

*Chapter Two*

Manchuria, Mongolian Steppe  
and Mainland China

A Tripolar Framework of Analysis for the East Asian History



Eurasian Continent



Asia



East Asia



**Hong-shan** (4000-3000 BCE)

Lower Xiajiadian (2000-1500 BCE)

Upper Xiajiadian (1100-300 BCE)

**Yang-shao** (5000-3000 BCE)

**Long-shan** (3000-2200 BCE)



**Han Chinese**



2.1. Comb-Patterned (*Chul-mun*)

Pottery with incised lines forming a zig-zag pattern found at Am-sa-dong, Seoul

<sup>1</sup> Every new dynasty in China compiled an official history of its predecessor as a tool for instructing current rulers that included an extensive description on the neighboring “barbarians” because they always presented security problems and had to be put under the close attention of every Chinese dynasty.

史記 卷一百二十九 貨殖列傳 第六十九 夫燕亦勃碣之間...北鄰烏桓夫餘 東綰穢貉[貊]朝鮮...之利

## CHAPTER TWO

### MANCHURIA, MONGOLIAN STEPPE AND MAINLAND CHINA

#### A TRIPOLAR FRAMEWORK ANALYSIS FOR THE EAST ASIAN HISTORY

## 1. The Xianbei-Tungus Ethnohistorical Sphere

Transbaikalia is defined as the area immediately east of Lake Baikal. Manchuria is separated from the Transbaikalian steppe by the 700 miles long Greater Xing’an Range. The northern Mongoloid populations who had first settled around Transbaikalia across the Great Altai dispersed further across the Greater Xing’an Range (through its low section and/or following the waterways connecting the Kerulen-Argun, Onon-Shilka, Amur, and Nen Rivers) to become the proto-Xianbei-Tungus in Manchuria, and an early offshoot of them tracked a warmer and moister climate down through the Korean peninsula, becoming the rice-cultivating farmers. The Korean peninsula is an extension of central Manchuria towards the sea, and has been closely connected with Manchuria.

The greater Manchurian ethnohistorical sphere of the Xianbei-Tungus that includes the Korean peninsula has formed one of the three major sub-regions of East Asia, sharing intimate histories with strong cultural affinities. The proto-Altaic speech community of Xianbei-Tungus had shared the Neolithic Hong-shan culture, as well as the tradition of (incised and plain) pottery, dolmen and (broad & narrow-bladed) bronze dagger.

The Chinese chroniclers called the Xiong-nu of the Mongolian steppe by the generic name of Hu, and classified

the “barbarians” in the east of Greater Xing’an Range into two groups: the Eastern Hu (Dong-hu) in the Liao-xi steppe of western Manchuria and the Eastern “Barbarians” (Dong-yi) in central and eastern Manchuria. The Eastern “Barbarians” consisted of the Ye-maek (*Wei-mo*) Tungus, founders of Old Chosun, Puyo, Koguryeo and Three Han, and the Mohe-Ruzhen Tungus, descendants of the Sushen-Yilou and the ethnic ancestors of the core Manchu.<sup>1</sup>

Extending from the Shara-muren (Xar Moron) and Lao-ha basins to the West Liao River basin lay the Liao-xi steppe, surrounded by the steep eastern slopes of the Greater Xing’an Range and the Nulu’erhu-Horqin Mountains. A low section of the Greater Xing’an Range, however, gives easy access to the Mongolian steppe. The Liao-xi steppe in western Manchuria was the home of Dong-hu. The Eastern Hu included the Xianbei, Wu-huan and many other tribes, but on most occasions implied the Xianbei people who had founded various Yan kingdoms and the Tuoba-Xianbei Wei. The Wu-huan flourished during the Three Kingdoms period (220-65 CE) in mainland China, but then disappeared from history.

Janhunee (1996: 184) notes that “the ancient ethnoym Xianbei is often claimed to be linked, through the ethnoym Shi-wei, with the modern name of the Sibe Manchu.”<sup>2</sup> According to the Old History of Tang, the Mongol tribe was a branch of Shi-wei that, according to the History of Northern Wei, were a branch of the Qidan, the descendants of Yuwen-Xianbei.<sup>3</sup> If the records of Chinese dynastic histories are correct, then the Mongols may well be called Mongol-Xianbei.

The language of Dong-hu belongs to the Mongolic branch of the Altaic language. The Xianbei and their descendants, the Qidan, are included in the proto-Mongol peoples (see Grousset, 1970, p. 193). The Eastern Hu in the Liao-xi steppe had maintained some elements of settled agriculture, but they were the wolves of the steppe, leading a life rather like that of full-time nomads, so much so that in our era the entire Liao-xi steppe (together with the Chi-feng area west of the Lao-ha River) is included in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

The great Manchurian plain around the Nen (Nonni) and Song-hua River basins extends from Siberia down to the

後漢書 卷八十五 東夷列傳 濊  
濊及沃沮句麗 本皆朝鮮之地也  
遼史 地理志二 東京遼陽府本朝鮮  
之地

六家詩名物疏 卷五十一 貉者東夷  
之種 分居於北...貉在東北方 三韓  
之屬 皆貉類也

三國志 卷三十 魏書三十 烏丸鮮卑  
東夷傳 夫餘傳...於東夷地域 最平  
敞...蓋本濊貉之地..高句麗在遼東之  
東千里 南與朝鮮濊貉...言語諸事  
多與夫餘同

韓傳 韓在帶方之南 有三種 一曰  
馬韓 二曰辰韓 三曰弁韓 辰韓者  
古之辰國也...桓靈之末 韓濊疆盛  
郡縣不能制民 多流入韓國...興兵伐  
韓濊

挹婁傳 在夫餘東北千餘里...古之肅  
慎氏之國也

金史 卷一 世紀 金之先 出靺鞨氏  
靺鞨本號勿吉 古肅慎地也



2.2 Pottery with Incised Designs  
excavated at Xin-le 新樂,  
north of Shen-yang

<sup>2</sup> The Sibe figure as a separate minority nationality, distinct from the Manchu, in the ethnic statistics of the People's Republic of China. According to Janhunen (1996: 183-4), "the Xiongnu ... may have been ancestral to the mediaeval Turks of Mongolia, while the Eastern Hu apparently contained the ancestors of the historical Qidan and Mongols."

後漢書 卷九十 烏桓鮮卑列傳 第八十 烏桓者 本東胡也...鮮卑者亦東胡之支也...其言語習俗與烏桓同

<sup>3</sup> 舊唐書 卷一百九十九下 列傳 北狄 室韋者 契丹之別類也...東至黑水靺鞨 西至突厥南接契丹...大室韋部落...傍望建河居 其河源出突厥東北界...屈曲東流... 又東經蒙兀室韋之北...忽汗河合 又東經南黑水靺鞨之北...東流注于海

唐書 卷二百一十九下 列傳 北狄 契丹 本東胡種...室韋 契丹別種 東胡之北邊...西突厥南契丹 大室韋...河...河南有蒙瓦部

北史 卷九十四 列傳 第八十二 奚 本曰庫莫奚 其先東部胡宇文之別種也 初為慕容晁所破...契丹國...與庫莫奚異種同類 並為慕容晁所破

<sup>4</sup> Definite evidence of millet (dated c. 5000 BCE) was found at Xin-le sites (including the region around Shen-yang and sites to the north) of Liao-dong. See Nelson (1993: 108).

mountainous Korean border area, and merges with the Liao River basin in the southwest, forming the great Dong-bei Plain. The central Manchurian plain around the upper Song-hua and Liao River basins as well as the mountainous areas around Hun (Dong-jia), Yalu and Tae-dong rivers were the home of the Ye-maek Tungus, including the people of Old Chosun, Puyeo, and Koguryeo, whose life involved millet farming and livestock breeding, with hunting and river fishing serving as additional means of subsistence.<sup>4</sup> The southern Korean peninsula was the home of rice-cultivating Ye-maek cousins who had established ancient political entities that were called collectively Chin, Han or Three Hans in the Chinese dynastic chronicles. In ethnohistorical context, the ancient home of the entire Ye-maek Tungus, i.e., the central Manchurian basin and the Korean peninsula, may be defined as "Korea proper."

The heavily forested region of eastern Manchuria, flanked with the 700 mile long Sikhote-Alin Range rising almost directly from the sea, extends from the Lesser Xing'an Ranges down to the Long-White (*Changbai*) Mountain area. The Mudan River is a southern tributary of the Lower Song-hua and the Ussuri River is a tributary of the Middle Amur rising on the southwestern slopes of the Sikhote-Alin mountains. The forest region in eastern Manchuria was the home of the Mohe-Ruzhen Tungus, the forest tigers leading a rugged life rather like that of woodsmen, who made a living with extensive hunting and gathering supplemented by patchy farming.

The so-called Eastern "Barbarians" (Dong-yi) of central and eastern Manchuria were pig-eaters, and this fact, notes Janhunen (1996: 221), "has given rise to the widespread, though linguistically untenable, 'etymology' explaining the ethnonym 'Tungus' as a distortion of the Turkic word for 'pig' (tonguz)." The language of all Eastern "Barbarians" may be classified as a Macro-Tungusic branch of the Altaic language.

The Liao River basin is linked to North China by a coastal corridor running between the high ground of Du-shan and Song-ling on the one side and the Gulf of Parhae (Bo-hai) on the other. South Manchuria could easily be cut off from North China, as was often done by the Xianbei tribes of Liao-xi steppe, at the narrow pass of Shanhai-guan, where the Great Wall comes to the sea.

## 2. The Mongolian Steppe: Home of the Turko-Mongol People

The Mongolian steppe was the home of Xiong-nu (called Hu), the ancestor of the Turks. The “Mongol” appellation for the area must have occurred after the migration of the Mongol branch of Shi-wei (classified as Dong Hu) from their original homeland in northern Manchuria after the tenth century (see Chapter 14). The original inhabitants of this area prior to the appearance of the Mongols could accurately be called Xiongnu-Turks.

The Mongolian steppes average 1500 meters in elevation, with hot summers reaching 38° C and severe winters reaching -42° C. The Turkic steppes west of Balkhash lie at near sea level. The Gobi is a dry steppe, dividing Inner and Outer Mongolia. The Mongolian steppes have enough water to sustain some vegetation and animal life.<sup>5</sup> The grazing areas in the north are the regions drained by the tributaries of Lake Baikal and the upper Amur River as well as the slopes of the Altai Mountains. The Selenge is a tributary of Lake Baikal, and the Orkhon is the main tributary of the Selenge. The Altai area reaches 40° C with 18 hours of sunlight in summer. The foothills of the Altai form a rolling plateau with excellent pastureland. The Transbaikalia involves a transition between the Mongolian steppe and the Siberian forest. Inner Mongolia bordering the Ordos Plains (enclosed by the great loop of Yellow River), Damaqun Mountains, and western Manchuria had also supported large numbers of nomads.<sup>6</sup> The Mongols and Turks were sheep-eaters, raising goats, camels, cattle and horses as well.

The Mongolian plateau is the eastern half of the great Eurasian steppes that extend from the borders of Manchuria to the plains of Hungary in rolling plains of grass punctuated by high mountains. The Zungarian Gate between the northern edge of the Tien-shan and the Tarbagatai Range is the lowest pass in all of Central Asia, and a gateway to the Kazakh Steppe. The Irtysh valley between the Tarbagatai and the Altai is another gateway to the west, and the Turko-Mongol

<sup>5</sup>The recent thermal optimum of the warmest temperatures began about 6000 BCE and persisted until the glacial advance in Siberia between 2700 and 2200 BCE. During this warm period, the Mongolian plateau was environmentally much richer, and hence supported agriculture, as evidenced by the presence of potteries. The taiga-steppe boundary through Asia east of the Urals ran much to the north (along the 60<sup>th</sup> parallel) of the present line (along the 56<sup>th</sup> parallel, passing northern Lake Baikal). The last phase of thermal optimum with warm climate in higher latitudes began c. 2000 BCE and ended by c. 900 BCE. The development of nomadic pastoralism must have required the invention of some means to carry people and their possessions around in search for green pasturage. Wheeled transport by horses or oxen had already been invented between 1700 and 1200 BCE, and horse-riding technology was at last developed around 900 BCE. See Barnes (1993: 154).

<sup>6</sup>The ethno-genetic resemblance among the populations of Transbaikalia provenance may be explained by their tough life of hunting, fishing, nomadic stock-raising, and patch farming to survive on those harsh wind-swept forests and steppes, frozen in winter and scorched for a few weeks of summer. Even their horses of thick legs and dense coat reveal genetic resemblance: small and stocky with vigor and endurance.

<sup>7</sup> According to Lamb (1995: 150), the warmth of the most genial post-glacial times came to an end in China between about 1,100 and 800 BCE, accompanied by droughts. Huntington's theory of "climatic pulsation" (1907) proposes changes in climate as the cause of nomadic migrations, leading to conquests. As a dry cycle progressed and pastures dried up, nomads in search of new pastures clashed with other nomads and with settled peoples, eventually erupting into aggressive actions against sedentary neighbors. See Lattimore (1961: 331). Toynbee (1947: Vol. I-VI, 170) contended that: "there is a rhythmic alternation between periods of relative desiccation and humidity ... When desiccation reaches a degree at which the Steppe can no longer provide pasture for the quantity of cattle with which the Nomads have stocked it, the herdsmen ... invade the surrounding cultivated countries." Di Cosmo (2002: 67), however, contends that scholars should steer away from pernicious mechanical explanations based either on climate or on notions of Han Chinese influence that disregard local developments.

<sup>8</sup> It was first discovered in 1935 at the Hong-shan-hou, Chi-feng 赤峯 city of the Liao-ning Province. According to Guo (Nelson, 1995: 25), the northern boundary of the Hong-shan 紅山 culture reaches beyond the Sharamurun 西拉木倫 River, extending into the Mongolian plateau. The eastern boundary is close to the lower reaches

horsemen from the banks of the Orkhon rode the entire distance, through Kazakstan and the Russian steppes, to reach the Hungarian plains.

Fagan (2004: 201) notes: "the grassland steppe acted like a pump, sucking in nomadic peoples during periods of higher rainfall, pushing them out to the margins and onto neighboring lands when drought came. During the ninth century BCE, the climate of the steppe suddenly became colder and drier. ... The Mongolian steppe appears to have been the first region affected. ... In the eighth century BCE, the drought on the steppe sent nomads pouring into China. They were repulsed, setting in motion a domino effect of population movements that brought some horse-using nomads to the Danube Basin and the eastern frontier of the Celtic world."<sup>7</sup>

### 3. Manchuria: Hong-shan Culture and the Proto-Altaiic Speech Community of Xianbei and Tungus

The Neolithic Hong-shan Culture (c. 4000-3000 BCE) was centered in the Liao-xi area.<sup>8</sup> It was the product of people ethnically different from the populations of the Yangshao complex around the central Yellow and Wei River valleys and the Long-shan complex at the Lower Yellow River basin.

From the Hong-shan complex, various ritual artifacts including clay human figurines, jade animal carvings, and painted cylinders were recovered, with evidence of both plow agriculture and cattle, including sheep and pigs. Also excavated are pit-buildings (sunken houses built half underground) with internal storage pits and hearths, red or grey pottery with sand temper (decorated with impressed Z patterns, comb patterns, and incised designs) finished on the potter's wheel, painted pottery, pottery kilns, millet-reaping knives made of shell, and public architecture for community rituals and religious ceremonies, suggesting a complex society with social status differentiation.

Nelson (1995: 21-22) notes the odd fact that the grave pottery is bottomless: "The elite tombs also have unusual and interesting features, with their subsidiary burials, their rows

of bottomless pots, and their emblematic jades.” It is suggested that the bottomless pottery might have held candles or flares, like luminaries, surrounding the grave with light in the final burial ceremony. The bottomless pottery from the Hong-shan sites may remind one the cylindrical haniwa of the Tomb Period in the Japanese islands (c. 300-700 CE). The textured pottery tradition around the Liao-xi and Liao-dong was more similar to the comb-patterned *Chul-mun* pottery of the Korean peninsula than to the Neolithic tradition of mainland China.<sup>9</sup>

### CONTINUITY FROM HONG-SHAN TO XIAJIA-DIAN CULTURE

There is a clear continuity from the Hong-shan Culture to the early Bronze Age Lower Xiajia-dian Culture (c. 2000-1500 BCE) that still used pottery decorated with cord marks and incised patterns, but produced small bronze objects such as rings, knives, and handles.<sup>10</sup> To supplement their millet production, the Lower Xiajia-dian people raised stock and hunted deer.

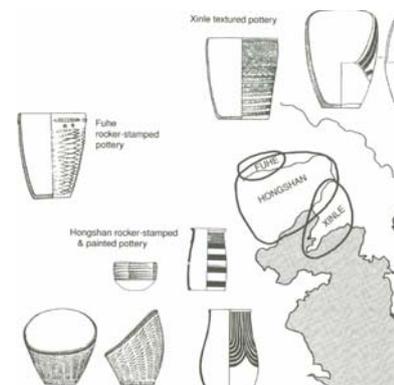
Guo (Nelson, 1995: 148-9) traces the culture of Old Yan (c. 1049/43-222 BCE) to the Lower Xiajia-dian and ultimately to the Hong-shan culture. Guo believes that one branch of Lower Xiajia-dian became the Yan, and another the Shang. According to Guo (ibid.: 179), a branch of the Lower Xiajia-dian culture moved south and originated the Shang culture, “while another remained in the same place for a long time, and became the antecedent of Yan.” Thus, Guo contends, “it might be close to the original historical events if we consider Lower Xiajia-dian culture as Pre-Yan culture.”

According to Guo (Nelson, 1995: 178), there is a transitional relationship between the Lower Xiajia-dian culture and the Yan culture: “For instance, the animal mask designs on the painted pottery of Lower Xiajia-dian, which appeared earlier and were well developed, are one of the antecedents of *taotie* [monster mask] designs in the Shang dynasty, and *taotie* designs continued in Yan until the end of the Warring States period, about 300 BCE.” Guo contends that “the Yan culture of Early Zhou has its own features.” Guo emphasizes the fact that the character for “Yan” already existed in inscriptions on oracle bones excavated at the Lower Xiajia-dian, suggesting that the proto-Yan had existed in the Shang period and its

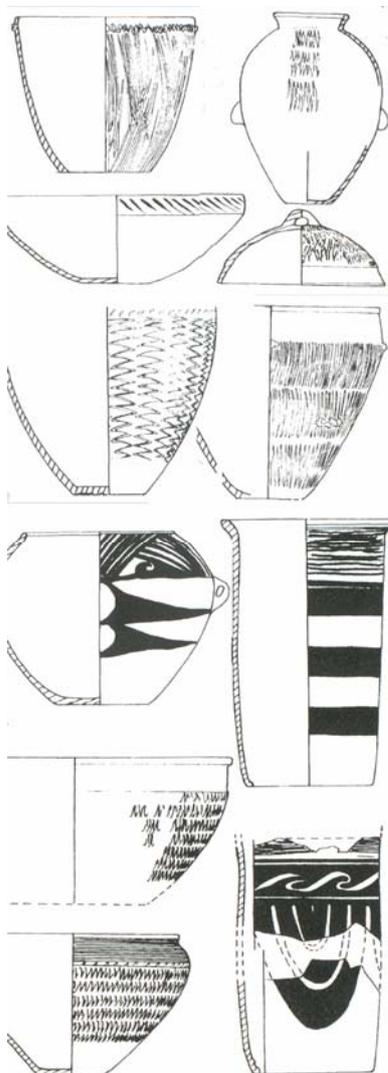
of the Liao River, the southern boundary extends to the coast of Bohai (Parhae) Bay, and the western section goes beyond the Yan Mountains. Typical sites are found most often along the Lao-ha River 老哈河, along the valley of the Ying-jin 英金 River in a suburb of Chi-feng city, and along the valley of Shara-murun River. According to Nelson (1995: 14), there are no female figurines, no human sculptures of the entire body, and nothing comparable to the Hong-shan ceremonial centers in the Yang-shao 仰韶 sites. Sculptures elsewhere are often stylized, while the Hong-shan sculptures are realistic.

<sup>9</sup> See Barnes (1993: 109) and Di Cosmo (2002: 49).

<sup>10</sup> The Lower Xiajia-dian 夏家店下層 is a local development, an outgrowth of the Hong-shan culture. It is followed after a pause by Upper Xiajia-dian with some continuity between them. See Nelson (1995: 148-154, 160-1).



2.3. Barnes (1993: 107, 109 & 160)



2.4. Hong-shan Pottery

<sup>11</sup> Nelson (1995: 10) notes that the nature of Dongbei Neolithic sites is different from those along the Yellow river, but similar to the earliest (incised and impressed) pottery-bearing sites in Hebei province. This is the area where the early Yan was located: the northeastern edge of the Zhou states in the area around modern Beijing, from

cultural traditions “were still kept in the Yan State culture of Western Zhou.”<sup>11</sup>

#### **NOMADISM EMERGES C. 900 BCE AND COINCIDES WITH THE UPPER XIAJIA-DIAN CULTURE**

Nomadism emerged in the early first millennium BCE in the Altai and Tien-shan regions, beginning the so-called Altaic-Scythian period. The early nomadic cultures of Scytho-Siberian peoples are identified by the presence of weapons of bronze and iron, horse gear, and artwork in animal-style motifs found in funerary inventories, gold and jewelry acquiring greater relevance after the sixth century BCE.<sup>12</sup>

According to Barnes (1993: 157-8), the bronze artifact depicting a mounted horseman and running rabbit, excavated at the Upper Xiajia-dian site, is the first evidence for horseriding in East Asia, though the mounted warfare was not documented until 484 BCE (see also Di Cosmo, 2002, p. 64). Barnes suggests that the nomadism which had developed about this time accounts for the marked differentiation that developed between Lower Xiajia-dian (2000-1500 BCE) and Upper Xiajia-dian (1100-300 BCE).

According to Barnes (1993: 153), the Upper Xiajia-dian culture, located in the area of former Hong-shan culture (which had the merest hint of bronze), shared a distinctive bronze repertoire (such as animal motifs of Scythian affinities) with the nomads, suggesting cultural contacts across the Eurasian steppes. The Upper Xiajia-dian tradition reached down into the Korean peninsula, giving rise to the Korean Bronze Age. Barnes contends that the state of Yan expanded into the lower Manchurian basin, creating a cultural synthesis from the various elements of nomadic, agricultural and state-level societies, and Yan was instrumental in initiating the Korean Iron Age from 400 BCE.

#### **BRONZE DAGGER BLADE CAST SEPARATELY FROM THE HILT**

Until c. 1300 BCE, the hilt and the blade of bronze daggers in the Liao-xi and Liao-dong regions weren't separately cast.<sup>13</sup> The Upper Xiajia-dian culture, however, possessed a broad-bladed bronze dagger which, unlike the Han Chinese daggers, with its blade cast separately from its hilt. The broad-

bladed bronze dagger in the Korean peninsula derived from the Upper Xiajia-dian culture, and eventually transformed into slender dagger (with its blade still cast separately from its hilt) that continued in use until the introduction of iron.<sup>14</sup> Unlike the Lower Xiajia-dian (2000-1500 BCE), the Upper Xiajia-dian culture (1100-300 BCE) used undecorated, plain red pottery that perhaps reflects, as Guo contends, the influence of the *Mumun* pottery users along both banks of the Liao river.<sup>15</sup> The plain *Mumun* pottery had begun to appear in Korea proper c. 2000 BCE, designating the late Neolithic.

The Upper Xiajia-dian was still a sedentary society. The houses were round and semi-subterranean, not different from those of the Lower Xiajia-dian. The large number of bronze arrowheads, daggers, axes, spearheads, shields, and helmets found in burials, however, suggests that a military aristocracy established itself as the dominant class over a mixed population. According to Di Cosmo (2002: 62, 65), these martial people favored the broad distribution of the Upper Xiajia-dian culture. The Upper Xiajia-dian geographical range extended north to the Shara-murun River basin, up to the eastern side of the Greater Xing'an Range; south to the Luan River, Yan Mountains, Qi-lao-tu Mountains; east to the Liao River basin; and west to the Zhao-wu-da-meng in Inner Mongolia.

#### DOMLEN CONNECTS THE XIANBEI-TUNGUS COMMUNITY

Another conspicuous artifact that connects the entire proto-Altaic speech community of Xianbei and Tungus is dolmen. Dolmens, which are numerous in the Liao-dong peninsula and known as far north as Jilin province, are considerably denser in the Korean peninsula than in Dong-bei. Dolmens of the northern type seem to have emerged in the late *Chulmun* period (c. 3000-2000 BCE), and dolmens of the southern type in the late Bronze Age (c. 1000 BCE), though the distribution of the two types overlaps considerably. Dolmen-building is thought to have been discontinued by 300 BCE.<sup>16</sup>

The similarities in the burial stones, pottery types, and bronze objects link Manchuria to Mongolia and Transbaikalia, but Di Cosmo (2002: 67) contends that “a picture of the

which has been derived the literary name for Beijing (Yan-jing or Yan capital).

<sup>12</sup> The arrival of new pastoral nomadic cultures from the Mongolian steppes was concomitant with the expansion of the Xiong-nu empire, a completely different ethno-cultural group, in the third century BCE (see Di Cosmo, 2002, pp. 32-43).

<sup>13</sup> See Nelson (1995: 198-9).

<sup>14</sup> See Barnes (1993: 162) and Nelson (1993: 133).

<sup>15</sup> See Nelson (1993: 113-6) and Barnes (1993: 160-1, 175-7). The Upper Xiajia-dian culture lasted approximately eight centuries, from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. See Di Cosmo (2002: 62).

<sup>16</sup> See Nelson (1995: 16, 147) and Barnes (1993: 166-7).



2.5. Neolithic figures from (left) Daling River basin 遼寧省 喀左縣 東山嘴; and (right) northeast Korean Peninsula 咸鏡北道 農圃洞



2.6. Barnes (1993: 135)

17 史記 卷三十四 燕召公世家 第四  
周武王之滅紂 [1045 BCE] 封召公於  
北燕 宋忠曰 有南燕故 云北燕...  
燕見秦且滅六國...秦攻拔... 燕王亡  
徙居遼東...秦拔遼東...太史公曰...燕  
迫蠻貉 內措齊晉 崎嶇疆國之間 最  
為弱小

史記 卷第一百十 匈奴列傳 第五十  
燕北有東胡山戎...臨胡貉...燕有賢將  
秦開 為質於胡 ...歸而襲破走東胡  
東胡卻千餘里...燕亦築長城 自造陽  
至襄平...置...遼西遼東郡而拒胡

三國志 魏書 東夷傳 韓傳 魏略曰  
昔箕子之後朝鮮候 見周衰燕自尊為  
王[323 BCE]欲東略之 朝鮮候亦自稱  
為王 欲興兵逆擊燕以尊周室...燕乃  
遣將秦開攻其西方 [311-297 BCE]

史記 卷九十三 韓信盧縮列傳 盧縮  
親與高祖... 漢五年...迺立盧縮為燕  
王...故燕王臧荼子衍出亡在胡...高祖

transition from the Lower to the Upper Xiajia-dian is destined to remain incomplete until the link between Upper Xiajia-dian and the Mongolian and Transbaikalian regions to the north is fully explored.” Watson (1971: 44) notes that the “movement both ethnical and cultural between Manchuria and the Minusinsk basin [around the Upper Yenisei River], along the flat land of the middle Amur, must have been easier during the climate optimum.” It is possible that the waterways connecting the Kerulen- Argun, Onon-Shilka, Amur, Nen, Song-hua, and Liao Rivers served as an alternative avenue of communication and diffusion of iron metallurgy. The bronze-iron culture could have arrived through the low section of the Greater Xing’an Range and/or following the waterways connecting the Amur and Nen Rivers.

According to Nelson (1995: 252, 14), bronze is found in the Dong-bei at a relatively early stage, and there is no reason to believe that bronze, especially in Liao-xi, is derived from the Yang-shao sites of the Zhong-yuan. Nelson (1995: 252) contends that “the notion that the Dong-bei is just a pale and barbarian reflection of central China is erroneous, even at the time of the flowering of Shang,” and that “the sites are different from the Central Plain to be sure, but they are not inferior in any way except for the lack of writing.”

According to the Shi-ji, King Wu of the Western Zhou enfeoffed his half-brother, Shao-gong, as the ruler of Northern Yan (c. 1045 BCE). Shi-ji notes that there must have been a Southern Yan that did not belong to the territory enfeoffed to Shao-gong.<sup>17</sup> No meaningful record on Yan appears thereafter in chronicles until 334 BCE. According to the Shi-ji, a Yan general attacked the Eastern Hu in 311 BCE, and greatly expanded the Yan territory into the northeast, establishing five provinces around the modern-day Luan River.<sup>18</sup> Han Gao-zu (r. 206-195 BCE) appointed his long-time friend as the King of Yan in 202 BCE, but the latter sought refuge with the Xiong-nu (in 195 BCE) who made him the King of Dong-hu. The fact that “Dong-hu” appears so frequently in the records on Yan may help solve the puzzle of “Southern Yan” noted in the Shi-ji, of so many Xianbei founders calling their states “Yan,” and of Gong-sun Yuan (in 237 CE), An Lu-shan (in 756 CE) and Shi Si-ming (in 759 CE),

transgressors of a sort who did not want to identify themselves as Han Chinese, having styled themselves the King of Yan.

According to Janhunen (1996: 224), “it is unlikely that the ancient kingdom of Yan would originally have contained any Sinitic elements” and “ethnic foundation of the kingdom of Yan ... may have incorporated Pre-Proto-Mongolic elements in its ethnic composition.”

The proto-Altaic speech community of Xianbei and Tungus, sharing the tradition of dolmens, comb-pattered pottery, and broad-bladed bronze daggers, may all be connected with the Hong-shan culture.<sup>19</sup> If one says that the Han Chinese are the heirs of the Yang-shao culture, one indeed has to say that the Xianbei and Tungus are the heirs of the Hong-shan culture. According to the Shi-ji, at least prior to 311 BCE, the so-called Shao-gong’s Yan (Northern Yan) could never have contained any Xianbei-Tungus elements. It is quite possible that there had been some other Yan, such as the Southern Yan noted in the Shi-ji, with only Xianbei-Tungus ethnic composition.

#### 4. Mainland China: Yang-shao Culture and the Tibeto-Chinese Speech Community of Hua-Xia People

The lower Yellow River basin is producing wheat and millet on the fertile loess, and is separated from Mongolia by the Damaqun Mountains. Following the Yellow River to the west of Zheng-zhou, a long mouse-hole shaped corridor surrounded by high mountains begins to unfold. Passing Luo-yang and also the point at which the Yellow River turns sharply northward (to make a horseshoe-bend through the Ordos steppe), there appears the Wei River valley and Chang’an (modern Xi’an). This safe retreat blessed with natural barriers for defense had accommodated the capitals of Western Zhou, Qin, Former Han and Tang dynasties. Luo-yang in the east became the capital when the Chinese courts were less nervous about the danger of barbarian invasion.

The arid Gansu Corridor is a depression less than 80 kilometers wide and over 960 kilometers long, dotted with oases drawing water from the Qilian-shan Range and linking

崩 盧綰遂將其衆亡入匈奴 匈奴以爲東胡盧王...孝景中六年 盧綰孫他之以東胡王降...爲東胡王來也

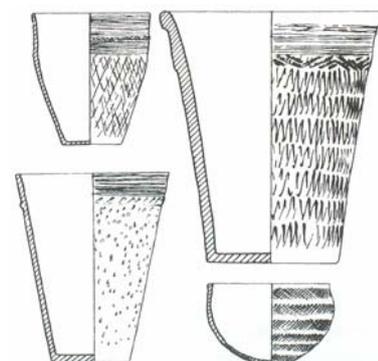
史記 卷一百二十九 貨殖列傳 第六十九 夫燕亦勃碣之間...東北邊胡上谷至遼東 地踔遠人民希...北鄰烏桓夫餘 東綰穢貉[貊]朝鮮...之利

<sup>18</sup> See footnote 24 and also Yoon (1986: 43-58).

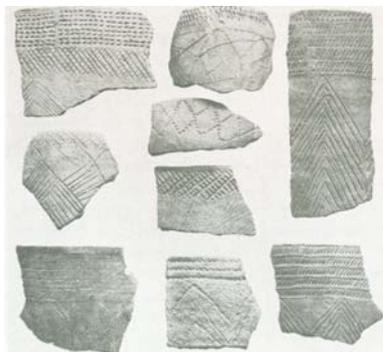
<sup>19</sup> See Janhunen (1996: 224, 238).



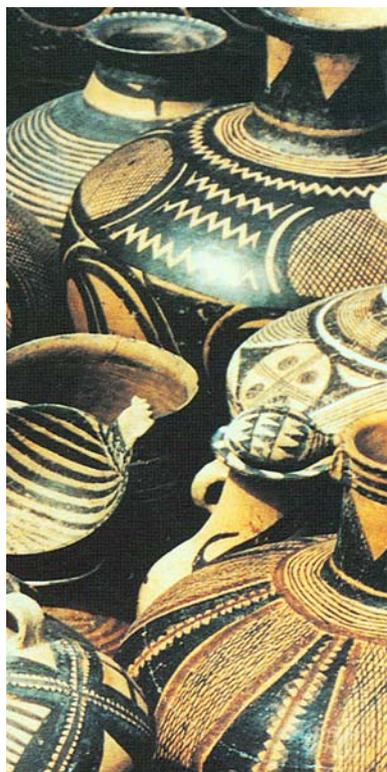
2.7. Pottery found at Fu-xun-yong, Ke-shi-ke-teng-qi, Inner Mongolia



2.8. Pottery from North of Chaoyang, Nelson (1995: 48)



2.8. Sherds of Comb-patterned (*Chul-mun*) pottery from the Han River basin area (Am-sa-dong) in the Korean peninsula dated 6200-3400 BP (Kim, 1986: 58)



2.9. Yang-shao Painted Pots

Lan-zhou and Jiayu-guan behind the Great Wall. The Gansu corridor opens the way to Central and West Asia, passing the Jade Gate (Yumen), and Dun-huang. The Tarim Basin includes an utterly arid desert, the Taklamakan, at its center, surrounded by a string of oases at its edges. The caravan tract called Silk Road climbed the Pamirs and constituted an alternative avenue of communication, though perilous, to the Steppe Turnpike in the north.

The Yang-zi River basin (south of the Huai River) marks the beginning of the double-cropping wet rice land where the nomad cavalry unfamiliar with naval warfare in waterways got stuck in the mud.

In mainland China, homo sapiens commenced the Middle Paleolithic period about 67,000 years ago, replacing the Early Paleolithic hunter-fisher-gatherers called homo erectus (including the Beijing Man who used fire to illuminate their caves). The Late Paleolithic period commenced around 50,000 years ago and evolved into the Neolithic by about 12,000 BCE, beginning agriculture by 8,000 BCE. While the humans in the Middle East started growing wheat and barley, those in northern China started farming millet and those in southern China, rice.

The Yang-shao culture of painted pottery (with geometric designs) emerged in the Gan-su, Shaan-xi and northwest He-nan provinces along the Wei-Yellow River basins at about 5000 BCE and lasted about 2000 years. The Yang-shao culture could have come through the Gan-su corridor, spreading from West Asia across the steppes and mountains of Central Asia. The proto-Tibeto-Chinese language that seems to have dominated the Yang-shao complex eventually came to dominate other branches of the linguistic family all over China proper.

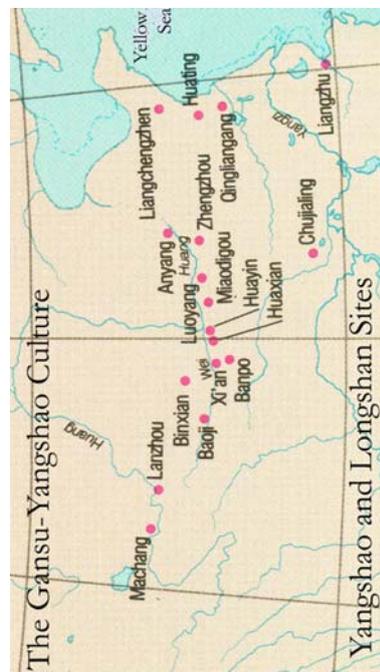
There followed the Long-shan culture of thin lustrous black pottery (formed on the potter's wheel) at the lower reaches of the Yellow River in the east c. 3000-2200 BCE. The tradition of painted pottery died out before the Long-shan stage in Henan. The Neolithic Chinese stored their grain in pottery, hunted with bows, raised pigs and dogs, used hemp fabrics, and produced silk.

Neolithic China eventually bloomed into the Bronze

Age (2200-500 BCE) of Xia (with its capital near Luo-yang, c. 2200-1570 BCE), Shang (with its capital at Zheng-zhou, c. 1570-1045 BCE) and Zhou (with its early capital at Xi'an, c. 1045/1027-771-256 BCE), making bronze from copper, tin and lead, building royal palaces with stamped earth (using wooden frames) as hard as cement, performing rites and ceremonies, and fighting with composite bows, bronze-tipped spears and halberds, and bronze helmets.<sup>20</sup> Early bronze-age sites are found in Henan province around the Yellow River. Discovering that tin hardens the alloy better and lead helps toward a flawless casting, the Shang made bronze ritual vessels that constitute one of the greatest human achievements in artistic craftsmanship. The Siberian tradition of the proto-Altaiic speech community was to build cists with stone slabs, but in the bronze-age Han Chinese tombs, there were no stone cists or curb stones (see Watson, 1971, pp. 47, 50).

In the Yang-zi River basin, rice was cultivated as early as 5000 BCE, and dogs and pigs were also raised, water buffalo becoming important after 3000 BCE. Rice is a plant of Southeast Asian origin. The Chinese originating from southern China (including the Miao Man) are genetically similar to the southern Mongoloid, the speakers of Austric (Austroasiatic) languages.<sup>21</sup> Linguists suggest the contact between Austric language and Tibeto-Chinese language was made sometime between 1000-500 BCE in the area of the old state of Chu, that is, in modern Hubei and northern Hunan provinces (see Loewe and Shaughnessy, 1999, p. 81). Modern Austric languages are found in the Indian subcontinent, in Southeast Asia, and in the southernmost parts of China.

The small Zhou tribe had interacted with nomads on the north, and then finally settled in the Wei River valley, becoming vassals of the Shang.<sup>22</sup> Both Shaan-xi and Shan-xi claim to be the native place of the Zhou people. They became strong enough to conquer Shang in 1045 (or 1027) BCE. Guo (Nelson, 1995: 178) has traced the origin of the Shang culture in the Central Plain to the Lower Xiajia-dian and Yan cultures. The Zhou rulers established a feudal system, enfeoffing royal family members to preside over fifty or more vassal states. In 771 BCE, the Zhou imperial house moved its capital from Xi'an to Luo-yang, commencing the Eastern Zhou dynasty



2.10. Yangshao and Longshan Sites

<sup>20</sup> According to Guo Da-shun (Nelson, 1995: 41-43), bronze casting already existed around 3,500 BCE, and the most important handicraft industry in Hong-shan culture was bronze metallurgy. Guo contends that bronze-casting, pottery-making, and jade-carving were the three major industrial accomplishments of the Hong-shan culture (4000-3000 BCE). The use of bronze appears earlier in West Asia, as does the subsequent use of iron. Horse chariot was used in West Asia from c. 1500 BCE and its concept came across Central Asia to be used in Shang after c. 1200 BCE.

<sup>21</sup> Tibetans belong to the northern Mongoloid, but they came to speak, instead of an Altaic language, the

Tibeto-Chinese language which is neither Altaic nor Austric. See Cavalli-Sforza (2000: 146-8).

<sup>22</sup> Fairbank and Goldman (1998: 39).

<sup>23</sup> See the *Records of the Grand Historian* (by Sima Qian) translated by Burton Watson (1961: 129-62).  
 史記 卷第一百十 匈奴列傳 第五十  
 而晉北有林胡...燕北有東胡山戎 各  
 分散居谿谷 自有君長 往往而聚者  
 百有餘戎 然莫能相一...趙襄子諭句  
 注...而破并代以臨胡貉...秦昭王時...  
 築長城以拒胡 而趙武靈王 亦變俗  
 胡服 習騎射 北破林胡...築長城



2.11. Xiong-nu Gold Belt Buckle  
Former Han Period



2.12. Puyeo Gilt-bronze plaque from  
Jilin 吉林省 榆樹縣 老河深

(771-256 BCE). During the Spring-and-Autumn period (722-481 BCE), there were about 170 semi-independent aristocratic family-states. The beginning of the Warring States period (403-221 BCE), with seven champion states, coincides with the beginning of a Little Ice Age (400 BCE-300 CE).

The old league of cities ruled by the Zhou nobility was replaced by a system of territorial states that was officially recognized by the Zhou king in 403 BCE, formally commencing the Warring States period. The ruler of each state registered and mobilized the individual peasant households in order to impose universal military service. Lewis (Loewe and Shaughnessy, 1999: 587) notes that: “the mass peasant armies of the period entailed the emergence of military specialists who were masters of the theories and techniques of warfare.” In 344 BCE, Hui Hou (r. 369-35 BC) of Wei adopted the title “king” that had previously been reserved for the Zhou Son of Heaven, and in 334 BCE persuaded Wei Hou (r. 356-20 BCE) of Qi also to take the royal title. Huiwen Hou (r. 337-325 BCE) of Qin as well as the ruler of Hann also adopted the title king in 325 BCE, and by 323 BCE the rulers of Zhao and Yan all followed suit.

The horseriding technology of saddles and bits was developed c. 900 BCE. After 800 BCE, the nomadic people who were migrating with their grazing animals across the Eurasian steppes began to terrorize their sedentary neighbors. The mounted nomads shooting arrows on horseback enter the Chinese historical record under the generic name Hu.

According to the Xiong-nu section of *Shi-ji*, until the seventh century BCE, all the barbarians were scattered about in their own little valleys, each with their own chieftains. From time to time they would have a gathering of a hundred or more men, but no one tribe was capable of unifying the others under a single rule. The name *Hu* appears together with *Maek* in the Xiong-nu section of *Shi-ji*, stating that Xiang-zi (475-25 BCE) annexed the region of Dai, and thereby the Zhao came into contact with the *Hu* and *Maek* tribes.<sup>23</sup>

The Xiong-nu section of *Shi-ji* records that King Wuling (349-26 BCE) of the state of Zhao ordered his people to adopt Hu barbarian dress and to practice riding and shooting. He also constructed a long defensive wall. *Shi-ji*

records the debate held in 327 BCE at the court of Zhao over the adoption of cavalry and mounted archers.<sup>24</sup> Shi-ji also records that the Qin state built long walls to act as a defence against the Hu during the reign of King Zhao (310-307 BCE).

For survival, the warring states along the northern frontier had to learn the arts of riding and archery from the newly emerging nomad warriors, acquiring horses for cavalry warfare, using saddles and, later, stirrups, and wearing belt-buckles and trousers strapped in at the ankle. Yan is also recorded to have built long defensive walls in the southern Mongolian plateau between 311 and 279 BCE.<sup>25</sup>

The Shi-ji records that the (Northern) Yan rulers were related by blood to the Zhou kings. Barnes (1993: 135-6), however, contends that the material culture of the local populace was derived from the preceding Hongshan-Xiajiadian cultures, and that Yan was so isolated from the center of Zhou politics that it developed its own regional culture and political interests. The Zhou's Yan could have implied the Shao-gong's Northern Yan, while Barnes' Yan would be more consistent with the Southern Yan noted in the Shi-ji. The Shi-ji records that a Yan person by the name of [Wei] Man became the king of Chosun c. 209-195 BCE. According to the Ye section of Dongyi-zhuan Wei-Man came "with a topknot wearing barbarian clothes." The Han section states that this Yan person did wear Hu (likely implying the Xianbei) clothes, suggesting the Dong-hu nature of the Yan.<sup>26</sup> Wei-Man's Yan could also have implied the Southern Yan noted in the Shi-ji.

The Iron Age in mainland China had begun c. 600-500 BCE. During the Warring States (403-221 BCE) period, iron tools and knives were cast in moulds. The advent of iron hoes and iron spade-edges implied greater agricultural production. There followed the manufacture of long iron swords, very different from the dagger and short-sword of the Scythic horseman. Qin Shi-huang-di (r. 247-10 BCE) armed the conscripted peasant-soldiers with long iron swords, and conquered the whole of mainland China (see Watson, 1971, p. 84). The Zhou as well as the Qin dynasties could derive military vigor from their contacts with the nomads and from intermarriage.

Qin had begun as the westernmost of the Zhou



2.13. Bronze plaque excavated at the Ping-yang site where the Nen and Songhua Rivers meet.

<sup>24</sup> 史記 卷第四十三 趙世家 武靈十九年 今吾將胡服騎射以教百姓

<sup>25</sup> See Branes (1993: 147).

<sup>26</sup> 三國志 魏書 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳 減傳...燕人衛滿 魁結夷服 復來王之韓傳...及綰反入匈奴 燕人衛滿亡命為胡服

史記 卷第一百二十九 貨殖列傳 第六十九...夫燕亦勃碣之間 一都會也 南通齊趙 東北邊胡 上谷至遼東 地踔遠 人民希...有漁鹽棗栗之饒 北鄰烏桓夫餘 東綰穢貉朝鮮真番之利

<sup>27</sup> According to the Shi-ji, the walls built by the Yan and rebuilt by the Qin reached Laio-dong. As shown in the *Di Li Tu*, however, the present-day Luan River (灤河) was called the Liao River (遼水) in old days, and the present-day Liao River was called the Lesser Liao River (小遼水). Hence the "Liao-dong" in the Shi-ji must have implied the east of Luan River.

史記 匈奴列傳 第五十 燕亦築長城...至襄平 韋昭云今遼東所理也 史記 卷八十八 蒙恬列傳第二十八 始皇...築長城...至遼東

<sup>28</sup> Father of Mao-dun, Tu-men, had moved away from the Ordos to escape the Qin Shi-huang-di's army.

史記 卷第一百十 匈奴列傳 第五十  
...當是之時 東胡疆而月氏盛 匈奴單于曰頭曼 頭曼不勝秦 北徙...單于有太子冒頓

<sup>29</sup> According to Jagchid and Symons (1989: 56-7), Li Si was one of the first Han Chinese statesmen to oppose warfare against nomads. Li's advice was rejected by Qin Shi-huang-di and became to be cited in a memorial presented by Chu-fu Yen to Wu-di (141-87 BCE), and recorded in Shi-ji. Li argued that: "Xiong-nu nomads move like birds ... and keeping supply lines open to a military force north of China is logistically impossible."

史記 卷六 秦始皇本紀第六 三十二年 以鬼神事 因奏錄圖書曰 亡秦者胡也 始皇乃使將軍蒙恬發兵三十萬人北擊胡 略取河南地 [215 BCE]



2.14. Xiong-nu Gold Ornament  
Circa 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE

feudal states. It was situated on the Wei River basin in the area of today's Shaan-xi province where the Zhou had earlier risen to power. It had been assigned the task of raising horses for the imperial house and defending the dynasty against the marauding nomadic tribes. Immediately after creating a unified empire in 221 BCE, Shi-huang-di started to link the frontier walls built by the old warring states to establish what later became known as the Great Wall.<sup>27</sup> It was substantially extended and rebuilt by the Ming dynasty in the sixteenth century. The Great Wall, running 2,400 km east to west from Shan-hai-guan at the Gulf of Parhae (Bohai) to Jiayu-guan deep in Central Asia, marked the edge of Chinese civilization and the beginning of "barbarian" territories. Shi-huang-di had consolidated the imperial autocracy above the law in the form of tyranny.

At the time when Qin Shi-huang-di unified the mainland China, the Xiong-nu and the Dong-hu emerged outside the boundaries of China in the north. In 213 BCE, Shi-huang-di was able to expel the Xiong-nu from the Ordos steppe to their Transbaikalia hinterland, but the Qin army was not able to cross the Yellow River. The Xiong-nu reoccupied it after the fall of Qin. The buckles and the button ornaments are typical of the Ordos region. The Scythian-type weapons, horse gear, and animal-style precious ornaments found at the Ordos sites, which were in use between the third and first century BCE, are attributed to the early Xiong-nu culture (see Di Cosmo, 2002, pp. 58-9).

Yan was conquered by Qin in 222 BCE. According to the Shi-ji, prior to the time the Xiong-nu empire emerged on the Transbaikalian steppe (immediately after Shi-huang-di's death in 210 BCE), the power of Xianbei in the Western Manchurian steppe had reached its peak, and the Xianbei frequently invaded the lands of the Xiong-nu.<sup>28</sup>

The powerful but short-lived Qin dynasty (250-207 BCE) was succeeded by the Han dynasties (206 BCE-220 CE) with a sixteen-year interregnum of Wang Mang's Xin (8-23 CE). Many Han Chinese statesmen seem to have believed that the war against the Xiong-nu caused the demise of Qin dynasty.<sup>29</sup>











































