Characteristics of the Nomad in the Context of Civilization Theory

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1. THE ERA OF THE NEW NOMAD

The concept of "civilization" has often been interpreted as development which was based in cities, as is plainly illustrated in the etymology of the English word. On the other hand, the concept of culture has usually been interpreted as development which was based on agriculture, also clearly indicated in the English word. Furthermore, those two concepts are easily combined and, consequently, it is generally understood that mankind has advanced by accumulating in the cities the wealth produced by farming. Thus, it is possible to claim that the history of mankind can be discussed as a transition from a culture which was based on farming to a civilization which was based in cities.[1]

If we accept such an interpretation, then nomads represent nothing more than a "deviation" from civilization or a state of primitive "pre-civilization." "Nomad" is generally translated as *yûdômin* in Japanese. Originally, the term referred to pastoral nomads, but in current usage it refers not only to those who tend grazing animals but also to other people who engage in various modes of production such as hunting, fishing and gathering.[2] Commerce and manual labor can also be included in this category. The concept of nomads is thus applied in a general sense to those

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1) The market, which is an essential element of a city, has been formed by nomadic people as well. Therefore, nomads have a close relationship with cities. However, it has been generally understood that a civilization was formed by accumulation of the surplus agricultural produce in cities. V. Gordon Childe's theory of agricultural revolution is a typical example. The start of agriculture was also interpreted as the start of settled lifestyle [NISHIDA 1976].

2) The English word "nomad" is derived from a Greek verb *nemo*, which means "to divide" and "to allocate grass fields for domestic animals," that is, to put the animals to graze [YAMASHITA 1974: 50-51].

people whose lifestyle requires them to move about.

Why are such people referred to by the special term "nomads" when they could just as easily be simply called by the more common name of "travelers"? For those people who are settled in a certain location, any usual travel has a clear destination and a specific aim. By contrast, for nomads, who move more frequently and easily, significance is found in movement itself. From a sedentary people's point of view, the nomads' movement seems to lack purpose and is regarded as equivalent to "wandering." Thus, the special term, "nomad" implies a difference in the characteristics of the mobility those people have, and the term distinguishes the mobility of the nomad from the mobility of sedentary people.[3]

We might say that sedentary people use the term "nomad" in a discriminatory sense to describe people who never settle down, and in fact, throughout history, nomads have suffered discrimination. Nomadic culture has been seen to exist in a primitive state of "pre-civilization," or as a deviant element which did not fit into the boundaries of civilization.

Throughout history, farming provided a basis for the establishment of cities which in turn served as centers for industrial development. Therefore, settled people have had greater potential for progress and creativity. As Umesao [1977: 172-77] argues, factories in cities have a similar function as farming land has for farmers,[4] and the people settled in cities engage in mechanical "farming labor" in factories.

However, in the post-industrial era, people have gradually been released from fixed, large-scale and accumulative production facilities. Thus, movement is no longer restricted by working at production facilities, such as factories. In this sense, businessmen who travel around the world in order to exchange information might be regarded as a new breed of nomads who are meeting the needs of the contemporary age.

At the same time, people who have been closely working in the "production facilities" are initiating new activities. Many retired engineers decide to go to developing countries in order to provide their skills for useful purposes. Those peo-

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3)   The movement of the nomad is not totally unpredictable. It has some regularity and certain seasonal and areal patterns. However, from settled peoples' point of view, their movement may seem to be erratic wandering. Therefore, peoples with different modes of production were all categorized as nomads. Even today, such a bias remains strongly. An example is a recent American film, *Nomad*. Its plot is as follows: an anthropologist who had been studying the nomad in various parts of the world starts to become interested in a motorcycle gang who live as urban outlaws. He regards them as nomads because they have no goal in their lives. However, the gang turns out to be dead people who were revived and finally he himself is taken in to become one of the dead (nomad). In this film, the nomad and the motorcycle gang are regarded as one in the same.

4)   In discussions of modern times, cities and farming villages are considered as oppositional elements. On the other hand, Umesao [1977: 172-77] has consistently argued that those two elements have the same root.

ple whose capabilities are more fully appreciated when they go outside their own countries can be regarded as a new type of nomad as well. At least, the fact that factories were only a temporary destination of their movement clearly indicates the change in significance of the traditional production facilities. In addition, it might be possible to regard migrant factory workers from overseas as a new type of nomad.

Thus, people have become more mobile. Since movement is interpreted positively and they exist by moving from place to place, we may say that they are nomadized. Here, I would propose that it is in the nomad's life, then, that we find hints in searching for our own lifestyle in the near future.

More and more people will be able to experience mobility easily through tourism. Furthermore, the tourism industry itself will surely free people from production facilities in their income earning activities. The industry can be established without factories and people can earn their living. In this sense, tourism has the potential to create a society where sedentariness does not have much significance. The notion that sedentary life holds absolute importance will diminish and the notion that man is a creature on the move will become the new common wisdom.

The purpose of this paper is to liberate the concept of nomadism from the contempt in which it was held in the past, in other words, to determine the significance of the nomad in the context of civilization theory. My discussion will proceed in the context of my research in Mongolia where I have been working in the areas of production and technology. The Mongols are an indisputable example of a nomadic culture, but they also built an extensive empire in Inner Asia. Thus, the history of the people make them suitable to be reevaluated not just as a culture but as a civilization as well.

2. FACILITY DEVICES IN PAX-TATARICA

In 1206, at the source of the Onon River which is a tributary of the Amur River, a meeting of pastoral tribes was held, and Temujin, the chieftain of the Mongol clan, took control of all of the tribes assembled under his new title of Genghis Khan. Thereafter, even people who had not been known as Mongols were integrated under that name, thus providing an opportunity to establish an ethnic identity of the Mongol people.

After unifying the people on the Mongolian Plateau, Genghis Khan conquered the Xixia Kingdom and the Uighur Kingdom. In 1218, he conquered Kara-Khitai and defeated the Khwarazm Kingdom after an assault which lasted for seven years. Even after Genghis Khan's death, battles of conquest continued and a huge empire was formed that extended to Vietnam in the south and Poland in the west. In his grandchildren's generation, the empire was split into four Khan states which included the Yuan dynasty with Kublai as its head. Those four states continued to exist as the Mongol Empire for about one hundred more years (Figure 1).

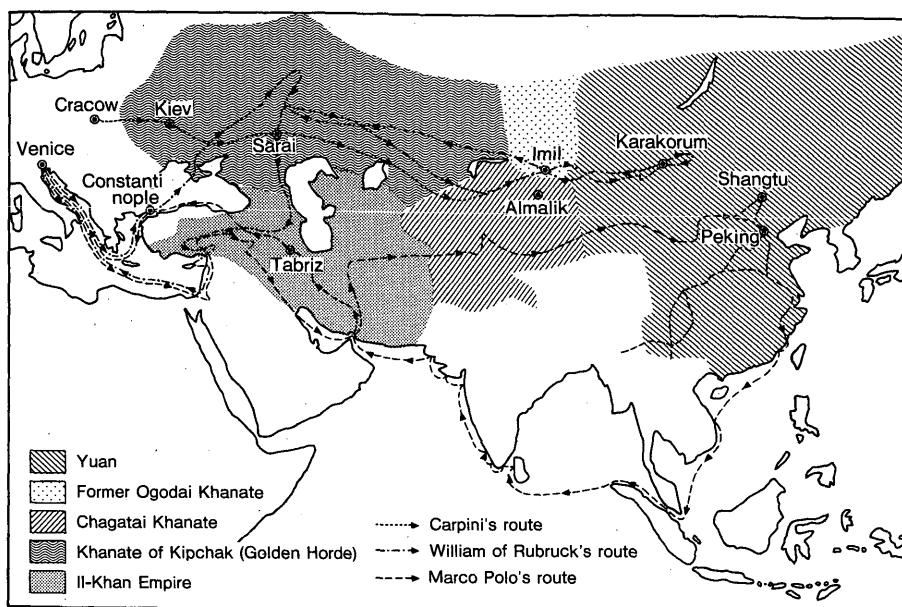The battles which brought about the empire's expansion were, for the

Figure 1. Khan States

Mongols, merely acts of plunder. The Mongolian word, *arbilax*, originally meaning "to increase," came to express the idea of becoming wealthy. At present, this word is usually used with the meaning of "frugality." However, in the past, this word was really used to indicate plunder, because plundering was the quickest way to get rich, or in other words, it was a method to "increase."[5]

The cruel killings and destructive actions have been stressed in the Mongols' expansion by plunder and invasion. However, these actions also had a substantial significance in uniting for the first time the central Eurasian continent, a region which had been marked by a division between the Moslems and the Buddhists. Under the Mongols a period of peace, which is generally called "Pax-Tatarica," was achieved.

In reality, the battles of conquest continued, though on a smaller scale, and the disputes over the emperor's successors never ceased. Thus, Pax-Tatarica was not a

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5) For example, in the third volume of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, a story in which Temujin and Jamuqa became close friends is recorded. Temujin gave a golden sash which he had stolen from Toqto'a of the Merkit. In return, Jamqa gave a golden sash which he had stolen from Dayir Usun. In a volume translated and annotated by Murakami [1970, 2: 208, 212], the word "stolen" was translated into Japanese as "taken away" (Japanese word). It was pointed out that there was a discrepancy between the meaning of the word in the volume and in modern dictionaries. An interesting perspective in the analysis of civilizations formed by the nomads can be found in the examination of the changes in the meaning of the word *arbila-*, in that the meaning changed from "to become wealthy through plundering" to "to become wealthy through frugality."

time of complete peace undisrupted by any conflict.   However, the peace I am referring to here has a great significance in world history: "The Chinese civilization in East Asia and the Christian world in Europe were brought into direct contact for the first time, and the Old World was actually recognized as one integrated whole" [MIYAWAKI 1990: 323].

The Yuan dynasty, which was the suzerain state of the four states, gave its name to the empire in 1271 and was overthrown in 1368.   Using these dates as markers, peace under the Mongols lasted less than a hundred years.   Yet, the significance of the peace achieved by the Mongols lay in the change in the way in which the world was perceived.   Thus, the duration of this period could be extended until this perception was altered.   The incident which provided the next great changing the perception of the world was probably the discovery of the Americas by Columbus.   The successful outcome of this voyage completely altered the layout of the world maps made in the sixteenth century [NEBENZAHL 1990].   On these maps, Europe was positioned on the right and the Americas on the left, with the Atlantic Ocean in the center.   Until then, world maps had always positioned the Eurasian Continent in the center.   Thus, it is possible to argue that the peace achieved by the Mongols retained its significance until the end of the fifteenth century.

Many people traveled in the Eurasian Continent during the time of peace brought about by the Mongols.   Some of them left records of their journeys behind for posterity.   The most famous Venetian merchant, Marco Polo, started his travels in 1270 when his father and   fellow-travelers were invited to meet Khubilai Khan in Bukhara.   He continued his travels in the area until 1295.   Similarly, a Franciscan monk, Carpini (Giovanni), traveled the area as an envoy of Innocent IV between 1245 and 1255, and another Franciscan monk, Rubruck (Guillaume) made a similar trip as an envoy of Louis IX between 1253 and 1255.

According to some of these travel records, for example the account of William Rubruck [1979: 250-254], in Karakorum, the capital of the Mongolian empire, there was an Islamic sector, which served as a center of trade, and a Chinese sector chiefly inhabited by artisans. Furthermore, there were two mosques, one Christian church and twelve pagan temples.   Christians comprised a variety of backgrounds,   such as Hungarians, Georgians, Armenians and Russians.   Pagans included Uighurian Buddhists, Tibetan Buddhists, and Chinese Taoists.   Among the artisans, there was a Paris-born goldsmith, Guillaume (William), who was captured in a battle in Europe.   His Hungarian wife understood both French and Turkish.   They lived in Karakorum and he worked for the palace.

Thus, these records show that people with a variety of ethnic origins, nationalities, religions and occupations traveled and resided in the area.   Especially noteworthy is the Mongolian tolerance towards other religions.   Of course, the actual number of people traveling in the area was considerably more than the number of travelers who left journals.

The device which made it possible for many people to travel in the area was the post-relay service system.   In this system, stations were established at fixed inter-

vals, with horses for traveling and food provided at each station. Obviously, the servicing of information and transportation networks is a very important part of the administration of any country. Particularly, in Mongolia, it is generally agreed that they not only adopted the traditional Chinese system successfully but also adapted it to the pastoral nomadic tradition, thus resulting in the expansion of the Mongols' empire. This brings us to the question of what constitutes the special characteristics of the nomadic tradition. This point has not yet been fully clarified and a careful consideration of this question may provide the key to an understanding of nomadic civilizations.

3. THE NATURE OF THE MONGOLIAN POST-RELAY SERVICE SYSTEM

The Mongolian post-relay service system was called *jamci* in Mongolian, meaning "a person of the road." In the Howei dynasty, the word "*ghiamcin*" was already known, so it is clear that such a system was wide-spread among the northern pastoral nomads before the Mongolian rule. One of the contributions of the Mongolian Empire was to disseminate this term widely along with the transport system itself.[6]

Marco Polo praised the post-relay service system and described it in considerable detail. According to him, the system was based on three components [OTAGI 1970: 253-258; MOULE and PELLIOT 1938: 242-247]. Firstly, stations were located on main routes every twenty-five to thirty miles. Normally, about four hundred horses were kept at each station provided for the use of envoys. In the mountains and desert areas, the stations were more widely spaced and people were relocated there to form villages so that the residents could keep the stations operating. Secondly, in order to send official documents, forty households every three miles were assigned the task of assisting the runner. Lastly, when an envoy was required to transmit an urgent message on horseback, he carried a falcon paiza as a badge, thus entitling him to change horses promptly at every station in order to continue his travel without delay.

Of these three components, the second was called the express postal service system and did not officially belong to the post-relay service system, but was considered part of the transport and communication system. Thus, except for the second point, the function of the *jamci* system was as a "horse-providing service" to those who could prove they were traveling on official business.

Marco Polo traveled around southern China as an official envoy dispatched by Khan and he seemed to have used the post-relay service system extensively. He emphasized the excellent accommodation facilities at stations since his destination was China proper. In contrast, those monks who traveled widely on routes in the

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6) This word can be found in a number of different languages and regions of Central Asia. *Yam* in Russian means a station village and *yam* in Persian means a station building [HANEDA 1957: 117].

steppe areas were impressed with the system of changing horses [RUBRUCK 1979: 119; Plano CARPINI 1979: 69, 73]. They passed through many stations, changing horses at each stop and leaving their tired mounts behind. Through frequent changing of horses, they could maintain a brisk pace. One wrote admiringly that "since we did not have to worry about wearing out our horses, we could travel at the fastest speed of which horses are capable" [Plano CARPINI 1979: 76]. Thus, the system which "horse-providing service" was, in fact, no other than the system "horse exchanging service" for the traveler.

Horses do not need gasoline, but it is necessary to change horses at appropriate intervals in order to maintain a consistent speed of travel. In an age when horses provided the fastest means of travel, a station of the jamci system had the same function as a gas station today.

What were the intervals between stations which offered this service? According to Marco Polo, it was every thirty miles (approximately forty-five kilometers). According to the history compiled by Rasid, they were located every five farsang (approximately thirty kilometers). The figure of thirty kilometers is also substantiated by an account identifying thirty-seven stations between Beijing and Karakorum [SAGUCHI 1968: 108].

Generally, the intervals of the stations were said to be equivalent to one day's journey. If the figure we have, thirty kilometers, was the distance of one eight-hour day's journey, one would only cover less than four kilometers per hour, the same speed of a man traveling by foot. Even if one day's journey could cover forty-five kilometers, it did not make a great difference. It is about the speed of an ox cart.

Thus, a reasonable conclusion is that the distance between stations was that which could be traveled by foot or by ox cart in a day. Otherwise, it is the distance they could shift their camps in one day. Horses could cover a much longer distance in one day. In Mongolian, a galloping horse is appropriately described as "reducing three days traveling distance."

Main arteries such as the route between Beijing and Karakorum had many stations at shorter intervals so that horses could be changed frequently. Thus, "gas stations" were located closer together and by stopping at each station and changing horses, one could maximize the speed horses could offer. In another words, people could travel faster by stopping at each station.

Rasid classified the roads from Karakorum in to the Mongol Empire into two categories: *dayan yam* which meant "all the roads," or general roads, and *narin yam* which meant "narrow roads," indicating short distances between stations. For example, the road going south from Karakorum into China was a *narin yam*. The term "narrow" road probably meant "intricate" road and referred to main highways.[7] The distance for Mongolian horse races at present is about forty

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7) The Mongolian word *narin* has the meaning of both "thin" and "in detail." The latter meaning also gives the meaning "secret." The word was transcribed in Chinese as 納憐,

kilometers, exactly the same as the intervals between stations on the highways. This is the maximum distance one can gallop on a horse without stopping to rest it.

4. THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF HOSPITALITY

The *jamci* system was completed under the rule of Ogodei Khan II, the third son of Chinghis Khan.   In the twelfth volume of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, a vivid description of the system is recorded as part of the governing policy handed down by Ogodei Khan.   After giving orders on the taxation system and the pastoral land divisions, he stated as follows: "Moreover, when we sent our officials, we ordered the people to provide means of transportation.   However, the people also faced problems caused by the delays of the officials.   From now on, we will choose the location of the stops and *jamcin* (station operators), and *ulacin* (those who care for the horses) are to be selected from every thousand households. Each location will function as a station (*jam*).   When an official is dispatched, he will not rely on the assistance of the people, but he will use the *jam*.   Accept my orders" [MURAKAMI 1976, 12: 362-363].

When Ogodei sent a message concerning this decision to his elder brother Caghatai, who lived in the west, this brother transmitted a message to Batu, who lived in the further west.   Batu then sent the reply, "This decision is the best of all." Thus, the concept of the jamci system was transmitted and accepted by means of that very system.   The maintenance of the *jamci* system became obligatory for all allied states as well.

According to the regulations, each point (*sa'uri*) on the road had twenty men to take care of the horses and kept castrated horses for riding, sheep for feasts, mares for milking, oxen for pulling carts, and carts.   Later, the nomads who operated the stations were exempt from taxes in lieu of taking on these responsibilities.

As the description in *The Secret History of the Mongols* indicates, the *jamci* system began as a system to requisition horses more easily for traveling officials. Officials probably began to travel on state business after the governing structure was established.   Yet, pastoral nomads requisitioned horses in their daily lives even before this structure was established.

For example, the second volume of *The Secret History of the Mongols* recounts an episode about Temujin being helped in his pursuit of a horse thief by a boy called Bo'orcu of the Arulat tribe.   When Temjin tells the boy the color of the horse, he claims that he saw the horse and offers to guide Temujin.   The horse Temujin was

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and roads which were called *narin yam* were interpreted as secret roads, namely roads for the military.   However, it was not possible to keep the existence of roads secret, although they might have been able to do so with the information transmitted on the roads.   Thus, I presume the *narin* road originally meant a road with stations at short intervals, that is, the main highway.   Then the word began to be applied to a particular road and eventually applied for main roads and military roads.

riding had recently been used for hunting and then searching for the stolen horse, so it must have been quite tired after three days of harsh use. The boy lets the horse free in the grass field and brings a fresh horse for Temjin to ride. Then, the two start their search together and successfully recover the horse. Subsequently, they become life-long friends [MURAKAMI 1970, 2: 141-144].

Thus, if necessary, one could borrow someone else's horse temporarily while resting one's own. In other words, it was the custom to deposit one's own horse as security when borrowing a horse from someone else. The *jamci* system was based on such a practice common among the pastoral nomads. We might say that the practice of lending out horses as circumstances warranted became institutionalized throughout the country as a part of the taxation system.

The most important task for a pastoral nomadic household which managed a station instead of paying taxes was, without a doubt, the provision of horses. Similar to this was the duty of preparing oxen and carriages. According to records by monks, a person on duty accompanied them to the next station in the capacity of a guide. Thus, serving as a guide was also included as part of their work to provide horses. By accompanying travelers to the next station as a guide, he would stay with the horse until it was exchanged for a fresh one. Thus, in the *jamci* system, the use of these guide services ensured that the horse would definitely be returned to its original station.

Another important duty was given to the station operators in addition to the provision of horses. This was to provide food for the envoys. *The Secret History of the Mongols*, cited above, mentions "sheep for feasts." In Mongolian, the animal was called "sheep for '*si'usun*,'" and in Chinese, they were phonetically transcribed and translated as "首思." Later, officials were appointed whose job was to provide food and drink for envoys and they are recorded as " 管首思官."[8]

Some dictionaries say that *si'usun* was the provisions for the envoys, but such a concept gained general acceptance only after the *jamci* system had become widely established. The original meaning of the word was either "meat juice" or "meat dishes." In present day Inner Mongolia, the word means "boiled sheep carcass," or in other words, sheep were prepared in that particular way for feasts. Thus, there is continuity between the present meaning of the word and the term which was used in the system of earlier days.[9]

There are other words which described food. For example, the word "*ide*" meant "something to drink or eat." Particularly in *The Secret History of the*

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8) In his article "Gen cho ekiden zakko" [On post-relay service in the Yuan Dynasty], Dr. Haneda [1957: 76-77] pointed out that the word " 首思" (*si'usun*) appeared in many records in the Yuan Dynasty such as *Yuan-shi* [History of the Yuan], *Yuan Tien-chang* (The Codes of the Yuan) and *Ching-shih Ta-tien* (The Encyclopedia of the Yuan Institutions). He analyzed the meaning of the word by using examples which were recorded in the chapter on *jamcin* in the *Ching-shih Ta-tien*.

9) More detailed descriptions of *si'usun* can be found in Damrinbayar 1987.

Mongols, ide (food) meant a flock of sheep, thus emphasizing value of sheep as food. However, the word "*ide*" was not adopted to indicate food for a messenger. The more appropriate word for provisions for traveling would be *kunesu*, which means "food." This word also appears in *The Secret History of the Mongols*, but was not specifically used to mean food for the messengers, nor was the word *za'ugu*, an honorary term.

Judging from current usage and Chinese translations of that period, only the word *si'usun* had the connotation of feasts. Currently, the word *shi'usun* means "food to entertain guests" as was the original meaning. This must have been the reason that this function was adopted in the *jamci* system. Namely, the *jamci* system institutionalized the custom of "entertaining guests with mutton dishes." This aspect of the system is clearly highlighted by the meaning of the word si'usun, namely, entertainment, which was another duty beside the supply of horses.

Similar to the provision of sheep, the provision of horses with an accompanying guide could be interpreted as a custom of "entertaining," which had been practiced in the pastoral nomadic society. It was an expression of hospitality as part of the spirit of mutual help, according to which they helped each other in difficult times. Furthermore, it is a type of hospitality which related closely to their lifestyle of moving around on a daily basis. Particularly, it may be noted that hospitality which involved horses encouraged mobility.

I would like to argue that the *jamci* system was established by applying the traditional style of hospitality to the transportation and communication systems and the taxation system. The characteristics of Mongols as nomads can be recognised in this respect. The Mongols always regarded a variety of envoys as important and treated them with courtesy.[10)]

Hospitality has a close relation with tourism.[11)] Traditional methods of entertaining could be transformed, through their industrialization, into techniques and commodities for tourism. The *jamci* system encouraged tourism, albeit in a primitive form, because it was based on customs of entertainment. Without a doubt, Marco Polo and his fellow travelers engaged in tourism through the use of the post-relay service system as a means of mobility.

5. IDEATIONAL SYSTEM SUPPORTING THE POST-RELAY SERVICE SYSTEM

As we have seen thus far, the post-relay service system in Mongolia originally started as an information system to support the comings and goings of envoys. At

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10) Envoys from Western Europe were dispatched in order to spread Christianity [EBISAWA 1990: 317-342]. While Western Europe tried to assimilate different cultures into their own, the Mongols accepted other cultures as they were.

11) I have discussed the essential relationships between entertainment and tourism elsewhere [KONAGAYA 1990: 177-206].

the same time, the system functioned to transport a large amount of goods to the capital Karakorum.[12]

First of all, food which was collected in the Chinese territory was stored in official buildings at stations. Thus, stations became tax warehouses, and they changed into military bases in time of conflict. In order to prepare for a military maneuver, soldiers and military supplies were assembled at a station. Another possible military strategy was to prevent the concentration of men and material. For instance, when Khubilai of the Yuan started battle preparations against Arigh Boke in Karakorum, Khubilai closed the road to Karakorum so that the supply of provisions was cut off [Uno 1990: 60]. Thus we see that control of the roads had a military significance, and in the fourth year of Chih-ta period (1311), the control of the post-relay service system was transferred to the military department.

Functions of the post-relay service system were not limited to communication, transport and military; all of these have been already discussed. Before the operator of a station was assigned, a household survey was carried out. After evaluating the economic condition of each household, a relatively affluent one was assigned the job of station operator. Poor people could not afford to provide hospitality by offering horses for others or kill sheep to feed guests. Apparently only fairly wealthy households could bear such a considerable cost in exchange of exemption from taxes.

The express courier system comprised part of the communication system and those who were assigned the task of foot-runner were from poor households [Ota 1977: 35-62]. This was also a type of compulsory labour which required people to run bearing letters for delivery. On the other hand, the runners did not need to entertain travelers. Therefore, the task was suitable for poor families. Thus, the system was certainly a fair progressive tax system.

From the preceding discussion it is clear that the *jamci* system, namely the post-relay service system in Mongolia, consisted of various components, such as the national census and the progressive tax, and each was related organically. It also functioned as a "device for mobility" of the greatest importance for the government of the empire. The fact the responsibility for administering the system was transferred frequently also proved how important the system was.

The system was so important as a "device for mobility" that its frequent modification was unavoidable. Some of the modifications were as follows: in order to employ the care-takers of the horses with wages, a fee was charged; a substitute tax system was introduced; the provision of *si'usun* (mutton) was offered only on the day the envoy arrived; a whole sheep was offered at the government's ex-

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12) In the history of research on Oriental history, the history of information systems was studied before that of the transportation of goods. It has been proven that as early as the tenth year of Taizong (1238), there was a shortage of oxen and horses, and an additional supply of animals was provided. As a result, the transport of goods to the capital on a large scale was completed [Uno 1990: 55-76].

pense; and the cost of sheep was paid to the operator in cash [HANEDA 1957]. We
can see the transition from compulsory labour and payment in kind to payment in
cash. At the same time, the reverse occurred in the transition from compulsory
labour to government supply. In other words, because the burden was too heavy
for the people to bear and they were pauperised, the burden was considerably reliev-
ed and, eventually, the system was run as an assigned operation instead of as a
means of paying taxes. Difficulties may have arisen because they tried to apply a
custom originating in the steppe area where movements of people are frequent to
the agrarian Han territory.

The reasons for the modification of the post-relay service system derived main-
ly from the impoverishment of the households which managed the station. For ex-
ample, the chapter on *jamci* in the *Ching-shih Ta-tien* (General Treaties of
Statecraft), states that, in the first year of the Tai-ting period (1324), operating
households ran out of resources because of frequent use by aristocrats. Therefore,
the job of operator was usually assigned only when the household had twenty
horses and fifty sheep. Poorer households would be given fifty-*chao* notes by the
government [*Ching-shih Ta-tien,* chan-chih, in Yung-lo ta-tien chuan 19421]. One
of the chief causes of the eventual disintegration of the post-relay service system was
simply its over-use.

One method of dealing with the problem of excessive use could have been a
policy limiting access to the system. However, the government did not impose any
such limitations. They put more effort into maintaining the already over-burdened
system. Frequent modifications of the system could also be seen as the record of
this continuous effort.

In order to use the station facilities and to be entertained as a guest, one was re-
quired to possess proof of official business. There were two types of proof: a cer-
tificate which proved the business in which one was engaged on each occasion and a
paiza (tablet of authority) which verified one's position. There were several types
of *paiza* such as the falcon *paiza*, to be used on urgent business, and the golden
paiza, a special certificate granted by the Khan which allowed the bearer to use any
kind of station freely.

The excess use of the system meant abuse of these *paiza* which in turn meant in-
discriminate issuance of these *paiza*. Aristocrats not only used the stations for
their own travel, but they also seemed to have issued the *paiza* to a broad range of
people, some of whom had dubious backgrounds.

According to Rubruck [1979: 225-228], a man called Theodolus used the false
name Raymond and deceived the Khan and his court by claiming that he was carry-
ing two letters from the Pope. He tried to cover up the lie by claiming the letters
were stolen. Khan granted the golden *paiza* to the man. Later, he was caught by
the East Roman Emperor and executed as an impostor. Rubruck wrote that, "Peo-
ple like Theodolus are common in the world, but the Mongolian people would catch
anybody like him and kill him." However, the reality was completely the reverse.
Although a villain like Theodolus was eventually caught and executed in Europe, he

was provided with the golden *paiza* in Mongolia.

One characteristic of this device for mobility becomes obvious from this incident, namely in its operation: anybody, even possibly a spy, was guaranteed freedom of travel. I have already mentioned that many types of religious believers were allowed in Karakorum. Similarly, the traveling system was run without any restrictions on different values or different religions. This operational characteristic is reflected in the very history of the post-relay service system where efforts were made to maintain the system in spite of its excesssive use.

Here, I will argue that in the background of the operational structure of the system lay a system of thought in which mobility itself was given a positive value. This value is born out in the following Mongolian sayings:

> "An idiot who travels widely is better than a wise man who rots on his cushion."

> "A wandering idiot is better than a sleeping wise man."

> "It is better to see than to hear; it is better to go than to stay."

All of these sayings look favorably upon the activity of information-gathering through travel. Through them we can glimpse a system of thought where traveling itself was positively valued.

By continuing their traditional mobile lifestyle, the nomads in Mongolia nurtured a value system where traveling was positively appreciated. Their traditional custom of hospitality encouraged mobility. They utilized the traditional customs in order to establish the system for mobility. Consequently, the established system provided the most significant function for governing the empire. Since the civilization in Mongolia was based on the nomadic culture where mobility was given great importance, it is possible to argue that mobility was not "restricted" but rather "guaranteed."

At that time in history, one might say that there existed an empire designed for many people to travel extensively all over the Eurasian continent. Obviously, such travel was not the same as sightseeing tours of the present day, because it was not associated with mass consumption and industrialization. Yet, it has some significance in the theory of civilization to note that international travel had been possible long before modern tourism was established and that a primitive style of tourism already existed at that period.

The largest empire in history was founded on the mobility of men on horseback. Unlike modern nation-states, it did not establish a "rigid" ruling system, nor did it keep up "rigid" borders. Its rulers placed the highest value on mobility and thus they preserved it for themselves, and provided it to others in order to continue its existence. Thus, through this mobility, it barely ruled the country.

Tourism is an activity where people collect information through travel experience on matters different from their ordinary daily activities.   In order to engage in tourism, it is necessary to secure the safety of transport outside one's own area and the freedom of mobility.   Nomadic civilization made it possible for people to become cosmopolitan long before passports and visas regulated travel.[13]

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13)   The nomad and the people descended from the nomad claim the freedom of mobility and often oppose control of mobility by passports and visas.   Similar discussions can be found in Matsubara 1991 and Katakura 1991.

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