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Study petroglyphs in Mongolia

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Mongolia is rich of rock pictures which constitute archaeological relics of an ancient man's multifaceted primitive, social and cultural life. By the style and manner of drawing and chronologically these petroglyphs pertain to different historical periods.

In 1952 a geographer O.Namnandorj was first to discover ancient drawings in the Hoit Tsenkher Cave of the Mankhan sum in Hovd province. Later Russian academician A.P.Okladnikov made an independent study and published several scientific articles where he suggested that those petroglyphs related to the Paleolithic period a notion which the overwhelming majority of scholars and researchers had come to support. The Hoit Tsenkher Cave is situated 25 km to the west of Mankhan sum centre and is a limestone gave. Its inner height is nearly 15 m, length is 30 m and width is almost 40 m. There are several ancient drawings on the rear wall in the northern part of the gave.

There are many types of animals, wood and a number of dots drawn on the brighter wall of the gave. The male animals may be recognized by the way they are drawn with big horns. There are also elephants, ostriches, wild goats and bicons drawn on the ceiling there are many dots above the ostrich. Similarly, there is a lished that a tradition of cave painting of animals and different figures originated in the Upper Paleolithic period.

Many cave paintings such as in the Von deGom, Lyasko, Castillio, Three-Brother cave, Montinyak, Combar-lla, Nio and Altamir found in Western Europe, France and Spain have been studied carefully. Scientists now consider a notion that cave painting which is a most ancient classical relic of the primitive art as originated in Eastern Europe is no Longer valid because relics from the East, Siberia and Central Asia.

Scientists have also established that the Hoit Tsenkher cave paintings are similar to the petroglyphs pertaining to the Western European Paleolithic period. A number of dots above the animals in the Hoit Tsenkher cave paintings denoting the number of animals, is a characteristic teature of the Palaeolithic period art. Threes drawn in the Hoit Tsenkher cave paintings are also similar to those Palaeolithic period paintings found in Western Europe caves such as Castillio and Nio. There is a good reason to attribute these petroglyphs to the Upper Palaeolithic period because apart from deers, wild sheep, camels and bicons depicted on the cave paintings in Hoit Tsenkher cave wihc are existent up to now, there are tigers, elephants and ostirich wihc inha bited ancient Mongolia but later disappeared.

A single-rock hilltop near the Buyant Gol river bridge to the north-east of Hovd Aimag Buyant sum is called Chandmani Har uzuur. There are many ani-

mals engraved on the mirror-like rock looking to the west side of the Chandmani Har uzuur. The main subjects depicted are animals where horses, bicons, deers, wild sheep and steppe goats prevail while wolves, foxes and snakes are drawn rarely. Animals are drawn being calm and comfortable. A striking feature is how he and she animals differ from each other. The male deers and horses are drawn in a clear-cut style while mares are drawn together with younglings. By the style, design and subject, scientists attribute Chandmani Har uzuur rock pictures to the Palaeolithic period.

Animal pictures are drawn not like they are in nature but specificities are outlined. Particularly, a big horn of bison, a horse ear and tail, a deer antler, a tiger's fur strip, a camel hump are drawn very artistically. Presence of a snake picture in the petroglyphs implies that it is a traditional image in the Palaeolithic period art. It is interesting that a lion picture attributable to the Palaeolithic epoch has not been found neither in Mongolia nor in any other neighbouring country but on the rock drawings.

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Features of Aristocratic Xiongnu Tombs

During the course of research on the Xiongnu's history and culture, issues regarding their social organization, economy, and culture have become not just a complicated topic in Mongolian ancient history, but have also become a disputed issue inside the realm of the social and political history of ancient nations in northeastern Asia at the end of the first millennium BCE.

About a hundred years ago, at the time of Russian anthropologist Yu.D. Taliko-Grintsevich's excavations of tombs located in Buryatia, it was unknown that they were Xiongnu period tombs. But in 1912, a technician named Balod working at the "Mongol-Or" gold mine in Mongolia uncovered ancient burial materials while searching for gold sources; they were later identified as Xiongnu remains and announced throughout the world over a period of 10 years. A research team sent from the Russian Academy of Sciences to work in Mongolia and Tibet from 1923-1926 excavated at Noyon Uul while waiting for Chinese visas in 1924, adding their discovery to the body of world Xiongnu research and giving a huge boost to the study of Xiongnu history.

Since then, Xiongnu archaeological structures have been actively studied in present-day Mongolian and Russian lands, and research regarding the Xiongnu's settlements, aristocratic and common tombs has continued nonstop. The main original sources about their national formation and the process of their cultural development, aside from descriptions of them written in ancient Chinese historical accounts¹, include the remains of common² and royal tombs³, and settlements⁴, and the research works about their study. For example, to look at the many research works devoted to the burial customs of ordinary citi-

1 L.A. Borovkova. Tsarstva <<Zapadnogo Kraya>> M., 2001 (in Russian language...)

2 Ts. Dorjsuren. "Umard Hunnu" UB., 1962; P.B. Kononov. Hunnu v Zabaikalie. (Pogrebalnie pamyatniki) Ulan-Ude., 1976; A.V. Davidova. Ivolginskii arheologicheskii kompleks. Tom.2. Ivolginskii mogilnik. - Arheologicheskie pamyatniki Xiongnu. Vip.2. Sankt-Peterburg., 1996; S.S. Minyaev. Direstuiszkii mogilnik. Sankt-Peterburg., 1998; Ts. Batsaikhan, Hunnu. UB., 2002; Ts. Torbat. Hunnugiin jiriin irgeidiin bulsh. UB., 2004.

3 Ya.N. Hodukin. Pervie raskopki v gorakh Noyon Ula. Irkutsk., 1926; Camilla Trever. Excavations in Northern Mongolia. (1924-1925) Leningrad., 1932; S. Umehara. Studies of Noin-Ula finds in North Mongolia. - The Tokyo Bunko publications. Series A, No.276 Tokyo., 1960; P.K. Kozlov. Nauchnoe nasledstvo. Dneviki Mongolo-Tibetskoj ekspeditsii. 1923-1926. Sankt-Peterburg., 2003.

4 A.V. Davidova. Ivolginskii arheologicheskii kompleks. Tom.1. Ivolginskoe gorodishe. - Arheologicheskie pamyatniki Xiongnu, Vip., 1. Sankt-Peterburg., 1995; A.V. Davidova, S.S. Minyaev. Kompleks pamyatnikov u sela Dureni. - Arheologicheskie pamyatniki Xiongnu. Vip.5 Sankt-peterburg., 2003; L.R. Kizlasov. Gunnskii dvorets na Enisee. M., 2001; S.V. Danilov. Goroda v kochevnik obshestvakh Tsentralnoi Azii. Ulan-Ude., 2004.

zens, the sacrificial customs for the burial of the deceased from many levels of society were generally consistent and developing, and have been revealed by the material objects, animals, and human sacrifices offered as part of the burial customs.

As of now, in just looking at aristocratic tombs discovered in Mongolian territory and excluding those in Russia, they have been found in 6 areas: Noyon Uul⁵, at the boundary of tov and Selenge aimags; Duurlag nars in Bayan-Adarga sum and Borbulag in Batshireet sum, Khentii aimag⁶; Gol mod-1 in the Khunui river valley in Khairkhan sum⁷ and Gol mod-2 in the Khanui river valley in Ondor-Ulaan sum, Arkhangai aimag⁸, and Takhilt depression in Mankhan sum, Khovd aimag⁹. If we count the places such as Tsaram, Ilimovaya padi¹⁰, and Chere-mukhovaya padi in Buryatia¹¹, the places where Xiongnu royal tombs have been discovered can be divided into three general zones; the central, eastern, and western zones. Among these royal tomb locations, there have been much comparative research with the objects of Noyon Uul. Since the 1990's, more research and excavation work has started to emerge.

Mongolian archaeologist Ts.Dorjsuren began work in 1955 at Gol mod-1 cemetery and published his work "Northern Khunnu" about 26 common tombs¹². He started work at tomb number-1, but could not finish. Mongolian-French archaeologists began to continue his work at tomb number-1 in 2000.

The joint Mongolian-American team discovered Gol mod-2 cemetery in 2001 and made a detailed map of the site, that shows more clearly the features of royal cemeteries. Other maps were very difficult to see satellite burials and full construction of the tomb mounds. Because many new features of tomb construction were found, like the stone lines, Gol mod-2 cemetery is maybe the most important example of Xiongnu royal tombs. Almost all of the Xiongnu royal cemeteries with large square tombs – Gol mod-1, Gol mod-2, Duurlig nars, Bor bulag, Takhilt, Tsaram, Ilimovaya padi – were all dug into large sand areas. This because sand is very good for the construction style and deep pits.

In Gol mod-2 cemetery Tomb-1, seen here from the south side and west side, have some evidence of tomb construction. From the north side, we can see

5 P.K.Kozlov. Severnaya Mongoliya. Noyon ulskie pamyatniki. S prilozh. Kopii soglashiya 1925. 1-12 pp. Otd.1. 2 pic. – Institute of the History of Academy Sciences of the Mongolia

6 D.Tseveendorj. Novie pamyatniki Hunnskoj znati. – 100 let gunnskoj archaeologii. Nomadism proshloe, nastoyashee v globalinom kontekste I istoricheskoi perspective. Gunnskii fenomen. (Tezisi dokladov) 1 chast. Ulan-Ude., 1996.

7 Mongolie Le premier empire des steppes. – Actes sud. Mission archaeologique Francaise en Mongolie. Monaco. 2003.

8 Francis Allard, D.Erdenebaatar, N.Batbold&Bryan Miller. A Xiongnu cemetery found in Mongolia. – ANTIQUITY 76(2002)

9 D. Navaan. Hunnugiin ov soyol. UB., 2000. (In Mongolian laungech)

10 S.S.Minyaev, L.M.Sakharovskaya. Soprovoditelnie zahoroneniya <<Tsarskogo>> kompleksa 1 7 v mogilnike Tsaram.- Archaeologicheskie vesti. '9. Sankt-Peterburg., 2004. pp. 86-118

11 P.B.Kononov. Hunnu v Zabaikalie. (Pogrebalnie pamyatniki). Ulan-Ude., 1976.

12 Ts.Dorjsuren. "Umard Hunnu" UB., 1962,

clearly the stone wall of the mound. Around tomb-1 is a long line satellite burials (Fig.1)

Before the discovery of Gol mod-2, Russian archaeologist Minayev began work on a tomb of similar construction and plan. Gol mod-2 tomb-1 is very special tomb because the tomb is the largest and there are many small satellite burials around it; 30 burials all-together. The Mongol-American team in three summers excavated all the small burials except the one large round burial. To the north side we excavated a small burial which was not a human burial but a horse with no artifacts and no head. (Fig-2) It is most likely associated with the tomb mound and there-fore part of the tomb complex.

I would like to talk now about the chariots of the Xiongnu because in all the large tomb mounds materials from chariots were found in side the burial. Most of the materials of these chariots, like at Noyon Uul, are very similar to Chinese chariots. Images of chariots are found on birch bark lids and on stone inscriptions. The placement of chariost in Xiongnu tombs were a very important part of the funeral ceremony. The later cultures of the Turks and Mongolian use carts in funerals and often turn them over and do not use them for three days after.

All of the small burials were looted in ancient times, but still many things have been found. Many of the burials may be from the servants of the ruler. The bones of very young children and babies did not preserve, but from coffin size and some bones we can tell the age.

Burial-2 gives us very good information about iron artifacts and their use. Many Xiongnu coffins had three belts wrapped around the ciffin, often for the aristocratic tombs. Many of the iron artifacts were horse riding. And many burials also had horse heads. Not only horse heads were in the burials. We also found cow, sheep, and goat skulls, lower legs, and even scapula.

Burial-3 is extremely interesting. Here we found almost 300 ankle bones. The tradition of ankle bones for chil games existed in ancient times and in present times. Some of the ankle bones have different marks, very similar to marks from other periods. The mark on this ankle bone is very important because it has four marks together; the sun, atrident, and two other marks. The trident shape mark was a very important mark for soldiers.

We also found the same mark on a ceramic bottom in burial-24. all nomadic peoples use marks use marks for possession. Even a Chinese lacquer cup has a mark put on the bottom after if came to the Xiongnu.

In the middle of the line of burials-20-21, and burial-22, we found three bronze mirrors. One was half of a Chinese bronze mirror, which are often found in Xiongnu tombs. Whole Chinese mirrors are not often found in Xiongnu tombs. These mirrors were only for ornaments, decoration and status.

The other two bronze mirrors, found wrapped in textile, are very important items for shamanism. Shamans used bronze mirrors in rituals to look into, and to speak with the cosmos.

In burial-21, we found a bronze mirror exactly like a Xiongnu bronze mirror from eastern Mongolia. This bronze mirror is now being analyzed at Smithso-

nian Conservation Laboratories by Leslie Weder. This X-ray photo shows that it is exactly like the bronze mirror from eastern Mongolia.

Burial-27 is very important because the skull has well preserved pathological evidence in a cut mark on the face. Also this tomb is very important because the outside of the coffin was decorated with iron flowers and lattice.

This lattice is found in gold, bronze and iron on many aristocratic coffins. The image of the lattice comes from the construction of the traditional homes of the nomads. That this lattice image makes the coffin like a home in the after-life. Even in Turkish burials, we see the lattice pattern on the stone box burials.

Many archaeologists ask why the construction of funeral chambers for Xiongnu royal burials are like the large Chinese tombs. This is because of the close cultural and political interaction between these two empires.

At Gol mod-1 a handle of a large bronze platter was found which is very similar to Chinese style. We can see the same image in Qin and Han materials. Gol mod-2 not only has many tombs, but is at the center of the Khangai mountains area. This region of Mongolia is the center of Xiongnu archaeological sites, with many cemeteries and settlements. There will be many difficulties to excavate the center mound but we plan to begin slowly so we can see all features of the funeral ceremony in the burial and tomb complex. This summer we will start cleaning the surface, and hope to have many more new discoveries about ancient Xiongnu royal tombs.

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Investigation and Research on the Important Capital Site of Tongwancheng in Eurasian Grassland Zone

Abstract:

This paper is a comprehensive introduction of the academic research and field investigation on the ancient capital city site of Hun named Tongwancheng City which constructed in sandy area in Eurasian grassland zone.

Eurasian grassland zone was major communication passage for the Oriental and Western nations during ancient times. And the right noticeable location of Tongwancheng City is at the south of Mongolian grassland that reflects the communication between nomadic nations and agricultural nations in history. And the constructions of the capital city remained the nomadic style. Therefore, the research on the Tongwancheng City site will be an effective means to uncover the historical communications. And as a fixed capital, it is also has great meaning on investigating the floating nomadic nations' history. The research on it can uncover the historical references of communication between the Oriental and Western nations and cultures which was covered in the ancient city site located in the Eurasian grassland zone.

Keywords:

Hun; Helian Bobo; capital city; the Tongwancheng City site; Eurasian grassland zone; protection of historical relics

I. General Information of the Site

The ancient Capital site of Tongwancheng City was built in the north side of the Hongliu River which is on the upper reaches of Wuding River. And the site lies in Baichengze Village, Hongdunjie Town which is in the north of Jingbian County, Shaanxi Province, People's Republic of China. In Chinese historical literatures such as *Jin Shu*, *Wei Shu*, *The Histories of Sixteen Kingdoms*, *History as a Mirror*, it is clearly recorded that the builder of the city was Helian Bobo who was a descendant of Hun and leader of Tiefu tribe. It was said that the magnificent and impregnable city was continuous constructed for 6 years

(A.D.413-A.D.418) by 100,000 people driven by Helian Bobo and his army.

The physical geographical location of the city is in the Ordos Plateau and along the south edge of the Mu Us Sandland which belong to the desert-loess transitional zone. In history, it was among the Agro-pastoral zigzagging zone and simultaneously a site spot to the south of Mongolia grassland within Eurasian grassland Zone. During the period of Sixteen Kingdoms, there were many different nationalities within the broad Ordos Plateau, such as Xianbei tribe of Tuoba nationality, Wuhuan nationality living in Shuofang County, descendants of Hun such as Tuge tribe, Hu people from Qiuci State in western region, Di people, Qiang people and Chile and so on, among those which couldn't be distinguished is generally called Mixed Hus. Accordingly, within the Tongwancheng City, were living both the Han people and many other nationalities. Inside the Tongwancheng City, the acreage is 9.3 km² measured in year 2002 which was wide enough to accommodate large numbers of people. According to Chinese scholars' studying, the highest population in the city during history was from 82,000 up to 107,000.

The long history of the Tongwancheng City since its beginning building until kept to today being 1595 years. Although locating in the boundary area of Inner Mongolia and Shaanxi Province where there are few human habitations, and even undergoing the long-term landing and piling of sand blown by the wind through long historical periods (at the southwest corner inside the west city, there is a dune with the height of 1187.5m), the main city wall remains, lofty turrets (the highest one is at the southwest corner with the height of 31.62m) and hathpace were comparatively well maintained until nowadays, owes to the following special factors: firstly, the architectural material was particularly which was the local earth called "white earth"; secondly, the constructing method was particularly, which used pouring and ramming alternately; thirdly, the well organization on constructing, the hard-work construction workers and the rigorous standard of construction quality were all well managed. The Tongwancheng City is regarded as a most significant, infrequent and large ancient capital city site that situated on sand land among Eurasian grassland zone. In 1996, it was authorized as one of The Major Historical and Cultural Sites under State Protection by State Council, which is presently protecting and managing by Historical Relics Institute of Tongwan City (万城文物管理所).

II. Investigations and Researches on the Site

It was in the middle period of the 19th century that the city site was confirmed to be one capital-city remains of the Great Xia Dynasty, and in the September of 1956, the site was firstly named as Tongwancheng City when The Group of Investigation and Collection on Cultural Relic in North Shaanxi came to investigate on it. And, later, the Group published a paper titled *Survey on the Site of Tong wan City* in which the authors concluded that the Tongwancheng City is well worthy of further investigation and research for the national history

, architecture and archeology of China.¹

In the July of 1973, Hou Renzhi, the well-known professor on historical geography of Peking University led a group to investigate on Tongwancheng City and published the paper of *Exploring The Vicissitude of Mu Us Desert According to the Ancient City Remains in Hongliu River Area*,² in which the Tongwancheng City was researched as a typical case of historical geographic investigation, and concluded that those ancient remains of mankind's activities covered in the desert has significant scientific meaning for environmental research.

Until 1990, the book of *Helian Bobo And Tongwancheng City*³ written by researcher Dai Yingxin who worked in the Shaanxi Archeology Institute was published in Xi'an, which is an integrated works for the continual investigation of the site. In the book, the author summarized that "it is undoubtedly that the present excavation, investigation and research on the city site has supplied valuable references, and further more detail information about the physically stratum under the city site, the cultural characteristics during different historical periods, the layout of the streets and constructions, and the custom and religion of the people living in the ancient city etc. will must be uncovered soon by future excavation and investigations as the quick development of the communications and economy."

In 2001, the government of Jingbian County raised a plan of presenting the Tongwancheng City to apply for the World Cultural Heritage, supported by the Cultural Relics Bureau of Shaanxi Province and the government of Yulin City. And the workers of the Bureau of Culture and Cultural Relics of Jingbian County and the Historical Relics Institute of Tongwan City went out visiting, investigating and learning experiences as the plan was reported by media.

The year of 2002 was a most noticeable year in the history of Tongwancheng City because of much more attention, research, investigation and protection activities were focused on it.

In April, the Program of Restoration Operations of Green Capital of Tong wan City was presented by the Center for Historical Environment and Socio-Economic Development in Northwest China of Shaanxi Normal University (following abbr. The Center) and some NGOs and governmental departments. Later after that, the restoration base was established at the southwest to the site with financing sustentation and technical support by Dongcheng Xianzhi who is a Japanese tree-planting expert. That means new attempt of ecologic environmental restoration activities in the south edge of Mu Us Sandland got a new beginning. And the base has become to an important field investigation place for The Center for research on environmental change and restoration in desert-loess border area and for the teaching.

In June, vice researcher Xing Fulai from Shaanxi Archeology Institute (西省考古研究所) directed the protective excavation of the city wall and moat of the

1 Yu Shaoyi & The Group of Investigation and Collection on Cultural Relic in North Shaanxi. "Survey on the Site of Tong wan City", *References of Cultural Relic*, vol.10 (1957).

2 Hou Renzhi. "Exploring The Vicissitude of Mu Us Desert According to the Ancient City Remains in Hongliu River Area", *Cultural Relic*, vol.11 (1973).

3 Dai Yingxin. *Helian Bobo And Tongwancheng City*, Xi'an: Shaanxi People's Press, 1990.

southwest turret to the west city, and the Yong'an Frusta (which is also called Long Dun by local people meaning Dragon Frusta and was probably the ancient drum-tower of the city) inside the city. After cleaned up all the deposit and dig adown to the ancient original ground when the city was built, they found that the ground was covered by sand which means that the city was originally built on sandy land.

In September, Shaanxi Cultural Relics Protection Institute (西省文物保护研究中心) organized professional reconnaissance departments measured the Tongwancheng City site, and got the acreage of the site is 9.3 km², which prepared well for the protection layout of the site.

On October 25th, Shaanxi Archeology Institute associated with the Center of Remote Sensing and Archeology of History Museum of China made an aerial survey to the Tongwancheng City site and photographed a number of latest airscape data of the unknown deposit around the city site, which was displayed and communicated on The First Conference of Remote Sensing & Archeology held on December 17th in Beijing.

During September 21-23th, 2003, the "Conference of the Research on Ancient Capital City in Desert- Tongwancheng City" was held in Yujing Hotel, Jingbian County. About 100 representatives from universities all over the county, research institutes and local governmental officials and workers attended the conference. And all the papers were published in the book titled *Comprehensive Studying on Tongwancheng City* edited by The Center, which is a most centralized comprehensive research book on Tongwancheng City.

On the morning of May 11th, 2008, a meeting to evaluate and comment the protection Plan on Tongwancheng City Site was held in Xi'an city. The Plan was worked out by the Shaanxi Provincial Institute for the Design & Conservation of Ancient Architecture and succeeded passed by experts, which will finally be reported to the National Bureau of Cultural Relics, and then, will be authorized to publicize.

III. Historical Value of the Site

On the agriculture and pasturing border area between Inner Mongolia Municipality and Shaanxi Province, there distributes many ancient sites. In the south is the Great Wall remains and Yulin Town of Ming Dynasty. In the northern desert-loess border area, the physical location and historical position of Tongwancheng City is quite important. It has about 1,300-year administrative district history since the Hun descendant Helian Bobo began building it at year A.D. 413 until Dangxiang Nationality inhabited this military fortress after West Xia Power set up. And it experienced the administrative district evolution from Tongwancheng City to Xiazhou City during the history so that it is regarded as a valuable place that can be continually studied and investigated for academic research.

4 Center for Historical Environment and Socio-Economic Development in Northwest China of Shaanxi Normal University. *Comprehensive Studying on Tongwancheng City*. Xi'an: Sanqin Press, 2004.

The value of the site is its physical geographical location and the surrounding environment change. As well known that the city locates especially on the Ordos Plateau and along the south edge of the Mu Us Sandland where the environment typically changed. The reconnaissance during 1975-1977 uncovered that "under the building was natural cumulated grit until to 13m deep to the base of the city wall. That means before the city was built there was sand land."⁵ This discovery told that the environment when the Tongwancheng City was built was mainly sand land, which is consistent with the geological investigation on Ordos Plateau that there was lots of sand in Quaternary Period. Therefore, the research on Tongwancheng City can provide important evidence for the research of environmental change history. Except that, researching on it can also provide references about city history, architecture history, nationalities history, military history, communication history and culture history and so on.

As to the historical cultural position and propaganda of Tongwancheng City, some said that it should be oriented as "the only capital city site built by northern minority power during ancient times which is perfect well remained" while some others said that it is "the only remained Hun's capital city with over 1,000-year history", etc.. While, this paper mainly advised to regard the city as "Desert Ancient Capital City" or "Hun's Capital City". And its value can be summarized as follow:

1. It has nearly 1,600 years of history since The Great Xia began to build it at A.D. 413.
2. Its history of administrative evolution and ever inhabited nations is quite clear and doubtless, also its military function of recovery is obviously, which is one part of the history of nationalities communication of agricultural people and pasturing people.
3. Its 2km² acreage of city base is quite well remained, the material was special local earth with obvious local culture and minority culture characters.
4. It is an ancient city site located at the desert-loess border area with the complete record of the local historical environmental change.
5. The outlook of the remained southwest turret in the west city has rare facticity and strong convulsion which expressed the strong wishes of the temporal people to make living and endeavor developing in desert area, which has been the symbol of the city.
6. All the research papers, books and even media works on the Tongwancheng City site is now getting more and more influential all over the world.

IV. Significance As an Important Capital City Site in Eurasian Grassland Zone

Since He Zhenya's paper *The Hun and Hungary*⁶ was published in 1937, the points about Hun and Hungary were paid much more attention.

5 Committee of Cultural Relics of Shaanxi Province. "Reconnaissance Record of Tongwancheng City", *Archeology*, vol.3 (1981).

6 He Zhenya. "The Hun and Hungary", *Culture of China and Abroad*, vol.1-1(1937), in *Collection of Papers on Hun's History (1919-1979)*. edited by Lin Gan, Beijing: Zhonghua Publishing House, 1983:107-119.

In China, most scholars researched on the Tongwancheng City with the background of ancient Silk Road. For example, Professor Rong Xinjiang in History Department of Peking University thought that "There was multinational culture in the Tongwancheng City during Chinese ancient period, with Hun, Xianbei, Jihu, Han, and Dangxiang nationalities living inside the city. On certain periods, it was a traversing place of the Silk Road so that there were also people from Middle and Western Asia living in it and bringing their cultural influence, so did many traveling merchants, legates and passengers."⁷

Professor Li Xiaocong of the same department has discussed the historical position of Tongwancheng City under the broad communication background. He commanded that "Tongwancheng City once become a regional center city from Wei and Jin Dynasties to Tang and Song Dynasties because of good communication. In history, many people from Middle Asia came to China going through Tongwancheng City except for Chang'an City in Guanzhong Plain. They either settled in the city or only passed through it. Therefore, when we talked about the Silk Road, we should investigate more routeways but not only focused on the only traditional route."⁸ And the recent excavations of tombs and implements with Middle Asian cultural characters proved the view.

Professor Zhou Weizhou of Shaanxi Normal University paid much more attention to the history of Tongwancheng City during Yuan Dynasty. With studying on the two excavated copper tablets from the city site, he commanded that during Yuan Dynasty, "the Tongwancheng City was still an important traversing place of business road for the merchants both from Inner Mongolia and Shaanxi. So there were both inhabitants and nomadic nationalities living in it. And the tablets showed that people of Wanggu Tribe that believing in Nestorianism usually passed through the road to trade in Guanzhong Plain or stay in Tongwancheng City now and then, that is why the crossed copper tablets were left in the city or near areas. This means the influence of Nestorianism has come to the north of Shaanxi at that time."⁹ In 1841, the county magistrate He Bingxun of Huaiyuan County (which preset is Hengshan County) went investigating the city site. There, he saw "a mansion with arched roof with one half collapsed and one half hanging tower" inside the city which is lately explained to be the architecture style of Yuan Dynasty. While until September of 1956 when the Group of Investigation and Collection on Cultural Relic in North Shaanxi came to investigate, there has disappeared the mansion and the tower. That means there were people living in the ancient city site so that the cultural relics were partly destroyed.

⁷ Rong Xinjiang. "The Ancient Tongwan City in the Traffic History of the Occident and China During the Middle Ancient Times", in *Comprehensive Studying on Tongwancheng City*, Xi'an: Sanqin Press, 2004: 29-33.

⁸ Li Xiaocong. Communication, Settlements and Culture along the Neighboring between Agriculture and Nomad in the Chinese History. *Comprehensive Studying on Tongwancheng City*, Xi'an: Sanqin Press, 2004: 39-50.

⁹ Zhou Weizhou. "The Textual Research on the Crossed Bronze Brand of Yuan Dynasty Unearthed in Tongwan City", in *Comprehensive Studying on Tongwancheng City*, Xi'an: Sanqin Press, 2004: 51-54.

Eurasian grassland zone was a major communication passage for the Oriental and Western nations during ancient times. And the right noticeable location of Tongwancheng City is at the south of Mongolian grassland that reflects the communication between nomadic nations and agricultural nations in history. And the constructions of the capital city remained the nomadic style. Therefore, the research on the Tongwancheng City site will be an effective means to uncover the ancient communications history. And as a fixed capital, it is also has great meaning on investigating the floating nomadic nations' history.

Because of the long history, the Tongwancheng City site had ever long fallen into disuse, and no great unearthed cultural relics were excavated. Archeologists regard that it was because of the thick covered sand covered over half of the city. If the covered sand is cleaned and enough archeological work is invested, the real outlook of the city with series of historical information and references will be sure to uncover to the world.

V. Protection on the Site

Nowadays, the most important problem is how to enhance the protection of the Tongwancheng City site. On September 15, 2000, the People's Government of Jingbian County has passed the *Temporary Provision Concerning the Protection of the Site of Tongwan City* with totally 25 articles, in which the 15th one noted that "Any organization and person have no right to conduct the following activities in the protecting range of the site of Tongwan City: 1. Exploding, drilling, lifting soil and exploiting sand; 2. Modifying terrain and ground feature; 3. The other destructive activities of destroying the site of Tongwan City." In June of 2003, Shaanxi Provincial Institute for the Design & Conservation of Ancient Architecture field measured and investigated the city site and worked out the *Protection Program of the Site of Tongwan City* which provided legal support for local government and advanced the protection work on the site.

The most important problem is to realize the natural and humane damage factors and implement effective, high technical protection measures to the site. The natural damage factors are erosion by rain and wind and worm-eaten damage. And the humane damages factors are climbing and riding on the site, digging caves in city walls and carrying earth from the caves, cultivating land and shepherding domestic animals in the city by local people and tourists. Therefore, the exploring plan and developing measures made by local government should comply with the basic rule of "protecting primarily and permanently". So, it is critical to enhance the management and effectively protect the site with new technical measures right now. On May 11th of 2008, the director department has passed the *Protection Plan on Tongwancheng City Site* which will be quickly implemented.

The scientific research institute that the authors of this paper affiliated to, which is set up in Shaanxi Normal University, has managed continuous field investigation and academic research and activities on the site of Tongwancheng

city since 1998. Leading by the institute, 1 Base of Restoration Operations of Green Capital of Tong wan City was established to the southwest of the site in 2002; 7 activities of foresting on the sand land around the site was organized with in 6 years; 1 "Symposium of the Ancient Capital City of Tongwancheng" was held in 2003; 2 books (Tongwancheng City: An Ancient Capital City in Desert is Showing up to the World; Comprehensive Studying on Tongwancheng City) were published in 2003 and 2004; 3 collections on field investigations of the site were edited and printed since the year 2005 to 2007, and the one of 2008 is also ongoing. All those activities is to provide scientific research, abundant knowledge and reliable documents for nationalities communication and cultural spreading broad between the Orient and the West which can be reflected by the ancient capital sites in Eurasian grassland.

Table of Historical Record of Tongwancheng-Xiazhou City

Popular Year Counting	Chinese Historic Year Counting	Historic Record	Remarks
A.D. 413	the 1 st year of Fengxiang of Xia Kingdom	The Hun leader Helian Bobo drove 100,000 people building the Tongwancheng City, and finished building in November of 418.	"Legend of Helian Bobo", in <i>Jin Shu</i> , vol.130,
A.D. 418	the 5 th year of Fengxiang of Xia Kingdom	Helian Bobo defeated the East Jin and drove into its capital Chang'an City, and regarded Tongwancheng City as his northern capital.	"Legend of Helian Bobo", in <i>Jin Shu</i> , vol.130,
A.D.427	the 4 th year of Shiguang of Taiwu Emperor in North Wei Dynasty	In June, the North Wei defeated Helian Chang and captured Tongwancheng City, then established Tongwan Town here.	"Legend of Taiwu Emperor", in <i>Wei Shu</i> , vol.4
A.D.487	the 11 th year of Taihe of Xiaowen Emperor in North Wei Dynasty	The North Wei changed the Tongwan Town into Xiazhou.	"Geographic Record ", in <i>Wei Shu</i> , vol.106
A.D. 605	early years of Daye of Yang Emperor in Sui Dynasty	The Sui Dynasty changed the Xiazhou into Shuofang Eparchy in charge of 3 counties.	"Geographic Record ", in <i>Sui Shu</i> , vol.9
A.D.627	the 1 st year of Zhenguan of Tai Emperor of Tang Dynasty	Warlord Liang Shidu captured Xiazhou and named himself emperor, and established Liang Kingdom.	"Legend of Liang Shidu", in <i>Old Tang Shu</i> , vol.56,

A.D.628	the 2 nd year of Zhenguan of Tai Emperor of Tang Dynasty	The Tang Dynasty successfully attacked Liang Shidu and set Xiazhou Commander Mansion in charge of Xia, Sui and Yin three eparchies.	"Geographic Record ", in <i>Old Tang Shu</i> , vol.38
A.D.787	the 3 rd year of Zhenyuan of De Emperor of Tang Dynasty	The Tang Dynasty set Xiazhou Inspector Mansion in charge of Xia, Sui, Yin and You four eparchies.	"Record of Towns", in <i>New Tang Shu</i> , vol.64; "Record of Guanwei Circuit", in <i>Yuan He Jun Xian Zhi</i> , vol.4
A.D.994	in April of the 5 th year of Chunhua of Tai Emperor of Song Dynasty	During North Song Dynasty, in order to prevent the Dangxiang nationality occupy the city to strengthen their power, the Emperor ordered to discard and destroy the Xiazhou City, and immigrated the people to Yin and Sui Eparchies.	"Imperial Rescript of Discarding the Old City of Xiazhou", in <i>Collection of Imperial Rescripts of Song Dynasty</i> , vol.159
A.D.997	in December of the 3 rd year of Zhidao of Tai Emperor of Song Dynasty	The North Song authorized Li Jiqian as prefectural governor of Xiazhou, who is descendent of Tuoba tribe of Dangxiang nationality.	Record of Xia Kingdom, in <i>The History of Song Dynasty</i> , vol. 485.
A.D.1310	the 3 rd year of Zhida of Wu Emperor of Yuan Dynasty	The Yuan Dynasty set marshal mansion at Chahan Naor City which probably at the site of ancient Xiazhou City.	Zhou Qingshu. <i>Historical Geography of Inner Mongolia</i> . Huhe Haote: Press of Inner Mongolia University, 1994:128-129.
A.D.1841	the 21 st year of Daoguang of Qing Dynasty	The county magistrate He Bingxun of Huaiyuan County investigated the white city inside the county and reported that it was the ancient Xiazhou City site.	Hou Yong-jian, "Reasons for the Survey of the Ancient Site of Xiazhou (the Site of Tongwan) in the Reign of Emperor Daoguang of the Qing Dynasty", <i>Journal of Shaanxi Normal University (Social Science)</i> No.4(2003):87-94.
1956.9		The Group of Investigation and Collection on Cultural Relic in North Shaanxi began the investigate on Tongwancheng City site.	Yu Shaoyi & The Group of Investigation and Collection on Cultural Relic in North Shaanxi. "Survey on the Site of Tong wan City", <i>References of Cultural Relic</i> , vol.10 (1957).

1975-1977		Committee of Cultural Relics of Shaanxi Province investigated, measured and excavated the Tongwancheng City site 3 times.	Committee of Cultural Relics of Shaanxi Province. "Reconnaissance Record of Tongwancheng City". <i>Archeology</i> , vol.3 (1981).
1982.10		Historical Relics Institute of Tongwan City was established.	<i>Governmental Archives of Jingbian County</i> , No.063(1982)
1983.9		The Tongwancheng City site was classified as one of the first group of cultural relics under protection by Jingbian County.	<i>Governmental Archives of Jingbian County</i> , No.046(1983)
1992.4		The Tongwancheng City site was classified as one of the third groups of cultural relics under provincial protection by Shaanxi Province.	<i>Governmental Archives of Shaanxi Province</i> , No.034 (1992)
1996.11.20		The Tongwancheng City site was classified as one of the fourth groups of cultural relics under protection by State Council.	Shaanxi Provincial Institute for the Design & Conservation of Ancient Architecture. <i>Protection Program of the Site of Tongwan City</i> , 2003.
2002.4		The Base of Restoration Operations of Green Capital of Tongwan City was established at the southwest to the site.	Hou Yong-jian & Li Lingfu. <i>Tongwancheng City: An Ancient Capital City in Desert is Showing up to the World</i> , Xi'an: Sanqin Press, 2003.
2003.9.21-23		The "Conference of the Research on Ancient Capital City in Desert-Tongwancheng City" was held in Jingbian County.	Center for Historical Environment and Socio-Economic Development in Northwest China of Shaanxi Normal University <i>Comprehensive Studying on Tongwancheng City</i> . Xi'an: Sanqin Press, 2004.
2008.5.11		The meeting to evaluate and comment the Protection Plan on Tongwancheng City Site was held in Xi'an city.	Shaanxi Provincial Institute for the Design & Conservation of Ancient Architecture. <i>Protection Plan on Tongwancheng City Site</i> and related references of the meeting.

Nicole Petrin

THE MASSAGETAE BECOME THE ALANI: DATING THE NAME CHANGE

In my most recent article, «The Geography of Orosius», I described and evaluated the historical evidence on the Huns in the period before Attila. Though this was not my purpose, I think I have demonstrated that the Hungarians are descended from the Huns of Scythia. But there is another nation mentioned in the same ancient sources, neighbours and frequent allies of the Huns, who deserves the same attention: the Alans. Known for centuries to the Byzantines, and also to the Kievan Rus' where they were called Yasy, the Alans who dwelled in modern Azerbaijan appear to have been a racial and linguistic mix of Finno-Ugrian and Iranian peoples. To Herodotus, their ancestors were known as Massagetae.

Beginning in the second century of the Christian era, a number of ancient authors inform us that the Massagetae had changed their name to Alani. These witnesses include the Chinese Wei lio, dated to AD 125-150; Cassius Dio writing before AD 220; Ammianus writing towards the close of the fourth century; and his contemporary St Jerome, the great Christian philologist.

These later authors mention that the Alans of their own times were the Massagetae of old. But the name Alani turns up earlier -- amongst sources of the first century of the Christian era -- without references to the Massagetae. These early mentions are not self-evident because they are sometimes confused in the manuscript tradition with the Albani of modern Daghestan. I now propose to establish the earliest dated reference to the new name Alani and sort out the confusion with the Albani.

We will look at five authors from the early Christian era: Lucan [39-65], Pliny [died AD 79], Valerius Flaccus [died ca AD 90], and Flavius Josephus [35-100], Suetonius [died AD 130]. The texts themselves and the dates are a little vague. Lucan died in AD 65, after a failed rebellion against Nero, leaving his epic poem, the Pharsalia, unfinished. Pliny the Elder is famously known to have perished during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius: AD 79; he had completed his monumental Natural History by AD 75. Valerius Flaccus vanished without a trace in the great purge under Emperor Domitian, leaving his Argonautica to the kindness of strangers amongst his posterity. Suetonius wrote about the Flavian dynasty under the much safer rule of their successors, so he does not offer contemporary accounts; but he did have access to first class sources.

When Valerius Flaccus composed his Argonautica, the story of Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece was already at least 500 years old and had inspired several poets, the best known being Apollonius Rhodius. Valerius' interest in this

Caucasian adventure may have been stimulated by Emperor Vespasian's Oriental policy but he also knew the ancient tradition well and he worked closely within it. On several occasions, he mentions both Albani and Alani, without confusing the ones with the others. The princess and enchantress Medea is engaged to be married to the Albanian ruler, while the Alans have their own leader who is not Medea's fiancé: «The fiery Alani and fierce Heniochi had Anaasis...» (6,42, Mozley's translation). Nevertheless what Valerius wrote is a work of literature, not history.

Our most useful witness seems to be Flavius Josephus [AD 35- before 100]. He is best known for his Jewish War and his Antiquities of the Jews but he is also an important source for the general history of the Roman Empire, especially the Eastern provinces, and Rome's foreign policy in the East. Josephus is possibly the earliest author who mentions unambiguously the name of the Scythian Alani as he describes events dated to the reign of Vespasian [69-79]. «The Alani -- a race of Scythians, as we have somewhere remarked, inhabiting the banks of the river Tanais and the Lake Maeotis -- contemplating at this period incursions into Media and beyond...» (*Jewish War* 7:244, Loeb translation by Thackeray et al). Josephus does not inform his readers that this name Alani has recently changed from something else but the care he -- or his source -- takes in locating these Alani indicates that he expects his readers to be perhaps unfamiliar with them.

The reference is unambiguous because of the geographical setting: in this passage, Josephus cannot possibly be referring to the Caucasian Albanians who also make an appearance in his works: «the kings of both the Iberians and of the Albanians [...] did bring in the Alani against Artabanus by allowing them free transit through their own territory after throwing open the Caspian Gates» (*Jewish Antiquities* 18:97, in the Loeb translation).

Josephus knew both of these peoples, one in Scythia, the other in the Caucasus, and he did not confuse one with the other. But how recent was the appearance of the name Alani in his days? We will look at his contemporary, Lucan, for clues.

The Spanish born Lucan was a favourite of Nero but when the artistic emperor became jealous of his subject's talents -- so we are told -- Lucan joined Piso's conspiracy. Condemned to death for sedition in 65, he took his own life. He was not quite 26 years old. He left behind an unfinished epic poem, known to posterity variously as *The Civil War* or *Pharsalia*, which his young widow Polla Argentaria preserved and published after the death of Nero. Lucan mentions the Alani twice:

si uos, o Parthi, peterem cum Caspia claustra
et sequeretur duos aeterni Martis Alanos,
passus Achaemeniis late decurrere campis
(8:222-224)

[...] quem non violasset Alanus,
non Scythia, non fixo qui ludit in hospite Maurus
(10:454-455).

Susanna Braund offers this free verse translation based on the editions by Housman and Shackleton Bailey:

«Do this if, when I headed for the Caspian Gates and chased the hardy ever-warring Alani, I ever let you freely race across the Achaemenid plains and never drove you trembling into Babylon's safety, O Parthians» (8:222, page 159 in Braund).

«The man whom the Alan would not have outraged nor the Scythian nor the Moor who ridicules the wounded stranger» (10:454-455, page 219 in Braund).

The Alani mentioned in these two passages from Lucan apparently dwell in the Caucasus, neighbours of the Parthians. They are specifically not Scythians: in the second passage, Lucan lists the Scythian who dwells in the North, then the Moor, whose home lies South. Considering the deep respect which ancient authors had for symmetry, we expect his third example, the Alan, to be an Easterner. But the Alans were Northern Scythians. Could he have meant the Eastern Albani?

We have grounds to suspect that Lucan did not mean here, like Cassius Dio, the Alani who are the Massagetae. Lucan does refer to the Massagetae in the *Pharsalia* -- as a transdanubian people. «Massageten Scythicus non adliget Ister» (2,50). «Longaque Sarmatici solvens ieiunia belli // Massagetes quo fugit equo» (3,281-283). The first passage is very specific concerning the geography of the Massagetae: they dwell in the Danubian regions. The second passage refers to wars with the Sarmatians who were Danubian neighbours of the Romans. On the other hand, in the invocation by Pompey in 8:222, a Caucasian environment is indicated.

In the first passage, Lucan's Alani are associated with the Caspian Gates. We know from many authors and we have just seen in Josephus that the Caspian Gates lay somewhere in the territory of either the Albani (modern Daghestan) or the Iberians (Georgians), or perhaps on the confines of both. The Caspian Gates were a favourite point of entry for Scythian bands raiding the Parthian empire, Syria, Cappadocia; therefore the words *Caspia claustra* evokes the name Alani, not because they lived there, but because they crossed it on their marauding expeditions.

But are we reading Lucan correctly? Standard editions all have *Caspia claustra* but some manuscripts have *Caspia regna*, i.e. the Caspian nations, not the Caspian Gates. The word *claustra* has been accepted unquestioningly by editors; if *regna* should turn to be the correct reading, then *Caspia regna* could only apply to the Albani, not to the Alani.

The cryptic style used by editors makes it difficult to recover what is actually found in the manuscripts, while the manuscripts themselves are not easily accessible for an independent scholar operating without a grant in North America. The fundamental manuscripts of the *Pharsalia* are the great Carolingian copies of fifth century redactions, and they are: the Ashburnhamensis, Erlangensis, Bernensis, Taurinensis, Montepessulanus and the Gemblacensis. From the collations and the apparatus criticus attached to each of the most important editions, it seems that the word in the actual manuscripts is *regna* with *porti* turn-

ing up as a correction in the Montepessulanus; *claustra* as a correction in the Ashburnhamsensis; *claustra* as a gloss in the Erlangensis.

Translations often provide built-in commentaries. Here is Robert Graves on this passage in his translation of the *Pharsalia*: «You will recall that when I marched through the Caspian Gates against the bellicose Alans I left Parthia in peace; your horsemen were free to scour the plains instead of taking refuge behind the walls of Seleucia [Babylon]» (page 179). Like Braund, Graves uses the Housman edition; unlike her he aims at a self-contained, self-explanatory translation; he brings the footnotes into the text (see his introduction).

Graves renders the general sense correctly: the defeated Pompey, seeking refuge after the disaster at Pharsalus, is addressing the Parthians. He reminds them that he left them strictly alone when he subdued the Caucasus; he now expects generosity in return. But in showing Pompey at war against the Alans through the Caspian Gates, Graves places too much reliance on Housman. The Caspian Gates were used by the Alans and other Scyths to invade Parthia, Syria, Cappadocia -- but no Roman general would himself march through this defile against the Alans. To do that he would need first to invade Parthia -- a considerable detour -- which Pompey expressly states he did not do. The historical Pompey must have meant Albani, not Alani.

I propose the following translation based not on the uncertain manuscript tradition or the even more confusing editorial tradition, but on the known history of the region: «Parthians, when I subdued the Caucasus and chased the hardy ever-warring Albani [not Alani], I let you freely race across the Achaemenid plains and never drove you trembling into Babylon's safety. Now do this for me...» Pompey finalized the conquest of the Caucasus (succeeding Lucullus, who had been sent by the Senate to deal with Mithridates' revolt), including their most warlike nation, the Albani, without entering into conflict with the Parthians. Now they owe him a favour -- so he suggests.

Over a century ago, Charles Haskins suggested that *Alani* in Lucan 8:222 and 10:454 should be emended to *Albani* (1887:280). He was neither the first to propose this, nor to be unheeded. We find the same recommendation, more developed, in the edition by Cornelius Schrevelius (Amsterdam 1658, with notes by Grotius and Farnaby), and a reference to Plutarch.

In *Agesilas and Pompeius*, Plutarch refers to the same event as Lucan, namely Pompey's campaign against Mithridates § 32-41. The campaign takes place in the Caucasus only, not in Scythia, and Plutarch describes the Albani's lands as «facing east and the Caspian sea» (§ 34,2). This reference supports an emendation from *Alani* to *Albani* in Lucan.

The earliest author who provides unambiguous evidence for the name of the Alani remains Josephus -- supported by Pliny, Suetonius and Valerius Flaccus. Based on the argument presented here, I cannot consider Lucan a serious contender. Nevertheless, Lucan provides possible evidence that under Nero, the name *Massagetae* was still in use. Possible, only: ancient names continued to be used long past their natural lifespan. Josephus, writing under Nero's successor, uses the name *Alani*.

There remains Suetonius, writing at the beginning of the second century. In the Life of Domitian (*The Twelve Caesars*), we find a mention of the Alans: «when Vologaesius, king of the Parthians, had asked for auxiliaries against the Alans and for one of Vespasian's sons as their leader, Domitian used every effort to have himself sent rather than [his brother] Titus» (2,2). The political background to this juicy and -- I think -- apocryphal bit of court gossip can be dated from Cassius Dio to AD 75. It refers to the Alans in the days of Vespasian -- not to Pompey's campaign. But it does support the use of the name *Alani* under Vespasian.

This presentation is extracted from an article in progress which I plan to submit to *Eurasian Studies Yearbook*. The bibliography on this research project is immense; please consult my weblog www.texttransmission.blogspot.com where it is posted.