Древние культуры Монголии, Южной Сибири и Северного Китая

Материалы XI Международной научной конференции
Ancient cultures of Mongolia, Southern Siberia and Northern China

Transactions of the XIth International Conference

September 8–11, 2021, Abakan
Древние культуры Монголии, Южной Сибири и Северного Китая

Материалы XI Международной научной конференции

8–11 сентября 2021 года, г. Абакан


Сборник материалов XI Международной научной конференции «Древние культуры Монголии, Южной Сибири и Северного Китая» содержит работы участников конференции, состоявшейся 8–11 сентября 2021 года в г. Абакан (Российская Федерация). Эта конференция, которая продолжает серию научных мероприятий, начатых в 2010 году в г. Улан-Удэ, была проведена на базе Южносибирского филиала Института истории материальной культуры РАН. Материалы сборника хронологически охватывают большой период времени от палеолита до современности и посвящены актуальным проблемам археологической науки, этнографии и сохранения историко-культурного наследия восточной части Северной Евразии.

The Proceedings of the 11th International Scientific Conference “Ancient Cultures of Mongolia, Southern Siberia and Northern China” contain works of participants of the conference held on September 8–11, 2021 in Abakan (Russian Federation). This conference, which continues a series of scientific events started in 2010 in Ulan-Ude, was held on the basis of the South Siberian Branch of the Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The Conference Proceedings chronologically cover a large period of time from the Paleolithic to the Modern Times and are devoted to current problems of archaeological science, ethnology and preservation of historical and cultural heritage of the eastern part of Northern Eurasia.

В оформлении обложки использованы: пейзажная фотография — вид с востока–северо-востока на реку Абакан в районе впадения в нее реки Сос (фотография А.В. Поликов); художественное изделие из рога — Итколь II курган 14 могила 4 (раскопки А.В. Поликов).

In the design of the cover were used: landscape photography — view from the east-northeast of the Abakan River in the area of the confluence of the Sos River (photography by A.V. Polyakov); artistic product made of a horn — Itkol II barrow 14 grave 4 (excavations by A.V. Polyakov).
B. Obrusanszky  
Károli Gáspár University (Hungary)

**SURVIVAL OF THE NORTHERN XIONGNU EMPIRE IN THE 1ST CENTURY CE**

Contemporary historical sources and literature have analyzed the late history of the Northern Xiongnu or Huns, though the question is still controversial. While the Chinese historical sources mentioned them as a strong power during the 2nd century CE, the historical summaries and literatures state that the Northern Huns suddenly disappeared from history and no longer played any roles in the Inner Asian region. In current presentation, I examine this question and indicate the focus points of the history of Northern Huns, based on the chapters of contemporary Chinese sources.

Regarding the History of Northern Xiongnu or Huns, the most debated period is the end of the 1st century CE, when they were defeated by some foreign troops – Xianbei and foreign allied army, e.g. Han and Southern Huns, as well. Based on these defeats, it is widely acknowledged that Northern Huns were submitted to Xianbei already in 89 CE (Barfield, 1989; Crespigny, 2003, 2006; Hyun, 2016; etc.), and that they suddenly disappeared totally from the Inner Asian region by 91 CE (Barfield, 1989, p. 79–80; Hyun, 2016). Some researchers (Grousset, 1970, p. 53–54) think that the Northern Huns were submitted to Xianbei only in the middle of 2nd century or around 155, when Tanshihuai occupied the territory of Huns (Ibid, p. 55). Only some sinologists, as Gardiner and Crespigny stated that ancient expansion of Xianbei was anachronistic and they did not have a chance to occupy the territory of Huns in the middle of the 2nd century (Gardiner, Crespigny, 1977). Albert E. Dien stated that Huns had been removed from the present-day Manchuria or the western part of the River Liao only from the 2nd century CE, and that they were forced to move southwestward, and they settled down in present-day Northern China or Eastern-Mongolia (Hyun, 2016). Some theories represent various ideas related to that question, we can observe controversial though between Historians and Sinologists. In order to clarify the present topic, we investigate all accessible Chinese sources and compare them with the latest archaeological research.

The current theories of Hunnic-Xianbei relations are based on lots of assumptions. In most cases, papers indirectly refer to Chinese sources and have not studied all sources regarding the Hunnic-Xianbei relationship, although at least three books in the history of the Late Han dynasty recorded the detailed history of Huns and Xianbei. In these chapters, I mean in the History of Late-Han Dynasty, we can find contradictory versions about the Hunnic-Xianbei relations. While the Chapter of the Southern Huns recorded that Xianbei were long-lasting vassals of the Huns, and even during the 2nd century they were dependent of them, the History of the Donghu recorded that Xianbei invaded and occupied vast territories of the Huns in the same period.

Dutchie, a Northern Wei scholar noticed one important reason why we could find different information in the chronicles: the Hou Han shu chronicle had been copied at the period of the Xianbei origin Northern-Wei dynasty. It is possible that clerks were prejudiced against their own ancestors, and some parts regarding the history of Donghu were updated based on the status quo of that time. Thus, Tanshihuai was attributed to occupy vast territory along the Yellow River bend and the Silk Road, however the Empire was able to reach such extension only by the middle of the 5th century or three centuries later. Unfortunately, we can observe hostile attitudes towards the Huns, without any thorough research been done, both Asian and European Huns were attempted to be eliminated quickly from the stage of history. However, it is not possible that a whole nation disappears completely from a particular area suddenly, almost within one year, and without any traces. Moreover, one or two defeated battles do not mean that Huns submitted to Xianbei totally or disappeared from the territory of present day Mongolia. Let alone those people, who submitted to a foreign power and managed to preserve their identity for centuries. In order to clarify historical events of the 1st–2nd centuries CE, we need to study Chinese sources, namely the history of the late Han dynasty or Hou Han shu, chapters on the Southern Huns (89), Donghu (96) and Western Region (88). There is additional information in the late ancient chronicles as Jin shu and Wei shu.

The first Chinese dynastical chronicle, Shi Ji, mentioned the reason of the hostile between Huns and Donghu (Shi Ji, 110). According to that, Maodun after having ascended the throne, started a campaign against his eastern neighbour, Donghu. Later the Hou Han shu chronicle filled out this report as the following: "At the beginning of the Han Dynasty, Maodun defeated them (Donghu), who wandered far from the Liaodong border."
Bordered by Wuhuan, but they were not neighbour on the Middle Country” (Hou Han shu, 90, 77).

While the Hunnic Empire was strong and united, the Donghu did not dare to move west and attack the borders. Due to frequent fight for throne among brothers and relatives of royal clan of the Huns the Great Empire weakened. Chinese politics took the opportunity and attacked the western area of Yellow river, having occupied the richest areas of the Silk Road and established cities and colonies there. One branch of Donghu, namely Wuhuan in the period of Emperor Zhao Di (94–74 BC) suddenly entered the heartland of present-day Mongolia and robbed tombs of Shanyus, in order to take revenge on Maodun, who attacked and submitted them. In response, Huns launched a campaign against them (Han shu, 94,b, 72.o). It was just a short interlude and there was no further attack from the east. Later on, Huns stayed and held the eastern territories until the River Liao, which was the border between Huns and Donghu. It remained untouched in Huanye’s time as well. The Chinese Han dynasty recognised the potential of increasing power of Xianbei, but the Court was not able to take opportunity of it, because usurper Wang Mang acquired the throne of Han in 9 CE and he focused on internal affairs only. After his death at 23, an Emperor from the Han sat on the throne again, but he needed to fight with other candidates, one of them was a Hunnic origin landlord. At the same time, the Xianbei tried to conquer the western region of the Huns, I mean the western bank of River Liao, in the 21st year of Ji Yan Wu Emperor (45), they robbed the border zone and killed many people. The same year Huns entered Liaodong and took revenge. After few years, Han established diplomatic relationship with Xianbei in 49 CE, which was directed against the Huns (Hou Han shu, 90).

As the Chinese chronicle summarised „it was not a peaceful period”. At the end of the 40s, Huns lost their advantage and their military power reduced, due to the renewed struggles for the throne of Shanyu. Northern and Southern Huns could not agree who had right to use the title Shanyu. They also fought against each other for the right of using markets along the Silk Road. The Southern Huns did not want northern relatives to benefit from it. It would have reduced their profit and prices of the products would decrease, because both of them supply the region with similar products (furs, livestock, crafts, etc.). Officially, Han Emperor supported Southern Huns as allied partner, but after Northern Huns had repeatedly sent envoys to Han to reconcile opening of markets along the border, Chinese were very cautious and allowed them to sell products only in few places. The court did not want to insult allied Southern Huns and officials were afraid of Hunnic civil war, which would cause instability of the region. So, the Han court gave less gifts and rights to the Northern Huns than southern allied partner. Additionally, the Southern Huns wanted to occupy the territories of Northern Huns to unite Huns again, as Huanye claimed in his testament (Han shu, 94).

When the Eastern or Late Han—dynasty became stronger, they declared war for reconquer the Western Regions in 72 CE. They faced a strong Northern Hunnic resistance, mainly in the northern regions near Turfan, Hami and some cities. The Chinese General Ban Chao led army and had a temporary success, and Huns retreated to the neighbouring Gobi desert. Hou Han shu writes about this: “Emperor Ming in the sixteenth year of yongbing (AD 73) Han took Yiwu (Hami) to be able to connect with Western regions. Jushi (Turfan) then depended again on the Empire, but the Huns sent soldiers to attack it and eventually renewed the alliance with the Northern Savages (Northern Huns)” (Hou Han shu, 88).

Not only Han dynasty, but Southern Huns also defeated Northern Huns, taking advantage of natural disasters of the present-day Mongolian steppe in the 80’s (Hou Han shu, 89, 48–50). Many of them fled to south and joined Huanye’s descendants. In the second year of Zhang He (87 CE), the Xianbei attacked them, Ye Liu shanyu was killed and his body was flayed, they destroyed the central palace as well. After that they returned home. The defeat caused confusion among Northern Huns, and qiu lan, zhu bei, hudushui, altogether 58 tribes or 21 tumens or ten-thousand moved to Yunjun, Wu Yuan, Shuo Fang, and Bei di (Hou Han shu, 89, 51). Subsequent reports reveal that it was not an independent action by the Xianbei that they executed the commander of Southern shanyu who wanted to get authority over the Northern territories. The next year or in 88 CE, the situation did not improve in the north: there was famine due to the lockouts, so the migration process from north to the south increased. Southern Shanyu Zuo Hou Ti himself declared that he asked the Wuhuan and the Xianbei to attack the Huns and kill the Shanyu in order to unite again under his authority (Hou Han shu, 89). Previously Huanye had the same thought, who wanted to reunite the Huns under the submission of the Han, but the southern Shanyu could not win over the Northern Huns, that’s why he asked for help from Han. Emperor of Han supported this idea, this way they were able to open the second frontier and raised the chance to stop and defeat the Northern Huns who still threatened the cities of the Silk Road. So, in the end of the 1st century CE, the Northern Huns faced a comprehensive attack of foreign powers and the Southern Huns as well.

Commander Dou Xian started a campaign and a coalition army departed north from Shuo Fan gin 89 CE. The Chinese part had foot soldiers of 8,000, and the
Southern Huns provided 30,000 of cavalry, Xianbei and Qiang were also involved with the cavalry. The majority of the army consisted of Southern Huns, because they were involved in defeating Northern relatives. The allied army won the battle at QiHuo Hill, but the Northern Shanyu was able to escape far away. According to the record, the leaders of 21 tumen were cut off, but the number would be too much, maybe the chronicle exaggerated it. Dou Xian climbed to Mount Yanran and clerks carved a victory inscription on the rock. Although the text of it recorded Hou Han shu, a joint Mongolian-Chinese expedition found the original text in Dundgov County and published the translation in 2017 (Jin shu, 98). After the campaign, the allied force did not stay in present-day Mongolia, Dou Xian returned home, and the next year attacked Huns in another area.

The next year or in 90 CE the campaign went on. In the middle of period of He Di Yun Yuan (89—105), the great commander Dong Xian started an attack again and he asked for help from the Shanyu of Southern Huns to devastate the Northern Thieves. Thus, the Left Luli wang Arslan led 8,000 troops, departed from fort Ji Lu Sai and they put down the packs at Zuo ye mountain, divided the army into two parts, and the cavalry moved eastward. The allied army captured a wife of the Shanyu and his jade seal, etc. (Hou Han shu, 89, 52). The allied army won a bright victory again, but the right place of the battle is not known until now. The campaign went on because – despite of the victories – they were not able to conquer the territories of the Northern Huns. The next year a new General, Gen Kui attacked the Huns again with huge army and they defeated Huns. As Hou Han shu recorded: „The Shanyu fled, nobody knew where. His younger brother the western luli wang, Yu Zhang followed him on the throne, who set off envoys to fort of Lake Pu Lei (Barkol) to negotiate with Han delegates. Agreement was concluded, and the Shanyu was formally subjected to the Chinese court” (Hou Han shu 89, 53). The chronicle noted that the Northern Huns were poor, that’s why Shanyu did not bring any gifts, having suggested that they had suffered from war and natural disasters for years (Hou Han shu, 89, 57). The envoy of Hun took over the objects of submission: a state seal, four jade swords, and a palanquin (Hou Han shu, 89).

We can find a totally different description about the same event in the Chapter of Donghu (History of Late-Han dynasty). According to that, after General Gen Kui’s victory the Xianbei moved to the territory of the Northern Huns and settled down there. The remnants of Huns, more than 10 tumen households, called themselves Xianbei. After that, they became “stronger” (Hou Han shu 90, 778). Comparing with another story of Hou Han shu, the Xianbei was not able to lead the army alone against Huns to occupy their territory. The story of Xianbei occupation is anachronistic, although the most scholars accepted it. There is no strong evidences of Xianbei attack and victory, the only reference does not stand against the other records of the same chronicle. The data in the history of the Southern Huns is considered to be accepted and realistic, because Donghu remained their former territory – the western bank of River Liao – in the end of 1st century CE. Even the chapter of the Donghu has some sentences which disprove the Xianbei expansion toward present day Mongolia. E.g. “In the 9th year (97), Xianbei of Liaodong, attacked Fei Ru district <…> In the 13th year (101), the Xianbei of Liaodong robbed the Western Yu Wei Ping” (Hou Han shu, 90, 78). It means that at the end of the 1st century the Xianbei people still lived in their original settlement in Liaodong which is far from present Mongolia.

The other chapters of Hou Han shu also do not support the Xianbei expansion at the end of the 1st century CE. The chapter of Western Regions does not mention that the Xianbei has taken control of the Huns in the Mongolian steppe. To summarise the events of these period, the historical sources do not confirm the theory, that Northern Huns were occupied by Xianbei in the years of 90–91 or settled down in present Mongolia. Moreover, Northern Huns having submitted to the Chinese Han, escaped from a further campaign. Later on the Han Emperor executed General Dou Xian in 92, who was in charge of the campaign against the Huns. According to many researchers, the name of the Huns can no longer be read in the Chinese sources at the end of the 1st century, which is one of their arguments for the disappearance of the Huns. Although the Hou Han shu does not mention Northern Huns, but call them as Northern thieves or Savages, that is the reason, why Northern Huns are not included in the sources afterwards. But, the Chinese chronicle mentions rulers of the Northern Huns after 91 CE, and reports on their fighting, especially in the western areas, but we can find evidence, that Northern Huns won over the Xianbei as well. The name and moreover the deeds of the Southern Huns also are in the Chinese sources. In the chapter 94 of Han shu we find the reports about how the Huns attacked their eastern neighbors. They were probably late for paying taxes (Hou Han shu, 89, 59, 61, 64). According to Hou Han shu, the Southern Huns were still the strongest power in the Inner Asian region. During the 2nd century they attacked and robbed the border of the Xianbei at Liaodong. The Hou Han shu wrote it: “In the first year of Yan Shi, southern Shanyu gathered many countries and was robbed along the Wuhuan, Xinbei border. In the autumn of the second year of Yuan Chu (115), Xianbei
from Liaodong was abducted by the Wu Lue District. Many tribes dissolved. All of them moved to the Northern Thieves.” This sentence state that the Xianbei have gone to the Northern Huns, but not as conquerors, but as immigrants!

The Xianbei wanted to take revenge and between 121–131 constantly attacked the eastern border of the Southern Huns, threatening the eastern half of the Dai Province and Liaoxi region (Hou Han shu, 89). According to the contemporary report, Xianbei burned Liao Xi and kidnapped peoples. It means that they crossed the Liao River and settled on its west coast. The Huns, however, did not leave the attack without retaliation, and in 121 they attacked and robbed the Xianbei. Due to heavy losses suffered by the Southern Huns, they are forced to return to Liaodong. In the 130s, the Southern Huns and the Xianbei continued to fight with each other.

Xianbei robbed some districts near northern Liaodong country. One official of the Southern Huns, Fu Heng attacked and defeated Xianbei in 133. Many people were captured and killed. The thieves and robberies of Xianbei have been reduced after the campaign (Dutchie, 40; Hou Han shu, 90).

Meanwhile Ban Chao fought for the cities of the Silk Road. He was successful to occupy the most cities, moreover he sent envoy to far west in order to discover the foreign countries. When he retired in 102 the Han expansion stopped and no longer was able to manage further conquests there. The northern people or Huns strengthened. Due to the favorable conditions of the foreign affairs, Northern Huns escaped the double threat (Han, Southern Huns) and from the beginning of the 2nd century Southern Huns began negotiate with Northern Huns, and after a half century fights, they renewed the agreement of Huhanye in 104 (Hou Han shu, 89, 57). The areas outside of the Great Wall were inhabited by the northern steppe peoples, who threatened Han. The Hou Han shu recorded that the Northern Huns had strengthened from the 120’s and attacked the cities of Tarim Basin. The Huyan tribe led these campaigns (Hou Han shu, 89).

The Northern Huns did not participate in these struggles, and they struggle for the Western cities. The Hou Han shu chronicle reported their fights in the 140s led by Huyan clan. The above mentioned sources prove that Northern Huns and the Hunnic state also did not disappear, they have only weakened in the 90s, but after a long crisis they flourished again.

The migration drawn from archaeological finds can also be traced back to Chinese sources. In fact, the Xianbei still were under the jurisdiction of the Southern Huns, as evidenced by the Chinese note that in the time of Hen Di (146–168) the father of Tan Shi Huai of Xianbei, Tou Lu, followed the Hun arm for three years, while his wife gave birth to a son. One of the great rulers of Xianbei is considered to be Tan shi huai, whom the Chinese have called da ren, a great man. He often attacked the southwestern Han border. The Hans hu reported on the year of 168: „There was not a year in which border commanderies of three provinces Youzhou, Bingzhou and Liangzhou were not subjected to Xianbei raiding, plundering and massacring (the Xianbei’s) number could not be overcome” (Hou Han shu, 90). The next report is: „In the autumn of the 2nd year of Yun Shun Tan Shi Huai with 3–4 thousand horses robbed Yun Zhong”. The next report says that Southern Huns launched a campaign against the Xianbei in 177. Jun Lan Zhang and Zhang Ming departed from Yan Men and defeated Tan Shi Huai (Hou Han shu, 89, 64).

In addition, the rise of the Xianbei state almost collapsed after the death of Tan Shi Huai (169–181). As the Chinese chronicle reports: “In the middle of Guan He’s Tan Shi Huai died. His son, Helian, was on the throne. He did not inherit his father’s merits. He attacked the northern savages or Huns. Archer Lian shot Helian, who died in his injury”. This sentence clearly shows that the Northern Huns did not disappear; moreover they weakened the Xianbei state by the end of the 2nd century. The Southern Huns continued to invade the Xianbei territories. Qiang qu shanyu sat the throne in the second year of Guang He Empror. In the fourth year of Ping (187) he robbed Xianbei (Hou Han shu, 89). The battle between the two peoples was not silent. In fact, they both weakened at the end of the 2nd century and could not take advantage of the failure of the Han dynasty.

Regarding the Xianbei in present Mongolia, archaeologists reveal only one tomb, which related to them. If they had conquered the territory of Northern Huns, they would have left lots of tombs or any other archaeological evidence. But there is nothing, which relates to Xianbei in Mongolia as archaeologists said: „It is also not to be excluded a growing Xianbei presence in Mongolia, although their archaeological presence, to my knowledge, has yet to be identified” (Brosseder, Miller, 2011). The great burial site of Gol Mod 2 in Arkhangai province, Mongolia also gives us evidences that Northern Huns did not disappeared from the history suddenly. The large number of graves there — almost 200 — may suggest that Northern Hun leaders did not disappear in the 1st century CE, but still were mentioned in later centuries. So, we cannot find evidences to occupation of the Xianbei in today’s Mongolia in the end of the 1st century. On the basis of Chinese sources and archaeological findings, we get completely different picture: although Northern Huns had a crisis for a long period
and had significant losses during the war against allied army mentioned above, they got over it and strengthened again during the first decades of 2nd century. Lacking information about them in Chinese sources does not mean they disappeared, it indicates that Chinese had no direct contact with them. The Southern Huns fought for Xianbei during the 2nd century, and finally both nomadic power weakened by the end of 2nd century.

Literature
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Г. Обрусански
Университет Кароли Гаспара (Венгрия)
О СУЩЕСТВОВАНИИ ИМПЕРИИ СЕВЕРНЫХ ХУННУ В I ВЕКЕ Н.Э.

Отдельные периоды поздней истории северных хунну (проживавших на территории современных Монголии и Северного Китая) оставляют много вопросов в их изучении. Должное внимание не было уделено последствиям объединенных нападений Китая и южных хунну в конце 80-х гг. н.э. Действительно ли северные хунну внезапно исчезли в конце I в. н.э. из Внутренней Азии? Вошли ли они в состав восточной державы или империи сяньби? Противоречивые гипотезы по истории северных хунну зачастую возникают в связи с тем, что в одной из трех глав китайской хроники или Истории поздней династии Хань также зафиксированы ложные факты о хунну и сяньби. Большинство ученых полагаются на данные, приведенные в главе об истории дунху и, соответственно, считают, что северные хунну были повержены и присоединены к империи сяньби в 80-х гг. н.э. Внезапное исчезновение северных хунну не подтверждается ни какими-либо другими записями в той же китайской хронике (История поздней династии Хань), ни археологическими данными. Мы можем полагать, что племена или союзы племен сяньби постепенно захватили территории южных хунну в III–IV вв. Что касается северных хунну, то в их силах было победить союзы племен сяньби в 110-х гг. и заставить платить налоги. Более того, северные хунну положили конец государству сяньби, застрелив Хэляня во второй половине II в. н.э.

КЛЮЧЕВЫЕ СЛОВА: Монголия и Северный Китай, первые века н.э., хунну, северные хунну, южные хунну, сяньби, китайские хроники.