

NORTHERN NOMADS*

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In the first five centuries A.D. tribes of various origins, who were mostly herdsmen, inhabited the wide open spaces of the Eurasian steppes between the Caspian Sea in the west and the Great Wall of China in the east. Many of them were semi-nomadic, others were stock-breeders and farmers and some were agriculturalists who kept cattle. These economic differences resulted from the great variations in the geographical environment, ranging from the arid plateaux of the steppe to oases along great rivers and lakes.

Written sources, especially in Chinese, provide the most detailed information about the history of the people who lived in the steppes. Unfortunately, the tumuli in the steppes dating back to the first five centuries have not yet been subjected to detailed archaeological investigation, nor are there any local epigraphic sources.

* See [Map 6](#).

K'ang-chü

The most extensive and stable state in the west of this region was K'ang (the ancient Kangha in the *Avesta* or K'ang-chü in the Chinese chronicles). Some scholars believe that the K'ang-chü state was centred on oases situated between the upper and lower reaches of the River Syr Darya (Jaxartes),¹ known in ancient times as the River Kanga. During the early period, the power of the rulers of K'ang-chü extended to the territories of Transoxania and the valley of the River Zerafshan, while in the north there were vassal states, the largest of which was Yen-ts'ai. According to the Chinese chronicles, by the second century it had been renamed Alania and was dependent on K'ang-chü.² Alania was situated between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea.

A military and political alliance between the Sarmatian and Alan tribes living between the lower reaches of the Volga and the Aral Sea was formed under the name of Yen-ts'ai-Alania. It consisted mainly of semi-nomadic herdsmen speaking Iranian languages. According to Chinese sources, their customs and costume were similar to those of the inhabitants of K'ang-chü and their forces were 100,000 strong. The climate of their country was temperate, and there were many pine trees and large areas of broom and feather-grass. According to sixth-century sources, the Alanian region of Yen-ts'ai was renamed Su-te or Su-i and the Hsiung-nu from Central Asia took possession of it (apparently in the second century). It is reported that large numbers of merchants from Su-te came to trade in the Chinese region of Lanzhou, and in 564 envoys from that land came to China bearing gifts.

In K'ang-chü itself, which lay north-west of Ta-yüan (Ferghana), although there were many semi-nomadic herdsmen, most of the Iranian-speaking population were reported to be farmers and craftsmen. The inhabitants of the region were said to lead a settled life, have towns, cultivate the land and breed livestock. Originally all the territories were dependent on the great Hsiung-nu power. The sources mention that in the first century B.C. dissent among the Hsiung-nu leaders weakened their power and Chih-chih (56–36 B.C.), a rebellious *shan-yü* (ruler) of the Hsiung-nu, sought refuge for a short time in K'angchü and was killed there. K'ang-chü is still mentioned in fifth-century sources, but in the sixth century instead of K'ang-chü we find five principalities which, as the chronicles stress, were situated in the 'former territories of K'ang-chü'.³

¹ Litvinsky, 1968, pp. 14–15; Groot, 1921, pp. 5–15. See also Zuev, 1957; Hulsewé and Loewe, 1979, pp. 123–31.

² Hulsewé and Loewe, 1979, p. 129, No. 316; see also Maenchen-Helfen, 1944–45, p. 230; Shiratori, 1956, p. 232.

³ Bichurin, 1950, pp. 149–275. K'ang-chü was divided into five principalities in antiquity; see Hulsewé and Loewe, 1979, pp. 130–1; McGovern, 1939, p. 400; Pulleyblank, 1966, p. 28; Enoki, 1956, p. 47, No. 25.

The Huns

During the middle and the second half of the second century, the Greek authors Dionysius and Ptolemy mention the presence of Huns on the Caspian coast among the 'Scythians and Caspians'. In the scholarly literature, the Huns appearing on the European horizon are often considered a branch of the Hsiung-nu which had migrated to the West when the united Hsiung-nu power disintegrated in the first century. This view has been seriously challenged and has been the subject of controversy since the eighteenth century. According to the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus, the Huns, 'this restless and untamed people, burning with uncontrolled passion to seize the property of others, as they advanced, robbing and slaughtering neighbouring peoples, came to the Alans'. The Alans were routed, and most of them fled from the Aral Sea region and the lower reaches of the Volga to the northern Caucasus. There also, however, they were subject to the Huns and Alanian detachments were incorporated into the Hun forces. The works of Armenian historians contain hints of a struggle between the peoples of the Caucasus and the Later Huns in the third and fourth centuries.

In the 370s a mass of nomadic tribes, united by the Huns in a powerful alliance, burst into Europe and, in 375, attacked the Eastern Goths.⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus describes the Hun invasion in the following terms: 'This race of untamed men, without encumbrances, aflame with an inhuman desire for plundering others' property, made their violent way amid the rapine and slaughter of the neighbouring peoples. . . .'⁵ The language of the Huns is unknown. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, they were a new tribe about which 'ancient works know little'. He was a bitter enemy of the Huns and extremely biased in his descriptions of them. Nevertheless, we can deduce from his information that the Hun army was well organized and presented a formidable threat. Their forces were generally victorious and nothing could stem their advance.

There are grounds for presuming that the Western Huns, like the Hsiungnu of Central Asia, had a clear-cut military and administrative system, with subdivisions into groups of tens, hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands. This warrior people had hereditary rulers.

And when deliberation is called for about weighty matters [writes Ammianus Marcellinus], they all consult for a common object. . . . No one in their country ever plows a field or touches a plow-handle. They are all without fixed abode, without hearth, or lax, or settled mode of life, and keep roaming from place to place, like fugitives, accompanied by the wagons in which they live; in wagons their wives weave for them their hideous garments, in wagons they cohabit with their husbands, bear children, and rear them to the age of puberty. None of

⁴ Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, pp. 18–168.

⁵ Rolfe, 1939, p. 387.

their offspring, when asked, can tell you where he comes from, since he was conceived in one place, born far from there, and brought up still farther away. . . . They dress in linen cloth or in the skins of field-mice sewn together, and they wear the same clothing indoors and out. . . . They cover their heads with round caps and protect their hairy legs with goatskins; their shoes are formed upon no lasts, and so prevent their walking with free step.⁶

The Western Huns had lived in conditions of constant war and mass migration. When they reached central Europe, however, they settled in Pannonia.

In the early 350s peoples known as the White Huns or Chionites appeared in Central Asia. Several scholars believe that they spoke a language of

the Iranian group and had come south from the Aral Sea area. These warlike semi-nomadic herdsmen took part in raids on Sasanian Iran and even on the northern regions of India. They founded several principalities in Central Asia and India. Remains of their original towns and settlements have been found in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya (the sites of the Dzhety-Asar group) (for details, see [Chapters 5 and 6](#)).

The Hsien-pi

When the ruler of the Northern Hsiung-nu was beaten by Chinese forces in 91 and fled in an unknown direction, a new people,

the Hsien-pi, took the opportunity to migrate, and settled on his territories. The remaining Hsiung-nu clans, which numbered more than 100,000 yurts, began to call themselves Hsien-pi, and from that time on the Hsien-pi began to gather strength.

According to the Chinese chronicles, the Hsien-pi originated in a land of forests and high mountains near the basin of the River Amur. Their language and customs are described as similar to those of the Wu-huan, except that before a wedding they first shaved their heads, then held a large assembly on the river during the last month of spring; they feasted, and once the feasting was over, celebrated the marriage. Wild birds and beasts not to be found in the Middle Kingdom of China lived in the territories of the Hsien-pi, who made bows out of horns. There were also sables, foxes and squirrels with soft fur, from which fur coats renowned for their beauty were made in the Celestial Kingdom. The breeding of cattle, sheep, goats and horses by the Hsien-pi is also mentioned and they are said frequently to rustle each other's herds of livestock and horses.

The Hsien-pi were described by one of the Chinese emperor's councillors in 117 as follows:

After the Hsiung-nu fled, the Hsien-pi, who took over their former territories, grew in strength. They have hundreds of thousands of warriors, they are remarkable for their physical strength,

⁶ Ibid., pp. 383–7.

and are more quick-witted than the Hsiung-nu. It should also be noted that, as a result of lack of discipline at the guard-posts on the line of fortifications, there are many ways of evading the embargo, which robbers use to obtain fine metal and iron of good quality. The Chinese get in [through these gaps] and become the main counsellors of the Hsien-pi, and so they acquire keener weapons and faster horses than the Huns.

During the reign of the Han emperor Huang-ti (146–168), an energetic leader named T'an-shih-huai appeared among the Hsien-pi. He subjected the elders to his authority, introduced laws, gathered large forces and defeated the Northern Hsiung-nu around 155.

All the elders of the eastern and western nomadic communities submitted to him. As a result of this he looted the lands along the line of fortifications, repulsed the Ting-ling in the north, made the Fu-yü kingdom retreat in the east, attacked the Wu-sun in the west, and took possession of all the former Hsiung-nu territories, which extended for more than 14,000 *li* to the east and the west, were intersected by mountains and rivers, and had large numbers of fresh and salt water lakes.

Thus the territories of the Hsien-pi extended as far as those settled by the Wusun in the Ili basin in the west, while in the north they adjoined those of the Ting-ling alliance of tribes which occupied the Altai mountains, the basins of the upper and middle Yenisey and the areas adjoining and to the west of Lake Baikal.

During the Hsien-pi period, culture in Central Asia declined and society regressed compared with the Hsiung-nu state which preceded it. Many towns and settlements which had flourished during Hsiung-nu rule appear to have died out, craft production declined and centres of agricultural activity vanished (or at least the written sources which describe the Hsien-pi make no mention of them).

During their heyday, the Hsiung-nu *shan-yüis* had been recognized as Sons of Heaven and the equals of the emperors of Han China, and Chinese historians considered their state to be comparable in strength and power with the Middle Kingdom. When the might of the Hsien-pi was at its greatest, the emperor Huang-ti is reported to have sent an envoy with a seal and cord granting T'an-shih-huai the title of *wang* (prince) and seeking to conclude a peace treaty with him on the basis of kinship. T'an-shih-huai unhesitatingly rejected these advances, refusing to accept a tributary relationship with the Han emperor.

The history of the Eastern (Later) Han dynasty (24–220) is full of information and complaints about the Hsien-pi raids on the frontier districts and territories of China. These areas suffered greatly from robbery, mass murders and the abduction of vast numbers of people into captivity. One of the sources gives the following explanation for these raids:

The number of the Hsien-pi increased every day, and stock-breeding and hunting could no longer satisfy their needs for food. T'an-shih-huai therefore rode out to inspect his lands. He saw the River Wu-huo-ching, extending for several hundred *li*. There were large numbers of

fish in the creeks, but the Hsien-pi did not know how to catch them. When he heard that the inhabitants of Vozhen were skilled in catching fish with nets, T'an-shih-huai attacked this land on the east, captured over 1,000 families and resettled them on the banks of the River Ukhotsin, ordering them to catch fish in order to make up the insufficiency of food.

It is clear that the Hsien-pi did not even consider engaging in agriculture or crafts.⁷

There is no evidence that the Hsien-pi expanded to the west or north. All their efforts appear to have been directed to the south, to the rich districts of northern China. By the end of the rule of the Eastern Han in 220, the Hsienpi, together with other nomad armies, had advanced as far as the basin of the River Liaohé and some of their tribes (A-zha in Tibetan literature) had even migrated to Gansu and Chinghai. Tens of thousands of Hsien-pi had settled over the Central Plain and other inner regions of China by the end of the third century. The largest ethnic groups among them were the Mu-jung, T'o-pa (Tabgach) and Yü-wen.

Nomad kingdoms of northern China

These nomadic settlers enjoyed great military strength and founded their own kingdoms in northern China. Of the various kingdoms established by the Hsienpi in northern China, the Northern Wei (386–534), founded by the T'o-pa leader T'o-pa Kui, became particularly strong. T'o-pa Kui is said to have pacified the people and devoted his attention to agriculture. The Hsien-pi who settled in the Northern Wei kingdom rapidly made the transition from a patriarchal slaveowning society to the feudal system. They later assimilated with the Chinese.⁸

The Late Hsiung-nu realm of Yüeh-pan, described by the sources as situated 'to the north-west of Wu-sun' (in the present-day district of Tarbagatai), was one of the districts belonging to the *shan-yü* of the Northern Hsiung-nu. In 93, when the Northern *shan-yü* had migrated westwards over the mountains to K'ang-chü:

the weaker nomads who were not up to following them remained in the north of Kucha. They occupy an area of several thousand *li*, and number up to 200,000... Their customs and language are the same as those of the Kao-chü [i.e. Turkic-speaking tribes], but they are better groomed... They trim their hair and make their eyebrows even, applying a paste to them which makes them glossy. They wash three times a day before eating.

⁷ Taskin, 1984, pp. 70–80.

⁸ Shan, 1959, pp. 138–41.

The Juan-juan

The inhabitants of Yüeh-pan waged war against the Juan-juan. In 449:

their ruler sent an envoy to the court with gifts, and he also sent a remarkable physician... It was said that in their state there were sorcerers who could produce long periods of rain, great storms and even flooding during Juan-juan attacks. Two-tenths – or perhaps as many as three-tenths – of the Juan-juan drowned or died of cold... Afterwards the ruler always sent envoys with gifts.⁹

The Juan-juan became known as a distinct ethnic group from the end of the third century. Constantly attacked by the Wei kingdom, the Juan-juan manoeuvred in the Gobi until, at the end of the fourth century, they overcame the Kao-chü (see pages 323 et seq.) who lived to the north of the desert. Their ruler, She-lun, settled on the River Khalkha.

Here for the first time he established military laws, according to which 1,000 men formed a detachment under an appointed commander, and 100 men made up a 'banner' under an appointed leader. The prisoners and booty taken were granted to the man who first broke into the ranks of the enemy... They had no written alphabet, so that they could not keep written records, but later they learnt to make records well by making notches in wood... She-lun earned the epithet of powerful and prosperous. He bred livestock, moving from place to place, wherever he could find water and grass.

Further to the west of his territories were the lands of Yen-ch'i [Karashahr], and the lands of Ch'ao-hsien; in the north his realm occupied all the sandy desert and reached Hanhai [the upper reaches of the Amur], and in the south approached the Great Desert. He held all the small countries as if they were on a leash, and they were subject to him. Because of this, She-lun assumed the local title of *ch'iu-tou-fa kaghan*: in the language of the Wei dynasty, *ch'iu-tou-fa* means 'ruling and leading to expansion' and *kaghan* means 'emperor'.

Around 400 the Juan-juan established a powerful empire (402–555) in Mongolia.¹⁰ From 402 onwards, Juan-juan forces made regular incursions on the frontier districts of northern China; in the ensuing wars, which lasted for several decades, sometimes the Juan-juan were victorious and sometimes the Northern Wei. At the beginning of the fifth century the Juan-juan repeatedly attacked the Wu-sun state, situated in Semirechye, driving the local tribes of herdsmen out to the Pamir mountains.

According to the Chinese chronicles, the Juan-juan:

graze their livestock, going from place to place in search of water and grass. They live in dome-shaped huts. They plait their hair. They wear narrow-sleeved silk robes with woven patterns, tight trousers and high waterproof boots. In their land they suffer from cold, and as early as the seventh moon ice-floes float on the rivers, blocking their course.

⁹ Bichurin, 1950, Vol. 2, pp. 258–60.

¹⁰ Sinor, 1969, pp. 97–9.

In their realm they use sorcery to offer sacrifices to heaven and call up a wind that brings snow. [As a result], ahead of them the sun shines brightly and behind them there are streams of muddy water. Because of this, when they are defeated it is impossible to catch up with them.

Another chronicle reports:

They do not have towns surrounded with inner and outer walls, but herd livestock, going from place to place in search of water and grass. Their homes are felt tents, which they take to the place where they stop. There is no green grass in the steppes, the climate is cold, the horses and cattle chew dry grass and lick the snow, but are naturally fat and strong. The administration of the state is simple. There are no official written documents, and they keep records by making notches in wood.

The Juan-juan *kaghans* and nobles were well acquainted with Buddhist teachings and were probably Buddhists as early as the beginning of the sixth century. It is known that in 511 they sent a Buddhist monk and preacher to China with the gift of an image of the Buddha ornamented with pearls for the emperor. It was at this time that the Juan-juan are reported to have first built a town: they surrounded it with inner and outer walls and called it Mumochen. They also gradually learnt to write, and by now there were many learned people among them.

It may be assumed that by then some of the Juan-juan already lived a settled life and practised agriculture. The original sources repeatedly mention that their *kaghans* obtained 'seed millet' from China (some 10,000 *shi* each time). This shows that the Juan-juan society and state had gradually developed from nomadic herding to a settled agricultural way of life, from yurts to the building of houses and monumental architecture, from the nomadic district to towns. They had invented their own system of writing and developed their own local culture and Buddhist learning flourished.

The Juan-juan state was undoubtedly multi-ethnic, but there is no definite evidence as to their language. As the ancient sources regard the Juan-juan as a separate branch of the Hsiung-nu, it may be assumed that the Juan-juan language belonged to the same linguistic family as that of the Hsiung-nu (whose language is also unknown). Some scholars link the Central Asian Juan-juan with the Avars (see also page 323) who came to Europe from the east in the mid-sixth century. According to a widespread but unproven and probably unjustified opinion, the Avars spoke a language of the Turkic group.

During the late years of their rule in Central Asia, the Juan-juan contracted to guard the frontiers of northern China, with whose court they were allied by marriage. In 538 the daughter of the Juan-juan *kaghan* A-na-kui became empress of the Western Wei kingdom (535–556). In 535 a princess from the Eastern Wei kingdom (534–550) married A-na-kui,

and in 545 the real ruler of the Eastern Wei married another of A-na-kui's daughters. A relative peace was thus established on the frontiers of northern China. The previous constant wars with China had exhausted the human and economic resources of the *kaghanate* and led to internal revolts and risings of the peoples subjugated by it.

The Türks

Among these peoples the Türks, who lived on the Altai and supplied the Juan-juan with ferrous metal products such as iron blooms, tools and weapons, became particularly powerful in the 530s. The rising of the Türks, who at about that time were joined by the T'ieh-le nomads (with up to 50,000 wagons), was crowned with success. In 552 the Juan-juan *kaghan* A-na-kui was routed by the Türks and committed suicide.¹¹ In the period before 555 the Türks and the Chinese had killed large numbers of Juan-juan who were fleeing to China and westward towards the Aral Sea. A new state, the Türk *Kaghanate* (552–630, 683–745), was established in Mongolia (see [Chapter 14](#)).

It was precisely at this time that the first information about the Avars being pursued by the Türks appears in Western chronicles. In *c.* 562, for example, the Byzantine historian Menander Protector¹² wrote that Silziboulos, the ruler of the Türks, having learnt of the Avars' retreat after an attack on the Türks, sent the following message to Byzantium:

The Avars are not birds, to escape Türk swords by flying through the air; they are not fish, to dive into the water and disappear in the depths of the sea; they wander over the surface of the earth. When I finish the war with the Hephthalites I shall attack the Avars, and they will not escape my forces.

According to Menander, in 568 the emperor Justin II asked a Türk who was visiting Constantinople: 'Tell us how many Avars have cast off Türk rule, and whether you still have any Avars.' He was told that: 'There are Avars who are still faithful to us; we suppose that up to 20,000 have fled from us.' The Türks also called the Avars 'Ouarchonites' and regarded them as their subjects. As mentioned previously, from these facts some scholars conclude that the Avars, sometimes known as Ouar, Koun or Ouarchonites, are the same people as the Juan-juan.

The T'ieh-le and Kao-chü

The T'ieh-le group was the strongest and largest of the various tribes subject to the Juan-juan *Kaghanate*. According to the Chinese chronicles, of the 15 tribes belonging to the

¹¹ Taskin, 1984, pp. 267–95.

¹² Blockley, 1985.

T'ieh-le, some were the descendants of the Hsiung-nu. Those tribes whom the Chinese called Kao-chü (High Chariot) were regarded as the closest to the T'ieh-le in terms of ethnic composition. The Chinese sources provide a fairly detailed picture of the Kao-chü, who were apparently the last surviving branch of the ancient Chidi. Originally known as the Ting-ling, in the north they were called the Chi-lei, and in China the Kao-chü Ting-ling (High Chariot Ting-ling).

The Kao-chü were constantly at war with the Juan-juan and also frequently attacked and plundered the borders of the Wei state. In 397 the Kao-chü, together with the Juan-juan, became subject to T'o-pa Kui, who founded the Northern Wei dynasty. When T'o-pa Kui declared himself emperor the following year, the Kao-chü confirmed their subjection to him. At the end of the fourth century their territories situated to the north of the 'sandy steppe' (i.e. the Gobi) were seized by the first Juan-juan *kaghan*, She-lun (402–410).

From the end of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth century the Northern Wei launched 9 successive campaigns against the Kao-chü, taking prisoners and reportedly seizing over 200,000 head of horses, cattle and sheep. Finding themselves between two fires, the Kao-chü were later forced to surrender to the Northern Wei forces. Several hundred thousand yurts, with more than a million head of horses, cattle and sheep, were resettled to the south of the desert.

The Kao-chü later tried to exploit the disagreements between the Juan-juan and the Northern Wei kingdom to gain their independence. In 487 the Kao-chü leader A-fu-chi-lo raised a revolt against the Juan-juan and migrated westwards at the head of 100,000 warriors. He established a kingdom (487–541) to the north-west of the present-day Turfan and there he declared himself a *wang* (prince). In his message to the Northern Wei court, A-fu-chi-lo describes the situation in these terms:

The Juan-juan rob the Son of Heaven. I exhorted them, but they would not listen to me, and therefore I stirred up a revolt, travelled to the territory I now occupy, and declared myself ruler. In the interests of the Son of Heaven I must punish and annihilate the Juan-juan.

The Kao-chü state lasted for 55 years and won a number of victories over the Juan-juan forces, but quarrels broke out among the Kao-chü nobles. A-fu-chi-lo was killed and Miehtu was made ruler. On his accession to the throne, Miehtu began to send tribute to the court of the Wei dynasty again.

War then broke out with the Juan-juan, in which the latter were victorious and killed Miehtu. The Juan-juan *kaghan* Ch'ou-nu covered Miehtu's skull with black lacquer and made it into a drinking goblet. During the reign of the new rulers of the Kao-chü, I-fu, Yüeh-ch'u and Pi-shih, war between the Kao-chü and the Juan-juan continued from 520 to 542, with success now on one side, now on the other.

Despite all these failures, the Kao-chü, who are known as the T'ieh-le in later Chinese chronicles (see the *T'ang shu*, for example), did not give up the idea of founding their own state. In 536 the first Türk *kaghan*, Bumin, attacked the T'ieh-le and captured as many as 50,000 wagons. Even after the incorporation of the T'ieh-le into the Türk state, they continued their struggle for free-dom. They waged war with the Türks from 602 to 605, and in 618 were subjugated by the Türk ruler, T'ung *yabghu*. The chronicles state that 'the Türks performed feats of valour with their forces in the deserts of the north'.¹³

The T'ieh-le tribes were numerous. The best known among them at a later stage were the Hsieh-yen-to, the Qurigan and the Uighurs, who created their own states. Although they spoke Turkic languages, their origins and culture differed from all the other Turkic-speaking peoples of the Middle Ages. During the early sixth century the entire Eurasian steppe zone came under the power of the Türk *Kaghanate*. Turkic gradually took the place of several Iranian languages, some of which ceased to be used.

Archaeological evidence

The archaeological remains of the ethnic groups which inhabited the steppe zones in the first five centuries A.D. such as the Hsien-pi, Yüeh-pan, Juan-juan and Kao-chü or T'ieh-le have not yet been studied in depth. However, remains from the first to the fifth century, presumably connected with the Western and White Huns, are partially known to archaeologists. It appears that their nobility wore richly adorned garments in what is called the polychrome style, made of gold and decorated with many inset semi-precious stones and patterns in *cloisonné* enamel. Examples of richly decorated weapons, harness, 'Hun-type' cast bronze cauldrons and other articles have been found far to the west.

The tombs of nobles, containing articles in the above-mentioned style, have been discovered over a wide area reaching from the T'ien Shan and the Altai in the east to Pannonia and the sources of the Danube in the west. The most thoroughly studied antiquities are those of Hungary, the Danube area and the steppes adjoining the Black Sea to the west of the Volga. As for the northern region of the steppes, we have some knowledge of the antiquities of the areas around the lower Volga, the Aral Sea and the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, where the Alans and White Huns lived.

The wide steppes of Kazakstan, Mongolia and Dzungaria, however, are still blank spaces in the archaeological map of the first five centuries. Much further investigation of both archaeological and written sources will be required before we know where the various northern semi-nomadic peoples lived and understand their economy, way of life and culture.

¹³ Bichurin, 1950, Vol. 1, pp. 228, 243, 279, 283, 301; Taskin, 1984, pp. 278-9, 401-6.