

THE STEPPE ZONE
IN THE PERIOD OF EARLY NOMADS
AND CHINA
OF THE 9TH-7TH CENTURIES B.C.

I believe that in world history today the question of the interdependence and mutual relation of various cultural regions arises with renewed urgency. Against those tendencies which place racial, national and cultural complexes in sharp opposition and underline only antagonistic tendencies and conflicts between them, it is necessary to emphasize the basic continuity and uniformity of the development of the human race, and to realize that the world, despite all its complexity and variety, has unity. No human group exists in isolation, and the higher its culture, the more fertile and numerous are its relations with other cultures.

We wish in the present study to show the direct historical con-

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nection between the European cultural sphere and that of eastern Asia and to demonstrate this connection by way of an example, in my view, hitherto insufficiently investigated.

The steppe zone which, as a system of interlinked inland seas, connects huge complexes of civilization in the eastern and western parts of Eurasia* was always of special significance for this mutual dependency. Whereas in periods of peace the function of this zone was barely noticeable, for the exchange of various goods and cultural values proceeded quite mechanically and unobtrusively, attention was directed towards it in periods of unrest when disturbances arising in it often made themselves felt first at one end and then at the other end of Eurasia. Noticeably, the focal centers of such movements usually lay in the east, somewhere near the Chinese borders, whereas the western end suffered much more from numerous attacks and incursions which again and again altered its ethnical and cultural character.

In spite of the above, I am not altogether in accord with the view most recently formulated by Prof. O. Lattimore, the foremost authority on the problems of the steppe zone and summed up in the thesis that "invasions, in fact, had astonishingly little to do with early formative processes in China—less than in any other great civilization... In contrast with India and the Middle East there is no evidence in the early period, of the spilling over into China of large new populations, or of a political structure on which alien conquerors imposed themselves as a ruling class..."¹

Prof. Lattimore reacts here to the previous exaggerated theories of the influence of different ethnical groups on the rise of a Chinese nation and on its civilization. I myself sharply rejected these theories,² but it would be incorrect to go to the other

* The detailed documentation relating to this study is given in the Czech version to be published in *Český časopis historický*. See also the review of Prof. K. Jettmar's book, *Die Frühen Steppenvölker*, Baden-Baden 1964, due to come out in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*. Here I cite only the most important references.

¹ O. Lattimore, *From China Looking Outward*, New Orient 1965, 1, p. 20 and seq.

² J. Průšek, *Eine neue Gesamtdarstellung der Geschichte Chinas* (W. Eberhard, *Chinas Geschichte*, Bern 1948), *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 48, 1953, pp. 389-406. Also: *Les récentes théories d'Eberhard sur les origines de la civilisation chinoise*, *Archiv Orientalní* (below, abbreviated to ArOr), 21, 1953, pp. 35-92.

extreme. The aim of my article is to show that, in the earliest period historically accessible, storms in the steppe zone had their repercussions, both in the east and in the west.

Here I shall investigate the turbulent process which worked itself out in the steppe zone between the 9th and the 7th centuries B.C.³ which in the west is marked by the irruptions of the Cimmerians, closely followed by the Scythians, into southern Russia and their penetration into various regions of Hither Asia, and in China by the invasions and migrations of a variety of tribes, such as the Hsien-yün, the Pei Jung and the Ti, at about the same time. The extent of these invasions into Chinese territory was no smaller than that of the Cimmerians and Scythians in the west. In China, these barbarian raids and movements affected the whole province of Shen-hsi, Shan-hsi, all of Ho-pei, the greater part of Shang-tung and Ho-nan, that is, almost the whole ancient cultural area of China in the basin of the Huang-ho, and it took over three centuries to overcome the consequences of these invasions.

The idea that a connection existed between the processes taking place almost simultaneously at either end of the Eurasian continent is by no means new. It occurs in rudimentary form among those investigators who attempted to interpret Herodotus's account of the Scythians and identify his Arimaspians with Hsien-yün and the Huns.⁴ According to the legend developed by Aristetas of Proconnesus in his epos, *Arimaspeia*, and taken over by Herodotus, the Arimaspians originated the massive movement of peoples in the steppe zone which brought about the incursions of the Cimmerians and Scythians in the west.⁵

³ Certain researchers date this stormy period further back into the past. Thus K. Jettmar, *Die Frühen Steppenvölker*, Baden-Baden 1964, p. 218 and seq., links the immigration of sea peoples, who reached the eastern Mediterranean between 1250 and 1100 B.C., with the appearance of steppe cavalry, which in my opinion is not correct. I share the view of S. I. Rudenko, *Kultura neseleniya Centralnovo Altaya v skyfskoe vremia*, M.L. 1960, p. 96, and a number of other studies, that this transition was gradual and that a radical change "stimulating the rearing of large herds of horses and, in places, of herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, in South Siberia, and in the east and west of the steppe zone, did not take place later than the 9th and 8th centuries B.C."

⁴ For instance, Ellis H. Minns in his well-known book, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge 1913.

⁵ Herodotus IV, 13, cf.: *Herodotus*, transl. by H. Cary, London 1908, p. 242.

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The Austrian scholar, Heine Geldern, presented the reverse of this idea in the hypothesis of a migration of Thracian and Germanic tribes from the Black Sea region and the northern Caucasus in an easterly direction which, he suggests, alarmed the peaceful agricultural population of the steppes and mobilized them to defence. This he believes caused their transition to the nomadic way of life. Traces of this migration are to be found in the existence of certain groups speaking an Indo-European language of western type, in north-west China (Tokharians) and then the Dong-son culture in Indo-China, with its peculiar horse-riding features.⁶ This idea was taken over by G. Haloun who, already in 1922, formulated the thesis of the migration of the Ch'üan Jung and the Ti from the present province of Shen-hsi eastwards, under the pressure of these Indo-European immigrants.⁷ G. Haloun, in his latest work devoted to this problem,⁸ tries to identify the name Yüeh-Chih (the Chinese name of a clearly Indo-European people, possibly the Tocharians, settled in the north-western part of the present-day Chinese province of Kan-su), with the Scythians, and the name Hsien-yün with the Cimmerians. These identifications, undoubtedly insufficiently founded, have not been accepted,⁹ but more regrettably no attention has been paid to his assertion that, in the 7th and 6th centuries, China was affected by a whole stream of migrations following a west-east line of advance. Only the Chinese investigator, Meng Wen-t'ung, evidently independently of G. Haloun, reached the same conclusion.¹⁰ The whole question without doubt requires new investigation and, especially it needs to be placed in a new historical context.

⁶ K. Jettmar 1964, p. 223.

⁷ G. Haloun, Zu J. J. M. de Groot, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, OLZ 1922, pp. 433-438.

⁸ G. Haloun, *Zur Üe-tsi Frage*, Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell. Bd. 91 NF Bd 16, Leipzig 1937, pp. 243-318.

⁹ J. Harmatta, *Le Problème Cimmérien*, Archaeologiai Ertesitö, Series III. Vols. VII-IX, Budapest 1948, pp. 79-132, writes p. 97: "D'autre part ni la théorie de A. Herrmann, ni celle de G. Haloun ne résistent à la critique."

¹⁰ In the study entitled, "Investigation of the Incursions of the Red and White Ti into the East", *Ch'ih Ti Pai Ti tung ch'in k'ao*, Yü-kung, Vol. VIII, 1937, Nos 1-3, pp. 67-68 (in Chinese).

In the early history of the steppe zone, some time at the beginning of the 9th century, there is observable a sudden change.¹¹ It would seem that till then it had been in general a peaceful region, where various agricultural cultures, characterized by painted pottery, developed and where a certain interchange of cultural goods took place, the foremost indication of which is the appearance of painted pottery in a broad belt extending from the steppes of South Russia across Central Asia to China.¹² Another proof of this symbiosis is the dispersion of elements of the Hallstat culture in this region. In North China, too, the most recent finds show the spread of agriculture at the end of the Neolithic Age into the area at the bend of the Yellow River. There were found deposits on the river banks showing a close affinity to the Yang-shao cultures in China and perhaps especially to those of Kan-su. It is clear that farming and Chinese influences were operative not only in the eastern parts of Inner Mongolia, in Jehol and Chahar, where numerous remains of agricultural settlements have been found, but also in the west, in the present-day region of Sui-yüan. It is striking, too, how large a number of finds from the last period of the Neolithic Age occur in this region, as compared with the relative sparseness of finds from the beginning of the following Bronze Age. Evidently we are confronted here with two different periods characterized, it would also seem, by a differing density of population.¹³

Particularly surprising is the unmistakable influence of Chinese culture, of which at this time there is evidence in as distant areas as Minusinsk on the Upper Yenisei in the "Karasuk" culture. Found there were bronze objects such as various kinds of knives

¹¹ The view that the steppe belt was relatively peaceful before the rise of nomadism is accepted also by K. Jettmar 1964, p. 215, and by various Soviet investigators.

¹² J. Gernet, in this most recent book, *La Chine Ancienne*, Paris 1964, pp. 29-30, points to the prehistoric relations between the regions bordering the steppe belt. It must be noted, however, that so far it has not been possible to establish any genetic connection between the individual regions of painted pottery in respect of the type of ornament.

¹³ A short report by a cultural brigade of the Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia on the finds of cultural deposits and burial grounds, discovered in the Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia since 1957, published in the periodical *Wen-wu* 1961, 9, pp. 5-7 (in Chinese).

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and daggers, axes, etc..., similar to Chinese products in the time of the Shang and Chou dynasties.¹⁴ Since in this period a striking increase of population is also observable there,¹⁵ and since among the population the fragile Mongoloid type is ethnically prominent,¹⁶ it is quite possible that this reflects the migration of certain groups anthropologically close to the population of the northern boundary of China, which brought with them elements of Chinese culture.¹⁷ The population is predominantly engaged in sheep-rearing and farming, and their way of life is reminiscent of those Ch'iang who were hunted by the Shang kings (c. 1523-1027). The influence of China on this region cannot be later than 900 B.C.¹⁸

All these facts lead us to the conclusion that at this time, up to the 9th or 8th centuries, the steppe zone in the north of China was a fairly peaceful region, through which even poorly armed tribes of sheep-grazers and primitive farmers could move with comparative ease. This situation is well illustrated by the fact that in the Karasuk culture burials with weapons are very rare.¹⁹

A radical change in the situation took place in the following

¹⁴ B. Karlgren, *Some Weapons and Tools of the Yin Dynasty*, BMFEA, Stockholm 1945, pp. 101-144. Chêng Tê-k'un, *Archaeology in China*, Vol. III *Chou China*, Cambridge 1963, p. 138 and seq.

¹⁵ The sharp rise in population in the Minusinsk basin is stressed by S. V. Kiselev, *Drevniaya istoria Yushnoi Sibiri*, 2nd ed., Moscow 1951.

¹⁶ The paleoanthropologist, G. F. Debec, *Paleoantropologia SSSR*, Trudy inst. etnografii, new series, Vol. IV, Moscow-Leningrad 1948, pp. 81-83, found among the Karasuk population pure Sinoid types. On the basis of this, S. V. Kiselev, *op. cit.*, 114 and seq., formulated the theory of the migration of certain tribes to this region from the Chinese borderlands. Recently V. P. Alekseev contested the view put forward by Debec, showing on the contrary that the Karasuk population is extremely mixed, and found the dominant type to be Pamiro-ferghanic and probably close to the present-day inhabitants of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

¹⁷ Debec, *op. cit.*, p. 81; S. V. Kiselev, *op. cit.*, p. 145 and seq.; S. V. Kiselev, *Mongolia v drevnosti*, *Izvestia Akademii Nauk, SIF*, Vol. IV, pp. 255-372 and especially p. 360; M. P. Gryaznov, *Istoria drevnich plemen verkhnei Obi po raskopkam bliz. Bolshaya Rechka*, Izd. Ak. Nauk. M. L. 1965, p. 36 and seq. Chêng-Tê-k'un, *op. cit.*, p. 140, actually speaks of the re-settling of Shang's warriors in the north, which is surely going a little too far.

¹⁸ This is the conclusion reached by B. Karlgren, *Some Weapons* p. 143, note 1, on the basis of a typological comparison of various implements.

¹⁹ M. P. Gryaznov, *Istoria drevnich plemen*, p. 84.

period which, in the Altai, is known as the Maiemic culture (after finds in the Maiemic steppe, beside the sources of the Naryn and below Solonechnii Belek),²⁰ and, in the region of Minusinsk as the Tagar Culture (after an island beside Minusinsk). The most striking feature of the new era are the burials with horses, which are typical of the Maiemic culture. The horse becomes man's inseparable companion, who cannot part with him even after death. It is clearly not the relationship of a husbandman to an important means of subsistence, but a much more intimate tie—above all that of a warrior to his faithful comrade, on whom often depended his master's life. It symbolizes well the new epoch in which the horse becomes an important factor in all areas of life.²¹

In the economic sphere, the mass transition to horsebreeding, besides the rearing of sheep, made possible the separation of the two branches of economy, as practised in an earlier age (for instance, in the extensive region of the Andronovo culture): hoe cultivation and the pasturing of stock. Only the horse and the sheep can find food below the snow, and so it was possible for herds to multiply and find their own nourishment on pasture lands to an unprecedented extent.²² Breeders of horses and sheep were no longer bound to permanent settlements with fields, but now go over to a nomadic and semi-nomadic way of life, even though certain farming elements are preserved among all nomads and pure nomadism is the exception.²³ The search for new grazing lands and sources of water for the multiplying herds and flocks

²⁰ Kiselev, *Drevnaya istoria*, p. 288 and seq. and esp. p. 291. A specific feature of the Maiemic culture are kurgans and burials with horses, bits of a certain shape, mirrors, etc. Certain elements link it with the Tagar culture, but characteristic of it so far is the non-existence of iron.

²¹ Kiselev, *Drevnaya istoria*, p. 257: "...the horse became at this time the most important factor in the economy. The Tagar epoch is the period in which for the first time in northern Asia a horse harness is worked out for riding."

²² This is Rudenko's idea, see Note 3 and also his book, *Gornoaltaiskie nachodki i Skifi*, M. L. 1952, p. 21, and, esp. p. 24.

²³ Rudenko, *Gornoaltaiskie nachodki*, p. 22. On p. 24 of the same work, he shows that in the Scythian period it was always only one part of the ethnic group that led a truly nomadic form of life, whereas the other part was occupied in the main with agriculture and that there was a constant alternation of the two forms of economy.

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led to a rapid exploitation of still unappropriated steppe, semi-steppe and uplands.

Life in the steppe zone becomes dynamic and revolutionary. A revolution took place above all in fighting. The grazing of herds and flocks which already in the preceding period was probably the business above all of the young men, followed then by the division of labor according to sex and age group, led quite possibly to the forming of "male bands."²⁴ From these probably evolved the herdsman-rider and warrior in one. His duty was not only to look after but to defend the herds and flocks from the attacks of predatory animals, as well as from human robbers. The appropriation of new areas for grazing must itself have led to clashes, which would become more acute in the critical periods of summer and autumn drought, eventually in winter storms. Catastrophes such as were inevitable in the initial stage, when a sufficient stock of experience had not as yet been accumulated, led the first nomads to seek compensation in raids on their neighbors. They were probably not slow to grasp the possibility of increasing their possessions not only through natural multiplication of stock, but by robbery. The mounted archer-warrior acquired growing superiority over the less belligerent pastoral communities and also over the farming population which they robbed or made subject to them, in order to ensure the necessary grain supplies, as the fruit of other's labour.²⁵

Soviet excavations in the region of Bolshaya Rechka, on the Upper Ob, document what went on among the neighboring farming population in this first phase of the forming of nomadic cultures based on the raising of horses. We find there traces of fighting, villages suddenly deserted, either due to the flight or the carrying off into slavery of their inhabitants, and, as evidence of the general state of insecurity, burials with weapons, differing in this respect so strikingly from the burials of the preceding Karasuk period.

²⁴ This thought is expressed by K. Jettmar in *Die Frühen Steppenvölker*, p. 216.

²⁵ The robber and fighting character of the early nomads is realistically described by Gryaznov, *Istoria drevnich plemen*, p. 72 and seq., on the basis of finds in Bolshaya Rechka near Blizhni Elbany.

Similar features appear also in the Minusinsk depression, in the initial period of the Tagar epoch. Characteristic of the new epoch (roughly from the 8th to the 2nd cent. B.C.) is the disappearance of the fragile Mongoloid type, sometimes held to be sinoid, the main bearers of the Karasuk culture, whose economy was based on sheep-rearing. Now horse and cattle breeding predominated. Among the population, the ancient Europoid type again acquired the ascendancy it had in the older Afanasievo culture. Perhaps this is connected with the fact that in the western parts of Siberia the transition to the nomadic way of life was first effected among the old Europoid stock.

Another feature of the new era is that though the population continued to exist as a settled farming community, there are numerous graves containing warriors and even women with weapons;²⁶ we also find ramparts, ditches—even an irrigation canal is protected by defensive earthworks—and traces of hostilities.²⁷ Thus these regions in Asia present the same picture as the regions of eastern and central Europe when the Scythian warrior-nomads settled in the Black Sea area. We come across traces of their raids in both central (Brandenburg) and south-east Europe (Hungary, Transylvania, central Bulgaria), and under their pressure the characteristic militant Ananino culture formed in north-east Russia.

I think that a notable testimony to the stormy process of tribal warfare which developed in the steppe zone is the above-mentioned legend used by Aristéas in his epic and taken over by Herodotus. Aristéas describes the whole process as a form of chain reaction released in the east by the attack of the Arimaspians (probably in the Altai)²⁸ on the Issedonians and ending with the expulsion of the Cimmerians by the Scythians. It is certainly a fabulous schematization, but in my view this legend does reflect

²⁶ Kiselev, *Drevnaya istoria*, p. 227.

²⁷ Kiselev, *Drevnaya istoria*, pp. 251-252.

²⁸ I think that we can identify the Arimaspians, with a considerable degree of certainty, with the Altai Scythians, because on a gold ornament from great Bliznica, an Arimaspián armed with an axe in combat with griffin wears practically the same dress as we find on the wall tapestry from the kurgan Pazyryk V, namely, closefitting trousers and a typical cloak. The Arimaspián is depicted in E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 425; the carpet in Jettmar's *Die Frühen Steppenvölker*, p. 115.

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the fact that some time from the 9th century on, and possibly much earlier, the steppe zone was caught up in an immense cataclysm, whose consequences and repercussions were felt throughout the contingent regions.

It seems to me that the change-over from peaceful steppe farmers and keepers of flocks to mounted warrior-nomads was a very long process. It took possibly centuries before the new type of economy became firmly established and a class of stock-owners, of mounted warriors, was formed, and before this new situation found ideological expression in the burying of a warrior with his horse or horses. Like the Soviet investigator Rudenko, I believe that this transition was substantially completed in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., as in the 8th century there appear fully-formed confederations of nomadic tribes, with distinctive equipment and culture. We already find mounted archers on Assyrian reliefs of the 9th century, and perhaps the horse-riding culture of Sialk is equally old and is rightly attributed to the predecessors of the Medes and Persians. In the 7th century nomads penetrate the Altai with a mature "Scythian" culture,²⁹ and the early finds in the Maiemiric steppe³⁰ are said to date from the same century. Dated before 800 B.C. is the nomadic culture of plate graves in Mongolia³¹ and, as we shall see below, we may presume that towards the end of the 9th century an upheaval arose also in the steppes adjoining the domain of Chinese culture.

The outcome of this upheaval in the steppe zone was the creation of a unified "Scythian" culture (at least in its main outlines), in the whole area from the Black Sea steppes to Ordos and Mongolia. Everywhere in these regions there arose on a common economic base, of which an important part is pastoral nomadism and the raising of large herds of horses, a complex social structure in which the class of mounted warriors have a decisive position, forming the swarms of light archers. This society

²⁹ S. I. Rudenko, *Gornoaltaiskie nachodki i Skifi*, p. 248, is of the opinion that the Scythian tribes appeared in the Altai in the second half of the 8th and in the 7th cent. B.C. On p. 250, he speaks of the advent of Scythian tribes perhaps from the upper courses of the Irtysh and the Zaisan basin, or from the foothills of the Tarbagatai Mts., with a *fully-developed* culture.

³⁰ Kiselev, *Drevnaya istoria*, p. 291 and seq.

³¹ Jettmar, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

evolved a very specific culture of wide dispersion, but characterized by a number of common features; in art the common element is the animal or zoomorphic style. Many examples of this style have been found in Inner Mongolia and, more particularly, in the Ordos region.³² On the other hand, scientifically conducted excavations are still rare,³³ so that in this respect, as we noted above, there is a marked difference in the number of finds as compared with the preceding farming and hunting cultures of the eneolithic and Bronze Age periods.

This sparseness of properly documented finds led to a curious reaction in sinology to the question, when the first mounted nomads appeared on the borders of China. Whereas formerly a considerable share in the rise of ancient Chinese civilization was attributed to various Turkic and Mongolian nomads—for instance even the Chou dynasty was held by some researchers to be Turkic, and these views found extreme expression in the theories of W. Eberhard on the rise of a Chinese culture—now scholars go to the other extreme and date the rise of a nomadic culture on the borders of China to the time when the Chinese sources expressly speak of fighting nomadic tribes and of the adoption by the Chinese of the mounted manner of combat, that is, not till the 4th century B.C. Such, for instance, is the view of Prof. Lattimore,³⁴ and in a somewhat modified form, also of M. von Dewall,

³² This fact is pointed out by B. Karlgren in *Ordos and Huai*, BMFEA IX, 1937, p. 97. Mention of thousands of Ordos bronzes is made by T. J. Arne, *Die Funde von Luan P'ing und Hsuan Hua*, BMFEA, V, 1933, p. 155-175, where there is a detailed description of these finds. See also J. G. Andersson, *Selected Ordos Bronzes*, BMFEA, V, 1933, pp. 143-154.

³³ See the Chinese report cited above in Note 13 and, especially, Wen-wu 1959, 6, p. 79, where the find of a grave is reported, with weapons and personal ornaments "of Scythian type", said to be from the era of the Warring States, 475-221 B.C.

³⁴ O. Lattimore, *Studies in Frontier History*, Paris 1962, p. 145, dates the beginnings of the conflicts between the Chinese and the nomads to the time of the building of the Long Wall, that is, towards the end of the 4th cent. B.C. This view is most succinctly expressed by Chêng Tê-k'un, *Archaeology in China*, Vol. III, *Chou China*, where (p. 138) he writes that "the Ordos bronzes were ornaments used by sedentary peoples, not by hunting nomads as they were generally regarded in the past." The character of the Ordos weapons and ornaments is the same as in other domains of Scythian culture and can be explained only by the existence of a similar economic and cultural complex. On the other hand, there is no doubt that these elements in the Jehol region occur mixed with artifacts testifying to agricultural settlement. An explanation is furnished

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in her recently published work.³⁵ I think this extreme is as incorrect as the first. Purely theoretical considerations lead us to doubt whether an economic form corresponding so completely to steppe and semi-steppe conditions, such as we find in Inner Mongolia and Ordos, did not penetrate there when it spread throughout the whole steppe zone in the west and even reached the mountainous regions in the north, and especially when we consider that this region had always been closely connected through Dzungaria with the western steppes. Furthermore, this theory overlooks the existence in this region of a mature and very characteristic art, similar to the Scythian, which exercised a deep influence on Chinese art from at least the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., and probably even earlier.³⁶ The constitution of this art must date much farther back, large quantities of its products being dispersed throughout museums all over the world. Unfortunately they are stray finds acquired by chance and mainly by destructive robbery. Only recently have there appeared in the area beside the bend of the Yellow River finds *in situ*, which show striking affinities with Siberian cultures, and there can be no doubt that they are survivals of a nomadic culture. Chinese scholars date them to the period of the Warring States (475-221 B.C.).³⁷

It seems to me that the above-described processes which worked themselves out in the steppe zone are also reflected in the Chinese sources in that we find in them a parallel to the situation which Soviet archaeology reconstructed in the Bolshaya Rechka region, but naturally documented as only a written record permits. If we had some historical information on the events in the Bolshaya Rechka region, it would probably tell of nomadic raids on the farming population, of the devastation of its settlements and, finally, of the flight of the population to other parts, where again armed clashes took place with the local inhabitants.

by Soviet researchers who show that pure nomadism never existed and that only part of the tribe was specialized in the rearing of cattle, whereas the rest went in for cultivation of the soil. See Note 23 above.

³⁵ M. von Dewall, *Pferd und Wagen in China*, Bonn 1964, p. 187.

³⁶ This fact is stated quite unambiguously by B. Karlgren, *Ordos and Huai*, p. 110.

³⁷ See Notes 13 and 33.

Exactly this process would seem to me to be reflected in the Chinese sources of the 9th and 8th centuries; they are the above-mentioned irruptions of the Hsien-yün, Pei Jung and Ti. In China, however, this process was further complicated by the internal situation—the robber wars of the Chou kings, which pulverized the ancient structure of the tribal cultures in Shen-hsi and the resulting movement of various tribes which is not, at least directly, connected with events in the steppe zone. Such, for example, was the migration of the Ch'üan Jung, which G. Haloun considered to have provided the initial impulse for the whole chain of migrations, but which was evidently caused by the forcible resettlement of this tribe by King Mu (according to one of the traditional chronologies, in 962-908).³⁸ I cannot, however, go into this here.

The beginning of the whole movement of northern peoples were two massive attacks by the Hsien-yün on the center of the Chou territories under King Hsüan (827-782), which, as it were, marked the opening of a new epoch in which, in China too, relations between farming cultures and the steppe zone underwent a fundamental change. I have already indicated that we cannot

³⁸ This event is recorded in the 87th ch. of *Hou Han-shu*, Wang Hsien-ch'ien *chi chieh* (ed. with commentary by Wang Hsien-ch'ien, from 1933), p. 2b, where it is related that the king attacked the Ch'üang-jung, took captive five of their kings and transferred them to T'ai-yüan. Like most of the information in this chapter, which deals with the fighting between the first kings of the Chou dynasty with the western barbarians, this is taken over most probably from *Chu-shu chi-nien* "Chronicles written upon Bamboo," the ancient chronicles of the states of Chin and Wei, compiled about 299 B.C. and found in a grave in the year 281 A.D. There is no doubt that the resettlement of a numerous tribe in a region lying somewhere north of the Chou center, accompanied by the usual brutalities, was an ill-advised act which created a constant threat and contributed in no small measure to the break-up of the Chou power. The realization that it was an ill-considered act is reflected in the book, *Kuo-yü* "Conversations of State," ch. 1, *Chou-yü* "Conversations of the Chou," where speeches are put in the mouths of various counsellors of King Mu discouraging him from an expedition against the Ch'üan-jung. The king, however, ignored their advice and undertook the expedition. Is it probable that the taking captive and forcible transfer of whole large groups of people, such as is recorded, for instance in the inscription on a bronze tripod, *Hsiao Yü ting*, from the beginning of the Chou era, possibly helps to explain how, after the collapse of the power of the Chou kings in 771, the whole basin of the river Wei in Shen-hsi was overrun by various groups of barbarians. The inscription on *Hsiao Yü ting* has been recently analyzed by W.A.C.H. Dobson, *Early Archaic Chinese*, Toronto 1962, p. 226 and seq. Unlike some Chinese researchers, I would locate T'ai-yüan somewhere north of the Chou center, and not too far.

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accept Haloun's identification of the Hsien-yün with the Cimmericians, and still less the over-simplified interpretation of Tamara T. Rice, according to which Emperor Hsüan repulsed the Hsiung-nu (Huns), who then hurled themselves on the west and unleashed a migration of various peoples,³⁹ nor can we reliably say that it was an irruption of nomads. It is true, however, that the attack of the Hsien-yün, in its audacity and tenacity of purpose, in its extent and mobility, recalls similar raids of the Scythians which brought them to the borders of Egypt and to various regions of central and south-east Europe. We find it difficult to believe that any one of the surrounding barbaric peoples, without any new fighting weapon or tactics, would have attempted at least two large-scale attacks aimed at the heart of the Chou territories or that they would have made such a deep impression on the minds of those attacked. The onslaught of the Hsien-yün is immortalized in the four poems of *The Book of Songs*, *Shih-ching*⁴⁰ and in three bronzes;⁴¹ no other event in Chinese history, except the victories of the Chou over the Shang, has left behind it such an extensive literary testimony. Certain tactics employed by the Hsien-yün⁴² as well as certain cultural elements, probably of Chinese origin, which appear in the earliest Scythian finds,⁴³ incline me to the

³⁹ *The Scythians*, London 1957, p. 43.

⁴⁰ J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. IV, Part II, pp. 258-261; 261-265; 281-284; 284-287. A. Waley, *The Book of Songs*, London 1954, pp. 122-129. B. Karlgren, *BMFEA* 14 (1942), pp. 71-247; 16 (1944), pp. 25-256; 17 (1945), pp. 65-99; 18 (1946), pp. 1-198.

⁴¹ Kuo Mo-jo, *Liang Chou chin wen tz'u ta-hsi t'u-lu, k'ao shih*, "Body of Inscriptions on Bronzes from the Time of the Chou Dynasty and their Interpretation," Peking 1957, Vol. 77, pp. 103b, 106a and 143b.

⁴² One of inscriptions cited (Kuo Mo-jo, p. 106a) tells how a certain Chinese commander pursued the Hsien-yün and defeated them, whereupon the barbarians are said to have reassembled their forces and pursued him. Perhaps we may assume that this is a description of the usual tactics of mounted nomads, who feigned retreat and when the enemy pursued them suddenly turned and attacked. The first of the poems cited above mentions that the Hsien-yün are very quick, which is a point worth noting, since their speed is appreciated by Chinese warriors fighting on chariots.

⁴³ Striking art motifs, such as the *t'ao-t'ieh* mask (T. G. Frisch, *Scythian Art and Some Chinese Parallels*, *Oriental Art*, Vol. II, 1949, No. 1, pp. 16-24, No. 2, pp. 57-67) pole-tops, cast helmets and mirrors with a ring; Scythian *akinakes*, too, have their closest analogy in Ordos daggers. It would be necessary to take into consideration the whole equipment of a Scythian warrior: the composite bow, the axe and the short sword.

view that the irruption of the Hsien-yün into China is connected with the transition of the tribes in the steppe zone to mounted nomadism and the rise of a new fighting technique. In the course of such thrusts into China certain cultural elements could well have found their way among the nomads and so have been transmitted through them as far as the Black Sea region.⁴⁴

It is possible that the center from which the new form of economy and the new fighting technique spread was the region east of Dzungaria, where this process may have been intensified by the impingement of Europoid on Mongoloid elements. (The evidence indicates that there was also a strong Mongoloid admixture among the Scythians).⁴⁵ Perhaps connected with this process were the arrival of Scythian tribes in the Altai and possibly also the appearance of the Indo-European Yüeh-chih on the north-west frontier of China, in the present-day province of Kan-su. If the view should find confirmation that about the year 800 B.C. the northern regions were visited by severe drought,⁴⁶ we could see in this natural phenomenon a precipitator and accelerator of this process.

On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that the center of radiation was the Ordos region and adjacent territories, that it was the final phase of a steady pushing of certain ethnical groups onto poorer soil where they were obliged, especially if the climatic situation deteriorated, to go over to the nomadic way of life.⁴⁷ The conflicts which this process involved led to the forming of a warrior class. These questions can be solved only by archaeological records, if, in the unfavorable natural conditions, sufficient materials should be found.

⁴⁴ This possibility was first pointed out by K. Jettmar in the study, *The Altai before the Turks*, BMFEA, 23/1951, pp. 135-223. See especially p. 156.

⁴⁵ Rudenko, *Gornoaltaiskie nachodki i Skift*, points in the Introduction to the strong Mongolian admixture among the Scythians on the Volga and in the Altai.

⁴⁶ This hypothesis was put forward by Ellsworth Huntington (see T. Rice, *The Scythians*, p. 43) and taken over by Meng Wen-chung, *Chou Ch'in sbao-sbu min-tsu yen-chiu*, Shanghai 1958, p. 1 and seq., who holds that the northern region suffered from drought for about 150 years between the 8th and 7th cents. B.C.

⁴⁷ This is the view of the rise of nomadism held by O. Lattimore, *Studies in Frontier History*, p. 145.

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The above-mentioned assault of the Hsien-yün, which clearly completed the disintegration of the old tribal cultures in Shen-hsi, added to the chaos there and speeded up the final decline of the power of the Chou; it was followed by a whole series of raiding incursions by various barbarian tribes into the belt of Chinese petty states in the present-day province of Shan-si and the surrounding territories. In this connection, it must be remembered that for the whole of the 8th and a considerable part of the 7th centuries—down to 722 B.C., the opening date of the chronicle *Ch'un-b'iu* and its detailed commentary *Tso-chuan*,—our sources are extremely sketchy. They are really only fragments of The Annals of the Bamboo Books, *Chu-shu chi-nien*, reconstructed with difficulty from various quotations. Nevertheless, even these sources show clearly one peculiar feature of these raids, namely, the almost identical mechanism of their progress. Their dynamic may best be likened to the movement of a billiard ball propelled against the side of the table from which it rebounds and strikes the opposite side, from where it rebounds again, rolling towards the side between the two. This indicates a certain mechanical character in these migrations, instinctive movement probably predominating over planned aims.

The first series of attacks are the incursions of the Pei Jung, the Northern Barbarians. These, shortly after the invasion of the Hsien-yün, attacked in 794 B.C. the state of Tsin, on the lower course of the Fen in Shan-hsi. They were defeated and then flung their forces against the opposite side of present-day Shan-hsi, against the state of Hsing in what is now Ho-pei, at the foot of the T'ai-hang Mountains. There, too, they were repulsed in 769,⁴⁸ whereupon they evidently turned south and invaded Cheng in 710 and Ch'i, in 706.⁴⁹ As the Chinese gave them the vague designation of Northern Barbarians, we must suppose that they were groups coming from the north, and from considerably distant parts, so that their name was not known to the Chinese. As the annals expressly stress that these barbarians fought on

⁴⁸ These two events are recorded in the 87th ch. of *Hou Han-shu*, p. 3a. They too are evidently taken over from *Chu-shu chi-nien*.

⁴⁹ *Tso-chuan*, Yin 5th year, *Chin. Classics V*, p. 27, and *Tso-chuan*, Huan 6th year, *Chin. Classics V*, p. 47.

foot, we are inclined to think that they were those farmers and shepherds who, as we noted above, were settled north of the Long Wall, as it exists today. Presumably then, they were those dispersed tribes of Swei and Mo mentioned in the Book of Songs⁵⁰ and other old sources, which were related to or at least had a common culture with the Ch'iang, with whom the Shang were in constant hostilities. We should associate their exodus with that decline in settlement in those parts in the Bronze Age of which we have also made mention above.

It is certain, however, that in the fragments of old sources that have come down to us, we have only a few references to what are probably the most important events in a seemingly continuous, and certainly long and very complicated process.

Evidence that we must seek the impulses leading to these movements in the north or north-west, somewhere in the region of Ordos, is provided both by the direction of attack of the Hsien-yün, along the route between the rivers Ching and Lo in Shen-si, and by that of the attacks of the Northern Jung and later of the Ti, who always first impinge on Tsin and, only on being repulsed there, turn east or north-east. We may presume that Ordos and the adjoining regions became at this time the seat of a centrifugal force that scattered barbarian groups on all sides. And if we consider that these movements took place at the time of the great transformation in the steppe zone of which we have spoken, we shall probably not be far from the truth in identifying the impulse initiating this movement with that revolutionary change. These warriors on foot were most likely driven from their homes by processes similar to those revealed by Soviet archaeology in the Bolshaya Rechka region.

Whereas the incursions of the Pei Jung did not leave any deeper traces on China at the time, the migration of the Ti had much more serious consequences and substantially changed the ethnical structure of Ancient China, besides having far-reaching political consequences. With this migration was created the picture of North China with which we are familiar from traditional

⁵⁰ *Chin. Classics*, IV, p. 551.

maps.⁵¹ Then for the first time Red Ti made their appearance in South Shan-hsi and Northern Ti in Ho-pei. This fact is pointed out by G. Haloun,⁵² but the whole problem requires deeper investigation.

It is certain that the main argument is still the argument *ex silentio*; it is unlikely that the Ti in eastern Shan-hsi would for a period of sixty years, for which we have detailed records in the *Cb'un-ch'iu* and *Tso-chuan* chronicles, remain in a state of quiescence, and then suddenly, in 662 B.C., enter upon a series of raiding invasions which only ended with their final annihilation. It is much more probable that it was only then that the Ti penetrated into the region in which they had never previously been settled. The only entry, too, in *Tso-chuan* at 616 B.C.,⁵³ which speaks of the incursions of the Ti into East China prior to 662 B.C., shows itself to be, as compared with the versions in *Kung-yang-chuan* and *Ku-liang-chuan*,⁵⁴ nothing more than a collection of completely unhistorical legends. But we have other arguments. At the beginning of the era of the Western Chou, one of the very powerful states was Yen, in the north of the present-day province of Ho-pei. One of the epics in the Book of Songs, (*Shih-ching*) glorifies the Duke of Han, a state whose center lay in south-east Shen-hsi, but which evidently had control of territories on the opposite bank of the Yellow River in Shan-hsi. According to this song, the Duke of Yen fortified or helped to fortify the capital of Han.⁵⁵ This he would not have dared to do if he had been separated from his country by dangerous barbarians, commanding all the mountain passes. Besides, it is very likely that the insignificance of Yen, as well as of the small state of Hsing, in the succeeding period, was not unconnected with the arrival of the Ti in north-east Ho-pei, in consequence of which the state of Yen may well have lost a large part of its territory.

⁵¹ This picture was drawn by H. Maspero in his classic work, *La Chine Antique*, new ed., Paris 1955, p. 5 and seq.

⁵² See esp. Haloun's book, *Seit wann kannten die Chinesen die Tocharer oder Indogermanen überhaupt*, Leipzig 1926, pp. 52, 53 and *passim*.

⁵³ *Chin. Classics* V, p. 257.

⁵⁴ Commentaries on the *Cb'un-ch'iu* Chronicle, 11th year of Duke Wen. From these commentaries it is clear that the reference is to mythical giants.

⁵⁵ The song *Han-i*, see *Chin. Classics* IV, p. 546 and seq.

For the same reasons, it would not have been possible for the state of Hsing to interfere in the internecine war in Tsin, in 718,⁵⁶ or for the Duke of Yen, in the same year, to have helped the state of Wei against the state of Cheng, in the present-day province of Ho-nan.⁵⁷ Finally, the conquests of the founder of the power of the Chou, King Wu, who provided a dangerous diversion in the rear of the Shang by his thrust into what is now the Shan-si province⁵⁸ and especially by the conquest of the small state of Li in the neighborhood of present-day Lu-an,⁵⁹ would have been out of the question if the militant tribes of Ti had been settled in these parts. All this, as well as the description in the sources of the first appearance there of the Ti, go to prove that it was a sudden and unexpected attack by a new foe.

The original settlement of the Ti was presumably in present-day Shen-si, between the river Lo and the Yellow River, and extended possibly to the eastern bank of the latter. In the north, their settlements reached as far as the Long Wall, which forms the northern frontier of Shen-hsi province.⁶⁰ Ti were still settled in these parts, under the name of the White Ti, in historical times.

It would seem, moreover, that we can follow the history of

⁵⁶ *Tso-chuan*, Yin. 5th year, Ch. Cl. V, p. 17.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ In *Chu-shu chi-nien*, the record is preserved of the expeditions of the first Chou rulers against several tribes settled perhaps in Shan-si. These locations are, however, too uncertain.

⁵⁹ The conquest of the small state Li is, in the present-day text of *Chu-shu chi-nien*, entered at the 44th year of the last of the Shang rulers, Chou (not identical with the name of the dynasty), that is, eight years before the definitive fall of the Shang. It is natural that the conquest of the valleys of south-east Shan-hsi rendered the Shang domains in the Great Plain indefensible. The conquest of Li by the founder of the Chou power, Chou Fa, posthumously known as King Wu, is guaranteed by the title of one of the chapters in the no longer extant part of the Book of Documents, *Shu-ching*, which ran, "The Count of the West has conquered Li." Reference is made to it in the Introduction to *Shu-ching* attributed to Confucius, where it is stated that "the hatred of the Yin (Shang) for the Chou was due to Chou's conquest of Li," which correctly corresponds to the historical situation. See *Chin. Classics* III, p. 7.

⁶⁰ So much can, perhaps, be deduced from the reference in ch. 110 of the *Shih-chi* ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 3, which states that "Duke Wen of Chin drove out the Ti, who then settled to the west of the (Yellow) River, between the rivers Yin and Lo." It seems that this river Yin, or, according to other sources, Huan, was identical with the river Ch'ü-yeh-ho, which in the north intersects the Great Wall and flows into the Yellow River.

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the Ti much farther into the past, because it is probable that they originally appeared in Chinese sources under the designation Kuei, eventually, Kuei Jung. This identification was put forward by the great scholar Wang-Kuo-wei⁶¹ and is generally accepted by Chinese scholars. I think that we too may accept it, but on somewhat more demonstrable grounds. Some time ago I pointed out in a book review⁶² that a number of names which appear in the Shang inscriptions as names of peoples or countries are later used only as the designation of the clan of the ruling family: thus, for instance, Mi, later stands for the clan name of the rulers of the state Ch'u in the Yangtzu basin. Among the Ti we find the clan name Wei, the difference between it and Kuei being only in the radical, and we know that radicals were added to the characters only later. Kuei Jung and Ti are interchangeable. In "Annals of the Bamboo Books", the term Kuei Jung is once used for the Ti. We read there that Prince Chi-li, grandfather of King Wu, founder of the power of the Chou, "attacked Hsi Lo Kuei Jung and took captive twenty of the Ti kings."⁶³ I think that the term Hsi Lo, usually translated "the Western tribes,"⁶⁴ really means "Western Lo," that is, the name of the river where the Ti were later settled. I therefore translate the expression as "Kuei Jung of Western Lo." On the halberd *ke* of the Duke of Liang is the inscription: *i Kuei-fang-man*, which means approximately "suppress the barbarians Kuei-fang."⁶⁵ Liang, which was situated in present-day Shen-hsi, west of the Yellow River, must have bordered upon the Ti.

⁶¹ Wang Kuo-wei: *Kuei-fang, Kun-i, Hsien-yün k'ao*, An Investigation of the Kuei-fang... etc. Tribes, *Wang Ching-an hsien-sheng i-shu*, with 1936, Introduction, T'ao I, Vol. V, *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin*, ch. 13, *shih-lin* 5, pp. 1-20, esp. p. 3b and seq.

⁶² *De quelques nouveaux travaux traitant de l'Extrême-Orient*, ArO 23 (1955), pp. 205-224, esp. pp. 218-220.

⁶³ Our source is the commentary to the 87th ch. of *Hou Han-shu*, where it says: "According to the Annals of the Bamboo Books (*Chu-shu chi-nien*), in the 35th year of Wu I, King Chou, Chi attacked Hsi Lo Kuei Jung and took captive 20 of the Ti kings."

⁶⁴ This phrase is thus translated by Legge, *Chin. Cl. III*, Prolegomena, p. 138. In the above-mentioned review I give the reasons for my interpretation.

⁶⁵ See Ch'en Meng-chia, *Yin-hsü pu-tz'ü tsung-shu*, Peking 1956, p. 275. The halberd dates from the time of *Ch'un-ch'iu*, so that it is later than 722 B.C.

The Kuei were the target of attacks by both the Shang and the Chou. In the Sacred Book of the Changes *I-ching*,⁶⁶ the tradition has been preserved of how the Shang king Kao Tsung (Wu Ting) (trad. chron. 1324-1265), subdued the Kuei-fang after three years, and, from the time of the Chou, we have the famous inscription on *Hsiao Yü-ting* describing two expeditions against the Kuei-Fang about the time of King Ch'eng (one trad. chron. 1044-1008).⁶⁷ And we also have quite a number of allusions to the Ti in these parts.

It is probable that the same reasons which drove the Pei Jung from their settlements set the Ti in motion. As with the Pei Jung we first hear of them in the attack on the Tsin, in 729 B.C.⁶⁸ Since the Tsin were at the height of their power after 678, it is probable that the Ti coming mainly from the north turned east. They evidently made their way across the basin of the T'ai-yüan, driving before them the Wu-chung tribes which invaded Yen in 664 and laid it waste. In Chinese sources they appear under the name Shan Jung, Mountain Barbarians.⁶⁹ And then the newcomers flung themselves upon the Chinese states in the south-east. In 662 they overran Hsing and, in 660, practically wiped out one of the largest Chinese states—Wei, which arose

⁶⁶ J. Legge, *The Yi King*, Oxford 1899, p. 205 and p. 208. The Kuei-fang are mentioned also in *Shih-ching*, *Chin Cl.* IV, p. 509.

⁶⁷ See Note 38 above.

⁶⁸ *Chu-shu chi-nien*, old text, 2nd year of Count Chuang of Chin.

⁶⁹ This description of the migration of the Ti is based on the following reconstruction: The name of the tribe Wu-chung was preserved from the time of the Han to that of the Sui in the name of the present-day Chi-chou in Hopei. But on the other hand *Ch'un ch'iu* and also *Tso-chuan* (*Chin. Cl.* V, p. 568 and p. 572 respectively) tell of the great defeat of Wu-chung beside present-day T'ai-yüan by Chin, in 541 B.C. It is not possible for this tribe to have been settled from the first in two places so remote from each other and separated by a number of other tribes and by the Chinese state of Yen. An explanation is given by the Chinese commentator who identifies the Wu-chung with the Shan Jung or "Mountain Barbarians", who invaded the state of Yen in 664, that is three years before the attack of the Ti on the states of the Great Plain. We must therefore suppose that the Ti coming from the north-west invaded the basin of the T'ai-yüan, which was settled by the Wu-chung. Parts of this tribe fled before them in an easterly direction and invaded Yen (664), whereupon they settled in the region later occupied by the Wu-chung in present-day Chi-chou. Part of the tribe remained in T'ai-yüan—and these are the Wu-chung of 541 B.C.

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from a partition of the Shang territories. The Ti settled the east and south-east parts of Shan-hsi—there they were known as the Red Ti—and the north-west regions of Ho-pei, where three tribes of them settled. One of them later founded the petty state of Chung-shan. Especially the Red Ti became the scourge of the whole of Middle and East China and it took seventy-five years before they were wiped out in 588 B.C. The Northern Ti survived much longer. Not till 408 were they subdued by the Wei (not the same state that was crushed by the Ti), but even then they preserved a considerable degree of independence under the rule of a secondary line of the princes of the Wei family, their state being definitively liquidated only as late as 296, by the Chao, with the help of the states Yen and Ch'i. Thus 366 years passed before the consequences of the invasion described above were fully removed. It is clear that China too was similarly seriously affected by the storms unleashed in the steppe zone as was the western part of Eurasia.

If we analyze the few fragments of information preserved in the sources about the movements of these diverse barbarian tribes, as we have endeavoured to reconstruct them above, we do not get the impression that it was a process which retained the same character throughout. On the contrary, it would seem that these three barbarian groups which appear in our sources—Hsien-yün, Pei Jung (Northern Barbarians), and Ti—represented various phases of the process of the rise of nomads and the reaction of the surrounding settled populations to the new situation, on the analogy of the evidence of archaeological materials in other regions, in the east and also in the west of Eurasia. The initial phase comprises armed excursions on an immense scale of a rising class of mounted warriors, forming a warring elite among nomads, such as were the raids of the Black Sea Scythians into Europe and Asia. On the Chinese stage, these correspond perhaps to the attacks of the Hsien-yün on the Chou territories. A further phase is the flight of the surrounding, more poorly armed, pastoral and farming populations, as revealed by Soviet archaeologists in the Bolshaya Rechka area. Here we see an analogy with the irruptions of warring bands on foot of the Pei Jung into the surrounding Chinese states. The third phase is the transformation of a peaceful farming population into a militant community, such as we have

documented in the Ananino culture in Russia, and the change-over from peaceful farmers to warriors in the Minusinsk region. This was no doubt accompanied by a sharp social differentiation, by the disintegration of primitive social farming communities and the forming of aristocratic warrior clans. As a result, there evolved on the one hand a more firmly-knit social organization—the rudiments of a state. At the time when the Ti were thrusting eastwards there appeared among the Western Ti who had remained in their homelands “a prince of Ti,”⁷⁰ who evidently ruled over the whole old territory of the Ti.⁷¹ On the other hand, warrior clans opposed this new authority: we hear of fighting between the Western Ti with tribes making armed excursions into the east.⁷² The warrior clans also brought the rest of the population under their domination. A contributory factor in the destruction of the Ti in Shan-hsi was strife between the ruling warrior clans and the “*chung Ti*,” the “people.”⁷³ Evidently these clans, which had arisen in fighting the nomads, on the one hand exploited, their military prowess against their fellow-tribesmen and, on the other hand, following the example of the nomads, began to carry out robbing raids on their own account. Thus the incursion of the Ti into the east may be regarded not only as an abandonment of settlements no longer tenable owing to the hostilities of the neighboring nomads, but also as a search after new bases for robbing, eventually as an endeavor to acquire new territory, whose population they could subjugate and permanently exploit. Naturally, a further impulse to migration of the Ti may have been the growing pressure exerted by the state of Chin which, at this time, was subjugating the Ti settled on the left or eastern bank of the

⁷⁰ Tso-chuan, Hsi 24th year. Legge, *Chin. Cl. V*, p. 188. The period in question is shortly after 655 B.C. A second mention of a prince of Ti is made in the year 627 (Legge, *Chin. Cl. V*, p. 223), when a prince of the *Ti/Ti tzü* was captured.

⁷¹ This we may conclude from a reference in *Tso-chuan* to Prince Ch'ung-erh hunting with the prince of the Ti on the banks of the Wei in southern Shen-hsi *Tso-chuan* (Legge, *Chin. Cl. V*, p. 88), and then to his attacking the Chiang-kao-ju, a tribe of the Ti somewhere near present-day T'ai-yüan, Legge, *Chin. Cl. V*, p. 184.

⁷² See preceding Note on the Chiang-kao-ju.

⁷³ *Tso-chuan*, Süan 11th year, Legge, *Chin. Cl. V*, p. 309, relates that “All the Ti (or rather the masses of the Ti people) hated the services (*i*) which they had to perform for the Red Ti and so they submitted themselves to the Chin.”

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Yellow River. Thus, in our view, these migrations appear as a complicated historical process in which the initial impulse calls forth a whole series of complicated reactions of different kinds.

It is necessary to consider yet one more striking fact. After the raids of the Hsien-yün we hear of no other incursions on a similar scale into Chinese territories, except for the Ti, who clearly were not mounted nomads,⁷⁴ even though it cannot be ruled out that they used horses to increase their mobility. The chief reason is no doubt insufficient information: the Chinese were separated from the nomadic regions by a mass of other barbarians, in whose homelands the main clashes were probably fought out. But I think there is another aspect to the matter. Large scale armed excursions by the nomads, such as those of the Scythians, were usual in the early phase, when a nomadic society was still forming, when it was necessary to satisfy a hunger for wealth in herds and other property. The satiated owners of immense herds then preferred a peaceful life, interrupted only perhaps by military service at the courts of powerful neighbor states, as was probably the custom among the Scythians in the Altai. The nomads in northern China, too, following the period of expansion based on conquest, probably were content to live a more peaceful life among the surrounding farming population, and as witness to this life are those numerous Ordos bronzes which we mentioned above.

⁷⁴ The Ti belonged most likely to the farming, eventually hunting and pastoral, population which we find everywhere north of the regions of settled tribes, which later came to form the core of Chinese nation, and probably were not linguistically very remote from the general Sino-Tibetan base.