

CHAPTER 4

The Historical Development of Ürümchi: Focusing on Nanliang District from the Late-19th to Mid-20th Centuries

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Since its founding as a city by the Qing dynasty, which incorporated Xinjiang (Chinese Central Asia) into the territory in the middle of the 18th century, Ürümchi, the capital of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, has achieved remarkable development in the last two and a half centuries. Ürümchi today officially boasts a population of over three million and is a modern-looking city with skyscrapers. With a complex ethnic mix made up of a majority Han Chinese population as well as substantial numbers of Uyghurs and Hui, Ürümchi is a city that reflects the multi-ethnic nature of the region.

The article provides an outline of the historical development of Ürümchi¹ until recent years, focusing on its morphological change. In particular, it sheds light on the historical situation of the area known as *Nanliang* 南梁 district (the area surrounding *Yanghangjie* 洋行街) as a site that symbolizes the spatial positioning of Ürümchi in Eurasia and the historical development of the city, and examines the composition of its population, and how it looked and functioned from the late-19th to mid-20th centuries. By doing so, the article considers the characteristics of historical processes that Ürümchi has gone through as a peripheral city of China.

* This chapter is partially based on my article in Japanese “Chūgoku Shinkyō no Urumuchi (Wulumuqi) shi no rekishiteki henyō to ‘Yōkōgai,’” in *Toshi to kankyō no rekishigaku*, ed. T. Seo (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, forthcoming).

¹ With regard to the history of Ürümchi, we can find some earlier studies including Y. Jiu, *Wulumuqi shihua* (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1983); J. Shirasu, “Shinmatsu Minsho no Urumuchi (Tekika jō) no keikan to Ōtani tankentai no kiroku.” *Tōyō shien* 30/31 (1988): 83–120; Y. Liu, *Wulumuqi zhanggu* (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1996); T. Li, *Idō suru Shinkyō Uiguru jin to Chūgoku shakai: Toshi wo musubu dainamizumu* (Tokyo: Hābesutosha, 2000).

1. Ürümchi during the Qing and Republican Periods

1.1. The Formation and Development of the City

Since the name Ürümchi was already in use when the Qing dynasty brought the Xinjiang region under its control in the mid-18th century, the name is probably a rather ancient one. There are several suggestions about the etymology of “Ürümchi”: that the city was named after a Mongolian warrior who resided in the region;² that it is a variation of *irumcina* from Sanskrit;³ or that it is a corruption of a Chinese word *luntai*.⁴ Ürümchi was officially referred to as *Dihua* 迪化 during the Qing dynasty and the Republic of China (ROC). It was also referred to as *Hongmiaozi* because of the color of the Guandi Miao, which symbolically represented the appearance of the city.⁵ As of the latter half of the 19th century, this place name was widely used.⁶ At present, the official name, Ürümchi, adopted after the establishment of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), is used by all ethnic groups.

As a city, Ürümchi has three major characteristics. First, it has served as the political center of Xinjiang since the establishment of Xinjiang Province. Second, we note its unique geographical position in that it occupies a strategically important position on the major communication route linking the south and north of the Tianshan Mountains. These characteristics suggest that the city meets the conditions to be a key node in trade between inner China and Xinjiang as well as in intra-Xinjiang trade.

The third major characteristic of Ürümchi is its ethnic mix. According to recent official statistics (2014), the city is home to 1,924,131 Han Chinese, 365,638 Uyghurs, 67,389 Kazakhs, and 263,031 Hui, each representing 72.6%, 12.9%, 2.7%, and 10.1 % respectively of the total population of 2,669,050.⁷ In other words, the

² Mulla Musa Sayrami, *Tarikh-i hämidi*. Näshrgä täyyarlighuchi: Änwär Baytur (Beijing: Millätlär näshriyati, 1988): 678; Mullä Mūsā Sayrāmī, *Tārīkh-i hämidī*, in *Xibei shaoshu minzu wenzi wenxian* 4, ed. P. Miao (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2006): 357.

³ R. Niu, *Xinjiang diming gaishuo* (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu daxue chubanshe, 1994): 119–20.

⁴ Wulumuqi wanbaoshe, ed. *Xinjiang bowen lu* (Ürümchi: Wulumuqi wanbao she, 1984): 19. Wulabo Gucheng, in the southern suburbs of Ürümchi, is said to be the ruins of Luntaicheng in the Tang Period.

⁵ M. Cai, “Hongmiaozi: Wulumuqi.” *Wulumuqi shizhi tongxun* 1 (1988): 52.

⁶ The place name “Khumyuza” occurs in a letter in Turki sent to Emperor Tongzhi by Ya’qub Beg (Y. Shinmen and T. Onuma, “First Contact between Ya’qub Beg and the Qing: The Diplomatic Correspondence of 1871.” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 84 (2012): 14. Moreover, in N. Elias’s report in the 1880s, we can find the expression, “Urumtsi (Hung Miao tze)” (N. Elias, *Report of a Mission to Chinese Turkistan and Badakhshan in 1885–86* (Calcutta, Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India [India Office Records, L/P&S/20/A27], 1886): 7.

⁷ Xinjiang Weiwu’er zizhiqu tongjiju, ed. *Xinjiang tongji nianjian 2015* (Beijing: Zhongguo

population of Ürümchi is comprised of a majority of Han Chinese and a range of Xinjiang minorities. By contrast, in areas where the Uyghurs concentrate in South Xinjiang such as Kashgar and Khotan, the Uyghurs are still the majority. On the other hand, in some of the newly emerging industrial cities such as Shihezi, which were built after the foundation of PRC the Han Chinese comprise the overwhelming majority of the population. Among these cities, Ürümchi is therefore unique in that it has a Han Chinese majority population but can still be described as a multi-ethnic city. These characteristics are deeply intertwined with the historical background to Ürümchi's formation and development as a city.

The formation of Ürümchi as a city started in the middle of the 18th century and its expansion and development gathered pace in the latter half of the 19th century. Let us first trace its historical development.

When the Qing dynasty mounted military actions against the Junghars in the middle of the 18th century, Ürümchi served as a major military base.⁸ A mud castle was built on the western bank of the Ürümchi River in 1755, which represented the first step toward the foundation of Ürümchi as a city. When the Junghars were defeated and the Turkic Muslim region of South Xinjiang that had been under their political control was conquered by the Qing, a new system of rule was established for Xinjiang. Under these circumstances, Ürümchi was accorded an important role in military and civilian rule, and started to develop as a city.

Based around the mud castle built on the eastern bank of Ürümchi River in 1758, *Dihuacheng* 迪化城 was built in 1763. Subsequently, in 1767, the new Dihua Cheng (Hancheng, or “Han-Chinese Town”) with four gates was constructed to the north of Dihua Cheng. The Green Standard Army of the Han Chinese and their commander, or *tidu*, were stationed in the city⁹ and Han Chinese migrants from inner China engaged in trade. In 1872, *Gongningcheng* 鞏寧城 (also known as Lao Mancheng, or “Old Manchu Town”)¹⁰ was built on the western bank of the Ürümchi River and Qing officials including the Ürümchi Dutong (Commander-in-chief) and the Eight Banners were stationed there in the following year.¹¹ The urban space of Ürümchi, which had become the center of military and civilian rule of the eastern

tongji chubanshe, 2015): 102–3.

⁸ Fuheng et al., comp. *Pingding Zhunga'er fanglüe*, j. 10: 11a–b, 18a.

⁹ Qi Yunshi, *Wanli xingcheng ji* (Repr., Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 1995): 18b.

¹⁰ We can find the place name *Lao Mancheng* near Xinjiang Agricultural University. A part of the ruined city walls remains. See Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhi qu wenwu ju, ed. *Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhi qu disanci quanguo wenwu pucha chengguo jicheng: Wulumuqi shi juan; Kelamayi shi juan* (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2011): 18–9.

¹¹ Shirasu, “Shinmatsu Minsho”: 85–8; K. Kataoka, *Shinchō Shinkyō tōchi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1991): 61–9.

region of Xinjiang (Donglu), was divided into Dihua Cheng and Gongningcheng.¹² There is little information about conditions in Ürümchi during this period, but Ji Yun, who resided in Ürümchi for three years from 1768 (QL33), described the Dihua Cheng of his day as a reasonably prosperous city in his *Wulumuqi zashi*.¹³

About a century later, the large-scale Muslim rebellion of the second half of the 19th century quickly reached Ürümchi. The revolt in Ürümchi was led by two Muslim leaders: Tuo Ming (also known as Tuo Delin, and Dawud Khalifa), a religious leader who was said to be engaged in activities in Gansu and Shaanxi, and Suo Huanzhang, a *canjiang* of the Qing troops stationed in Ürümchi.¹⁴ The rebels took up arms in 1864¹⁵ and easily took Dihua Cheng.¹⁶ Officials such as Ping Rui, the Ürümchi Dutong, blew themselves up.¹⁷ As a result, Gongningcheng was reduced to ashes.¹⁸ Tuo Ming, who seized power in Ürümchi and referred to himself as *Qingzhen Wang*, is said to have built a new fortress city known locally as Huangcheng near present-day Tuanjie Road to the south of Dihua Cheng. According to Mulla Musa, another city (*shahr*) was constructed near Hancheng when Dawud Khalifa was ruling as king in Ürümchi.¹⁹ However, Ya'qub Beg, pushing into the north of Tianshan, occupied Ürümchi in 1870 and incorporated it in his domains.²⁰ It is said that because of this, “all residents including Muslims (Hui) and Han Chinese cut off their pigtailed and changed their clothes.”²¹

It was after the Qing dynasty put down the Muslim rebellions in the 1880s that Ürümchi went through a major transformation as a city and embarked on a program of remarkable development. When the Qing forces recaptured Ürümchi, Huangcheng was in ruins, and so Xin Mancheng (New Manchu Town) was newly built to the

¹² Jiu, *Wulumuqi shihua*: 8–9; Shirasu, “Shinmatsu minsho”: 87–8.

¹³ Also see Qishi yi, *Xinjiang jilüe*: 71a; Jiu, *Wulumuqi shihua*: 9. With regard to “Wulumuqi zazhi,” see Zhu Guang 朱光, “‘Lao hongmiaozi’ yu ‘yuewei caotang’” “老红庙子”与“闾微堂,” in *Wulumuqi wenshi ziliao* (hereinafter WWZ) 4, ed. Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Wulumuqi shi weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui (Ürümchi: Xinjiang qingnian chubanshe, 1982): 86–91; X. Wang, *Xinjiang wenxian sizhong jizhu kaoshu* (Lanzhou: Gansu wenhua chubanshe, 1995): 230–35.

¹⁴ H. Kim, *Holy War in China: The Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia, 1864–1877* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004): 41–2.

¹⁵ Yi Xin et al., comp., *Qinding pingding Shan-Gan Xinjiang huifei fanglüe* (1896), j. 73: 6a–b.

¹⁶ D. Bo, “Wulumuqi shoucheng jilüe,” in *Xibei minzu zongjiao shiliao wenzhai (Xinjiang fence)*, 2, ed. Gansu sheng tushuguan shumu cankaobu (Lanzhou: Gansu sheng tushuguan, 1985): 342.

¹⁷ *Qinding pingding Shan-Gan Xinjiang huifei fanglüe*, j. 80: 19b; j. 81: 1a–b.

¹⁸ Jiu Yulin 咎玉林, “Lao Mancheng yiwén” 老满城轶闻. WWZ 2 (1982): 82–3.

¹⁹ Mulla Musa, *Tarikhi hämidi*: 463; Mullā Mūsā Sayrāmī, *Tārīkh-i ḥamidī* (Lunds universitetets bibliotek, Jarring collection, prov. 163): 93b.

²⁰ Kim, *Holy War*: 95–6.

²¹ Wei Guangtao, *Kanding Xinjiang ji* (1899; repr., Huawen shuju, 1969), j. 1: 13b.

northeast of Dihuangcheng in 1880.²² When Xinjiang Province was instituted in 1884, the administrative center of Xinjiang moved from Ili, where the Ili General was stationed, to Ürümchi where the Xinjiang Xunfu was posted. From this point onward, Ürümchi began to assume various important roles, surpassing those it had in the preceding periods.

The first point to be noted with regard to the urban landscape of Ürümchi after the institution of the Xinjiang Province is that the city walls were expanded so as to contain Dihuangcheng (Hancheng) and Xin Mancheng, which were situated to the northeast of the former. Based on a proposal from the first Xinjiang Xunfu (Provincial Governor), Liu Jintang, work started on connecting the cities of Dihuangcheng and Xin Mancheng with the construction of new city walls.²³ Thanks to this construction project, a new city space, which contained the former Dihuangcheng and Xin Mancheng as well as the area in between the two with seven gates, emerged in Dihuangcheng. These city walls largely remained the same until they were destroyed in the 1950s after the foundation of the PRC. It is assumed that the city walls took the form of “an irregular hexagon.”²⁴ This irregular appearance was the result of linking the city walls of Hancheng to those of Mancheng.

The second point to be noted here is that there were other city walls that started from the north of Ximen (West Gate) on the western city wall of Hancheng, which ran parallel to the south-western corner of Hancheng, and went wide off the southern side of Nanmen (South Gate)²⁵ of Hancheng. Why and how these walls were built remains unknown. One speculation is that because a new Turkic Muslim (Uyghur) area was formed from the west to the south of Hancheng,²⁶ new walls were built to enclose it.²⁷ The area surrounded by the southern walls was inhabited by Muslims, mainly Turkic Muslims and Hui. There was a gate called Nanxiaomen

²² Shi Xu et al., comp. *Daqing Denzhong jing huangdi shilu* (1927; repr., Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1964), j. 112: 642a.

²³ Liu Jintang, *Liu xiangqingong zougao* (1898; repr., Beijing: 1986), j. 10: 47a; j. 13: 30a.

²⁴ C. Mannerheim, *Across Asia from West to East in 1906–1908* (Oosterhout: Anthological Publications, 1969 [1940]): 318; Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'anguan, ed. *Minguo shiqi Xinjiang dang'an huibian (1928–1949)* (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2015) 58: 246; Zhongguo chengshi dituji bianji weiyuanhui, *Zhongguo chengshi dituji 2* (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1994): 364; H. Cao and J. Liu, *Zhongguo jinxiandai chengshi de fazhan* (Beijing: Zhongguo chengshi chubanshe, 1998): 335. The city plan for Ürümchi, made in Hino Tsutomu's *Iri kikō* 1: 176 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1909; repr., Tokyo: Fuyō Shobō, 1973), is not accurate.

²⁵ With regard to the situation of Nanmen and its surroundings, see S. Wang, “Nanmen wangshi” (Wulumuqi zhi men 1), *Wulumuqi wanbao (yule & fukan)* (Sept. 27, 2009): 12.

²⁶ According to the investigation conducted before the establishment of PRC, 102 Uyghur blacksmiths were distributed around Xidaqiao in the west of Dihuangcheng and Erdaoqiao in the south of Dihuangcheng. See Yu Xia 裕侠, “Jiefang qian de weizu tiejiang” 解放前的维族铁匠. *WWZ* 6 (1986): 103.

²⁷ Personal communication from an Uyghur historian.

(South Small Gate) at the southern end of the wall, which was near present-day Rebiya Building. The avenue that connected the official Nanmen of Dihua Cheng (Gongfumen) and Nanxiaomen from north to south formed one of the main roads in the city with many shops lining it. This road roughly corresponds to present-day Jiefang Road.

After the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1911 and the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, Ürümchi maintained its status as the administrative capital of Xinjiang Province until 1949 and successive dictatorial rulers of Xinjiang lived in Ürümchi: Yang Zengxin (1912–28), Jin Shuren (1928–33), and Sheng Shicai (1933–44). During this period, Ürümchi served as the stage for a number of important political incidents, including the assassination of Yang Zengxin in 1928, the expulsion of Jin Shuren following the coup d'état in 1933, the establishment of “coalition government” in 1946 after the Ili rebellion, and the 2.25 Incident²⁸ in 1947. In addition, records show that efforts were made to develop Ürümchi's infrastructure as a modern city; under the governorship of Jin Shuren, the development of infrastructure including the construction of Dongguan Market was planned,²⁹ and under Sheng Shicai, a municipal administrative committee was set up.³⁰ These events and developments as well as cultural activities of the inhabitants during the Republican period are outside the scope of the current chapter.

1.2. The Urban Space and Ethnic Mix during the Provincial Period

After the establishment of Xinjiang Province, Ürümchi not only achieved remarkable development as the center of province administration but also came to possess a unique ethnic mix and urban spatial composition. Eric Teichman, a British diplomat who visited Ürümchi in 1935, described the Ürümchi of that time as comprising three districts: the Chinese district with city walls stretching from north to south, the Muslim district where the bazaars of the Turkis (Uyghurs) and Tatars were located, and the Russian district, which contained the Soviet consulate occupying the south of Nanguan.³¹ Below, the chapter describes each district in this order.

²⁸ A. Abasufu, “Wulumuqi ‘2.25’ liuxue shijian jishi,” in *Xinjiang wenshi ziliao xuanji* 12, ed. Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiwei weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1984): 50–9; L. Benson, *Ili Rebellion: The Moslem Challenge to Chinese Authority in Xinjiang 1944–1949* (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1990): 108–9.

²⁹ Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'anguan, ed. *Minguo shiqi Xinjiang dang'an huibian (1912–1927)* 8 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2015): 219–40.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 38: 381–7.

³¹ E. Teichman, *Journey to Turkistan* (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1937): 101–2.

During the Qing period the office of the Xinjiang Xunfu, and during the Republican period the offices of Dudu and Duban, were located within the city walls of Dihuacheng, a space mainly inhabited by Han Chinese. These offices are said to have been located on the northern side of the present-day People's Square. Furthermore, the city center was crowded with large merchants and functioned as the center of economic activities. In particular, merchants from Yangliuqing Zhen of Tianjin (so-called *Gan daying*), who were engaged in supplying goods to the Qing forces during the re-conquest of Xinjiang, were the most powerful merchants in the city center.³² Major families, known as the *Badajia*, or “Big Eight,” were actively engaged in commerce in the areas around Dashizi (Big Cross) in the city center.³³ These included Yongyude, established in around 1887 (or in 1906), Tongshenghe established in 1885, Fuquanyong established in 1886, and Dehengta established in 1900.³⁴ They set up trading bases in Tianjin, Shanghai, and various places in Xinjiang, and engaged in commerce between inner China and Xinjiang, and between Ürümchi and various places in Xinjiang.³⁵ Even after the founding of the Republic in 1912, the Big Eight maintained their power.³⁶

According to the description by C. G. Mannerheim, who visited Ürümchi in 1907, in addition to the Big Eight, there were more than eighty small shops and three restaurants in Dihuacheng.³⁷ The Dashizi area³⁸ was known for a large number of shops including pharmacies founded during the Qing era such as Ningdetang and Yuantaitang,³⁹ and shops founded under the Republic, such as Shenghengmao Chazhuang (Tea shop) established by a Han Chinese merchant from Hunan⁴⁰ and Mizigen photostop opened by a Tatar.⁴¹ The urban district in which Han Chinese merchants and artisans including these Tianjin merchants lived had a unique atmosphere on account of the rows of Siheyuan-style houses near present-day Wenhua Road.⁴² Very few pre-“Liberation” buildings in Dihuacheng have survived

³² Liu Zhuxi 刘竹溪, “Cong ‘Gan dayin’ xingqi de baihuo ye” 从“赶大营”兴起的百货业. WWZ 12 (1986): 1.

³³ Shirasu, “Shinmatsu minsho”: 93–5; Jiu, *Wulumuqi shihua*: 61.

³⁴ Liu, *Wulumuqi zhanggu*: 86.

³⁵ Regarding the merchandise they dealt with, see Hino, *Iri kikō*: 181.

³⁶ Li Fu 李富, “Jinbang ‘badajia’ de bianqian” 津帮“八大家”的变迁. WWZ 6 (1983): 107–8.

³⁷ Mannerheim, *Across Asia*: 318.

³⁸ At present, the neighborhood of Dashizi is in the busiest quarter of Ürümchi, in which some department stores and many other stores are located.

³⁹ Yan Guangzhao 阎光照, “Ningde tang dianshi” 凝德堂店史. WWZ 6 (1983): 114.

⁴⁰ Zhou Yuyin 周玉寅 and Li Fu, “Shenghengmao chazhuang shi” 升恒茂茶庄店史. WWZ 3 (1982): 47.

⁴¹ Liu Qiyi 刘起义 and Li Fu, “Wulumuqi zhaoxiangye de qi yuan” 乌鲁木齐照相业的起源. WWZ 4 (1982): 64.

⁴² Liu, *Wulumuqi zhanggu* 2 (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2003): 34.

to date with the exception of the mausoleums, which are now designated as cultural properties.⁴³

Another point to note is the artisans district called Jiangnan-xiang in the western part of the city. Workshops and shops of artisans producing baskets, *luos* (woven containers made of wood or bamboo), and wooden containers were concentrated in this district (near the small road running from north to south at the western end of the Hongqi Road Market). They produced and sold all the containers needed by Ürümchi residents in their everyday life. There were seventeen major manufacturers during the Republican period and many were migrants from Gansu and Shaanxi.⁴⁴

Next are the distinct districts to the south of Han Chinese-dominated Dihuangcheng, which reflect the ethnic mix of Xinjiang and its geographical positioning.

The first of these was a district inhabited mainly by Hui. It is not clear when the Hui district was formed, but since the 1760s the Hui population grew with the influx of Hui from north-western provinces such as Shaanxi and Gansu to northern Xinjiang to engage in caravan trade, shop management and catering, as well as soldiers who were posted to defend the borders and to engage with agricultural development, and civilian settlers.⁴⁵ According to Hua Li's research, the number of agricultural settlers and those engaged in commerce in the Ürümchi region exceeded 30,000 households and reached as many as 172,000 at the end of the Qianlong period.⁴⁶ We can say with confidence that by the mid-19th century, a large number of Hui had settled in Ürümchi.

Tuo Ming, who led the Muslim rebellions of 1864, was a leader of the Jahriyya *menhuan* of Sufism that was also active in Gansu and Shaanxi. It is beyond doubt that the Hui who came to Ürümchi from Shaanxi and Gansu when the rebellions were taking place there played a certain role in the rebellion in Ürümchi. At the same time, it is said that Tuo Ming and Su Huanzhang "provoked" the "rebellious Muslims" (*huizhong*) of Nanguan situated to the south of the city to enter Dihuangcheng.⁴⁷ It is natural to assume that the Hui of Ürümchi were included in this.

⁴³ The building of *Yinhang dalou* constructed in 1943 is still standing (Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiq wenwuju, *Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiq disanci*: 109–10). A picture of the building was printed on one of Xinjiang's bank notes in the 1940s. See Maimaiti Youxifu, ed. *Xinjiang qianbi shi* (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1994): 51–3.

⁴⁴ Zhu Chunpu 朱春圃, "Cong longluo muqi xing dao longluo muqi chang" 从笼箩木器行到笼箩木器厂. WWZ 12 (1986): 45–8.

⁴⁵ T. Saguchi, *Shinkyō minzokushi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1986): 292–306.

⁴⁶ L. Hua, "Shindai Kanshuku, Sensei Kaimin no Shinkyō shinshutsu: Kenryū ki no jirei wo chūshin ni," in *Minzoku no idō to bunka no dōtai: Chūgoku shūen chiiki no rekishi to genzai*, ed. S. Tsukada (Tokyo: Fūkyōsha, 2003): 28.

⁴⁷ *Kanding Xinjiang ji*, j. 1: 1b–2a.

It is also certain that a sizeable population of Hui took up residence in districts such as Shanxi-xiang, south of Nanmen, since the end of the Qing period.⁴⁸ This is clear from the distribution of major mosques in Ürümchi. For example, the biggest mosque in Ürümchi, Shaanxi Dasi,⁴⁹ is said to have been transferred to the present location in 1906 (GX32) with funding from immigrants from Shaanxi.⁵⁰ Nandasi,⁵¹ which is said to have been founded at the end of the 19th century, survives to this day in a location that is assumed to be south of Nanxiaomen of that time (presently the western side of Jiefang Road). Hino Tsutomu, a Japanese officer who visited Ürümchi in 1907, estimates the population composition of inner and outer Ürümchi at that time as “over 2,000 Hanhui (present-day Hui), over 1,000 Hanren (Han Chinese), over 3,400 Chantou (present-day Uyghur) merchants.”⁵² Furthermore, according to statistics from the immediate aftermath of the “Liberation,” with a population of 19,395, the Hui made up of 18% of the city’s total population of 107,710, exceeding the number of Uyghurs.⁵³ These data suggest that the Hui have had a close historical connection with Ürümchi.

Secondly, there was a Turkic Muslim or Uyghur district. It is thought that in the past, the district existed within the city walls up to Nanxiaomen, south of Nanmen of Dihucheng as the Hui district.⁵⁴ It has been confirmed that by the Republican period, a Turkic Muslim district had come into being near Erdaoqiao, south of Nanxiaomen. In fact, there is a relatively large Uyghur mosque by the name of Aq Mäsçit (White Mosque) by present-day Jiefang Road, north of the Erdaoqiao bazaar, which is said to have been founded in 1924.⁵⁵ Now many Uyghurs come to this mosque for Friday prayers. Many of the buildings in the Uyghur district of that

⁴⁸ Li, *Idō suru Shinkyō Uiguru jin*: 58. At the end of the Qing period, there was a field for camels named *Shanxi tuochang* in this place, which was later relocated to the northern part of the city. See Zhu Guang 朱光, “Difang zhanggu erze” 地方掌故二则. WWZ 7 (1984): 167.

⁴⁹ Benkan Ziliaoshi 本刊资料室, “Shanxi Dasi shigai” 陕西大寺史概. WWZ 8 (1984): 147; Guojia wenwuju, ed. *Zhongguo wenwu dituji: Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiq fence* 1 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2012): 391.

⁵⁰ Ningxia Huizu zizhiq zhengxie wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui, *Xibei huizu yu yisilan jiao* (Yinchuan: Ningxia chubanshe, 1993): 427–8; W. Tan, ed. *Xinjiang huizu yisilan jiao shilüe* (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1993): 130.

⁵¹ Tan, *Xinjiang huizu*: 132; J. Wu, ed. *Zhongguo qingzhen si zonglan* (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1995): 471.

⁵² Hino, *Iri kikō*: 180.

⁵³ Wulumuqi shi dangshi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed. *Wulumuqi shi zhi* 1 (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe: 1994): 231.

⁵⁴ Basil Davidson, who visited Ürümchi in 1956, said that before the “Liberation” in 1949, both the Uyghurs and Tungsans (Huizu) lived in a separate city surrounded by walls outside the city in which the “Chinese” (Han Chinese) lived. See B. Davidson, *Turkestan Alive: New Travel in Chinese Central Asia* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1957): 66.

⁵⁵ Wu, ed. *Zhongguo qingzhen si zonglan xubian* (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1998): 301, 303.

time were made with sun-dried bricks and it is likely that the district had a similar appearance to oasis cities in the south of Xinjiang.

It is not entirely clear how the Uyghur districts formed and expanded across time but at the very least it is certain that since the establishment of the Xinjiang Province, a considerable number of Uyghurs migrated from the Uyghur regions to the south of the Tianshan Mountains to the provincial capital of Ürümchi, particularly for commercial reasons. Throughout the Republican period, the district around Erdaoqiao with its thriving bazaars⁵⁶ continued to be an area where Uyghurs concentrated, until it was demolished in the course of recent urban redevelopment. Thirdly, there is the area surrounding Yanghangjie (Nanliang district), further south from Erdaoqiao, which was mainly inhabited by merchants from the Russian Empire.⁵⁷ *Xinjiang Tuzhi* reports there was a district where Russian merchants congregated south of the Uyghur commercial district, outside the “south boundary.”⁵⁸ Although they were subjects of the Russian Empire, the majority of these were Turkic Muslims such as Tatars and Turkic Muslims from Russian Central Asia (i.e. Uzbeks), and they were engaged with trade between Russian territories and Xinjiang.⁵⁹ The chapter returns to this district later.

The foregoing has shown that different ethnic groups lived in different districts in Ürümchi along a south to north axis. It appears that Ürümchi had assumed an important economic role as a distribution base of products from the Turkic Muslim areas in south Xinjiang and those from inner China and as one of the major nodes in trade with Russia/the Soviet Union. The existence of districts inhabited by different ethnic groups reflected the fact that Han Chinese, Hui, Turkic Muslims of Xinjiang (Uyghurs), and Tatars were all involved in these economic activities centered on Ürümchi.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Although it is said that Erdaoqiao market was established in 1957 (Tianshan qu zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed. *Tianshan qu zhi* (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1994): 27), there is no doubt that the bazaar existed at Erdaoqiao before then.

⁵⁷ Shirasu, “Shinmatsu minsho”: 106.

⁵⁸ Wang Shunan, comp. *Xinjiang tuzhi* (1910; repr, Dongfang xuehui qianyin, 1923), j. 1, jianzhi 1: 10b.

⁵⁹ Xie Bin said that many of the merchants in the Russian trading zone from Nanguan to the south of Nanliang were Chantou (Turkic Muslims of Cenral Asia) and Laogaiyi (Nogai?). See Xie Bin, *Xinjiang youji* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1923): 110. At that time, the Tatars were called *Nogai* by the Turkic Muslims (Uyghurs and Kazakhs) in Xinjiang. See M. Usmanov, “Tatar Settlers in Western China (Second Half of 19th Century to the First Half of the 20th Century),” in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries 2* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1998): 248.

⁶⁰ We have little data on the concrete relationships between Russian merchants including the Tatars and Han merchants of the Big Eight in Ürümchi; it is said that the *Dihua Zongshanghui* (General Association of Merchants in Ürümchi) extended their activities to limit illegal commercial transactions among the Yanghang. See Jiu, “Dihua Zongshanghui de chengli yu huodong” 迪化总商会的成立与活动. WWZ 6 (1983): 72.

Ürümchi's spatial arrangement can also be seen in a number of incidents in Ürümchi's history. After Ürümchi was attacked by the Hui rebels led by Ma Zhongying and fierce battles with the Provincial forces resulted in a large number of casualties including civilians in 1933, a charitable organization (*zishanhui*) started its work to save refugees. They set up four soup kitchens (*zhouchang*) in Ürümchi: Lianghu Huiguan in Hancheng, Shaanxi Dasi in Nanguan, a *tukhun* (chicken eggs in Uyghur) shop outside Nanxiaomen and Luotuochang in Yanghangjie.⁶¹ These four locations correspond to the aforementioned ethnic districts.

2. The Historical Development of Nanliang District

2.1. The Formation and Development of the District

This section details the process through which a district mainly inhabited by merchants of the Russian Empire in the southern part of Ürümchi was directly related to the development of trade between Xinjiang and the Russian territories and the movement of commercial capital from the Russian territories to Xinjiang, which accompanied the development of trade.

According to Noda Jin's research, by the second half of the 18th century, Turkic Muslim merchants had started to gain predominance in trading activities linking western Siberia under Russian rule and Central Asia in conjunction with the expansion of Khoqand Khanate. However, due to the impact of incidents that produced instability in the oasis area in south Xinjiang, including Jahangir Khoja's incursion, involving the Khoqand Khanate, the Qing government placed restrictions on activities of merchants from the Khoqand Khanate. These merchants momentarily lost their influence in trade with north Xinjiang.⁶² Against this background, merchants of the Russian Empire such as the Tatars and Russians started to engage directly in trading activities between Russian territory and north Xinjiang under Qing rule via western Siberia. The Tatar merchants who moved to various places in the Russian Empire's territories, which had expanded eastwards since the 18th century, developed trade with the three Uzbek Khanates⁶³ and also with Xinjiang.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Wu Aichen, *Xinjiang jiyou* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935; repr., Taipei: Nantian Shuju, 1987): 70–1.

⁶² J. Noda, *Ro-shin teikoku to Kazafu han koku* (Tōkyō: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 2011): 211–4.

⁶³ V. Shkunov, "Tatarskie kuptsy v rossiisko-vostochnoi torgovle (vtoraia polovina XVIII–pervaa polovina XIX vv.)." *Gasyrdar avazy* 3/4 (1997).

⁶⁴ M. Hamamoto, "Sviazuiushchaia rol' tatarskikh kuptsov Volgo-Ural'skogo regiona v Tsentral'noi Evrazii: zveno 'shelkovogo put' novogo vremeni' (vтораia polovina XVIII–XIX v.)," in *Volgo-Ural'skii region v imperskom prostranstve XVIII–XX vv.*, eds. N. Naganawa, D.

Since the mid-19th century, trade between Russian territory and Xinjiang actively developed as a result of a treaty between Russia and Qing China, and with this, Russian Muslim communities in various cities in Xinjiang started to expand. The Ili-Tarbaghatai trade regulations concluded in 1851 stipulated the establishment of Russian consulates in Ili and Tarbaghatai, and enabled merchants of the Russian Empire to engage in trading activities in the cities. The 1860 Beijing Treaty opened Kashgar to merchants of the Russian Empire.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the Treaty of Saint Petersburg concluded in 1881 after the suppression of the Muslim rebellions granted exemption from tax to merchants of the Russian Empire engaged in trade in various places in Xinjiang including Ili, Tarbaghatai, Kashgar, and Ürümchi.⁶⁶ With this, merchants of the Russian Empire who had already established themselves in various cities in western Siberia such as Semipalatinsk, began to actively engage in trading activities in Xinjiang under the favorable conditions provided by the Treaty. Merchants of the Russian Empire moved into cities that were adjacent to Russian territory such as Ili and Tarbaghatai,⁶⁷ as well as Ürümchi. On the other hand, with the expansion of the Russian Empire into Central Asia, the Khoqand Khanate fell in 1876 and was incorporated into the Russian territories. From that point on, Turkic Muslim merchants from Tashkent, Khoqand, and Marghilan of Ferghana Basin moved to Ürümchi, the provincial capital, as merchants of the Russian Empire. It is estimated that the majority moved to Ürümchi from Semipalatinsk via Tarbaghatai and Ili.

Through these developments, a district where merchants of the Russian Empire resided was formed in the southern part of Ürümchi. Trading houses set up by these Russian merchants were referred to in Chinese as *Yanghangs* (Foreign Firms) and as a result, the area where their houses and business premises stood was called Yanghangjie. This was also used in recording the residents' addresses in official documents.⁶⁸ Burhan Shahidi (Ch. *Bao'erhan*)⁶⁹ recalls that among these Yanghangs managed by Russian merchants, eight families of a relatively large size

Usmanova, and M. Hamamoto (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 2011): 53.

⁶⁵ V. Kuznetsov, *Tsinskaiia imperiia na rubezhakh Tsentral'noi Azii (vtoraia polovina XVIII–pervaia polovina XIX v.)*. (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1983): 113–5.

⁶⁶ M. Sladkovskii, *Istoriia torgovo-ekonomicheskikh otnoshenii narodov Rossii s Kitaem (do 1917 g.)*. (Moscow: Nauka, 1974): 263; T. Tian, ed. *Qingchao tiaoyue quanji 2* (Haerbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 1990): 660–1.

⁶⁷ *Dacheng Honglou* in Tarbaghatai was a trade center established by Tatar merchants at the end of the Qing period (Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo wenwu dituji*: 633).

⁶⁸ For example, see Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiqu dang'anguan, ed. *Xinjiang yu E-Su shangye maoyi dang'an shiliao* (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1994): 420–1.

⁶⁹ Burhan Shahidi (Burhān Shāhīd Allāh), a Tatar from Kazan, moved to Ürümchi, where he was engaged in business and worked as a patrol officer for the Customs Department in the 1920s (*Xinjiang yu E-Su*: 167).

were famous, as detailed below.⁷⁰ In fieldwork carried out by the author at Kashgar Qishlaq (village)⁷¹ in the suburb of Osh in the Kyrgyz Republic in 2003, a Uyghur man who engaged with commerce in Xinjiang in his youth made reference to dealing with the Yanghangs of Ürümchi.⁷²

The formation of the Russian merchant district in the southern part of the city gathered pace when a Russian Consulate was set up in Ürümchi in 1896⁷³ and when a trading zone (*maoyiquan*), a zone of extraterritoriality managed by the Russian Consulate, was set up in Ürümchi.⁷⁴ These trading zones were located in cities designated for trade between Xinjiang and Russia as areas dedicated to trade activities based on Article 13 of the Ili-Tarbaghatai trade regulations.⁷⁵ All of the *maoyiquan* were under the control of the Russian consuls in the cities.⁷⁶ According to Li Sheng's research, the original *maoyiquan* in Ürümchi roughly corresponded to the area marked by (present-day) Heping South Road in the east, Xinhua South Road in the west, the crossing between Shengli Road and Yan'an Road in the south and Tuanjie Road in the north.⁷⁷ Later, the area was expanded by Russian demand to the south of Erdaoqiao in the north and the present-day 20th Primary School in the south.⁷⁸ Major Yanghangs were located to the east and west of the road, which cut across the *maoyiquan* from north to south.

At the very end of the Qing era, trade between the Russian territories and Xinjiang showed a significant development. Major exports from Xinjiang to Russia included tea from inner China, a product that had long been exchanged, and cotton and cotton cloth, which was a well-known product from oases in south Xinjiang such as Kashgar and Turfan. In addition to leather and wool, presumably produced by nomads on the northern side of Tianshan, large quantities of agricultural produce such as dried fruits, meat, cattle, and fat, demand for which is said to have been

⁷⁰ Bao'erhan, *Xinjiang wushi nian* (Beijing: Wenshi ziliao chubanshe, 1984): 6–7.

⁷¹ The city of Osh at the eastern end of the Ferghana Basin was an important place on the trade route between Kashgar and Russian Central Asia. It is said that the Kashgar Village was formed by a migration from the Kashgar District.

⁷² Y. Shinmen and Y. Kawahara, eds. *Fergana bonchi no Uigurujin to ekkyō no kioku* (Tokyo: The University of Tokyo, 2010): 27.

⁷³ At first, the consulate was established at Turfan in 1895, and it was relocated to Ürümchi in 1896. See Sh. Li, *Xinjiang dui Su (E) maoyi shi (1600–1990)* (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1994): 131–4; S. Kozhirova, *Rossiisko-kitaiskaia torgovlia v Tsentral'noi Azii, vtoraiia polovina XIX–nachalo XX vv.* (Astana, 2000): 79.

⁷⁴ Bao'erhan, *Xinjiang wushi nian*: 6.

⁷⁵ Ch. Zhao, “‘Yi-Ta tongshang zhangcheng’ shi Zhong-E guan shi shang di yige bupingdeng tiaoyue,” in *Zhong-E guanxi shi lunwen ji*, eds. Zhngguo shehui kexue yuan jindai shi yanjiu suo Zhong-E guanxi shi yanjiu shi, et al. (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe: 1979): 196–7.

⁷⁶ Sh. Li, “Xinjiang Eguo maoyiquan yanjiu,” in *Xiyu shi luncong* 3, ed. “Xiyu shi luncong” bianjizu (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1990): 452.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 436–7.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 447.

triggered by the population increase in Central Asia under Russian rule, were traded. On the other hand, large quantities of industrial goods such as textiles, ironwares, and matches flowed from Russian territory into Xinjiang.⁷⁹ One Qing document refers to a Turkic Muslim merchant (*Chan-shang*) who tried to carry matches made in Russia into Ili via Semipalatinsk.⁸⁰ The realities of trade are clearly shown in the 1893 trade statistics between Xinjiang and Russia and the 1903 trade statistics between Ürümchi and Russia.⁸¹ It is possible to speculate that Ürümchi became the economic center of Xinjiang due to its position as the major base for Xinjiang-Russian trade and as a distribution center where products for export produced in inner China and Xinjiang were gathered as it developed into the administrative center in the region. In fact, Ürümchi recorded trade figures that were comparable to frontier cities such as Tarbaghatai and Ili at the beginning of the 20th century.⁸²

The Yanghangs emerged as the major players in the aforementioned trading activities since the end of the 19th century. According to a report of the Ōtani expedition that conducted excavations in Xinjiang in the early 20th century,⁸³ there is no doubt that some Yanghangs had branches in south Xinjiang such as Turfan to gather large quantities of produce such as cotton, which they transported to Ürümchi for export to Russia. In addition, the Yanghangs of Ürümchi were keenly involved in a series of businesses including the running of farms in adjacent areas of Ürümchi such as Nanshan,⁸⁴ cleaning and processing of wool produced in Xinjiang, and exporting it to Russia. It is known that the five major Yanghangs monopolized more than 90% of wool exports from Ürümchi. Each Yanghang used the land bordering the east of *maoyiquan* to process wool. By a 1915 agreement between a representative of the Xinjiang Negotiation Section of the Republican Foreign Affairs Department and the Russian Consulate in Dihua, this area was made into a Russian concession

⁷⁹ Li, *Xinjiang dui Su (E) maoyi shi*: 146–54; Sladkovskii, *Istoriia torgovo-ekonomicheskikh otnoshenii narodov Rossii*: 276, 278. Li examines the influence of the trade with Russia on Xinjiang economy.

⁸⁰ Z. Chen, ed. *Qingdai Xinjiang diqu shewai dang'an huibian 2* (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2008): 681–6.

⁸¹ Sladkovskii, *Istoriia torgovo-ekonomicheskikh otnoshenii narodov Rossii*: 277–8; X. Meng, ed. *Zhong-su maoyi shi ziliao* (Beijing: Zhongguo duiwai jingji maoyi chubanshe, 1991): 350–1. We can find yearly data on the items of export and import and their amounts in the archival materials (Jindaishi yanjiusuo dang'anguan [Zhongyang yanjiuyuan/Academia Sinica]: no. 01-20-033-01-008).

⁸² For example, with regard to the years 1903 and 1904 in Ürümchi, the exports from Xinjiang to Russia totaled 1,182,300 rubles, and imports from Russia to Xinjiang totaled 773,899 rubles. In Ili, the amount of exports from Xinjiang to Russia totaled 1,763,314 rubles, and the imports from Russia to Xinjiang totaled 1,519,613 rubles (Kozhirova, *Rossiisko-kitaiskaia torgovlia*: 91).

⁸³ Y. Uehara, ed. *Shin saiki ki 2* (Tokyo: Yūkōsha, 1937): 615.

⁸⁴ H. Zhou, “Tata'er zu zai jindai Xinjiang jingji wenhua fazhan zhong de lishi zuoyong,” *Xinjiang sheke luntan* 1 (1993): 53.

dedicated to Yanghang wool processing.⁸⁵ The five Yanghang requested that the Xinjiang government extend the site in 1917.⁸⁶

The formation and development of the areas surrounding Yanghangjie constituted part of the process through which Russia's economic advances in China were carried out and its interests were secured. At the same time, it is a story that vividly illustrates the realities of historical development through which Ürümchi acquired its position as a major node in the commercial network of Xinjiang-Russia trade.

The Russian Revolution damaged Russo-Chinese trade via Xinjiang, and the Yanghangs were negatively affected. In 1918, Dehe Yanghang and Desheng Yanghang made a joint petition to the provincial government that business was declining due to the civil war in Russia for the past few years and that tea sent to Russian territory was being robbed by "rebels."⁸⁷ The establishment of a Soviet government was highly problematic for the Yanghangs and their commercial capital. There is evidence while conventional Yanghangs were retained for a while, the majority of them "naturalized" as Chinese companies by around 1924 when trade between China and the Soviet Union officially started.⁸⁸ For example, it is certain that the Jixiangyong Yanghang was naturalized before 1925.⁸⁹

On the other hand, because of the Russian Revolution and because of the collectivization policy implemented by the Soviet government afterwards, many Russian nationals went into exile in China. Some of them settled in the frontier towns of Ili and Tarbagatai, as well as in Ürümchi.⁹⁰ Because of this, the Russian community in Ürümchi became more diversified in terms of profession and social class, and also increased in size. In the 1920s and 1930s, some Tatars and Uzbeks in Xinjiang including those involved in the Yanghangs opted for Soviet citizenship.⁹¹ Russian merchants in Kashgar made an application for alteration of citizenship in 1920.⁹² The Russian community in Xinjiang was divided into those with Soviet citizenship only, those with dual citizenship of the Soviet Union and China, and those with Chinese citizenship.⁹³ Major changes were seen in the situation surrounding Russian Muslim residents of Ürümchi partly due to this diversification

⁸⁵ *Minguo shiqi Xinjiang dang'an huibian* (1912–1927) 10: 187–98. The name Yangmaohu was derived basis its use in washing wool (yangmao). See Li, "Xinjiang Eguo zujie di yanjiu," *Xinjiang daxue xuebao* 2 (1989): 54–8.

⁸⁶ Jindaishi yanjiusuo dang'anguan: no. 03-16-027-02-001.

⁸⁷ *Xinjiang yu E-Su*: 104–5.

⁸⁸ Li, "Xinjiang Eguo zujie di yanjiu": 60.

⁸⁹ *Xinjiang yu E-Su*: 188.

⁹⁰ Usmanov, "Tatar settlers in Western China": 246–7.

⁹¹ Bao'erhan, *Xinjiang wushi nian*: 14.

⁹² Jindaishi yanjiusuo dang'anguan: no. 03-32-102-05-011.

⁹³ Usmanov, "Tatar settlers in Western China": 264.

of its citizenship categories.⁹⁴

Eventually, Soviet facilities were built in the areas surrounding Yanghangjie to replace Russian ones. As the Soviet Union state system was established, a temporary trade agreement between Xinjiang and the Soviet Union was concluded in 1925 by Yang Zengxin who was the governor of the Xinjiang provincial government.⁹⁵ It is very likely that changes occurred in the function and appearance of the district in question under such circumstances. At least in the 1920s, Soviet organizations were engaged in trade drawing on the collaborative relationship with former Yanghangs and former Russian merchants in Xinjiang as cultivated during Russian imperial rule, although there was a discord between the former Yanghangs as Chinese companies and Soviet organizations.⁹⁶ The Yanghangs attempted to increase their power by collaborating with local capitalists in Xinjiang, and they maintained a share of trading activities between the Soviet Union and Xinjiang at that time.⁹⁷

In the 1930s, when Sheng Shicai took control of the Xinjiang provincial government, the influence of the Soviet Union over Xinjiang became overwhelming in many respects including the economy. Trade with the Soviet Union was dealt with almost exclusively by *Yuxin Tuchan Gongsì* 裕新土產公司, which was set up by the finance department of the Xinjiang provincial government.⁹⁸ However as seen by the fact that the Tatar Burhan Shahidi was responsible for the Gongsì in the early years of Sheng Shicai's rule,⁹⁹ those with previous connections to the Yanghangs played a certain role in Xinjiang's trade with the Soviet Union. Trade between the Soviet Union and Xinjiang dramatically expanded from the 1920s to the 1930s,¹⁰⁰ although it temporarily declined in the period of the Muslim rebellions in the first half of the 1930s.¹⁰¹ However, from the second half of the 1930s onward, some powerful Yanghang merchants were persecuted without reason during Sheng Shicai's purge:

⁹⁴ After the establishment of PRC, the Tatars and Uzbeks in Xinjiang were regarded as China's *shaoshu minzu*, or ethnic minorities, called the *Tata'er-zu* and *Wuzibieke-zu*. According to statistical data in 2014, in Ürümchi the population of Uzbeks is 2,093, and that of Tatars is 1,047 (*Xinjiang Tongji Nianjian* 2015: 103).

⁹⁵ Li, *Xinjiang dui Su (E) maoyi shi*: 305; Xinhua shishi congkanshe, ed. *Zhong-Su guanxi shiliao* (Beijing: Xinhua shudian xinhua shishi congkanshe, 1950): 20–2.

⁹⁶ *Xinjiang yu E-Su*: 318.

⁹⁷ Li, *Xinjiang dui Su (E) maoyi shi*: 318–21.

⁹⁸ M. Sladkovskii, *Istoriia torgovo-ekonomicheskikh otnoshenii SSSR s Kitaem, 1917–1974*. (Moscow: Nauka, 1977): 148. With regard to the Yuxin Tuchan Gongsì, see Li, *Xinjiang dui Su (E) maoyi shi*: 432–43.

⁹⁹ Bao'erhan, *Xinjiang wushi nian*: 233.

¹⁰⁰ With regard to the items of trade and the changes in their amounts, see Sladkovskii, *Istoriia torgovo-ekonomicheskikh otnoshenii SSSR s Kitaem*: 81–3, 149–50.

¹⁰¹ Li, *Xinjiang dui Su (E) maoyi shi*: 408.

they were arrested and their properties were confiscated.¹⁰² It is safe to assume that the district was fundamentally affected by these developments.

2.2. *The Composition of the Areas Surrounding Yanghangjie*

Nanliang district with the Yanghang business premises and houses of Russian merchants was located near present-day Shengli Road and is thought to have extended from the crossing between Shengli Road and Tuanjie Road to the northern edge of Xinjiang University in the south. Because of dramatic social and physical changes since the establishment of PRC, its present-day appearance bears no similarity to that of the time. It is difficult as of now to gain access to major primary sources necessary to clarify the history and activities of the Yanghangs and those who migrated from the Russian territories, and locations of the yanghangs' bases, houses of the residents, and various facilities in the district.

However, some useful data is contained in documentary evidence such as memoirs, and Khoshur Haji Pättar, a researcher residing in Ürümchi, has published some basic details about each property's location at that time, as well as the history and activities of their owners based on in-depth interviews with former residents.¹⁰³ Mainly based on these data and adding findings from the author's interviews and observations in Ürümchi, the situation of the area surrounding Yanghangjie from the end of the 19th century until the 1940s is described below.¹⁰⁴

The Yanghangs played a central role in the district. Below is some information about the founders and premises of the eight main Yanghangs.¹⁰⁵

a. Zhisheng Yanghang (Ziya al-Din Muhammad Valiyov [Ziya Haji])

Ziya Haji, a Tatar from Kazan, arrived in Ürümchi via Tarbaghatai in 1877 and founded Zhisheng Yanghang at the end of the 19th century. In addition to trade, he owned a farm in Nanshan and engaged in large-scale stock farming.

¹⁰² With regard to the great purge carried out by Sheng Shicai from 1937 to 1938, see A. Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A Political History of Republican Sinkiang 1911–1949* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986): 150–1; K. Kinoshita, “Shinkyō ni okeru Sei Seisai no tōchi to shukusei: 1937 nen–38 nen.” *Hōgaku seijigaku ronkyū* 89 (2011): 4–10.

¹⁰³ Kh. Pättar, “Ürümchidiki ‘Nänlyang’ning ötmüshi wä bügüni (1).” *Shinjang täzkirichiliki* 2 (2007): 44–64; “Ürümchidiki ‘Nänlyang’ning ötmüshi wä bügüni (2).” *Shinjang täzkirichiliki* 3 (2007): 46–64.

¹⁰⁴ Under such conditions, a major proportion of this chapter's description of the situation of the Yanghangs in the Nanliang district must be based on second-hand materials.

¹⁰⁵ The actual conditions and characteristics of Yanghang activities should be investigated by using documents from the Russian and Soviet governments and Chinese archival materials from the local levels. I hope that such research will occur in the near future.

When he passed away at the age of 75 in 1937, his properties were divided among his children and then were sold to others in the 1950s.¹⁰⁶

b. Tianxing Yanghang (Ishaqjan Bay)

Ishaqjan Bay, a Tatar from Semipalatinsk, came to Ürümchi and engaged in commerce, founding Tianxing Yanghang in 1897. Its headquarter was located in Semipalatinsk, where Ishaqjan himself resided, and it had branches in Tarbaghatai, where his younger brothers resided, as well as in Turfan.¹⁰⁷ It is reported that its capital as of 1914 was about two million rubles (30,000 taels worth of gold).¹⁰⁸ Usually fifteen full-time staff were engaged in business, and more than one hundred temporary employees worked at the Yanghang in Ürümchi.¹⁰⁹ It exported horse/sheep skins and cotton from Xinjiang to Russia and imported industrial goods such as iron/metal ware, matches, and textiles from Russia to Xinjiang.¹¹⁰ It is also said that the Yanghang had a farm in the Santunhe district of Changji and kept about 2,000 sheep.¹¹¹ The Yanghang went bankrupt in 1940 under the rule of Sheng Shicai. Yuxin Tuchan Gongsi, mentioned earlier, continued trading with the Soviet Union on the former premises of Tianxing yanghang.¹¹² Zaqr of Tianxing Yanghang supervised its commercial activities for a while, but was jailed by Sheng Shicai, and died in prison.¹¹³

c. Desheng Yanghang (Khan Baba)

Khan Baba from Tashkent was engaged in commerce at the bazaar in Tashkent. In 1883, he sent Aziz Haji, Samuqjan, and others to Xinjiang to set up Desheng Yanghang. Because Samuqjan started his own Maosheng Yanghang, Desheng Yanghang's business was looked after mainly by Aziz Haji.¹¹⁴ The Yanghang's premises are said to have been vast and full of offices in the European-Slavic style.¹¹⁵ Desheng Yanghang's business developed smoothly and it was engaged in trading activities including exporting tea from inner China to the Russian territories via Xinjiang. As an example regarding the export of tea, in 1917

¹⁰⁶ Pättar, "Ürümchidiki (1)": 46–7.

¹⁰⁷ Bao'erhan, *Xinjiang wushi nian*: 10.

¹⁰⁸ Pättar, "Ürümchidiki (1)": 47.

¹⁰⁹ Bao'erhan, *Xinjiang wushi nian*: 11–2.

¹¹⁰ B. Tong, "Waishang zai Xinjiang de yanghang," in *Xinjiang wenshi ziliao xuanji* 2: 156.

¹¹¹ Bao'erhan, *Xinjiang wushi nian*: 11; Zhou, "Tata'er zu zai jindai Xinjiang jingji wenhua fazhan zhong de lishi zuoyong": 53.

¹¹² Pättar, "Ürümchidiki (1)": 47–8.

¹¹³ Tong, "Waishang zai Xinjiang de yanghang": 156.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 159.

¹¹⁵ Pättar, "Ürümchidiki (1)": 49.

Desheng Yanghang conveyed tea from inland China to Ürümchi via Qumul (Hami) and applied to the provincial government for permission to sell it in Xinjiang, as it would be difficult to export it to Russia. The tax authorities found the 7,986 blocks of brick tea in an inspection.¹¹⁶ These blocks were only some of the tea carried from inland China to Xinjiang to be exported to Russian territory.

Across a wide territory they established their branches in various places in Xinjiang including Tarbaghatai, Qumul, Qarashahr, and Turfan. For example, in 1922 seven men and twelve women of Russian nationality including Shah Muhammad (Ch. *Xiaha Maiti*) were staying in Qumul to conduct business.¹¹⁷ This Yanghang was also engaged in agriculture in Shamar-bagh, a suburb of Ürümchi, and in running a cattle farm in Nanshan. In addition, it built and ran a pelt workshop at a corner of Yangmaohu.¹¹⁸ At the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917, members of the Baba family, including Tursun Baba and Änvär Khanbaba, moved from Tashkent to Xinjiang to join the management of the Yanghang,¹¹⁹ but all its properties were confiscated by Sheng Shicai.¹²⁰

d. Dehe Yanghang (Mirsalih Bay)

Mirsalih Bay from Tashkent came to Xinjiang in 1881 and set up Dehe Yanghang in Tarbaghatai to export regional produce of Xinjiang to Russia. He then acquired real estate in Ürümchi and set up branches in Turfan and Gucheng.¹²¹ He also owned a large farm in Nanshan and exported a large quantity of sheepskin to Russia.¹²² Mirsalih Bay passed away in 1925 in Ürümchi, and his business was taken over by his son-in-law, Qasimjan Rahmanov.¹²³

e. Jili Yanghang (Mansurjan Bay)

Mansurjan Bay from Marghilan moved to Ürümchi in 1873 and founded Jili Yanghang in 1880 to expand his business.¹²⁴ He established a tea factory and make a lot of profit by exporting tea to Russia.¹²⁵ He is also known for

¹¹⁶ *Xinjiang yu E-Su*: 88.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹¹⁸ Li, *Idō suru Shinkyō Uiguru jin*: 76.

¹¹⁹ Tong, “Waishang zai Xinjiang de yanghang”: 160.

¹²⁰ Pättar, “Ürümchidiki (1)”: 49.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹²² Tong, “Waishang zai Xinjiang de yanghang”: 158.

¹²³ Pättar, “Ürümchidiki (1)”: 49–50.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹²⁵ Jiu, “Waishang yanghang yu Dihua ‘maoyiquan’” 外商洋行与迪化“贸易圈.” WWZ 12 (1986): 175.

supporting the construction of Aq Mäschit in Erdaoqiao. He passed away during his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1936.¹²⁶

f. Jixiangyong Yanghang (Ramazan Haji and Husayn Bay Chanishof¹²⁷)

Ramazan Haji, a Tatar from Russia,¹²⁸ fled to Tarbaghatai in Xinjiang to escape military service and was engaged in the export of brick tea to Semipalatinsk via Xinjiang in collaboration with Russian merchants who owned tea factories in Hankou. Afterwards, he set up Jixiangyong Yanghang¹²⁹ and moved its headquarters to the location presently occupied by the Education Agency of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Qurban ‘Ali, a Tatar intellectual residing in Tarbaghatai, described Ramazan as the richest man of the time.¹³⁰ Ramazan invited his nephew Husayn to Ürümchi in 1903 and designated him as his heir. Husayn Bay expanded the business and built a pelt factory in the northeastern corner of the premises currently occupied by the Tuberculosis Hospital (Yan’an Road).¹³¹ He also hired Tatar engineers to set up and run a cotton-processing factory in Turfan; locally produced cotton was processed and then exported to Russia.¹³² It is also said that he had a large farm in Nanshan and engaged in stock farming.¹³³

After the Russian Revolution, Husayn Bay continued his business activities via the Yuxin Tuchan Gongsu, which managed trade between Soviet territory and Xinjiang.¹³⁴ In 1931, he submitted a ten-point proposal regarding trade with the Soviet Union to the Provincial Governor Jin Shuren.¹³⁵ Husayn Bay grew close to the provincial government and was appointed as an official under Jin Shuren and Sheng Shicai.¹³⁶ However, Sheng had arrested him in 1938 and the premises of his yanghang were confiscated.¹³⁷ Afterwards, the

¹²⁶ Pättar, “Ürümchidiki (1)”: 50–1.

¹²⁷ Hushayin Chanaisaifu in a document of the provincial government (*Xinjiang yu E-Su*: 132).

¹²⁸ Hamamoto, “Sviazuiushchaia rol’ tatarskikh kuptsov Volgo-Upal’skogo regiona”: 54.

¹²⁹ Tong, “Waishang zai Xinjiang de yanghang”: 160; Li, *Idō suru Shinkyō Uiguru jin*”: 75.

¹³⁰ Qurbān-‘Alī Khālidī, *An Islamic Biographical Dictionary of the Eastern Kazakh Steppe, 1770–1912*, eds. A. Frank and M. Usmanov (Leiden: Brill, 2005): 36.

¹³¹ Pättar, “Ürümchidiki (2)”: 49–50.

¹³² Jianxiwa Selimugelai 加尼西瓦·色里木格来, “Jixiangyong shanghang de shimo” 吉祥涌商行的始末, WWZ 12 (1986): 179.

¹³³ Tong, “Waishang zai Xinjiang de yanghang”: 161.

¹³⁴ Li, *Idō suru Shinkyō Uiguru jin*: 76.

¹³⁵ *Xinjiang yu E-Su*: 292. In October 1931, the “Xin-su linshi tongshang xieding,” or the Xinjiang-Soviet Temporary Trade Agreement, was concluded between the Xinjiang provincial government and the USSR (*Xinjiang yu E-Su*: 303); Li, *Xinjiang dui Su (E) maoyi shi*: 374–5.

¹³⁶ Wu, *Xinjiang jiyou*: 70, 100.

¹³⁷ Pättar, “Ürümchidiki (2)”: 49–50.

premises were used under the name of Nanhuayuan.¹³⁸

g. Dali Yanghang (Baltkin)

In 1911, Baltkin, a Russian factory owner, came to Ürümchi and set up Dali Yanghang. He ran a cotton-spinning mill using cotton from Turfan and made profits through trade in cotton textiles.¹³⁹ However, due to the Russian Revolution, the business deteriorated. Actually, in 1917 a Turkic Muslim merchant (*chanshang*) named Ahmad (Aimaiti) appealed to the provincial government for nonpayment of the wool price by Dali Yanghang.¹⁴⁰ Baltkin had to close his Yanghang. Part of its premises was used by a branch of the Russian-Asian Bank owned by Russian capital¹⁴¹ but it wound up its business in 1925. From 1937, Yuxin Tuchan Gongsi used the premises for trade with the Soviet Union.¹⁴²

h. Maosheng Yanghang (Samuqjan Bay)

Samuqjan Bay from Tashkent left Desheng Yanghang in 1906 to set up Maosheng Yanghang,¹⁴³ which was wound down in 1935.¹⁴⁴

Of these eight major Yanghangs in Ürümchi, the first five (a. to e.) were set up by merchants who arrived in Xinjiang relatively early, certainly before the Treaty of Saint Petersburg was concluded in 1881, and who were based in Ürümchi. Their headquarters were located on the eastern side of the northern part of the district from present-day Tuanjie Road to the Aqsaray (Ch. *Aikeshā*) Hotel at the midpoint of Tuanjie Road and Yan'an Road. Taking into consideration the fact that the founding of the Russian Consulate in 1896 and the establishment of the *maoyiquan* were the major catalysts in the formation of the area in question as discussed above, it is no wonder that these Yanghangs were headquartered in the area facing the Russian Consulate.

It appears there were also houses and premises owned by individual Tatars on the eastern side of Shengli Road, which is south of the midpoint of Tuanjie Road and

¹³⁸ When the coalition government of Xinjiang Province was established in 1946, "Nanhuayuan" was provided as a residence for the leaders of the Ili rebellion, including Ahmadjan Qasimi, who came to Ürümchi to participate in the provincial government. See Polat Qādirī, *Ölkā tārīkhi* (Ürümchi: Altay nashriyāti, 1948): 140.

¹³⁹ Jiu, "Waishang yanghang": 175.

¹⁴⁰ *Xinjiang yu E-Su*: 96.

¹⁴¹ Tong, "Waishang zai Xinjiang de yanghang": 154–5.

¹⁴² Pättar, "Ürümchidiki (1)": 62.

¹⁴³ Tong, "Waishang zai Xinjiang de yanghang": 158–9.

¹⁴⁴ Pättar, "Ürümchidiki (1)": 46–7.

Yan'an Road, which itself is adjacent to the Yanghang area.¹⁴⁵ They were among those who moved to and settled in Ürümchi relatively early, although after the 1880s. In 1914, when donations were collected in Ürümchi for soldiers who were injured in World War I, many of the Russian merchants in Ürümchi contributed. These included the representatives of main Yanghang as well as Tatar inhabitants who were said to live in the area such as 'Abd al-Khaliq Aqsaqal and Karim Chanishev.¹⁴⁶

Located on the opposite side of present-day Shengli Road facing established and major Yanghangs was the Russian Consulate in Dihua, and its premises were vast. There were major consulate buildings including the consulate's secretariat and secretaries' rooms, barracks for the guards, and a church as well as a courtyard, gardens and trees on the premises and they were all positioned according to a master plan.¹⁴⁷ After the Russian Revolution, diplomatic relations between the Republic of China and the Soviet Union were established in 1924 and the Consulate remained in use as the Soviet Consulate.¹⁴⁸ A bust of Lenin was brought in 1926 and attempts were made to install it in the premises.¹⁴⁹

Another facility that symbolizes the district along with the Russian Consulate is the so-called Yanghang Mosque (also known as Tatar Mosque or Nogai Mosque), a mosque for Russian Muslims who resided in the area. This is located south of Konsulkhanā Kochisi (Consulate Road)¹⁵⁰, which runs from east to west on the southern side of the Consulate's premises. The construction of the mosque was proposed by major figures from various ethnic groups at the end of the 19th century and built with their financial support. It has undergone refurbishment four times, including once by Dehe Yanghang in 1931, as the result of which it gained its present-day large size.¹⁵¹ According to Khoshur Haji Pättar's research, from 1896 to 2005 the activities of the mosque were carried out by nine *imāms* and *khāṭibs* and eighteen *mu'azzins*. Among them were 'Abd al-Malik Haji Damulla (1850–1930), a member of the ulama of Bukhara, who served as the *imām* of the mosque for thirty

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 51–3, 55–6.

¹⁴⁶ B. Shahīd, "Soghush va Urumchi." *Vaqt* 1637 (Noyabr 21, 1914): 4; Sh. Ōishi, "Waqt shijō no Buruhan Shahido no kiji ni tsuite." *Seinan Ajia kenkyū* 49 (1998): 77.

¹⁴⁷ Mannerheim, *Across Asia*: 308.

¹⁴⁸ In 1962, the consulate was abandoned and its site was used by the XUAR singing and dancing group (Pättar, "Ürümchidiki (2)": 46–7). Afterward, the main building of the consulate was designated as cultural property. See Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiqu wenwu guji baohu zhongxin, ed. 2013. *Xinjiang wenwu baohu gongcheng kancha sheji fang'an ji* 1 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2013): 273.

¹⁴⁹ Jindaishi yanjiusuo dang'anguan: no. 03-32-103-05-001.

¹⁵⁰ Hamaya Hiroshi's photo album includes a photograph that he took on Konsulkhanā Kochisi near the Soviet consulate in 1956. See H. Hamaya, *Henkyō no machi: Urumuchi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1957): 4.

¹⁵¹ *Wulumuqi shi zhi* 2 (1995): 167. The present building of the mosque was completed at the end of 2002.

years, Abu'l-Haqq Hazrat (1863–1940), a Tatar from Zaisan who served as the head *imām* from 1934 to 1938, and Muharram Qari from Turkey who was appointed as deputy *imām* in 1940.¹⁵² The diversity in the place of origin and in the education of these leaders suggests a high degree of mobility of Islamic religious leaders across the Eurasia of the period.

The space surrounding the mosque and between it and the Russian Consulate appear to have been inhabited by Turkic Muslims from the Ferghana region (Uzbeks) and Tatars who settled in Ürümchi around the end of the 19th century.¹⁵³ Jixiangyong Yanghang is supposed to have stood south of Yanghang Mosque, in the place that is currently occupied by the Education Agency of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. It is assumed that the space between the Konsulkhanā Kochisi on the south side of the Russian Consulate and the area south of Jixiangyong Yanghang together with the area where the major Yanghangs were concentrated, as discussed earlier, were developed since the end of the 19th century and migrants have settled here since then.

In contrast to these residential areas which were developed relatively early, the area south of the Representative Office of the Eighth Route Army in Xinjiang,¹⁵⁴ which is located on the eastern side of Shengli Road, the place now occupied by the the Representative Office of the Eighth Route Army in Xinjiang Memorial,¹⁵⁵ was settled by those who migrated in the 20th century and there are records that other official facilities were also built there.

Adjacent to the Representative Office of the Eighth Route Army was a district that had houses of famous Tatars such as Haydar Sayrani and the aforementioned Burhan. Haydar was from Ufa and graduated from Kazan University in 1905. He moved to Turfan in 1909 at the invitation of Maqsud Muhiti, a Turkic Muslim capitalist from Turfan,¹⁵⁶ and taught at the school under the new system at Astanā and at the Tatar school in Ürümchi.¹⁵⁷ It is said that there were several premises south

¹⁵² Pättar, “Ürümchidiki (1)”: 56; “Ürümchidiki (2)”: 51, 59.

¹⁵³ Pättar, “Ürümchidiki (2)”: 48–9.

¹⁵⁴ The house of Zhao Deshou was confiscated by Sheng Shicai and then used as the Representative Office of the Eighth Route Army. Although Chen Yun, Chen Tanqiu, and Mao Zemin resided there, it was closed in 1942 by Sheng Shicai, who abandoned his pro-Soviet policy. See Hu Xiaoguang 胡晓光, “Balujun zhu Xinjiang banshichu jieshao” 八路军驻新疆办事处介绍, WWZ 3 (1982): 10–2.

¹⁵⁵ Guojia Wenwuju, *Zhongguo wenwu dituji: Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiqu fence* 1: 395.

¹⁵⁶ Malike Qianixifu, *Zhongguo Tata'er zu jiaoyu shi*, transl. Muheta'er Aishan (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2005): 63; M. Chanyshev, *Kytaida tatar mägarife tarikhy* (Kazan: “Zhyen,” “Ndel-press,” 2007): 86.

¹⁵⁷ A. Talip, *Uyghur ma'aripi tarikhidin öchärklar (1949-yilgha qädär)* (Ürümchi: Shinjang khäliq nashriyati, 1987): 108. With regard to Haydar's career and his activities in Xinjiang, see Ömärjan Sidiq, *Idiqut oghlanliri: muhitilar jämäti* (Ürümchi: Shinjang khäliq nashriyati, 2003): 60–70.

of the Representative Office of the Eighth Route Army that were owned by Tatars who moved to Ürümchi in the 1920s.¹⁵⁸ Farther south, where Orman (Ch. *Wo'erman*) Restaurant now stands, there was a facility called the Russia Club or Grazhdan Club. Under the governorship of Sheng Shicai, Russians who migrated to Xinjiang came to be seen as constituting one of Xinjiang's ethnic groups called *Guihuazu*¹⁵⁹ and the club was set up by the Guihuazu Cultural Progress Association in 1936.¹⁶⁰ Records show that to the south of the club, there were important official institutions toward the end of the Republican period. Hongdalou (Uy. *Qizil bina*), built as the school building for the Xinjiang Teacher Training School in 1940, and its surroundings were then used as the premises of the Xinjiang College,¹⁶¹ the only institution of higher education institution in Xinjiang during the Republican period.¹⁶²

The map shows the outline of locations of these facilities. They are divided along the eastern and western sides of present-day Shengli Road.

In contrast to the marked increase in the volume of trade between Xinjiang and the Soviet Union since the second half of the 1930s,¹⁶³ the business activities of the Yanghangs continued to decline. Many Yanghang founders and their descendants were executed during Sheng Shicai's purge and their assets were confiscated. On the other hand, during the 1930s and 1940s, official facilities including associations to promote each ethnic group's culture were created, which directly reported to the provincial government, editorial offices of Uyghur and Kazakh versions of *Xinjiang Daily* (temporarily in the 1940s), and the US Consulate in Ürümchi.¹⁶⁴ After the establishment of PRC in 1949, many Yanghang premises were confiscated and used by the government (sometimes the properties were split up) and lost their original appearance and functions, although some Russian-style buildings were preserved. It is fair to say that the areas surrounding Yanghangjie were completely destroyed around this point.

As we have seen, the district in question was formed under specific circumstances including the advance of Russian merchants on the basis of the "unequal treaty" favoring Russia and the establishment and expansion of the

¹⁵⁸ Pättar, "Ürümchidiki (1)": 59.

¹⁵⁹ "Eluosizu jianshi" bianxiezu, *Eluosizu jianshi* (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1986): 38.

¹⁶⁰ Pättar, "Ürümchidiki (1)": 61–3.

¹⁶¹ Xinjiang Xuexiao (Xinjiang College), which had roots in Xinjiang Ewen Fazheng Zhuanmen Xuexiao (Xinjiang College of Law and Politics in the Russian Language) founded in 1925, was established in 1935 during the Sheng Shicai Administration. See *Minguo shiqi Xinjiang dang'an huibian (1928–1949)* 50: 409; "Xinjiang jiaoyu nianjian" bianweihui, ed. *Xinjiang jiaoyu nianjian 1949–1989* (Ürümchi: Xinjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991): 179–80.

¹⁶² After the establishment of PRC, the site was designated for use as the campus of Xinjiang University.

¹⁶³ Sladkovskii, *Istoriia torgovo-ekonomicheskikh otnoshenii SSSR s Kitaem*: 148–9.

¹⁶⁴ Pättar, "Ürümchidiki (2)": 53–9.

maoyiquan as an extraterritorial space. Research by Chinese scholars confirms that the Yanghangs' activities constituted part of Russia's economic "invasion" of Xinjiang,¹⁶⁵ which brought outrageous profits by exploiting the wealth of Xinjiang residents.¹⁶⁶ As Burhan Shahidi points out, there is no doubt that the commercial activities of the Yanghangs from this privileged position inflicted a loss on local Turkic Muslim merchants to some extent.¹⁶⁷ It can be assumed that the expansion of the Yanghangs' animal husbandry sites in some cases exerted a negative influence on the lives and production activities of local people.¹⁶⁸ However, when taking into consideration the fact that Tatar merchants had been engaged in commerce in a vast area including Russia's frontier regions from a long time ago, it is also fair to say that the district in question centered on the Yanghangs embodied the trans-border movement of people and economic activities pursued over a vast area in Eurasia of the time against the background of the Russian Empire's territorial expansion, political conditions peculiar to the Russo-Chinese relationship of the time, and Ürümchi as the provincial capital in Xinjiang.

Finally, it has to be pointed out that the district exerted a degree of influence on education and culture in addition to commercial activities as a habitat of the "progressive" Tatar merchants and intellectuals.¹⁶⁹ This deserves a further and separate investigation.

3. Upheavals during the PRC Period

3.1. *New Dimensions since the Establishment of the People's Republic of China*

On October 20, 1949, after the establishment of the PRC, the People's Liberation Army entered Ürümchi as part of the "Peaceful Liberation of Xinjiang."¹⁷⁰ Ürümchi

¹⁶⁵ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan jindai shi yanjiusuo, *Sha'e qinhua shi* 4.2 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1990): 656–71.

¹⁶⁶ Jiu, *Wulumuqi shihua*: 68; "Wuzibieke zu jianshi" bianxie zu, et al., ed. *Wuzibieke zu jianshi* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2008): 29–30.

¹⁶⁷ Bao'erhan, *Xinjiang wushi nian*: 8.

¹⁶⁸ Yang Zengxin. *Buguozhai wendu* (1921; repr., Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1965), Gengji 庚集: 1; Bao'erhan, *Xinjiang wushi nian*: 11.

¹⁶⁹ See Qianixifu, *Zhongguo Tata'er zu jiaoyu shi*: 49–50, 87–8; Chanyshev, *Kytaida tatar mägarişe tarikhy*: 76–7, 109–10. Also see B. Shahid, "Qitāyda Ürümchi shahri." *Vaqt* 1440 (March 15, 1914): 2.

¹⁷⁰ Zhongguo gongchan dang Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiq u weiyuanhui, et al., ed. *Xinjiang heping jiefang* (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1990): 95, 106. We can find photographs of the scene from when the People's Liberation Army made a triumphal entry into Ürümchi in Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiq u dang'an ju (guan), et al., ed. *Wulumuqi jiefang dang'an wenxian tuji* (Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe, 2011): 47–50. Also see G. Yuan, ed. *20 shiji*

would go through major changes in many respects under the rule of PRC. First, in 1954 its name was changed from Dihua to Ürümchi. When the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region was established in 1955, Ürümchi started its new life as the capital of an autonomous region. This administrative status has not changed to this date.

Ürümchi was met with successive waves of change since the immediate aftermath of the establishment of PRC. There are a few points to be noted regarding the development of infrastructure and its expansion in size.

Firstly, the city walls were destroyed in the 1950s. According to one inhabitant's recollection, Ximen and its surrounding city walls were destroyed in 1957.¹⁷¹

The second point to be noted is the work on the Ürümchi River. The Ürümchi River, which flowed past the western border of Dihuacheng, served as a water source for the city but was also a threat to the city because of a series of severe floods. Managing the Ürümchi River had been a major challenge for those who ruled Ürümchi since the Qing period. The tower that stands at the top of Hongshan Mountain is said to have been built for the first time in 1788 to calm the “dragon” and thereby protect the city from flooding.¹⁷² The modern Xidaqiao (Big Western Bridge) over Ürümchi River was built in 1906,¹⁷³ but was destroyed by flooding in 1940 and 1953.¹⁷⁴ Subsequently, after the establishment of the PRC, Wulabo dam was constructed upriver, 13 km away from the city center to the south in 1961,¹⁷⁵ to prevent flooding and to supply agricultural water to surrounding areas in a reliable way. This made it possible to manage the river's flow. In addition, the Heping canal, which ran through the city from south to north, was rebuilt to originate at the Wulabo dam.¹⁷⁶ As a result of these building works, the riverbed of Ürümchi River now serves as the main thoroughfare called Hetan (Khotan) Road.¹⁷⁷

Thirdly, it should be noted that urban infrastructure with regard to academic

Xinjiang tupian jishi: Wangshi huimou 2 (Ürümchi: Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, 1999): 61–2.

¹⁷¹ J. Zhao, “Ximen jiuyi” (Wulumuqi zhi men 2). *Wulumuqi wanbao (yule & fukan)* (Sept. 22, 2009): 16.

¹⁷² J. Wang, “Urümuchi no chinryütō (Shinkyō),” in *Daichi ha ikiteiru: Chūgoku fūsui no shisō to jissen*, eds. L. Nie, M. Han, Sh. Zeng, and H. Nishizawa (Yokohama: Terainku., 2000): 140–1.

¹⁷³ Jiu, *Wulumuqi shihua*: 44.

¹⁷⁴ Liu, *Wulumuqi zhanggu 2*: 25. With regard to the Xidaqiao at that time, see Liu, *Wulumuqi zhanggu*: 10–1; J. Fan, *20 shiji Xinjiang tupian jishi: Wangshi huimou 1* (Ürümchi: Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, 1999): 10–1.

¹⁷⁵ *Wulumuqi shi zhi 2*: 56.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 2: 255–6. Also see Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiqu dang'an ju (guan), *Wulumuqi jiefang dang'an wenxian tuji*: 115.

¹⁷⁷ *Wulumuqi shi dangshi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, Wulumuqi shi zhi 2*: 27.

and cultural activities such as universities and hospitals was developed between the 1950s and early-1960s in areas outside the traditional Dihuacheng area with assistance from Soviet Union under the banner of Russo-Chinese friendship.¹⁷⁸ While the first Five Year Plan was implemented in China from 1953 to 1957, a large number of experts and engineers sent from the Soviet Union in the 1950s provided assistance in many spheres including industry, education, and culture. It is assumed that since Xinjiang had had a close relationship with the Soviet Union before the 1950s, Soviet influence and cooperation in many spheres was particularly marked in Xinjiang.¹⁷⁹

In Ürümchi, thanks to its peculiar relationship with the Soviet Union, major facilities such as the Xinjiang Medical College (now Xinjiang Medical University),¹⁸⁰ the Xinjiang Mining College,¹⁸¹ the predecessor to the Xinjiang Engineering College (currently the northern campus of Xinjiang University), and Kunlun Hotel were built around Youhao Road (referring to the “friendship” between China and the Soviet Union), which was newly developed north of the city. It was said that the bird’s eye’s view of the Xinjiang Medical College’ original buildings formed the letters “CCCP.” The eight-story Kunlun Hotel, which was completed in 1959,¹⁸² was a rare high-rise building in Ürümchi at that time¹⁸³ and became the source of the name of the place, *Balou*. It is very likely that the development of infrastructure of this period under Soviet influence triggered the significant northern expansion of the city afterwards. While many of the Russian-style buildings in this area were pulled down by urban redevelopment during the 1990s, there are some surviving buildings including parts of the buildings of Xinjiang University, the northern campus of Xinjiang University,

¹⁷⁸ As far as I know, in official publications printed in China in recent years such as *Wulumuqi shi zhi*, few descriptions could be found referring to the fact that the Soviet government helped construct infrastructure in the city.

¹⁷⁹ The Soviet government exerted a dominant influence on Xinjiang under the rule of Sheng Shicai in the 1930s, and obtained economic rights and interests including the development of mineral resources (Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims*: 147–9). The rights and interests were lost temporarily, but later were restored in the early years of the PRC. In the field of education, a large number of textbooks were published in the Soviet Union and were carried to Xinjiang for use in Uyghur and Kazakh elementary schools. See R. Ablimit, “Chūka jinmin kyōwakoku seiritsu go no Shinkyō ni okeru gakkō kyōiku no saihen.” *Nairiku Ajiashi kenkyū* 23 (2008): 132–4.

¹⁸⁰ Xinjiang Yixueyuan (Xinjiang Medical College), which was established with the help of the Soviet Union in 1956, played an important role in the training of the medical workers, including from ethnic minorities. It changed its name to Xinjiang Yike Daxue (Xinjiang Medical University) in 1998.

¹⁸¹ Xinjiang Kuangye Xueyuan was founded in 1958; based on Zhong-Su Youse Jinshu Gongsi Yishu Xuexiao (China-Soviet Non-ferrous Metal Corporation Technical College), it was established in a collaboration between China and the Soviet Union in 1953.

¹⁸² Xinjiang Weiwu’er zizhiqu wenwu ju, *Xinjiang Weiwu’er zizhiqu disanci*: 133.

¹⁸³ *Wulumuqi shi zhi* 2: 174.

and Xinjiang Medical University,¹⁸⁴ which preserve some of the flavor of the past.

However, as the confrontation between China and the Soviet Union intensified, the Soviet Union unilaterally recalled all engineers and experts who had been sent to China. In Xinjiang, large numbers of Kazakhs and Uyghurs from Ili and Tarbaghatai migrated to the Soviet Union in 1962 in what is known as the Ili-Tarbaghatai Incident.¹⁸⁵ In the same year, the Soviet Consulate in Ürümchi was closed¹⁸⁶ and travel and trade between Xinjiang and the Soviet Union came to a complete halt. The Soviet influence in Ürümchi disappeared. Due to this, the special position of Ürümchi in its economic and cultural links with Russia/the Soviet Union that had developed continuously since the latter half of the 19th century was lost. Still, the development of urban infrastructure and the expansion of the city based on Soviet assistance constitute an important aspect in the history of Ürümchi that cannot be ignored.

The fourth point to be noted is that a rapid increase in the Han Chinese population, the city's dramatic expansion, and the resulting changes constitute Ürümchi's biggest change. The migration of the Han Chinese from inner China to Xinjiang was promoted as a state policy. One of the major agencies involved in this development was the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (*Xinjiang Shengchan Jianshe Bingtuan*), the Han Chinese organization to assist migration and settlement (see Table 1). Another major focal point for this endeavor was the city of Ürümchi itself (see Table 2).¹⁸⁷ In fact the population of Han Chinese in the city, which was 133,500 as of 1955 when the autonomous region was established, steadily increased to 474,437 in 1965 and to 740,752 in 1975, and it exceeded 1,050,000 in 1995. The Han Chinese population of Ürümchi in 1995 accounted for about one-sixth of Xinjiang's total Han Chinese population of 6,310,000.

3.2. Circumstances after the "Reform and Opening-up"

After the Reform and Opening-up, Ürümchi was to change dramatically due to the acceleration in the movement of Han Chinese and capital from inner China and economic development.

In terms of the appearance of the city, as in the case with other major cities in China, the destruction of the old city quarter and major redevelopment took place.

¹⁸⁴ Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiqu Wenwu Ju, *Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiqu disanci*: 111–7.

¹⁸⁵ With regard to the incident, see D. Li, "Xinjiang Sulian qiaomin wenti de lishi kaocha (1945–1965)." *Lishi yanjiu* 3 (2003): 89.

¹⁸⁶ A. Yamagiwa and K. Mōri, eds. *Gendai Chūgoku to Soren* (Tokyo: Nihon kokusai mondai kenkyūjo, 1987): 116.

¹⁸⁷ Acceleration of migration from inland China to Ürümchi was definitely affected by the opening of the Lan-Xin railways in 1963. See Li Banmu 李般木, "Lan-Xin tielu xiuzhu gaikuang." 兰新铁路修筑概况. WWZ 11 (1986): 164.

The 1990s saw a boom in construction of high-rise buildings, including office buildings and hotels. In addition to successive openings of new large commercial facilities in the center of former Dihua Cheng, an underground fashion shopping mall called *Tatsuno* managed by a Japanese company opened and started operations in 1998, attracting local attention. Furthermore, not satisfied with the redevelopment of the city center, the city considerably expanded northwards and the “Economic Technology Development Area” and “New High-Tech Industrial Development Area” were established.¹⁸⁸

In the 1990s, a number of urban problems suddenly emerged, namely, the worsening of traffic jams and air pollution. In terms of the road network, the aforementioned Hetan Road which runs through the city from north to south has been further developed and the “Outer Ring Road,” a bypass road that goes around the city from east to west was constructed (2000–3);¹⁸⁹ these were meant to ease the traffic situation. Tuwu Highway connecting Ürümchi and Turfan, to which Hetan Road is now connected in the south, was completed in 1998 and now serves as the main road of the autonomous region. Thanks to these infrastructure development works, Ürümchi increasingly looks like a modern city.

What needs to be specially noted in the post-Reform-and-Opening-up era are the changes to the southern part of the city, where ethnic minorities have historically been concentrated. The Hui and Uyghur residential areas had been basically preserved even after the establishment of the PRC and continued to absorb Uyghurs, mainly from south Xinjiang. After the Reform and Opening-up, individually owned business among Uyghurs started to emerge, and commercial activities to exchange produce from various parts of Xinjiang and trading activities between Xinjiang and Soviet Central Asia (afterwards, Central Asian countries) have revived. Against this background, the number of Uyghurs moving from oases in south Xinjiang to Ürümchi and engaging in commerce and various businesses has rapidly increased. Research by Li Tianguo provides a detailed account of Uyghur residential and commercial areas in the south of the city in the 1990s, drawing from interviews with shop owners and artisans.¹⁹⁰ According to this work, businesses that the Uyghurs of the area engaged in were roughly divided into service and traditional handicraft manufacturing; the former was made up of grocery retail, catering, hotels, and barbers and the latter of tailors, shoemakers, metalsmiths, second-hand markets of metals and clothes. Their businesses responded to the demand of the Uyghur community in Ürümchi, which expanded due to the migration of Uyghurs to the city. As such, it is clear that their activities constituted economic activities of the Uyghur

¹⁸⁸ *Wulumuqi shi zhi* 2: 151.

¹⁸⁹ *Wulumuqi shi dangshi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bangongshi*, ed. *Wulumuqi nianjian* (2003) (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2003): 92.

¹⁹⁰ Li, *Idō suru Shinkyō Uiguru jin*: 94–123.

community, which was autonomous from the Han Chinese community, who make up the majority in Ürümchi.¹⁹¹

Except for the large mosques, the major area of the Uyghur residential area centered on Erdaoqiao became the object of urban redevelopment works from 2002 to 2003 and it was completely transformed into a new commercial/tourism district.¹⁹² These areas with a distinct landscape produced by each area having its own mosque were wiped out from Ürümchi. In June 2003, the International Grand Bazaar, a multi-commercial complex, was built as a joint venture of Hong Kong and Xinjiang companies to be the core of the same space. Its total floor area is 39,888 m² with a banquet hall of 6,100 m², a square of 3,000 m² and an 80-m tall viewing tower.¹⁹³ The complex houses shops selling ethnic handicrafts and locally produced precious stones as well as a branch of the French supermarket chain Carrefour.¹⁹⁴ The banquet hall stages splendid ethnic singing and dancing shows by Uyghurs for the benefit of tourists from inner China. In other words, this facility faithfully reflects the economic development of Xinjiang and progress in the development of tourism. In contrast to this type of development projects, the number of Uyghur restaurants and trendy fast food restaurants and supermarkets owned by Uyghurs is increasing in the same area and its neighboring southern area.¹⁹⁵ This can be seen as a new trend that retains a feeling of continuity with the past in that the area still functions as the center of Muslim economic activities.¹⁹⁶ It is worth keeping an eye on changes to urban spaces in the south of the city.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹ Li, *Idō suru Shinkyō Uiguru jin*: 124–7.

¹⁹² On the design concept of the district's redevelopment, see L. Guo, et al., "Chengshi diyu wenhua dese suzao: Wulumuqi Erdaoqiao minzu fengqing yitiao jie guihua." *Jianzhu chuangzuo* 7 (2005): 108.

¹⁹³ *Fengqing baza, meili wuxian: Xinjiang guoji dabaza* (Ürümchi: Xinjiang guoji dabaza kaifa youxian gongzi).

¹⁹⁴ Jialefu, "Wulumuqi dabazadian": <http://www.carrefour.com.cn/Store/StoreDetail.aspx?ID=103>.

¹⁹⁵ For example, there is the supermarket "Arman Talla Baziri" (A'erman Chaoshi) of Xinjiang A'erman Qingzhen Shipin Gongye Jituan Youxian Gongsì. On this company, see H. Ōnishi, ed. *Chūgoku no shōsū minzoku mondai to keizai kakusa* (Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku gakujutsu shuppankai, 2012): 177–88.

¹⁹⁶ Although the facilities called "Bianjiang Guoji Shangmaocheng" (International Frontier Trade City) were established as a center of commercial activity between the former Soviet Central Asia area have been run since the 1990s, there does not appear to be a new city district formed near the facilities.

¹⁹⁷ With regard to changes of the southern part of the city in recent years, see D. Huang, "Wulumuqi chengshi shehui kongjian yanhua ji dangdai jishi." *Xibei minzu yanjiu*, 70 (2011): 75–6.

Conclusion

Major oasis cities such as Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, and Kucha, which are strung out along the edge of the Taklamakan Desert south of Tianshan, have been historically inhabited by Muslims, and have morphological characteristics peculiar to cities in Muslim regions, some of which they still maintain. In contrast, Ürümchi was built for administrative reasons after the Qing dynasty's conquest of Xinjiang, and its center developed as a Han Chinese city with a square shape inhabited mainly by Han Chinese. After the establishment of Xinjiang Province, it served as the political and economic center of the province and has served as a destination for Han Chinese migrants since the establishment of PRC.

Another characteristic of Ürümchi is the fact that the Uyghur and Hui residential districts have continued to occupy the southern corner of the city in a way that reflects the ethnic mix in Xinjiang. Ürümchi still has a substantial population of non-Han Chinese ethnic minorities. In particular, Xinjiang, as a region adjacent to Russian, then Soviet territory, has developed strong economic, political, and cultural ties with Russian/Soviet territory. As seen in the importance of the area surrounding Yanghangjie in the southern part of the city, this fact defined an important feature of Ürümchi's ethnic mix and its urban society since the end of the Qing period to the Republican period. The area in question, which served as the center of commercial activities of the Tatars and Uzbeks who were subjects of the Russian Empire in Xinjiang, symbolizes the function of Ürümchi as a place for exchange of people and goods in Eurasia, which was, nonetheless, shaped by particular political conditions.

Ürümchi is now losing the unique characteristics that set it apart from other Chinese cities in terms of urban landscape due to the redevelopment of the southern part of the city, although its multi-ethnic population composition remains intact. According to the national census of 2010 (the Sixth National Population Census), the number of residents of Ürümchi has rapidly increased to exceed three million people (3,112,559) and its share in the total population of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (21,815,815) has also increased to 14.26% from 11.28% in 2000 (the total population of Xinjiang: 18,459,511; the population of Ürümchi: 2,081,834).¹⁹⁸ The Han Chinese population of Ürümchi has increased from 1,567,562 in 2000 to 2,331,654 in 2010. This shows that the movement of the Han Chinese to Ürümchi from outside the Autonomous Region has accelerated enormously. These developments constitute another important aspect of Ürümchi's historical development

¹⁹⁸ Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiqu renkou pucha bangongshi, ed. *Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiqu 2000 nian renkou pucha ziliao* (Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2002): 40; Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiqu renmin zhengfu renkou pucha lingdao xiaozu bangongshi, ed. *Xinjiang Weiwu'er zizhiqu 2010 nian renkou pucha ziliao 1* (Beijing: Zhongguo tongji chubanshe, 2012): 34.

in conjunction with “urbanization” in China as a whole, which has also accelerated.

Table 4. 1. Population of Xinjiang (1,000 persons)

year	Xinjiang			Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps		
	Total	Han	Uyghur	Total	Han	Uyghur
1950	4,333.4	305.8	3,354.8	—	—	—
1955	5,117.8	550.5	3,726.5	206.8	199.5	3.7
1960	6,863.3	1,944.5	3,991.2	724.1	689.9	13.4
1965	7,891.0	2,758.4	4,115.1	1,293.1	1,229.1	19.6
1970	9,765.8	3,861.2	4,673.3	1,943.1	1,833.1	43.5
1975	11,545.3	4,780.1	5,266.4	1,771.0	1,624.0	67.4
1980	12,832.4	5,310.3	5,764.6	2,200.7	1,985.1	124.4
1985	13,611.4	5,349.2	6,294.4	2,222.3	1,993.9	128.5
1990	15,291.6	5,746.6	7,249.5	2,143.5	1,897.4	138.8
1995	16,613.5	6,318.1	7,800.0	2,287.8	2,022.1	148.6
2000	18,494.1	7,250.8	8,523.3	2,427.9	2,143.6	157.5
2005	20,203.5	7,956.6	9,235.0	2,569.7	2,257.2	178.7
2010	21,815.8	8,322.9	10,171.5	2,607.1	2,229.8	212.2
2014	22,984.7	8,595.1	11,271.9	2,732.8	2,347.5	223.7

Table 4. 2. Population of Ürümchi

year	Total	Han	Uyghur	Hui	Kazakh
1955	220,296	133,500	35,454	40,303	8,348
1965	626,242	474,437	62,520	65,439	20,405
1975	955,263	740,752	91,962	91,741	26,445
1980	1,060,502	812,557	108,239	102,625	30,839
1985	1,172,335	868,789	138,546	115,764	36,387
1990	1,313,104	960,704	161,841	129,622	40,405
1995	1,441,502	1,051,014	181,320	137,818	45,083
2005	1,941,461	1,431,556	253,308	166,370	54,162
2014	2,669,050	1,924,131	365,638	263,031	67,389

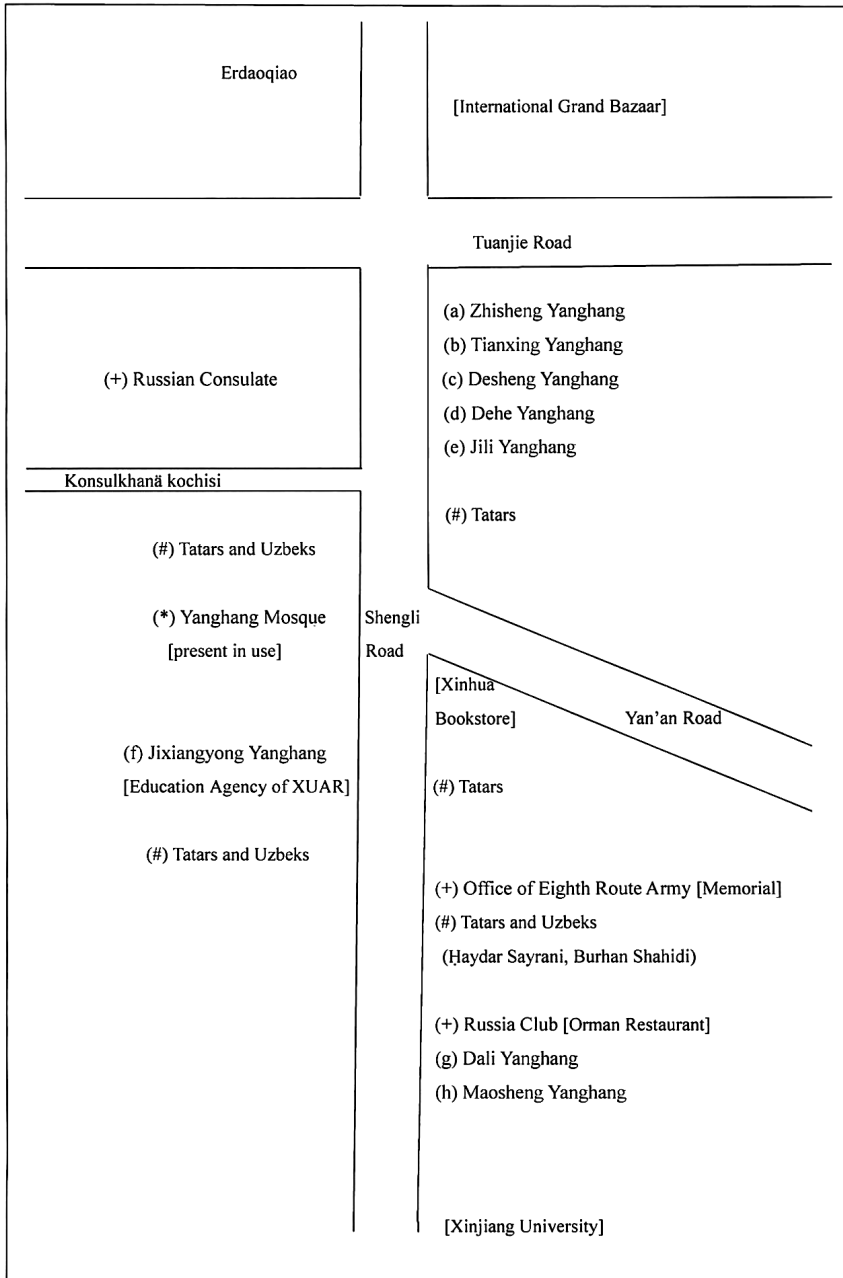


Figure 4. 1. Conceptual Diagram of the Areas Surrounding Yanghangjie

Legends of Figure 4. 1

1. The diagram has been drawn by the author mainly based on research findings by Khoshur Haji Pättar with additional data from the author.
2. The diagram shows the spatial relationship among major facilities conceptually and the gaps among the facilities do not represent actual distance.
3. There are some discrepancies in the date of foundation of the Yanghangs and facilities and the map contains facilities that did not exist at the same time.
4. Notes on the roads:
 - (1) The map shows current main roads only.
 - (2) Yan'an Road was built after the establishment of PRC and did not exist at that time. However, it is shown as an indication of the spatial relationship.
 - (3) The actual Shengli Road (former Yanghang Road) is slightly curved to the west running from north to south, but in this diagram it is shown as a straight road.
5. Notes on the marks:
 - (1) [...] indicates facilities currently in use.
 - (2) (a) to (h) indicates Yanghangs.
 - (3) (*) indicates mosque.
 - (4) (#) indicates the area of houses of Tatars and Uzbeks.
 - (5) (+) indicates official facilities.
6. The marking of the Yanghangs shows that they were located in this area and it does not necessarily mean that they were lined up in this order.