A NEW INVESTIGATION OF THE GEOGRAPHIC POSITION OF THE BÁILÁN CAPITAL OF THE TǖYÙHŷN

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ABSTRACT
Báilán, of the Tūyùhŷn Kingdom, is an extremely important place name in the ethnic history of ancient China. Throughout the more than 900 year medieval period of Chinese history—the Wèi, Jīn, Northern and Southern dynasties, Táng, Sòng, and Yuán eras (third to thirteenth

1 This translation is based on a draft manuscript that differs in certain details from the published version of the article, which appeared as Zhū Shikuí 朱世奎 and Chéng Qǐjùn 程起骏. 2008. Tūyùhŷn báilán diwàng xīn kǎo 吐谷浑白兰地望新考 (A New Investigation of the Geographic Position of the Báilán Capital of the Tūyùhŷn). Qīnghǎishēhuì kèxué 青海社会科学 (Qinghai Social Sciences) 2:83-88. This article makes important contribution to the study of medieval Qīnghǎi history through its careful reading of historical documents and onsite field investigations. The final translation greatly benefited from comments and suggestions from the first author of the original manuscript, and this journal's editors and reviewers. I am also grateful to Chuluu Ujiyediin for help with the Mongolian. Certain footnotes are my own (indicated by { }), some are from the original authors, and some contain material that was in the original text, but which reads better as footnotes. Any mistakes are the translator's responsibility.
centuries)–the name Báilán remained in historical materials, demonstrating the name's historical significance. Scholars have discussed the geographic position of Báilán since the 1920s, but no consensus has emerged. In this paper we undertake a comprehensive investigation of the issue. We carried out related field work in Dülán County and the Qaidam (Cháidámù) area of Hāixī Prefecture, Qīnghāi Province and interviewed knowledgeable elders of the region. We also consulted the results of recent archeological excavations. We advance explanations for the terms 'Báiín Qiāng' and 'Báiín Māuntains', and suggest a location of the ancient city of Báiín.

KEY WORDS
Báiín, Qiāng, Tūyūhún, Qīnghāi, Hāixī
THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH ON THE GEOGRAPHIC POSITION OF BÁILÁN

The appearance of the name 'Báilán' is intimately related to the ancient Tüyûhün Kingdom of the Qínhái-Tibet Plateau in the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties (fourth-sixth centuries AD). As the Zìzhìtōngjiàn (chapter ninety, Jin Records Twelve, first year of the Jiànwu reign of emperor Yuán 317AD) states, the Tüyûhün

reside by mountains in the west. Following the turmoil of the Yōngjià Period (ca. 317), they subsequently crossed the Lóng Region (of Gānsù Province) and went west; residing west of the Táo River and as far as Báilán; their area extends for 1,000 ｌì.

Báilán was the reliable, defendable base area of the Tüyûhün people, which allowed them to achieve statehood.

In the beginning of the fourth century AD, the Tüyûhün khan, the oldest son (by his second wife) of Shèguī, the leader of the Mùróng Tribe of the Liăodōng Xiānbei,² quarreled over water resources with his younger brother, the son (of Shèguī's formal wife) Mùróng Wēi. Consequently, the Khan led more than 1,700 households west to the Yīnshān Region of Inner Mongolia. In 317 AD (the last year of the Yōngjià reign of the Western Jin), he descended south from the Yīnshān Region, across the Lóng Mountains into southern Gānsù, gradually subjugating and incorporating the various Qiāng and Dī tribes of the present Sichuān-Gānsù-Qínhái border area, and came to control the region. After further advances he eventually controlled a large area

² {The Xiānbei were a nomadic people active in what is now the northeast of China. Though little about their initial history is known, they likely spoke a form of early Altaic language.}
including Qaidam, the area around Qīnghǎi Lake, and theQiāng and Qiěmò areas of Xīnjiāng. At its largest, theTǔyǔhún territory extended 1,000 kilometers from north to south and 3,000 kilometers from east to west. The Tǔyǔhún opened the Southern Silk Road which flourished from the period of the Northern-Southern dynasties up to the mid-Táng period (third to eighth centuries). They also made important contributions in the fields of metallurgy, bridge construction,\(^3\) architecture,\(^4\) and horse-breeding.\(^5\) The famous historian, Fàn Wénlán (1949), highly praised these accomplishments in his *A Brief History of China (Zhōngguó tōngshī jiǎnbīǎn)* writing: "The Qiāng nationality's establishment of the Tǔyǔhún Kingdom in Qīnghǎi is a shining hallmark of social development."\(^6\) However, the Tǔyǔhún would not have been established on the coordinates of history without Báilán.

Tǔyǔhún history has at least five references to 'the protection of Báilán' (bǎo bāilán 保 白 兰) in Chinese historical documents: *Cèfū yuánguī, The Compendium of the

\(^3\) The Tǔyǔhún are credited with building the Dàmǔ Bridge over the Yellow River in Xúnhuà Salar Autonomous County, Qīnghǎi Province.

\(^4\) They are known for the 'Four Great Garrison Cities of the Tǔyǔhún' (Tǔyǔhún sì dà shù chéng), the ancient city of Xiāngridé (which the authors contend is the city of Báilán), and Fúsi City.

\(^5\) The Tǔyǔhún were known for breeding the Qīnghǎi piebald horse (*Qīnghǎi cōng*) and the famed dancing horses of the Táng Dynasty.

\(^6\) With regards to the theory that the Qiāng nationality established the Tǔyǔhún state, Lǐ Wénsí (2001) in Ancient Lands in the West and Qiāng-Bodic Culture (Xīchuú gǔdì yǔ qiāng-zāng wénhuà) refutes this theory. The authors support Lǐ's position that the Tǔyǔhún Kingdom was established by the Tǔyǔhún people.
Five Dynasties (Wǔdài huīyà), The Sui History (Suí shū), The Old and New Tàng Histories (Jìù táng shū, Xīn táng shū), and in the Zīzhìtōngjiàn.

The first record of protecting Báiłán occurs in the year 329, in the fourth year of the Xiánhé Reign of the Chéng Emperor of the Jin Dynasty. Túyán (r. 317-329), the eldest son of the Tūyūhún Khan, was assassinated by the Qiāng leader, Jiāng Cóng. On his deathbed, he gave instructions to his subordinates for handling the state's affairs:

After I die, and the coffin has been arranged, send it far to the protected Báiłán. The area around Báiłán is both strategically important and the locals are weak and easily controlled (Bēi shī - tūyūhún zhuàn ch. ninety-six).

In the same year, Túyán's son, Yèyán (r. 329-351), formally established political authority in Báiłán and, taking his grandfather's name as the name of the country, established the Tūyūhún Kingdom.

The second record of protecting Báiłán occurs in the year 398, when the sixth ruler of the Tūyūhún, Shipí, angered Fúqǐqǐánguī, King of the Western Qín, by refusing his bestowal of the rank 'Báiłán King'. Qiánguī led 20,000 cavalrymen to denounce the offense, routing Shipí's troops at Dūzhōuchuān.

Shipí escaped to the protection of the Báiłán Mountains. He sent an emissary to ask forgiveness, presenting local products in tribute, and his son, Dàngqǐ, as a hostage (Jīnhū, ch. twenty-five).

Only then was peace restored. Afterwards, Fúqǐqǐánguī showed favor by offering one of his clan's daughters in marriage to Shipí.

The third record of protecting Báiłán occurs in 417 when the Western Qín dispatched the Āndōng General, Mùyì,
to lead an army to attack the eighth ruler of the Túyūhún, Shùluògān. More than 5,000 Túyūhún were taken as captives. In defeat, Shùluògān "escaped to the protection of the Bálán Mountains. Ashamed and angry, he developed an illness," (Zízhìtōngjiàn, ch. 118) and died. Before his death he established his younger brother, Āchái, as the ninth ruler of the Túyūhún.

With the strategic use of forces, Āchái invaded and incorporated neighboring lands, so that his territory extended for several thousands of li, gradually becoming a powerful empire (see, Zízhìtōngjiàn ch. 118, Records of the Jin, 40; thirteenth year of the Yǐxī Reign of the Ān Emperor, 417).

The fourth record of protecting Bálán occurs in 444 when the Northern Wèi, taking advantage of internal turmoil within the Túyūhún, dispatched Fú Luó, the King of Jin, to lead a large army on a punitive expedition against the Túyūhún. The Túyūhún army was badly defeated, and "Múliyán (the Túyūhún ruler) fled to Bálán." The following year, the Northern Wèi dispatched the West Route Army to attack Bálán and surrounding areas, and Múliyán did not oppose him. Instead, Múliyán led his main forces west across the Qaidam deserts and invaded Yútián in Xīnjiāng Province, where he "killed their king and occupied their land." In 446, the Northern Wèi retreated and Múliyán returned to occupy Bálán and the surrounding areas.

The fifth record of protecting Bálán occurs in 460 when the Northern Wèi attacked the Túyūhún along two fronts. At this time, Shíyín, the twelfth ruler of the Túyūhún, was in the middle of constructing his capital at Bálán, and the histories do not record such language as, "fled to the protection of Bálán." Instead, they record that "Shíyín presently protected Bálán."

Except for Múliyán's inability to defend it, in each of
these cases, the Tūyūhūn were able to safeguard Báilán. Even in the exceptional case, Mūliyán invaded and occupied Yútián by setting out from Báilán. Without the cushion of Báilán, he probably would have been unable to defeat Yútián.

The Sixteen States of the Five 'Non- Hàn' Tribes (if the Tūyūhūn are added it should be the Seventeen States) were all 'flashes in the pan', rising and falling in quick succession. The Xiānběi State of the Southern Yān lasted the shortest time, a mere thirteen years (398-410). The Xiānběi State of the Southern Liáng lasted eighteen years (397-414). The large and powerful Former Qín (of the Dī people) survived for forty-four years (351-395), while the Western Qín (Xiānběi) lasted forty-seven years (385-481). The sixteen states existed for a mere 136 years in total. Only the Tūyūhūn survived for 356 years, from 317 to 663, ending only when defeated by the Tūbō. How could the Tūyūhūn last for such an extended period? There are certainly several reasons to explain this, but the most important one is that the Tūyūhūn occupied an advantageous position in Báilán.

At the time of the Sixteen States (fourth to sixth centuries) each state fought the others, attacking and swallowing each other, leaving few days of peace. The theater of 'being a king in the morning and a prisoner at night' lasted a long time, and cases of a single battle wiping out a country were commonplace. Truly, "In such commotion does the world's theater rage, as each one leaves another takes the stage."\(^7\)

Let us consider as an example the Southern Liáng who occupied eastern Qīnhǎi. In the time of the first king, Tūfā Wūgū (?-399), such policies as favoring agriculture, fostering peaceful relations with neighboring countries, valuing people of talent, instituting light taxes, and so on,

\(^7\) {The quote is from the first chapter of The Story of the Stone, or The Dream of the Red Chamber (see Cao and Hawkes (1978).}
were adopted and the country flourished. Among the Sixteen States, the Southern Liáng was considered a civilized state. However, during the reign of the third generation ruler, Tūfā Nūtán (365-415), the army was exhausted from constant war, and the country knew no peace. Just as the Southern Liáng army was about to seize livestock of the Yīfúwúdí State west of Rìyuè Pass, the Western Qín attacked their capital city in today’s Lèdū County and the important town of Xīnìng and the Southern Liáng, who had existed for a mere eighteen years, were extinguished. The process of extinction for the other fifteen states was much the same as that of the Southern Liáng.

However, this was not the case for the Tūyùhún. In comparison with other contemporary states, particularly in the Tūyùhún’s early years, their composite strength was much less than that of their neighbors. And, in comparison with their later rival, the Northern Wèi, the Tūyùhún were in another league. At one point or another, the Tūyùhún fought wars with the Southern Liáng, Western Qín, Xià, and the Northern Wèi; they fought dozens of wars, large and small, and many times suffered large defeats. If they were defeated, the court and core military units would then, "flee to the protection of Báílán." In Báílán they rested and recuperated, built up their military strength, refined their training, and waited for an opportunity to set out again. Because the Tūyùhún withdrew so far away after defeat, there was nothing their enemies could do about it; they simply accepted it. In the course of retreating to the safety of Báílán many times, the Tūyùhún learned numerous lessons, developed, and grew stronger, in clear contrast with the fate of Tūfā Rútán of the Southern Liáng, who was so unceremoniously deposed.

The Tūyùhún's defense of Báílán was therefore, the defense of their national fate. If there had been no Báílán to retreat to and defend, the Tūyùhún would have been destroyed by the Western Qín or the Northern Wèi early on,
and their fate would have been the same as that of the other Sixteen States. In the early period, Báilán was the Tūyūhún's reliable base, sturdy rearguard, and center for recuperating. In the middle and latter periods, it became the political and economic center of the Tūyūhún kingdom. Owing to the special status of this location from the time of Yèyán, the Tūyūhún were able to fully absorb the advanced culture of the Central Plains (China) and enact their policy of uniting the Qiāng tribes and ruling them jointly.

Owing to its special geographic position, the Tūyūhún in Báilán had resources to develop political and economic relationships with the states to the north and south. Furthermore, because Báilán bordered on the Héxī Corridor (in western Gānsù) and the various states to the west, the Tūyūhún had access to resources to open the southern Silk Route, making the Tūyūhún the transit point of cultural flow between East and West from the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties up to the Táng Dynasty (fourth to eighth centuries). Because the Tūyūhún had Báilán, their nation survived a long time, finally resulting in a combination of Tūyūhún, Hàn, Qiāng, and Tūfān cultures, creating a unique Tūyūhún culture. In this light, Báilán is the starting point of a pluralistic multiculturalism. A single location with cultural significance of this depth is rare in ancient China's history.

**OUR VIEW ON SEVERAL OPINIONS ON THE GEOGRAPHIC POSITION OF BáILÁN**

Where is the geographic locale of Báilán? A preliminary classification of opinions results in the following six positions:

- Lǐ Wénsí (2001) believes Báilán is somewhere in the six counties of Guōlùo Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qīnghǎi Province, and that the 'Báilán Mountains' are the

- Cóng Zhé (1982) and Huáng and Zhōu (1983) believe Bāílán is in the area around Dūlán and Bālóng in the Qaidam Basin southwest of Qīnhǎi Lake.

- Based on linguistic analysis, Cǎirènbālǐ (1999) believes 'Bāílán' should be 'Bālán', therefore, Bāílán is the 'Bāyánkālā Mountains'.

- Lǚ Jiànfǔ (1997) believes the modern Monguor pronunciation (bulag) for 'fountain, spring' corresponds to the Chinese transcription 'Bāílán', and thus the meaning of 'Bāílán' is 'spring' or 'place of springs'. This is taken as evidence that Bāílán is in the source region of the Yellow River, which is

  the entire area of Mǎduō County, in the northwest of Guōliú Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, and the northeast part of Qūmálái in Yūshū Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.


- Japanese scholar Yamaguchi Mizuo believes it is in Ābā Tibetan and Qiāng Autonomous Prefecture, Sīchuān Province. Matsuda Hisao believes it is in Qaidam.⁹

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⁸ {Mongolian Bayan Khalag: bāyan = rich, prosperous; khālag = gate.}
⁹ {The authors did not give a citation for these two scholars' arguments.}
When considering Báilán and examining historical materials related to the Tūyùhún, we must remember three basic elements that would allow the repeatedly defeated Tūyùhún to protect their basic livelihood and return to life. These three elements are:

First, the geographic position should have been remote and strategic, easily defended, and difficult to attack. In the words of the second generation ruler of the Tūyùhún, Tūyán, Báilán's, "location is remote and strategic; moreover, the locals are weak and easily controlled," pointing out that Báilán was both remote and strategic, and those who attacked it would not easily succeed. Also, the Báilán Qiāng residing at Báilán were easily controlled, or they could be thought of as willing to coexist amicably with the Tūyùhún. Second, a large amount of living space with abundant resources would have been required to provide a subsistence base and ample land to maneuver. Third, a favorable geopolitical environment without strong neighbors would have been necessary.

These three elements were all essential; only when all were present could a location be considered the rearguard base of the Tūyùhún. After sifting through the evidence we believe the modern Qaidam Basin and the northern and southern foothills of the Bǔ'èrhàn'búdá Mountains have these three elements and therefore, are the location of Báilán.

1. Weishi: Tūyùhún chapter (ch. eighty-nine):

吐谷浑遂徙上陇，止于枹罕暨甘松，南界昂 城、 龙涸，从洮水西南极白兰数千里中，遂水草，庐 帐而居: Tūyùhún lead followers up the Lóng, stopping at Fūhàn and Gānsōng; the southern border was Áng City and Lónghè; for several thousand lǐ from the Tāo River to the southwest extreme of the Báilán Mountains they followed the water and grass, residing in tents.
And, from the Suí shū: Tǔyùhún chapter (biographies #48):

吐谷浑与若洛廆不协，遂西度陇，止于甘松之
南，洮水之西，南极白兰山，数千里之地。The
Tǔyùhún did not get along with Ruòluòhuī, and traveling
west across the Lóng, they stopped in an area several
thousand lǐ south of Gānsōng, west of the Táo River and
south to the Báilán Mountains.

Both of these quotes refer to the time of the
establishment of the Tǔyùhún kingdom and its center of
activity in the border region between Qīnghǎi, Sīchuān,
and Gānsū. The former quote refers to 'Báilán' and the
latter quote refers to 'Báilán Mountains'; the position of
both is southwest of the Táo River. The line, "Cóng táo
shuǐ xīnán jí bái lán shān 从洮水西南极白兰山" seems
incongruous. We believe that Cóng Zhé (1982) correctly
breaks up the line as, "Cóng táo shuǐ xīnán, jí bái lán
shān 从洮水西南, 极白兰山," meaning "southwest from
the Tao River, reaching up to the Báilán Mountains."
Thus, if the Báilán region is in the Qaidam Basin, it is
exactly southwest of the Táo River, and the Báilán
Mountains are precisely southeast of the Qaidam Basin.
Jí 极 means 'stopping' or 'arriving', and here refers to the
fact that the southern border of the Tǔyùhún territory
reached the Báilán Mountains.

2. Běi shī, chapter 96 'Tǔyùhún':

白兰西南二千五百里，隔大岭，又度四十里海，
有女王国。2,500 lǐ southwest of Báilán, separated by a
great mountain range and across a 40 lǐ sea there is a
country with a woman king.
The 'country with a woman king' is the same as the 'Sūpí Country' referred to in the Xin táng shū: Western Regions. It is in the present Tibet Autonomous Region. About 2,000 lǐ northeast from its political center is precisely at the southwest edge of the Qaidam Basin, and the mountain that separates them is the contemporary Tánggǔlā Mountain. This 'Báilán' is the Báilán region, not the Báilán Mountains.

3. In 445 AD, (the sixth year of Tàipíng Zhēn Jūn of the Northern Wèi) because of mutual suspicions among the family of the eleventh Tūyūhún king, Mūliyán, there was a civil war, and under the impending pressure of the Northern Wèi army, Báilán was unprotected. Mūliyán led most of his forces west, invading Yūtián, "killing their king and occupying their land." Mūliyán's power extended deep into the southern part of modern Xīnjiāng. How could Mūliyán so easily take southern Xīnjiāng? The Tūyūhún already occupied the entire Báilán area (in Qaidam) which bordered Qiēmò, thus he was familiar with the situation in Yūtián. Meanwhile, Mūliyán knew that if he fought the Wèi army he would surely lose, and retreated with the entire army, thus preserving his strongest fighting force. Moreover, the Tūyūhún and Yūtián had a long-standing trade relationship; consequently, Tūyūhún traders probably supplied information and assisted in the invasion, which made it easy for Mūliyán to take their cities and hold their land.

If Báilán had been in Guōluò, Yùshù, or Sichuān, Mūliyán would have needed a huge army and would have had to cross the Bāyǎnkālā Mountains, the Kūnlún Mountains, the Dāngjūn Mountains, and great deserts before reaching Yūtián. The Mūliyán of that time was at the end of his tether; in undertaking such an expedition it would have been hard for him to succeed.
4. In 460, the first year of Hépíng of the Northern Wèi, because Shíyín, the twentieth king,

两受宋魏爵命，居止出入拟于王者，魏人忿之。定阳侯曹安表言：拾寅今保白兰，若分军左右，拾寅必走保南山，不过十日，人畜乏食，可一举而定。had received feudal titles from Sòng and Wèi, and his behavior was against the king's wishes, the Wèi people became angry with him. Cáo Ān, the Marquis of Dingyáng, announced, 'Shiyín at present protects Báilán. If we divide our army to the right and left, Shiyín will be forced to retreat to the Nán (South) Mountains. In no more than ten days, with both people and livestock deprived of food, they can be captured in one stroke.'

The Nán Mountains referred to in this quote are the Báilán Mountains (the Bù'ěrgānxì Mountains). In this instance, the Wèi army divided along two routes. The southern route traveled from Xīnín to Gōnghé and Xīnhāi before entering Tūyūhún territory. The northern route set out from Liángzhōu and crossed the Qīlán Mountains into Qaidam. Shiyín entered the Báilán Mountains. The Wèi army ran into a 'contagion', probably succumbing to altitude sickness, and was not able to attain their goal of 'capturing them in one stroke.' This episode shows that if Báilán were in Guóluò, Yùshù, or Ābà, the northern army would have had to cross the Qīlán Mountains, a vast desert, and then cross the Kūnlún Mountains before reaching the battlefield. Sūn Zī's Art of War (Sūnzhǐ bīngfǎ) says: "If one chases the enemy for fifty lǐ to seek advantage, the general will certainly be toppled." It seems the Wèi army would not attempt something as inept as this.

5. One of the four great Tūyūhún garrisons was at Qūzhīncūn, which contemporary scholars agree was located in modern Chákā. The Sòng shū: xiānhěi tūyūhún
zhuàn (ch. ninety-six) records: "Quzhouchuan has a salt lake; north of the Gāngū range there is a 'rodent bird' hole." The salt lake referred to in this passage is Chákā Salt Lake. One of the present authors worked in Háixī for thirty years, and on more than ten occasions stayed overnight at Chákā Lake. In the winter of 1960, on the grass behind the original Chákā Hostel, he personally saw the 'rodent bird' hole. One bird, larger than a sparrow, with yellow and white markings, stood upon the head of a rodent with wings spread apart. The rodent was startled and the bird called out, and together they entered a hole.\textsuperscript{10} Chákā is part of Báilán, and borders Xiānggrídê and the stream Cháhànwūsū.\textsuperscript{11}

After the Tūfān defeated the Tūyūhún, they set up a Tūyūhún prince to unify the former Tūyūhún lands. They gave him the name 'King of Mòhè'. Mòhè was an ancient toponym in Qaidam, west of modern Chákā, contiguous with Cháhànwūsū. After the 1950s, it was the pasture land of the Mòhè camel ranch.

6. The younger brother of Imperial Preceptor Phags-pa, Qiāná Duōjīě, was enfeoffed as the 'King of Báilán' (1239-1267). He led a celebrated life, once serving as an attendant to Sakya Pandita. Upon receiving an invitation from Khotan (Kuòdùān; d. 1251), he went to Liángzhōu to discuss the surrender of the Tūfān to the Yuán. Among his descendants was Suōnánzàngbǔ, who was enfeoffed as King of Báilán (see, Yuán shì, yīng zōng jì). The Dūlán County Gazetteer (Dūlán xiàn zhì) records: "In the first

\textsuperscript{10} {The pika (\textit{Ochotona curzoniae}), found at high altitudes and native to Qīnhái Province, is the 'rodent' referred to here.} The ancients erroneously believed that female birds and male rodents could mate; this is simply a case of mutual protection.

\textsuperscript{11} {Mongolian: Chagan Usu; \textit{chagan} = white; \textit{usu} = water.}
year of Zhiyùè of the Yuán Dynasty (1321), the Yuán court enfeoffed Suǒnánzângbǔ as the King of Báltán, granting him a gold seal." Three others were also enfeoffed after him by the Yuán as King of Báltán, namely Güngá, Liébá, and Jiânzàn. The Báltán fiefdom was in modern Háixī Prefecture. The reasoning behind this political move was that Háixī bordered Tibet, and its people were Tûyühûn and Tûfân. Administration of Tibet necessitated administration of Háixī. The same principle applies in modern and ancient times. The Yuán court's enfeoffment of the King of Báltán respected the historical legacy and resident population. It was an inspired decision of great political foresight. The Báltán palace was probably in the modern Xiāngridē area, owing to it being a strategic point of transit in and out of Tibet.

7. A comparison of the natural environment of Báltán and Qaidam: The various historical records from the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties to the Táng Dynasty (fourth to eighth centuries) record that Báltán "produces gold and metal" and "dispatches emissaries to present 'rhinoceros' and iron armor." The Qaidam Basin is full of minerals and abounds in every kind of mined resource; the Tûyühûn had a well-developed metal smelting technology. At present, an iron mine that produces thirty tons annually has been built in Cháhánwûsū; the gold mines of Bálóng and Gê'ermû produce on a large scale; once, a seven kilogram piece of gold was produced near Délinghā.

The 'rhinoceros armor' is an extravagant name for the armor made of wild bovine skins. The wild bovine of the Kûnlûn Range is one of the largest on the Qînghâi-Tibet Plateau. "Báltán produces 'Sîchûān horses' and yaks." 'Sîchûān horses' are the Qaidam horses and Qînghâì steeds produced in the area surrounding Qînghâì Lake. They are also known as products of the Tûyühûn
ancestors. Because they were often ridden to Sichuān, Gānsòng, and such places where they were sold to people from central China, they became known as 'Sichuān horses'. Yaks are one of the local specialties of the Hāixī region. "Bāīlán is suitable for barley and many vegetables." The modern Hāixī area is one of Qīnghāi's more important bases for commercial grain production. The record for spring wheat production is from Xiāngridé. In contrast, there is one small area on the banks of the Chúmākē River in Guōluò that can produce wheat, but other than that, the entire region is unsuitable for wheat cultivation.

As for Bāīlán, in the northwest is a several hundred lǐ stretch of flowing sand; in the summer, there is a hot wind, which is the bane of travelers. Only the camel is able to predict the arrival of these terrible winds. With a whistle, they gather together and protect their heads beneath the sand; those left unprotected face the prospect of death.

This is a typical scene in western Qaidam. Guōluò and Yūshù lack areas of several hundred lǐ of flowing sand. Camels are common in Hāixī, and specialize in eating such plants as Peganum harmala, crested wheat grass (Agropyron cristatum), and sea buckthorn (Hippophae rhamnoides) and are fond of salt licks. Guōluò and Yūshù lack the conditions for raising camels, and consequently do not produce them.

8. The regional political environment in Bāīlán and the Qaidam Basin: The Qaidam Basin constitutes a complete inner-continental basin with an area of 220,000 square kilometers. The Kūnlūn Mountains to the south and Qīlǐán Mountains to the north form natural screens. That the Tūyūhún selected this land as their rearguard is an expression of their great wisdom.

The center of Bāīlán is the Xiāngridé-
Châhànwûsû-Bâlóng area. These three places are strung along a single river, and snuggled along a branch of the Kunlun Mountains, known as the Bû'ergânbûdá Mountains. This range cuts across the landscape from west to east for more than 180 kilometers. Its highest peak, Cuòmùcèfèng, is 5,486 meters high and the average altitude is around 5,000 meters. The mountain range is steeper to the south, with a more gradual slope to the north. There has been a road connecting Xìnghái and Guòluò to the Bû'ergânbûdá Mountains since ancient times but, in many places, there are strategic passes that a single individual could defend. Streams flow in every direction within the area. There are more than ten major rivers, including the Xiùgōu and Qaidam rivers, all of which have their headwaters in the springs of Bû'ergânbûdá. The riversides are steep cliffs, and the rivers run swiftly. Without an experienced guide, a large contingent of people and horses could only cross them with great difficulty. Tuòsù and Ālà lakes to the north of the mountains constitute a natural defensive structure. The numerous natural springs and abundant pastures are sufficient to provide many people and horses ample defenses for a long time. At present, this is the summer pasture of the various townships in Dûlán County. Because of this natural environment, the contemporary Tûyûhún people could retreat to the south mountains (the Bâilán Mountains) and defend themselves if they met a strong opponent. Opponents such as the Western Qín and the Northern Wèi could not defeat them there. Just the thin atmosphere of the 4,000 meter high environment caused their enemies to weaken, hampering their ability for a protracted engagement.

From the perspective of the regional political environment during the Northern and Southern dynasties (fourth to sixth centuries AD), the Qaidam Basin and Qînghǎi Lake and north of the Qîlián Mountains, there
was only the Northern Liáng, Gāochāng,\textsuperscript{12} and several small states in the western region; in the far west there was the Qiěmò,\textsuperscript{13} the several states of Yútián,\textsuperscript{14} in the south and southwest were such various small states as the Dǎngxiàng,\textsuperscript{15} Duōmí,\textsuperscript{16} and the Sūnbō.\textsuperscript{17} These were all small states that posed no threat to the Tūyùhún. Further south was the Náncháо, a state friendly to the Tūyùhún. The Xīfān had not yet come to power. Only in the east were there strong enemies; the Western Qín and the Northern Wèi. This is precisely one reason the Tūyùhún could make the Qaidam Basin their rearguard. This kind of favorable political and geographic environment was only enjoyed by the Tūyùhún from the time of the Five Foreign States and Sixteen States up to the Táng Dynasty (fourth to seventh centuries). This is also the critical reason that the Tūyùhún successfully retreated to and protected their rearguard Báilá́n five times. Even more, it was an excellent choice by the Tūyùhún founder, Shíyín,

\textsuperscript{12} {Gāochāng was a city-state located southwest of modern Turfān, Xīnjiāng Uyghur Autonomous Region. During this time period, it was a major transportation hub along the north rim of the Tarim Basin.}

\textsuperscript{13} {Qiěmò was a city-state located in the southeast of the Tarim Basin.}

\textsuperscript{14} {This refers to polities along the south of the Tarim Basin.}

\textsuperscript{15} {As used here, Dǎngxiàng refers to a state established by the Dǎngxiàng Qiāng peoples in the Sīchuān-Gānsū-Qīnghǎi border region.}

\textsuperscript{16} {Little is known about Duōmí, a small state centered in what is now Yùshù Autonomous Prefecture, Qīnghǎi Province.}

\textsuperscript{17} {Sūnbō, about which little is known, refers to a small state located in what is now the northern part of the Tibet Autonomous Region.}
to operate in Fúluòchuān (in the Qaidam Basin).

9. The geographical position of Bálán from the perspective of the Tūyùhúns' establishment of the Southern Silk Road: Zhōu Wēizhōu, a scholar of the Tūyùhúns, thinks that the Southern Silk Road was centered in Bálán. In his major study, *History of the Tūyùhúns (Tūyùhún shī;* Zhōu, 1985), he writes:

There were three passable routes on the Southern Silk Road: first, from Fúshì City passing through Bálán (the Dúlán-Báilóng area), then northwest up to the modern Lesser and Greater Qaidam, up to Dúnhuáng, and from Dúnhuáng west through Yángguān into the western regions of Xīnjiāng; second, from Fúshì City through Bálán and west to modern Gé’èrmú, then northwest through Kāsīkōu, across the Ā’érjīn Mountains in the Shānshān of the western regions, and then following along the same as the first route (this route is basically the same as the Qīnghǎi-Xīnjiāng Highway, a major thoroughfare on the old Qīnghǎi road); third, Fúshì City-Bálán-Gé’èrmú-Būlúntài-Chúlākʼēlāgān River Valley-Xīnjiāng.

If Bálán were in Yúshū, Ābà, or Guōluò, then the Southern Silk Road would need re-surveying.

10. In 1958, with the support and encouragement of Guō Mòruò, the assemblage of national specialists on history, geography, and archaeology published the *Historical Atlas of China (Zhōngguó shìgāo dìtūjí)* after more than ten years of research and editing (Guō, 1979). On the *Northern Wèi-Southern Qí Period (Běi bèi-nán qí shíqí xíngshì)* map, Bálán is unmistakably located in the

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18 {1892-1978, a historian, prolific author, archaeologist, university president, and government official from Sichuān.}
southeast of Qaidam, and Hāixī and the area surrounding Qīnghǎi Lake is marked as the Tūyùhún area. The authoritativeness of this atlas should be respected. Also, the national atlas issued by the Southern Sòng court labels the Qaidam basin as 'Āchái' Province. 'Āchái' is the name other ethnic groups gave the Tūyùhún in the period from the Northern and Southern States to the Táng Dynasty. These two maps provide mutually re-enforcing evidence.

11. We would like to present a slightly speculative opinion regarding the name 'Báilán Mountains'. The term 'Báilán Mountains' appeared in Chinese historical documents. 'Bū'ércāngbǔdá' in Mongolian means 'Buddha's Mountains'.\(^1\) In the time that Ögedei Khan (Wōkuótái) was on the throne at the beginning of the Yuán Dynasty (1229-1241), his second son Khotan (Kuòdūān) was responsible for administering all of Tibet, including Qīnghǎi. The Qaidam area was the pasturage of the Sālī Wèiwù'ér.\(^2\) The eighth son of the Yuán founder, Kublai Khan, Kōkōcu (Kuòkuōchū), was enfeoffed as King Nóng and dispatched to his post in the Qīnghǎi-Tíbet region. At the end of the Yuán Dynasty, the noble, Buyan Temūr (Būyān Tiēmù'ěr), was enfeoffed as King Nóng and dispatched to his post in the Qaidam area. Because the Yuán Dynasty founder, Kublai Khan, designated 'Phags pa of the Sakya Sect of Tibetan Buddhism his National Preceptor and Imperial Preceptor, therefore, in the time of the former and later King Nóng, they must

\(^{1}\) {In fact, the Mongolian name, Burkhan Bogda, can be parsed as Burkhan = Buddha, lord; Bogda = Buddha, suggesting 'Lord Buddha' as the more accurate translation.}

\(^{2}\) {The Sālī Wèiwù'ér are generally thought to be one of the peoples of medieval Western China that are now classified as the Yùgù, specifically the western branch of that group.}
have revered and honored the Buddha and therefore named the Báilán Mountains 'Buddha's Mountains', because they were located in the Báilán area facing south toward the location of the historical Buddha (India); that is, it is natural that they are called the Bù'ěrgānbūdā Mountains in Mongolian. We surmise that the name 'Bù'ěrgānbūdā' first appeared around the thirteenth century, about 800-900 years after the name 'Báilán Mountains'. The nomads of Dūlán County in the Bālóng region still refer to the Bù'ěrgānbūdā Mountains as the Bālóng Mountains or the Bālóng South Mountains. Both 'Bālóng' and 'Báilán' share an initial b-, and their finals are close to rhyming (-long, -lan), thus the difference between the two might simply be a small sound change.

Báilán, Báilán Mountains, and Báilán Qiāng are three closely related human-geographic concepts that should not be muddled together. Báilán is the large area centered on the Tūyūhún yázhàng (capital city), which is in modern Xiānggridé Township, Dūlán County, Háixī Prefecture.

'Báilán Mountains' is the old name for the Bù'ěrgānbūdā Mountains. Báilán Qiāng is a branch of the Qiāng who lived on the northern and southern foothills of the Báilán Mountains under Tūyūhún control. The two ethnic groups lived together.

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE TŪYŪHŪN'S BÁILÁN CAPITAL CITY AND FÚLUÒCHUĀN

Documentary Evidence

In 452, "Shíyín first built a city in Fúluòchuān." A note to chapter 126 of the Zīzhìtōngjiàn reads: "Residing in Fúluòchuān, they still would not dare distance themselves from the protection of the Báilán (mountains)." The Liáng
shū zhù yì zhuàn (ch. 54) reads: "Shìyín was established and employed documents and seals (in his rule), erecting city walls and waterworks, he built palaces and houses, and his princes also set up residences." This clearly explains that Shìyín constructed a new capital city at the base of the Bái lánn Mountains. The Sòng shū: Tūyūhún chapter records that the Tūyūhún, "on the whole controlled Mūhèchūān." The Zhōnghuá shūjǔ edition annotates this passage as follows: "Mūhè, Mòhè, and Fúluò are three different names for the same place; the difference is due to variation in phonetic transcription." If this is true, then Qaidam Basin contained two important Tūyūhún garrisons: Qūzhēnchūān (modern Chákǎ) and Fúluòchūān (the location of the capital city), which is also known as Mòhèchūān. This capital city is located in the ancient ruins in modern Xiānggride Township. In the first year of Shénguī of the Northern Wèi (518), Sòng Yún and the monk Huishēng traveled to the western regions to collect Buddhist texts. The Record of Luóyáng and Gālán (Luóyáng Gālán jì) records the following incident:

Within Wényì District there was the residence of a Dūnhuáng native named Sòng Yún. Yún and Huishēng were dispatched to the western regions. In the winter of the first year of Shénguī (518) during the eleventh month, the empress dispatched the monk, Huishēng of Chóngli Temple, to go to the western regions to acquire scriptures, and they obtained 170 texts, all of which were marvelous Mahayana sutras. Setting out from the capital and traveling west for forty days they reached Chīlīng (Barren Range), which was the border with the western regions where the imperial border guards were located. No grass or trees grow in Chīlīng, hence its name. In its mountains, there are birds and rodents living in the same holes. Though seemingly different, they are the same type; the male bird and female rodent, represent the feminine and masculine principles, and therefore it is referred to as 'Bird-Rodent-
Share-a-Hole'. Setting out from Chilīng and traveling for twenty-three days they crossed flowing sands and arrived at the Tūyūhún [capital]. The road was extremely cold, with much wind and snow; flying sand and pebbles made it difficult to see. Only the region around Tūyūhún was warmer than other places. Their country has a written language, which is basically like that of the Wēi, but their customs and politics mostly follow the barbarian mode. Setting out from the Tūyūhún, they traveled west 3,500 里 and reached Shānshān City. This city had set up its own king who was conquered by the Tūyūhún. At present, 3,000 troops of General Nǐngxī, second son of the Tūyūhún ruler [Fǔliánchou], are garrisoned in the city to guard against the western enemies.

There are many interpretations of the Tūyūhún capital mentioned in this passage. Some say it is in the bend in the Yellow River in Hāinán Prefecture (Hāinán Héqū); other say it is modern Fúshī City west of Qīnghǎi Lake; and others say it is modern Dělínghǎ. From Riūè Mountain to Hāinán Héqū or Fúshī City does not require twenty-three days of travel. These two places are certainly not warmer than other places, and they lack flowing sands to be crossed. Moreover, Fúshī City was when Kuālǚ was the Tūyūhún khan (535-591), and was the capital during the Tūyūhún mid-period, while Mòhèchuān (Fǔluòchuān) capital, at the latest, was constructed during the time of Shíyín (452-481). The end of the Shíyín reign, 481, is fifty-four years earlier than the earliest period of the reign of Kuālǚ (535). The time that Sòng Yún and Huīshēng reached the Tūyūhún capital was the end of the first year of Shénguǐ, or the beginning of the following year; that is, in late 518 or early 519, which is the end of the twenty-ninth year or the beginning of the thirtieth

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21 {This refers to an area in the southeast of modern Gònghé County, Hāinán Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.}
year of Shiyin's descendant, Khan Fulianchou's, reign, sixty-six years after Shiyin built the city, and twenty-two years before Shiyin's great-grandson, Kuai, built his city. Therefore, the capital Shiyin built could not be Fusí City. As for Delingha, there are no deserts to cross, and it is not warmer than other places. Moreover, one would have to travel to the northwest, thus the direction is incorrect.

Another account in the historical record related to Fuluochuān is that in 444, because Emperor Jin of the Wei, had ordered General Fuluò to recruit Mūliyán to attack Bálán, he wanted to reward Fuluò's achievement. Therefore, the Northern Wei began referring to the area of the Tuyuhun Bálán capital, centered in Xiängridé, as Fuluochuān. Two years later, Mūliyán returned with men and horses from Yūtián and probably cleared the area for the Báilán capital city, setting up a foundation for Shiyin to later construct the capital in modern Xiängridé.

As to Xiängridé capital city being warmer than the other areas Sòng Yún and Huisheng traversed, we propose a new solution. They originally set out from the Northern Wei capital at Luoyang in winter in the eleventh lunar month. After a forty day trek they reached Chiling (modern Riyue Mountain in Riyue Township, Huangyuán County, Qinghai Province, about ninety kilometers west of Xining). The time was mid-winter, with temperatures probably minus twenty to minus thirty degrees Celsius. At an altitude of more than 3,000 meters above sea level, one can imagine the difficulties of their travel. Each day they could probably travel around thirty huálí. The distance from Riyue

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22 A huálí is a modern term for the traditional lǐ, a measure of distance, to distinguish it from the gōnglǐ, 'kilometer'. Since both the modern 'kilometer' and the traditional measure of distance can be referred to as lǐ in Modern Standard Chinese, the authors use the term huálí to avoid ambiguity.
Mountain to Chánhànwūsū Town, Dūlán County, Hàixī Prefecture, Qīnghài Province is about 740 huālī. Consequently, they could reach Cházhèn after traveling twenty-one to twenty-two days. Again, traveling to the northwest along an ancient road and then descending south from the contemporary Zōngjiā Township, they would cross the Tiēkúì flowing sands, and reach the old Tūyūhūn capital, modern Xiāngridé Town. The flowing sand (desert) abuts Hēdōng Village, Xiāngridé Township, about a day's travel from the city, thus the twenty-three day journey was entirely possible, and the time recorded is credible.

From the perspective of the seasons, when they reached the Tūyūhūn capital in Xiāngridé, Spring had begun, between the second (yūshuǐ 'rain water') and third (jīngzhé 'insects awaken') solar periods. Moreover, the geographic position of the ancient capital is in the southeast part of Qaidam Basin. The climate here is relatively warm. Xiāngridé is a Tibetan word meaning 'the place with dense forests'. Before the 1950s, the mountains were clearly visible and the rivers ran clear. Such grass as the needle-leaf sage (Carex duriuscula), Chinese cinquefoil (Potentilla chinensis), and Syrian rue (Peganum harmala) grow like a carpet, and there are forests full of such trees as the China savin (Sabina chinensis), lēngshān (Akjes fabric), Qingyang populus (Populus cathayana), Chinese tamarisk twig (Cacumen tamaricis), branchy tamarisk (Tamarix ramosissima), little-spike willow (Salix microstachya), and sea buckthorn (Hippophae rhamnoides). We can see that the saying, "warmer than other places" is as true today as it was then.

At the beginning of the Táng Dynasty, Đào Xuân (596-667) wrote The Local Gazetteer of Shijiā (Shijiā fāng zhì). The fourth chapter of this work describes the journey from Shànhchéng (Xīníng) to the west:

The exact length of a huālī is disputed and is thus not translated.
southwest about 100 lǐ we arrived at Chéngfèng Garrison, which was the site of a Sui era exchange market. After a further 200 lǐ west we arrived at Qīnghǎi Lake, which has a small mountain in the middle (Hǎixīn Mountain); the lake is more than 700 lǐ in circumference. Southwest of the lake we arrived at the Tūyūhún capital (that is, the capital, Xiāngridé), and again to the southwest we went to the national border with the Bāilán Qiāng.

This place is the northern and southern foothills of the Bù'ěrgānbùdá Mountains which at that time were inhabited by the Bāilán Qiāng. The Tūyūhún capital mentioned in the document is not Fúsi City, because that city is northwest of the lake, not southwest of Qīnghǎi Lake. What Dào Xuán has written is reliable; he was on his way to India through Tibet. The path he took is basically the same route as what was later known as the 'Great Road to Tibet' which in modern times is the Qīnghǎi-Tibet Road. Traveling in olden days was difficult; thus they would not have gone 1,000 lǐ out of their way, have crossed the Kūnlún Mountains to enter Guōluò, and then gone on to Tibet.

Archeological Evidence

The discovery of the ancient tomb complex in Rèshuí, Dūlán County, provided powerful evidence that Bāilán is in the Qaidam Basin and the Bù'ěrgānbùdá Mountains are the Bāilán Mountains. There are more than 2,000 burial sites in the Rèshuí ancient tomb complex, of which there are four central locations: Rèshuí, Gōulí, Bǎlóng, and Xiārīhā. These constitute ninety percent of the tombs, distributed deep in the Bù'ěrgānbùdá Mountains along the southeast side, arrayed in the shape of an open fan with the Tūyūhún capital, Xiāngridé, at its center. The sites are within ten to sixty kilometers from
the center. The other graves are distributed in such places as Délinghā, Wūlán, Gē'ermù, and Mángyá. The ancient tomb distribution is nearly identical to the Báilán area centered on Báilán City described in this essay. The tombs of the kings and nobles surround the Xiāngrìdé capital in accordance with the ancient practice dictating the burial of kings beside their capital cities.

The relics recovered from the ancient sites number in the tens of thousands, the great majority of which are from the ancient tomb complex of Rèshuī. The cultural significance of these relics is tremendous. The time period reflected in the relics spans the Northern and Southern dynasties to the Kāiyuán period (713-741) of the Táng Dynasty, which matches the time the Tūyūhún were active in the Báilán area. In such areas as Guōluò, Yūshū, and Hāinán, no such tomb complex or relics have been unearthed.

Silks are the most typical relics, occurring in great numbers and wide variety, and demonstrating excellent craftsmanship. Certain textiles have writing on them. Eighty-six per cent of the silks originated in the Central Plains area of China, while fourteen per cent are from central and west Asia. There are also numerous gold and silver items, cornelian adornments, perfume bottles, and cosmetics cases. This evidence of the Tūyūhún's activities along the Southern Silk Road, as well as evidence of the pivotal role played by Báilán on the Southern Silk Road, was first noted by Zhōu Wēizhōu, a scholar of Tūyūhún history (Zhōu, 1985).

The Rèshuī tombs also produced an ancient bronze seal known as jīnfēng. The Tūyūhún established official positions in accordance with Hàn rule (Zhōu, 1992), and this seal was the official seal for Chinese language communications among various Tūyūhún officials. It is not an object of Tūfān officialdom. The Tūfān had Tibetan writing when they entered Qīnhǎi; their official equipment and decorations differed from those of the Hàn system.

Three gold coins from the Eastern Roman Empire
were unearthed in the Qaidam Region in the 1980s. One of the most precious among them is a gold coin of Theodosius II, unearthed in Múcão Village, thirteen kilometers northeast of Xiängridé Town. Theodosius II's reign was 408-450, corresponding to the reign of the Tływún kings Wṳgèði, Shṳlùògcd, Áchái, Mùguĩ, Mùliyán, and Shïyín. This time period preceded the Tufán's entry into Qïnghài by more than a century, thus the owner of this coin could only have been a king, noble, or merchant centered in the Xiängridé area from the time between Wугèдi and Shïyín (the first half of the fifth century).

Much pottery has been found in the tombs. Archeologist Xǔ Xïnguó believes the pottery:

resembles [those of the] Chinese Jin tombs of the east, and similar pieces from the Chinese Jin tombs of the Hëxï Corridor; their shared characteristics are obvious; clearly they are influenced by the Chinese areas.

The Tływún time period corresponds to that of the Western Jin, and geographically they neighbored the Hëxï Corridor and it is to be expected that the utensils used in their lives were influenced by them (the Western Jin).

There is a group of carvings on the cliffs of Lùsì Valley in the middle of the Rèshuí ancient tomb complex, including three sitting Buddhas, three standing Buddhas, and a horse. These images of the Buddha were created to protect the tombs of the Rèshuí kings. According to experts, they were made during the period of the Northern dynasties, which corresponds to the fact that in Mùliyán's time "in the country there was the way of the Buddha." That the Buddha and a horse were carved on the same wall demonstrates the respect the Tływún showed for horses. The Jin shû (Tływún chapter) records: "Both murder and horse-thievery were capital offenses." The position of horses in the hearts of the Tływún people is clear, thus they were carved together
with the Buddha on the wall and worshiped.

The Rèshuǐ number one tomb was the grave of a king, and the Keshigtü (Kēshàngtú) sacrificial platform was the sacrificial altar for the king. The tomb gate and sacrificial altar face northeast. The tomb gates of the extant tombs also face northeast, towards the mountains, with their backs to the marsh, which is very different from the Hàn system. This is related to the Tûyûhûn belief in and worship of the shamanistic Heavenly Spirit (Mongol: Tengri; Chinese: Tèngge'ěr) and Sun Spirit (Mongol: Naran; Chinese: nàrán), and it also symbolizes that they had not forgotten the culture of Liăodōng, their original homeland. Furthermore, the number one tomb at Rèshuǐ has a tomb door, a tomb path, and ancillary rooms to the right and left sides, very much like the tombs of the Wèi and Jin kings. In this way, the Tûyûhûn, "built their tombs in the style of the Hân," regarding themselves as "the Western Fān of China." Their ancestral line began as "the descendants of the Xiòng family;" their ancestor Mò Húbá, following Sīmā Yì, pacified Gōng Sûnyuán; earning merit for the empire, Mò Húbá was enfeoffed as the Shuài Yì King.23 Consequently, his descendants believed their kings were entitled to burials in the manner of the Hán kings.

The sacrificial altar at Rèshuǐ has the remnants of eight sacrificed dogs and eighty-seven sacrificed horses. This is a continuation of the old practice of the Xiānbēi of the northeast. A mask was taken from the face of one corpse, and analysis has shown it to be an instrument of shamanic practice. The Xiānbēi also believed in shamanism.

Many coffin paintings were unearthed at Dēlínghā

\[23\{\text{This refers to a war in 238 AD between the Wèi and a warlord, Gōng Sûnyuán, who occupied the modern Liăodōng area. The Wèi commander, Sīmā Yì, (179-251) who was victorious in this campaign, became famous for his military strategy.}\]
and Rèshuī, depicting such things as the king, hunts, picnics, trading, conferences, wakes, sacrifices, parties, crying, singing, discussing the past, and decorated arrows. These paintings reflect every aspect of Tūyùhún social life. Their clothes, utensils, customs, and cultural characteristics are in accord with the historical record of Tūyùhún social life. Also, two painted coffins were unearthed in Múcão Village (the same location where the gold coins were unearthed). Ink and mineral pigments illustrate Tūyùhún riding horses and shooting arrows, additional evidence that the Tūyùhún of Báilán were centered in Xiāngridé.

Field Investigation and Testimony from Residents.

From 6-15 June 2007, five of us went to investigate the Dūlán area of Háixī Prefecture, Qīnghǎi Province. The Xiāngridé area has four remnants of the ancient city; of these, the remnants of the old Xiāngridé City are the largest. Within the city there is a city. There were still remnants of the old city's northern wall in the 1960s. The base of the wall was eighteen meters wide, and the remnant was three meters high. The east-west length was 320 meters, and the north-south length was 300 meters. The local Mongol nomads called it 'Dēlūbànjīn', meaning the four-sided city.24 Surrounding the city was a ditch more than eight meters wide that could be filled with water to defend against attack. The eastern city wall had the main city gate to greet the rising sun, in accordance with the practice of sun worship. The interior city, which contained the king's rooms and palaces, was built against the north city wall. The city walls of this interior city were eighty meters long from east to west, and seventy meters long from north to south. The interior city also had a gate on the east side.

24 {Classical Mongol = dörbeljin 'square'.}
North and south of the king's city are remnants of tall watchtowers. The north tower was built on Bēishā Mountain at a strategic position on the Tibet road. About 1.8 kilometers from the north city wall, it stood 120 meters high,\(^{25}\) allowing guards to look far into the northwest for approaching enemies. The south guard tower is situated about 300 meters from the south city wall atop a seventy to eighty meter tall hillock. The guard tower is a two-storied structure; the bottom story, the guards' residence, was about four square meters in area; the top story was the outlook and warning area of about three square meters in area from where guards watched for enemies approaching from the southeast. We ascended the hill to inspect the guards' residence and discovered that the tamped-earth construction was quite peculiar. Within the tamped earth layers there were poplar beams about ten centimeters in circumference, spaced about ten centimeters apart that served as a support framework, much like steel re-enforced concrete in modern construction. There are many ancient cities in Qīnghǎi, but an ancient city with city walls, a moat, and watchtowers is very rare, demonstrating the scope of the city's grandeur.

Later, Shīyīn's great-grandson, Kuālǔ, built a city in imitation of this city eight kilometers northwest of Qīnghǎi Lake: Fúsì City. Its east-west wall was a bit longer, and its north-south wall was a bit shorter; there was a city within a city, an east-facing main gate, and there was a tamped-earth platform on the central axis of the city that also used poplar-beam reinforced, Tūyūhūn-style construction.

While in the field, we separately interviewed older people who had seen the old city walls. They are:

\(^{25}\) {This is probably measured from the base of the 'mountain' to the top of the tower.}
Mr. Kǒng Xiànwné (born 1934, native of Xīnǐng, peasant, high school graduate, resident of Désèng Village, Xiāngridé Town, resident since the 1950s);

Mr. Zhōu Tǎi (born 1923, native of Zhāmálóng Township, Huángzhōng County, Qīnghǎi Province, peasant, primary school graduate, resident of Xiátán Village, Cháwūsū Township, Dūlán County, has lived in Dūlán since 1941 and came to Xiāngridé many times to visit his friend, Blacksmith Zhào); and

Mr. Niú Zīwén (born 1921, native of Xīnǐng, calligrapher, served as chairmen of the iron and lumber collective of Xiāngridé Town in the mid-twentieth century).

A compendium of their comments is presented below:

1. The Xiāngridé old city was about 300 meters square, basically rectangular in shape, and is called “Délūbànjǐn” in Mongolian. There was a city within the city. Zhōu Tǎi first saw the city walls in the 1940s and said at that time they were still quite complete, with grass growing on top of them. On the east and southern sides there were large openings that were big enough for people, horses, and carts to pass through. There was an earthen platform (four observation towers) in each of the four corners. Along the north wall was an inner city, seventy to ninety square meters, which was called the city packed in the city (chéng tào chéng 城套城). On the north and south mountains there were fire towers (guard towers). Mr. Zhōu's friend, Zhào Bànglún, was a blacksmith whose house was near the base of the east wall. He had dug up, one after the other, nearly thirty utensils over time, including a large copper pot, bronze plate, iron wares, and pottery. He passed away seven or eight years ago, and it is unknown what happened to those items.
2. After the 1950s, with the increasing speed of agricultural collectivization, important relics were unearthed within the inner and outer city walls. Just the ones seen by one of these writers were a large copper shard with carved decorations, arrow heads, jade implements, and iron implements. It is a pity they have not been preserved. Residents of Hédōng Village, where the ancient city had been, such as Kǒng Xiànwén, personally experienced the bounty of unearthed relics. In the 1970s, there was a campaign to increase the amount of flat land; north of the old city there was a graveyard with 100-200 gravestones of various sizes. The coffins were all cavities carved out of complete cypress timbers, with the corpses lying face up inside. On top was a flat board. The corpses were mostly of military generals, with semi-circular helmets made of leather, and bronze pieces covering the eyes. The armor formed three layers: an inner layer of felt, a middle layer of leather, and an outer layer of bronze, all held together with bronze rivets. Numerous burial objects were found with the corpses, including a large amount of silk, some of which had Chinese characters, and deer and cloud decorations. There were arrow quivers made of layered birch bark and many sets of leather armor, which had been abandoned because they were "dead people's things." There are no birch trees within a 400 kilometer radius of Xiāngridé. It is therefore possible that this birch bark quiver was brought by the Tüyühûn from their homeland in the northeast.

In summary, we believe that the Báilán area is the Qaidam Basin and the Báilán Mountains are the Bû'érgănбуđâ Mountains. The Báilán Qiâng were a branch of the Qiâng that resided below the Báilán Mountains and were under T yüyhûn control for a long time. The old city of Xiāngridé was the medieval T yüyhûn political, economic,
and military center; it was he capital of the Tüyùhún in the time of Shíyín and the location of the ancient capital city of Báilán.
CHINESE WORD LIST

A

Ā'érjīn Mountains 阿尔金山
Ābà 阿坝
Āchái Province 阿柴州
Āchái 阿柴, 阿豺 (younger brother of Shùluògān)
Āchái 阿柴 (ancient ethnonym for the Tūyūhūn)
Ālā Lake 阿拉湖
Āndōng 安东

B

Báilán de míngyì jí qí diwàng 白兰的名义及其地望
Báilán kǎo 白兰考
Báilán 白兰
Báilánguó dìbiàn 白兰国地辨
Bālán 巴兰
Bālóng 巴隆
Bāyánkālā Mountain 巴颜喀喇山
Bēi Shǐ - tūyūhūn zhuàn 北史-吐谷浑传
Bēi Wèi - nán qí shíqí xíngshì 北魏-南齐时期形势
Běishā 北沙
Bù'ěrhānbùdá 布尔汗布达
Bǔlúntái 布伦台
Bùyān Tiēmù'er 卜烟帖木尔

C

Cǎirénbālì 才仁巴力
Cáo Ān 曹安
Cèfū yuánguī 册府元龟
Cháhànwūsū 察汗乌苏
Chákā 茶卡
Cháwūsū 察乌苏
Cházhèn 察镇
Chéng Qǐjùn 程起骏
Chéngfēng Garrison 承风戍
Chíling 赤岭
Chóngli Temple 崇立寺
Chúlākē’ālagān River Valley 除拉克阿拉干河沟
Chúmākē 除玛柯
Cóng Zhé 聪喆
Cuòmùcèfēng 措木策峰

D
Dàmǔ Bridge 大母桥
Dāngjīn 当金
Dàngqí 宕岂
Dàngxiàng 党项
Dào Xuǎn 道宣
Délínghā 德令哈
Délùbānjīn 德律半金
Déshèng 德胜
Dī 氏
Dìngyáng 定阳
Dūlán xiàn zhì 都兰县志
Dūlán 都兰
Dūnhuáng 敦煌
Duōmí 多弥
Dùzhōuchuān 度周川

F
Fàn Wénlán 范文澜
Former Qín 前秦
Fú Luó 伏罗
Fúliánchóu 伏连筹
Fúluò 伏罗
Fúluòchuān 伏罗川
Fúqíqiángguī 伏乞乾归
Fúsì City 伏俟城

G
Gānsù 甘肃
Gāocháng 高昌
Gé'ermù 格尔木
Gōng Sūnyuán 公孙渊
Gònghé 共和
Gōuli 沟里
Gù Jiégāng 顾颉刚
Gūnghá 滚嘎
Guō Mòruò 郭沫若
Guōluò 果洛

H
Hāinán 海南; i.e., Hāinán Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
海南海南藏族自治州
Hāinán Héqū 海南河曲
Hāixī 海西; i.e., Hāixī Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous
Prefecture 海西蒙古族藏族自治州
Hàn 汉
Hédōng Village 河东村
huálǐ 华里
Huáng Hào 黄颢
Huángyuán County 湟源县
Huángzhōng 湟中
Huīshēng 惠生

J
Jiànzàn 坚赞
Jiāng Cóngh 姜聪
jīnfēng 金封
jīngzhé 惊蛰
Jīn shū 晋书
Jiù táng shū 旧唐书
K
Kāiyuán 开元
Kāsīkōu 卡斯口
Kēshàngtú 科尚图
Kīng Nīng 宁王
Kīng of Mòhè 莫贺王
Kōng Xiànwén 孔宪文
Kūālū 夸吕
Kūnlún 昆仑
Kuòduān 阔端
Kuòkuòchū 阔阔出

L
Lèdū 乐都
lēngshān 冷杉
Lǐ Wénsī 李文实
Liáng shū zhùyǐ zhùàn 梁书诸夷传
Liángzhōu 凉州
Liàodōng 辽东
Lièbā 列巴
Líu Bīngdé 刘秉德
Lóng Mountains 陇山
Lóng 陇
Lǚ Jiànfú 吕建福
Lūsī 露斯

M
Măduō 玛多
Mángyá 茫崖
Matsuda Hisao 松田寿男
Mò Húmer 莫护拔
Mŏhè 莫贺
Mūguī 慕瑰
Mūhè 慕贺
Mūhèchuān 慕贺川
Mūliyán 慕利延, 木利延,
Mûrông Wěi 慕容廆
Mûrông 慕容
Mûyî 木弈
Nán Mountains 南山

N
Náncháo 南朝
Nârân 那然
Niú Yōngtài 牛永泰
Niú Zîwén 牛子文
Northern Liáng 北凉

Q
Qaidam (Cháidámù) 柴达木
Qaidam River 柴达木河
Qiā'ná Duòjiē 恰纳多杰
Qiâŋ 羌
Qïémô 且末
Qílíán Mountains 祁连山
Qīnhâi 青海
Qīnhâi cōng 青海骢
Qûmâlái 曲麻莱
Qûzhênhchuān 屈真川

R
Rèshuǐ 热水
Riyuè Pass 日月关
Riyuè Township 日月乡

S
Sâli Wèiwû'ér 撒利畏兀儿
Shânchêng 鄯城
Shânsânh 鄯善
Shèguî 涉归
Shîjiâ fâng zhî 释迦方志
Shipí 视黑
Shíyín 拾寅
Shuài Yì King 率义王
Shùluògān 树洛干
Sichuān 四川
Sīmǎ Yi 司马懿
Sòng shū xiānbēi tǔyúhún zhuàn 宋书 鲜卑吐谷浑传
Sòng Yún 宋云
Southern Liáng 南凉
Southern Yān 南燕
Suí shū 隋书
Sūnbō 孙波
Sūnzǐ bīngfǎ 孙子兵法
Suǒnánzàngbù 索南藏卜
Sūpí Country 苏毗国

Tánggūlā 唐古拉
Táo River 洮水
Tènggē’ěr 腾格尔
Tiěkuí 铁奎
Tóngdé 同德
Tūbō 吐蕃
Tūfā Nùtán 秃发傉檀
Tūfā Wūgū 秃发乌孤
Tuōsù Lake 托素湖
Tūyán 吐延
Tūyúhún 吐谷浑
Tūyúhún shī 吐谷浑史
Tūyúhún sì dà shù chéng 吐谷浑四大戍城
Tūyúhún yú bǎilán 吐谷浑与白兰
W
Wáng Ruìqín 王瑞琴
Wèi Emperor Jin 魏晋王
Wényì 闻义
Western Jin 西晋
Western Qín 西秦
Wōkuòtái 窝阔台
Wǔdài huíyào 五代会要
Wūgēdì 乌纥堤
Wūlán 乌兰

X
Xià 夏
Xiānbēi 鲜卑
Xiāngridé 香日德
Xiàrìhā 夏日哈
Xiàtán 下滩
Xiēfān 西蕃
Xīn táng shū 新唐书
Xīnghǎi 兴海
Xīnìng 西宁
Xīnjiāng 新疆
Xióng 熊
Xiùgōu River 秀沟河
Xú Xīnguó 许新国
Xúnhuà 循化

Y
Yamaguchi Mizuo 山口瑞风
Yánghuān 阳关
yázhàng 衙帐
Yèyán 叶延
Yǐfúwúdí State 乙弗无敌国
Yínshān 阴山
Yǒngjià 永嘉
Yuán shǐ, yīng zōng jì 元史, 英宗记
Z

Zhāmálóng 扎麻隆
Zhāng Dézǔ 张得祖
Zhào Bānglún 赵邦伦
Zhōngguó shǐgāo ditújí 中国史稿地图集
Zhōngguó tōngshǐ jiǎnbīăn 中国通史简编
Zhōnghuá shūjú 中华书局
Zhōu Tái 周泰
Zhōu Wéizhōu 周伟洲
Zhǔ Shìkuí 朱世奎
Zīzhì Tōngjiàn 资治通鉴
Zōngjiā 宗家
ANCIENT XIÄNGRÌDÈ

1. Tùyùhùn city (ancient city of Xiängridé)
2. Inner city (king's residence)
3. East gate
4. Guard posts
5. North watchtower
6. South watchtower
7. Tibet road
8. Ancient tomb complex
9. Moat (eight meters wide)
10. Xiängridé River
11. Route 109

Sketched by Niú Yōngtài, October 2007
Figure One. The southern watchtower is on the outskirts of Xiāngridé Township.
Figure 7. A closer view of the watchtower.
Figure Three. The figure in this image gives a sense of scale.
Figure Four: Looking south from the watchtower toward the Xianggu River.
Figure Five. Looking south from the watchtower toward the Xiāngridé River.
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