

ANALYZING THE LOCATION OF THE FAMOUS CITY OF DAWAN AND THE ROUTE OF LI GUANGLI'S CONQUEST OF DAWAN

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Abstract

The war of Tian Ma" refers to the two Han army's attacks on Dawan wars commanded by Li Guangli. This military action not only shocked Dawan and made it pay tribute to Dawan's fine horses to the Western Han Dynasty, but also attacked the Xiongnu's influence in the Western Regions, making it the countries in the Western Regions were powerful in the Western Han Dynasty. However, due to factors such as the long distance, the information about Dawan recorded in Chinese historical materials is fragmented, and the historical records have deviations after the Han and Dawan dynasties changed. The detailed locations of the famous Dawan cities such as "Guishan" (贵山, "Yucheng" (郁城) and "Ershi" (贰师) cannot be determined, and thus Li Guangli's marching route cannot be determined. This article combines historical data, previous research and new results of Central Asian archeology in recent years to discuss and determine the positions of "Yucheng" and "Ershi".

Keywords: Han Dynasty and Dawan War, Ershi City, Mingtepa site, Military Archeology.

Introduction

The two "Wars of TianMa" refer to the two military operations against Dawan commanded by "General of the Ershi" Li Guangli (贰师将军李广利) that took place from the first year to the fourth year of Taichu (104-101 BC). Their purpose was to defeat the Han Dynasty. Emperor Wu (汉武帝) asked for Dawan's "sweat-blooded horse", so it was also called the "The war of TianMa". This was also the farthest military operation of the Western Han Dynasty in the Western Regions, and it played an important historical role in the management of the Western Regions.

Dawan was first seen in "Records of the grand historian: Biography of Dawan" (Sima Qian 1959:3160): "Dawan is southwest of the Xiongnu and directly west of the Han Dynasty. It is

thousands of miles away from the Han Dynasty... In the north is Kangju, in the west is Dayuezhi, in the southwest is Daxia, in the northeast is Wusun, and in the east are Godi and Yuqi. "It was a large country in the Western Region located in the present-day Fergana Basin. Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty sent Li Guangli to attack Dawan. The original reason was that Dawan refused to give its famous horses to the Han Dynasty and killed the Han envoys. "Records of the grand historian records: "Send the Han envoys to the east and ask the governor of Yu Cheng to attack and kill the Han envoys and take their property. ... Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty worshiped Li Guangli as the general of the Ershi and sent six thousand cavalries to the vassal country. As well as tens of thousands of young men in the county, they used to attack Dawan." (Sima Qian 1959:3160-3165) The main target of the first attack on Wan was Yucheng, which ultimately ended in failure. Li Guangli was defeated and retreated to Dunhuang, where he organized his army and launched the second attack on Dawan. The target of the second battle was Guishan City, the royal capital of Dawan. However, the targets of Li Guangli's attack, which were important cities in Dawan, were rarely recorded in historical books. There were only "Guishan", "Yucheng" and "Ershi". The records of several languages and their positions are also the focus of discussion among scholars from all walks of life.

In the historical records after the Han Dynasty, there have been deviations in issues such as the distance between Dawan and the capital. For example, Du Huan of the Tang Dynasty wrote about Shiguo in "Jingxingji" (Du Huan 2000, 247): "The name of the country is Zhezhi and it can also be called Dawan." However, it is recorded in "the explain of the Records of the grand historian" (Zhang Shoujie, 1959, pp. 31-60): "It is recorded in Kuo Di Zhi (括地志): 'Shudu Shana Kingdom is also called Su Duisha. That country is the Dawan Kingdom of the Han Dynasty'."

There are many such deviations, such as "Book of Wei: Biography of the Western Regions" (Wei Shou 1974, pp. 2259-2387): Luona country is also the country named, Dawan. Guishan City is located northwest of Shule, about 14,450 miles away from Guishan to Daizhou. Taihe three years. Dawan sent envoys to offer their blood and horses, and from then on, Dawan envoys were sent to pay tribute to China every year" And "Northern History: ·Biography of the Western Regions" (Li Yanshou 197, pp. :3205-3248) The country named Poluona, it was also the country of Dawan. Guishan City is in the northwest of Shule. It's a journey of 14,450 miles from Guishan to Daizhou".

"Book of Su: Biography of the Western Regions" (Wei Zheng 2019, pp. 2083) says: "The Bohan kingdom is more than five hundred miles west of Congling, and the ancient Qusou Kingdom." The "New Book of Tang" (Ouyang Xiu 1975, pp. 6243-6266) records: "Ningyuan was originally Bahanna, or Bohan, and in the Wei Dynasties ruled by the Yuan family, it was called Poluona. Poluona went to the capital of Wei eight thousand miles away. The king of Bahan went lived in Xicheng City, north of the Zhenzhu River. There were six big cities, a small city of hundreds. People have long lived. Their kings have been in succession since Wei and Jin". It can be found that Cymbal Khan has different records in the Sui and Tang Dynasties. There are two theories of ancient Qusou Kingdom and Poluona Kingdom. If the theory of Poluona Kingdom is credible, it should be Dawan. The "Zi Zhi Tong Jian" (Sima

Guang 2013, pp. 6919) records: "The Bahanna kingdom is also the ancient Wusun, with a long history inside". It can be seen that the Bohan was mistaken for Wusun again in the Song Dynasty. There have been many errors in the evolution of Dawan over time in historical records. Therefore, many historical records are not credible or need to be viewed dialectically. This is also an aspect that must be paid attention to during the research process.

A. 1. Research background

Chinese and foreign scholars have discussed issues such as the origin of Dawan's country name and the location of its famous city. And different conclusions have been drawn based on historical and archaeological data. Since the end of the 19th century, scholars from Western Europe, Japan, the Soviet Union/Russia, and China have discussed and analyzed this issue for a long time. This article will use regions as clues to sort out the research history of this issue.

Western historians and sinologists such as Richthofen, Emmanuel-édouard Chavannes (Chavannes 1900, pp.137) and Waley began to discuss issues related to Dawan at the end of the 19th century. They were the first to explore the history of Dawan and the location of famous cities, and proposed several possible locations. Their research opened the study of the location of the ancient city of Dawan, and their views were often borrowed or criticized by subsequent Japanese scholars. Mainly The views include the theory held by Chavannes that Guishan is Uratube, and Waley 's theory of Guishan is Akhsiket.

In the first half of the 20th century, Japanese scholars Shiratori Kuyoshi, Fujita Toyohachi, Kuwahara Zoshizo, Miyake Yoshiki and others discussed issues related to Dawan based on historical data and phonology. Among them, Shiratori Kuji has done a lot of research on the city of Dawan. He has given many new perspectives and explanations from the perspectives of history, geography and phonology. Shiratori Kuji believes that the name "Ershi" comes from "Nisa" and in today's Margilan, the capital of Dawan conquered by Li Guangli was actually the Ershi city and not Guishan city. Dawan later moved the capital from Ershi to Guishan (Cen Zhongmian 1981: 281-301). Fujita Toyohachi also believed that the capital of Dawan was the Ershi, but the location of the Ershi was Gidghil, in the place which is north of Kasan (Cen Zhongmian 1981:293).

Japanese scholars also have different opinions on the location of other important cities. Shiratori Kukichi and Kuwahara Zoshizo believed that the location of "Noble Mountain" was in today's Kasan, while Fujita Toyohachi believed that "Guishan" was located in Khojend. Regarding the location of "Ikinari", Shiratori Kuji believes that Ikinari is in osh, but Fujita Toyohachi thinks that it is in Akhsikath. Japanese scholars mostly make use of documentary materials and phonology. They put forward many new insights in mutual debates and arguments. Their research has influenced Chinese scholars to a great extent.

Since the 1930s and 1940s, Soviet archaeologists have conducted extensive surveys and excavations in the Fergana Basin in Central Asia, and have excavated sites like Shurabashat (Шурабашат). Soviet scholars also paid attention to the Fergana Basin and Dawan very early. It is recorded in the book “Древнеземледельческая культура Ферганы” published in 1962: "китайских источниках упомянуты на звания двух из них: столицы Даван города

Эрши и города Ючэн. "It mentioned two famous cities in Dawan (Даван) recorded in ancient Chinese books, Ershi (Эрши) and Yucheng (Ючэн). This made some Scholars have speculated on the location of "Yucheng", such as К. В. Тревер, which may be Шурабашат or Кара-Дарьи in Узген (now Uzgen) area. The Кара-Дарьи site, А.Н. Бернштам believes that in the east of the Osh Oasis, the Шурабашат site with a complete irrigation and settlement system may be an important city in the Dawan period. Skeletons unearthed in the nearby cemeteries of the city and the changed pottery style Perhaps you can provide supporting evidence. He also believed that the location of the "Ershi" might be at Мархамат (today's Marhamat, which is the Mingtepa site). And А.Ф.Миддендорф believes that the position of "Ershi" may be Ура-Тюбе (Uratube).

There are also different opinions about its location. Since A. In terms of archaeological surveys and excavations, more scholars support А.Н.Бернштам, such as Ю.А.Заднепровский, they also support the view that the "Ershi is located in Mingtepa (quote from, Zhu Yanshi 2019, pp. 150-162).

Chinese scholars Cen Zhongmian, Yu Taishan, Zhou Weizhou and others conducted in-depth research on the location of the famous city of Dawan and drew their conclusions. Cen Zhongmian conducted research and interpretation on many places. For example, he believed that Guishan should be Kesan (Kasan), which was also the "Kesan" of the Yuan Dynasty. This is also consistent with the statement in "The Historical Records of the Mughals" (quote from, Cen Zhongmian 1981, pp. 281-301) that Kasan is Guishan. The "Historical Atlas of China" (中国历史地图集) also uses the statement that Guishan is located in Kasansai. His other views are as follows:

1. The capital of Dawan, today's Andijon, is in the south of Naryn River. 2. Axsikath, also known as Xijian, was the capital of the country in the Tang Dynasty. 3. Yucheng, now Uzskand, Ezhihan of Yuan Dynasty. The above three cities are all located in the north of Naryn River. 4. Ershi was located in present – day Jizzak, southwest of Dawan in the Han Dynasty. After researching historical materials, Yu Taishan speculated on the locations of "Guishan", "Yucheng" and "Ershi". Regarding the location of "Guishan", Yu Taishan proposed five possible locations: 1. Kokand. 2. Uratapa. 3. Akhsikath. 4. Kasan. 5. Khojend. Yu Taishan supported the Khojend theory. Regarding the location of the "Ershi", Yu Taishan proposed four possible locations: 1. Uratube 2. Margilan 3. Kasan 4. Jizzak (today's Jizzak, Uzbekistan). Yu Taishan supports the Uratube theory (Uratapa). Regarding the location of "Yucheng", Yu Taishan proposed three possible locations, 1. Osh or Esh. 2. Uzgen. 3. Aksikath. Yu Taishan supported that Yucheng was in Osh or Uzgen, but Unable to confirm.

The "Silk Road Dictionary" (Zhou Weizhou 2006, pp. 110) published in 2006 has the following explanation for Dawan-related entries. 1. Yucheng, the name of the city. It belongs to Dawan, located in the east of Dawan, in today's Osh. 2. Guishan, the name of the city. "Records of the grand historian·Biography of Dawan" (Sima, Qian 1959, pp. 3160) does not record its name, only Wancheng (王城, the capital of kingdom) and Wan Wangcheng. (宛王城, capital of Dawan) "Book of Han:·Biography of the Western Regions" (Ban Gu 1974, pp. 3894-3896) records the Dawan Kingdom, and the king ruled Guishan City. The city played a very important role in the transportation between China and the West at that time. Its location

may be considered to be Kasan on the upper tributary of the Syr Darya River, or it may be considered to be Kuzhanti, or Uratepa. 3. Ershi City, the name of the city. Ershi City is now Uratepa. However, the dictionary did not explain in detail the reasons for determining the location of the city, and it also did not add the references cited, which cannot but be said to be a shortcoming.

Sun Wei summarized the archaeological results of the Soviet Union in the area and believed that an archaeological culture of this period, the Iska-Kalabulak culture, could represent the archaeological culture of Dawan. Sun Wei unearthed from the mid-term relics of the Karabulak culture a bronze mirror with obvious Chinese-style cloud and thunder arc patterns, as well as a large number of iron arrowheads, long swords, armor pieces and other weapons. He related these relics to the Silk Road and the War of Defeating Wan. He linked the decline of the late Karabulak culture to the chaos of the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties in China during the same period and the decline of the Kushan Empire in Central Asia, thus linking this archaeological culture to Dawan.

The author of this article believes that this view has some validity.

But there are two obvious problems between Karabulak culture and this statement. First, the sites of the Karabulak culture are mainly tombs, and the discovered city sites and settlements cannot be matched with the Ershi City, Guishan City, etc. recorded in Chinese historical documents. This culture is concentrated in the southwestern Fergana Basin. It is not known whether this area historically belonged to the core territorial area of Dawan. Moreover, this culture is not distributed in the central area of the basin, and there is still controversy over its distribution range. Secondly, there are no horse-related customs in the Karabulak culture, and no horse bones were unearthed from its tombs. This is inconsistent with the historical records that the Dayan Duoliang horses attach great importance to domesticated horses.

It should be noted that most previous studies focused on document research and lacked the assistance of archaeological data. The translation of archaeological documents of the former Soviet Union in China is not sufficient. The archaeological data of the Soviet Union should be summarized, combined with the historical documents of China and the region itself, and on this basis the geographical location of the famous city of Dawan should be analyzed.

B. 2. An examination of the location of the famous city of Dawan

Regarding the location of the Ershi City, the author supports the view of the Soviet archaeological scholar A.F.Middendorf, who believes that the Ershi should be located in Uratepe (uratube/uratepe).

First, the frequency of the Ershi City 's appearance in historical records is very low, and there is no record of the Ershi City 's general leading troops to attack the Ershi in the history books. If the Ershi City is the Mingtepa site, it is very close to Uzgen, the possible location of Yucheng, and will be on the attack route of the general of the Ershi. The General of the Ershi could send Wang Shensheng's (王申生) partial division to attack Yucheng when he was besieging Guishan City, and quickly send Shangguan Jie (上官桀) for a second attack after Wang Shensheng's defeat, which proved that he had abundant troops. One of the goals of the "Tianma War" is to obtain good horses from Ershi City, "There are good horses in

Ershi City, but they can't hide with the Han envoys". So, there is no reason not to launch an attack on Ershi City, which is one of the main targets of our actions, therefore, the city of the Ershi should be located on the route that the General of the Ershi cannot attack. No matter whether Guishan is located in Khojend or Kasan, the location of Uratepe is to the west of both, which is consistent with this point.

Secondly, the Ershi is not the capital of Dawan, so the Ershi cannot be confused with Guishan City, the capital of Dawan. It is recorded in the Han Dynasty that "Dawan, the king ruled Guishan City". If the two were the same city, then either Sima Qian or Ban Chao would have explained it in the history books. Ershi and the capital of Dawan, the Guishan City should be two cities. The Japanese scholar Shiratori Kuyoshi and others held that the Ershi was the capital of Dawan, or that the capital was later moved to Guishan, which undoubtedly had some shortcomings. None of this can be confirmed in the original records of the Han Dynasty. Li Guangli did not conquer the capital of Dawan Guishan in the end, so it would undoubtedly be impossible to continue to attack the Ershi westward.

Cen Zhongmian referred to Shiratori Kuji's examination and debate and derived "Jizzak" from "Nisa", but the author does not support this view. Because the Tang Dynasty did send Princess Heyi to Ningyuan for marriage and established the Xiuxun Governor's Palace in Ningyuan, the author believes that the records of the Tang Dynasty have a certain degree of credibility. In addition, "New Tang Book-Biography of the Western Regions" records: "Dongcao, or Sui Lv. Dushana, Suduishana, Jiebuyuna, Sudu Shihni, they are four names of it. They live in the north of Mount Posi, in the city of the Ershi of the Han Dynasty." At the same time, it is recorded in the "Explanation of Biography of the Five Tianzhu Kingdoms" (Hui Chao, 2000, pp. 122): "Sutrishana and Sudu Shini are both Sutrishana in "Records of the Western Regions" (大唐西域记, and Cao is also the province. "Records of the Western Regions "In addition to Dulisena, there is Kebudana (the state of Cao in Tang Dynasty), so it is two countries instead of one. This country is similar to Sudu Lusana in Arab's geography book. The city was called Bunjikath, and today it is called Ura-Tepeh". Huichao (慧超) personally went to Tianzhu to seek Dharma, and his records are more reliable. These two documents connect Jiebu Yuna to Ershi, and then connect Jiebu Yuna to Pensika. Ura-Tepeh. Therefore, the author believes that the location of Ershi City should be Ura- Tepeh.

On the question of the location of the city of Yucheng, the author still supports the opinion of the Soviet archaeologists K.B.Tpebep and Cen Zhongmian that the location of the city of Yucheng is in the Uzgen region, and that it should be the site of Shorobashat in the region. Through phonology and historical data research, Cen Zhongmian believed "Yucheng" that the location was in today's Uzgen area, and the largest site excavated by Soviet archaeologists in the area was the Shorobashat site. The author believes that Yucheng City should be the center of defense in eastern Dawan. Its core is the Shorobashat site guarding the important passage. The Shorobashat site should be Yucheng City, and the surrounding military defense sites should be It is the outer defense zone of Yucheng City. The site group located in the Uzgen area has also been declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site by Tajikistan. In the UNSECO document, it is written that "Another hypothesis is that ancient Ju-chen is Shorobashat, the largest site in eastern Fergana located along Zhazy (Yassy) river, which has

four-part structure with fortifications, covering the area of more than 70 hectares. Main period of development is IV-I centuries BC).

Based on research, Soviet archaeologists have divided the eastern Fergana Basin into four cultural stages, namely the Chust period, the Elatan period, the Shorobashat period and the Mahamat period.

Among them, the third stage of Shorobashat period and the fourth stage of Marhamat period may be temporally related to Dawan. The representative sites are Xiaoluo Bagashat site and Mingtepa site.

The Shorobashat ruins are located on the right bank of the Kara River. The ruins are close to the mountains of the Yasi-Chankent-Saya watershed. The size of the settlement is large – approximately 1400x500 meters and covers an area of more than 70 hectares.

The site consists of three parts, named Shorobashat Sites I, II, and III. Soviet archaeologists discovered remnants of the city wall on the north and west sides of the site, some remnants on the east side, and some remnants on the south side of the site. Already ruined by modern architecture.

In the southeast of Shorobashat II site, the independent Shorobashat III site was discovered. Only the northeast wall of this site inherited the original wall of Site II, and the remaining walls formed an independent fortification. Shorobashat III site is 300x280 meters in size, and there is a specially excavated deep trench in its west. After research, Soviet archaeologists discovered that the combination of painted pottery bowls and Scythian bronze arrowheads unearthed in the IIIaprt II cemetery in the Ale Valley is consistent in shape and combination with the same combination of artifacts unearthed at the Shorobashat site. It is believed that the people of the Shorobashat site group located in the Kara River Basin communicated with the people of the Ale Valley in the south, which also proves the possibility of prehistoric pathways.

Dozens of sites from the Shorobashat period have been discovered throughout the Kara River (Darya) Basin, centered on sites such as Shorobashat, Gayrat-tepe and Kara-Darya, where small fortresses were constructed to control the mountain ranges and Kara River valley, and where aqueducts and irrigation systems were built for agricultural purposes, and where these central sites were often fortified with defensive walls, such as the Shorobashat site, which also had small fortresses. These central sites often had defensive walls, such as the Shorobashat site, and a small castle design, which I believe can be considered as the prototype of an early inner and outer dual city. Large and small storage pits and grain storage tanks have also been found in the Shorobashat site, which further illustrates the military defense attributes of the Shorobashat site.

After studying the animal bones unearthed at the Shorobashat site complex, Soviet scholars concluded that the population at the site was a cattle-raising one, and that horse bones were not in the majority. Combined with the pottery sherds of the Shorobashat culture found at the Mingtepa site, I believe that the cattle-raising population at the Shorobashat site gradually moved away from the narrow valley towards the Osh region, which was conducive to horse-herding, and eventually developed the much larger Mingtepa site at Osh, where the Mahometan sites, represented by Mingtepa, became the next center of Fergana's agriculture.

As an important town guarding the eastern traffic arteries, the Uzgen sites group, mainly the Shorobashat site, began to be constructed in the fourth century BC. In the first century BC, it had become the center of the entire eastern Fergana. One of the central areas, at this time Osh did not have the status of the Uzgen and Shorobashat site clusters in the eastern part of the valley. The castle and perfect irrigation system of Shorobashat site can withstand long-term sieges and counterattacks. The linkage with the surrounding defense system is also unmatched by the isolated Mingtepa site.

The inner and outer city structures discovered during the excavation of the Mingtepa site and the area of the city site second only to Ahs kent City have led some scholars to support it as the "Ershi" in ancient times. The author believes that there are some problems with this statement. Firstly, the Mingtepa site is more likely to be "Yucheng" than "Ershi". As mentioned above, the city of Ershi should be outside Li Guangli's attack range. The Mingtepa site are located in the east of Dawan, and are in a convenient location for marching. This is consistent with the "Yucheng" defensive city in eastern Dawan recorded in historical records. Therefore, the question that needs to be examined is whether the specific location of "Yucheng" is the Mingtepa site or the Shorobashat site

Secondly, the city wall in the Mingtepa site is about 500 meters wide and 800 meters long, which is slightly larger than the Shorobashat site. But the so-called inner and outer city walls in the briefing did not coexist in time, especially whether the outer city walls were built when Li Guangli conquered Dawan. In the briefing, based on scientific dating (between 2120±30 years ago and 1860±30 years ago), the age of the inner city was divided into the Western Han Dynasty to the Wei and Jin Dynasties, and it was concluded that "the walls of the outer city are the most. It was concluded that it was abandoned as late as the Three Kingdoms period in China. "This time span is too broad and too late in terms of age. For example, when the Han army attacked Dawan, the Mingtepa site had not yet formed the scale of two cities inside and outside. There were only Mingtepa site. That is to say, it cannot be compared with the Shorobashat site group in terms of scale and age.

Regarding the location of Guishan City, the capital of the Dawan Kingdom, the author combined with the research results of other scholars, from the perspective of the literature analysis that Guishan City is located in today's Khojend (i.e. Khujand or Guzhandi). But at the same time, the author also started from the perspective of archeological materials, and obtained the possibility of Guishan City that also existed for the Mingtepa site. Compared with the two, the author feels that Guishan City is more likely to be in the Mingtepa site.

First of all, the author lists Guishan City from the perspective of the literature. One of the reasons is the distance problem. "Wusun is two thousand miles northeast of Dawan" and "Daxia is more than two thousand miles southwest of Dawan and south of the Guishui River (妫水)." The distance between the capitals of the two countries, Chigu City and Lanshi City, is not much different from Khojend.

Secondly, Khojend is located on the western edge of the Fergana Valley on the only way to Samarkand and other places. Yu Taishan quoted Zhang Qian (张骞)'s experience in Records of the grand historian: Dawan Biography" (史记: 大宛列传), therefore, he believed that Zhang Qian's main mission after escaping from trouble was still to go to

Dayuezhi, so his visit to the King's City of Dayuan should be on the way, not a special detour, and Khojend was on this key route.

Cen Zhongmian separated the capital of Dawan (Wancheng, 王城) from Guishan City and believed that Wancheng was Andiyan and Guishan City was Kasan. The author thinks that his view is inappropriate. First of all, in historical records, the capital of Dawan has always been Guishan City, so Wancheng should be besieged by General Ershi. It is Guishan City, so Wancheng and Guishan should not be separated and then examined separately. Moreover, Andijan flourished on the Silk Road relatively late, and it should have gradually become an important trade transit place on the Silk Road around the ninth century. Records in Chinese historical materials are also very late, and generally appeared in documents from the Qing Dynasty, which shows that its status was not important in the early days. It is speculated that Andiyan was Wancheng, which the author thinks is worthy of discussion. Secondly, it quoted from the "Historical Records of the Mughals" (Cen Zhongmian 1981, 281-301): "Furthermore, according to Jiase, Jieshuang and Qishi, they all have different versions of Kashgar, which is the capital of the Dawan king of the Han Dynasty, and its name is Guishan. The city under the control of Ebo who lived in Tang Dynasty Bahan's country is called Kesai (渴塞), and the sounds of Guishan, Kesai and Kashgar are also connected." It is indeed puzzling to say that its sounds are connected with Kashgar. Since the author has no research on phonology, I cannot comment further. However, Cen Zhongmian quoted Babur's "Babur's Diary" cited by Shiratori Kuji to support his point of view (Cen Zhongmian 1981, pp. 281-301). but Babur lived in the area in the 15th century. Are the relevant opinions recorded by him true or have they already been changed? The existence of a corruption remains open to question.

In the process of attacking the capital of Dawan, the general of the Ershi used the attack method of "destroying its water source". The Syr Darya River next to Khojend is a large river, so there is a saying that the general of the Ershi cannot attack the capital by "destroying its water source". Cutting off the Syr Darya (River) left the city short of water. In his treatise, Kuwabara Hidetsugu believed that the water in the Syr Darya River was turbid and unfit for drinking, and residents drew water from its tributaries, so Li Guangli was able to cut off its water source. Another Japanese scholar, Uchida Ginfeng, believes that even if the water quality is turbid, it can still be used in wartime. There is some truth to both of these statements. Yu Taishan cited the example of Alexander the Great's siege of Cyropolis in his treatise. In this battle, Alexander adopted an attack method of attacking from the enemy's drinking water channel in winter.

In this regard, Yu Taishan concluded: "In essence, because it faces the Syr Darya River, we cannot think that Li Guangli cannot cut off its water source, and judge that Guishan City is not Khojend. "The time when the General of the Ershi returned eastward with his troops was the spring of the fourth year of Taichu. It can be roughly inferred that the time when the General of the Ershi surrounded Guishan City, the capital of Dawan was about the winter of the third year of Taichu. In winter, the river water level naturally decreases, and the water volume of surrounding tributaries naturally decreases. Whether it can supply the needs of Guishan City has become a problem. Moreover, regardless of whether it is the Syr Darya

River or the tributaries around the Syr Darya River, the General of the Ershi has more than 30,000 troops. To carry out a siege on Guishan City, he only needs to use his strength advantage to prevent the people in the city from leaving the city to draw water. The Records of the grand historian" (史记) records: "The Dawan soldiers attacked the Han soldiers, and the Han soldiers defeated them. Dawan soldiers retreated to the city to maintain defenses." It can be seen that the Dawan troops were suppressed by the Han troops in the field battle. Then the general of the Ershi only needs to control the main water source, block its supply to the city in various ways, and attack the Dawan people and soldiers who go out of the city to draw water. The Dawan soldiers were unable to hold on to the outer city of Guishan for forty days after being cut off from the water source. They could only abandon the outer city and "walk into the middle city", which further illustrates the success of this tactic. Therefore, the author also believes that the General of the Ershi can launch an operation to "determine its water source" in Khojend in winter. It does not mean that the location of Guishan is not in Khojend because of the factors of the Syr Darya River. But at the same time, it should be seen that the archeological research of Khojend is not sufficient. It can only be studied by the site of Guishan City through the inference of literature.

The reason for Mingtepa is Guishan City. First, from a marching perspective, the Mingtepa site and the Shorobashat, site was both on the attack route from the Alay Valley in the south to the north. It is possible to attack both sites simultaneously. This can also be confirmed in historical documents. When Li Guangli attacked Guishan City, some troops were divided into Wang Shensheng to attack Yu Cheng City. it quoted from the Hanshu: "Shen Sheng went to the army two hundred miles", It shows that the distance between Yucheng and Guishan is not far away, which is in line with the distance between the Mingtepa site and the Shorobashat site.

Second, the Mingtepa site also meets the conditions for the "Source of its water" siege. From the planning of the Mingtepa site, the river system is there in the outer city of the Mingtepa site (Figure 1).

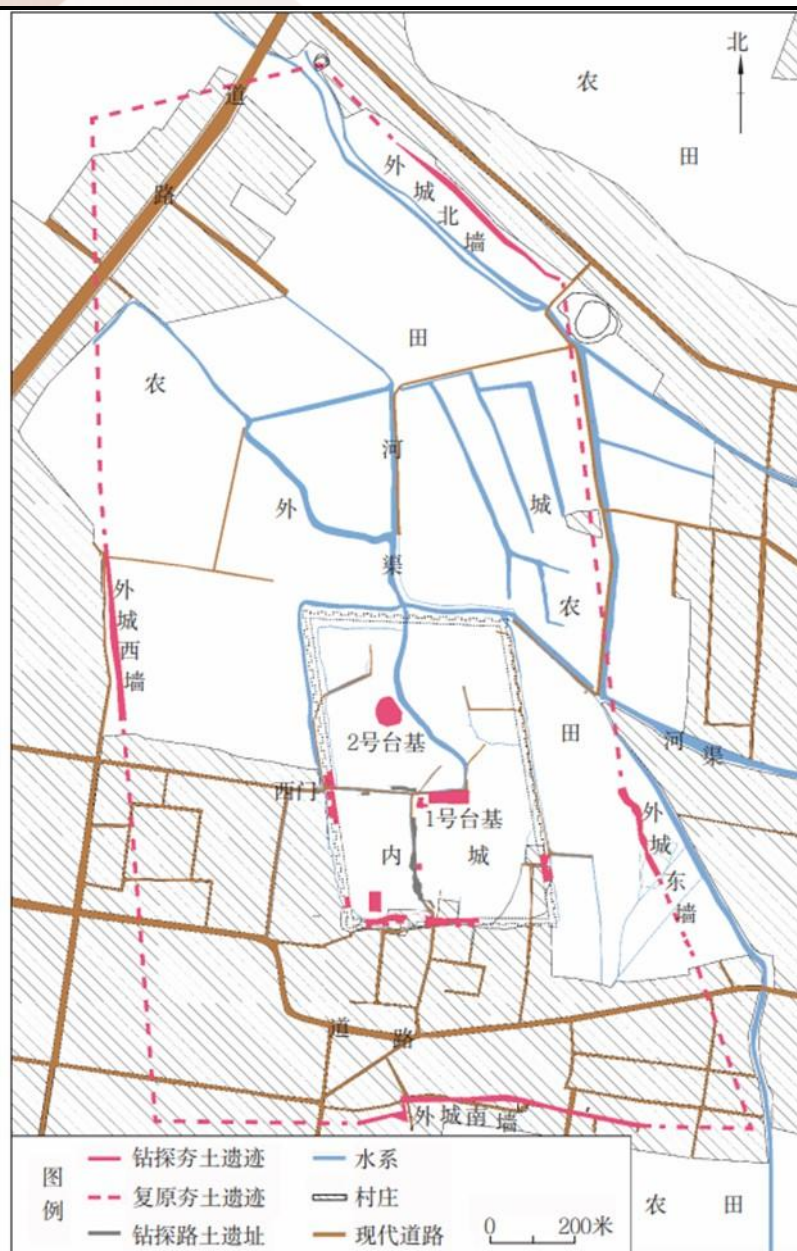


Fig1. Plan of the inner and outer city of the Mingtepa site.

The river is in the inner city. A structure similar to the moat is formed outside. This structure should have a triple significance of reference, irrigation and defense in this site. At the same time, comparing the Syr Darya next to Khojend, the flow of the water system is not large, and the difficulty of disconnection is undoubtedly much smaller. Assuming that when Li Guangli attacked the site, the site existed with an outer city. The best way to fight the water source of the city was to directly sever the water system that was flowing into the city and can be used to drink water. Assuming that when Li Guangli attacked the site, there was no outer city when the site was attacked. One of the ways to relieve the urban moat is also "decide its water source", which makes the defense system of the city fail. At the same time, the Mingtepa site has the structure of the internal and external cities, which is similar to the structure of Guishan City in historical records, and the Soviet archeologists and the China-

Uzbek Joint Archeology did not find the empirical evidence in the Mingtepa site. This Perhaps it can echo the "There is no well in Wancheng and people flow water from outside the city". In the historical book.

Third, the Mingtepa site has a huge scale and powerful defense capabilities. The Mingtepa site is currently the second largest city site discovered in the entire Fernan area, second only to the Akhsiket site (considered Tang Xijian city), and the age of the site is earlier than the Akhsiket site. The total area has reached 300 hectares. This scale is in line with the level and specifications of the Dawang Guishan City as a king capital. The contrast with the Shorobashat sites Group can also reflect the corresponding level of Guishan City and Yu Cheng City. At the same time, Ming Tie's inner city has built a complex and complete defense system, such as the "bastions" structure on the city wall. This structure has 60 on each side of the city walls on all sides of the inner city.

There are two huge hollow bastions on the West City Wall, built houses in the bastions and excavated shooting holes on the wall of the city gate. Outside the inner city, there is a moat to protect the inner city. In the inner city, there are also two platform foundations in the inner city. From the experience of building "Tai" (台) in Chinese cities. For example, from the three sites of Yecheng (邳城), Most of these stations have the role of occupying the commanding heights and the power of troops. In the role of Chinese literati, Zuo Si mentioned in the "Sandu Fu" that "attached to the LanQi, and the banned soldiers", that is, store weapons in Tai, and stationed in the Guards. In the battle of Ran Wei's remaining troops to fight against Murong Ping and the Fu Pi against Murong Chui, the three Tai of Yecheng also played an important role as a logistics warehouse, fortress and heights. This huge scale and perfect defense system is the key element of the site that can become the core of regional sites. If the Mingtepa site is Guishan City, it is indeed possible that he will be lost for more than forty days under the huge Han army led by Li Guangli. In the end, in the case of the Kangju Alliance, Da Wan made the Han army's concerns that would be pinched by both sides, and reached the alliance of Da Wan and the Han Army to retire the Han army.

Fourth, Sulaiman-Too and Ayrymach-Too, not far from the Mingtepa site, discovered the rocks of Dawan horse. The rock paintings of the Sulaiman-Too are scattered on the top of the five mountains and the rocks of the hillside. It is now recorded on a total of 101 pictures. There are typical Danwan great horses' patterns, as well as other patterns such as sheep, characters, sun and moon, handprints, footprints. In the rock painting era, there were both rock paintings of early Wusun and Sai people, as well as late Turks and rock paintings during Mongolia.

The Ayrymach-Too is composed of four mountain peaks. The Mountain №1 has the earliest rock paintings of Wusun and the Saka. The petroglyphs on Mountain №2 are dominated by Dawan Great horse. Mountain №3 is dominated by the sacrifice site. Mountain №4 has a late Turkic and Mongolian rock paintings.

The Dawan Tianma rock painting on the top of the Mountain №3 is mainly divided into three layers, more than 30 pictures, and the largest 1.1 meter high. In addition to the image of Dawan great horses, there are other pictures such as deer, sheep, sun, moon, characters. The discovery of these two mountains and rock paintings confirms that Dawan has great horses,

so Some scholar believed that the site near the Sulaiman-Too and Ayrmach-Too, the Mingtepa site is the city of "Ershi". However, the author believes that the rock painting that appears in the Dawan great horses cannot necessarily indicate that the Mingtepa site is the Ershi City, which is famous for its production of good horses. Judging from the rock paintings and sacrifice sites and late mosque on these two mountains, it is more likely to be regarded as a Sacred land of sacrifice, so it also has the symbol of the Dawan country: the possibility of "Tianma" possibility.

At the same time, Sulaiman-Too is regarded as one of the symbols of Osh. If it is a high – standard sacrifice place, the possibility of corresponding to the capital of Guishan City, the capital of Dawan is undoubtedly better than only the Ershi City in historical records. Essence Therefore, the author believes that the discovery of Dawan horse 's rock paintings on the two mountains cannot provide evidence for the Mingtepa site as a dwelling division.

C. 3. An examination of the marching route of the General of the Ershi

Based on the preliminary basis of the above-mentioned cities and locations, we will conduct an examination of the northern and southern routes used by the generals of the Second Division to divide their troops. The "Book of Han·Biography of the Western Regions" (汉书: 西域传, Ban Gu, 1974, pp. 3894-3897) gives the northern and southern routes that traveled in the Western Regions during the Han Dynasty. "There are two roads leading out of the Western Region from Yumen and Yangguan. One is the South Road, which runs from Shanshan to the north of Nanshan Mountain, and goes west from the Po River to Shache. The south road goes west past Congling and leads to Da Yuezhi's Anxi. Starting from Cheshi Qian Wang Sui Ting north mountain, goes westward from the Po River to Shule, which was the North Road. The North Road crossed Congling in the west and led out of Dayuan, Kangju and Yancaiyan. "The "Southern Road" in "Book of Han Biography of the Western Regions", the road starts from Shanshan (now Ruoqiang County in Xinjiang province) along the southern edge of the Taklimakan Desert to the west to Shache (now Shache County in Xinjiang province), After leaving Congling, turn southwest along the Pishan to Lanshicity/Peshawar line. From Lanshi city, going west to Herat and go to Tehran, that is, "out of Dayuezhi's rest". From Peshawar, the line will go to Kabul and South India forward. Yu Taishan believes that the "North Road" from which Li Guang attacked Dayuan started from the west of Yumen or Yangguan, passed Bailongdui, went to the ruins of the ancient Loulan city in the northwest of Lop Nur, and then moved westward along the Kongque River. However, it did not mention where to cross Congling, nor where to march to Dawan. UNESCO's entry for the Eastern Fergana Basin may provide reference, which mentions "from Kashgar through Terek-Dawan pass, to Alay valley, along Gulcha river and its inflows, went to Tar, then to Kara-Darya river, and to Uzgen city" route. The Terek-Dawan pass mentioned in this route is the Terek Mountain. Near it is the current Irkeshtan Port. Going west along this road is the traffic hub Alay Valley. Here In one area, you can go south to the Pamir Plateau and Tajikistan, to the north to the Fergana Basin and Uzbekistan, and then move north along the Gulcha River (Gulcha River) and its tributaries, and to the northwest Moving forward is the present-day city of Osh, and crossing the Kara-Darya River to the

north is the present-day city of Uzgen. This route is still in use today and is the M41 highway built during the Tsarist Russia-Soviet period. The northern section of the road, from Osh to the village of Gulcha and the Gulcha Valley area, proves the feasibility of this road.

The Shule mentioned in the North Road is in present-day Kashgar. This is consistent with the route from Kashgar to the west out of the Terek pass, westward into the Alay valley and then in the direction of present-day Osh-Uzgen.

Therefore, the author believes that the north and south roads traveled by General Ershi should have at least one north road mentioned in "Hanshu Biography of the Western Regions".

"Book of Han" (汉书, Ban Guy, 1974, pp. 3894-3896) gives author the possibility of the march route, that is, the route used by Chen Tang to defeat Zhizhi in 36 BC. "Hanshu" records: "The three schools passed through Congling on the south road and went to Dawan. The three schools were protected by generals who sent Wensu to the country. They entered Chigu from the north road, passed Wusun, crossed the border of Kangju, and ended in the west of Tianchi." Among the routes used by Chen Tang to conquer the Zhi Branch, the southern route was similar to the northern route recorded in the "Book of Han", and the northern route taken by Chen Tang provided new ideas. For example, Li Guangli's marching route was indeed the same as that of Chen Tang. After "Luntou", its northern troops should lead their troops from Wensu (today's Wensu County, Aksu Region) through Bedel pass to Lake Issyk-Kul, also known as "Khotan Pool" or "West Sea". If Guishan City is located in Khujand According to the map in the "Silk Road Dictionary", you should go west along the north shore of Issyk-Kul Lake towards Suiye City, then go south to Tashkent, and then head to Khujand in the southeast. Or choose not to take the north shore of Issyk-Kul Lake and march from the hinterland of the valley, that is, march from the south shore of Issyk-Kul Lake in the direction of Uzgen (Yucheng), then change the march goal, abandon Yucheng and head west to Guizhou. Mountain. The march route of the southern troops was roughly the same as the northern route recorded in the "Book of Han".

However, there are also problems with the march route around Lake Issyk-Kul to the north. First, if the northern army marches towards Lake Issyk-Kul and the southern army passes through Congling, the two armies will separate prematurely. In today's Aksu, then divide one force to march north, and the other force to march west through Kashgar and Congling. This will cause the distance between the two armies to become farther and farther after the division of the force, and communication will become more and more difficult. In this way, the two armies will not reach the first target until they reach the first goal. "Yucheng" was almost unable to make contact before, and Li Guangli would lose information about the other unit for a long time. The Han army set out from Dunhuang and marched thousands of miles. If the two armies could not help each other after being divided, this would be a major problem for the commander that might ruin the army.

Second, it was a matter of Wusun's attitude. Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty sent an envoy to Wusun, hoping that Wusun would "send a large number of troops to attack Dawan". As a result, "Wusun sent two thousand cavalries to attack, holding both ends and refusing to move forward." It can be seen that Wusun's attitude.

The Han Dynasty's status and prestige in the Western Regions were insufficient at this time, so Luntou refused to provide supplies during Li Guangli's march. In the context of the failure of the first war against Dawan, if the Northern Army entered Wusun territory through Issyk-Kul Lake, without Wusun clearly expressing its willingness to attack Dawan, the expedition would become a military adventure. If Wusun secretly negotiates peace with Dawan and wants to join forces with Dawan, then this army is likely to be annihilated by the Wusun team of Dawan. And from the perspective of the confidentiality of military operations, the risk of crossing Wusun is far greater than crossing the inaccessible Congling. If Wusun informs Dawan, the suddenness and concealment of launching a surprise attack will be lost.

The third is that the historical records record that Li Guangli divided his troops as "the country on the road could not eat, so it was divided into several armies". Comparing the South Road recorded in the "Book of Han" with the North Road of Chen Tang's march, the North Road crossed the Bedel Pass and then passed through the mountains, taking a long detour through Lake Issyk-Kul, and also passing through Wusun, a large country whose attitude is unclear, so eating will only be more difficult than the southern route.

Yu Taishan also pointed out that by referring to the historical data of Li Guangli's squadron "returning to Shumi", we can know that Li Guangli's squadron should have taken the South Western Region Road. It can also be inferred that the supply level of the South Road can fully meet Li Guangli's needs, so he took this route. One option is completely feasible.

Based on the above analysis, the author made a map of Li Guangli's march route. From the map, we can intuitively see that in the Second Tianma War, the mileage and difficulty of marching from Shule to the northwest to attack Dawan were both easier to make a circular march along Aksu towards Lake Issyk-Kul. It can be seen from the terrain that Li Guangli's troops can advance along the natural river valley on the first route, which has a shorter mileage and superior marching conditions.

According to the research of Soviet archaeologists, we can know that there were cattle-raising groups from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age in the Ale Valley, and their residences were also found. This group is consistent with the sites in the Kara River Basin in the Uzgen region improve the accessibility of the area.

Soviet scholars carried out long-term research in the region in the last century, and due to the reusability of natural pathways, by linking the sites in the region, we can find a natural pathway used by the ancient people of the southeastern Ferghana Basin from the Bronze to Iron Ages, and based on this pathway, which is made up of a series of site locations, it is possible to correct the previously hypothesis route of Li Guangli's army and ultimately to arrive at a route based on both geographic, historical documentary, and archaeological data (Figure 2).

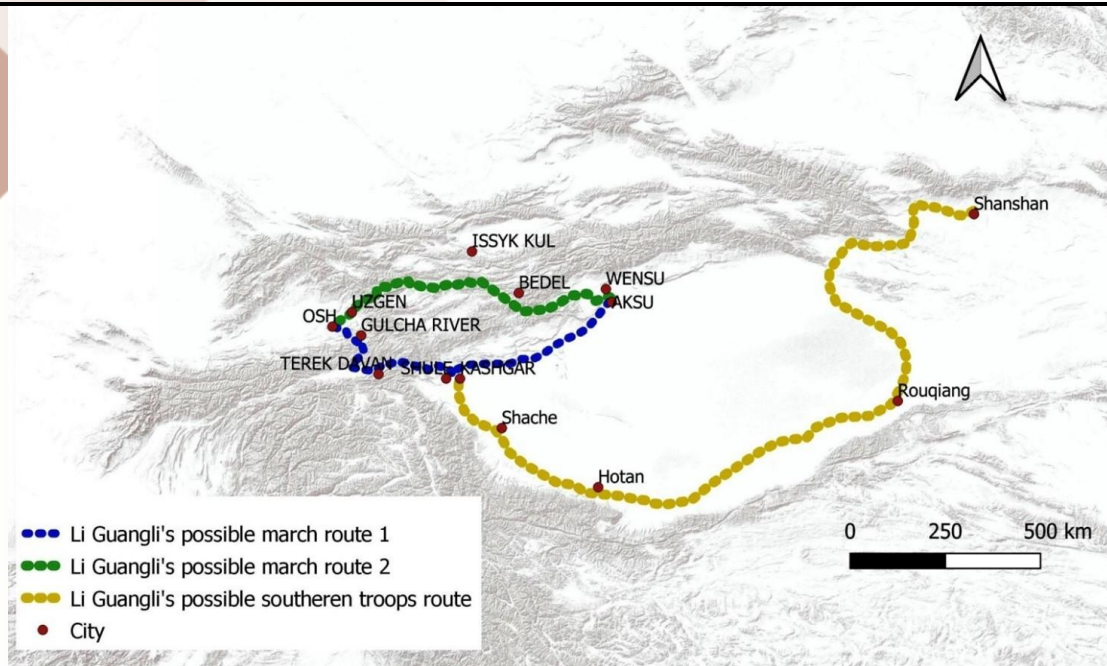


Fig2. Li Guangli's possible route of march.

Therefore, from various perspectives, the author believes that Li Guangli's march route was the first route to attack the Fergana Basin along the Shule-Alay Valley-Gurcha River Basin, rather than second route which begin at Aksu (Figure 3).

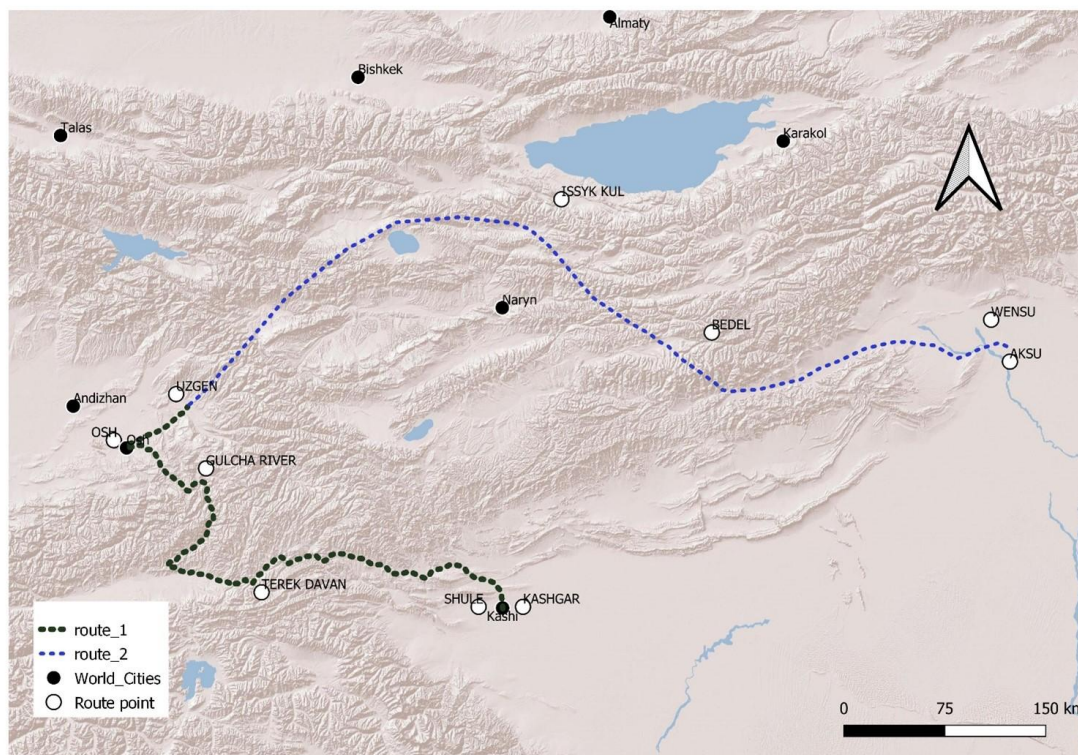


Fig3. Li Guangli's north and south marching route as deduced from historical records and the Silk Road.

The act of dividing the troops did not mean that Li Guangli divided the huge army into two northern and southern troops to march towards Dawan and launch an attack along two different attack directions. Li Guangli's division of troops was only to facilitate the troops to obtain supplies. This behavior took place in the relatively safe area of influence of the Han Dynasty. Therefore, the author believes that Li Guangli's division of troops should have occurred in China. He divided the troops into the north and south when setting off from Dunhuang, and the converging work of the troops was completed before crossing the Pamir Plateau to attack Dawan. The meeting point was in today's Kashgar area. Therefore, the author believes that the route of Li Guangli's division of troops and the march should not be very different from the north and south roads recorded in the Han Dynasty. "Yarkand" is mentioned in the South Silk Road, the current Shache County also belongs to the Kashgar region and borders Shule. Therefore, Li Guangli can complete the assembly of the two troops in Shule and join forces here to march north along the Alay valley from Kashgar to Terek Pass, attack the Osh-Uzgen direction where Yucheng is located. Judging from the record in the history books that Li Guangli "massacred the city in Luntou", Li Guangli himself should have led his army through the Northern Road of the Western Regions (Figure 4).

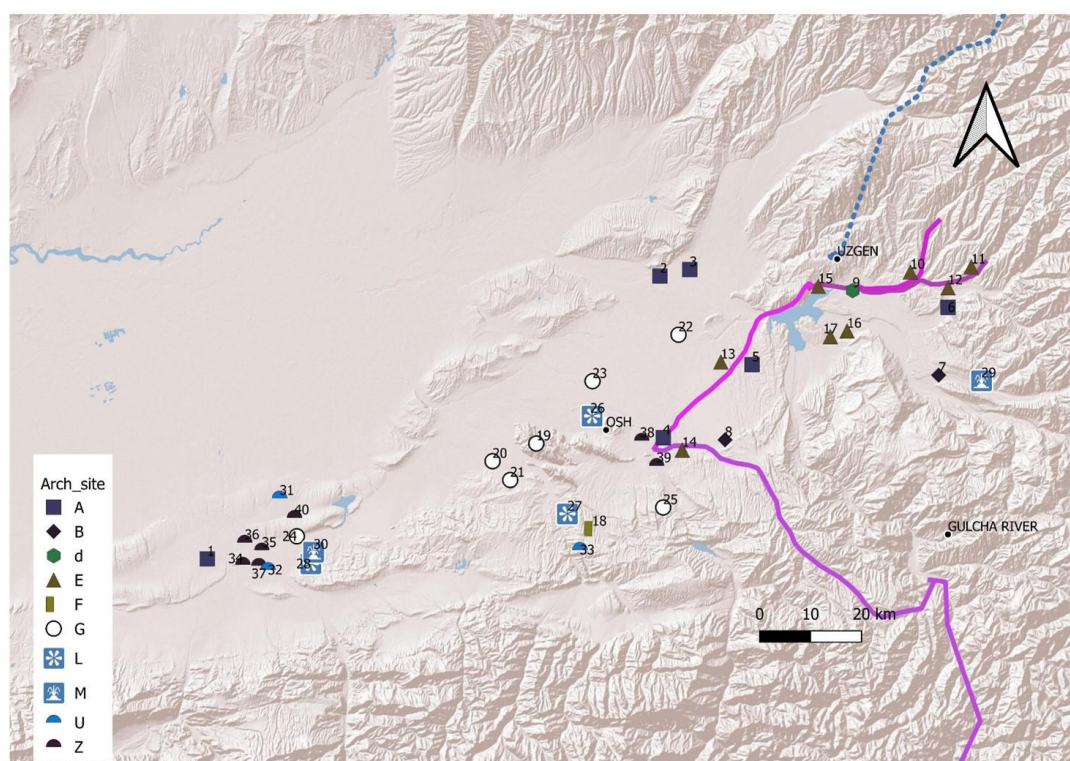


Fig4. Li Guangli's marching route in Dawan as deduced from the site points.

II. CONCLUSION

This article conducts some research on the important cities of Dayuan Kingdom from the aspects of historical records, archaeological excavation data, and previous research. Based on the archaeological materials, this article believes that the location of "Yucheng City" is in today's Uzgen area. According to its scale and analyzing the age, it should be the Shorobashat, site in the Kala River Basin, and "Guishan City" or "Wandu" should be the

today's Mingtepa site. The location of "Ershi" is not clear yet, and it should be in the Mingtepa site continues to be excavated and will be discussed after further archaeological research is conducted in the western part of the Fergana Basin, such as "Uratube " (located in today's Istaravshan) recorded in Chinese history books.

On this basis, Li Guangli's march route was studied. This article believes that Li Guangli should have chosen the North Silk Road in "Book of Han·Biography of the Western Regions" to march. Launch an attack on the cities of Dawan in the Fergana Basin along the Shule-Alay Valley-Gurcha River Basin. This route is in line with historical route records, and is also consistent with Li Guangli's attack target Guishan City (Mingtepa sites) and secondary target Yucheng City (Shorobashat site) analyzed in this article.

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