it says:

> If there are urgent military affairs, *Jinzi Yuanfu* 金字圆符 (the round tablets with golden inscription) authorizes the messengers or the envoys to use the government postal service network. The round tablets with silver inscriptions are second-class. (...) In the central government, the royal authorities keep these tablets. In the local government, the Mongolian leading official supervises these tablets. [See also YS 101: 2583, JSDDZD: 70b-71a.]

From this it can be concluded that the tablets for the post-service are round. There are golden or silver inscriptions on these tablets. Three tablets conform to this standard, i. e. no. 4, 12 and 16. They are round and bear silver inscriptions. These should be the round tablets with silver inscription, which permit the messenger and envoy to use the government post.

Further information about when, where and who entitled to use these tablets is given in the Yuan documents.

Based on the 'Phags-pa script on the tablet, it may be concluded that these tablets are not earlier than 1269 (*Zhiyuan* liunian, the 6th year of *Zhiyuan*) and its range of action was limited to the territory of the Yuan dynasty. The 'Phags-pa script was designed by 'Phags-pa, the Tibetan Lama following the order of Khubilai Khan (YS 6: 121). The round tablets with silver 'Phags-pa script can only have been made after 1269. In November 1270, the ornaments on all the postal tablets were changed from "*Haiqing* 海青" (falcon) to 'Phags-pa script (YDZ 29: 9a). In September 1277, the Yuan government began to make postal tablets of iron (YS 9: 192). Because of this change, it is obvious that the three round tablets of iron were made after 1277.

These round postal tablets were used only in the Yuan dynasty, on account of the fact that the 'Phags-pa script was used only in the Yuan dynasty. Other Mongol *ulus* did not accept this kind of script (Poppe 1957: 4-9, 14-15). In the YS (103: 2629-2630), it says:

> Only if concerned with important military affairs of the central government, may messengers make use of the round tablet with golden inscription. For minor affairs, only a decree with the royal seal is needed. Only when urgent military affairs are concerned, may the local prince, princess or emperor's son in law send a messenger bearing the *Yinzi yuanfu* (银字圆符, the round tablet with silver inscription). At other times they may only use the decree with the royal seal.

Combining this with the above information, it is clear that high Mongolian local officials and the local royalty used the round tablets with silver inscription.

Before adoption of the round iron tablet with 'Phags-pa script, the postal tablets of the Mongol Empire were called "*Haiqing pai*" (falcon tablet). According to the Yuan decree, this name is derived from the ornament of the tablet. In the YDZ (29: 9a), it says:

> *Zhiyuan* qi nian (the 7th year of *Zhiyuan*), (...) according to the royal decree, on all the falcon tablets the ornament of falcon will be abolished; use the 'Phags-pa script instead. (...) The local governments are ordered to report the exact number of their falcon tablets. Then they will be exchanged for the tablets with 'Phags-pa script.

Evidently there is no 'Phags-pa script on the falcon tablets. So the argument of Haneda that tablet no. 8 is a falcon tablet has to be disputed. Because on this so-called "falcon tablet", there are two lines of 'Phags-pa inscription. Until now we have not found any example of a falcon tablet.

Because of the heavy traffic in the Mongol Empire, the postal tablet must have been used very early. Before using the falcon tablet, the Mongol Empire used a kind of tiger-head tablet as postal tablet.

In 1221 (the 16th year of Chinghis Khan), an official of the Southern Song dynasty, Zhao Gong 赵珙, was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Mongols. In the *MDBL*, he reported:

> As to the golden tablets, which [the Mongol chiefs] wear at the girdle, noble officials of the first class carry [tablets with the figures of] two tigers confronting each other. [They] are called golden tablets "A fight of tigers".[21] [In the inscription on them] it is written in Chinese characters: "An imperial edict of the emperor Ch'eng-chi-ssu (Chinghis), the Granted by Heaven. [The bearer of this tablet] should act at [his own] discretion." The next in order after these are the plain golden tablets. [In the inscription] it is said: "An imperial edict of the emperor Chinggis, the Granted by Heaven. Urgent." Then the next in order after these are silver tablets. The inscription on them is identical with the previous one.[22]

It is obvious that the inscriptions on the oblong copper tablet no. 9 and silver tablet no. 10 are the same as those on the silver tablet mentioned by Zhao Gong. According to the inscription on the tablets, especially the Khitan characters which means "riding horse", we may conclude that these tablets were used as postal tablets in Chinghis Khan's times. They prove a close relationship of the Khitan-Liao postal tablets with those of the early Mongol Empire, because in the Khitan-Liao time the government had made postal tablets with the inscription "*Zou ma* 走马" ("riding horse", see LS, vol. 57: 915). Therefore, tablets no. 9 and no. 10 were made by the Mongols imitating the Khitans.

The golden tablet with the figure of a tiger's head is also used as postal tablet in Chinghis Khan's times, but only very important persons were authorized to use it. For example, Chinghis Khan's special envoy Liu Zhunglu 刘仲禄, when leaving Central Asia to summon the Taoist monk *Changchun* 长春, had with him a golden tablet with an inscription close to that reported by Zhao Gong (XYJ 1: 2, Waley 1931 [1963]: 48). This kind of tablet is not used as a symbol for an official position, but only as a permit to use the post station network. Chinghis Khan gave one golden tablet with tiger's head to *Changchun*, allowing him to use the government postal service (XYJ 2: 19-20). That is also a proof showing that there is no direct relationship between this kind of tablet and an official

position. The golden tiger-headed tablet used to identify the official position differs remarkably from the postal tablet. See the discussion below.

To sum up, the tablets no. 9, 10 are the earliest known postal tablets of the Mongol Empire. Tablets no. 4, 12, 16 are round tablets with silver inscriptions (银字圆符), which were made by the Yuan dynasty after 1277. No. 8 is neither a falcon tablet nor a postal tablet.

3 The Tablet for Official Position

The second group of these tablets were used for official positions, especially by military officers.[23] In the JSDDZD (59a), it says:

> The myriarchs, chiliarchs and centurions are divided into superior, middle and inferior categories. The myriarch gird a tiger-tablet of gold. There is a figure of a crouching tiger engraved in the lower part of the tablet and glittering pearls encrusted in the upper part. And these tablets stand out by one, two or three pearls encrusted on them. The chiliarch gird a plain tablet of gold, and the centurion gird a silver tablet. [See also YS 98 : 2507 – 2508]

Different tablets are corresponding to different positions of military officers. In general, the military officer of the third grade may gird a tiger tablet, the military officer of the fourth or fifth grade may gird a plain golden tablet, the military officer of the sixth and seventh grade may gird a plain silver tablet (YDZ 9: 3a-4b, YS 91: 2310-2312). The tablet must be returned to the central government when the military officer dies or is dismissed (YDZ 29: 9-10; YS 19: 402). In order to improve the status of the envoys sent to other countries, the central government may give a golden tablet to the envoy. After their return, they must give it back (YS 12: 242; 19: 402).

Before using the 'Phags-pa script, the inscription on the tablet for official grade was engraved in Uighur script. From 1278 (the 15th year of *Zhiyuan*), the writing was changed into 'Phags-pa script (YS 10: 203).

The oblong tablets no. 1, 3, 17, 18 are in accordance with these characteristics. All of them are plain. The inscriptions are in 'Phags-pa script and use the decree of the emperor: "By the strength of the eternal Heaven.

Let the name of the emperor be sacred. He who has no respect shall be guilty and die." Only the central government may use such speech. There is no doubt that these tablets were used by the Yuan officers. The tablets no. 1, 3, 17 are plain silver tablets girded by the centurion of the sixth or seventh grade. no. 18 is a plain golden tablet girded by the chiliarch of the fourth or fifth grade.

These four tablets were discovered in Inner Mongolia and eastern Siberia, which were parts of the territory of the Yuan dynasty. This proves that these tablets were made by the Yuan government. From their serial numbers, it can be concluded that the Yuan central government had made thousands of such tablets.[24]

Examining the form, we may conclude that those four oblong tablets of the Golden Horde, i. e. no. 2, 5, 6, 13, are also tablets for military officers. Since the Golden Horde did not use the 'Phags-pa script, these tablets were still engraved with Mongolian in Uighur script. These are not postal tablets in the Golden Horde because there was no regular post-service network in that area (see Alef 1967: 4-5). These tablets for official grade belong to the second class, i. e., the silver tablets. The silver tablets of the Golden Horde are different from the plain silver tablet of the Yuan dynasty; they were decorated with ornaments, such as the tiger's head, flower and clouds.

The Mongol Empire began to make and hand out the official-position tablet since Chinghis Khan period.[25] In the HDSL, Xu Ting 徐霆 wrote:

> At the beginning, the Tartars did not have the system of official position and relevant salary. Their emperor did not understand the meaning of official positions. The Tartars have only the golden tiger-head tablet, the plain golden tablet and plain silver tablet. If someone made contributions to the country, he may prepare gold or silver and ask the emperor to permit him to make a tablet himself. There is Uighur writing on the tablets, which says: "By the strength of the eternal Heaven." etc. [26]

The difference between this text and the record of Zhao Gong is obvious. The tablets recorded by Zhao Gong are postal tablets. At the same time, there are also tablets for official positions. The postal tablets definitely state that the holder may travel at great speed. The inscription is in Chinese. The tablet for official position is very different. According to Xu

Ting, its inscription resembles that of the later official-position tablets of the Yuan dynasty. The inscription is in Uighur script. Moreover, with only the tablet for official position, the holder could not use the government postal relay system (JSDDZC, I: 6b-7b; V: 15a-b). When we compare them, we can see the basic difference between the two kinds of tablets.[27]

4 The Tablet for the Curfew

The third group is the tablet for night travel or patrol in respect of the curfew decree. The officials used such tablets when they were ordered to carry out such assignment. After fulfilling their task, they must give it back. This kind of tablet is only used in the local district. The holder has no right to make use of the postal service. Contrary to this, a person holding a postal tablet is authorized to travel in a large area and use the government post-service (cf. JSDDZC, I, 6b-7b).

The tablets no. 8, 11, 14 and 15 belong to the third group. All of them have their serial numbers so that the handing out and return could easily be controlled. Moreover, all of them have inscriptions, which show the concrete assignment.

According to the inscription, the tablet no. 11 is used for night travel. The inscription means: "Official business is haste (公务急速), holding this, travel at night (Chinese). Tablet of authority to go round about (Mongolian). By God, Night going round about [tablet] (Persian)." The inscription shows clearly that this tablet is a Yexing pai 夜行牌 (tablet authorizing the holder to go at night). In the Yuan dynasty, traveling at night was generally forbidden. In the YS (105: 2682), it says:

> Curfew: At three Dian 点 of the first Geng 更,[28] stop the bell and forbid people move about. At three Dian of the fifth Geng, ring the bell and permit the citizen to walk. Who acts against this code will be beaten 27 times. The official may pay instead of being beaten. Those who carry out an urgent official task [公务急速 *Gongwu jisu*] or whose family meets illness, death or birth are allowed to move at night. (...) Those who act against the curfew,

resist arrest and hurt the night patrolman, will be beaten 107 times. [See also YDZ 57: 16a-b, JSDDZD: 72b-73a.]

In order to move about at night, the official who carries out an assignment must have the tablet permitting night travel. It is no coincidence that both the above-cited *Yuan Shi* and the tablet for night travel use the same phrase "公务急速 *Gongwu jisu*".

The tablets no. 8 and no. 14 are the opposite to tablet no. 11. The holders of those tablets are the night patrols that control the curfew. The inscription on no. 8 means: "Beware of those who pretend. Prevent the wicked. It is forbidden to lend [this tablet]. Who acts against this will be punished (Chinese). The Tablet authorizing [the holder] to go around about at night (Persian). Proclamation. Beware of wicked ones (Mongolian)." Looking at these inscriptions, it is clear that this tablet is a tablet authorizing night patrol. The Chinese inscription on the tablet no. 14 proves directly that it is "tablet no. Tian 12 for night patrol".

The tablets for night travel or night patrol are used in different districts. The inhabitants of the Yuan Dynasty came from different nations and spoke different languages. So the inscriptions on such tablets were engraved in different languages (no. 8: four languages, no. 11: three languages, no. 14: five languages).

According to the *Yuan* documents, it was *Gongshou* 弓手 (archers, i. e. police) who carried out the curfew code since 1264 (YDZ 57: 16a, JSDDZD: 72b-73a). All these tablets for official business are made of copper; none of them is made of gold or silver.[29] The technology is not complicated. They are different from the postal tablets and the tablets for official position, which were made exclusively by the central government (JSDDZC II: 14a, YS 85: 2149). From their different inscriptions by different governments and their different appearance, we may conclude that the tablets for the curfew were made by the local government.[30] The serial numbers on this kind of tablet are not conferred countrywide but only by the local government.[31] Moreover, their numbers are much less than the numbers of the tablet for official position. For example, their first Chinese serial numbers are limited to the first three characters of the *Qianzi Wen*.

It is not known whether tablet no. 15 is used for night patrol or not, but the inscription makes it clear that it was used for patrol.

At last, it turns to tablet no. 7. Wang Guowei argued that it is the tiger-head tablet of the Yuan dynasty. He wrote that this tablet was made of

copper. However, according to the Yuan document, the tiger-head tablet was made of gold. Moreover, the inscriptions on this tablet are Chinese words transcribed in 'Phags-pa script. The meaning is: "Improve the official and honor the family!" In fact, all the inscriptions on the tablets of the government are Mongolian in Uighur or 'Phags-pa script and the language of the inscription is in official speech. Considering these differences we may conclude that this tablet was not made by the government, but by the common people in order to pray for good luck.

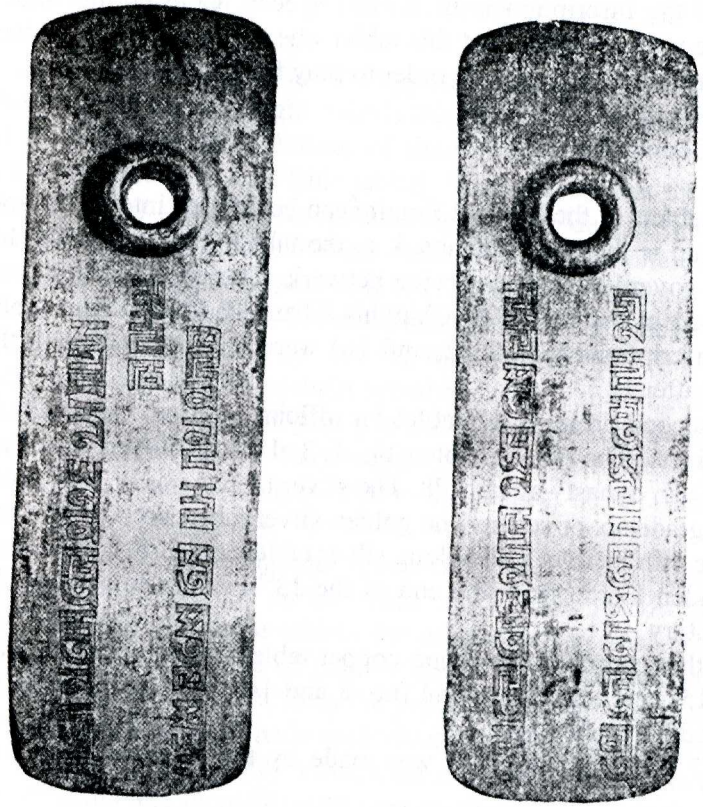
5 Conclusion

The 18 tablets of the Mongol Empire can be divided into three groups.The first group is the postal tablets, i. e. the tablets that permit the holder to use the government post-service network. The oblong tablets no. 9, 10 were used in the period of Chinghis Khan. The round iron tablets with silver inscriptions (no. 4, 12, and 16) were made and used in the Yuan dynasty after 1277.

The second group is the tablet for official position, especially for military officers. The oblong tablets no. 1, 3, 17 and 18 were made and used in the Yuan dynasty after 1278. The silver tablets no. 1, 3, 17 are for officers of grade six or seven. The golden-silver tablet no. 18 is for an officer of grade four or five. The oblong silver tablets no. 2, 5, 6, 13 were used in the Golden Horde from the end of the 13th century to the middle of the 14th century.

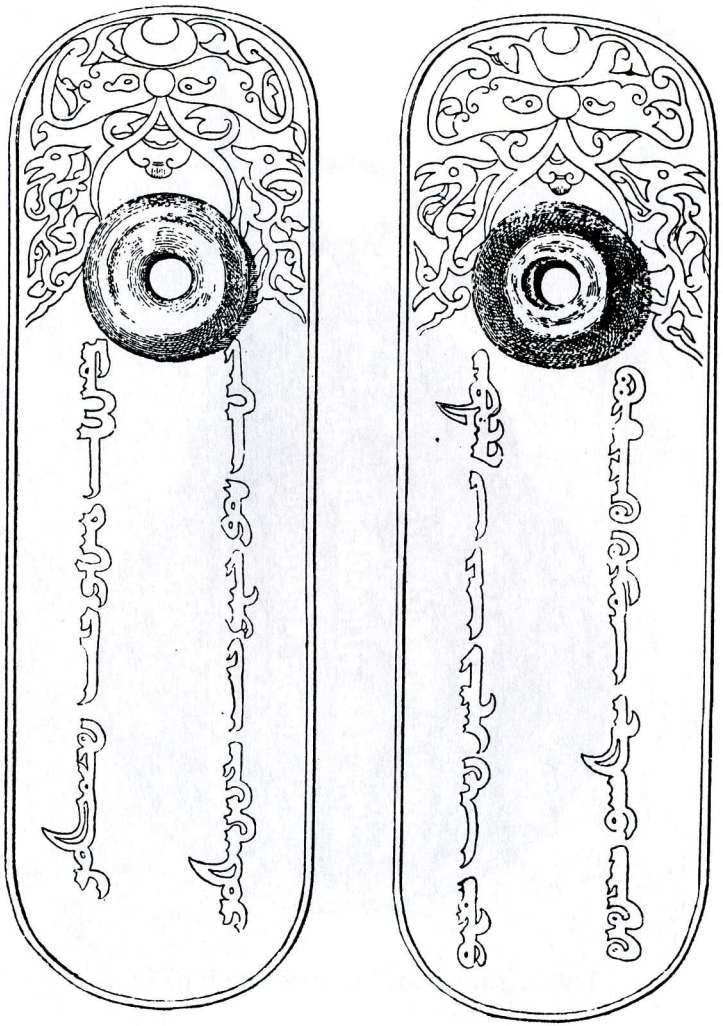
The third group is the round copper tablets for the curfew decree. No. 8, 14, 15 were used for patrol (no. 8 and 14 were used at night). No. 11 was used for night travel.

No. 7 is an exception. It was made by the common people as lucky charm.



A B

Fig. 1. Tablet no. 1 (Poppe 1957: pl. VII)



A B

Fig. 2. Tablet no. 2 (Спицынъ 1909: fig. 11, 12)

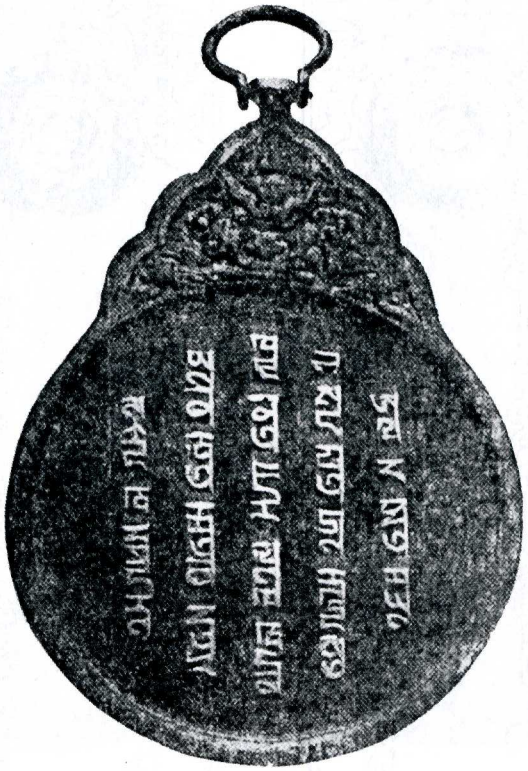
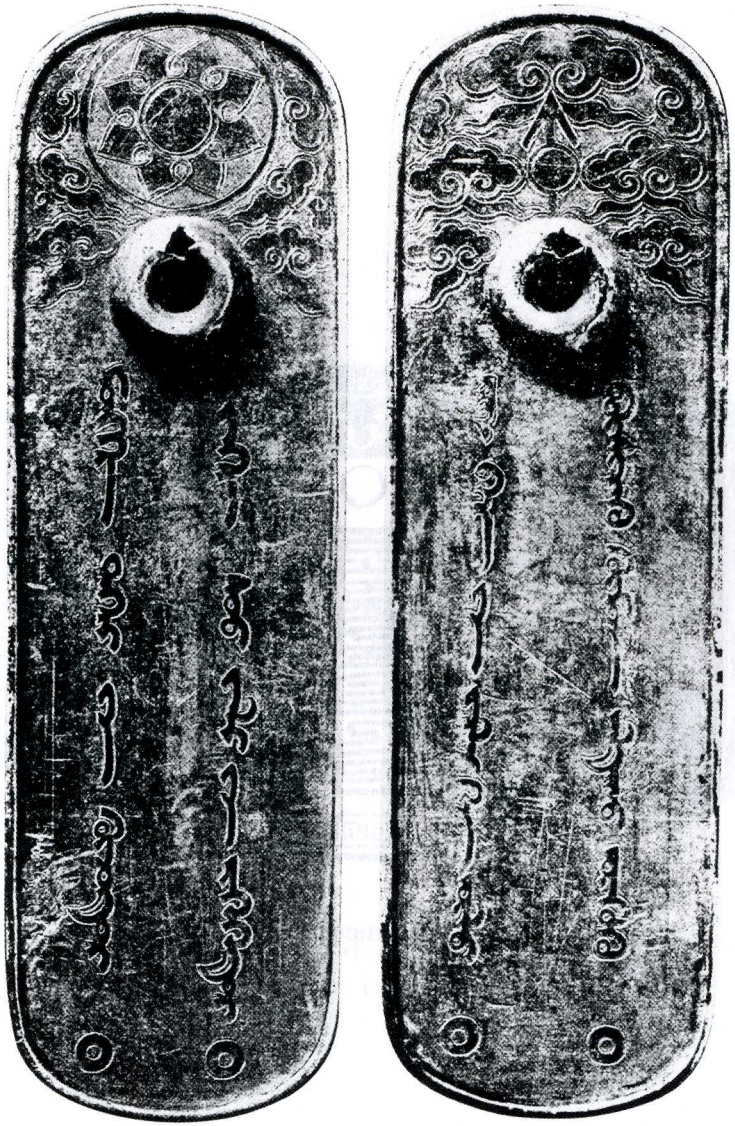


Fig. 3. Tablet no. 4 (Poppe 1957: pl. IX)

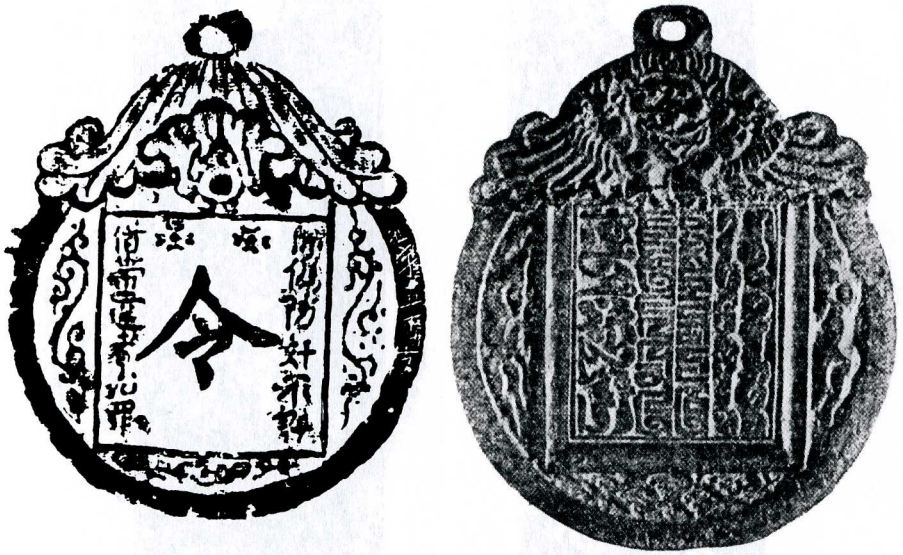


A B

Fig. 4. Tablet no. 6 (Спицынъ 1909: fig. 7, 8)

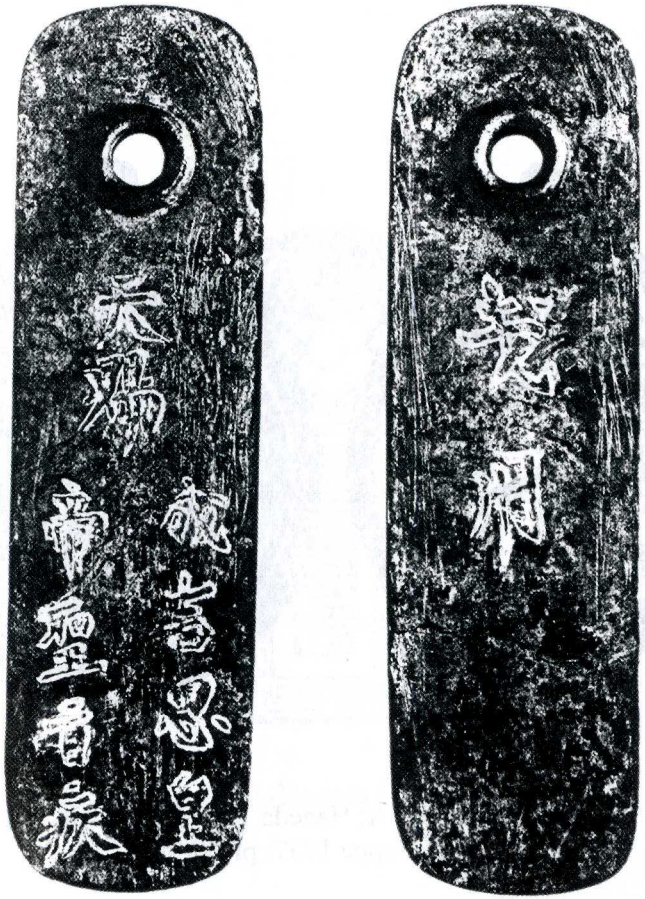


Fig. 5. Tablet no. 7 (Haneda 1930 [1957]: fig. 2)



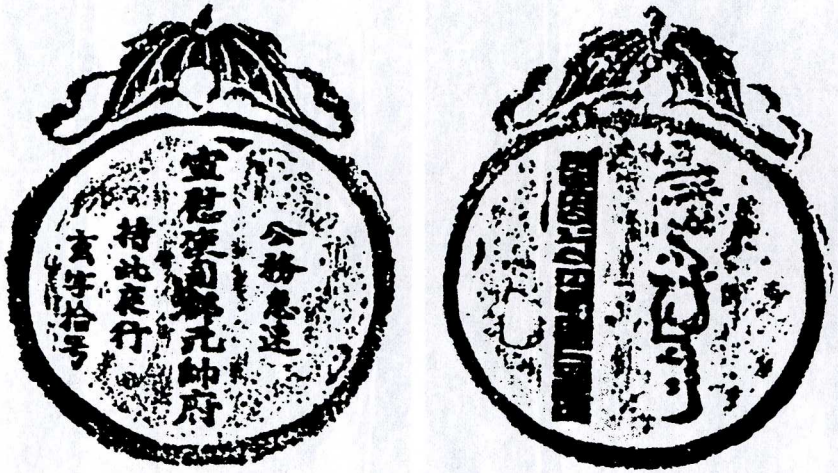
A B

Fig. 6. Tablet no. 8 (A: Haneda 1930 [1957]: fig. 5b,
B: Poppe 1957: pl. X)



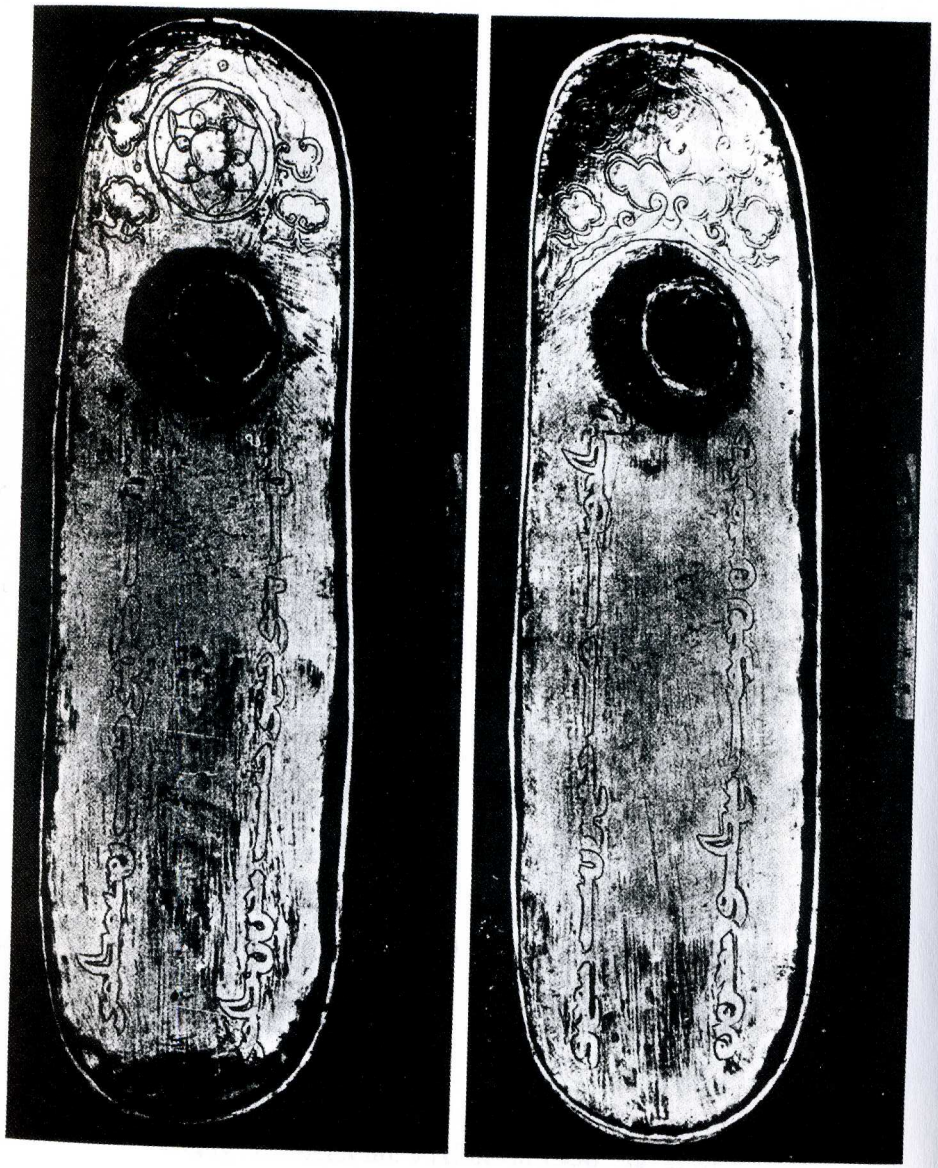
A B

Fig. 7. Tablet no. 9 (Haneda 1936: fig. 1, 2)



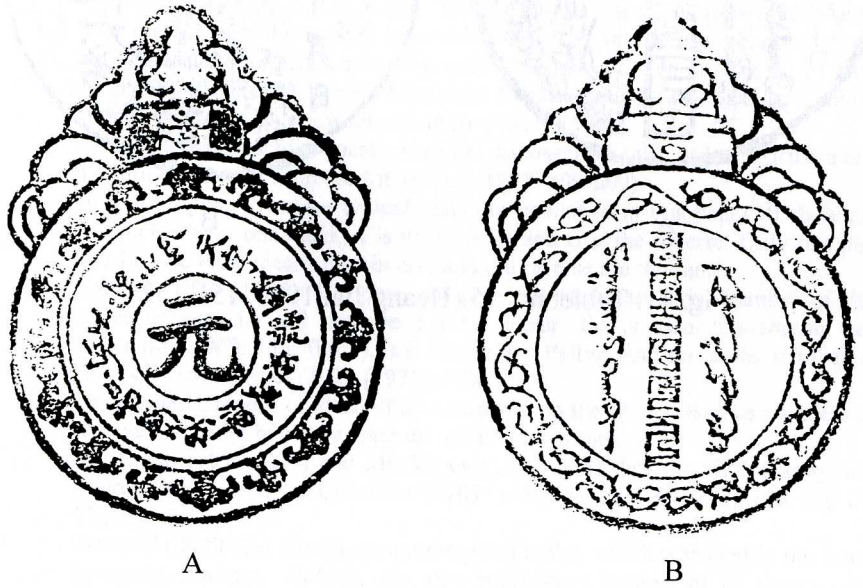
A B

Fig. 8. Tablet no. 11 (ECCH 1992: 1404)



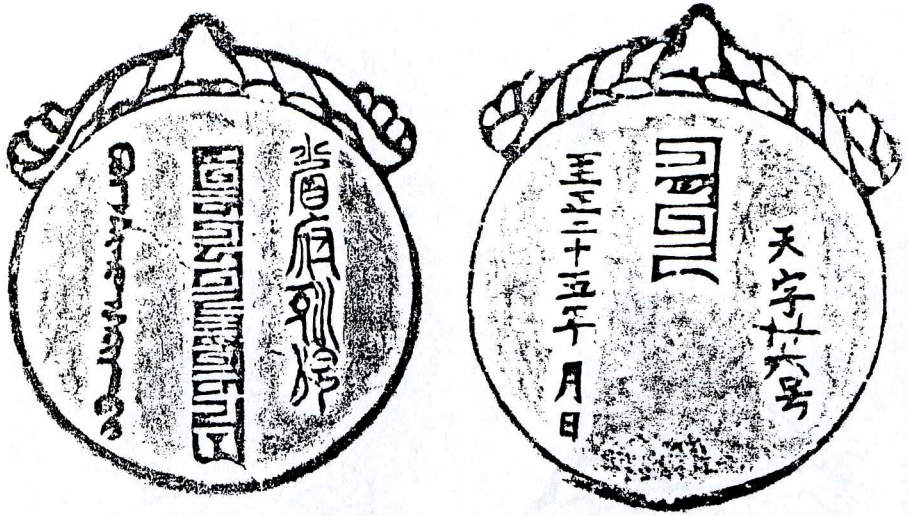
A B

Fig. 9. Tablet no. 13 (Münküyev 1977: fig. 1,2)



A B

Fig. 10. Tablet no. 14 (Junast 1994: pl. I)



A B

Fig. 11. Tablet no. 15 (Huang Jun 1990: 151-152)

Notes

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1 Here the Mongol Empire includes all Mongol *ulus* even after the great empire broke apart, such as the Yuan dynasty, the Golden Horde and the Il Khanate.

2 The Il Khanate also used the tablets of authority, but no available specimen has been unearthed until now, cf. Doerfer (1963: 239-241) and Münküyev (1977: 193-195). The present paper only discusses the remains of the Paizi. Further studies on the historical literature about the Paizi of the Mongol Empire are forthcoming.

3 The first article of studies on the Mongolian tablets was published by the Russian scholar V. V. Grigor'ev in 1846. After him a few other Russian scholars worked on this topic, see Münküyev (1977: 199-208). In China, Japan, and Europe, a few articles on this topic were published. The present paper will offer a short review of them.

4 de Rachewiltz (1982: 413, n. 4): "Of the great number of oblong and round P'ai-tzu that must have been in circulation in the vast Mongol Empire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, only less than a dozen are known to have survived." Since 1982, more tablets were found. We now know at least eighteen tablets, including four new tablets discovered in China.

5 On the dates and precise locations of the discoveries of the tablets in Russia and the former Soviet Union see Münküyev (1977: 199-209).

6 Only the figures of some typical Paizi are published in this paper. If there are two pictures for one Paizi, A is the obverse and B is the reverse. Only one picture for one Paizi means the obverse and the reverse are the same.

7 Haneda (1930 [1957]: 92) does not give the complete serial number of this tablet because he did not see a clear pictur. For a clear illustration, see Спицынъ (1909: 133, fig. 1). It is wrong that Pelliot read this serial number as "No. 42", see Cordier (1920 [1975]: 67).

8 The ancient Chinese used to utilize characters in the *Qianzi Wen* as numbers to arrange and order books or other things in large groups.

9 See Ligeti (1972: 287) and Münküyev (1977: 208). For the photography and figure of this tablet, see Спицынъ (1909: 137, fig. 9, 10 (photo); p.138: fig. 11, 12 (figure)).

10 Carswell (2000: 23) introduces another such tablet, which was kept in the Inner Mongolia Museum, Hohhot. He also publishes a picture of its reverse, cf. Carswell (2000: 20, pl. 3). We do not think this to be a genuine one discovered in China, but rather a replica. We have two proofs: First, there is no available report about the discovery of this tablet in China. In her article written by a scholar of the Inner Mongolia Museum, she did not mention this tablet (Huang Xueyin 2000: 56, 59). Second, the inscription on the reverse of this tablet is the same as that of the no. 2 Golden Horde tablet above. It can be transcribed as follows: "Abdull-a-in jrlγ ken ülü/ büsirekü kümün aldaqu ükükü". It is very strange that a tablet of Abdullah Khan, the Khan of the Golden Horde, should have been found in China. Moreover, the scripts on this tablet are not as accurate as those of tablet no. 2 (esp. the head of the vowel "ü"). Because of this, the present author thinks that it is only a replica of tablet no. 2 and he will not discuss it as an authentic sample in this paper.

11 Спицынъ 1909: 134, fig.3. He translated the first Chinese character into Russian as "пачетныі".

12 Münküyev (1977: 207) argued that the ornaments are animals, such as tiger or lion. But it is clear that the ornaments are clouds and flowers. Moreover, there is no moon on this tablet.

13 There is another possibility "Gaiguan jinlu 改官进禄"("Improve the official and add the salary!"), but both the inscription and the pronunciation do not match very well, see Nakano (1971: 115, line 285, 120, line 48, 106, line 58, 114, line 282) and MGZY: 62, 82, 22, 61.

14 Calculated from the writing of Haneda (1930 [1957]: 114). For the rubbing picture, see Haneda (1930 [1957]: fig. 5). For the photograph of its reverse, see Poppe (1957: pl. X), Edward (1997: 6).

15 Calculated from the writing of Haneda (1934 [1957]: 130-136). For a French translation of this article see Haneda (1936: 85-91).

16 Haneda (1934 [1957]: 136), the meaning of "tao 疾" is the same as "ji 疾": "urgent, run with high speed".

17 The following paragraph is the condensed depiction of Cai Meibiao (1980: 129-131) and de Rachewiltz (1982: 415, 417).

18 Junast (1994: 12) interprets this as "*Wu geng* 五更"("five Geng"), i. e. the whole night, cf. CY: 1458. See also note 28.

19 The two sides of this tablet described in this paper are on the contrary to the sequence of Junast (1994). According to the pattern of the Mongol tablets, such as no. 8, 11 and 15, the side with large Chinese character is the obverse.

20 Some scholars did not distinguish different kinds of tablets. Some of them thought that all the Paizi of the Mongol Empire were used by messengers. See Yule (1871 [1975], vol. 1: 351-355, note. 2), Yanai (1922 [1930]: 869ff., 887), Budge (1928: plates V, XIII), Poppe (1957: 6, 7, 102), Morgen (1986: 105-106). Except the postal tablets, there are two other kinds of tablets used for official positions and the curfew decree.

21 The expression "hudou jinpai 虎斗金牌" ("golden tablet with the figure of fighting tigers") is a phonetic error for "hutou jinpai 虎头金牌" ("golden tablet with the figure of a tiger's head"), cf. Wang Guowei (1926 [1983]: 14-16) and Cleaves (1953: 256).

22 MDBL: 13-16, cf. Münküyev (1977: 187). For the German translation, see Olbricht & Pinks (1980: 65-67).

23 Since 1312, only military officers were permitted to gild the tablet for official positions, see YDZ 29: 10a.

24 For example, the first serial number of tablet no. 1 is "*Xuan*", the 626th character in the *Qianzi Wen*. After this number is the second number 42. That means below the number "Xuan", there are at least 42 pieces of tablets. If every character before "Xuan" has so many tablets, the total number is more than 20,000. Moreover, the second number of the tablet no. 18 is 96.

25 Cf. YS. For the tiger tablet or golden tiger tablet of Chinghis Khan period, see YS: 19, 2964, 3025, 3043, 3261, 3050, 3488, 3491, 3513, 3516, 3529, 3532, 3535, 3542. For the golden tablet, see YS: 2965, 2970, 3010, 3047, 3479. For the silver tablet, see YS: 3486.

26 HDSL: 14-15. For the German translation, see Olbricht & Pinks (1980: 155-156).

27 In Yanai (1922 [1930]: 869-887) and Olbricht & Pinks (1980: 66, note 4), they did not realize the difference between these tablets.

28 In ancient China, a whole night lasts from 19 o'clock to 5 o'clock in the next morning and is divided into five Geng. One Geng is two hours. Each Geng is divided into five Dian. One Dian is 24 minutes. In the quotation, the three Dian of the first Geng is about 20:12-20:36 and the three Dian of the five Geng is about 4:12-4:36 in the next morning. Cf. CY: 29,1458,3581.

29 The tablet for night travel used in *Dadu* 大都, the capital of the Yuan dynasty, is made of ivory. See YS 102: 2610.

30 The *Zhongshu sheng* 中书省 (Central Secretariat) of the Yuan dynasty had the character of a local government, because it administered some local regions directly. See YS 58: 1347 and Farquhar (1981: 35-38). Junast (1994: 14) argued that tablet no. 15 was made by the *Zhongshu sheng*. Its inscription "the tablet of this province" and "the tablet of the provincial government" shows that the tablet was not made by the central government. On the contrary, it means that this tablet was made by the local province and was used only in that province.

31 Both tablets no. 14 and no. 15 have "*Tian* 天" series numbers (*Tian* 12 and *Tian* 26). Tablet no. 15 was made in 1365, so Junastu (1994) argued that tablet no. 14, which has a lower *Tian* series number than no. 15, was made before 1365. This argument could be established only if they were made by the same provincial government. Unless we know they were made by the same office, we can not say their "*Tian*" series are the same.

Abbreviations

CY	*Ci Yuan* 辞源, Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan. 1979-1983.
ECCH	*Zhongguo da Baikequanshu* 中国大百科全书 (*The Encyclopedia of China*), Subdivision: "*Zhongguo lishi* 中国历史" (Chinese History). Beijing: Zhongguo dabaikequanshu chubanshe. 1992.
HDSL	*Heida shilue, by* Peng Daya 彭大雅 & Xu Ting 徐霆. In WGWIS, book 13.
JSDDZC	*Jingshi dadian* 经世大典 • *Zhanchi* 站赤. In Yao Guangxiao 姚广孝 (ed.), *Yongle dadian* 永乐大典, vol. 19416-19423. Photocopy edition, Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962.
JSDDZD	*Jingshi dadian* 经世大典 • *Zhengdian* 政典. In Su Tianjue 苏天爵 (ed.), *Yuan wen lei* 元文类, vol. 41. Photocopy edition. Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962.
LS	*Liao Shi* 辽史. Tuotuo 脱脱 (ed.). Collated edition, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972.
MDBL	*Mengda beilu* 蒙鞑备录, by Zhao Gong 赵珙. In WGWIS, book 13.

MKZY *Menggu ziyun* 蒙古字韵, by Zhu Zongwen 朱宗文. Photocopy edition. Osaka: Kansai University, 1956.

WGWIS *Wang Guowei i'shu* 王国维遗书. Shanghai, 1940. Reprint: Shanghai: Shanghai guji shudian, 1983.

XYJ Li Zichang 李志常, *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* 长春真人西游记. In WGWIS, Book 13.

YDZ *Dayuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang* 大元圣政国朝典章. Photocopy edition, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1972.

YS *Yuan Shi* 元史. Song Lian 宋濂 (ed.). Collated edition. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976.

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Lakṣmi° – on the Identity of Some Indo-Tibetan Scholars of the 9th-13th Centuries: Corrigenda

page/note/line	written	read
p. 11, l. 23, 26, 28, 30, 32; p. 14, l. 4, 8, 31, 32; p. 15, l. 14, 16, 18; p. 16, l. 2; note 26, l. 15; note 41, l. 3	Tḍh	Tôh
p. 12, l. 24; p. 15, l. 4	*... Śes rab ... stoṅ pa),*	*... Śes rab ... stoṅ pa,*
p. 13, l. 15	after after	after
p. 14, l. 24	*lṅa'i don*	*lṅa pa'i 'grel pa rim pa'i don*
p. 13, l. 15	after after	after
p. 14, l. 36	nothing nothing	nothing
note 1, l. 8	/ṃhahnm	/~hahnm
note 12, l. 12	38 39	38-39
note 18, l. 2	126 130	126-130
note 24, l. 12	l'aŪné	l'aîné
note 26, l. 10; note 35, l. 6	fn.	note
note 41, l. 1	Prajñākīrtiāṇi (born 1017 A.D.)	Prajñākīrti is known to have translated together with Maitrī pa (born 1007 A. D.) and Vajrapāṇi (born 1017 A. D.)
p. 23, l. 26	Lakshmṣkara	Lakshmíkara
p. 23, l. 28	Vidyábhḷshaṇa	Vidyábhúshaṇa
p. 24, l. 13	Vajradattaa	Vajradatta

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