

THE HISTORY OF THE HUNS



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(Steppe Trilogy)

Son of famous poets Anna Akhmatova and Nikolai Gumilev, Lev Nikolaevich Gumilev (1912-1992) devoted his life to science. He was attracted by the mysterious East, the mysteries of ancient civilizations, ancient peoples and tribes. Engaged in archeological studies of Khazaria, the history of the Hunnu and ancient Turks, he wrote several scientific papers. B 1957-1959 on behalf of the Institute of Oriental Studies, he wrote a monograph "Hunnu", and in 1960 appeared his first book, "Hunnu: Central Asia in ancient times. The Hunnu tells of a nomadic people, which in European historical tradition became known as the Huns. The reader learns about the great commanders of this ancient nomadic people, About his life, culture and traditions, its role in world history. After all, we, modern readers, know only one representative of this militant nomadic people - the formidable king of the Huns, conqueror Attila, raids and conquests expanded the borders of his state.

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Introduction

The existence of Hunnu people became known from the Chinese sources. Its name turned out to be much more durable than the people itself. It is widely known, in spite of the fact that its speakers perished about fifteen hundred years ago, while the names of many ancient neighboring and modern Hunnu peoples are now known only to specialized historians. The Xiongnu left a deep mark on world history. Moving westward from Asia, they found shelter in the Ugrian Urals. Mingling with them, they formed a new people which became known in Europe as the Huns. To this day, the word "Hun" is often heard as a synonym for "savage". And this is no accident, for the Huns for a thousand years acted not only as creators, but often as destroyers. *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis* 1.

However, our task is not to praise or condemn the long-defunct tribes. We

want to understand how a small nomadic people created a form of organization and culture that allowed them to maintain their independence and identity for many centuries, until they were finally defeated and totally exterminated. What was the strength of this people and why did it dry up? Who were the Huns to their neighbors and what did they leave to their descendants? Finding the answers to the posed questions, we will thus correctly determine the significance of the Xiongnu in the history of mankind.

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Scientific interest in the Xiongnu, their history and ethnographic peculiarities first arose in China. The genial author of the "Historical Notes" of Sima Qian, who lived in the 2nd century B.C., is considered the founder of "Hunnology." Not only did he chronicle the war that the Han Empire waged with the Xiongnu, but he posed the question: why, everywhere, were the victorious Chinese weapons unable to crush the nomadic barbarians? The geographical position, climate and terrain of China and Central Asia were so different, that the Chinese could not live in the Hun's steppes as well as the Huns could not live in China; therefore, the conquest of a different landscape and a different way of life is not feasible 2.

The rational grain of Sima Qian's analysis was the search for the objective factors of the historical process, but the reality revealed the invalidity of the geographical method: in the 1st century B.C. the Huns weakened, and the Han Empire became the hegemon in Central Asia for half a century. Sima Qian's follower was a talented historian of Confucianism Ban Gu, who wrote "The History of the Senior Han Dynasty", but he didn't finish his work, as he was among friends of a disgraced nobleman and so was imprisoned, where he died in 92 A.D.

1 Times change, and we change with them (Lat. - Ed.).

2 Bichurin N.Ya. A Collection of Information about the Peoples Who Dwelled in Central Asia in Ancient Times. VOL. I. M.-L., 1950. C. 51, 55, 57. Sima Qian, the son of the court astrologer Sima Tang, served at the court of Emperor Wudi in the late 2nd - early 1st century BC. He wrote the book "Shiji" - "Historical Notes", which became a model for further historical works. He was nicknamed in China, like Herodotus, "the father of history".

Ban Gu considered problems of subjugation of the Huns from the point of

view of expediency, and believed that inclusion in the empire of a culturally alien people could be harmful for China. He considered Huns so distant from Chinese culture that he did not allow any thought of possible assimilation, and justified in details necessity of fortification of Chinese borders with Huns even in peacetime³. It is possible that the historian's position was dictated by the fact that he wrote his work in the midst of the Hunnish-Chinese war.

The third book of interest, *The History of the Younger Han Dynasty*, was written in the 5th century A.D. by the South Chinese scholar Fan Hua. He used as his material works that have not survived, which he had, in his own words, "pondered intelligently."⁴ His work is drier and poorer than his predecessors, but through it Fan Hua rose to prominence. He later participated in an anti-state conspiracy and was executed.

These three historical works form the basis of the history of the East Asian Xiongnu. In the case of the Western Huns, so named in distinction from their eastern ancestors,⁵ the first place is occupied by the work of Ammianus Marcellinus⁶, who gave a colorful description of the people.

Like the Chinese historians, Ammianus Marcellinus, "a soldier and a Greek", stressed the differences between the Huns and all other peoples he knew, including the nomadic Alans. Of course, his description is one-sided⁷, imbued with hatred for the aliens, but for the researcher is important data, which coincides with his observations of the Chinese authors. They make it possible to reconstruct the image of the ancient people.

The mentioned authors exhaust the first period of "Hunnology", as the history of European Huns does not fall within the framework of our topic, neither chronologically, nor territorially.

The second period of "Hunnology" began in the 18th century, when the French began to deal with this problem. In the 18th century, French missionaries became interested not only in China, where their activities took place, but also in the northern peoples. Gobil, de Maillat and others, fluent in Chinese and Manchurian, compiled witty translated compilations that introduced Europe to the history of the eastern nomads. Professor

Deguigne of the Sorbonne took advantage of this body of work, compared Chinese and Byzantine sources, and published his capitol work on the Oriental Peoples 8.

Vivien de Saint Martin collected and reworked Near Eastern sources 9. The work, begun by the French school of the 18th century, was continued by the 19th century scholars, Abel Remusat, who left a great deal of private study, and Claproth, who created the *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, a historical and geographic atlas which was a valuable synthesis in its day. A new flowering of French historical scholarship on Central Asian issues came at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. This was the high point of European Orientalism. They are the general and specialized works of Édouard Chavanne.

3 Ibid. C. 93-96.

4 Ibid. C. 18.

5 Inostrantsev K.A. *The Huns and the Huns*. Л., 1926.

6 Ammianus Marcellinus. *History* III. Book XXXI. Kiev, 1908.

7 Cf. the description of the Hun's court by Priscus of Pania. Priscus encountered the descendants of Asiatic Huns, and Ammianus Marcellinus described them already in a mixture with Ugrians and other Eastern European peoples, in the "Chronicle of Priscus of Pani" (*Uchenie zapiski Rossii Akademii*. Kn. VII. Vyp. I. SPb, 1861).

8 Deguignes J. *Histoire des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols et des autres Tartas occidentaux avant et depuis J. C. jusqu'a present*. P., 1756-1758.

9 Saint-Martin V. *Les Huns blancs ou Ephtalites des historiens bysantins*. P., 1849 - For a critique of Vivien de Saint-Martin's conclusions see: Gumilev L.N. *Ephtalites and their neighbors in the IV century* (VDI. 1959. No 1).

Paul Pelliot, Henri Cordier, and René Grusse highlighted many issues and made it possible to proceed to the second, after Degin, generalization of the accumulated material. Of the German scholars, the monumental works of de Groot 10 and Franke 11 are worth mentioning; the information they provide is overwhelmingly the same as that found in French and Russian sources. As for Friedrich Hirt, 12 his works on the Xiongnu have not stood the test of time and have lost all value.

The works of English and American scientists occupy a special place in the history of science. Parker's book "Thousand years of the Tartare" (Shanghai, 1895) is vividly written, but lacks a reference system, which does not allow the reader to check the sometimes-unexpected claims of the author. Aurel Stein's monographs on the oases of the Tarim River basin, as well as Teggart's chronological studies are undoubtedly valuable contributions to science. The study of O. Lattimore is by no means uninteresting, although it only slightly touches on our subject. But all these works are only auxiliary to the "Hunnology", the book by McGovern 13 and articles by Otto Menchen-Helfen 14 are directly devoted to the Huns. McGovern is captive to Chinese historiography, which he perceives uncritically. In fact, he is presenting in good English the contents of the Chinese dynastic chronicles. His book is valuable as a complete sourcebook, and I have used it as a parallel translation of a Chinese text. Otto Menchen-Helfen questions Russian scholarship and denies the continuity of European Huns from Asian Huns. However, his arguments are refuted by detailed examination and comparison of facts, and his works are of no more than negative value. Thus, many scholars have participated in the study of the question of interest, but the first place in the study of the ancient history of Central Asia for the past 100 years belongs to Russian science.

The first Russian scholar to elevate Central Asian studies above the level of European science of the day was Bichurin, known as Iakinf, a monk. His splendid knowledge of the Chinese language and remarkable capacity for work enabled him to translate almost all Chinese works on the ancient history of Central Asia. His works, published in the second quarter of the 19th century, are still a cornerstone of nomadic and Hunnish history. No less important are his works on the historical geography of China and neighboring countries. These works were not printed in their time and began to be published only in the Soviet period.

Bichurin's publication of Chinese sources ushered in a brilliant era of Russian Orientalism, although some of his views and considerations were not fully confirmed (for example, his opinion that the Huns were Mongols). V. V. Grigoriev was the first to summarize Western and Oriental materials. Grigoriev, not only an Arabist and Iranist, but also a brilliant expert in Greco-Roman historiography. Using N.Ya. Bichurin's translations for

comparison with Near Eastern sources, he constructed a consolidated work, "Chinese, or Eastern Turkestan", which was an exhaustive study at his time and has not lost its value to this day.

10 S.S.M. de Groot. Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens. Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit. Berlin-Leipzig, 1921.

11 Franke Otto. Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches. Berlin, 1930.

12 Hirth Fridrich. Über Wolga - Hunnen und Hiung-nu. München, 1900. - For a critique of this work see Inostrantsev K.A. Hunnu and Huns. C. 126-131.

13 McGovern W. The early empires of Central Asia. L., 1939.

14 Maenchen-Helfen O. The Huns and the Hsiung-nu (Byzantion. Vol. XXII, 1945); The legend of origine of the Huns (Byzantion. Vol. XVII, 1945).

But it is not only cabinet scientists who have devoted their labors and energies to the study of Asian antiquity. No lesser merit fell to individual travelers and the Geographic Society as a whole. N. M. Przewalski discovered and described countries that had until then been known only by hearsay. His students, P.K. Kozlov and V.I. Roroborovsky completed the work of their teacher and not only visited but also described the environment of the lands where the Hunnic people had originated, lived, and disappeared. They were followed by M.V. Pevtsov, brothers M.E. and G.E. Grumm-Grzhimailo, G.N. Potanin, V.A. Obruchev and in our time E.M. Murzaev. In the bright and colorful expedition reports and diaries in front of the reader pictures of endless steppes, mountain ranges, from which clean streams, heated rocky and sandy deserts, snow storms and gentle blooming Asian spring. The pages devoted to hunting acquaint us with the kinds of animals that the Huns hunted in ancient times, and the discovery of archaeological sites allows us to get in touch directly with the material culture of distant times. No less important are their ethnographic observations, which provided material for the classification not only of modern peoples, but also of those who disappeared in ancient times.

In 1896 N.A. Aristov published in the journal "Zhivaya Starina" a small, but extremely rich research "Notes on ethnic composition of the Türkic tribes and nations," in which an important place is given to the ancient peoples.

The famous traveler G. E. Grumm-Grzhimailo, who devoted a number of

works to the history of Central Asia, the most important of which is "Western Mongolia and the Urian-Chai Territory", was his successor. This remarkable study summarizes all the work of Russian and European historians and geographers and critically examines all the hypotheses and viewpoints of his time. This work by Grumm-Grzhimailo is a handbook for historians of Central Asia. But not all issues of the history of Inner Asia were in the field of vision of Grumm-Grzhimailo, who was interested mainly in historical geography, paleoethnography, and some issues of chronology. This gap is filled by a small but exceptionally valuable book by K.A. Inostrantsev, "Huns and Huns". The content of this work is defined by its subtitle: "Analysis of theories about the origin of the Hunnu people in the Chinese annals, about the origin of the European Huns, and about the mutual relations of these two peoples". It is safe to say that none of the existing concepts escaped the gaze of the author and his detailed analysis. The books of G.E. Grumm-Grzhimailo and K.A. Ivan Strantsev together contain the quintessence of all previous science about the Huns. A step back was A.N. Bernshtam's book "Sketch of the History of the Huns". It does not contain a coherent account of events and changes in Hun society, and the author's conclusions, when subjected to criticism, did not stand up to it 15. However, this particular failure pales in comparison with the success of archaeology. There is no need to dwell on certain discoveries and works, although they have forced us to completely abandon the prejudiced point of view, which painted us ancient nomads as rude savages. A special study by S. I. Rudenko "The Material Culture of the Xiongnu" is devoted to these issues. Suffice it to point out the monumental work of S.V. Kiselev "The Ancient History of South Siberia", dedicated to the richest culture of the Sayan-Altai, and the study of A.P. Okladnikov "Neolithic and Bronze Age in Lake Baikal Region". Only these studies made it possible to trace the history of the Xunnu people, to establish the northern boundary of its distribution, and thus to understand its historical role. It was a rival not only to the Han Empire in the areas adjacent to the Great Wall of China, as has been hitherto imagined, but also to other tribes and peoples. The history of the Xiongnu ceased to be an appendage of Chinese history 16.

15 See: Soviet Archaeology. VOL. XVII. 1963. C. 320-326.

16 This book deals exclusively with the Asiatic Huns, and the history of their Eastern European branch the reader can find in the book: Artamonov M.I. History of the Khazars. L., 1960, and also: Altheim Franz. Geschichte

der Hunnen. Berlin, 1959.

The present work aims to clarify the place which the Hunnu occupied in the world history as creators of an independent though underdeveloped culture. This aspect deals with their relations to the Chinese people and the emperors of the Han dynasty; of interest are their varied relations with the nomadic steppe tribes and their Western connections, not directly mentioned in the sources, but revealed through a comparison of available materials. As in any consolidated work, this book makes use of advanced scholarship.

I. In the Dark Ages In ancient China

In ancient times, China's territory bore little resemblance to that of today. It was covered by virgin forests and swamps fed by rivers that flooded, vast lakes, impassable saline lands, and only on the plateaus were grasslands and steppes.

In the east, between the lower reaches of the Huang He (Yellow River) and the Yangtze stretched a chain of quicksand soils. The modern Hebei province was a huge delta called the "Nine Rivers". Farther from the seashore stretched wide lakes and swamps, and the Yi and Huai rivers disappeared into the swampy valley of the lower Yangtze. "Lush vegetation clothed the entire Weihe River basin; majestic oaks grew there, and groups of cypresses and pines were visible everywhere. The forests were inhabited by tigers, irbis, yellow leopards, bears, buffalo, wild boars; jackals and wolves howled perpetually.

The fight against rivers has for centuries occupied a great place in the life of the Chinese people. During the dry season, they were very shallow, but as soon as it rained in the mountains, they swelled and burst their banks. When the rivers overflowed, they lost their speed of flow and deposited sediment. One part of the ancient inhabitants of Northern China escaped the raging waters and retreated into the mountains where they supported their livelihood by hunting, another part fought the rivers with determination: they were the ancestors of the Chinese. Hard-working Chinese farmers have been building levees since ancient times, to protect their livelihoods and their fields from floods. "The land where they lived has long been

inhabited by tribes with different cultures and ancestors. In the lands where they lived, each tribe developed its own culture in the struggle against the forces of nature. 18 These tribes often struggled with each other. According to the Chinese historical tradition, already the first of the Chinese dynasties, the semi-legendary Xia, were struggling with other tribes inhabiting the territory of China in the 3rd millennium B.C. These tribes were called Zhong and Di. They inhabited the forested mountains, while the ancestors of the Chinese got the lowlands. To the north, in the dry steppes, lived Hun-yu tribes. Legends tell us that in 2600 B.C. The "Yellow Emperor" undertook a campaign against them. But the main opponents of the Xia were not they, but the Juns and Di.

In Chinese folklore there are echoes of the struggle between the "black-headed" ancestors of the Chinese and the "red-headed devils" 19. 19 The Chinese won the thousand-year war. They pushed the "barbarians" into the mountains, the steppes and even the southern jungles, but, as we shall see below, this victory was not final. Despite its successes, the Xia Kingdom possessed only the Henan region and the southwestern part of Shanxi; it was here that the core of the future Chinese nation was concentrated. In 176 420 B.C., the Xia Dynasty in China was replaced by the Shang Dynasty in a coup, which established the foundations of the ancient Chinese civilization and formed the ancient Chinese nation 21.

17 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Can the Chinese be considered autochthons of the basins of the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River? (Proceedings of the State Geographic Society, 1933. Separate imprint). C. 29-30.

18 Fan Wen-lan. The Ancient History of China from the primitive communal system to the formation of the centralized feudal state. M., 1958. C. 36.

19 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. The Western Mongolia and Uryankhai Krai. VOL. II. Chapter. 1. Л., 1926.

20 According to new calculations, this date was changed to 1586 (see: "Essays of the history of the Ancient East". L, 1956. P.229) or 1562 (?) (see: Fan Wen-lan. Ancient History of China... P.45). On the degree of legends about Xia see also: Lattimore O. Inner Asian frontier of China. New York, 1940. P. 286.

21 Fan Wen-lan. Ancient History of China... C. 38-66.

Shang-Yin is the first fully historical dynasty of China. The emergence of the first Chinese state is connected with it. Numerous excavations restore the picture of its culture, but the political history is still dark. What is clear is that the Shang was already a true slave-holding state with hereditary power and aristocracy. The most important cultural achievement of this era was the invention of hieroglyphic writing, which played an extremely important role in the later history of China. Not only did trade develop with Hebei to the north of the Huang Heg, trade reached as far north-east as Baikal and the banks of the Angara River. Of course, only goods reached there, not the Chinese themselves, who usually made the exchange with the help of intermediary tribes. Metal was sent to Siberia: tin, bronze, and from Siberia green and white jade, precious furs and possibly slaves 22. This is how a Far Eastern cultural hotbed was formed.

Origin of the Xiongnu

In the Eighteenth Century B.C. two events took place in northern China with enormous repercussions. In 1797 the Chinese nobleman Gong-li fell into disgrace and fled westward to the Jungs. He was apparently followed by many supporters, for here he was able to build a town for himself and rule on his own, separating himself from the Chinese kingdom of Xia. According to sources, Gong-li "was transformed into a Western Jung. In 1327 their descendants, driven by the prince Shan-fu and persecuted by zhuns, returned to their homeland and settled in the northern Shaanxi (Qishan mountains). 24 From this newly formed tribe emerged came the Zhou dynasty 25. Being still a small principedom, Zhou fought against Jungs, and in 1140-1130 BC the Chang prince "chased Jung-i from the rivers Gin and Luo" (in the Gansu province) northward 26.

The zhun-i were tributaries of Zhou for some time, but around the 10th century B.C. "steppe tribute" ceased and a persistent war broke out. The Jungs sought to regain their lost lands; the division of China into many principalities facilitated their advancement. At the same time, a new nation, the Xiongnu, was forming in the steppe bordering the southern edge of the Gobi. The Hanyun and Hanyu tribes had been wandering there for a long time. Neither of them were Huns 27. At that time there were no Huns yet. But after the overthrow of the Xia Dynasty, Shun Wei, son of the last king Jie-kyu, who died in exile, went to the northern steppes with his family and

subjects 28. Shun Wei, according to Chinese historical tradition, is considered the ancestor of the Xiongnu. According to this tradition, the Xiongnu emerged from a mixture of Chinese immigrants and steppe nomadic tribes. Undoubtedly, these legendary accounts only very closely reflect the historical reality. However, it would be wrong to deny their rationality. Although attempts have been made to deny the existence of the Xia period on the grounds that there is no mention of the preceding dynasty in the records of the Shang dynasty, the most skeptical scholars of Chinese antiquity, such as Guo Mozho, as well as Lattimorot, acknowledging the legendary character of the stories about Xia, believe that this dynasty existed 29, that in ancient times "Xia" meant "China" 30 and that its borders coincide with the borders of Neolithic black ceramics culture 31. Further, Lattimorot notes the enormous difference between Xia and Shan cultures and suggests even a partial synchronicity of their existence 32.

22 Okladnikov A.P. Neolithic and Bronze Age of Pribaikalye. CH. III. MOSCOW.; L., 1955. C. 200-202.

23 Bichurin N.Ya. Collection of information about the peoples who lived in ancient times in Central Asia, Vol. M.; L., 1950. C. 40.

24 Bichurin N.Ya. VOL.III. M.; L., 1953. C. 67.

25 Bichurin N.Ya. VOL. I. C. 41.

26 Ibid.

27 See: Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia... C. 80, where the opposite opinions of Chavannes and Sira-tori are refuted.

28 Bichurin N.Ya. 28 BICHURIN N.YA. C. 40.

Thus, it is possible to assume that the two tribes clashed and one of them won. It is even more probable that as a result of the defeat some of the defeated fled beyond the borders of their native country, invaded by the enemy, and found a shelter with neighboring tribes.

But who were these mysterious Hanyun and Hunyu tribes that Shun Wei's comrades-in-arms mingled with? In ancient times, the Chinese called the Gobi periphery "the sandy country of Shasai" 33 and considered it the homeland of the Dinlins. According to anthropological data, the Euro-peoid short-headed type and Mongoloid narrow-faced, i.e., Chinese type were mestized here at that time 34. The Mongoloid broad-faced type was common at that time north of the Gobi.

We are entitled to conclude that hanyun and hongyu were descendants of the aborigines of Northern China who were pushed out by the "black-headed" ancestors of the Chinese into the steppe as early as in the 3rd millennium BC. The Chinese who came with Shun Wei mixed with these tribes and formed the first Prahun ethnic substratum, which became Hunnic only in the subsequent era, when the Prahuns crossed the sandy deserts. Then a new interbreeding took place on the plains of Khalkha, resulting in the historical Xiongnu. Until then they were called Hu, i.e. steppe nomads. So, the Huns were the first people to conquer the deserts. And for that they needed to be brave and tenacious.

The Nature of the Eastern Steppes

Central Asia is surrounded by mountains on all sides. From the northwest, the powerful Sayan-Altai Mountain range separates it from the cold and damp forest of Siberia. A strip of desert (Gobi), like a sea, divides Central Asia in two, and it is not without reason that the Chinese called this desert Han-hai-more. Przewalski describes Gobi as follows: "For weeks at a time the same images appear before the eyes of the traveler: the immense plains, yellowish in color with dried grass, the blackish, rugged ridges of rocks, the gentle hills, on top of which sometimes a silhouette of an antelope is drawn " 35.

35 In addition to antelopes, the Gobi is the habitat of wild camels, which lived there in the 19th century, and a huge number of rodents. To the ancient Chinese, this desert seemed impassable.

In the southeast, the boundary of Central Asia is the Yingshan Range (a meridional extension of the Great Khingan) and the adjoining Liaoxi Mountains. On the slopes of these mountains once grew dense forests full of game, horned and feathered. From the north, Yingshan borders the steppe.

To the west of the bend of the Huang He stretches the Alashan Desert. Przewalski wrote: "For many tens or even hundreds of kilometers, we see here bare, loose sands, always ready to suffocate a traveler with their scorching heat, or be covered by the sand storm. There is not a drop of

water in them; there is no beast or bird in sight, and the dead desolation fills the soul of a man who wanders here with horror. 36 The high mountain system of Nanshan ranges closes the desert from the south.

29 See: Lattimore O. Inner Asian... P. 286.

30 Ibid. P. 300; Fan Wen-lan. Ancient history of China... C. 135.

31 Lattimore O. Inner Asian... P. 302. Fan Wen-lan believes that the Xia epoch corresponded to the Lunshan culture (see: Fan Wen-lan. Ancient History of China... P. 43-44).

32 Lattimore O. Inner Asian... P. 300.

33 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia... C. 11.

34 Debets G.F. Paleoanthropology of the USSR. MOSCOW; L., 1948. C. 82.

35 See: Berg L.S. Travels of Przewalski. M.; L., 1952. C. 13. 36 Ibid. C. 20.

To the west lies the rich Dunhuang oasis, and from it begins the caravan route to the Khami oasis. The way is exceptionally hard. Przewalski gave a vivid description of it: "Bones of horses, mules and camels continually lie along the road. Over the heated soil hangs cloudy, as if filled with smoke atmosphere. Often hot whirlwinds and columns of swirling dust drifted far away. Ahead and on the sides of the traveler mirages play. The heat in the daytime is unbearable. The sun burns from sunrise to sunset. The bare soil was heated to 63 °, and in the shade it was not less than 35 °. There was also no chill at night, but it was possible to move along this path only at night and in the early morning. 37 The Chinese called the Alashan Desert a "bay" or "bay of the Sea of Sand" (Gobi). For centuries, this sea of sand had been an impassable barrier between the East and the West. But this barrier did not frighten the Xiongnu.

The Jung and the Xiongnu

The events of the first and second periods of the Hun's history (from 1200 to 214 B.C.) have not found a sufficient reflection in the Chinese historiography. It is understandable why. The Xiongnu were an intermediate link between the steppes and civilized China. They held in their hands a wide strip of foothills from the Khami oasis in the west 38 to Kxingan in the east. Their numerous tribes "lived scattered over the mountain valleys, had their own sovereigns and elders, often assembled in a large number of

clans, but could not unite". 39 It is quite probable that the Huns sometimes took part in the campaigns of their neighbors, and that was the only way for the Chinese to learn about their existence.

Therefore, the information about the Huns of the ancient period is sketchy. The latter gave rise to different hypotheses identifying Huns either with Hanyun and Hunyu 40, or with the Shanjuns themselves 41, and it was forgotten that Huns were steppe people, not mountaineers.

In connection with all stated above the enigmatic ethnonym Jun is revealed. Because of an error or inaccurate Sima Qian expression, there were attempts to identify Jungs with Huns 42, but we see that everywhere in the sources Jungs are presented jointly with Di 43, so that they, maybe, correctly Bichurin interprets in his translation as a single people - Jung-di. Moreover, there is a legend, according to which chidi and quan-di were of the same origin 44. The Jungs and Di apparently differed so little from each other that the Chinese called some genera of the Di the Western Jungs 45. The most eastern tribe of them, inhabiting the slopes of Khingán and Yinshan, was called Shanzhun, or mountain zhun. Being cut off from the main masses of their people, the mountain junks merged partially with the eastern Mongols – Dunhu 46, partially - with the Huns. No less intensively they merged with the Chinese 47 and, in the west, with the Tibetans. In the latter case they turned into the still existing people - the Tanguts.

37 Ibid. C. 45-46.

38 Bichurin N.Ya. VOL. III. C. 57. 39 Bichurin N.Ya. VOL. I. C. 43. 40 Ibid. C. 39.

41 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. *Western Mongolia...* C. 85; Chavannes Ed. *Les memoires historiques des Sst-ma Th'ien.* P., 1899. P. 31; Wylie. *History of the Hiung-noo in their relations with China (Journal of the Anthropol. Institute of Gr. Britan and Ireland 1874. No9).* P. 401.

42 Bichurin N.Ya. VOL. I. C. 39. Cf: "Tszinshu", ch. 97, where is the boundary between Huns (Huns) and six Hun tribes (Bernshtam A.N. *Sketches of the Hun history.* Л., 1951. C. 219. Published text).

43 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. *Western Mongolia...* C. 45. 44 Ibid. C. 15.

45 Ibid. C. 45.

46 Ibid. C. 85.

47 Ibid. C. 45-46. - Reference to Art: V.P. Vasiliev, *On the relations of the Chinese language to the Central Asian languages (Journal of the Mini-*

On the relations between Chinese and Central Asian (Jurnal of the Ministry of National Education. 1872. September); Fan Wen-lan. Ancient history of China. C. 136.

A special race in China ceases to be a mystery: in ancient times the Tanguts were much more widespread than now, when they survived as a small ethnic islet near Lake Kukuror.

This view is at odds with that of European and American historians. In particular, McGovern considers the Jungs and the Dee as Huns 48, wondering only that their ethnographic features do not coincide. A detailed and detailed analysis of this topic is given by Lattimore 49, who concludes that Jungs and Di inhabited the inner China and were settled mountaineers, not steppe nomads, i.e. not Huns, but he says nothing about their racial affiliation.

Cheboksarov N.N. completely ignores the Zhun problem, 50 not noticing that this prevents him from resolving correctly the ethnogenesis of the Chinese. The quote from the "Jin shu" (Ch. 97), which states that Huns in the west border on the six Jung tribes 51, that is, the difference between these peoples is clearly underlined, makes sufficient definition.

However, all authors find it difficult to determine the difference between the Jungs and Di from the Chinese inside China and from the Xiongnu outside China, while from the analysis of historical events it is clear that this difference was obvious for their contemporaries. Here the so-called "Dinling" theory of Grumm-Grzhimailo completely solves the question. It was a racial difference that ancient Chinese authors were not yet able or did not consider it necessary to emphasize 52.

Zhou's Victory and Its Aftermath

The principdom of Zhou was located in the territory of the modern Shaanxi province and had among its subjects many warlike Jungs and Chinese accustomed to frontier battles. At the time when the Achaeans were ravaging Troy, and the Huns were crossing the Gobi, the Chzhou king Wen-van "by the forces of the blond [and black-haired] barbarians" was making conquests between the sea and the Tibetan Plateau. 53 He left his son a

host of warriors who "had the hearts of tigers and wolves," and bequeathed the conquest of the Shan-Yin kingdom.

His son Wu-wang began a war and reached the Huang He River, but was repulsed. Two years later, in 1027 BC 55, he repeated the campaign, this time successfully: the Shang-Yin state fell. Many of the defeated were enslaved and granted to Zhou warlords and officials, and they were granted to entire clans. Many slaves were taken from among the eastern (i) and southern (man) neighbors of the Shan-yin Empire. The Zhou king seized the entire interfluvium and both banks of the great rivers Huang He and Yangtze.

On the fall of the Shang dynasty there are three completely different opinions. European scholarship holds that the Shang dynasty was destroyed by the invasion of Zhou tribes from the west into the Huang He valley. Feudal Chinese historiography believed that the Shang was a degenerate dynasty and the coup of 1066 B.C., which brought the Zhou dynasty to power, was a step towards progress. Finally, Guo Mozho, considering this view as a tendentious apologia for the violent seizure of power by the Zhou, emphasizes, that the coup led only to the fragmentation and decline of China 56. The Zhou consisted of 1,855 self-styled fiefdoms that only nominally recognized the supremacy of the tsar.

48 McGovern W. The early empires of Central Asia. L., 1939. P. 87, etc.

49 Lattimore O. Inner Asian... P. 340-349.

50 Cheboksarov N.N. To a question about the origin of the Chinese // Soviet Ethnography. 1947. No 1. C. 30-70. 51 See: Burnshtam A.N. Essays on the History of the Huns. C. 219. (The published text of the "Tszin shu").

52 See: Gumilev L.N. Dinglin problem // IVGO. 1959. No 1.

53 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia... C. 69.

54 Ibid. C. 16.

55 According to the corrected chronology, in 1066 (see: Fan Wen-lan. Ancient History of China... P. 72).

Some historians consider this era as the beginning of Chinese feudalism 57. The division of the country into many principalities did not meet the needs of the population; could the petty princes have organized works of land reclamation and river-bank protection? The economy naturally

deteriorated.

The ideology also changed: "The Zhou obscured the idea of Shang-di, the supreme god - ruler of the world, and brought naturalism and the cult of heroes into the renewed religion" 58, eliminating the human sacrifice that existed 59. There was ethnic intermixing, with the result that the Chinese sometimes had tall noses and puffy beards. 60

The talented and industrious Chinese people stubbornly sought order and peace, which could not be achieved in political fragmentation. The king's government was powerless against it. But over time, individual principalities began to enlarge at the expense of their neighbors. In the Chongqiu period (Spring and Autumn, 722-480) only 124 large principalities remained, and in the following Zhanguo period (Warring States, 403-221) only seven large and three small principalities remained.

This era is reflected in the geographical treatise Yuigong, a section of the classic book Shanshu. It was written presumably in the Spring and Autumn period, when the North Chinese states were already connected with the territory of the modern Sichuan province; there were iron mines in the latter, which is mentioned in Yugun 61.

In Yugun China is divided into nine districts located between the middle reaches of the Huang He and Yangtze and on the coast to the south from the Yangtze estuary, including Guangdong. In the south the author of Yugong knows Annam, but the western regions of Tibet, Qinghai, Xian, Gansu, Yunnan, and Guizhou are unknown to him. "Strong and brave barbarians," as the author of the Yugun calls them, "sheltered by mountains, forests, and deserts," separated the eastern center of culture from the western middle and southern Indian ones for a long and lasting time.

But who were the "barbarians" who separated the East from the West? They could not have been the Xiongnu, who lived at this time much to the north, away from the caravan routes.

Some light on this confusing question is shed by Western antique sources, in particular Ptolemy 62. Ptolemy places two different peoples in the

territory of modern China: Sines and Serbs. The Sines are placed to the south of the Serae and their capital is named - Tina, which lies deep inland from the port of Kattigara.

Ptolemy's map is so approximate, if not fantastic, that it is extremely difficult to identify the place names. However, another thing is significant for us: the Sines are undoubtedly authentic Qin Chinese and are not identified with the Seri, who supplied silk-sericum to Parthia and the Roman Empire. The Sers are mentioned earlier than the Sines, and in another connection. So, the Greco-Bactrian king Eutidemus about 200 B.C. expanded his possessions in the east "to the possessions of the fauns and the Seri" 63. along the great caravan route, subsequently, when the silk trade was established, the name "sulphur" was applied to the silk suppliers in the Tarim Basin, not to the Chinese themselves 64.

56 Guo Mozho. The era of the slave system. M., 1956.

57 Fan Wen-lan. Ancient History of China... C. 69; see: T? kei F. Sur le terme nong-fou dans le Che-king (Acta Orientalia. 1955. Vol. V). P. 123-141.

58 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia... C. 35; De Harles. Les religions de la Chine (Le Mus? on. 1891. Vol. X).

59 Fan Wen-lan. Ancient History of China... C. 100.

60 Grumm-Grzhimailo points out that many Chinese emperors had an eagle's profile and a lush beard. Rightly so. The Three Kingdoms describes many heroes in the same way, and one of them, the red-bearded Sun Quan, was even nicknamed "the blue-eyed brat" (Lo Guan-chong) (See: The Three Kingdoms. VOL. I. M., 1954. C. 369.

61 See: Zaichikov V.T. The most important geographical works of ancient China // Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Series Geo Graphic. 1955. No 3.

62 Thomson J.O. History of ancient geography. M., 1953. C. 437-439.

63 Ibid. C. 253. The Fauni-Kyans were Tibetan tribes that were nomadic in the Yarkend-Darya basin (see: Maenchen-Helfen O.

The next, even more important report about sulfurs, which Thomson regards as "absurd" 65 is based on the account of Ceylon ambassadors. According to them, the Sulphurs are tall, red-haired and blue-eyed people who live beyond "Emod", i.e., beyond the Himalayas. This account is

rejected as improbable by Jul 66, but in vain, for Pseudo-Arrian (Pericles of the Eritrean Sea, § 39, 49, 64) mentions routes from the country of the Sulphurs to Bactria and from there to the Indian harbors 67. Thus, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Ceylonians met the Seriki. The territory of the Seriki, according to Thomson's summary, extends from Kashgar to Northern China, north of the "bauts," i.e., Tibetan gods. 68 It is a territory occupied by the tribe of the Bactria and the Indian harbors. It is an area occupied by the Di tribes, whom we have the right to identify with the Sera both territorially and physically.

Pseudohuns // Central Asiatic journal. Vol. I. No 2. P. 102-103; Tarn W.W. The Greeks in Bactria and India. Cambridge, 1950. P. 84- 85; Gumilev, L.N. Terracotta figures of monkeys from Khotan // Short reports of the State Hermitage. Л., 1959. No 16.

64 Gumilev L. N. Terracotta figures of monkeys from Hotan; see also: Soothill. China and West. L., 1925; Yule-Cordier. Cathay and Way Thither. L., 1915.

65 Thomson J. O. History of ancient geography. C. 427. 66 Yule-Cordier. Cathay... P. 200.

67 Thomson J.O.. History of Ancient Geography. C. 428. 68 Ibid. C. 431.

II. Exiles in the steppe Prehistory of the Hunnu

In the study of the most ancient period of the Hun's history a question about the ancient population of Siberia and its area acquires unexpected importance. As will be shown below, the Xiongnu are first mentioned in Chinese history under 1764 BC. The next mentions of them go under 822 and 304 B.C. Nearly a thousand and a half years of Hun history remain in deep shadow. To come closer to illuminating this period, we must turn to the archaeology of Siberia.

Archaeologists distinguish two synchronous self-styled cultures in the 2nd millennium B.C. in southern Siberia the Glazkov culture in the east and the Andronovo culture in the west. "On the territory of Lake Baikal there lived a group of related tribes that could most likely be the ancestors of the modern Evenks, Evenks or Yukaghirs. Their culture... was extremely close to the culture of the inhabitants of the upper Amur River and Northern Manchuria,

as well as Mongolia, up to the Great Wall of China and Ordos. It is possible, therefore, that this entire vast area was inhabited by culturally related tribes of hunters and fishermen of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age... tribes of hunters and fishermen of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age were probably related to one another. 69

Later, some ancestors of the Huns encountered and mingled with the southern part of these tribes - people of Gluck culture. The western half of southern Siberia and Kazakhstan up to the Urals were occupied from 1700 to 1200 BC by the Andronovo culture. Its bearers, belonging to the white race, in the 18th century BC took possession of the Minusinsk Basin and were just about to merge with the Glazkovs on the Yenisei River. 71 The Andronovs were agriculturalists, they were farmers and sedentary stockbreeders 72; of metals, they knew bronze, and their graves contain many exquisitely ornamented clay vessels. The Andronovo culture is connected with the West. 73 Non-Andronovo and Neoglazk culture played its first role in southern Siberia in the 2nd millennium B.C.

We have already mentioned above the Dinlins in the "sandy land Shasai", i.e. on the Gobi margin 74. They also inhabited the Sayan-Altai highlands, the Minusinsk Basin and Tuva. Their type is "characterised by the following features: average height, often tall, stout and strong build, elongated face, white skin with blush on the cheeks, blond hair, nose, which protrudes, straight, often eagle-like, and bright eyes 75. These conclusions based on written sources are also confirmed by archaeology. The Sayan-Altai was the birthplace of the Afanasyev culture, which dates to approximately 2000 B.C. Anthropologically, the Afanasyevs were a peculiar race. They had "a sharply protruding nose, a relatively low face, low eye sockets, a broad forehead - all these signs indicate that they belonged to the European trunk. The Athanasians, however, differ from modern Europeans by their much broader face. In this respect they are similar to the upper Paleolithic skulls of Western Europe, that is, to the Cro-Magnon type in the broad sense of the term 76.

69 Okladnikov A.P. Neolithic and Bronze Age of Baikal Region. CH. III. MOSCOW; L., 1955. C. 8.

70 Ibid. C. 9-10.

71 Kiselev S.V. Ancient History of South Siberia. M., 1951.
72 Griaznov M.P. Monuments of the Karasuk stage in Central Kazakhstan // Soviet Archeology. 1952. T. XVI. 73 Kiselev S.V. Ancient History. C. 100.
74 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia and the Uryankhai Krai. VOL. II. L., 1926. C. 11. 75 Ibid. C. 34-35.

The descendants of the Athanasian culture were the tribes of the Tagar culture, which survived to the 3rd century B.C.⁷⁷ It makes one think that the Athanasian-Dinlinians carried their culture through the centuries, despite foreign invasions.

About 1200, in the Minusinsk steppes, the Andronovo culture was replaced by the new Kara-Suk culture, brought by settlers from the south, from North China⁷⁸ from the banks of the Yellow River. The Chinese style penetrated into Western Siberia for the first time. This is not just borrowing. A new racial type - a mix of Mongoloids and Europoids, where Europoids are brachy-cranes, and Mongoloids are narrow-faced and belong to the "Far-Eastern race" of Asian trunk⁷⁹.

This race was formed in Northern China during the Yangshao era. In appearance, its representatives resemble modern Uzbeks, who are also the product of a mixture of Caucasoid and Mongoloid components. They mixed locally in turn, but for us it is especially important to note that "a mixed people had already migrated to southern Siberia. To the narrow-faced southern Mongoloid, a Europoid Brachy-Cranian type is mingled, whose origin is unclear, as well as its place in the systematics"⁸⁰.

One is tempted to compare this mysterious brachicranial Europoid element, which came from China, with Di. But the presence of a Europoid element of different types in Siberia and China makes the question be resolved as follows: Di and Dinlins are peoples of the European racial trunk, but of different racial types; similar, but not identical⁸¹.

G.E. Grumm-Grzhimailo, who identified the Di and Dinlins, noted: "The long-headed race that inhabited Southern Siberia in the Neolithic epoch hardly had any genetic connection with the Di tribes, i.e. Dinlins (?), who lived, as we know, from time immemorial in the Yellow River basin. Rather,

it can be seen as a race, the remnants of which have survived to the present day in the far east of Asia (the Ainu. - L.G.) 82.

But the Chinese considered this particular long-headed race as Dinlins, and the Sayan mountains were called "Dinlin 83 . Dinlins disappeared from the historical arena in the middle of the II century AD, while Dili, a steppe group of Di, entered it in the IV century. It should be assumed that the Yenisei Kyrgyz were connected with the aborigines of Siberia, the Dinlins, and not with the Di that came from the south. The southern branch of the Dinlins, who roamed south of the Sayan Mountains, intermingled with the ancestors of the Xiongnu, and it is no accident that the Chinese considered high noses as an outward distinguishing characteristic of the Xiongnu. When Shi Min ordered that every last Hun be slaughtered, in the year 350. "Many Chinese with high noses died "84.

76 Debets G.F. Paleoanthropology of the USSR. MOSCOW; L., 1948. C. 65.

77 Kiselev S.V. Ancient History... C. 301; Debedz G.F. Paleoanthropology of the USSR. C. 128.

78 Kiselev S.V. Ancient History... C. 114-116.

79 Debets G.F. Paleoanthropology of the USSR. C. 83.

80 Ibid.

81 Gumilev L.N. Dinlinskaya problem // IVGO. 1959. No 1.

82 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia... C. 43.

83 Bichurin N.Ya. Collection of information about people who lived in Central Asia in ancient times. VOL. I. M.; L., 1950. C. 107.

84 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia... C. 15.

Distribution of tribes in Central Asia around the 7th century B.C.

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So, the Dinlins were a people that mixed with the Yuga Pre-Khuns. The Chinese history has preserved the description of the life of the Hu, ancestors of the Huns 85 in the prehistoric period of their life. In this description the Hu are not much like the historical Huns in their social structure, but are close to them in their everyday life. In ancient times, the Huns apparently had no state structure. Individual families roamed the steppe with herds of horses, cattle and small ruminants, and, to a lesser extent, camels and donkeys.

Nomadic life did not involve wandering randomly across the steppe. In spring, nomads would move to their summer camps in the mountains, where the lush vegetation of the alpine meadows attracted people and cattle, and in autumn they would descend to the flat, snowy steppes, where cattle would forage all winter long. The summer and wintering grounds of the nomads were strictly distributed and formed the property of the clan or family. This was also the case with the Huns.

However, it is necessary to note that Sima Qian⁸⁶ perhaps, attributed to him deep antiquity, some features of the Hun's way of life were so habitual for him, that he could not imagine that it could be otherwise. He may have exaggerated the role of nomadic herding in the Hu economy, but it would be unreasonable to deny completely the pastoralism of the Inner Mongolian steppe of the Neolithic era. The only question is to what extent this pastoralism was nomadic.

The most important for the characterization of this period of the Hun's history are the following notes: "Those who can wield a bow all join the lath (?!) cavalry... everyone is engaged in military exercises to make raids... The strong eat fat and the best; the weary eat their leftovers. The young and the strong are respected; the old and the weak are little esteemed... Usually they call each other by names; they do not have nicknames and names (clan names. - L.G.)⁸⁷.

⁸⁵ Bichurin N.Ya. VOL. I. C 40. ⁸⁶ See footnote 2 in the Introduction.

⁸⁷ Bichurin N.Ya. T. I. C. 40.

All this testifies to some weakening of the clan ties, to the domination of physical force over customs and traditions. Especially important is the lack of clan nicknames in the epoch of the clan system, while in the later historical epoch the source clearly states the complete triumph of the clan relations (see below). It can be assumed that the above remarks refer to some period when the Hun's ancestors were bound not by the common origin but by the common historical destiny.

But the weakening of clan ties must have had its reasons, especially because along with the above phenomena we observe institutions and

customs indisputably related to the clan system. For example, the form of marriage was not a double family but a polygamous one, with the wives being inherited as other property: stepmother to her son, daughter-in-law to her brother, which is characteristic of the patriarchal patrimonial system. It would not be correct to consider this only as a woman's inferior position; often the form of marriage guaranteed a woman against poverty in case of widowhood because the new husband was obliged to give her a place at the hearth and a share of the food and could not leave her to the mercy of fate. All together points to some interrupted historical process, which most likely took place when the Huns were still living inside China.

Let us reconcile this with the archaeological data.

The Swedish expedition of 1927-1937 discovered the Neolithic culture in Inner Mongolia, with its late stage dating to "the time of about 2000 B.C., if not later 88. This culture differs sharply from the Neolithic of Northern China "with which it had only known contact 89.

The conclusion suggests itself. The Neolithic culture belonged to those steppe hunter-gatherer tribes to which the defeated Di first fled from China and then their overthrown victors, the supporters of the Xia Dynasty. This conclusion is supported by the fact that "many infiltrations of the North Chinese Neolithic culture are found everywhere. An attempt to reconstruct the way of life of the Neolithic population leads to the conclusion that these were hunters, fishermen and gatherers who lived in permanent settlements along rivers and lakes.

Thus, the ancient Hu, who welcomed into their midst two waves of exiles from China, were, according to both narrative and material sources, a very primitive people, devoid of state organization and not yet even in need of it. Their contribution to culture is that, having mastered nomadic herding, they were able to cross the desert, the sandy sea of Gobi. i.e. They discovered Siberia, just as their Phoenician contemporaries, having learned to sail the sea, discovered Europe. Both discoveries were important for the destiny of history, and it is difficult to say which is more significant. Since archaeology asserts, to the best of its ability, the data of the Chinese chronicles, we should also pay close attention to that part of them, which by its very nature cannot find archaeological proof - the description of the marriage customs

and the disrespectful treatment of elders. The data of the chronicles speak of the absence of family traditions, and this can only be brought about by a drastic deterioration of living conditions, when all the weak are doomed to perish. The poverty that befell the ancestors of the Huns was such that all their strength went to maintain their physical existence, and traditions died with the elders.

Formation of the Xiongnu.

We know nothing about the wars between the Hun nomads and the Shan-Yin state. However, archaeological material points to the close contact between China and the steppe people during this era. We cannot rule out the possibility that there were no major clashes between them, because on the one hand, the "barbarians" were still poorly organized, and on the other hand, both had a common enemy - the growing power of the Zhou principedom.

88 Okladnikov A.P. New data on the ancient history of Inner Mongolia // VDI. 1951. No 4. C. 173. 89 Ibid. C. 172.

For the steppe peoples, no less than for China itself, the triumph of the Zhou was an event that defined their history. Even before the rebellion, the Principality of Zhou had been China's bulwark against the northern tribes. It should be noted that the Huns of the 12th century BC are quite different from their ancestors. Degin, on the basis of Sima Qian, believes that "about 1200 B.C. is when we should place the establishment of the Xiongnu kingdom 91. Cordier also accepts this date 92. At that time Huns inhabited the steppes from Hebei to Lake Barkul and were already raiding China. A description of their way of life and order shows considerable progress. "They have no houses and cultivate no land, but live in tents..." They respect their elders and gather at fixed times of the year to order their affairs. 93 Therefore, it is not at all surprising that, having crossed the desert, they gained the upper hand over the scattered bearers of the Glaskovo and Andronovo cultures.

Discovery of Siberia

The second date of the Hun's prehistory, found by archaeologists, is approximately 1200 B.C. Around this date, as already noted, the first passage of the southern nomads across the Gobi Desert took place; since that time the desert became passable, their Huns had occupied the area 94. First of all, the question arises why the crossing of the "sandy sea" was possible during this period. Apparently, the Hun's nomadic cattle breeding had already developed so much that the Huns moved north in search of pastures, and the same cattle breeding economy provided them with sufficient draught power.

The rock engraving depicts the "ship" in which the ancestors of the Huns crossed the "sea of sand. It is a roofed cart on wheels, pulled by oxen, for it was too heavy and clumsy for horses 95. The assumption stated would be correct, but not sufficient. Nor can we overlook the climate change at the turn of the second millennium B.C. and the related changes in the distribution of landscapes. It is possible that it was at this time that the process of cooling and slight humidification of the climate began, ending by the middle of the first millennium BC. The arid xero-thermal period began to be replaced by a sub-Atlantic humid period, and the borders of the Gobi Desert should have shifted accordingly.

During that period, the number of lakes stretching in a belt from the lower Volga region, through Kazakhstan and Mongolia, to Khyngan should have also increased (dry climate and lakes are interconnected geographical phenomena) 96. At the same time, the "taiga sea" began to advance southward. The forest-steppes were transformed into dense thickets, and this undermined the economic base of the inhabitants of Siberia. Circumstances favored the southern nomads who were able to take advantage of them. Written sources have not preserved traces of a thousand-year struggle for the steppe, but by the 3rd century B.C. the Huns were already masters of all the steppe areas.

90 McGovern W. *The early empires of Central Asia*. L., 1939. P. 91.

91 Deguignes Y. *Histoire des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols et des autres Tartares occidentaux avant et depuis, J.C. jusqu'a present*. Vol. I. P., 1758. P. 216.

92 Cordier H. *Histoire g?n?rale de la Chine*. Vol. I. P., 1920. P. 205.

93 Quoted in Cordier H. *Histoire g?n?rale de la Chine*. Vol. I. P. 205.

94 See: Kiselev S.V. Ancient History... C. 147.

95 Ibid. C. 161.

96 Murzaev E. North-Eastern China. M., 1955. C. 83, 113.

The people of the Xiongnu were the only ones to be able to live in the Siberian taiga. On the banks of the Yenisei and Abakan the round nomadic yurt appeared next to the breviary hut. Along with the cultural mix, racial mixing also took place: in this epoch, referred to as the Karsuk era, Mongoloid, narrow-faced North Chinese type 97 and Caucasian brachyacranian of southern descent began to appear in the burials.

But if the Huns influenced the Aborigines of South Siberia, the latter were not less influenced by them. "The life of Neolithic fishermen of the late Stone Age and early Bronze Age on the Angara and upper Lena was not at all such a peaceful and quiet idyll as it was portrayed before"... Constant inter-tribe and inter-tribal wars were common, as we know, in the conditions of tribal life 98. The purpose of the wars was to acquire slaves in order to relieve themselves and their wives of the burdens of economic cares, and to obtain 'wealth.' However, "wealth" had quite a different meaning from the one that we put in that term. These "values" had essentially no meaning in everyday life. They were the pride of their owners, but they lay in barns like dead treasure...

They were processed pieces of jade, seashells, mother-of-pearl, etc., things that delighted the eye, but were of no real use. Cultural relations of ancient inhabitants of the Baikal Region extend to Southern Manchuria and North-Eastern China 100. Here one can trace the exchange mainly of nephrite ornaments (discs, rings, half-discs), beads, seashells and, what is especially important, metal raw materials. On the basis of new archaeological data, we can conclude that an independent cultural complex existed in the territory from the Angara to the Ussuri in the 2nd millennium BC. Archaeological materials collected by A.P. Okladnikov, describing the life of the tribes of the Baikal area in the 2nd millennium B.C. and at the start of the 1st millennium B.C., show a patriarchal clan system with slavery, where slaves, obtained by captivity and purchase, were used in labour-intensive and unpleasant works, and in bloody sacrifices 101.

Judging by the above description, the Huns were more primitive than the

Khalkha natives and, therefore, must have perceived much of their culture. In fact, in the 3rd century BC we find the Huns a patriarchal clan structure and domestic slavery, similar to that suggested by Okladnikov for the Glaskovo culture.

Although the history of the Huns from 1200 to 214 B.C. (with a few exceptions) is not illustrated in written sources, much may have happened during the course of this 1000 years, and we have no right to omit this period without saying a word about it. It is true that here will only be speculations and considerations based on analogies, but they may shed some light, if not on the history, then on the ethnography of the Xiongnu.

Archaeological research established that throughout South Siberia in the Bronze Age there was a custom of a wife or concubine's death and her burial in the grave of her husband 102. But in addition, men sacrificed were also found 103. This can be interpreted as a tuom custom, a very ancient rite of summoning the spirit of war by shedding blood. It existed among the tribes of the Lowland, and its memory is preserved to this day 104.

97 Debets G.F. Paleanthropology of the USSR. C. 83. 98 Okladnikov A.P. Neolithic... C. 261.

99 Ibid. C. 244, 247.

100 Ibid. Chapter IV.

101 Ibid. C. 231 ff.

102 Okladnikov A.P. Neolithic... C. 233, 237; Kiselev S.V. Ancient History... C. 24, 113; Salnikov K.V. Ancient Monuments of Urals History. Sverdlovsk, 1952. C. 68, 69.

103 Okladnikov A.P. Neolithic... C. 259.

104 Okladnikov A.P. Historical tales and legends of Lower Lena (Collection of MAE. 1949. No 11). C. 82, story 9. 22

However, we have much closer analogies. The Kidans had a custom - during the war on their way to the enemy country to bring as a "redemptive sacrifice" to the spirits of their ancestors a criminal, shooting him with "a thousand arrows". Likewise, when the war was over, they would sacrifice one of their enemies to the spirits, this time as a "thanksgiving sacrifice" 105. The same custom was recorded among the Hunnish in the 2nd century B.C. 106. While the Lower Silesian tribes, belonging to the

circumpolar cultures, were separated from the southern Baikal area by the "taiga sea", and making the Hunnic connection with them is problematic.

Thus, we can say that the sacrifices were offered not to Ilbis, the god of war 107 but to the ancestral spirits, obviously very bloodthirsty.

Most important, A.P. Okladnikov concludes: during the Glashkovsky time, "a new funeral rite appeared due to the idea of the existence of the underworld, into which the river of the dead leads, and replaced the old rite, which had other ideas about the fate of the dead in the netherworld 108.

This change of the worldview is compared with the transition from matriarchy to patriarchal patrimonialism. It radically alters the entire concept of life and, above all, is reflected in the cult of ancestors: "The return of the dead brings misfortune and distress to the living, whereas previously it was considered an inevitable and desirable link in the cycle of life and death".¹⁰⁹ From this point of view "redemptive" and "thankful" sacrifices to the spirits of ancestors as a reward for non-interference in earthly affairs are understandable.

In connection with this worldview, a dualistic system emerges: heaven - father - good and earth - mother - death, and hence the solar cult, expressed in the manufacture of disks and rings of white nephrite. A.P. Okladnikov suggests that the sun cult in the Pre-Baikal area replaced the earlier beast cult.

Finally, A.P. Okladnikov's most interesting observation and conclusion is his interpretation of two burials from the Glaskovo period as shamanic ¹¹⁰. And if we admit that the burials described above are truly shamanic, it would be more correct to conclude that they are of later origin, i.e. to date them after 1200 BC and compare them with the southern shamanism, which already existed in China and came to Siberia, obviously, together with the Huns. This assumption does not contradict either the general concept of A.P. Okladnikov, or his collected material, because he himself compares the bone spoons from the burial, found near the village Anosovo, with bronze spoons from Ordos ¹¹¹. The assumption that shamanism emerged in Siberia independently on the basis of the development of older beliefs, not only is not proven, but apparently cannot be proven; on the

contrary, the cultural links between Siberia and the Far East can be traced from the Bronze Age.

The description of the culture and social structure of the fishing tribes of Lake Baikal is of secondary, but essential importance for our topic. The Xiongnu for a thousand years absorbed and processed this culture, and the independent appearance of the Xiongnu culture, so different from the Chinese and even opposite to it, is a consequence of this fact.

105 Plath J.H. Geschichte des ?stlichen Asiens. G?ttingen, 1830. S. 105;

cf: Okladnikov A.P. Neolithic... C. 261. 106 Bichurin N.Ya. VOL. I. C. 76.

107 Okladnikov A.P. Neolithic... C. 259.

108 Ibid. C. 328.

109 Ibid. C. 334.

110 Ibid. C. 339ff. 111 Ibid. C. 347.

We meet almost all the marked rites with some changes in the Xiongnu power in the II century BC. Therefore, A.P. Okladnikov's studies and his conclusions acquire a special value: they reveal the second source of the creative peculiarity that found its embodiment in the creation of the Xiongnu power and nomadic culture.

The Movement of the Xiongnu to the North

A.P. Okladnikov singled out the Shiver culture as a special stage, which arose as a result of the contact between the ancient Huns and the ancient Tungus. It is distinguished from the preceding Gluck stage by the rapid development of metal technology and by the appearance of "amazing affinity with features of primitive axes of the Celts and Archaic China of the Yin (or Shang dynasty) dynasty 112. The spearheads also repeat the Yin ones, and the daggers and knives belong to the archaic variants of the Karasuk flat daggers.

Considering our traced course of events, we can confidently date this culture to the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. After all, Huns were enemies of Zhou and, consequently, friends of Shang-Yin¹¹³. Being driven out of China by the Wu-wang at the very end of the 12th century, they transferred the skills and forms borrowed from the Chinese to Siberia; thus,

for Siberia things similar to the Anyan should be dated to the era immediately following the demise of the Shang-Yin kingdom. But this should not be extended to the field of ideology, because the difference in the way of life and economy between nomads and Chinese excluded direct borrowing.

So, we can state that Shiver stage of Baikal culture and Kara-Suk culture are not only synchronous but also appeared for the same reason. However, their fate was different.

The western unit of the Xiongnu, which crossed the Sayan Mountains, found itself surrounded by the warlike Dinlins and isolated from the bulk of their tribesmen. No matter how the struggle went on, the Dinlins won. 114 The Tagar culture powerfully overtook the Kara-Suk culture, and the local tradition triumphed over the newcomer one. According to the latest measurements, the Karasuk skulls resemble most of all the skulls of the Uzbeks and Tajiks (reported by V.P. Alekseev), which means that, as in Central Asia, the Mongoloid component was absorbed by the Europoid component.

The Karasuk culture was much more widespread than the anthropological type of its bearers 115. It widely interacted with the preceding Andronovo culture and left a trace on the subsequent Tagar culture. This allows us to assume that the newcomers who introduced from the south quickly established peaceful relations with the Aborigines and, impregnating their culture with their own, dissolved in their mass.

Not so in the east. Closer by blood to the Huns and less organized, the tribes of the Baikal area submitted to them, and by the 3rd century B.C. all Central Mongolia and the Transbaikal steppe made up the main territory of the Huns. The fighting for the steppe expanses apparently took about 300 years, and during that time no mention of the Xiongnu was made in China.

During these 300 years a new people was formed, mingling with the aborigines and perfecting their culture (e.g, the bronze technique). And in China during the same time the Zhou dynasty fell into decay. But apart from the Chinese, the Xiongnu had many other neighbors.

112 Okladnikov A.P. Shiver cultural-historical stage (manuscript).

113 It is quite remarkable that the Huns preserved the traditions of Shan art until the 5th century AD and brought them to Western Europe. The handle of a bronze sacrificial vessel of Hunnish origin was found in the Katalaun field. Similar finds were made in Hungary, Silesia, in the south of Russia, in the Altai Mountains near Lake Teletskoye, in Mongolia, and in the Ordos. They date to the Elder Han period, 3rd-1st centuries BC, but their style ascends to the style of the Shang-Yin period, when such vessels were called "yu". [see: Tak? ts Z. Catalaunischen Hunnenfund und sein ostasiatischen Verbindungen // Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. T. V. Budapest, 1955. S. 143-173.

114 Artamonov M.I. On the Origin of the Scythians // VDI. 1950. No 2. C. 46.

115 Gryaznov M.P. History of ancient tribes of the Upper Ob // IIA. T. 48. 1956. C. 38-41.

Neighbors of the ancient Xiongnu

The Jungs occupied a territory very homogeneous in landscape and monolithic: In the northwest they inhabited the Khami oasis 116, where they bordered the Indo-European Cheshians who lived in Turfan; in the southwest they possessed the banks of Lake Lobnor and the Cherchen-Darya, adjoining Khotan and the Altyntag mountains, where the Tibetans - Jokyan (or Erkian) were roaming; the Jungs also owned the Qaidam Plateau, and their kindred Di tribes lived in northern Sichuan. But the main mass of Rong tribes was grouped in Northern China. In Hebei province lived tribes: Beizhong (also Shanzhong), Tszyashi (offshoot of Chidi tribe), Xianlui, Fei and Gu (offshoot of Chidi tribe), Uzhong. Their common name was Baidi. In the west lived tribes with the common name of Zhundi. They lived among the Chinese population, not mixing with it, in the provinces: Shaanxi - dazhuns, lijuns, quanjuns; Gansu - xiao-juns; Henan and Shanxi - maojuns, baidi, chidi, quanjuns, lushu, lushu and dochun 117.

The nomadic Leufan and Bayan tribes belonged to the Zhong tribe. The Leufan tribes were originally located in Shanxi (in the area of modern Taiyuan) 118, but later we find them in Ordos. Apparently, Ptolemy had them in mind when he spoke of the people of the Seri, living in the

neighborhood of the Sino-Chinese.

The easternmost of the Jung tribes, the Shanshuns lived in the southern Khingan, neighboring the Dunhu and the Huns. The location of the Huns in ancient times is precisely defined in the "Tszinshu", ch. 97119. The Xiongnu land in the south was joined with Yan and Zhao departments (modern provinces Hebei and Shanxi), in the north reached Shamo, in the east adjoined the northern and, in the west, reached the six tribes of the Juns, i.e. the ancient borders of the Hun's spread, coincided with the modern borders of the Inner Mongolia without Barga. Subsequently, they narrowed as the steppes east of Khingan were populated by the Dunhu, or more precisely the Khoras, a people of the Mongolian race.

It should be noted that the North Chinese type is very different from the Mongolian. The Chinese are narrow-faced, thin and slender, while the Mongols are wide-boned, short and stocky. In the steppe we observe both types: pure Mongols were called by the Chinese Dunhu, i.e. eastern Hu, and among the Hu-huns was a Chinese narrow-faced type with an admixture of Dinglin features, for example, high noses 120. Certainly, the Huns and the Dunhu-huns had mixed over the centuries, and this mixture determined to a large extent the character of the Huns: the Dinglin indomitability combined with the Chinese love of the system and with the Mongolian endurance.

To the north of the Huns lived the Dinlins. They inhabited both slopes of the Sayan range from the Yenisei to the Selenga. On the Yenisei River were located the Kyrgyz (Chinese: Qigu), a people which had originated through the mingling of the Dinlins with the unknown Gyan-Gun tribe, while to the west of them, on the northern slope of the Altai, lived Kipchaks (Chinese: Kyueshe), similar in appearance to the Dinlins and probably related to them.

From the 5th century B.C. onward, the Chinese chronicles mention the Yuezhi, a nomadic people living in Hexi, i.e., in the steppes west of Ordos. Their territory is defined as "from Dun-huan to the north, from the Great Wall under the Ordos to the northwest up to Hami"¹²¹. However, this territory could not have been home to numerous Yuezhi people, as the same era Chinese geography places the Usuns and Chidi Uighurs there.

116 Bichurin N. Ya. VOL. III. C. 57.

117 Fan Wen-lan. The ancient history of China... C. 137-138.

118 Chavannes Ed. Les memoires historiques de Sse-ma Ts'ien. P., 1899. P. 71, 89. 119 See: Burnshtam A.N. Sketch of the Hun history. Л., 1951. C. 219.

120 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia... C. 15.

121 Bichurin N.Ya. VOL.III. C. 57.

Prior to the V century, the Chinese do not write about Yuezhi, which could not be if they occupied an area so close to China. Hence, Yuezhi captured Hesi in 5th century BC, with an already developed base for attack; such base could be only Dzungaria, because the Central Mongolia was already occupied by Huns, and the western Mongolia - by Kipchaks and Gyanguns 122.

We turn to the last and most mysterious white-robed people, the northern Boma. The Boma inhabited the northern slopes of the Sayan-Altai 123. The following is known about them: "They lead a nomadic way of life; they prefer to settle among mountains, overgrown with coniferous forests, they plow with horses; all their horses are peaked, hence the name of the country - Boma (the peaked horse).

To the north their lands extend as far as the sea. They make frequent wars with the Hagas, whom they resemble very much in face; but their languages are different, and they do not understand each other. The houses are built of wood. The cover of the wooden log is the wood bark. They are divided into small clans, and have no common chief 124. N. Ya. Bichurin's translation contains certain differences: for instance, horses were of Savrasaya stock, the Bom did not ride, but held horses only for milk, and the Bom army was estimated at 30,000 people 125.

So, this was a large nation by Siberian scales. Fortunately, we have authentic names for it in the Chinese rendering: Bitse-bike and Oloje 126. Hence, it becomes clear that the Boma are just a nickname, and the comparison of the Siberian Boma with the Ganasu ones is unfounded, especially since they are written in different characters 127. Their ethnonyms coincide with Bikin, an ancient tribe, mentioned by Rashid ad-

Din, and Alakchin, about whom Abulgazi writes that "they have all horses are peg, and hearths are golden". He places the country of Alakchins on the Angara 128. Thus, we cannot classify the Bomas as either Dili or Dinlins.

Having localized the Alakchins, let us turn to the anthropology of Lake Baikal. There, during the Neolithic Era, which was probably very protracted, three types were outlined: 1) Eskimoid - in the middle course of the Angara, where there was no Caucasoid admixture; 2) Paleosiberian - in the upper course of the Angara and Lena; and 3) Caucasoid, who infiltrated from the Sayan-Altai and mixed with Abori-122.

For a history of the issue see: Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia... C. 91-94. The territory inhabited by Yuezhi is reconstructed on the basis of the comparison in the following way. In the epoch before the Hunnish conquest of the steppe Asia, two states adjoined Altai: Kangyu from the west and Yuezhi from the east. Kangju, contrary to the opinion of S.P. Tolstov, was in the Eastern Kazakhstan, and there is little evidence that the steppe tribes possessed the mountain valleys of the Altai. The Yuezhi area, according to Chinese information, lay between Alashan and Hami, but the southern, fertile part of this territory was occupied by Usuns, who were conquered by Yuezhi around the 4th century B.C.

The attempt to understand the Chinese information literally, i.e., to place two large peoples in the same desert territory, has failed. It has to be assumed that the area was conquered by Yuezhi from the west, and since the oasis area was inhabited by Tochars and the territory of Mongolia by Huns, that leaves only Jungaria, adjacent to the Altai and Tianshan. From here the Yuezhi were displaced by the Huns in 165 BC. For identification of Pazyryk with Yuezhi the following data are:

- 1) Chinese items, for example a mirror from the Qin principedom, closely connected with Yuezhi.
- 2) Yuezhi were shaving their heads, the remains found in Pazyryk, testify to the same.
- 3) Sharp characteristic profile on the Pazyryk images, which is an aesthetic canon, coincides with the profile on Kushan coins.
- 4) Sharp characteristic profile on Pazyryk coins is nothing new.)

The supposed dating of the V-III century BC coincides with the blossoming of Yuezhi, while Kangyu existed for another 500 years, and in the Qin time it was not connected with China, and the Qin mirror with other things could come to Altai only through Yuezhi again.

5) Many large stone barrows of the Pazyryk type are located in the eastern areas connected with Mongolia and Dzungaria, but not with the Karaganda steppe, and not with Baraba; the similarity of the Pazyryk items with the Scythian ones is simply explained by the fact that both peoples had relations and exchanged cultural values, and the intermediaries were the Alans, related to Scythians.

Of new works, see: Pelliot P. *Les coutchenes et les tokhariens* // *Journal asiatique*. 1934; Haloun G. *Zur ?etsi Frage* // *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl?ndischen Gesellschaft*. 1937; Umnyakov I.I. *Tocharian problem* // *VDI*. 1940. S.P. Tolstov compared Yuezhi with Massagetes, based on the sound of names in a supposed reconstruction (see: *Ancient Khorezm*. M., 1948). This hypothesis is not accepted by all scholars.

123 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. *Western Mongolia...* C. 51, 59.

124 Chavannes E. *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (tuos) occidentaux* // *Collection of works of Orkhon expedition*. T. VI. SPb. 1903. C. 29, note 4.

125 Bichurin N.Ya. T 1. C. 350.

126 *Ibid.*

127 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. *Western Mongolia...* C. 13. 128 *Ibid.* C. 353-354.

The distribution area of this type in Lake Baikal is limited to its southern regions, adjacent to islands of steppe or chernozem soils, the chain of which stretches from Minusinsk territory to Kansk steppe approximately along the line of the present-day railway 129. We observe a similar picture in the Krasnoyarsk Territory 130.

Thus, the presence of the northern Bomas, or, more precisely, Alakchins and Bikins, is confirmed. Their ethnic difference with Dinlins, despite their racial similarity, should neither surprise, nor amaze us. They were probably distributed very widely, from the Altai to Baikal, in scattered groups like many other Siberian tribes.

129 Debets G.F. Paleoanthropology of the USSR. C. 58-61. 130 Ibid. C. 62.

III. On the shores of the "sand sea"

The first invasion of the Huns in China.

The IX century was coming to an end. The Zhou dynasty was already losing its power in China, and Wan Xuan began to be afraid of discontent of his subjects inclined to rebellion. It was at this time that the Xiongnu, dubbed by Chinese poetry "heavenly prides" and crude prose "wicked slaves," showed themselves to the world for the first time.

The first poetic account of the Xiongnu, already renewed, formed, and therefore formidable, dates back to 822 B.C. One of the odes of the Book of Songs describes the invasion of China by the Xiongnu¹³¹:

In the sixth month 132, what confusion!
Chariots of war are on the alert,
Four stately horses are mounted in each,
They are equipped, as is usual.
The Hunnu invaded furiously,
So, we must hasten forth; To free the capital,
The King 133 ordered us to march.
We defeated the Xiongnu,
With great courage...
The Xiongnu were ill calculated,
Taking Qiao and Hu,
Capturing Hao and Fen 134,
Reaching the northern part of the Jin River.
Our banners, adorned with images of birds,
Fluttered with their white folds.
Ten war chariots raced ahead...
We defeated the Xiongnu.

This is an example for ten thousand (i.e., many) countries 135.

The data are too sparse to assess the Xiongnu march on its own merits. It is not entirely clear whether it was simply a successful plundering raid or a serious war calculated to seize territory. The former is more likely, but in

this case too, large and organized masses must have acted. Mobilization was needed to repel the enemy, and yet the war was not easy.

It is all the stranger that after this, the Huns are not mentioned again for about 500 years. Apparently, they were pushed northward by the Jungs 136.

131 They are not called Hsiung-nu, but Xunnu, evidently because of the archaic language.

132 In July.

133 Xuan-wang of the Zhou dynasty.

134 The capital of the Zhou kingdom.

135 Avdiev V.I. History of the ancient East. M., 1953. C. 655.

136 The name Junnu appeared in China in the Zhangho era (IV-III centuries BC) [cf: Tseng Yong. Defensive Wars against the Huns in the Han era. Shanghai, 1955 (Abstract Book. 1956. No 15. P. 95).

The struggle between the Juns and Chinese.

The power of the Zhou tongs was kept "on a tip of a spear". This situation could not last indefinitely. In 842 BC, the population of the capital rebelled against Li-wang and stormed the palace. Li-wan fled. The dignitaries Zhou-gung and Zhao-gung took power and met the demands of the rebellious people. The era of their regency (842-827) is characteristically known as the "General Consent" (Gonghe). At that price, the dynasty was saved, but its power was not restored despite the successful repulsion of the Xiongnu and the victorious war with the Xu Kingdom in southeastern China.

While there were many feudal and appanage possessions in China, their size was very small. Therefore, the van (King) had an unquestionable advantage over any of his princes. But when the possessions enlarged, the power of individual princes increased proportionally, and the wans had to reckon with them. However, this was not always the case: often personal interests and passions interfered with political calculations and overturned them.

For example, Yu-wan fell in love with the beautiful Bao-si and neglected his legitimate wife, the daughter of Prince Shen. The latter defended his daughter; a conflict ensued between the feudal lords, with the offended

nobleman asking for help from the neighboring "barbarian" tribes. Here the Jungs and Di began a counteroffensive. In 771 Guanjun intervened in the feudal war and invaded China. Yu-wang fell in battle, and the Guanjong settled on Chinese soil. They occupied the area between the Ging and Wei Rivers "and continued to harass the Middle State.¹³⁷ Ping-van of the House of Zhou, unable to fight off the encroaching enemy, retreated eastward to Luoyang, but the Guanzhu were repulsed by Prince Xiang in 770 B.C. From that time the actual disintegration of the Zhou Principality began.

Somewhat later the Shanzhuns became active in the east. In 706 they broke through the Principality of Yan and the Principality of Qi and defeated the Qi prince under the walls of his capital. Only 44 years later Huan-gong, the prince of the Qi principedom, drove them out of the Chinese borders ¹³⁸. However, conflicts still prevented Chinese from uniting their forces, and in 644 the Jungs ravaged the Jin province, the prince of which was the head of the imperial union. In 642 they came to the aid of their former enemy - a rebellious prince of the province of Qi, and carried out a devastating raid on the Wei province.

However, the Jungs achieved their greatest success in 636 BC. The Grand Duke Xiang-van married a princess of Zhuns for political reasons. However, the young princess was part of a conspiracy against him by one of the court cliques. They brought their tribesmen and her friends opened the gates of the capital for them, and the Grand Duke had to flee. For four years the Jungs plundered defenseless China, while Wen-gong, prince of the Jin dynasty, sought the consent of the imperial Diet to authorize him to expel the Jungs and restore order. It was not until 632 that he expelled the Jungs from the capital and executed the traitorous Prince of the Dai, a usurper. At the same time Qin Mu-gun (659-621) destroyed the 12 possessions of the Jungs in the west and returned to China the land of Zhou.

However, the Jungs were not defeated, and the struggle continued until 569, when they made peace with the Jin domain ¹³⁹. In the fifth century the odds tipped in favor of the Chinese. Zhao-wang, the prince of the Jin domain, conquered the kingdom of the Yiqiu Jungs in Shaanxi and eastern Gansu. By Ling, prince of Zhao, conquered Leufan and Linhu in the Ordos, and Qin Kai, the commander of Yan principedom, "defeated Dun-hu by a

sudden attack 140.

137 Bichurin N. Ya. Collection of information about the peoples who inhabited Central Asia in ancient times. VOL. I. M.; L., 1950. C. 42.

138 Confucius said that had it not been for this victory, "we would probably have to walk unbrushed, button our clothes to the left and experience alien domination" (see: Fan Wen-lan. The Ancient History of China from the Primitive Communal System to the Formation of the Centralized Feudal State. VOL. I. M., 1958. C. 120).

139 Bichurin N. Ya. VOL. I. C. 43-44. 140 Ibid. C. 45.

How the final victory went to the Chinese is convincingly shown by them. The Huns occupied a vast territory and were divided into many large and small tribes. The Jungs occupied a vast territory, divided into many large and small tribes, and "all these generations scattered over the mountain valleys, had their own sovereigns and elders, often gathered in a large number of clans, but could not unite" 141. As long as feudal fragmentation reigned in China itself, the Jungs could have private successes, but as soon as possessions were consolidated and princes became kings, the centralized force defeated the brave Jungs.

Stone castles proved more reliable shelters than mountain gorges. The Ikuyu Juans tried to imitate the Chinese and built a number of fortresses. But the Chinese were already skilled in siege techniques and easily took those castles. Besides, we don't know what was the relationship between the Jungs and the Huns. It is unlikely that they were friends. And if so, the situation of the Jungs must have been tragic: sandwiched between China and the Great Steppe, they had no rear, and the mountain valleys, where they tried to hide from the advancing enemy, proved traps with no way out, not a refuge, but a place of death.

As a result of five centuries of fighting, the Jungs were divided into two parts: the main one was pushed westward to the mountainous Lake Kukuror and the other was pushed eastward to the Khingán mountains where it developed among the eastern Hu 142, harboring animosity against the Chinese. As a result, in the 3rd century B.C. a Dunhu tribal alliance was formed that seized hegemony in the eastern part of the Great Steppe. At the same time the peoples of the western part of the Steppe came to life

again and returned to the active historical life.

In 250 B.C. the Parthians, leading the Iranian liberation movement, drove the Macedonian conquerors out of Media, and the related Sarmatians conquered Scythia, i.e. the Black Sea steppes 143. It is as if by some powerful push the steppe peoples were set in motion in the middle of the 3rd century BC.

The Tile Grave Culture

At the time when the Chinese and the Juns were killing each other in wars of extermination, an original culture was developing in the steppes of Central Mongolia and South Transbaikalia. This so-called "tile grave culture" is in fact an early stage of an independent Xiongnu culture. It was studied by G.I. Borovka 144 and G.P. Sosnovsky 145, but was fully described by A.P. Okladnikov 146. These graves, stretched in chains from south to north, contain magnificent bronze articles. I omit their description, as it is available in the works of the above authors, and, based on A.P. Okladnikov's description of the tile grave culture, I will try to proceed to the interpretation.

According to the materials that have come down to us, cattle breeding was the main occupation of the people who left these graves; in addition, they were experts in casting. The graves contain cowrie shells from the Indian Ocean, white cylindrical beads of pyrophyllite and fragments of Chinese tripods. This indicates the breadth of cultural relations that stretched from China to Altai, Minusinsk Basin and Central Asia. However, there is still no trace of class stratification: "the arrangement of the graves points to the strength of the communal-patrimonial ties" 147 .

141 Ibid. C. 43

142 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia and Uryankhai Krai. VOL. II. L., 1926. C. 85.

143 Kiselev S.V. Ancient History of South Siberia. M., 1951. C. 321.

144 Borovka G.I. Archaeological Survey of the Toly River Middle Current // Northern Mongolia. VOL. II. L., 1927.

145 Sosnovsky G.P. Early nomads of Transbaikalia (KSIIMK. V. VIII. M.; L., 1940); Tile Tombs of Transbaikalia // Proceedings of the Department of the

History of Primitive Culture Gos. Hermitage. VOL. I. Л., 1941.
146 Okladnikov A.P. Ancient population of Siberia and its culture
(Manuscript).

This does not mean, of course, that there were no rich or poor families, but both were within the patriarchal kin. The patriarchal kin was an aristocratic structure. The meritorious warriors, elders and chiefs constitute its apex, and their graves must differ from those of their ordinary fellow tribesmen. These are "reindeer stones", i.e. slabs decorated with images of reindeer, the solar disk and weapons. Their manufacture required so much labor that it was beyond the means of one family of the deceased. Apparently, it was a public work 148. The anthropological type did not change throughout the 1st millennium B.C., when the characteristic Paleo-Siberian type, rightly attributed to the Huns, 149 evolved and formed.

What are the differences between the Tile Grave Culture¹⁵⁰ and the later, immediately adjoining Xiongnu culture? First, the Huns widely used iron, which is rare in tile graves. This fact has a very simple explanation. The steppe tribesmen originally received iron from the Tibetan-Kyans to the south 151. They converged with them about 205 BC,¹⁵² and only then iron flowed into the Steppe in a broad stream. Second, we find royal tombs among the Huns. And this is understandable, because only in 209 BC clans were consolidated and a firm central authority was established. Before that the Huns were simply a confederation of clans. So, the appearance of the royal tombs is nothing but a stage in the history of one people. All other features coincide, and consequently, the above characterization refers to the early Xiongnu society, more precisely, to its formation in the IX-IV centuries BC.

In the 4th century, the Xiongnu strengthened to such an extent that they moved back to the southern side of the Gobi 153, and the Chinese, having just defeated the Badi, were forced to defend themselves against the new enemy, given their special strategy and unfamiliar tactics. The monuments of this clash are the Great Wall of China and tile graves in Inner Mongolia 154.

On the language of the Xiongnu

The question of language spoken by the Xiongnu has been widely discussed in the literature, and is today mostly obsolete 155.

147 Ibid.

148 Ibid.

149 Debitz G.F. Paleoanthropology of the USSR. MOSCOW; L., 1948. C. 121.

150 The identification of the Tile Grave Culture with the Early Hun Culture is disputed by I.I. Gokhman, who based his opposite opinion on his study of seven skulls from Tile Graves of the 4th-2nd centuries BC (Gokhman I.I. Anthropological Materials from the Tile Graves of Transbaikalia // Collection of the MAE. VOL. 188. MOSCOW; L., 1958. C. 428, 437). The skulls examined by I.I. Gokhman are Mongoloid and have no Europoid admixture, typical for the Huns. However, the author does not take into account that the Huns, like any great people, were not racially monolithic. The small amount of craniological material studied does not allow us to judge about the entire racial composition of the population that left the slab graves, and the territory in which they were located was already Hunnish in the 3rd century BC. Rather, we can assume that this Mongoloid type was a component of the Xiongnu people, finally established in the north rather than south of the Gobi. The change in the funeral rites that took place in the 2nd century B.C. is connected not with the relocation of a new people but with a change in the cult, as the Hunnish culture at that time was undergoing a period of rapid development, which broke off in the 2nd century A.D. The presence of slab graves south of Gobi shows that this burial rite was not connected with local features of a single tribe, but was a trace of cultural unity of a multi-tribal ethnic entity in Central Asia in the 1st millennium B.C.

151 Bichurin N.Y. Collected Information... VOL. II. C. 172.

152 Iakinth. The History of Tibet and Huhunor. VOL. I. St. Petersburg, 1833. C. 17.

153 In 317 the Huns in alliance with five Chinese principalities attacked Qin, but were repulsed (Fan Wen-lan. Ancient History of China... P. 235).

154 Okladnikov A.P. New data on the ancient history of inner Mongolia // VDI. 1951. No 4. C. 163.

155 See: Inostrantsev K.A. Huns and Huns. Л., 1926.

156 Shiratori K. ?ber die Sprache der Hiungnu und der Tanghu - St?mme.

St. Pb., 1902; Bulletin de l'Academie Imperiale des

The studies of Finnish scholars put the question of Hunnish language on a somewhat different plane: Kastren 157 and Ramstedt 158 expressed the opinion that the Hunnish language was common to the ancestors of Turks and Mongols. Pelliot noted that it includes elements of an even older stratum 159. Ligeti leaves the question of the Hun's language open, referring to the fact that the Hun's word for "boots", known to us in the Chinese transcription, sounds "sagdak" and has no analogues in either Turkic or Mongolian languages. The comparison he made with the Ket word "segdi" does not satisfy the author himself 160.

However, this word is directly related to the Old Russian word sagaidak, i.e. kolchan with arrows and bow. It is of Turkic-Mongolian origin and was in use in the 16th-17th centuries. The connection between it and the Hun's word sagdak is absolutely clear, because the Huns stuck arrows behind the cuffs, which did not fit into the quiver,¹⁶¹ as the Russians afterwards stuck knives into them. So, the word sagdak probably comes from the same Türkic-Mongolian linguistic element, which in the 1st millennium BC was evidently still poorly differentiated; but probably also the commonness of the Hunnic and Mongolian words we know is due to the cultural exchange between the peoples closely bound by their historical destiny. In spite of the above considerations, one would think that doubts about Hunnish Türkic are untenable, because there is a direct source reference to the closeness of Hunnic and Telugu languages 163, i.e. Uigur, about which one cannot have two opinions. Ligeti himself points out that doubts about the Huns' Turkic origin are based on an analysis of special "cultural words" that very often turn out to be borrowed, which is not surprising, since the Huns' communication with their neighbors was long and intensive.

Sciences de S.-Petersburg. V. Serie. Bd. XVII. No2 (Separate imprint).

157 Castr?n M.A. Ethnologische Vorlesungen ?ber die altaischen V?lker. St.-Pb., 1857. S. 35-36.

158 M.G.S. Ramstedt. ?ber der Ursprung der t?rkischen Sprache. Helsinki, 1937. S. 81-91.

159 Pelliot P. L'?dition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-wei (T'oung Pao. Vol. XXVI). P. 167.

160 Ligeti L. Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise //

Acta Orientalia. 1950. S. 141-149. 161 The quiver had only 30 arrows (see: Inostrantsev K.A. Sasanian etudes. SPb, 1909).
162 Bichurin N.Ya. VOL. I. C. 214.

IV. The Great Wall The war of Xiongnu with Zhao principedom.

The victory that the ancestors of Chinese over enemy tribes surrounding them on all sides (Jundi, Kian, Mani, Yue, etc.) was very difficult and costly. However, even after the extermination of the Rong dynasties and the subjugation of the tribes bordering the kingdoms that resulted from the consolidation of the feudal principalities, the Chinese felt their land as an island surrounded by a hostile element.

The poem by Qu Yuan "The Calling of the Soul" 163 vividly illustrates it.
163 The geographical concept expressed there is noteworthy.

The eastern side is not to be trusted,
The giants of prey dwell there.
And the souls of men feed there;
There the ten suns rise in the sky
And melt ores and stones,
But people there are accustomed to everything...

Curiously, there is not a word about the sea. At the time of Qiu Yuan, the eastern Yue, the "predatory great kans," were still held in Jiang-nan and caused the Chinese more trouble than the sea, which had not been mastered for navigation. The following is said of the south:

And in the south side thou shalt not stay!
There they cover their foreheads with patterns,
Where they sacrifice human flesh
And make a soup of bones.
There are many poisonous snakes,
There are packs of foxy giants that ride there;
The boa constrictors are nine-headed in that land.
All these foul creatures crawl there,
To devour men to their pleasure.

This gloomy picture is in some ways confirmed. Luo Guang-jun also tells us that human sacrifices were practiced by the ancient forest-dwellers.¹⁶⁴ The fantastic zoology is left to the conscience of Qu Yuan. But all this is nothing compared to the West:

Of the perniciousness of the West, listen to this:
Everywhere there are quick sands,
Turning, into an abyss of thunder.
You'll burn, you'll melt, you'll perish forever!
And if by some miracle you escape,
There's still the desert waiting for you,
Where every ant is like an elephant,
And wasps are thicker than barrels and black.
There none of the grains are not born.
And the inhabitants, like cattle, munch on weeds,
And that land roasts people like a furnace...
Where can you find water, and where can you find it?
And there's no help coming from anywhere.
The vast desert has no end...

163 Qiu Yuan. Poems. M., 1954. C. 128-129.

164 Luo Guan-zhong. The Three Kingdoms. VOL. II. M., 1954. C. 374.

The desert described here is not the Taklamakan desert, as you might think: in the 3rd century BC the Chinese did not pierce that far. It is just a dry steppe in the foothills of the Nanshan mountains and on the Edzin-Golu River. The description of the steppe whirlwind is quite realistic. It says of the north:

Don't think to stay in the north:
The ice is piling up there higher than the mountains,
The blizzards rush there for hundreds of years...

The descriptions of the zenith and nadir are even darker. So, the desire to fence off such a "scary world" is quite natural. But the frontier tribes did not let the Chinese forget them. The annals are filled with stories of attacks by

the Jungs. From the eighth to the third century B.C. there was a persistent struggle between them with varying success 165. It was only in 214 B.C. that the troops of the united China finally suppressed the resistance of the Jungs.

The victory over the Jungs did more harm than good to the Northern Chinese principalities, placing them in close proximity with the Huns of the steppe; the latter proved to be much more ferocious and dangerous enemies. Already in 307 By Lin, a grand duke of the Zhao house, after defeating the Linhu and Leufan tribes, was forced to build a frontier fortress Yai min and a defense wall at the foot of the Inshan range, the ancestral territory of the Huns.

His example was followed by Qin Kai in the Yan Duchy, who erected a defensive line to protect Liaoxi and Liaodong from the Dunhu raids 166. However, these private measures did not stop the Hun's raids; moreover, it turned out that it was better to suffer small losses from the depredations of neighbors than to build such cumbersome constructions that did not bring the expected effect. Therefore, the princes preferred to organize light cavalry to repel the Hun's incursions, a plan which was later regarded as the best of all used 167.

In the 3rd century B.C. the Xiongnu attacks on China intensified, and Li My, the commander of Zhao (in Shanxi), repulsed the constant attacks of the Xiongnu 168. He took a defensive stance: "As soon as the Huns invade our possessions and start plundering, immediately withdraw to the camp and defend," he warned his warriors. - Anyone who dares take prisoners, I will execute!

With this tactic he suffered no casualties, but caused natural displeasure to his van, who suggested that he either change his tactics or resign. Li My chose the latter, but his successor, who took up combat with the enemy, suffered such losses that he was unable to defend the border. Li My was again appointed with enormous powers. The Hun's tactics were lightning raids by small detachments. Such detachments prowled and spread their troops all over the border areas, but were met with repulsion from the Chinese garrisons located there.

165 Bichurin N.Ya. Collection of information about the peoples who lived in Middle Asia in ancient times. VOL. I. M.; L., 1950. C. 42-45; Maspero H. La Chine antique. P., 1927. P. 383-386.

166 Bichurin N.Ya. VOL. I. C. 45. 167 Ibid. C. 107.

168 Sima Qian. Selected Works. M., 1956. C. 170-171.

To protect themselves from the Chinese, the Huns began to increase the number of troops, and that is all Li My wanted. He succeeded in having the shanyu "at the head of innumerable hordes" attack his trained army.

Li My forces were estimated at 1,300 chariots, 13,000 riders, 50,000 "warriors of a hundred gold" 169, 100,000 archers, especially trained by him. These figures should not be taken literally. The first two are close to reality, and the last two are synonymous with a multitude, but it is clear that Li My's main force were archers.

He built an army "as if it were wings," i.e., he covered the flanks of the enemy. Obviously, the "incalculable hordes" of the Huns were numerically inferior to the Chinese army. By a half encirclement Li My forced the enemy to give up maneuvering and engaged in a battle, in which the Huns suffered heavy losses and were defeated. The Danlian tribe was destroyed, the Dunhu were defeated and the Linhu tribe surrendered. The above shows that Huns were already leading a tribal association, but that defeat deprived them of their hegemony in the Steppe, and later it passed to their eastern neighbors, the Dunhu. But the Zhao principedom did not long enjoy the laurels of their victories. In 226 BC it was conquered by the Qin kingdom, which five years later united all of China.

Building the Great Wall

In ancient times, the Principality of Qin was a frontier fief fighting the Jungs. After the subjugation of the 12 Rong tribes, the Duchy included them in its fiefdom and largely absorbed their customs. The Qin, on the other hand, joined the Principality of Bo (in Shaanxi), founded by fugitives from the Shan-Yin kingdom, and adopted not Zhou, but the Shan lineage of Chinese culture. Both of these circumstances so distinguished Qin from the other principalities that they considered Qin a Rong possession and did not always agree to its participation in all-Chinese congresses and alliances

170. However, the victories in the south and west, which gave Qin princes a vast territory with a bellicose population, made Qin the most powerful principedom in China.

In the north, Qin established ties with the nomadic Yuezhi. The Yuezhi received fabulous textiles and mirrors from Qin princes, which are still preserved in the Altai Mountain villages of today 172, while the Qin adopted the horse system from the Yuezhi abolishing the unwieldy chariots 172. It is also interesting to note that, apparently, through Yuezhi in Iran and India they learned about the existence of the Chinese state in the East, which has been called by Indians and Iranians "Chin" or "Machin" (Great Qin) ever since 173.

The military reform greatly strengthened the military power of Qin dynasty and facilitated its victories over the kingdoms of Eastern China. The creator of Qin power was the dignitary Shang Yang, who implemented a series of reforms that abolished communal land tenure, weakened the ancient aristocratic clans and transformed Qin into a centralized state that brought about the unification of China. The East Chinese fought back fiercely. The war lasted about 200 years. In Chinese historiography, this period is commonly referred to as the "War of the Kingdoms". Qin diplomacy skillfully fought the eastern Wangs between them, and the Qin army inflicted severe defeats. Finally, Prince Ying Zheng completed the conquest of the eastern kingdoms and took the title of the all-Chinese dynasty of Qin - Qin Shi-Huangdi. And not limiting himself to this.

169 Some commentators believe that the strongest warriors who captured an enemy leader, for which a reward of 100 gold pieces was due; others believe that these warriors were from wealthy families, whose fortune was estimated at 100 gold pieces (Sima Qian. Selected. P. 344, commentary by L. I. Duman).

170 Fan Wen-lan. The Ancient History of China from the Primitive Communal System to the Formation of the Centralized Feudal State. M., 1958. C. 120-121.

171 Rudenko S.I. The Culture of the Altai Mountains Population in the Scythian Time. C. 356-357. 172 Maspero H. Le Shine antique. P. 385

173 Ibid. P. 384.

The Hunnu people were the most successful in the history of the empire. Then Ordos was conquered, and the Huns were driven away from Yingshan. Having huge funds, Shi-Huangdi decided to secure his northern border and undertook the construction of the Great Wall, which separated China from the Eurasian steppes. It was decided to link the already fragmented walls into a single strong chain of fortifications. Work was carried out day and night; when it became clear that there were not enough people, prisoners of war and convicted criminals were sent to build it. The working conditions were extremely harsh, and many corpses were buried in the earthen embankment of the wall. But now the construction was over. The wall stretched for four thousand kilometers. Its height was 10 meters, with watchtowers every 60-100 meters. When the work was finished, however, not all of China's armed forces were strong enough to mount an efficient defense against the wall. As a matter of fact, if one were to place a small detachment on every tower, the enemy would destroy it before its neighbors could muster and render assistance. If, on the other hand, you put more troops in smaller numbers, you create gaps through which the enemy can easily and unnoticed penetrate deep into the country. A fortress without defenders is no fortress.

Many Chinese nobles had a negative attitude to the construction of the wall. In 11 AD. Yan Yu in his report wrote: "Qin Shi-Huangdi, not bearing the slightest shame, not valuing the strength of the people, brought down the Long Wall for 10 000 li. The delivery of food supplies was made even by sea. But as soon as the fortification of the border came to an end, the Middle State was completely exhausted and the House of Qin lost its throne.¹⁷⁴ Indeed, the wall did not stop the Xiongnu raids, and the Han dynasty returned to the system of maneuver warfare.

However, the construction of the Great Wall cannot be considered a nonsense. If China had had enough funds to maintain permanent garrisons on the wall, it would have been difficult for the Xiongnu cavalry to force it. But the Qin government was not solely concerned with defense when building the wall. The report of the official Hou Ying indicates that border tribes oppressed by Chinese officials, slaves, criminals and families of political emigrants all dream of fleeing abroad, saying that "the Xiongnu have fun" ¹⁷⁵. And it was impossible to drag horses over the wall, even unguarded ones, without which it was impossible to move in the Asian

expanses. This also hindered the raids of small nomadic units, making it difficult for them to choose ways to attack China's sedentary areas. Sometimes criminals were used to guard the wall, replacing their punishment by military service on the border, but they were unreliable troops prone to desertion. Sometimes, peasants were settled around the wall to guard the border, but that did not work either, as the peasants had no military training.

Eventually, the guards were given to the nomadic frontier tribes - descendants of the Jung and remnants of the Hu tribe. Although these border guards themselves were not averse to robbing or cheating and defecting to the Hun's side, they were still more reliable border guards.

The Xiongnu war with the Qin state.

After the above brief account of the Xiongnu, Chinese history does not mention them until the end of the third century B.C. One can only guess that during this period the Xiongnu lost most of their positions in the west, where the Yuezhi in a victorious attack reached Alashan, and in the east, where the hegemony was seized by the ancient Mongols, the Dunhu. The Huns' dependence on the Dunhu was apparently expressed only in the payment of tribute, as the Huns had their own chiefs who pursued an independent foreign policy. The Dunhu was not actually a state, but rather a union of tribes, ruled by the nominated from the masses by elders or chiefs, who did not differ from their fellow tribesmen either by wealth or position.

174 Bichurin N.Ya. VOL. I. C. 107. 175 Ibid. C. 95.

The Xiongnu at this time already had a Shanyu, who was, as one might think, not an absolute monarch, but a permanent, even lifelong, chief. Therefore, the entry of the Huns into the sphere of influence of the Dunhu can only be explained by the fact that they had suffered serious failures before that, perhaps, in the struggle with Yuezhi or Sayan Dinlins, and therefore were not able to offer proper resistance to their eastern neighbors. It is possible that the situation of the Xiongnu was also affected by internal social changes, which will be discussed below.

The strengthening of China also adversely affected the Huns. In 214, Qin Shi-Huangdi sent the commander Meng Tian to the north with a 100,000-strong army. He conquered the Ordos, built 44 towns along the banks of the Yellow River, and garrisoned exiled criminals there. The border mountains were used as fortresses: the gentle cliffs, turned into sheer cliffs, limited the passage of nomads through them. Finally, Meng Tian's troops crossed the Yellow River and occupied the foothills of the Yingshan. The Xiongnu lost the best lands in the mountains, "free forest and grass, abounding in birds and beasts", where they could prepare bows and arrows and from where it was easy to make raids. The Ordos steppes, inhabited by the Tangut tribes Leufan and Bayan, which were under their rule. The unprepossessing Xiongnu shanyu Touman and his people roamed into the Khalkh, fleeing from the Chinese infantry in the vastness of the Shamo Desert. But even there, to ensure peace, he had to give his eldest son Mode as a hostage to his Yuezhi neighbors. It seemed that the Huns were finished, and that their neighbors would divide among themselves the Hun's steppes. But history has judged otherwise! Who knows about the Yuezhi or Dunhu now, while the Hun's name is widely known.

The Fall of the Qin State

Qin Shi Huangdi died in 210 B.C. He had two sons. The eldest, Fu Su, was in Ordos at the headquarters of the general Meng Tian, head of the military party. Chancellor Li Si, who led the Legists, and the eunuch Zhao Gao, an influential member of the court clique, feared Fu Su and was inclined to nominate the emperor's youngest son, Hu Hai. Hu Hai was unintelligent, weak-willed, and entirely under the influence of Zhao Gao.

To get rid of the rightful heir, Zhao Gao sent a false order to Prince Fu Su, allegedly signed by the emperor-father, directing him to commit suicide. Despite the entreaties of Meng Tian, the prince remained true to his son's duty and Chinese customs and slit his own throat. The young monarch had all the power of a young monarch, but he had no power in his own right.

The young monarch's power was seized by Zhao Gao, who used it to get rid of his rivals. Meng Tian and Li Si were executed in 210. Zhao Gao was the most odious figure in the Qin government for broad sections of Chinese

society. He did not seek to justify his regime in any ideological system 180; confident in the strength of his lath- and arba-leaders, he openly oppressed the people. But his despotism was sharply opposed. Cheng Sheng and Wu Guang led the first rebellion. Although suppressed by regular troops, it was a spark in a powder keg. Revolts broke out all over the provinces. The most formidable of them was a rebellion in the Chu (Hubei) area, led by Syan Yu. He came from a simple family, but, according to his biographer, from childhood was obsessed with ambition and dreamed of the throne.

176 An example of numerical exaggeration. Here is meant "with a large army" (compare: Bichurin N.Ya. Collected information... Vol. I. P.45).

177 Ibid. C. 94.

178 See: Sima Qian. Selected Works. C. 226-231.

179 After the execution of Meng Tian the Huns immediately returned to Yingshan without encountering resistance (McGovern W. The early empires of Central Asia. L., 1939. P. 116).

180 There were six systems in China during this era: the Yin-Yang School, Confucianists, Monists, Nominalists, Legists, Taoists, i.e. followers of Lao-Tzu (see: Sima Qian. Selected. p. 35).

In the troubled times Xiang Yu found his element. As a program he put forward the restoration of the good old days of independence of the Principality of Chu and, having found a descendant of ancient princes, grazing sheep, proclaimed him Huai-wang. His assistant was Liu Bang, later the founder of the Han dynasty.

The Qin government had to defend itself. The new commander in chief Wang Jiang attacked the Principality of Zhao (Shanxi). Chu troops came to the aid of Zhao, and Xiang Yu engaged in fierce fighting with Wang Jiang. At this time, Liu Bang moved on the Qin capital of Xiangyang, and, taking advantage of the fact that most of the army had gone on a campaign, took the city.

During the fight the court clique hated by the people was destroyed, and with it, the Qin dynasty was killed (206). Liu Bang wanted to hold Xiangyang, but Xiang Yu approached the city and ordered it cleared. Liu Bang was forced to submit and agreed to a modest fief in Sichuan and the title of Han Wan. Xiang Yu became the true master of China and took the

title of Ba-wang.

Xiang Yu was a great military leader and a brave man, but he was politically short-sighted and failed to carry out the reforms the people coveted. Liu Bang took advantage of this. In his Sichuan backwater he rallied all the dissenters who supported him on his way to the throne. Zhang Liang drafted a political program for him. Xiao He, an excellent administrator, brought order to the administration, while the military leader Han Xin ensured his military success. Liu Bang's ambitious plans did not escape Xiang Yu, and he decided to attack Sichuan. Then, in order to defend Liu Bang destroyed all the bridges on the mountain roads, and turned his area into a fortress with no entrances and exits. This way he was able to deceive the vigilance of Xiang Yu. In the meantime, a Han army under the command of Han Xin trekked along the only mountain path. Han Xin made a dizzying raid: capturing Chang Xin, he marched into the Jin (Shanxi) and Qi (Shandong) provinces and proclaimed there a new Han dynasty and its political program. This program included the reduction of taxes, the abolition of harsh laws, the simplification of judicial procedures, and freedom for scholars and philosophers of all schools and trends.

Han Xin's army grew like a snowball as people from all walks of life joined him, while Xiang Yu's forces were thawing. After Han Xin came Liu Bang and engaged in battle with groups of Xiang Yu near the Haishui River. Xiang Yu forced the Han army to retreat and drove him into the river. Liu Bang fled. However, having gathered new forces, he again surrounded Xiang Yu. The latter, seeing the hopelessness of further struggle, committed suicide. The Han dynasty was established in China.

On the ancient Chinese method of historical narrative

Liu Ban achieved victory and power in 202 BC, but traditional Chinese historiography regarded 206 as the foundation date of the Han dynasty, because the last emperor of the Qin dynasty surrendered to Liu Ban at the end of 207 AD. This cannot be considered a chronological inaccuracy, just as we cannot call huge exaggerations in number of troops or that the arrival of an ambassador from a distant country was called "acceptance of allegiance" a lie.

Here we have a system of expressions that cannot be taken literally. It is, therefore, appropriate to note some peculiarities of the Chinese historical materials, our main source, before proceeding further. It is not our task to describe the development of Chinese history itself. For us it's important only to determine the degree of accuracy of the information contained in the dynastic chronicles, and those features that are essential for the history of the Huns.

Historiography occupied a place of honor in China. Historical memory was considered the conscience of the nation, and in the hands of the chronicler was the reputation of the most powerful emperor.

Often emperors pampered their chroniclers for fear that they would not compromise them in the eyes of their descendants. According to tradition, the dynastic chronicle was not published until after the end of the dynasty. But because historiography was an important state affair, only people whose political sympathies were not in doubt were allowed to compile chronicles. From all this it is clear that Chinese historiography fulfilled a government order and could not help but be to some extent biased. The first task of the researcher in such a case is to determine the nature of the distortion of reality. It should have been the historian's job to exalt China's role, importance, and military successes, so reports of this kind should be treated with extreme caution. On the contrary, reports of Chinese defeats and failures appear to have been downplayed and may be trusted tentatively. The numbers of their own as well as the foreign troops are almost always exaggerated, and round numbers are always given: 100,000, 300,000, 400,000, 1,000,000; these are not real numbers, but the way of putting it, like the old Russian "darkness".

The constant exaggeration of figures in Chinese historical works is not accidental. It has its basis and regularity, and thus its explanation. First of all, numbers up to 10,000 are usually given without exaggeration. For the ancient Chinese, 10,000 was not just a number, but a concept of innumerable multitudes, like the "abyss" for our ancestors, or "infinity" for modern mathematicians. That is why numbers over 10,000 are given approximately, as lying beyond the limits of possible measurement or calculus. However, it was necessary to operate with such numbers often and they began to be given, but not in comparison with a measurable

interval up to 10 000, but in relation to each other and with rounding. If, say, Army A has a strength of 13,000, we can define it as $10,000 + X = 2 \times 10,000 = 20,000$. Army B is four times stronger than army A, so army B is 80,000. For later times, in the Tang era, it was possible to test this counting system several times and establish an average approximate exaggeration coefficient. This averaged out to 9. Since the tradition of historical science was not interrupted during this time, we must think that for antiquity the same coefficient is valid. But that's not all.

The Chinese are a people very capable of abstract thinking. When calculating the army, they are interested in its strength, and it does not always coincide with the number, because the combat efficiency of different military units is different. For example, if army A has 30 bogatyr-riders, of which each is estimated to be 100 rank-and-file infantrymen, the calculation goes like this: 30 men = 3,000 units of combat action, where the unit is taken as the combat ability of one soldier of the weakest kind of troops. If in this case army A has 8000 soldiers, then its strength will be calculated as follows: $8000 + 30 \times 100 = 10,000 + X = 20,000$ instead of the actual 8,030 or 11,000 combat units.

To this must be added the pride, which led the historian to exaggerate the fighting ability of his soldiers, on the one hand, and the fear of the Xiongnu, which led him to exaggerate their number and valor, on the other. Hence the huge armies, both their own and those of others. Of course, absolute numbers are far from the truth, but relative numbers are not very far, and proportionality is maintained. Therefore, although we are unable to make corrections to the source, we can follow the course of events with accuracy within the range of probability.

The figures of the spoils received are usually taken from the reports of the Chinese commanders and can hardly have been exaggerated, since the control and accounting of the spoils was done by the civilian officials who received them. A commander could have reduced the amount of his spoils by withholding them rather than exaggerate them, as he would have had to make up the shortfall from his own pocket. Bragging and deceit in reports were punished by deprivation of rank and even death.

The information on the internal state of the nomadic peoples was obtained

by Chinese historians from the reports of Chinese intelligence. The exactitude of the reports is beyond doubt, but unfortunately, they are extremely brief, as the reconnaissance officers were interested only in the practical aspects, especially fighting ability, and the religion, culture, habits, etc. are described only in passing.

Of great interest are the original documents, reports to the Council of State, letters, and accounts, often in full, and sometimes in abridged form. But, as a rule, the historian cites only the report with which he himself agrees, while the opinion of his opponents is given in abridged form. However, this does not prevent the researcher from assessing events for himself.

When we compile a history of the Xiongnu, we should bear in mind that the Chinese, while giving a very detailed account of their relations with them, are extremely cursory about the wars waged by the Xiongnu in the west and north, because Chinese historians were extremely interested in these events.

Attempts to analyze the events, generally rather timid, are reduced to pointing out the will and character of historical figures, and the role of the popular masses is overlooked. At the same time, the historian inadvertently explains the behavior of nomadic leaders with the same motives, as if they were Chinese nobles.

These mistakes are very common; the European school of erudition suffered from them as well. Of course, one cannot ask the ancient Chinese to be materialistic, but one should always look for the causes of historical events, looking at their course and logic, when using their writings. Since for most of our study we have no parallel texts to apply the comparative method, the only method of historical criticism will be an analysis of the connections between events. This way is difficult, but the only one, because the Greco-Roman information on the topic of interest to us is scarce and fragmentary and less trustworthy than the Chinese; the steppe peoples did not leave any documents about their past. The folklore is not to be trusted either, because we have no evidence to assert or even presume that the known versions of the Türkic bylaws are so old, and the events themselves are orally distorted beyond recognition.

Thus, we see that Chinese sources, with their undoubted merits, such as chronological precision, awareness, and absence of fanciful fiction, demand a critical approach, so that the sources would not deceive us.

V. Whistling Arrows

Shanyu Mode and the emergence of the Xiongnu power

Shanyu Tumen had two sons from different wives. In order to secure the throne for his favorite younger son, he decided to sacrifice the eldest, Mode, and gave him as a hostage to the Yuezhi. By attacking the latter, Touman hoped that they would kill his son. But Mode turned out to be a man of determination. He stole a horse from the Yuezhi and returned to his father whose betrayal he knew of course. Touman, who admired Mode's courage, not only did not kill him but gave him the Tumen, 10,000 families, to rule over. Maudet (Mode) immediately began to train his cavalry and taught them how to use an arrow that made a whistling sound in flight 181. He ordered everyone to shoot only after his whistling arrow; failure to do so was punishable by death. To test the discipline of his warriors, Maudet fired a whistling arrow at his argamak and ordered the heads of those who did not shoot the magnificent horse to be cut off. Sometime later, Mode shot his beautiful wife. Some of the retainers lowered their bows in terror, unable to find the strength to shoot the defenseless young woman. Their heads were immediately cut off. Thereafter, Mode pointed an arrow at his father's argamak in the hunt, and there was not a single evader. On seeing that the warriors were sufficiently trained, Mode, following his father on the hunt, fired an arrow at him, and the shanyu Tuman immediately turned into a hedgehog - so stabbed in his arrows. Maudet took advantage of the confusion and put an end to his stepmother, his brother and the elders who would not have obeyed the usurper and father, and declared himself shanyu (209 BC).

The Dunhu, learning of the feud, decided to take advantage of it and demanded a remarkable horse, a treasure of the Xiongnu and Maude's beloved wife. The elders in indignation wanted to refuse, but Mode said: "Why, living in the neighborhood of men, should one horse or one woman be spared for them?" - and gave both. Then the Dunhu demanded a strip of desert (southwest of Kalgan), inconvenient for cattle-breeding and

uninhabited. The land was, in fact, nobody's land; the border kara-ules stood on its edges: the Huns on the west, the Dunhu on the east. The elders of the Huns felt that there was no need to argue over such an inconvenient land: "We may or may not give it away.

But Mode declared, "The land is the foundation of the state, how can you give it away?!" - and he cut off the heads of all those who advised him to give it up. After that, he marched on the Dunhu. They did not expect the attack and were utterly defeated. All their territory, livestock and property went to the victor. The remnants of the Dunhu settled near the Wuhuan Mountains and later became known as Wuhuan. The whole steppe part of Manchuria fell into the hands of the Mode. On his return from the campaign against Dunhu he did not disband the troops, but attacked Yuezhi and drove them to the west. From that time a long war between the Huns and Yuezhi began, the details of which we do not know. About 205-204. Mode subdued the Ordos tribes Leufan and Bayan and made the first raids on China, where the Qin dynasty had just fallen and a civil war was raging. The number of Mode's army was estimated at 300,000 men. These are the details of the foundation of the Hunnish empire, reported by Sima Qian 182. Much here has probably been added and embellished by the historian, and his informants, but the main point is apparently true: Mode united 24 Hunnish clans and created a power so strong that the Chinese compared it with the Middle Kingdom.

181 For a description of whistling arrows see: K?halmi K.U. ?ber die pfeifenden Pfeile der innerasiatischen Reiternomaden // Acta Orientalia. Budapest, 1953. VOL. III. S. 45-70.

182 Bichurin N.Ya. The collection of information about people who lived in Central Asia in ancient times. VOL. I. M.; L, 1950. C. 46-48.

The First War of the Hunnu and Han.

In 203-202 Maude (Mode) waged war on the northern frontier, where he subjugated the possessions of: the Huns, a tribe related to the Huns; the Queshe, the Kipchaks (a Dinlin tribe that lived north of the Altai); their eastern neighbors, the Dinlins, who lived on the northern slopes of the Sayans, from the upper Yenisei to the Angara; the Gagun, the Kyrgyz who

lived in western Mongolia, near Lake Kyrgyznor 183, and the unknown Tsaili people. Having secured his rear, Mode turned his attention to China. In 202, the Chinese civil war ended with the victory of Liu Bang, the founder of the Han dynasty, known in Chinese history as Gao-zu. But the country had not yet recovered from the devastation, and at that time the Huns poured in from the north. They laid siege to the Mai fortress, and its commandant, prince Han Xin, was forced to surrender. According to the Chinese tradition, surrender was tantamount to treason, and meant a switch to the victor's subject. No circumstances excused the surrendered, because it was assumed that he could commit suicide, and if he did not, then betrayed his duty. Therefore, all avenues of retreat were cut off for prince Han Xin, and he became a faithful servant of his new master 184.

The Xiongnu successfully moved south and, having crossed the Geouju range, in the winter of 200 came to the capital of the northern Shanxi, the city of Jinyang. Gao-tszu personally led an army against them, but as a result of severe frosts about a third of soldiers got frostbitten hands. Maode's nomadic trick was to divert China's best troops into an ambush by pretending to retreat and encircle the advance guard of the Chinese army with the emperor in the village of Baidin, not far from Pingcheng. Curiously enough, Mode already had four military units, determined by the colors of the horses: raven, white, gray and red. For seven days the Chinese army remained surrounded without food and sleep, enduring incessant attacks of the Xiongnu. Finally, the Chinese spy got to Mode's wife and managed to bribe her. She advised her husband to reconcile with Gao-tsu, "a man of genius" 185; she said that if the Huns could acquire Chinese lands for themselves, they would not be able to live on them anyway. This message, and to an even greater extent the suspicion of the infidelity of the Han Xin prince, who did not send the promised reinforcements in time, made Mode refuse to fight further, and he ordered to open the passage to Gaozu's troops.

The Chinese army marched through the open passageway with their bows drawn and turned toward the Xiongnu and joined their main forces, and Mode turned back. This was one of the Huns' largest campaigns, but when one looks at the map one is struck by how shallow the Huns could have entered China. The whole campaign took place in Shanxi: the towns of Mai and Pincheng were 90 and 40 km from the border, while Jinyang (modern

Taiyuan) was 250 km away. The whole military operation was concentrated at Pincheng near the village Baidyn 186, and Sima Qian estimated the strength of the Chinese army at 320 thousand soldiers (which is real, because that number included military personnel, often forming from half to four-fifths of the staff in the eastern armies), the Huns numbered 400 thousand horsemen, which is clearly exaggerated. These 400 thousand people had to be situated in a mountain basin 30x40 km, i.e. even if we assume that the Huns did not have wound horses, the area per horseman was 30 square meters, and if we consider that a Chinese detachment stood in the middle and was repulsed, even less.

The absurdity is obvious. Probably Sima Qian exaggerated the Hun's forces by 10-20 times. However, if we accept this coefficient and presumably determine Mode's force at 20-40 thousand riders, it becomes clear why he sought peace, because the huge Chinese army, stretched almost for 600 km, even if the vanguard was completely lost, it was stronger than he was. Gaozu and Mode concluded a treaty of "peace and kinship" (a diplomatic form of surrender).

183 Kiselev S.V. Ancient History of South Siberia. M., 1950. C. 560-561.

184 See: Bichurin N.Ya. VOL. I. C. 50-51. - In the biography of Han Xin this fact is omitted (see: Sima Qian. Selected Works. M., 1956).

185 Bichurin N. Ya. VOL. I. C. 51. 186 Ibid.

The peace and kinship treaty stipulated that the Chinese court, in giving away its princess to a foreign ruler, would send him annually a number of gifts as agreed in the treaty. This was a tribute in disguise. Although Mode accepted the princess and the gifts, he continued to support Han Xin and other renegade rebels. In fact, the war continued.

Han Xin and his supporters ravaged the northern regions of China. In 197 Chen Xi, the head of the Zhao and Dai provinces, defected to Han Xin's side. He concluded an alliance treaty with the Huns. But soon the empress Liu Hou managed to lure Han Xi to the capital, where he was beheaded 187.

The Chinese army under the leadership of Fan Kuai after a two-year war

crushed a rebellion, but did not dare to go abroad, as a new rebellion arose in the principality of Yan (Hebei province). The rebel leader Lu Guan went over to the Xiongnu, and the raids had already spread to the eastern regions of China. In the Chinese wars treason of warlords became a frequent phenomenon. Wearied by failures Gao-tszu died in 195. When the heir was young, the empress-mother Liu Hou became regent and the feuding intensified under her rule 188. In 192, Mode proposed marriage to the empress. In his mind, this meant that the Chinese empire should go as a dowry for his wife, and he hoped to gain all of China in this way. The Empress was so furious that she at first wanted to execute the envoys and renew the war, but was persuaded not to be offended by the "savage" and a polite reply was sent to Mode where the refusal was motivated by the old age of the bride. Contrary to the misgivings of the Chinese ministers, the Xiongnu ruler was satisfied with his reply and did not unleash his formidable armies on China, exhausted and overwhelmed by strife.

The horror wrought by the Xiongnu in the previous war had not yet passed. The songs sang: "It was truly bitter under the city of Pihin-chen; for seven days they had no food, they could not draw a bow" 189. Eight turbulent years had passed since then, and the young empire's strength was insufficient to repel an external enemy, and yet Mode, knowing this, did not start a war. But the reason was by no means his peacefulness. On the western border the war with the Yuezhi continued unabated (the available sources do not provide the details). The victories over the Dunhu and Sayan-Altaic tribes were so easy for Mode, the struggle with the western nomads was so hard. Here the fates of Asia were decided; the duel between Yuezhi and Huns for 2 thousand years determined the predominance of the Mongolian element in the great Eurasian steppe, which was of great importance for the ethno- and rasogenesis.

Mode, not wishing to dissipate his forces, left China alone. In doing so, he allowed the Han dynasty to recover and strengthen. The empress regent's government cracked down on the frontier guards, most of whom died in the struggle and the most obstinate ones fled to northwestern Korea. How important peace in the east was to the Huns can be seen from the following fact. In 177, one of the Xiongnu frontier princes attacked China. Emperor Wen-di mobilized cavalry and chariots (85 thousand) to repulse the enemy, but the Huns did not accept the attack and retreated. Wen-di was going to

move the war to the steppe, however, the rebellion of the frontier warlord Shin Gyu 190 forced him to refuse to make an immediate appearance.

187 Sima Qian. Selected Works. C. 280.

188 Empress Lui Hou was very energetic and overbearing. Even during her husband's lifetime, she had great influence on politics. The successor of Gao-zu (Liu Ban) Hui-ti was in the hands of the empress and her relatives - Liu Chan and Liu Lu. Both of them received the titles of Wang and in 184, after killing the heir to the throne, wanted to establish their dynasty. But the Han dynasty program managed to acquire a lot of supporters, no one in China wanted a return to Qin Shi-Huangdi order. In 180 the empress died, and in 179 her successor Wen-di exterminated the Liu wans, their families and their supporters. But even this did not bring the struggle to an end. In 177 Xing-gui's rebellion broke out, and in 154 the princes of Wu, Chu, Zhao and others rebelled. But the Han dynasty still pursued its political line of patronizing peasants and scholars at the expense of the aristocracy. The system of restricting imperial power to the Wangs and the privileges of the Wangs were abolished, and this bore fruit. Under Wen-di (179-156) and Jing-di (156-140) China became rich and developed into a world power.

189 Bichurin N. Ya. VOL. I. C. 53.

At that time, an embassy with apologies came from the Huns and reported that the pro-guilty prince was removed from the border and sent to the west. There he atoned for his guilt by defeating the Yuezhi. The Chinese court, given the strength of the Xiongnu, accepted the apology and somewhat later restored peaceful relations with them. According to the treaty, the Xiongnu power was recognized as equal to the Chinese empire, and the kings referred to each other as brothers. This was an unprecedented success for the Xiongnu: until now no nomadic prince had dreamed of equaling the Chinese emperor. A letter of the Hun's Shanyu shows us that in 177 the Hun's troops were brought from all over the country and defeated the Yuezhi. The results of their victory were quite tangible as the Huns captured all the principalities of Eastern Turkestan, Wusun and the land of the Qiangs.

Nomadic Tibetan Qian.

The Jungs (ancestors of the Tanguts) and the Qian Tibetans, who had

survived the wars of extermination, lived on the western border of China, neighboring the Qin domain. Qin Shi-Huangdi, having completed his conquest of eastern China, disposed of the Jungs. His general Meng Tian in 225 "banished the Jungs" 191 to the mountain steppes of Tsaidam, where the Tang Huts, who were independent of China, continued to live. Having got rid of their ancient enemies, the Jungs, the Chinese encountered the nomadic Tibetans-Kyans who lived in the upper reaches of the Yellow River.

At the time they were a small and poor people who did not risk attacking the great empire. The fall of the Qin dynasty deprived the Chinese of their newly gained hegemony in the area, and the Xiongnu, subduing the Tibetans, swept across the Chinese border from the west. For both the Xiongnu and China, the possession of the mountainous region of the upper reaches of the Yellow River was only of strategic importance, but the Qian from that time embarked on a path of intensive development, and they became allies of the Xiongnu, 192 as did their neighbors, the Usuns.

Usuns

The question of the Usuns is quite complicated. According to the Chinese traveler Zhang Qian, the ancient Usun land was located between Dunhuan and Qinjiang, but the Yuezhi also lived there. Shiratori wondered 193 how two self-governing peoples could live together on the same territory. Even if their territory extended as far west as Lobnor and as far northeast as the lower reaches of the Edzin-gol 194, the desert land could not support two numerous peoples 195. But, apparently, these peoples possessed the specified territory in turn. The Shiji text confirms this view, stating that in the area of Guachzhou, western part of the modern Gansu province, before Dun-huan "in the Qin and Han dynasties lived Wusun, then Yuezhi and, finally, Huns who banished them" 196. The rotation of peoples is evident here. V. Uspensky suggests a hypothesis according to which the ancient inhabitants of this area were ancestors of Tibetans - Sishuns, and nomadic Usuns pushed them into the mountains during the Zhangho period 197 .

190 Ibid. C. 54.

191 Iakinth. History of Tibet and Huhunor. VOL. I. St. Petersburg, 1833. C. 17.

192 I find it necessary to note that this fact was not noticed by McGovern, who believed that Tibet was "equally free from Chinese and Hunnic control.

193 Shiratori K. Über den Wu-sun Stamm in Centralasien.

194 See: Richthofen F. China. Berlin, 1877. S. 49, 447.

195 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia and the Uryankhai Krai. VOL. II. L., 1926. C. 99.

196 Ouspensky V. The country Kuke-nor or Tsin-hai, from "Notes of IRGO, Department of Ethnography". T. VI. SPb, 1880 (separate print).

(St. Petersburg, 1880). C. 51.

Ouspensky disagrees with Bichurin, who claimed that at that time the Kyans (i.e., Tibetans) occupied the entire present-day Huhunor 198, which seems to be true. The disagreement arose because Ouspensky considered the Jungs to be Tibetans, whereas in fact they were a special people, and the Usuns descended from the Jungs 199. Thus, the migration hypothesis is no longer necessary and the validity of the term "Shiji" - "ancient Usun land" - is confirmed for the foothills of Nanshan.

At the end of the 3rd century, the Usuns fled the Danhe River valley. Apparently, it was caused by the Yuezhi 200. According to Grumm-Grzhimailo 201, Usuns fled to the Western Hulhu. There they engaged in combat with Modhe-shanyu warriors, and their lord was killed 202. The Huns treated the defeated Usuns with mercy. They were neither slaughtered nor dispersed. The son of the murdered ruler, Shanyui Mode, took him to his headquarters and brought him up, and then entrusted him with the rule of his people with the title of Gunmo 203. The Usuns were entrusted to guard the "Western Wall border" 204. Grumm-Grzhimailo considers the fortified Gao-kyesai gorge in the northwest corner of the Ordos, where the border was unnecessary at that time because the loyal Moda tribes of Leufan and Bayan lived there. It is most likely that here was meant the western frontier of the Hunnu, where lived the enemies of Usuns, the Yuezhi. It explains the fact (which gave rise to some hypotheses) 205 that Usuns appeared in Western Jungaria and Semirechye, and agrees with the version from the biography of Chjan Qian, where it says that young Gunmo, after receiving a shanyu permission to avenge their defeat, invaded Yuezhi and drove them to the west. So, during the Mode era, Usuns acted as vassals of the Huns 206.

The structure of the Hunnu state

Clan and tribal unions of the upper stages of the primitive communal system repeatedly created very high forms of social organization. They differed from class societies in that they were essentially the product of an entire society, rather than a single part of it. "We see the dominance of customs, the authority, the respect, the power held by the elders of the clan... But nowhere do we see the particular class of people who are singled out to manage others, and to have, in their interest, to manage systematically, permanently, the particular apparatus of coercion, the apparatus of violence that at that present time ... The Xiongnu people were ruled by their clan elders who relied not on the army but on the people's militia.

197 Ibid. C. 52.

198 Iacintus. History of Tibet and Huhunor. VOL. I. C. 5.

199 Gumilev L.N. Dinli problem // IVGO. 1959. No 1.

200 L? vi S. Notes sur les Indo-Scythes // Journal Asiatique. 1897. IX serie. Vol. IX. P. 13.

201 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia... C. 100.

202 Bichurin N.Ya. VOL.II. C. 155.

203 Ibid.

204 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia... C. 100.

205 Ibid. C. 100-101; Vernadsky G.V. Ancient Russia. New Haven, 1952. - Vernadsky compares the ethnonym Usun with the ethnonyms: Asians-Asians-Ases-Yases (Oses)-Alans, and regards Usuns as an Alanian tribe, conquered by Yuezhi.

206 Grumm-Grzhimailo G.E. Western Mongolia... C. 101. - He does not trust the last information, based on the author's confusion: that Gunmo's father was killed by Yuezhi, but not by Huns. In my opinion, this error is unimportant and does not change the matter: the Usuns were enemies of the Yuezhi and subjects of the Xiongnu. By the time of Chjan Qan's trip the Hunmo was already old, and had ten sons and many grandchildren (Bichurin N.Ya. Collected Information... Vol. II, p. 191). As he was born around the 208 years (N.Ya. Bichurin. Collected Information... Vol. II, p. 155), then in 139 year he was 70 years old, the age data coincide. In addition, by the 139 year, the Usuns were already habitual inhabitants of the Jetti-su, mixed with Saks and Yuezhi, who remained in situ, but this

information reached China only through Chjan Qian. The language of Usuns is unknown. Grumm-Grzhimailo lists them as Turks, and McGovern as Iranians, and both note the lack of evidence.

207 The Xiongnu were ruled by their clan elders who relied not on the army but on the people's militia. The Shanyu was simply the chief among the others and had no real power other than personal authority. When his activities did not command the respect of the tribesmen and, consequently, their support, waging major wars was naturally almost unthinkable. The role of the individual in the course of historical events is not always the same, but in the absence of an apparatus of power, a chief's abilities sometimes decide the outcome of historical events determined by combinations of coincidences.²⁰⁸ This explains why the Huns, the Aeuje and not the Dunhu were the leading tribes in steppe Asia, although the general course of events would not have been broken if the Huns had been defeated.

K. Marx notes: "...communal ownership... may... manifest itself either in such a way that small communities subsist independently one beside the other... Or in such a way that unity may extend to communality in the very process of labor, which may develop into a system, as in Mexico, especially in Peru, in the ancient Celts, in some tribes of India ²⁰⁹.

But this is not only true for the land-tilling, sedentary peoples. The nomadic pastoral economy of the Huns in the first millennium B.C. was much more highly organized than that of their sedentary neighbors. "The main branch of labor of the Turanians was domestication and only then the breeding and care of livestock." The pastoral tribes stood out from the rest of the barbarians: this was the first major social division of labor. Not only did they produce more than the other barbarians, but their livelihood was also different... This, for the first time, made possible a regular exchange. ²¹⁰ The development of the economy entailed the complication of forms of social life. The ails that had been separated in the conditions of semi-nomadic nomadic pastoralism began to form conjoined groups in the transition to the circular annual migrations. "In nomadic pastoralist tribes the community is always in fact gathered together"; it is a society of companions... A caravan, a horde, and forms of sub-ordination develop out of the conditions of this way of life. ²¹¹

The need arose for the organization of these small communities for defense against enemies and for maintaining order within the tribe. Only

trusted individual members of the communities could carry out such organization. This germ of state power is more ancient than the institution of the state, which is based on the violence of one class against another. This was noted by Engels, as was the difference between power in pre-class and class societies: "In every such community there are from the beginning certain common interests, the protection of which has to be entrusted to individual members, even if under common control": resolution of disputes and suppression of offenses by individuals, supervision of irrigation... some religious functions. Such offices are found in primitive communities at all times... They are endowed... with certain powers and represent the germ of state power... It is only important for us to establish here that political domination was everywhere based on the exercise of the social... function ... and that the political dominion only lasted for a long time insofar as it fulfilled that social function ... 212.

The statements of the founders of Marxism about the nature of society at the stage of the tribal and clan system are fully applicable to the Xiongnu in the third century B.C. In 209 B.C. the Huns confederation of 24 Hunnu clans was a step up in social development: the union turned into a "power".

- Lenin, V.I. On the State // Essays, 4th ed. Vol. 29. C. 437.
- 208 Marx K., Engels F. Selected Letters. M., 1948. C. 264.
- 209 Marx K. Forms preceding capitalist production. M., 1940. C. 7.
- 210 Engels F. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. M., 1953. C. 165.
- 211 Marx K. Forms preceding capitalist production. C. 24.
- 212 Engels F. Anti-Dühring. M., 1938. C. 185-186.

The political system, social order and culture of the Xiongnu of the Mode era and his successors differed significantly from their previous way of life. Therefore, we have the right to assume that the development of the Xiongnu society had gone a long way before it took the form in which history finds the Xiongnu. At the same time, we should remember that Mode's creation of the Xiongnu power was late compared to the development of the Xiongnu people and society. Mode only improved and slightly reformed the existing system.

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