CITY OF VIRTUES

Nanjing in an Age of Utopian Visions

CHUCK WOOLDRIDGE

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A Study of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute

Columbia University

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NANJING IN AN AGE OF UTOPIAN VISIONS

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For my wife Anjali
and my daughters Vrinda and Sonal
with love.

Contents

Acknowledgments

I FIRST learned of the Taiping War when I took a Chinese history class to fulfill a distribution requirement in college. I think that was also the time that I became interested in utopias and political imagination, for so many things were happening in the world at that time that seemed outside of the realm of what I could conceive. I remember, about a year earlier, I had been attempting to assemble a turkey sandwich in the cafeteria when a friend told me that the wall was falling down. I stared for a bit at the wall in front of me before I realized he meant the Berlin Wall. The summer before that, tanks had crushed protests in Tiananmen Square. And now, in 1990, my classmates, all of whom had studied Chinese, were trying to explain to me that in the nineteenth century, in southern China, a man had thought himself the younger brother of Jesus Christ and sparked a cataclysmic war. At that point I was ready to abandon any hope of ever understanding anything.

I would never have become a historian of China were it not for my patient professor, Lillian Li, and encouraging classmates, who shepherded me through a difficult semester. I never really got to thank them properly, so I will start there. At a time when much of what was happening in the world seemed unimaginable, Lillian, along with Thomas Borchert, Douglas Fuller, Ann Kelleher, Chris Potter, Helen Schneider, Julius Tsai, and Kheng Wee helped me begin to expand my own ideas about what was possible. They also made delicious dumplings. I am very grateful.

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Reign Periods of the Ming and Qing Dynasties

MING DYNASTY

Hongwu, 1368–98 (Zhu Yuanzhang)
Jianwen, 1399–1402
Yongle, 1403–35 (Zhu Di, Prince of Yan)
Hongxi, 1425
Xuande, 1426–35
Zhengtong, 1436–49
Jingtai, 1450–56
Tianshun, 1457–64
Chenghua, 1465–87
Hongzhi, 1488–1505
Zhengde, 1506–21
Jiajing, 1522–66
Longqing, 1567–72
Wanli, 1573–1619
Taichang, 1620
Tianqi, 1621–27
Chongzhen, 1628–43

QING DYNASTY

Tianming (Nurhaci's reign), 1616–26
Tiancong and Chongde (Hong Taiji's reigns), 1627–35; 1636–43
Shunzhi, 1644–61
Kangxi, 1662–1722

Yongzheng, 1723–35
Qianlong, 1736–95
Jiaqing, 1796–1820
Daoguang, 1821–50
Xianfeng, 1851–61
Tongzhi, 1862–74
Guangxu, 1875–1908
Xuantong, 1909–11

CITY OF VIRTUES

Introduction: An Age of Utopian Visions

When forces loyal to Hong Xiuquan, the self-proclaimed son of God and brother of Jesus, seized Nanjing on March 19, 1853, they set about creating a new kind of space. Their military victory ensured that the city, for a time at least, would no longer lie in the administration of the Qing empire, but rather in what Hong called his "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace" (Taiping Tianguo). Hong believed that his mission was to usher in a new age in which a community of believers, versed in God's truth and committed to the proposition that most men were blinded by demonic delusions, would rule. For in Hong's ethos, demons were ubiquitous. Where others saw gods of popular religion, bodhisattvas, Daoist kings, or natural spirits, Hong saw demons. Demonic too were the Manchu emperors of the then-reigning Qing dynasty (1644–1911) and the many Manchu bannermen, hereditary soldiers residing in garrisons throughout the empire, including Nanjing. Rejecting the varied cosmologies that appeared in Qing state ritual, in the classical curriculum of Qing civil service examinations, in Daoist and Buddhist scriptures, and in Chinese depictions of gods, Hong insisted that Nanjing belonged to a Christian universe. Nanjing would now be the "Heavenly Capital" (Tianjing), a reflection of Heaven itself and a model for how the world would look once his armies prevailed over their demonic enemies. The Taiping War (1850–64) was a battle over alternative visions of the cosmos, of empire, and of Nanjing. Space was what was at stake.[1]

The Taiping attack on Nanjing took place just days before Easter, suggesting that Hong viewed the establishment of his new polity as a kind of resurrection. According to Hong's worldview, in antiquity the world had mirrored

the orders of Heaven, but since then demons had invaded, reaching nearly to the throne of God himself. Hong claimed to have initiated a long, ultimately victorious battle against demons in Heaven. In establishing an earthly government in Nanjing, Hong believed he was initiating a new phase of history: "In Heaven above there is the Heavenly Kingdom," wrote Hong in the margins of Matthew 5:13–48 (the Sermon on the Mount). "On earth below there is the Heavenly Kingdom. Heaven and earth both are the Divine Father's Heavenly Kingdom."[2] In the near future, Hong taught, the entire empire would be in perfect accord with heaven's dictates. In the meantime, he had Nanjing.

Because he presided over a realm that he claimed already existed, but that required effort to perceive and bring about, Hong schooled his adherents in the art of seeing. People could only exert real agency by ridding themselves of delusion, embracing the truth of the world, and acting to bring about the heavenly kingdom. Hong taught that followers must awaken (*xing*) and develop the moral capacities to distinguish the demonic from the good, free themselves from enslavement, and thus "become real human beings" (*cheng ren*) and "return to the true way" (*gui zhendao*).[3] Without enlightenment about the true nature of the world, adherents would not be able to control their actions, and would simply become instruments of the demons.

Followers could cultivate the virtues necessary to awaken themselves and others by participating in collective rituals. They chanted scripture and sang a doxology. During Sabbath services they engaged in prayers of thanksgiving: "We are grateful to the Heavenly Father, the Highest Lord, the Supreme God who is in Heaven; let your decree be executed on earth as in Heaven."[4] A guide to God's commandments called upon them to recite a prayer beginning "I, your unworthy son or daughter_____, kneeling on the ground, pray that you the Heavenly Father and Great God, may be gracious, merciful, and protecting, and may constantly bestow on me your Holy Spirit, to change my wicked heart, and never allow the devilish demons to deceive me."[5]

As the center of Hong's earthly governance, the place where he could usher in the new age, Nanjing served multiple roles. It was a seat of government. The Taiping leaders modeled their ideal rule within the city, ordering the redistribution of land, the separation of the sexes into different living quarters, the holding of new civil service examinations, and the establishment of a common treasury. It was a smaller version of Heaven. Leaders rearranged physical space within the city to showcase Heaven, and participants in the Taiping movement were instructed to destroy the things that obscured God's truth, including gods, temples, and government buildings.

In the emptied urban plots, the Taiping erected palaces and churches. Hong reordered elements of the city so that its inhabitants could tell a story to themselves about themselves: we live in a pure place; we work in God's name and keep his commandments; God charges us to slay demons; we are fighting to make the state accord with the truth of the world. In Nanjing, adherents could see this story inscribed into the surrounding cityscape and find models of how to act to bring about a better world. It was a city of virtues.

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The Taiping War would claim tens of millions of lives. It would threaten to overthrow the Qing dynasty, and it would devastate the cities and countryside of southern China. By the end of the war, Nanjing would lie in ruins. Yet however violent the conflagration Hong sparked, however iconoclastic the Christian cosmos he envisioned, Hong's strategies for creating space in fact typified a strand of nineteenth-century politics. The Taiping was one of several movements that attempted to mold Nanjing into a microcosm of a perfect world. Each used the literary heritage of the city to promise a future in which government would perfectly correspond to cosmic truths, and each shaped the cityscape to display virtues that would allow adherents to realize their aspirations. Like Hong, many of those seeking to transform the polity began by transforming Nanjing, making the city the center of their utopian visions.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY UTOPIAS

The nineteenth century was an age of utopian visions in China. As population growth, economic dislocation, and foreign encroachment weakened the ruling Qing dynasty (1644–1911), new political movements arose offering alternate sources of power and authority. The century was punctuated with attempts to refashion society. Between 1796 and 1804, sectarians of the White Lotus movement, convinced that Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, would soon usher in a new age, sought to hasten the Buddha's coming by revolting against the dynasty. As Qing forces moved against the Taiping, Muslims in the southeastern province of Yunnan founded a "Kingdom of the Pacified South" (Pingnan Guo). At century's end, anti-imperialist Boxers stormed the foreign legations in Beijing in an attempt to rid the empire of foreigners.

Not all of these visions were violent. Advocates of sweeping change could as likely be found in libraries and offices as on the battlefield. Officials prof-

fered reform proposals with goals ranging from the moral regeneration of the bureaucracy to the implementation of a constitution. Even philologists found reasons to recommend radical changes to the political structure of the empire. Drawing on a Han-dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) interpretation of Confucius as a reformer and uncrowned king, a group of nineteenth-century scholars sought to rework the foundations of classical learning. This intellectual movement generated enthusiasm for statecraft reforms at the beginning of the century and provided the vocabulary for Kang Youwei's *Book of Great Unity* (Datong shu), a program for a stateless world written around the turn of the twentieth century but not fully published until 1935. By that time, a new form of political ideal had arisen, one based on the notion of progress rather than return to equilibrium. Whereas adherents of nineteenth-century political movements described their programs in cosmological terms, looking to restore an ideal equilibrium of the ancient past, those who lived in the twentieth century looked to the future and tended to see a strong nation-state as the key to realizing their hopes.

The causes of upheaval at the beginning of the nineteenth century included global events that destabilized empires throughout the world in addition to problems peculiar to the Qing. The industrial revolution caused enormous shifts in world trade and brought about innovations in the production of armaments and gunboats. Revolutions in the Americas contributed to a worldwide silver shortage, which was felt particularly by merchants trading specie for Chinese tea, silk, and porcelain.[6] By developing their trade in Indian opium, British merchants restored their balance of payments, but the resulting silver drain from the Qing empire created havoc with its bimetallic (silver and copper) system of currency and taxation.

At the same time, population growth and the steady reclamation of marshlands were exhausting the productive capacity of the land. Factional politics, and particularly the opulent malfeasance of the Qianlong emperor's favored minister Heshen, led to increasing calls for austerity at court with the accession to the throne of the Jiaqing emperor (*de facto* reign 1799–1820). Recently, scholars have begun to refer to the "Qianlong-Jiaqing transition" to describe the new fiscal and military limits on the authority of emperors in the nineteenth century, and in particular the devolution of certain powers to extra-bureaucratic local elites.[7]

These changes helped the Qing dynasty to remain in power throughout the nineteenth century, but new constraints on the monarchy motivated a

variety of groups to envisage new arrangements of power and new forms of space.[8] Nineteenth-century proponents of ideal worlds shared common interpretations of the problems they faced, and common strategies for addressing them. Activists who described politics in cosmic terms perceived the personal, autocratic rule of Qing emperors as disrupting the orderly workings of empire. Many of them, particularly in the early nineteenth century, saw themselves as literati (*shi*), people who had acquired sufficient education to succeed in at least the initial steps of the civil-service examinations and sought to use their classical education to claim a legitimate role in government decision-making.[9] These men argued that eighteenth-century emperors had suppressed righteous moral censure, leading to excesses that only greater literati involvement in politics could remedy. Most supported the Qing dynasty, but the kind of empire they envisioned was one in which they themselves would have a much greater role in decision making. They opposed the representation of the emperor as such a paragon of virtue that all others must fall into line behind his moral power.

People in the Qing empire responded to the changing political situation in a wide variety of ways, many of which were *not* utopian. Millions of people emigrated to Southeast Asia or the Americas. Others proposed specific solutions for particular problems, as when regional officials sought to find ways to overcome a blockage in grain transport to Beijing in 1824.[10] Still others attempted to profit from new commercial opportunities or to master new forms of knowledge that increased global exchange made available. But the nineteenth-century figures who played the largest roles in politics in Nanjing took part in the broader effort to reimagine empire. They sought either to depict the Qing in a way that placed constraints on emperors within constitutional norms, or (in the case of the Taiping) to overthrow the dynasty. Urban visionaries attempted to claim the allegiance of adherents by grounding their imagined worlds in apparently tangible realities as well as cosmic truths. They criticized rivals for espousing vacuous falsehoods and promoted virtues that could allow individuals to bring about their desired worlds, which they depicted as already present in nascent form.

This kind of imagination was "utopian" in that it depicted ideal worlds. The cosmic nature of utopian visions in Nanjing reflected numerous strands of thought in Chinese history. For example, the concept of "Great Peace" (Taiping) derived from the Daoist *Scripture of Great Peace* (Taiping jing) that probably dates to the later Han Dynasty. Indeed, cosmic utopian ideals

abound in Chinese texts, including the "Great Unity" (Datong) described in the *Record of Rites* (Liji) and the Buddhist Pure Lands where those of extraordinary merit could sojourn. In nineteenth-century Nanjing, political activists selectively drew from these traditions and applied them to the specific circumstances of the nineteenth century. Although the word "utopian" can carry a pejorative sense of "unworkable," adherents claimed their visions could be realized. In their desire to show the practical applications of their political programs, they borrowed the terminology of the "substantive learning" (*shixue*) movement of the late Ming, more recently revived in the eighteenth century. Through a shared vocabulary of *shi* and *kong*, they proclaimed the truth of their imagined worlds while at the same time seeking to undermine their opponents. The word "*shi*" meant "substantial" with the implications of practical, effective, and true. The word "*kong*" meant "empty," with a similar semantic extension to mean useless, wasteful, deceitful, or false. *Kong* was used synonymously with *xu* (vacuous). The problem of government was to implement the substantial and eliminate the empty.

Nineteenth-century visionaries also held a shared sense of time, treating their programs of political change as forms of return to past practices that could be realized in the near future. Most of those involved in Nanjing politics depicted their ideals as embodied by ancient sage kings, and even the Taiping claimed that their kingdom revived a form of ur-Christianity that the demons had long obscured. They spoke of peace rather than progress. Yet they still desired change. Unlike such writers as Thomas More, they wished to bring about a perfect world rather than portray one in literature. More himself coined the term "utopia" as a pun meaning both "good place" and "no place," and the word can connote an impossible dreamland, but the visions expressed in Nanjing were utopias of "not yet" rather than "not ever." In regard to time, the subset of utopian visions that found expression in Nanjing differed from the more celebrated ideologies of the nineteenth century such as nationalism, modernization, Marxism, and their twentieth-century offspring, Maoism.

Utopian political movements in Nanjing offer a case study of a global phenomenon. Throughout the world, different groups attempted to respond to imperialism and the ripple effects of the Industrial Revolution. Comparing different movements helps clarify the specific forms that cosmic utopian visions took in Nanjing. As mentioned in the case of the Taiping, visionaries in Nanjing placed a heavy emphasis on self-cultivation. In this respect,

they resembled the utopian socialist Charles Fourier (1772–1837), who argued that his community conformed to nature and that by living in communities, his followers could channel their individual passions for individual happiness as well as the greater good.[11] Those espousing utopian visions in China, and particularly in Nanjing, differed from the utopian socialists like Fourier and Robert Owen (1771–1858) in that they did not seek to separate themselves in the manner of such communities as New Harmony or Brook Farm. Instead, they sought ways in which their actions might resonate throughout the entire world. In this way, Nanjing's politics also resembled those of various Islamic movements worldwide, including the Begs in northern China, the Wahabists in the Arabian Peninsula, the Fulani in Nigeria, and the Mahdi in Khartoum. In each case, adherents sought to model themselves on moral exemplars of earlier times. A common thread that ran through Nanjing as well as the Muslim uprisings of the nineteenth century was the idea that world had become difficult to understand, but that personal virtue allowed one to apprehend it in its true, original form.

This context gave the issue of virtue a particular political importance. Shifts in the modes of representing virtue could reflect differing ideals of political belonging. For example, in early nineteenth century China, individual shrines honoring loyal (*zhong*) subjects—those who died in the defense of the reigning dynasty throughout the history of imperial China—each included at most a few hundred people. In the aftermath of the war, thousands of soldiers, militiamen, and families were honored for their deaths at the hands of the Taiping, suggesting that virtue was near-to-hand and widespread among subjects of the empire. By choosing the figures to celebrate, adherents of different movements could provide substantive examples of the particular actions that arose from a given moral quality, and therefore justify a particular program of change. Throughout the nineteenth century, different figures thus adapted a common political strategy: shaping their surroundings to inspire virtuous conduct, which in turn could result in the transformation of the world.[12] Those who lived in Nanjing naturally turned to the city's past for models of virtue, and they shaped the cityscape to display those exemplars to the populace. Nanjing residents themselves were probably neither more nor less virtuous than people anywhere else, but different groups employed this strategy to bring about their desired transformations, making the display of virtue a key aspect of Nanjing's particular urbanism.

URBANISM AND POLITICS IN NANJING

A famed novel written by Nanjing native Wu Jingzi included a description of the seventeenth-century city that remained recognizable even to early nineteenth-century readers:

> Nanjing was the capital of the first Ming emperor, and its inner wall has thirteen gates, its outer wall eighteen. More than ten miles across and forty miles in circumference, the city boasts several dozen large streets and several hundred small alleys, which are thronged with people and filled with gilt and painted pavilions. The Qinhuai River, which flows through Nanjing, measures over three miles from the east to west ford; when water is high, painted barges carrying flutists and drummers ply to and fro on it day and night. Within and without the city stand monasteries and temples with green tiles and crimson roofs . . . now there must be at least four thousand eight hundred [temples]. The streets and lands house six or seven hundred taverns, large and small, and over a thousand tea shops. No matter what small alley you enter, you are bound to see at least one house where a lantern is hung to show that tea is sold, and inside the shop you will find fresh flowers and crystal-clear rainwater on the boil. These teashops are always filled.[13]

Although the Taiping War would destroy most of the pavilions, taverns, and teahouses described here, the passage offers a sense of the city's bustle. The novel also hints at deeper resonances. The various temples provided sites for ritual and other religious practices. The tomb invokes the city's history as imperial capital, and the title of the novel, *The Scholars*, suggests some of the literary discussions that might have taken place over tea. Political movements that reached the city would only prosper there by finding purchase in its cosmopolitan atmosphere, and the cityscape itself became an object of power struggles among contending groups. Utopian visions in Nanjing were cosmic and political, but also urban. For this reason, the study of nineteenth-century Nanjing helps illuminate the relationship between urbanism and political power.[14]

The idea that cities create modernity has left a deep legacy in the study of Chinese urbanism. Although in part the interest in modernity reflects the scholarship on nineteenth-century cities in Europe and the United States, it also has roots in Chinese political movements. Numerous works on Republican China have demonstrated that twentieth-century reformers,

some with their own utopian visions, regarded cities both as crucibles of modernity and as venues for the display of new ideals of government. They saw cities as essential to creating regimes of hygiene, policing, and education.[15] The experiences of urban administration helped Nationalists and Communists formulate the notion of a "society" that could legitimate government, an even wider spectrum of people saw cities as crucial to China's future.[16] For example, a variety of groups helped contribute to the "symbolic resonance" of Suzhou in sites like the city's Confucian temple. The city was one way different figures both formulated and experienced modernity.[17] Shanghai has become the paradigmatic example of a cityscape that seemed to many observers to herald a new age.[18]

There has been a tendency in work on the nineteenth century to look ahead to the twentieth century and to find sprouts of modernity. A generation of scholars regarded the Taiping as a "revolutionary movement," and saw its transformation of Nanjing as a precursor to revolutionary change in the twentieth century. In the 1980s and 1990s, historians became newly interested in urban elite activism, and they adapted the notion of a "public sphere" to a wide variety of city institutions. One problem with this concept is that it imposed on the sources a subtle seed of future political change. The word "republic" derives, after all, from *res publica* ("public matters"), and so, in using the word to explain nineteenth-century phenomena, scholars implicitly declared that urban practices incubated republicanism. This branch of scholarship thus tended to accept with insufficient reflection the idea that cities create modernity.

More recent studies of Chinese cities suggest a different kind of link between nineteenth-century urbanism and political change. Scholars of late imperial China have long been concerned with the relationship between the physical construction of buildings and the literary construction of space, considering, for example, the significance of poetry in creating meaningful places and of urban construction in projecting power.[19] In Nanjing and other lower Yangzi cities, rapid commercialization in the late Ming helped fostered a market for writing about cities, contributing to the complexities of the literary cityscape.[20] Educated residents of these cities helped forge their sense of culture and identity in part by constructing and writing about buildings. In the case of Yangzhou, nostalgia for earlier glory in turn shaped elite identity in the nineteenth century. [21] Each of these examples suggests that rather than viewing cities as fonts of a particular ideology, one could concentrate instead on the tactics particular actors used to generate meaning.

By asking what kinds of urban practices had political significance, we can recognize that twentieth-century actors did indeed adapt certain nineteenth-century practices, but still emphasize the open-ended nature of nineteenth-century utopian movements. This approach can illuminate the political consequences of Nanjing's nineteenth-century transformations, and shed light on urban activities (like poetry and ritual) whose full importance has not previously been explained.

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Utopian movements coalesced in Nanjing because the city offered multiple venues of enormous historical and poetic significance, and each site could in turn help different figures display virtue and delineate a political community. The city had been an imperial capital during the Six Dynasties and later the Ming. Throughout the late imperial period, it was a major center of Lower Yangzi scholarship, literature, and publishing. Provincial civil service examinations attracted candidates from throughout Anhui and Jiangsu provinces. As seat of the Liangjiang governor-general, it was a crucial node for the Qing administration of Jiangsu, Jiangxi, and Anhui, and its banner garrison gave it importance for Qing military strategy. Moreover, throughout its history writers claimed that Nanjing's spectacular landscape of mountains and rivers imbued the city with "royal *qi*" (*wang qi*), making it inherently a place of great political significance.

Qing emperors and government officials did not refer to the city as Nanjing in government documents. They instead used the vocabulary of the dynasty's administrative geography, which divided the areas controlled by the former Ming into provinces, each roughly the size and population of a European country. Within provinces, there were prefectures which were further subdivided into counties. The city was the seat of Jiangning Prefecture, and included portions of two counties: Shangyuan and Jiangning. When speaking of the city itself, they called it Jinling, or "Golden Ridge."[22]

Different names for Nanjing suggested the density of the city's historical roles, reflecting Nanjing's long history as an imperial capital. The name "Jianye" ("establishing the enterprise") referred to "the 'enterprise' of founding a dynasty" in the time of the Three Kingdoms (ca. 220–280 CE), and Jiankang ("establishing vigor") suggested the "vigor" of the royal line, a holdover from when the area was the patrimony of the ruling Jin family during the Six Dynasties period (22–589 CE).[23] The term "Six Dynasties" itself refers to the number of states that had their capital in Nanjing. The transitions

between each of these dynasties were usually marked by war; furthermore, in 548, the northern adventurer Hou Jing laid siege to the city, and in the ensuing fighting Nanjing was devastated.[24] The city's long association with changing dynastic fortunes created a literary tradition that formed "a mood and a poetic image of the city, an overlay of sites, images, and phrases that shaped the way the city was seen."[25] The name "Nanjing" means "Southern Capital" (the counterpart to Beijing, the "Northern Capital") and it refers to the status of the city in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and in Republican China (1911–49). Foreigners referred to the city as "Nanking" (English) or "Nankin" (French), which is the same Chinese word as "Nanjing" expressed in different Romanization systems. This book uses "Nanjing" primarily because of the name's familiarity to Western readers, but also to suggest the lofty status of the city, its great imperial renown, and the sense held by many of its prominent residents that the city rightfully had a central role in the empire.

By the nineteenth century, the accumulation of political and poetic associations was vast. Particularly potent was the legacy of the Ming dynasty. Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–98), the founder of the Ming, had made Nanjing his capital and declared himself the Hongwu emperor.[26] Although the primary capital was moved to Beijing after his death, the city remained a secondary capital throughout the dynasty, the center of the "Southern Administrative Region" (Nan Zhili). This past left Nanjing with a rich architectural heritage. In the early nineteenth century, the buildings of the Ming Imperial Academy, of the Hongwu emperor's palace and tomb, of Buddhist and Daoist centers, and of imperial sites of worship all survived. Some of these buildings, particularly the tomb and temples, retained their original purpose, while others shifted from imperial to merely urban functions (the Imperial Academy became a prefectural school). The Ming legacy generated a complicated semiotic field in the Qing. The imperial palace, for example, remained in the city as a ruin, a reminder that the Ming was a fallen dynasty, but also provided a potential source of inspiration to those who wished to call forth the Ming as a way to criticize the current dynasty.[27] Qing emperors were sensitive to this Ming heritage in part because the Qing conquest of China had meant claiming the heavenly mandate from the Ming. Nanjing offered opportunities for nineteenth-century opposition groups to question this claim.

Nanjing, therefore, combined wealth, natural setting, scholarly culture, and religious and political significance in distinctive ways, but other cities also displayed each of these characteristics. Nanjing stood at the gateway to

the Lower Yangzi region, which since the Song dynasty had experienced high rates of urbanization and produced a flourishing scholarly community. The wealthy families of the region compiled local histories, poetry, travel accounts, and anthologies celebrating their native places. The story of nineteenth-century Nanjing parallels that of other cities in the region such as Yangzhou, Suzhou, and Hangzhou. These cities fell in the Taiping War, and throughout the region many people fled to Shanghai, where the support of foreign troops sheltered refugees from the war. Shanghai subsequently prospered while the surrounding region tried to recover.

Numerous cities in China have at one time or another served as seats of imperial power. Major capitals included Luoyang, Xi'an, Kaifeng, and Beijing in the north; Nanjing and Hangzhou in the south. In addition, Shenjing (present-day Shenyang) formed a secondary capital for the Qing. Certainly in Beijing, different groups used their proximity to the emperor to attempt to influence the court. This was less the case for other cities, however.

The status of a city as a former capital must have carried some weight in times of political upheaval, but was hardly decisive. In the Republican period, Beijing and Nanjing became home to governments that claimed legitimacy to rule China. So did several cities without similar pasts, such as Guangzhou, Wuhan, and Chongqing. It is probably impossible to measure the relative strength of each city in the nineteenth century as a potential counterweight to the power of Qing emperors or as a possible center of resistance to foreign incursions. Two hints, however, suggest that Nanjing perhaps retained an unusual degree of potency in utopian imagination: the discourses of apocalypse and royal *qi*.

Millenarian religious movements had long imagined that a divinely inspired savior prince might arise to combat a demonic army and bring about a great peace. By the eighteenth century, this prince was referred to as the "King of the Ming dynasty." In traditional texts and oral transmission, adherents prophesied that the king would establish his capital in Nanjing. The key texts of these millenarian movements appear to have originated outside of Nanjing, suggesting a relatively widespread sense of the city's majesty.[28] Nanjing's academicians articulated a similar ideal in less radical form as praise of the city's royal *qi* flowed from the brushes of Nanjing's poets. Even government-sponsored compilations marked the presence of royal *qi* in the city, and Nanjing was one of only two cities that stood out for this quality. An early nineteenth-century geographic compendium *Unified Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Great Qing* (Da Qing yitong zhi) described imperial tombs

as having royal *qi*, alongside mountains with excellent geomantic properties. Aside from Nanjing, only the Qing secondary capital of Shenyang distinguished itself for an abundance of royal *qi*.[29] Shenyang, known in the Qing as Shengjing or Mukden, was the Manchurian capital of Qing emperors prior to the conquest of China proper, just as Nanjing had been the first Ming capital, and both cities seem to have retained their close association with dynastic founders. The notion of "royal *qi*," originally employed for the legitimation of the Ming and Qing dynasties respectively, accrued to the place of creation and remained there. Other Qing sources described Xi'an and Luoyang as having lost the royal *qi* that had accumulated in these capital cities from antiquity through the Tang dynasty.[30] Whereas in Shengjing Qing emperors probably held great sway over the ways one might apply the term, Nanjing's royal *qi* by the nineteenth century remained primarily in the hands of the city's educated elites, who deployed it for political ends, not least to support their own hopes for greater power.[31] These details suggest that people in and outside of Nanjing suffused the city with millenarian and imperial symbolism. In this respect it resembled Kyoto in Tokugawa Japan, a place that continued to have an air of centralized political authority even though the actual workings of government took place in Edo.

The millenarian image of Nanjing probably drew the Taiping to the city, but what difference did royal *qi* make? Perhaps not a great deal. In the eighteenth century the Qianlong emperor deployed the idea to enhance Qing power. In the nineteenth and twentieth century, cities with no such associations with imperial power nevertheless became centers of rebellion, as Kunming did for the Kingdom of the Pacified South. Nevertheless, people in Nanjing made use of the concept to attempt to distinguish themselves and to legitimize different political goals. They did so by drawing on techniques of construction, writing, and ritual that were quite common throughout China. When applied to complex environments, these repertoires of action could produce nearly endless permutations. The case of Nanjing allows one to see the specifics of how broader political trends like the opposition to the British in the Opium War, the self-strengthening movement, and the Taiping took root in the city. Most striking about Nanjing is that, with the exception of the Qianlong Emperor, the people most able to mold the urban setting for political ends did so to promote utopian ideals. By tracing the intersection of historical context, utopian visions, and elements of the cityscape, one gains insight into nineteenth-century tactics for transforming the polity.

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As adherents of different utopian movements sought to shape Nanjing to display their understandings of space, they employed common repertoires of action. They wrote poetry, erected steles, compiled histories and biographies, and reprinted the writings of their forebears. They rendered aspects of past events in a form available for use in the present. This discourse of the past situated Nanjing in the empire sometimes as one city among many, but frequently as an imperial or cosmic center. Shaping the city meant in part creating representations of the larger whole in which it was embedded. By building buildings, writing about the city's sites, and performing rituals, particularly rituals to the dead, different figures simultaneously shaped the physical space of the city and made manifest their varied understandings of the city's place in empire and cosmos.

Political conflict frequently played out around the construction and destruction of edifices. Buildings, after all, could suggest both cosmic and terrestrial hierarchies. In the early nineteenth century, wealthy residents made known religious and political convictions through their contributions toward rebuilding the city's temple to Confucius. The Taiping singled out temples and the banner garrison for destruction, marking those sites as demonic. After the war, the Qing governor Zeng Guofan (1811–72) rebuilt government buildings and schools to signal the restoration of imperial order. In each case, buildings served as immediate, concrete manifestations of some larger, imagined whole.

For the actors involved, sites in the city conveyed truths that could be put into words. In some cases, as in stele or gates, the words appeared in the very place they described. More frequently, writers recorded the meaning of these words in their poetry and in gazetteers of the city. Every student in Nanjing's academies read and wrote poems about landmarks in the city, leaving a substantial, shared corpus. As Stephen Owen has observed, Nanjing "was known, remembered, and made memorable primarily through texts."[32] The Qianlong emperor, educated residents of the city, and Taiping adherents all contributed to this body of writing about the city. Alongside the physical city, they cultivated a poetic city. The Qianlong emperor's poems about sites appeared in nineteenth-century gazetteers, marking Nanjing as a significant place in the empire. Nineteenth-century elites wrote poetry as well. Their poems could, for example, celebrate a person who had performed a virtuous act (or died an honorable death) in a given location,

thus linking the site to the virtue. They could write about temples, and in so doing suggest a particular cosmology. Often they gave testimony to the near-magical properties of some auspicious location within the city, or they might exalt the city itself as a place imbued with "royal *qi*" and therefore suited to be the true center of empire. The Taiping, for example, published a collection of essays in 1854 that celebrated the city's imperial legacies even as it argued that the city was now the capital of an entirely new kind of empire.[33] In this instance, the Taiping were able to make use of a literary tradition to further their aim of a Christian state, and, like literati before them, they pointed to the physical and poetic qualities of the city to support their cosmic claims. Those who described Nanjing's cityscape insisted that *qi* pervaded the city. For this reason, when activists wrought their transformations of Nanjing, they worked simultaneously in conceptual and material spheres. They reordered the physical city by destroying and constructing buildings, and they also wrote into the cityscape such seemingly intangible (but, as represented in the sources, nevertheless perceptible and substantial) features as human virtues, magical beings, and historic events.

Writers offered the city as evidence to demonstrate a particular view of the world. At the time of the Opium War, residents pointed to the city's sites to show that literati virtues allowed them to stand up to the foreign threat. Whereas the Taiping described their churches as indicative of the progress of the Heavenly Kingdom, Zeng Guofan held that the city's Confucian temple was a refutation of the ideals of the Taiping. In the late nineteenth century, the historian and local degree holder Chen Zuolin (1837–1920) found endless fecundity throughout the city, and he treated Nanjing's productivity as a key to understanding how to restore wealth and power to China. In each case, writing about Nanjing helped adherents of different movements justify their various political programs.

Nineteenth-century figures thought that their actions within Nanjing would resonate throughout empire and cosmos, and they explained their actions in terms of ritual. "Ritual," an imperfect English translation of the Chinese term *li*, was fundamental to descriptions of government, religious practice, and social interaction in Nanjing and throughout the empire. *Li* were norms for proper interactions in relationships: the rules for these interactions, the actions that took place, the proper inner bearing of the participants, and the study of all of the above. Ritual in this sense was a body of knowledge as well as the bodily movements that took place in ceremonies at Nanjing sites. The exhortations of the Taiping Heavenly King concerning

ritual practice, the examination preparations of literati (who, beginning in 1757, all had to study the ritual classics in order to pass), and the legal codes and ritual manuals of the Qing made particular rites intelligible. Advocates of political change frequently took part in ceremonies at city sites, which allowed them to arrange and manipulate Nanjing's varied symbols in politically meaningful ways.

Ritual was also a primary mode for the display of virtue, and elite residents of Nanjing argued that rituals allowed participants to nurture their own virtues. *Li* determined social roles, elaborated the overlapping hierarchies (gender, family, state) in which these roles could be enacted, and provided examples for emulation. Widows who did not remarry, children who went to extremes to honor their parents, and ministers who died rather than betraying their monarchs all received honors from the dynasty in the hopes that such acts would inspire imitators.[34]

Among the most important political rituals in Nanjing were those that commemorated the dead. This was especially true in the wake of the Taiping War, which left thousands of corpses in the city and surrounding areas. First Zeng Guofan and then returning natives of the city constructed shrines to the heroic dead where officials and survivors could make offerings. Individual graves could also be ritual sites. The tombs of Baozhi (a Buddhist monk who bedazzled Emperor Liang Wudi in the early sixth century), of the first Ming emperor (who established his dynasty in Nanjing in 1368), and Fang Xiaoru (a scholar who died while opposing a usurpation of the throne in 1402) inspired poetic accounts, ritual performances, and reflections on the nature of imperial power in the nineteenth century. In each case, the empire-wide significance of the figures being honored meant that people in Nanjing could at particular locations within the city make the entirety of the polity seem visible and malleable. Enacting virtues within ritual space could appear to hold consequences far beyond the immediate surroundings of shrine or tomb.

Ritual (*li*) was thus a broad category for understanding and ordering the world. It provided the language by which a particular arrangement of power made sense and a code of conduct for those operating within a given order. It was important in most forms of late imperial politics, but it was especially significant for advocates of utopian visions because it helped them to use the city's potent cityscape to display an idealized cosmos and to suggest the means by which acts in Nanjing might resonate throughout the cosmos. Through ritual, different groups of people could demonstrate the particular

nature of the space they believed they inhabited, and they could make themselves seem to stand at the forefront of larger programs of renewal.

Republican activists, even though they rejected the content of the visions described in this book, would nevertheless adapt certain tactics of nineteenth-century utopian movements. Twentieth-century revolutionaries would embrace the notion of progress, projecting their utopias into the future rather than depicting the ideal state as a return to the past. They would reject as well the goal of cosmic harmony, and they would borrow from a huge variety of sources to formulate new visions of the polity. They did, however, make use of similar repertoires of activism as they too used buildings, poetry, history, and ritual to display their differing interpretations of the state and of political belonging. When they "articulated citizenship," they drew on the forms of opposition many of them had experienced in the late nineteenth century.[35] For that reason, even though utopian visions in Nanjing did not lead to Republicanism, making sense of nineteenth-century politics does help illuminate the particular context of the Republican revolution. Although revolutionaries claimed to be discarding Qing rule, in fact their experience of the Qing was quite specific, and it contributed to their political activism in ways that they themselves may not have recognized. This continuity suggests the importance of spatial practices to state building.

STATE BUILDING AND SPATIAL PRACTICE

In their attempts to shape the world, Nanjing's visionaries proposed alternative models of government. To varying degrees they began to implement their alternatives in Nanjing, establishing urban institutions that they hoped would aid in bringing about social order. Educated elites in the nineteenth century enacted their vision of moral governance by creating endowments to finance local charitable institutions, by managing temples, and by creating militia units. The Taiping created new forms of urban property and living arrangements, new offices to manage the logistics of supplying the city, new civil service examinations, and new forms of military organization. Zeng Guofan made use of military institutions adapted for the peacetime purpose of rebuilding Nanjing, establishing bureaus staffed jointly by members of his personal staff and officials in Qing field administration. Even when utopian movements did not establish formal institutions, their visions of the future still could enhance state power. They created representations of

space: accounts of the relationship between the truth of the world, the actions of the government, and the physical environs of subjects. In these respects, local actors could engage in attempts at state building.[36]

Because space matters to state power, the urban practices of utopians had important implications for the ways in which people in Nanjing understood their own relationship to empire. Throughout the nineteenth century, and especially in the post-Taiping period, utopian movements contended over space, state, and virtues. Who embodied virtue? What practices, and in particular what ritual practices, encouraged virtuous acts? What kinds of political choices did virtue demand? The building projects, poetry, history, and rituals that utopians produced all suggested different nuances regarding the ideal subject of the empire. However, from the varied conflicts, including the Taiping War, certain long-term trends emerged. Despite repeated challenges, the Qing dynasty endured, but the person of the monarch became less and less important to the ways people in Nanjing depicted the empire. Rather than seeing the emperor as the embodiment of virtue, political elites came to view virtue as diffuse throughout the populace.[37] They believed that their own role was to recognize the virtuous and mobilize them for the good of the state.

In short, constructing buildings, writing about Nanjing, and performing rituals could affect state power in two ways. They mattered first to the representation of space, the ways people depicted the empire. Second, utopian urban practices helped define virtue. As Patricia Thronton has argued, successive governments in China, including the Qing, all sought to "articulate and impose particular norms," and to "construct the state as a moral agent."[38] In addition, actors outside the government contested the Qing state's claims. Scholars who criticized the handling of the Opium War, Taiping adherents, participants in the self-strengthening movement, as well as Zeng Guofan and other government officials all sought the power to define ideal action. Space and virtue were intertwined in ways that become much clearer through detailed description of this particular city.

This book is both an urban history of Nanjing and a case study of the workings of political power and dissent in the nineteenth century. It focuses on those figures who shaped the city for political effect. Although the book opens with the Qianlong emperor, who used similar techniques to achieve non-utopian ends, and ends with Sun Yatsen and the revolutionaries of 1911,

the core of the argument concerns the nineteenth century. In the first half of that century, a circle of men teaching or preparing for examinations in Nanjing's academies and indebted to the Tongcheng scholar and prose stylist Yao Nai (1731–1815) assumed a greater role in Qing politics in part by using the city to show that their virtues—rather than the virtues of emperors—sustained the polity. The Taiping destroyed this world, reconstructing the city and leaving its elite residents, exemplified by Wang Shiduo (1802–89), unmoored from any sense of space, and thus from a clear program for political renewal. Wang and his community of degree holders ultimately supported Zeng Guofan, the scholar, general, and governor most responsible for the Taiping defeat, who moved much of his private bureaucracy to Nanjing, rebuilding the city to display his vision of a harmonious cosmos. Following Zeng's death, a new generation of elites, who had survived the war and then prepared for examinations in the city's postwar academies, now depicted Nanjing as a model for self-strengthening. Some, particularly the historian Chen Zuolin, thought they could make the city a center for moral renewal that would bring economic and military power to the entire empire. Each of these figures sought to limit (and in the case of the Taiping, usurp) the power of Qing emperors, to oppose foreign incursions, and to establish the truth of their particular visions in the face of challenges from other groups. Each suggested that subjects could understand the true nature of the world by cultivating virtues, and each embedded models of virtuous conduct in Nanjing. Each of these figures used spatial practices within the city to describe a utopian future, and each thought that actions within the city could help bring their goals to fruition.

This history raises crucial questions about the last century of the Qing dynasty, about nineteenth-century urbanism, and about the relationship of space to state power. Why did utopian movements proliferate in the nineteenth century? What tactics did they use to make their actions in the city seem to resonate in empire and cosmos? How did the Qing state respond to utopian challenges? What kinds of urban change resulted? What do utopian methods of questioning Qing power tell us about the twentieth-century emergence of the ideals of republicanism and citizenship? At the root of each of these questions is an argument developed throughout the book: shaping Nanjing's cityscape allowed people to delineate the abstract spaces of empire and cosmos and to define virtues that would allow for effective action in those spheres. Conflicts among advocates of different utopian visions (and between those visionaries and the Qing state) arose from argu-

ments about space, and successive understandings of space in turn implied changing views of political participation.

The corpus of writing about Nanjing, including poetry, gazetteers, and collections of prose, form the bulk of the source base for this book. It also employs numerous publications printed in the early years of the Taiping occupation of Nanjing. Where possible, I have supplemented this material with accounts by visitors to the city and with Qing government documents held in the First Historical Archive, Beijing, and the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Sources changed in nature over the course of the nineteenth century. The central government appears to have been more involved in the city in the first half of the century, leaving more archival material, but numerous works written by natives of Nanjing were lost in the Taiping War. I have tried to deal with this asymmetry first by treating most sources as primarily accounts of political ideals rather than descriptions of urban realities, and second by following very closely the ways that certain texts managed to survive the Taiping War. Although I cannot completely overcome the selection bias, I have tried to emphasize in particular that the movements I discuss in this book do not represent the totality of political activism in Nanjing. Instead, they represent the figures with the greatest ability to mold and describe Nanjing's cityscape.

By propagating their respective hopes for a harmonious cosmos, advocates of political change in Nanjing challenged fundamental aspects of political power, including the delineation of territory, the charting of symbolic hierarchies, and the representation of the polity as a whole. Nanjing's imperial legacies of the Six Dynasties and the Ming made it relatively easy for people in the city to produce alternative representations of empire. Drawing on common strategies, but applying those strategies in new ways according to their particular goals and circumstances, successive political movements repeatedly transformed the city. They altered the cityscape to manifest what they considered to be the true nature of the world, and they promoted virtues that would instruct adherents in the best manner of responding to that truth. The resulting conflicts illuminate nuances of politics within the city as well as changing conceptions of the Qing polity in the years leading up to the revolution of 1911.

CHAPTER 1

The Qianlong Emperor's Tours of the Imperial City, 1751–84

In *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Sigmund Freud compared the city of Rome to the human mind. In truth, Freud contended, a given part of the city could have a ruin or a modern construction, but not both: "The same space cannot have two different contents." Were the city more like the mind, however:

> On the Piazza of the Pantheon we should find not only the Pantheon of today as it was bequeathed to us by Hadrian, but, on the same site, the original edifice erected by Agrippa; indeed the same piece of ground would be supporting the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva and the ancient temple over which it was built. And the observer would only have to change the direction of his glance or his position in order to call up one view or another.[1]

There were historical urban equivalents for what Freud considered to be a fantastic thought experiment. The city of Nanjing, for example, had both a physical and a poetic cityscape. The physical city required the destroying or refashioning of buildings, streets, and squares to create new urban forms. The poetic city, on the other hand, expanded by accretion over time as different writers described particular locations. Note the ease in which the eighteenth-century poet Chen Shulan (1766–1820) could in four lines unveil the layers of time lodged in the same space. She wrote about a song, "Jade

Tree," popular in the court of Chen (557–589), the last of the six dynasties based in Nanjing. When the Chen fell, Nanjing was destroyed. Chen Shulan described herself as looking at the present-day city of Nanjing and simultaneously recalling the flourishing of the Chen court as well as its destruction. Her lines also evoked the many poets who since the sixth century had described the same scene and also expressed nostalgia. Her words captured centuries of subsequent recollection:

> MATCHING THE RHYMES OF 'BEING MOVED BY THE OLD IN NANJING'
> The Song 'Jade Tree' died away, and I could not bear to listen.
> The gold dust of the Six Dynasties has half dispersed.
> And now there is only, at the edge of the sky, the moon
> That once shone toward the Chen palace and illuminated the rear courtyard.[2]

Chen Shulan arranged as much as she composed. The lines were excerpts from Tang Dynasty (618–906) works. Quoting them evoked nostalgia for the Chen court and also for the ensuing period of nostalgia. The "gold dust" (*jinfen*) in the poem referred to an age of prosperity; though "half dispersed" (*ban diaoling*), the dust was also half present. The moonlight was suspended in time, so that the same light that once shone on the Liang court, and later illumined eighth-century Tang poets, now inspired Chen Shulan, who used the light to locate the rear courtyard in her own city of Nanjing. In writing such as this, the conjuring of different moments of time, and thus of different meanings of a given site required even less than a change in the direction of one's glance. The slightest flicker of the mind could in principle "call up one view or another," or even several vistas at once.

The Qianlong emperor was one of many—but one with unusually strong shaping force—who could construct such temporally chambered mansions. In the course of his six tours of southern China (in 1751, 1757, 1762, 1765, 1780, and 1784), he inserted himself into the cityscape, a display of power that would shape the ways in which city residents of the future would perceive imperial rule. Following the last of these tours, the emperor would continue to be on the one hand a model (because he demonstrated that one could arrange the many elements of the city to extraordinary political effect), and on the other hand a foil (because residents would come to see the personal, autocratic power on view as disruptive to social harmony). Making sense of the tours, of the forms of space they created, and the reasons they stopped, is crucial to making sense of the subsequent age of utopian visions.

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On April 19, 1751, the Qianlong emperor entered Nanjing for the first time, bringing with him a retinue of over 3,000 people and 6,690 horses.[3] On this and on each of his later tours to Nanjing he rode to his so-called "travelling palace" (the phrase connotes an oversized tent, but in fact refers to a luxurious building complex in the center of Nanjing). He then reviewed troops at the city's training grounds, presented offerings at the tomb of the first Ming emperor, accompanied his mother to various sites (until her death in 1771), and bestowed awards for poetry at the Zhongshan Academy, an institution normally devoted to training scholars to compete in civil service examinations. On the morning of April 23, the emperor departed.[4]

If a city were simply a collection of tangible objects in fixed locations, then that would be that. It is true that the emperor left some physical traces of his visit: panels on the entrances to certain buildings inscribed in imperial calligraphy, steles, throne platforms where the emperor could sit and take in the sites, and the travelling palace. Still, if Nanjing were merely the sum of its parts, then the tours of the emperor, despite the enormous expense and size of his enterprise, would have meant little beyond adornments on an already ornate cityscape.

Instead, the emperor transformed the city. The rituals he performed, the verses he wrote, and the encomia he inspired became fixtures of the poetic cityscape, which would come to inscribe his many roles. Nanjing was already known as a city of wealth, of emperors, of temples, of ritual, of scholars. Qianlong used these facets of the city to depict himself as patron of Buddhism, moral exemplar, paragon of military virtues, conqueror, connoisseur, poet, and scholar. The emperor would refigure Nanjing's vistas even as the physical city remained, as a person fording a stream might create unseen turbulence without changing the direction of the flow. Although Nanjing's "flow" was unusually intense, the Qianlong emperor's footfalls were unusually heavy, so the elements of the city would continue to swirl about the energy of his former presence long after he had stepped out of the water.

Strategic and Poetic Crossroads

When Zhu Yuanzhang, the first Ming emperor, made Nanjing his capital, he had water diverted from the Qinhuai River to feed canals circling the palace district in the western part of the city. Upon seizing control from the Ming, Qing emperors ordered soldiers to occupy the palace district, and it

became the garrison for banner troops, a hereditary military caste.[5] The many offices of civil administration lay in the center of the city, north of the Qinhuai and west of the palace quarters. To the north, city dwellers fished in Xuanwu Lake, and in the city's northwest corner the city wall shot up to meet a bend in the Yangzi River like a ball into a socket.

The Yangzi River turned here from its northward flow through Anhui province and restlessly veered toward Shanghai, causing intense currents as it intersected the Grand Canal at Zhenjiang. Because this entire section of the Yangzi, including Nanjing, had long produced extraordinary quantities of rice, the region's farmers were subject to a special levy, and boatmen ferried the grain up the Grand Canal to supply the arid region around Beijing.

The Yangzi's bend gave Nanjing strategic significance. The city was a gateway to southern China, and as a result it became the capital for an array of monarchs and aspirants and also a center for religious movements, many of which had enjoyed court patronage As Stephen Owen has pointed out, the city's long association with changing dynastic fortunes created a literary tradition that formed "a mood and a poetic image of the city, an overlay of sites, images, and phrases that shaped the way the city was seen."[6] Nostalgia for earlier prosperity, laments at the destruction of capitals, and a melancholic sense of impermanence pervaded this literature. Nanjing prospered in the retelling of its defeats.

To appropriate this tradition was a political act. The work of Chen Shulan, which appeared in a compilation of women's poetry edited by the famed polymath Yuan Mei (1716–97), asserted her place in the long tradition of writing about Nanjing. Although hundreds of male poets wrote of similar themes, Chen was one of a very few women to explore the living presence of Nanjing's past. The originality of Chen's work lay not as much in its content, but in the very fact of her writing it, and, in the process, making herself one of the sculptors of Nanjing's multidimensional cityscape.

So what happened when an emperor engaged such a space as Nanjing? He found an ideal means to display his multiple roles. For an emperor, who was meant to embody many things at once, it was useful to come to a place whose landscape could offer many meanings at once.

CITY OF EMPERORS

A tour was an imperial progress to points outside of the Qing capital of Beijing, one which invariably included tents, military retinues, horses, hunt-

ing, and highly visible acts of imperial benevolence. The Qianlong emperor undertook these massive logistical deployments to augment his power. Tours demonstrated the enormous resources the emperor held at his command, but they also reenacted the seventeenth-century Qing conquest, when the ancestors of Kangxi and Qianlong had from their base in Manchuria stormed past the Great Wall, defeated the remnants of the Ming, and established the Qing Dynasty. Because the Qianlong emperor insisted on the distinctiveness of his Manchu heritage, and because tours afforded the emperor the opportunity to manifest the martial (and, for Qianlong, quintessentially Manchu) skills of riding, archery, and hunting, historian Michael Chang has described the tours as "exercises in ethno-dynastic aggrandizement."[7] The Qianlong emperor also depicted himself as upholding classical virtues of benevolence, concern for the people, and filial piety. By enacting these roles at different points throughout his empire, the Qianlong emperor could hope to induce others to "reproduce a certain sociopolitical order" with himself at the apex.[8] By manipulating Nanjing's physical and poetic space, the emperor could attempt to secure this order even after he departed the city.

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In this project, the Qianlong emperor drew on elaborate precedents. His grandfather, the Kangxi emperor, had himself conducted six tours through the city between 1684 and 1707. At that time, although supporters of the Ming dynasty had mostly been quelled, the possibility of dissent, even rebellion, continued to alarm the court.[9] The Kangxi emperor had composed an essay about what rulers could learn from Nanjing's natural features, cultural flourishing, and political upheaval. His essay followed the style of laments for past dynasties and described the Ming's loss of the Mandate of Heaven, thus asserting the Kangxi emperor's learning and legitimacy. The essay began with an account of the history of the city's vicissitudes prior to the Ming, and then turns to the tangible evidence of dynastic upheaval, the Ming palace:

> In the winter of 1684, in the eleventh month, coming south on a tour of inspection, I halted in Jiangning. On my way to ascend Mount Zhong in order to offer sacrificial wine at the mausoleum of Ming Taizu, I passed by the former palace, where thorns and bushes everywhere met the eye. Where palace gates once stood so imposingly, there were instead ruined walls.[10]

There were lessons here, insights into the arts of rulership that the Kangxi emperor's grandson (i.e., the Qianlong emperor) surely apprehended. The trick was to understand how the Ming had failed despite Nanjing's abundant natural advantages, which the Kangxi emperor admiringly enumerated in his essay. According to the emperor, Nanjing's strategic position was superior to that of all other cities in the empire save Beijing, and its flourishing culture at the time of the Ming exceeded even that of the Six Dynasties. Why, then, did Nanjing so often fall? Kangxi took the Ming as his paradigmatic case:

> After a long period of peace the maintenance of order came to be neglected. From the Wanli reign onwards, government affairs gradually received less attention. The eunuchs formed cliques and trumped up charges against each other. Clans and families became daily more divided and the *qi* of the literati more degenerated; taxes proliferated and the morale of the people collapsed . . . The result was that the enterprise established with such difficulty by the Ming, in less than three hundred years ended in a wasteland (*qiu xu*) Is it not truly to be lamented?[11]

Because Nanjing's potency could work either for or against a reigning monarch, Kangxi insisted that emperors must be vigilant in their rule, and concluded his essay with the formulaic—but still politically relevant—call to rely on Heaven, which responded to personal virtue rather than military might. According to the logic of the Mandate of Heaven, a sitting emperor pleased Heaven through his just rule, his moral bearing, and his sincere observance of ritual obligations. Failure to live up to Heaven's demands meant that a ruler might lose the mandate, which Heaven would then bestow on the founder of a new dynasty.

In this context, the ruins of the Ming palace had meaning. They conveyed conquest; the invasion of China by Qing forces, the surrender of Nanjing to those forces in 1645, and the continued occupation of the former imperial city by a Qing banner garrison. All of these signs revealed Nanjing to be a subjugated place. The presence of an ethnically distinct emperor riding into the city and presenting its history to its residents highlighted this truth of conquest. And yet (uneasily, paradoxically) the emperor's essay also asserted its position in a Chinese-language genre of nostalgia, evoking a sentiment that suggested not only the passage of time but the transfer of the Mandate of Heaven, a gesture that reached across the ruptures between

dynasties and (at least in theory) joined Kangxi to a lineage of Chinese emperors stretching back into antiquity. Through the combination of a show of force and a mastery of poetic repertoires, Kangxi hoped to channel potentially seditious images into a legitimizing rhetoric.

The complexity of Nanjing's poetic cityscape meant that others drew quite different lessons from the city's sites. As the art historian Catherine Stuer has observed, in the late Ming and early Qing Nanjing inspired "two seemingly incompatible modes of representation: as an integral whole, and as a site of fragmentation and ruin."[12] Both of these modes could take the form of a challenge to Qing authority. On the one hand, in the work of artists such as Hu Yukun (active ca. 1630s–1670s) and Gao Cen (ca. 1643–84), images of the city or of the Ming tombs could imply that Nanjing remained a Ming capital and that in some imagined way the possibility of the Ming remained.[13] On the other hand, portrayals of a ruined city or laments for the former glory of previous dynasties could serve as criticisms of the Qing court. On tours, emperors sought to gain control over the ideas that sites in Nanjing might inspire. The process of encountering the city's traces of the past (*guji*), drawing moral lessons from the encounter, and reflecting on one's own identity took place throughout China. In Nanjing, however, emperors sought through their ostentatious occupation of the city to disarm a particular discourse of opposition to the Qing dynasty and to limit the capacity of local elites to propose alternative readings of the cityscape.

The Kangxi emperor's concerns in Nanjing would remain germane throughout the Qing period. The location and strategic importance of the city, and in particular the maintenance of a large garrison of troops, were obviously on his mind as he wrote his essay, as were offerings at the tomb of the first Ming emperor. These offerings were important because in the ideology of the Mandate of Heaven, the ruler currently holding the Mandate is responsible for making offerings to previous dynastic founders. If others were to perform the ritual, it would be tantamount to sedition. Not mentioned in the essay but also contributing to the importance of the city were the educational, administrative, and economic institutions located there. Nanjing's examination compound was the center of exams for the Lower Yangzi region, which in the eighteenth century had the lion's share of qualified candidates. The city was also a center of scholarship more broadly, including local academies and a flourishing publishing industry. Nanjing was an important administrative center, with offices for financial and judicial officials as well as the governor-general of Liangjiang and the superin-

tendent of Imperial Silk Factories.[14] This latter official was responsible for silk production for the imperial court, including silk for clothing, for use in court ritual, and for rewards to officials and soldiers. This state production was itself only a fraction of Nanjing's flourishing silk industry. It was logical to include the city on stours.

Writing history, painting a landscape, composing a song or poem, or tracing a path through a city are all similar activities in that they impose a certain order onto the things of the world. The Kangxi emperor's ordering related everything in Nanjing to his own presence. Ruins were important because they were lessons for rulers. The past was important because it culminated in the present. The beauty of particular buildings, the strategic position of the city, and the physical features of the landscape contributed to these lessons. An emperor, in other words, could insert himself into Nanjing's poetic cityscape, and, in so doing, transform it, allowing the city to speak for the emperor when he asserted claims about his rule.

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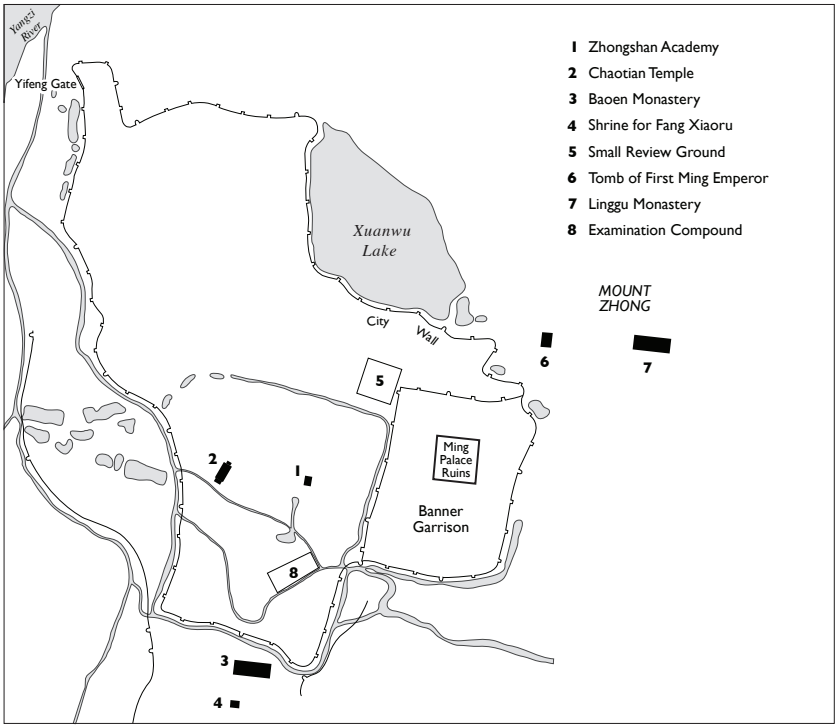
The Qianlong emperor on his tours of the south followed the same route that his grandfather had traversed before him: overland south of Beijing to Mount Tai, then south to cross the Yellow River and inspect the dykes at the intersection of the Yellow and the Huai, then through Suzhou (famous for its gardens and its silk) and Hangzhou (where he conducted troop inspections) to the tomb of Yu the Great, legendary founder of the first Chinese dynasty, the Xia (traditional dates: 2070–1600 BCE). From Yu's grave in Shaoxing, the emperor retraced his steps northward back to the Yangzi, and then detoured to Nanjing. The entire entourage then traveled along the Yangzi to Zhenjiang, and was transported via the Grand Canal back to the capital region.

From the Grand Canal to Nanjing, the emperor might travel "clockwise" or "counterclockwise." The clockwise route of his first tour took him first overland through Longtan and into Nanjing through the southern city. He would depart northward through the Guanyin Gate and past Swallow Rock (Yanzi Ji), a bird-shaped outcropping where he could view the Yangzi's flow. In his remaining tours the emperor reversed direction, approaching via the banks of the Yangzi and departing to the south. Within Nanjing, further variation (map 1.1): the emperor on each tour visited the palace, the tomb of the first Ming emperor, the Linggu Monastery, the troop-reviewing grounds, and the Zhongshan Academy, but not in the same order, and each time

interspersed these with other sites. Nanjing residents were unlikely to catch more than a passing glimpse of the Qianlong emperor, but they could follow his progress retrospectively through the poems he wrote about each site he visited and by the tablets (*bian'e*) inscribed with his calligraphy that he had installed over the gates to major buildings. Gazetteers in 1811 and 1824 reprinted the texts of the door tablets as well as the Qianlong emperor's poems, all arranged by year and in order according to the emperor's movements. Touring Nanjing, in short, meant intricate variations within the larger structure of the massive southward expeditions. The result was two kinds of vistas on the city. The route mapped the connection of a satellite, Nanjing, to the capital in Beijing. The emperor's sojourn labeled Nanjing as provincial, an outpost rather than a center. On the other hand, the true center of the empire was not a place, but a person; all else pooled around the Qianlong emperor, who could categorize and give meaning to what he encountered.

On his tours, the Qianlong emperor wrote much more about Nanjing than had the Kangxi emperor. The Qianlong emperor wrote ninety-six poems and no prose about the city; his grandfather seems to have said most of what he thought was important in his one essay. The Kangxi emperor wrote (in addition to the essay) twelve poems and placed door tablets at five locations in the city (to the Qianlong emperor's nineteen). At Swallow Rock, Qianlong had a stele constructed bearing the name of the site in his calligraphy.[15] The distinctive imperial handwriting seemed also to say: here was a site worth seeing, and a monarch whose command of the landscape was such that he could exhaustively identify the features worth seeing. The Kangxi emperor had been content to let visitors to Nanjing do without such labels.

The emperors' contrasting ways of marking Nanjing hinged on how each of the emperors regarded his Central Asian origins. The Kangxi emperor on his tours demonstrated that he had immersed himself in Chinese classics, undergone a moral transformation, and acquired the rhetoric and skills of a Son of Heaven. The Qianlong model was one of "universal emperorship," in which the emperor had direct access to Heaven. The Qianlong emperor believed that "it was not because the Manchus had somehow been transformed through the improving influence of Chinese civilization that the Qing empire was fit to rule China . . . [but rather] because the emperor's consciousness was an extension of the mind of Heaven." In this account, ritual allowed the Qianlong emperor to maintain himself as a Heavenly embodiment. Within this universal mode, the emperor stood at the hub of multiple



1.1 Nanjing as an Imperial City. Source: Wang Hongming, *Nanjing jianzhi zhi*, 165–74.

worlds. Through his person, he could catalog, order, and make meaningful the entirety of literature, religious practice, and ethnic difference.[16] The Kangxi emperor's essay served to demonstrate his command of Nanjing's past, but Qianlong constantly reenacted his sovereignty on a monumental scale. His poems about Nanjing are but a fraction of the corpus of over forty thousand verses attributed to the emperor. And writing verse stood alongside other demonstrations of his capacity to order. The scale of Qianlong's endeavors is difficult to fathom. He styled himself a master of scholarship and undertook a vast annotated catalog of 10,680 of his empire's books, perhaps 2,400 of which were banned outright, but 3,593 of which were reprinted in *The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* and distributed to seven libraries around the empire.[17] His supervision of the expansion of the palace collections of art and antiquities was equally colossal, and the emperor acted as chief curator and connoisseur. He was a patron as well:

painters, enamellers, weavers, carvers, carpenters, and other artisans thrived under his sponsorship. He adorned paintings in the collection with seals and colophons as thoroughly as he adorned buildings around Nanjing. He was patron of religious institutions, and he appears to have been a devout Buddhist, as evidenced, for example, by his habit of copying passages from the *Heart Sutra*, his depiction in court paintings using Buddhist iconography, and his study of Tibetan Buddhist practice with Rolpay Dorje (1717–1786), Grand Lama of Beijing.[18] The emperor's hunts at the Mulan grounds to the north of Beijing allowed him to enact what he considered the essential martial character of both Manchu ethnicity and imperial rule.[19] His refashioning of the landscape of the Chengde palace complex made the site appear to visiting dignitaries from Central Asia a symbolic center of the cosmos.[20] His markings on landscapes (whether painted or physical) expressed his dominion by asserting that he himself could assign each element its proper meaning and place. He sat at the apex of a complex bureaucracy and took pains to demonstrate his understanding of administrative concerns like the systems of dykes where the Grand Canal traversed the Yellow and Yangzi rivers. Touring was itself a monumental enterprise that brought Qianlong's self-presentation throughout his empire and into Nanjing. The Qianlong emperor found ways to use Nanjing's cityscape to enact his Inner Asian as well as his Chinese roles, and he managed the tensions among his different guises in part by articulating them in different parts of the city.

CITY OF TEMPLES

The Qianlong emperor's assertions of authority in multiple realms created the potential for tensions among his various roles. In Nanjing, the cityscape itself provided a form of mediation. The emperor could be ritualist, warrior, administrator, scholar, and Buddhist in part because his actions had specific settings within the city, rendering his universalist claims visible and local. Such was the case in Qianlong's encounter with Nanjing's religious institutions, which had long expressed abstract cosmologies in concrete language and structures. Temples proved ideal sites for shaping space, allowing the emperor to display imperial and cosmic hierarchies.

In the Six Dynasties period, Nanjing had been a font of sacred geographies. In the fourth century, immigrants from northern China (which was gripped by war between powerful generals of various ethnic groups) brought with them a form of Daoism known as "Celestial Master" (Tianshi dao),

which called for the establishment of a new age of Great Peace (Taiping). Aristocratic families from the region around Nanjing coopted this religion. Thirty miles southeast of the city stood Maoshan, where, in the years 364–370, Yang Xi claimed to have received revelations from divine, perfected immortals on the nature of the Heaven of Supreme Purity (Shangqing). In the early fifth century, the remarkable poetic style of Yang's writings, as well as the calligraphy in which they were written, inspired Tao Hongjing, a member of another elite family with ties to the court in Nanjing, to assemble them into a canon of scriptures that could serve as a guide for those seeking enlightenment. From Maoshan, the movement hoped to identify and eliminate certain false gods. In the words of Michel Strickmann, "To Daoist priests and believers, the 'deities' worshipped by the people . . . were no more than malevolent demons, prevailing upon the credulity of the simple-minded."[21] The Qianlong emperor was aware of this history as he rode into the city, and he knew that the city had long been a place where religious groups imagined they could usher in a new world.

Chaotian Temple

The largest Daoist institution within Nanjing's walls was Chaotian Temple, a place whose history was safely intertwined with that of Nanjing's imperial past. Historians of Nanjing thought the Chaotian Temple during the Six Dynasties had been the Pavilion of United Clarity (Zongming Guan), a state-sponsored academy created to train scholars in history, literature, classical learning, and "dark studies" (*xuanxue*)—a form of philosophical speculation concerned with many of the same early texts that had inspired the Maoshan revelations.[22] During the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) the temple was supposedly renamed the Abbey of Celestial Blessings (Tianqing Guan), and was one of numerous Daoist temples throughout southern China that enjoyed the support of the court.[23] The first Ming emperor rebuilt the complex, and upon its completion in 1395, he held an audience ceremony before assembled high officials and Daoist priests. When a new edition of the Daoist Canon was printed in 1445, one set was deposited here.[24] In 1699, the Kangxi emperor had provided 1,000 taels of silver for the temple's expansion.[25] If Maoshan suggested revelatory, eschatological possibility, Chaotian Temple represented a more staid, august, and scholarly form of Daoist practice.

The Qianlong emperor treated both institutions primarily as scenic sites rather than religious centers. His discussion of Maoshan made no mention

of the past or present Daoist community there, but instead simply sought to marshal philological evidence that the mountain outside of Nanjing was, in fact, the Maoshan mentioned in historical accounts. In his poetry about Chaotian Temple, the Qianlong emperor emphasized the ways in which the temple had thrived under the patronage of previous emperors. Qianlong also evoked literary tradition by imagining the famed Song dynasty literary stylist Su Shi's earlier visit to the temple in a poem that echoed lines of an earlier poem that Su Shi had written about the site. Qianlong's door tablet for the temple reads "Hold the original yet contemplate its transformation" (*hanyuan canhua*).[26] This phrase carried historical and philosophical significance. In conveying an underlying sense of continuity, it limited the extent of transformative power one might expect from the place. The term "hold the original" also named one of the central halls of the Ming palace in Nanjing, reinforcing the connections of Chaotian Temple to imperial power rather than religious awakening.

Buddhist Centers

The Qianlong emperor's treatment of Buddhist institutions was quite different. He approached Nanjing's Buddhist monasteries as a patron as well as a scholar. In his poetry, the emperor took on doctrinal issues such as the fundamental transience of existence. Qianlong depicted himself as a practitioner of Buddhism, one who claimed the power to interpret the dharma and to name differing degrees of understanding of the teachings of Buddha. He did so, for example, on the plaques he placed on each of the nine stories of the Porcelain Pagoda of Baoen Monastery, which began with a plaque inscribed with the phrase "path to enlightenment of the genuine person" (*zhenren juelu*) and ended with "unsurpassed wheel of the dharma" (*wushang falun*).[27] This was a natural enough progression of Buddhist ideas, but the mention of the wheel of dharma did perhaps call to mind the *cakravartin* (Ch. *zhuanlun shengwang*, "wheel turning sage king").

Baoen Monastery, one of Nanjing's largest temple complexes, recalled the time when Nanjing was a major center of Chinese Buddhism. During the Six Dynasties the court accumulated relics of the Buddha and placed them in the Asoka Pagoda. According to legend, the Mauryan emperor King Asoka (reigned 269–232 BCE) had distributed Buddha's remains throughout the world, hence the name "Asoka Pagoda."[28] The remains of the monk Xuanzang (602–664, also known as Tripitaka), famed for his travels to India to obtain sutras, were supposedly also here.[29] The Yongle emperor (1360–1424)

constructed the monastery complex in the early fifteenth century to "recompense the favors" (*bao en*) that his adoptive parents had provided him. In the process, he sponsored the construction of a 240-foot pagoda of white porcelain bricks capped with an iron roof. This famed Porcelain Pagoda was damaged in the late Ming, but it was repaired after the Kangxi emperor, on his southern tour, allocated funds for reconstruction. The restored tower was covered in porcelain tiles of five different colors, 128 lanterns, and a new roof.[30] The Qianlong emperor visited the complex, and also the Linggu, Jiming, and Qingliang monasteries, on each of his tours.

By depicting Nanjing as a Buddhist center, the Qianlong emperor was better able to enact his own role as a universal monarch. The very notion of a "universal monarch" drew from the Buddhist model of the *cakravartin* ("wheel turning king"), whose chariot carried him throughout the world as he furthered the "greater vehicle" of Mahayana Buddhism. By the Qing Dynasty, this vision of kingship was primarily promulgated in Inner Asia, where emperors sought to make use of Tibetan Buddhism to further the purpose of conquest, and where they, for example, appropriated the cult of Genghis Khan to display themselves as both warriors and Buddhists.[31] Nanjing's cityscape offered additional means of enacting the emperor's many roles within China proper. To demonstrate the combination of Buddhist devotion and charismatic rule of the *cakravartin*, the emperor turned to Linggu Monastery, whose recent (Qing) history was relatively sedate, but whose deeper past was permeated with symbols of holiness and imperial power.

Linggu Monastery

In Ming and Qing times, historians, monks, and emperors all declared Linggu to be the same temple as the Kaishan Monastery, founded in the Six Dynasties period by Emperor Wu of the Liang. Emperor Wu had converted to Buddhism and become one of its foremost patrons. Through elaborate rituals of deliverance for sentient beings, self-sacrifice (giving himself to a monastery until his ministers paid a large sum), and bodhisattva ordination, the emperor had claimed to be a *cakravartin*.[32] When the Qianlong emperor went to Linggu, he deliberately evoked this submerged past.

Kaishan Monastery had been constructed for Bao Zhi (464–549), a trickster monk known for eccentric habits, such as washing his hair with urine, and for his explications of Buddhist doctrine. Bao Zhi supposedly had attracted large crowds during his peregrinations through the city. According to legend he enjoyed the enviable, uncanny ability to be in sev-

eral places at once, and he advised Emperor Wu on ceremonial matters, in particular the Water and Land Convocation Ceremony, a ceremony to save the beings of water and land from karmic retribution by paying of alms for their departed souls.[33] Upon Baozhi's own death, the emperor had him buried on Mount Zhong overlooking Nanjing and constructed a monastery near his tomb.[34]

The monastery itself endured shifting fortunes. As of the founding of the Ming, it supposedly stood near the grave of Baozhi. And then the first Ming emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang, sufficiently respectful of antiquity, sanctity, and scenery to want to preserve what he found, yet not so pious that he was unwilling to exploit the area for his own purposes, moved the whole thing, which is to say that he had the buildings torn down and constructed anew at a different location. He did so in the course of transforming Nanjing into his new capital. He wanted his own tomb constructed at the most auspicious site possible, which in his imagined geography of the city was at the site of the Baozhi Pagoda.[35]

The usual English term for finding auspicious locations for tombs and buildings is "geomancy," and New Agers of various stripes have now brought "*fengshui*" into circulation, but, as Stephen Bennet has argued, a better term might be "siting."[36] Since the earliest establishment of Nanjing at its base, Mount Zhong had been considered an ideal location for burial. At issue was the shape of its mountains and rivers, which revealed the existence of "veins" beneath the city that represented the paths of dragons. These unseen cavities supposedly conducted the movement of *qi* in a manner that was conducive to nourishing the spirits of the dead. Zhu Yuanzhang employed such principles in his design of his new capital.[37]

The name of the reconstructed monastery, Linggu, which literally meant "efficacious grotto," referred to these ideas as well. What made the grottos efficacious was the quality of their *qi,* which if it became especially pure and light might take on a coherence that could have efficacy in the world. Such *qi* could help bring rain, or coalesce into fantastic creatures, or aid the dead. In the early eighteenth century, residents of Nanjing wrote poetry suggesting that unusual beasts lurked in the forest, where the *qi* was "deep" (*shen*) and "dense" (*yu*) and where "listening to sutras induces white dragons to come."[38] Prior to the arrival of the Qianlong emperor, *qi* was central to the ways that Nanjing residents depicted Linggu, and throughout the Qing those wealthy enough to purchase gravesites there professed to feel comfort that the souls of their departed ancestors might rest in such an auspicious location.

Linggu Monastery, then, lay in a magical landscape of immense poetic and historical significance. Emperors, monks, and poets had left a dense record of their engagements with the place and its past. The Qianlong emperor could have written about the many writers who had imbued the site's conifers with music. He could have, in the manner of his grandfather, composed an essay demonstrating his mastery of the lessons of fallen dynasties, or he could have focused on the properties intrinsic to the mountain: its refined *qi* and the fabulous creatures it produced. Instead the emperor chose to represent himself as patron of the monastery and practitioner of the Buddhist doctrines espoused there.

As patron, the Qianlong emperor took on several roles with respect to the site, and his encounter did indeed affect the physical layout of the place. Responsible for the tomb and its surrounding, he issued edicts condemning woodcutters who chopped down trees, and established patrols to guard the forest. He sponsored a recarving of the Sanjue stele.[39] In preparation for his visits, a viewing platform was constructed, and tablets of imperial calligraphy hung over its gates.[40]

In a poem about Linggu written in 1762, the Qianlong emperor uses archaic names for both the mountain (here called "Mount Jiang") and its monastery. In this, as in each of the poems the emperor wrote about the site, a central issue is the successive changes that emperors have made to the landscape. Qianlong gives the changes a Buddhist frame. The things of the world, Qianlong states, exist only conditionally. They seem to be as they are because they result from a karmic cycle of desire that obscures the true nature of the world. What is real is Buddha, and Buddha's ultimate truth could be found in sutras, in the Jetavana palace where he preached, or in the plum garden donated to him by Āmrapālī. In this poem, Qianlong claims for emperors the power to distinguish between the relative truth and the ultimate truth of things.

> The Kaishan Monastery on Jiangshan
> Moved and obtained its current name.
> All conditioned things [i.e., all that is produced by causative action]
> Originally have no basis for discrimination.
> I have heard that flowers illuminated Āmrapālī's plum garden
> True trees protected the walls of the Jetavana palace
> Occasionally reading the above sentences
> I am not tethered to current or past sentiments.[41]

In this telling, names, like the objects they denote, are impermanent in a profound sense. The changes to the landscape, to the monastery, and to its names are but emanations of some more fundamental truth, one discerned by emperors with enlightened understanding of Buddha and his teachings. The universal ruler is committed to this underlying reality of the Buddha himself and his original palace with trees and illuminating plum blossoms, each a metaphor for emptiness. By claiming the ability to contemplate emptiness and free himself of sentiment, the Qianlong emperor brings together monarchy and the Buddha. The poetic image incorporates the person of the emperor, the nature of the place, and the state of being that results from profound engagement with Buddha's teaching. In another poem, and again after opening with mention of Emperor Wu and Ming Taizu and then describing the current flourishing of the monastery, the emperor found a similar resolution to the tension between a universal truth and a site that, like Nanjing itself, seemed subject to near-infinite variation:

> How could a place of the Buddha rise and fall?
> According to his teachings, my myriad worries are empty.[42]

Qianlong's couplet moves beyond the immediate physical context to evoke as well a state of being and Buddhism as a whole. *Fodi,* the phrase here translated as "place of Buddha," refers to the highest state that a Bodhisattva attains, a reference to Baozhi, and also to the historical Buddha and to the traditions that follow. This turn allows the emperor to place his own thoughts outside this stream of history, for alongside the run of events, the rise and fall of rulers, is a way of seeing the world—a way described here as Buddhist, but which is simultaneously imperial—that transcends other forms of change.

In this rendering of the scene, Qianlong claimed to comprehend the true nature of the landscape. The music of the pines, the travels of Song poets, and even the magical manifestations of *qi* all belonged (according to Qianlong) to a different order of perception. Each was part of the world of conditioned things; each was an effect of desires that obscured the true nature of the cosmos. Because emperors such as Liang Wudi, Ming Taizu, and Qianlong himself enjoyed a privileged relationship with Buddha, they had achieved enlightened understanding of this place. Other versions of Linggu Monastery and its surroundings were necessarily incomplete.

It is difficult to know what Nanjing's residents made of these claims.

They reproduced the emperor's poetry in various gazetteers without further comment and they continued to write about Linggu as a place of marvelously efflorescent *qi*. For the Qianlong emperor, his subjects' opinions may not have been the point. The poetry was itself an instrument of Qianlong's rule, for in the second half of the eighteenth century nobody else in Nanjing was in a position to usurp the landscape. With each visit to Nanjing, the Qianlong emperor reasserted his own unique capacity to make assertions that incorporated the cityscape into his imperial worldview.

CITY OF RITUAL

Magical beings, former emperors, relics of the Buddha, and poetry of nostalgia for a fallen capital were all elements of Nanjing's cityscape that the Qianlong emperor could arrange in his own poetry. When reprinted in gazetteers and imperially sponsored collections of his work, Qianlong's writings could forge particularly strong connections between different sites within the city. He paired his visits to Linggu Monastery with his sacrifices at the tomb of the first Ming emperor, and followed them both with his review of troops at the military training ground. His poems about each of these places thus appeared one after another, allowing Qianlong to take his various roles as patron of Buddhism, inheritor of the Mandate of Heaven, and paragon of martial virtues and to embed them in Nanjing's cityscape.

The texts, then, depicted an arrangement of space while highlighting the emperor himself as the arranger, the one who brought other elements into alignment. He did this with bodily motions, progressing through the city and actively engaging its multilayered features. Indeed, writing itself was one such action. His presence, in turn, inspired further motion: troops performed drills in front of him, candidates assembled to take their examinations, officials offered sacrifices to various spirits. Ritual (that is to say, *li*) formed an essential part of his tours. Ritual texts provided protocols for his actions. By reviewing troops, the emperor could hope to see his own martial virtues emulated. By giving offerings to spirits, in the words of Angela Zito, he could render unseen spirits or virtues "visible as aesthetic pattern and thus accessible for ordering in the social world."[43] Because ritual texts provided explanations of these acts, any given movement could be intelligible to viewers (including those "viewers" who were not present at the events, but read about them afterwards). The emperor's disparate roles, Nanjing's complex cityscape, and the movements of people within the city could all make

sense. In this way, the emperor could hope his subjects might seek to cultivate and (when appropriate) emulate the virtues that he both embodied and enacted.

Military Reviews

Being both Manchu and a ruler who constantly exhorted his Manchu subjects to embrace their martial heritage, the Qianlong emperor sought to embody military prowess. The ritual of troop reviews provided an ideal venue to depict himself as exemplar of martial virtues even in parts of his empire that were distant from battlefields. The reviews took place at several locations during the southern tours, including Jinkou, Suzhou, and Jiaxing, but the largest were at Nanjing and Hangzhou.

The ritual placed Qianlong before an array of different kinds of troops. In Nanjing, soldiers assembled at the Small Review Ground (Xiao Jiaochang), which was akin to a parade ground, but one where contests in archery and horseback riding took place.[44] The ground was next to, but outside the walls of, the banner compound. As of 1750 there were 5,000 bannermen living with their families in Nanjing's garrison. These included 4,000 soldiers and 1,000 naval troops. In addition, Nanjing was home to 2,000 Green Standard troops.[45] These included 1,500 Manchu bannermen and 1,500 Han Green Standard troops. Selection for participation in the review was an honor. Bannermen earned an additional month's salary and grain allowance.[46]

Troop reviews allowed the soldiers to reiterate their loyalty and the emperor to enact his sovereignty. The occasions opened with solemn music and included demonstrations of archery, horsemanship, and wrestling, as well as drills in which banner signal corps, flag, infantry, artillery, and cavalry units conducted maneuvers alongside Green Standard troops lined up about 550 yards away from the emperor, who watched from a viewing platform.[47] Michael Chang has offered a vivid description of the proceedings:

> A wave of red banners signaled musketeer and artillery units to commence firing in unison, two units at a time. After each salvo, two artillery units would advance about twenty feet. Drums signaled each pair of units to advance; gongs signaled them to halt. Beginning on the seventh salvo, cavalry units would begin to escort artillery units back to the rear of the formation. On the tenth round of musket and cannon fire, all the musketeer and artillery units would fire in unison. Another wave of red banners would signal musketeer and artillery

> units to fall in line and form seven openings or "gates" in their formation. A sounding of conch shells signaled the first line of Green Standard Troops (situated behind the musket and artillery units) to advance into the openings. After they had drawn even with the musket and artillery units, a second sounding of the horn brought them to a halt, upon which they gave a war whoop. [48]

Another line of Green Standard troops would advance, and then musket and artillery units would advance to the front in similar fashion, and when the charging was complete the conch shell horns would signal all troops to return to their lines.

On the basis of these exercises, alongside the Qianlong emperor's repeated exhortations that troops should maintain their skill, discipline, and élan, Chang has argued persuasively that tours provided the emperor occasions to "address the interrelated issues of military readiness and Manchu identity in all their various dimensions."[49] During earlier tours, this allowed the Qianlong emperor to drill troops and maintain discipline. After a series of successful military campaigns in the 1760s, the reviews took on a "triumphalist" tone. The emperor in effect re-enacted the conquest his ancestors had made when they invaded China in the seventeenth century.[50] Reviews took place in the name of preparation for possible threats: "Soldiers may not be used for hundreds of years, but they should be at the ready every single day."[51] The presence of the emperor himself might prevent troops' strength from flagging. Furthermore, the drills that the troops performed, it was hoped, might enhance [the soldiers'] martial dignity (*zhuang junwei*) and solemnify their outward appearance (*su guanzhan*).[52] For the Qianlong emperor, the economic and cultural accomplishments of a state depended on military strength. His words were visible on a plaque over his viewing platform at the review grounds in Nanjing:

> Reforming slackening into sharp discipline.
> Inspecting troops is a part of touring during times of peace.
> Training soldiers is the precondition for a prosperous and civilized polity.[53]

This statement placed priority on military strength for bringing stability to the people, and that such strength was expressed throughout tours in ethnic terms.

The Qianlong emperor's acts on the one hand reflected his central Asian heritage, but on the other hand he also claimed to be following Chinese

precedents. His writing and his movements balanced his martial virtue with the claim that his imperium enjoyed peace, prosperity, and the blessings of Heaven. He wrote the following poem on his first tour:

REVIEWING TROOPS
Cloudless, warm, clear noonday: the beautiful, bright spring.
The sun just past its apex, shining bright: the disciplined troops form lines.
About this strategic point on the Yangzi, we say the terrain is advantageous.
Regarding inspection of important matters, I give weight to bringing stability
to the people.
[After war's end, when] when the pack oxen are released and horses return,
I have inherited a long peace.
The crouching tigers and coiled dragons have so quickly revived.
I merely went to the Ming Tomb to pay respect according to the rites,
But I think of the hardships of founding a dynasty in that time.[54]

The poem, and the review of troops that occasioned it, were results of the Qianlong emperor's attempt to situate his imperial self-presentation in the complex physical and poetic landscape of Nanjing. The review of troops itself was a monumental event, but this poem modulated its expression of military force. The day, it suggests, was bright and the city at peace. In the emperor's telling, the troops were not a tool to oppress a conquered populace, but merely signs that the emperor was concerned with "important affairs." The movement of the poem turns from the martial skill of the troops, away from the parade ground where the inspection took place, and toward the Ming emperor's tomb on the outskirts of the city. The poem treats the first Ming emperor as somebody engaged in common cause with the founders of the Qing—all sought to create order. Depicting Zhu Yuanzhang in this way naturalizes Qianlong's ideas about military primacy by embedding them in Nanjing's landscape.

The images of glorious weather in the Qianlong emperor's poem about his troops helped convey the idea that the Qing had been successful in garnering Heaven's blessings. The favor of Heaven was at issue too in the offerings Qianlong presented to the first Ming emperor, which immediately preceded or followed the troop reviews. Chinese classical texts treated the honoring of previous dynasties, and in particular presenting offerings at the tombs of dynastic founders, as one of the obligations Heaven imposed on the current emperor. Performing the ceremony was a claim of legitimacy

for the ruler of the empire. Qianlong's offerings at Zhu Yuanzhang's tomb complemented the story he was telling about the unique capacity of the emperor to bring stability to the state.

Offerings to the First Ming Emperor

The Qianlong emperor's ritual obligations extended to all dynastic founders, but it mattered that *this* dynastic founder was Zhu Yuanzhang and that the ritual would take place in Nanjing. Qianlong's poetry about Zhu's tomb echoed a theme he raised at the troop reviews: the two emperors, and indeed all emperors, were engaged in the common cause of "bringing stability to the people" (*an min*). In his prayer to the spirit of Zhu Yuanzhang, Qianlong claimed to discern Zhu's hand in contemporary affairs:

> As we trace the regulations and patterns of the dynastic founding, your divine merits seem to still be here.
> As we look at the funerary items of the former palace, your spiritual efficacy and distinctiveness still remain.[55]

Qianlong could claim to embody the role of ideal Chinese monarch in part by depicting himself as communing with the spirit of Zhu Yuanzhang, who seemed in this poem to linger in Qianlong's presence.[56] Because Qianlong located this role at the Ming tomb, it could coexist with his other roles as *cakravartin* (evident in Buddhist temples) and Altaic conqueror (at the reviewing ground).

Qianlong honored the Ming emperor in ritual and in the care he showed for the area surrounding the tomb. When he first saw the tomb site, he found the area badly deforested, and ordered additional guards posted to protect the grounds.

> I have forbidden locals forever from cutting down trees without permission,
> And instructed guards to patrol the tomb with care.
> On tours of inspection I approach and bring peace to the traces of a past monarch.
> Old setbacks I hold close, now doubly alert.[57]

A verdant landscape made the Qianlong emperor's sincerity palpable; his care for trees was a visible sign of his ritual relationship to the former emperor. It also marked this protected scenery as the province of Zhu Yuan-

zhang, who marked Nanjing long after his rule had ended. Others who had visited the tomb had written about the lingering presence of Zhu Yuanzhang, but they had focused on Zhu's contribution to Nanjing's royal *qi*.[58] Qianlong was more interested in how the emperor enhanced social order in general rather than the aura he imbued into a particular site. More broadly, the Qianlong emperor wanted all under heaven to have meaning in relationship to his own person

In his offerings to the Ming emperor, Qianlong made this view manifest while also appearing to bring the things of the world into accord around himself. On the seventeenth day of the third lunar month of the twenty-seventh year of his reign (April 10, 1762), on his third tour of the South, the Qianlong emperor while still in Suzhou dispatched an Imperial Prince and two officials (one Manchu and one Han) to "notify the spirits" (*gao shen*) of the emperor's pending arrival in Nanjing.[59] They burned incense at shrines honoring certain famous officials of the Jin, Song, and Ming dynasties. At the Ming tomb, however, they undertook a much more elaborate offering, which is worthy of description in detail because, unlike the ritual that the emperor himself would conduct nine days later, the vanguard's ritual of notification was visible to a number of officials as well as residents of Nanjing from a variety of social backgrounds. On these occasions the Jiangning prefect was responsible for overseeing the slaughter of the animal sacrifices, along with the burial of hair and blood. In preparation, he ensured that the central hall of the tomb (where the ceremony took place) was swept, that subordinate officials had obtained silk, incense, an ox, a goat, a pig, as well as baskets of grain and pitchers of wine, and that the tools for slaughtering and cleaning the animals were available. The district director of ceremonies or the sub-director of schools could serve as master of ceremonies (*tongzan*), responsible for calling out the name of each ritual action before it was performed. A low-level (*shengyuan*) degree holder assisted. Assistant magistrates took part in the ceremony as overseers of candles, incense, silk, and pouring vessels. In this way, local officials whose responsibilities normally included but a small part of the whole could take part in a ritual depiction of the imperium. They could enact their loyalty to the emperor and display their sincerity through attention to ritual detail.

On the morning of the offering, the ritual items were arrayed in the Hall of Offerings, which stood at the top of a row of stairs. Following directions called out by the master of ceremonies, the officials took their places. The dispatched officials raised incense to the spirits, then returned to their

places. They performed the kowtow (kneeling three times, with each kneel knocking their heads against the floor three times, for a total of nine knocks). There followed the first presentation (*chuxian*) in which the overseer of silk placed a bolt of silk in a central vessel on the table, and the overseer of the wine vessels poured wine into the middle of three vessels on the table. A call from the master of ceremonies indicated that all should kneel for the reading of the prayer, and all knelt and the prayer was read. The master of ceremonies called for the second and third presentations, which differed from the first only in that each time the overseer of the wine vessels poured the wine into a different cup. Then, following the obligatory instructions of the master of ceremonies, the dispatched officials performed the kowtow again, the silk and prayer text were burned. The dispatched officials followed the master of ceremonies out of the hall, stage left, and *omnes exeunt*.

Various other aspects of the ceremony probably marked it as an unusual occasion for participants and observers. The performance took place amidst the smells of cooked meat permeating the hall. The various officials, who seldom appeared as a group, now stood together in official dress. They were, in effect, hosting both a living imperial prince, and the spirit of Zhu Yuanzhang, who had, after all, made Nanjing his capital.

There was also a conviction that these ordered actions might affect the world. The compilers of the *Canons of the Southern Tours* wrote: "In governing spirits and people and bringing harmony, nothing is more important than the roster of offerings."[60] Order came in part from the clear hierarchies extending up to the emperor and in the modeling of virtues from above to below, and also from the repetition of august gestures—the kowtow, the presentation of silk, the pouring of wine—in the ceremony itself. The editors of the *Canons* argued further that rituals performed on the tours could bring together yin and yang, exposing unseen subtleties of the world and allowing harmonious interactions among heaven, earth, and man.[61]

The liturgy for the offering when the emperor arrived on April 26 was very similar. There was music now, with distinct scores for each stage of the ceremony. There was the emperor himself, and with him in the temple only civil and military officials third rank and higher. The biggest differences were more evident outside the tomb than inside: the procession of the emperor and his entourage to and from his palace, the line of junior officials outside the tomb, and the kowtow that those officials performed at the same

moments as their superiors within. The emperor himself was silent throughout the ceremony, his reticence and bearing presumably mirroring that of the unseen spirit of Zhu Yuanzhang.

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The rituals of troop reviews and offerings to Zhu Yuanzhang demonstrate ways Qianlong's movements could reverberate through Nanjing. Each involved repetition: troops circling to the front of the line before the viewing platform, ritual officers returning to a central altar to pour libations and present silk. In each case, the emperor was the ultimate exemplar of proper physical and moral bearing. The central action of each event was not viewable by most Nanjing residents. Although some may have managed to peer into the review grounds from hills situation to the north along the banks of Xuanwu Lake, the events were probably more audible than visible, a cacophony of conch shell horns, rattling armor, and war whoops. Only the loftiest officials viewed the offerings to Zhu Yuanzhang at which Qianlong presided. Far more public was the procession of those capital officials, all in robes embroidered with snakes, alongside the dragon-robed emperor from the temporary palace and up Mount Zhong to the tomb. In both cases, the center of action was out of reach, and in any event the center was not the venue, but the person of the emperor himself, who would soon leave Nanjing for the next stop on his tour.

The arrangement of the landscape of the city mattered. Qianlong's movements to the city, through the city, and at any particular site were meaningful in part because of context. The Linggu Monastery, the Tomb of the First Ming Emperor, and the Small Review Ground (as well as the palace and banner garrison) each referred to one another. By treating each as a meaningful site, and by moving within and among them according to ritual protocols, the Qianlong emperor inscribed into Nanjing's protean cityscape the tensions among his own roles as Buddhist patron, Manchu conqueror, and Son of Heaven. This geography did not resolve, for example, the question of how Qianlong could in Buddhist guise claim that the world of conditioned things was merely epiphenomenal, yet act in his ritualist capacity as if the manipulation of things might order the world. Instead, Nanjing's landscape allowed the display of these various constellations of imperial self-presentation, and Qianlong made use of the resulting tensions in his exercise of power.

Later, in the nineteenth century, others would find ways to bend Nanjing's poetic cityscape in new ways and to dislodge the figure of the emperor from his claimed place of primacy. Those people in the city with classical training and literary skill would produce new ways of reading Nanjing. During Qianlong's tours, however, Nanjing's educated elites tended to reproduce the emperor's accounts of the city. Their primary interaction with the emperor took place in special examinations, which added another layer to Qianlong's shaping of Nanjing.

CITY OF SCHOLARS

On his southern tours, the emperor held special grace examinations (*en ke)* that took place in addition to the normal triennial civil-service examinations. Whereas the normal route to examination success involved a hierarchal series of prefectural and provincial tests, scholars qualified for these special exams solely by submitting rhapsodies (*fu*), prose poems of a style popular in Han-dynasty China. Provincial directors of education, in consultation with governors, chose candidates from the poetry albums submitted through local officials. Because the examinations were intended to identify men of talent who had limited access to the regular recruitment system, those already holding licentiate degrees as well as close relatives of officials were excluded. Those who scored in the top tier were given bureaucratic appointments, while those scoring in the second tier were granted two pieces of brocade.[62] These exams enacted a direct, patrimonial relationship between the emperor and the many students of the empire.[63] They also highlighted the emperor's role as ultimate arbiter of cultural as well as military matters.

Examinations took place in the two provincial capitals on the tour route: Nanjing and Hangzhou. Relatively few qualified to take the exams, and they were not held in regular examination compounds. In Nanjing, they took place in the Zhongshan Academy. This institution was relatively new. In 1738, Governor-General Chabina (1686–1731) had established the academy, funding construction of the building and providing 1,000 taels of silver to purchase land. The rent on the land would provide stipends for students preparing for civil service examinations. There were fifty residential students and seventy nonresidential students collecting stipends. It was one of the few places in Nanjing where Qianlong had not contributed his calligraphy, probably because a plaque in his father's hand already graced the gate.

It read "Respect practical learning" (*dunchong shixue*).[64] Qianlong's beneficence did grace the institution: on his first tour he provided copies of the thirteen classics and twenty-two dynastic histories to the academy.

In part, Qianlong was appealing to the sentiments of the classically educated. One of the central problems of Qing governance involved the proper activities and responsibilities of elite men trained in the Classics. Those versed in classical texts felt they should enjoy a rightful place in politics.[65] Ideally they would realize this goal through government service, but strict examination quotas afforded this opportunity to only a very select few. Furthermore, because these men viewed themselves as inheritors and transmitters of the classical tradition, they felt obligated to criticize those government activities they believed violated received classical norms and to praise those initiatives seen to be in accord with ancient models. By sharing their ideas about government policy from a moral standpoint, even those who did not achieve formal success on examinations could claim prerogatives of official positions that were not otherwise available to them. Through essays, poetry, and letters criticizing imperial decisions, literati could also express (tacitly or directly) to educated elites throughout the empire an ideal of government: that considered scholarly opinion could be a check on the power of Qing monarchs. The eagerness of elites and officials to read such publications and the willingness of Qing emperors to tolerate open remonstrance would change over time.

Early Qing emperors were deeply suspicious of acts to affect policy that appeared to be part of coordinated campaigns outside of the emperor's control. Politically motivated groupings conjured images of an egregious factionalism, endemic in the late Ming, that could undermine imperial rule. The Qing thus moved to limit formal literati associations and to narrow the circle of people who deliberated on political appointments, thus reducing the likelihood of the formation of factional groups.[66]

The imperial perception of the dangers of morally inspired remonstrance was intimately tied to interpretations of the fall of the Ming. The Qianlong emperor attributed the decline of the Ming dynasty to self-interested maneuvering on the part of bands of literati who allowed their political goals to obstruct the larger interests of the dynasty. "Before long," wrote the Qianlong emperor,

> They ceased asking whether their actions supported the state, and even came to regard beatings at court as expanding their reputations for being straight-

> forward and honest. This kind of thing is fiendish and monstrous, and should not happen in the dynasty. We must prevent it from spreading.[67]

Even though the examination curriculum trained candidates to treat political questions as moral issues, any attempt to claim a moral high ground in criticisms of the imperial bureaucracy could be (but was not always) treated as a danger to the dynasty. Alongside his criticisms, however, Qianlong also offered paths to legitimate involvement in government. The special examinations allowed those who considered themselves to be literati to profit from Qianlong's display of imperial power.

Scholars flocked to the special examinations, which could transform their careers. Dong Jiaozeng (1750–1822), a Nanjing resident who achieved the top tier of the examination in 1780, on the fifth tour, was a case in point. Benefitting, perhaps, from increased quotas for scholars from the region, he was appointed a secretary of the Grand Secretariat. In the nineteenth century he went on to serve as governor, first of Anhui, then Shanxi, and then, from 1813 to 1817, in Guangdong. After 1817, Dong became governor-general of Fujian and Zhejiang. Cases like Dong's were highly exceptional. Out of 1,513 candidates who came to Nanjing, only sixty-two received appointments, and only two of these were from Nanjing.[68] The more lasting legacy for the city was the continuing imperial sponsorship of the Zhongshan Academy itself. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the academy's directors were part of the major scholarly movements of their day. These included concerns for evidential scholarship, Han learning, and ritual studies.[69] Lu Wenchao (1717–95) was director from 1773 to 1778, and again from 1785 to 1789. Qian Daxin (1728–1804) was director from 1778 to 1781. These scholars, experts in ritual matters, would ensure that Nanjing's elites could make sense of the emperor's acts in their city, but after the tours came to an end, this ritual scholarship would also equip those same men with tools to promote a different vision of empire in which they, and not the emperor, were exemplars of the virtues they thought would bring about harmonious relations among people.

By the final decade of the eighteenth century, Nanjing's educated elites had witnessed an emperor infusing his presence into nearly every prospect in the city. They had seen, or heard about, the emperor's numerous ritual practices, his military majesty, and his use of different features of the cityscape to evoke his own power. By the end of the eighteenth century, their training for civil service examinations would require them to have intimate

familiarity with ancient ritual texts. Teachers at the city's academies took part in the compilation of ritual manuals such as the *Comprehensive Investigation of the Five Rituals* (Wu li tongkao). At the same time that the Qianlong emperor was undergoing his tours, they were becoming increasingly attuned to the nuances of ritual practice and its efficacy in cultivating virtue, transforming *qi*, and bringing about a stable social order.

CONCLUSION

The Qianlong emperor lay claim to a universal empire, but Nanjing residents experienced this empire in a way particular to their city. When they considered the institutions of empire, they did so with the knowledge of what an emperor had done in Nanjing. The city appeared to resolve, or at least contain, the multiple, seemingly contradictory roles of the emperor. The Qianlong emperor depicted himself variously as connoisseur, filial exemplar, patron of Buddhism, embodiment of military virtues, and paragon of literati norms. These roles could on occasion seem incongruous, but, precisely because a city could be more than one thing at once, the emperor could present himself in more than one guise, and the entirety of his acts in the city could invoke the polity as a whole. The cityscape, by retaining traces of the emperor, could display empire.

Such display was dear. The Qianlong emperor, even as he described tours as accomplishments akin to military campaigns, was himself wary of the costs. The problem of government expenditure, and particularly of individual ministers enriching themselves at the expense of the state, became a crucial issue as well in the factional struggles that characterized the end of the emperor's reign. In 1795, the Qianlong emperor, claiming that he did not wish his reign to last longer than that of the Kangxi emperor, abdicated in favor of his son. Even in nominal retirement, he remained the *de facto* emperor, and his favored minister Heshen grew extremely powerful. Heshen's opponents clustered around the new emperor and, when the Qianlong emperor died, accused Heshen of corruption, blaming him in particular for disastrous campaigns against the White Lotus Rebellion that broke out in 1795. Regardless of the truth of the accusations, the rhetoric had its own power. The new court rejected imperial opulence on the scale of the tours. And indeed, the rebellion did take a toll on state finances, as did the opium trade and a newly aggressive Europe later in the nineteenth century. Nineteenth-century emperors faced constraints that had not troubled the Qianlong emperor.

When the tours stopped, the effects of touring shifted. The Qianlong emperor became but one of a number of people who had found ways to rearrange Nanjing's physical and poetic space for political ends. By the early nineteenth century there was a community of educated people who, having seen the Qianlong emperor's presence in the city, would imitate his methods of attempting to embed a view of empire in the city itself. Some of those active in Nanjing's academies would, however, react against the personal, universalist view of imperial power that the Qianlong emperor had espoused. Nanjing would remain a place well suited to display empire, but the kind of empire on view would be new. To return to a metaphor from the beginning of this chapter: even after the Qianlong emperor forded the river, his energy remained and continued to cause turbulence. But that energy, the edicts and poems and acts that became his legacy, causing all he encountered to swirl around him, would itself become part of the current, such that others would channel it, as he in turn had done to emperors before him. Reaction against the emperor would characterize the beginning decades of the nineteenth century and inaugurate an age of utopian visions.

CHAPTER 2

Literati Politics in the Early Nineteenth Century

In the early nineteenth century, Nanjing's residents engaged in struggles over the kinds of images the city's major sites might evoke. On his tours, the Qianlong Emperor had appropriated a poetic landscape that elite residents of Nanjing considered their own. Hints of the tension between the emperor's ideal city and that of Nanjing's literati surfaced periodically in the late eighteenth century, but as long as Qianlong kept returning to Nanjing, residents generally chose to profit from, rather than oppose, the emperor's appropriation of the cityscape. As new challenges, including population pressure, foreign threats, and shifts in world trade emerged around the turn of the nineteenth century, Nanjing residents used the historic and poetic significance of their city to press competing claims about the polity. In particular, Nanjing's self-styled literati challenged the image of the emperor as the ultimate model of virtue, depicted themselves as arbiters of moral truth, and described virtues as permanent features of the cityscape.

The scholar and writer Yao Nai (1731–1815) offered a particularly succinct summary of how virtue might constrain imperial autocracy. In 1797, while serving as director of Nanjing's Zhongshan Academy, Yao Nai composed an account of repairs of the shrine to the early Ming statesman Fang Xiaoru (1357–1402), who had died while opposing the Yongle emperor (r. 1402–24). The shrine stood in the hilly area to the south of the city wall known as the Yuhua Terrace. In his essay, Yao swept aside the Qianlong emperor's claim

to be the embodiment and arbiter of virtue by describing a cosmos in which emperors were but bit players:

> Heaven and earth are without end or limits. People live among them, seeing them only in an instant. Although the rise and fall of dynasties may last several hundred years from beginning to end, [dynasties] last little more than an instant. But the Dao, virtue, humanity, righteousness, loyalty, filiality, honor, and integrity are the means by which a person can act as a person, and they permeate heaven and earth without coming to an end or deteriorating (*wu zhongbi*).[1]

In his use of a particular location to discuss what he considered to be constant truths, Yao Nai's essay typified the way elite residents of Nanjing described their city. They claimed that virtues on the one hand transcended time and space, yet remained uniquely embedded in particular sites in the city. As "the means by which a person acts as a person" (*ren suoyi wei ren*), virtues allowed people to perceive what actions they should take in the world and to devote their energies to following through. It followed that virtue was the key to addressing pressing social problems. Emperors, in Yao's view, were neither uniquely virtuous nor singularly capable of recognizing and rewarding virtue. Rather, literati could employ their classical education and their experience of Nanjing to point out models of moral action. They rendered Nanjing's poetic cityscape into a panorama of virtuous acts, and the shrine to Fang Xiaoru was one of a number of sites where virtue could be manifested and emulated.

In the early nineteenth century, Yao Nai and his successors trained a generation of Nanjing elites in the city's academies. Members of some of the city's most prominent lineages took this notion of virtue to heart and applied it to their city, combining interests in classical scholarship, history, and poetry. They located exemplars of virtuous conduct, took part in philanthropic projects, and wrote about their city in an attempt to shape Nanjing to model their visions of a better world.

As elite residents constructed a vision of empire and cosmos using the economic, scholarly, and symbolic resources of Nanjing, they engaged in ritual. By taking part in rituals, and in particular by presenting offerings to an array of gods and spirits, Nanjing elites expressed their capacity to solve the problems of the day and claimed a mandate for participating in government. Ritual sites provided spaces and occasions for literati to move in

Nanjing's charged cityscape. The performance of rituals could thus articulate the utopian aspirations of well-educated members of certain wealthy lineages who enhanced their mercantile status through philanthropy and scholarship. They portrayed Nanjing as a city of virtues, a place at the center of the empire, a place whose history could help residents contend with the present. To understand how through ritual they linked personal virtues, city, state, and cosmos, it makes sense to ask who they were, how they formulated political problems, and how they saw spatial practices, including constructing buildings and writing about the city, but particularly ritual, as means of providing solutions to problems.

LINEAGES OF WEALTH AND SCHOLARSHIP

The men who prepared for examinations in Nanjing's academies in the early nineteenth century saw themselves as literati. As they sought to define the problems they were trying to solve, and as they formulated solutions to those problems, most affirmed that their own class played the most important role in maintaining the strength of the empire. This self-image of Nanjing's gentry, particularly their collective sense that they should stand at the center of political decision making, arose in part from their status in the city. Beyond their individual achievements on civil-service examinations, their status rested on wealth, formal and informal positions in government, and accomplishment in writing. In these respects they did not differ greatly from urban elites throughout the lower Yangzi, but they offer an example of how economic resources, scholarly trends, and political motivations could intersect in shaping a cityscape.

Like their counterparts throughout the empire, Nanjing's elites usually referred to themselves as "degree holders" (*shen*) and "literati" (*shi*). Those accomplished in classical exegesis were recognized as "scholars" (*ru*), and those serving as officials in the Qing bureaucracy were "great men" (*dai fu*). Although the terms emphasized learning and rank, in fact, most elites relied on wealth to achieve their positions, and Nanjing provided them opportunities to earn money and to convert their wealth into status. Certain great lineages in the city achieved a special standing by depicting themselves as bearers of legacies from Nanjing's past. They asserted their place in imperial politics in part by using these cultural resources to advocate for utopian transformation.

This group of wealthy families shared cosmological concerns that

derived ultimately from the Song dynasty "Learning of the Way" (Daoxue), which conceived of self-cultivation as a means of bringing about cosmic equilibrium. They also took part in the central scholarly trends of the day, including the statecraft movement, ritualism, philological analysis of texts, and local history. Nanjing imperial heritage helped them to pursue specific, local concerns yet claim empire-wide significance for their actions.

Wealth

By the standards of the fertile Lower Yangzi region, the agricultural output of Jiangning Prefecture was meager, but thanks to trade, Nanjing prospered. Nanjing's merchants imported rice from Guangzhou, Zhejiang, Anhui, Henan, Hunan, Hubei, and Sichuan.[2] Silk thread from Zhejiang supplied the city's weaving industry. Silk merchants' warehouses lined the Qinhuai. Over five hundred households were registered with the Imperial Silk Factories, which manufactured silk products for use at court. In Nanjing, there were more than thirty thousand looms producing satin, damask, gauze, and other silk fabrics for domestic and international markets.[3] Entrepreneurs set up extensive putting-out systems for the manufacture of silk goods, so that if one included areas surrounding Nanjing, perhaps 40,000 looms were in operation.[4] Residents of the city who profited from these goods could afford the education and munificence that distinguished Nanjing's elite class.

The Qinhuai River area offered the rich an array of amusements. The painted barges floating on the water housed prostitutes alongside musicians. Courtesans entertained guests, and some gained renown as poets. Their customers, meanwhile, wrote, purchased, and read biographies of the women, whose sad stories of losing the protective embrace of their families imbued the Qinhuai with a painful nostalgia that, for contemporaries, apparently enhanced the experience of visiting the city and calling on the courtesans.[5] Urban elites thus did not limit themselves to accounts of virtue in their descriptions of Nanjing's cityscape. Writings about courtesans suggested a cosmopolitan attitude and experience on offer in the city even as they broadcast the prosperity of Nanjing's elites.

Nanjing's architecture also signaled affluence. The houses of the very wealthy stood in close proximity to the examination compound and courtesan district. One guide describes the mansions as "grand and ornate" (*haohua*).[6] More importantly, the rich sponsored repairs of existing buildings and funded construction of schools, temples, and chartable institutions. Such works displayed wealth and status, but they also helped elite

residents of the city to both assert a role in politics and depict Nanjing's place in the empire. Philanthropy in general, and building projects in particular, would play an important part in the ways elites conceived of political problems and in the solutions they would suggest.

Statecraft

As a seat of provincial and regional administration, Nanjing offered a variety of official posts to those who qualified through the examination system as well as opportunities on the staffs of officials. Governors-general and other high-ranking officials hired advisors (*muyou*) to assist them, attracting to the city scholars with an interest in administration. At the triennial provincial civil service examinations held in Nanjing's examination compound, those serving in the bureaucracy had the opportunity to make contact with candidates from throughout Jiangsu, especially the scholarly communities of Yangzhou, Suzhou, and Changzhou. As a result, the intellectual currents of the time converged in Nanjing.

The statecraft movement flourished among governors and clerks stationed in the city. The movement included people of diverse intellectual interests who sought to address what they saw as pressing social problems. Scholars differ regarding the origins of the movement, but in the early nineteenth century its popularity rested in part on the pervasive sense of crisis among intellectuals. The word "statecraft" literally means "to bring order to the world" (*jing shi*). In one (perhaps original) sense, it called for scholars to engage the problems of the day rather than retreat into isolation in the manner of a hermit.[7] Adherents varied in their approach to the challenges of the early nineteenth century. Some focused on narrow technical solutions to particular administrative issues. Others wished to recreate the world described in Chinese classics through careful philological investigation and to apply the insights learned to current social problems. One branch of this school, called "New Text" (Jinwen) after the form of calligraphy in the Han Dynasty texts it considered most authoritative, advocated thorough institutional reforms. Still other statecraft thinkers found inspiration in the Learning of the Way thinkers of the Song Dynasty. This group believed that anybody could potentially become a sage, and therefore placed an emphasis on self-cultivation as a means to develop the moral capacity to solve social problems.

Statecraft thinkers sought new solutions to such entrenched problems as rural unrest, grain transport, administrative corruption, famine relief, and river management. Their proposals often relied on market forces and spe-

cific policy shifts rather than calling for moral regeneration.[8] At the same time, they advocated broader literati participation in politics. The reformist officials Lin Zexu (1785–1850), Tao Shu (1779–1839), and He Changling (1785–1848) served in a variety of provincial positions in Nanjing in the late 1820s and early 1830s. He Changling had recruited the New Text scholar Wei Yuan (1794–1856) to compile the seminal *Collected Writings on Statecraft of the Qing Dynasty (*Huangchao jingshi wenbian), published in 1827; He transferred to Nanjing when he assumed the post of Jiangning provincial treasurer later that year. Tao Shu served as governor-general in Nanjing from 1830 to 1839, and Wei Yuan joined them as a secretary in Nanjing in 1832 when Tao Shu enlisted him to propose reforms in the government salt monopoly, a bureaucratic apparatus independent of provincial government that (according to Tao Shu) seethed with malfeasance.[9] Bao Shichen (1775–1855) lived in Nanjing in the 1840s and wrote about grain transport, agriculture, and the Opium War. Although these scholars rarely wrote about Nanjing, their descriptions of the issues of the day and their proposals for concrete administrative actions contributed to the ways Nanjing elites perceived political problems.

Yao Nai, who wrote the essay about Fang Xiaoru quoted at the beginning of this chapter, supported a form of statecraft that became extremely influential among Nanjing families that harbored utopian aspirations. Along with Cheng Enze, his successor at the Zhongshan Academy, Yao helped ensure that young men in Nanjing's wealthiest academically accomplished families would be well versed in Song scholarship, poetry, and philosophy. Supporters of this branch of statecraft thinking tended to advocate a strong state response to challenges such as the currency crisis and spreading opium addiction.[10] At the same time, they understood the literati class as the chief interpreter of the moral obligations of the state and therefore tended to want to check the power of emperors.

Although the events of the early nineteenth century spurred a passion for local history throughout most of China proper, the encounter between Yao Nai, Cheng Enze, and their students on the one hand and Nanjing's cityscape on the other stood out for its diversity of genres and its significance for utopian activism. Yao Nai taught that to write well, one must develop one's own inner, innate virtues. As founder of the Tongcheng School within the ancient prose (*guwen*) literary movement, Yao believed that clear writing on profound subjects demonstrated that the author had cultivated in himself the virtues that the ancients had exemplified. In Nanjing, he

served as director of the Zhongshan Academy between 1790 and 1799, training students in a literary style that (he claimed) stressed the "meanings and principles" (*yili*) of a text alongside the philological investigation of a work's claims and sources. In addition to stylistic considerations, Yao Nai was concerned with the association between ancient prose and the classical commentaries of Song dynasty scholars.[11] An enthusiast for the ideas of the Song dynasty philosopher Zhu Xi, Yao had stepped down from his position as compiler of the Qianlong emperor's Four Treasuries encyclopedia project over disagreements about the proper interpretations of the ancient classics.[12] Yao maintained that he was broadening the moral concerns of scholarship while enforcing limits on the extent scholars could veer from the classics in reaching their conclusions. According to Theodore Huters,

> The most important [advantage of Yao Nai's approach to moral and political correctness] was probably the sense of morality combined with rigorous discipline persistent within the *guwen* (ancient prose) tradition. This provided a way not only to recuperate from the frigid objectivity that many saw as the main drawback of Classical studies, but also to avoid excesses of abstract speculation.[13]

The elements of this self-image—opposition to prevailing intellectual trends, emphasis on broad moral conclusions, and concern with the "excesses of abstract speculation"—imbued Yao's students with an activist bent. When they pondered the challenges facing the empire in the early nineteenth century, including drought, corruption, opium use, foreign incursions, and rural poverty, they naturally focused on the issue of virtue. As his tribute to Fang Xiaoru suggests, Yao and his students saw virtue as embedded in the cityscape, and they thought the truth of their moral and political program could be seen in Nanjing itself.

Yao's interest in place most famously centered on his native Tongcheng County, Anhui, where he identified the exemplars of the Tongcheng School. The movement in fact left an equally deep impression on Nanjing. This regional elite included a number of people who wrote about the city. Ancient prose advocates in Nanjing included two natives of the city: Guan Tong (1780–1831) and Mei Zengliang (1786–1856). Fang Dongshu (1772–1851) studied in Nanjing under Yao Nai and helped his teacher in the compilation of the 1811 gazetteer of Jiangning Prefecture. Guan, Mei, and Fang all maintained friendships with Yao Ying (1785–1852), Yao Nai's grandnephew,

who wrote an account of flooding in Nanjing in 1848. When they turned their interest to political conflicts at court, Yao became politically active in the city in the 1820s and 1830s. They became deeply involved in what James Polachek has termed the "Inner Opium War," a series of attempts to press officials in the capital to adapt a more hard-line policy toward the British, and they viewed it as a badge of honor that they had not achieved high office, evidence that they had not compromised their moral vision for personal gain. This form of statecraft placed emphasis on cosmic harmony, and thus provided a key element of utopian ideas in early nineteenth-century Nanjing.

Scholarship, Poetry, and the City

Among the many wealthy and educated urban elites in Nanjing in the early nineteenth century, one group stands out as advocates of utopian transformations. This was a collection of wealthy lineages who did not form a cohesive organization, but who combined a number of trends of the time to great political effect. They shared a scholarly interest in ritual, practical studies, local history, and the Song-era Learning of the Way tradition, and at the same time they studied the philological skills that had brought Han learning to prominence. Scions of these families were trained in Nanjing's academies, particularly the Zhongshan Academy. Following Yao Nai, they thought that models of virtue could be found throughout the empire and that by bringing those exemplars to light one could encourage the moral action that would bring about cosmic harmony. Beyond this intellectual orientation, the families in question over several generations contributed to urban building projects, took part in rituals, and wrote poetry, works of scholarship, prose essays, and histories about the city. This corpus contributed to their self-image as scholars and as custodians of the city's past. By cataloging the city, creating records of its sites, and alerting visitors to the city's complex urban forms, they asserted their own status as well as the city's importance as a center for averting social disorder.

Extant records do not allow an exhaustive list of the people who engaged this particular strand of thought and action, nor do they provide much insight into other kinds of utopian ideas, like millenarianism, that may have swept through different people in the city. We can identify several families that consistently supported utopian thinking about Nanjing as well as a number of individuals who held close social and intellectual ties to the

group. One finds a recurring cluster of activity: study with Yao Nai or Cheng Enze, with a resulting interest in Song learning and cosmology; philanthropic activity to maintain certain city sites; efforts to identify moral exemplars; and writing about the city, often including contributions to local gazetteers or collections of poetry about famous sites. They continued these activities even after Yao Nai's death in 1815.[14] Yao's ideas galvanized three families in particular. Wu Guangyu (1758–1830) took part in compiling the 1824 gazetteer of Shangyuan County, and his sons and grandchildren maintained his interests.[15] Zhu Xuzeng (1805–60) held an extraordinary library, which he used to gather examples of fine poetry of Nanjing natives, much of which concerned important sites in the city.[16] His family had lived in Nanjing since the late Ming, and had enjoyed a long run of examination success. Another great library belonged to the merchant Gan Fu (1768–1834). His residence in the city drew scholars from throughout the Lower Yangzi region, but particularly those in Yao Nai's circle.[17] His son Gan Xi (1797–1852) made use of his family's books to compile a collection of stele inscriptions, a gazetteer of Linggu Monastery, and *Tales of Minor Matters in Nanjing* (Baixia suoyan), a work that defies easy description. It contained information that one might expect to find in a gazetteer, such as brief discussions of commerce and military matters. However, it was not arranged topically, and the style resembled that of a diary or collection of miscellaneous jottings. The work included anecdotes about Nanjing, emphasizing rumor and folklore as well as the geomantic properties of the city, and the grand deeds of those who lived there. Although not published until after the Taiping War, manuscript copies circulated among Nanjing's literati.[18]

Other figures moved in the same social circles and also followed the intellectual currents promoted by Yao Nai and his students, including Guan Tong and Mei Zengliang. In some cases, these additional figures donated to the same charitable causes, but they do not seem to have commanded the same level of family wealth as the Wus, Zhus, and Gans. Gan Xi's friend Jin Ao (*juren* 1813) also worked on a compilation of local history. In *Records of Jinling that Await Verification* (Jinling daizheng lu) he attempted to investigate the city's past, its landscape, and its people using the most reliable sources available. Jin's methods relied on the technique of "investigate and verify" (*kaozheng*), also called "evidential research." This approach, developed for scholarship on ancient classics, investigated a given proposition by

seeking its textual sources, and then compared various sources using philological techniques to determine which was the most reliable. He attempted to check the veracity of textual sources against physical remains of buildings and (where possible) the testimony of witnesses. He chose not to include biographies of living people, and he claimed to exclude rumors and reports of miraculous events. The result was a scholarly approach to the city, in which every entry had been investigated but (as Jin modestly titled his work) "awaited verification."[19]

Compilation of local history could overlap with identification of moral exemplars, which in turn could inspire charitable projects. Cai Guanchao (dates unknown) took part in all three, assisting Yao and Wu with collecting names for the gazetteer and contributing to a widow's home in the city. Fang Mingjun (dates unknown), who studied with Yao Nai, edited a collection of biographies of chaste and filial women.[20] These men, and others who served with them in organizations like the Lifesaving Bureau and the Education Association, used their scholarship on local history to argue that their vision of statecraft through moral renewal best reflected the conditions of the empire. In this way, however speculative Yao Nai's account of timeless virtue might have seemed, they could claim to ground it in practical learning (*shixue*).[21]

Certain texts did not stem from Nanjing's wealthy lineages, yet seem to have employed similar sensibilities in describing the city and to have reinforced their political messages. Chen Wenshu (1775–1845) created a poetic travelogue of the city's sites, the *Fodder Mound Collection* (Moling ji).[22] The book included an account of the city's history and a collection of maps of the city in succeeding dynasties. The collection also contained descriptions of the city sites, references to histories and to other famous poems, and Chen's own verses. Sometimes he also included the writings of his students, many of whom were women. A native of Hangzhou, Chen had served fourteen years as an official in Jiangsu, where he was able to consult official documents as well as published materials about the city. Nanjing appealed to Chen because it was where:

> Monarchs had created states, generals had managed barracks, masters of intrigue had coveted territory, loyal officials and righteous gentlemen had fervently resolved to succeed, and where literati and poets had ascended and observed, elegant concubines and beautiful ladies had composed florid prose, and famous officials, eremitic gentlemen, and eminent monks had dwelled.[23]

These figures, he claimed, combined to imbue the city with *qi*, giving their poetic lives a material presence.[24]

None of these activities were unique to Nanjing. To the contrary, philanthropy, local history, and classical scholarship preoccupied elites in most major Chinese cities. For example, scholars at the Sea of Learning Academy (Xuehaitang) in Guangzhou wrote history and poetry, and also compiled anthologies of writings, to construct a sense of local culture. Through such practices, local elites could assert their own distinctive definitions of what it meant to be Cantonese and portray their own activities as grounded in a particular location.[25] Similarly, by writing about local buildings, merchant elites in Yangzhou sought to secure their status among the city's elite families and to extend their networks of influence to the capital in Beijing.[26] The experiences of Nanjing's elites, placed in the broader context of trends of ritualism, practical studies, localism, and antiforeign sentiment, offers a glimpse of how people could make use of a city's fecund symbolic resources to promote utopian visions that were at once cosmic, political, and urban. Attention to such activities allow us to see how this group could see themselves as actively engaged in the transformation of empire and cosmos, and how they could imagine Nanjing as uniquely suited for bringing about those transformations.

The circle of wealthy lineages inspired by Yao Nai's account of virtue combined scholarly and literary techniques to celebrate the city and to highlight literati accomplishment. They sought to supplement earlier accounts of Nanjing's urban landscape, emphasizing that local knowledge was necessary to address social problems. In this vision, because literati, and not the emperor, acted as caretakers of the symbols of imperial power that remained within the city, they could through writing and ritual manipulate these symbols to suggest alternative arrangements of the empire in which emperors would play a secondary role. They would insist that the particular quality of Nanjing's *qi* distinguished the city from other places, and they used the city to argue for certain truths: that virtue could always maintain cosmic harmony, and that ritual could cultivate, reveal, and enact virtuous conduct. The immediate circumstances, however, demanded specific application of virtue to the conditions of the time. Wu Guangyu, Zhu Xuzeng, Gan Fu, and others in their circle applied this understanding of virtue to their sense of the challenges facing the empire in the first half of the nineteenth century, and to their formulation of policies to address those challenges.

THE FORMULATION OF POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Events in the early nineteenth century galvanized Nanjing's elites regardless of their intellectual affiliations. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, these events were mostly distant: the White Lotus Rebellion in Sichuan and Henan and the Eight Trigrams Uprising on the North China Plain. In 1814, severe floods struck Nanjing, prompting the city's wealthy residents to organize relief efforts. The silting of the Grand Canal in 1824 seemed to confirm that persistent ecological problems were related to problems of governance, as did the frequency of subsequent flooding in Nanjing (1830–33, 1840, and 1848–49). The Opium War of 1839–42 spurred the formation of militias to combat the British, and the terms of the 1842 treaty that was signed in Nanjing granting new privileges to the British, which strengthened the impression that imperial government was not up to addressing the challenges facing the city.[27]

These events gave increasing urgency to the calls for reform by statecraft thinkers of all stripes. Throughout the first half of the century, the emotional pitch of their expressions of anxiety intensified. The circle of elites who sought cosmic harmony through virtue came up with a their own diagnosis of the root causes of flooding, foreign incursion, and rebellion. They thought they discerned a tendency for selfish interests to undermine social cohesion, an inability of elites to address the problem collectively, and a resulting imbalance of *qi.* These perceptions of political problems in turn shaped their sense of the importance of ritual for cultivating the virtues necessary to effect change.

Selfishness and Sincerity

Statecraft thinkers worried about corruption. They complained about the mishandling of famine relief, the manipulation of grain prices, and the mismanagement of grain transport. In disaster relief, there were few checks on the power of officials, literati managers, and yamen runners to abscond with funds. A broad spectrum of political activists in Nanjing blamed officials for failing to inspect affected areas or oversee relief operations and viewed famine as the result of poor preparation as well as bad weather.[28]

When those inspired by the Tongcheng School wrote about the problem of corruption, they spoke of the "deterioration" (*bi*) of the empire. They underscored the tendency of the selfish (*si*) to cheat (*qi*), deceive (*zha*), engage in corrupt (*tan*) acts, or otherwise undermine attempts to solve

administrative problems. One version of this phenomenon was the use of government funds for personal gain. Another was the perceived inability of Qing provincial government officials to address new challenges like the opium trade. This worry went beyond the bureaucracy; the wealthy families of the city who professed interest in moral self-cultivation were equally worried about themselves. They feared that the process of gaining status and position corrupted those who took part, and the court intrigues of the Heshen affair, in which the Qianlong emperor's favored councilor had created a vast personal network within the bureaucracy, seemed to verify their suspicions. Because they viewed bureaucrats as products of the examination system, and thus drawn from the pool of educated elites, they felt they could not solve the issue of corruption in government without examining their own class.

In his essay "On Literati" (Shuo shi), published in 1833, Guan Tong, the Nanjing belletrist and student of Yao Nai, argued that the empire's elite class had suffered from moral decline. The desire for money was a key factor in this degeneration, for it contributed to corrupt management of collective resources. Guan claimed there were three levels (*deng*) of literati. The top level consisted of those who composed poetry and prose, followed in the middle by those who obtained office through success on civil-service examinations. The bottom group accumulated and managed wealth. The two upper tiers of scholars, Guan argued, contributed to the greater social good. The lowest third consisted of merchants and clerks, people who "in their affairs cheat and deceive" and who "rely on their privilege to control officials." Guan concluded: "The decline in the practices of the literati has never been as great as it is today."[29]

Guan's complaint summed up what he and his counterparts saw as a central conundrum of governance. Status in theory relied on scholastic achievement, but in practice the books, time, and teachers necessary for literary renown or examination success were only available to those with wealth. In Nanjing, the merchants who "relied on their privilege to control officials" were the parents of (or were themselves) the city's famous poets and scholars. Although Guan described the talented, the powerful, and the wealthy as three distinct groups of people, his categories were ideal types. In fact, Nanjing's most prominent residents combined wealth, belletristic acumen, and political involvement to cement their social status. Guan's essay reflected the consequent predicament—what if the need for cash undermined the virtues that education was supposed to cultivate? The problem

became an internal one—not merely "how do we fix government?" but "because we are government, how do we fix ourselves?"

In this view, mismanagement had various manifestations. When the strong pushed to the front of the line at food distribution centers, leaving the old and weak to go hungry, when gentry managers in charge of allocating grain manipulated the size of the measures, skimming the difference for themselves, when yamen runners ground sawdust into the rice gruel in order to conceal the amount pilfered, the people suffered. Such improbity was thought to result from selfishness.[30] In response, Nanjing's literati proposed measures to combat corruption, replenish empty granaries, and relieve high prices. Local officials could issue ration coupons and increase supervision of granaries. They could forbid high-interest loans to starving peasants, and they could construct embankments to reduce the threat of flooding. But the success of these measures rested on the honesty of the people undertaking them.

For these reasons, the strand of statecraft thinkers indebted to Yao Nai attempted to imagine ways to improve their own character. Relief from famine and natural disasters lay in the cultivation of sincerity (*cheng*). In this case, the word meant earnest application of one's abilities, attention to detail, and working for the good of a larger community. The question for government, therefore, was how to ensure sincerity in the handling of local affairs. Ritual bore on this question precisely because literati thought it could cultivate sincerity in participants, and the histories of multiple ritual sites in Nanjing, including those penned by Gan Xi and Jin Ao, offered ample testimony to ritual's success.

Local Activism and Imperial Policy

Because the elite families who followed Yao Nai sought to achieve cosmic harmony, they faced a problem of resonance, the question of how imperial politics might affect Nanjing, and how activism in Nanjing could affect the empire. The Qianlong emperor had claimed that his own movements through the city marked Nanjing as part of an empire, one centered on the person of the emperor. Qianlong's ritual activities depended not on intrinsic qualities of the city, but rather on the emperor himself, whose personal insight and virtue could serve as model for his subjects everywhere. The movements of the emperor dictated the logic of arrangement of Nanjing's sites, and his progress displayed the polity as a whole.

Wu Guangyu put forward a different view of resonance. Those in his

circle celebrated his exemplary participation in city affairs between 1800 and 1830, and he came to serve as a template for the kinds of literati activity that might save the empire. Wu, a man of philanthropic mien and organizational acumen, contributed to charitable causes and encouraged others to follow suit. When the prefectural school burned down in 1819, he helped raise money for rebuilding. When a drought in 1814 led to famine, Wu offered 500 ounces of silver to endow a fund for victims, and when floods ravaged the city in 1823, the compounded interest from the original sum (more than 20,000 copper cash) was still available for relief. When his mother died, he donated 1,000 ounces of silver from the sale of her jewelry to the city's home for widows.[31] Wu's sponsorship of the city's lifesaving bureau, his establishment of an endowment for boatmen, and his work in the Education Association each contributed to a larger discourse of Nanjing. Wu's activities, when recorded, reinforced the idea that Nanjing's elite families could responsibly take on more important roles in governance and bring about a new, more peaceful order.

Wu Guangyu, along with Gan Fu, helped finance the Lifesaving Bureau (Jiusheng Ju). The bureau maintained stations and boat patrols along the Yangzi River to rescue the drowning and the stranded. This service benefited merchants and sailors, and, in 1820, Wu led a group of sixty-seven degree holders in petitioning the government to expand the bureau, which subsequently sponsored patrol boats on the river and sometimes aided in firefighting. During floods in 1823, the Lifesaving Bureau dredged up bodies floating in the water—some were victims of the floods, and others were in coffins displaced from crypts or churned out of the loam. The bureau acquired land for a cemetery and helped pay priests for (re-)burial.[32]

Wu responded to intractable administrative problems by creating endowments that could provide lasting relief to those who needed it, thus reducing social disorder. He gained his widest recognition for solving a thorny problem of local boatmen who delivered grain shipments along the Grand Canal. In the early Ming, grain transport had been a hereditary obligation. Households registered as boatmen were required to construct boats and to assist in the shipment of grain along the Grand Canal. By the Qing, many of these households had rid themselves of service obligations through cash payments: 130 ounces of silver per boat for grain transport, and 300 ounces of silver (due every ten years) for construction of new boats. Payment was frequently in arrears. The community of registered households was poor, leading tax collectors to press normal civil households to contribute.

Ensuing affrays and lawsuits created headaches for local officials, who hoped that reducing the fees might reduce their caseloads.[33]

The first measure to lessen the tax burden on boatmen households came in 1759, when rent collected from recently reclaimed land along the Yangzi was allocated to the boatmen fees. In 1800, the Jiaqing emperor reduced the fees to 30 ounces of silver per boat plus 100 ounces for construction, but the resulting deficits compelled the emperor to return them to their original amounts. In the Daoguang period, the collective yearly tax burden of the boatmen households in Jiangning was 1,666 ounces of silver, and in Shangyuan it was 2,180 ounces a year. These funds were to support thirty-nine boats. Boatmen households continued to operate twenty boats.[34]

Wu Guangyu worked out the problem of deficits by helping to create an endowment for the boatmen. He convinced a group of gentry to contribute a total of 7,290 ounces of silver. In 1823, the group petitioned the Liangjiang governor-general for an additional 20,000 ounces in state funds. This total was lent out at interest, and the income paid for the boatmen's fees.[35] The proposal suggested that the money be lent in increments of one thousand ounces of silver, payable with interest over a ten-year period. It is likely that Nanjing's merchants benefited from the system, for they gained a new source of credit.[36]

Addressing the boatmen issue benefited Wu and other figures from prominent Nanjing families of mercantile wealth and advanced education. By improvising financial arrangements, these men had found roles in the administration of the city, and they felt that they had also improved local society. Wu Guangyu's parallel participation in scholarly projects allowed him to publicize the image of city elites as rightfully responsible for solving social problems.

After Wu Guangyu died in 1830, the Nanjing elites who had looked up to him became even more convinced that their acts in Nanjing could address the imperial problems of ecological instability, economic upheaval, and corruption. The ineffectual Qing response to British aggression during the First Opium War would buttress this conviction. Furthermore, the foreign threat to Nanjing meant that a wider spectrum of people in the city would seek new ways to mobilize in opposition to the British. The subset of city elites who had long called for moral regeneration through ritual saw these events as confirmation of their diagnosis of the problems facing the empire.

From 1839 to 1842, the British moved to cut off the fertile areas of southern China from Qing military garrisons in the north, first by attacking

Hangzhou, and then by proceeding northward to advance up the Yangzi River to the strategic port of Zhenjiang, where the river intersected the Grand Canal approximately fifty kilometers east of Nanjing. In the assault on Zhenjiang in June of 1842, the British devastated the banner garrison and accomplished their objective of disrupting supplies to the capital. The British then moved upriver to Nanjing and threatened to bombard the city if the emperor did not authorize officials to negotiate a peace settlement.[37]

In anticipation of an attack on the city, Nanjing gentry organized a bureau for "protecting and guarding" (*baowei*) in July 1842. The bureau organized nightly patrols in nine circuits within the city. Those on patrol were responsible for quelling affrays, keeping tabs on sojourners in Nanjing's temples and native-place associations, and keeping watch on the city gates.[38] Opinion was divided about the responsibilities of this institution. Liangjiang governor-general Niu Jian (1785–1858) and other officials wished to make peace with the British, so they treated the bureau not as a military unit, but as a mutual-responsibility (*baojia*) organization, charged with maintaining order inside Nanjing in a moment of crisis. In this view, the residents of Nanjing would police themselves, preventing outsiders from collecting information that the British could use for their own benefit (and insiders from creating disturbances). Many residents called for a more aggressive approach in which gentry-led soldiers would take part in battle, supplementing depleted Qing troops to withstand British attack.

The threat to the city did not last. After harrowing negotiations (which featured a rushed message to the British giving in to their key demands moments before their deadline to shell the city), the parties settled the terms of the Treaty of Nanjing, signed on the British warship HMS *Cornwallis* on August 29, 1842. Although patrolmen possessed only rudimentary wooden and bamboo arms, Niu Jian worried that they might provoke the British into attack, and on September 6, the bureau was ordered disbanded.[39] British soldiers remained in the city for a longer period, but by October 12 all had departed.[40]

The defeat provoked outrage in Nanjing and throughout the empire among those who felt the Qing had failed to stand up to the British. Nanjing elites generally thought that more pitched literati activism could have repelled British attacks. And so they wondered how Wu Guangyu-style activism might have been brought to bear against the British. Some argued that elites and officials working in concert could have defeated the British. Exaggerated reports from Guangdong, where gentry-led militia were

rumored to have repelled a detachment of British troops, encouraged this view.[41] For example, Bao Shichen voiced the view of a wide segment of urban residents when he offered scathing criticisms of the officials who banqueted but did not exterminate the enemy. Local elites, Bao argued, needed to take an active role in defense to ensure more vigorous opposition to the British.[42]

For the more narrow group of urban residents who had found inspiration in Yao Nai, the widespread rancor reinforced their sense that cultivating virtue stood as a central problem of governance. They found it necessary to nourish virtues in themselves to combat the corrupting influence of selfish impulses. Yet self-cultivation implied more than avoiding the bad; it also demanded vigorous responses to the challenges of the day. They saw the problem of activism as linked to the problem of corruption. They further worried about how their actions in Nanjing might address the ecological, administrative, and military challenges facing the empire. They treated the challenges facing the empire as symptoms of a deeper cosmic malaise. Their perception of distressed *qi* underpinned their sense of crisis.

Nourishing Qi and Preventing Disaster

Like the Song thinkers whom they sought to emulate, Yao Nai and the Tongcheng School had placed particular emphasis on *qi. Qi* served as the medium by which the moral actions of a particular person could imprint the landscape and bring about wider transformations. This discourse of *qi* intersected with the long tradition of writing about Nanjing, particularly the notion of the city's royal *qi.* Among the elites of the city who saw themselves as caretakers of the cityscape and inheritors of Yao's ideas, *qi* naturally took on enormous significance. As they formulated the problems they were seeking to address, they argued that selfish interests could have cosmological ramifications because virtue, or the lack thereof, could alter the state of *qi,* the basic stuff of the cosmos. The concept of *qi* linked personal virtue, social harmony, and cosmic equilibrium.

When this group of Nanjing's elite encountered flooding, corruption, and foreign attack, they defined the problem in terms of needing to nourish beneficial forms of *qi*. Bad *qi* seemed to explain the troubles facing the dynasty. They thought that ritual could help transform agitated, muddled, or degenerated *qi* into pure, clear, and vigorous *qi*. In this view, reinvigorating government required men who were clear-sighted enough to recognize the state of the empire. An activist literati class might enact changes in the empire by cultivating *qi*.

In the decades before the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion in 1850, the perceived degeneration of *qi* distressed Nanjing's literati, who felt that corruption had damaged the original *qi* (*yuan qi*) of both the cosmos and the dynasty. They contended that in the time of ancient sages, *qi* was youthful, vigorous, and refined, a state reflected in upright and peaceful governance. There had been, however, multiple fluctuations in the state of *qi* since that ideal past, and famine, flooding, and foreign aggression all signaled decline.

The response to floods provides one example. In an account of the 1848 floods in Nanjing, Yao Ying wrote of floodwaters so high that one could only travel through the city by boat. Yao considered the catastrophe to have common cause with severe drought and military defeat. He explained:

> Now as for the movement of *qi*, it multiplies and divides, of itself waning and waxing. In relation to the affairs of people, it sometimes responds and sometimes does not.[43]

Yao Ying felt that the *qi* of the cosmos had been in steady decline since ancient times, an assertion he supported by calculating the increasing number and severity of floods in Nanjing since the Han dynasty. This structural decline put limits on the capacity of government to manage crises. Fluctuations of *qi* might respond (*ying*) to good government (thus ending disaster) provided the *qi* was not itself in a waning, worn out state. Yao Ying acknowledged that natural disasters often portended a dynasty in a period of decline, but the dynasty's deeper quandary lay in its incapacity to recognize the nature of the times. In an epoch when *qi* did not flourish, emperors and administrators needed to adopt special measures to prevent harmful affliction (*hai*). If the *qi* degenerated beyond a certain point, no administrative measure would be able to thwart the resulting calamities:

> As for the appearance of disasters and anomalies, how can they necessarily all [result from] a dynasty's period of decline? Those on whom we rely are the monarchs and great ministers. If they refine their governance according to the times, affairs will simply not constitute a calamity. Heaven and earth will care for the people. But if the afflicting *qi* transgresses to the point of [causing] evil, only a sage can eliminate it. As for those people who become ministers of state, whether their virtue declines or revives, if agitated *qi* takes advantage of the situation, there will be rebellion.[44]

For Yao Ying, Nanjing's problems reflected cosmic disorder. *Qi* in decline meant that relief measures could limit suffering but not prevent further anomalies. Yao's statecraft therefore consisted in part in seeking out those measures that would allow monarchs and ministers to refine policy in accordance with present day challenges. More importantly for Yao, addressing crises depended on cultivating moral improvement that might revive *qi*. Yao thought government was failing to address its central challenge, namely the interrelationship between virtue, *qi*, and calamity.

Whose virtue? Yao argued that emperors and officials could respond to *qi* and that sages could eliminate bad *qi*, but educated elites throughout the empire should take responsibility for enacting and encouraging virtue. Their individual, quotidian acts could produce *qi* that could prevent the anomalies that Yao described. The manifestation of *qi* peculiar to the literati class was called "the *qi* of the literati" (*shi qi*).

Success in arts, scholarship, examinations, and leadership served as barometers of the vitality of this literati *qi*. One could nourish this *qi* by producing calligraphy or (of particular interest to the ancient prose advocates) composing poetry and *belles lettres*. Poor quality or lack of accomplishment in these endeavors evidenced literati *qi* in decline. Following the Opium War of 1842, the problem of declining literati *qi* became a centerpiece of writings dedicated to promoting political activism.

Although cultivated in individuals, literati *qi* inhered to place. In a description of his stint as a magistrate of Taiping County, Anhui, Chen Weiyuan (1793–1827), one of the sponsors of Nanjing's Lifesaving Bureau) exclaimed: "Oh how it has flourished: the pure vigor of literati *qi*, which has expanded scholarly doctrines and corrected popular customs." As an example, he referred to the seventeen *jinshi* the county had produced since the beginning of the Qing.[45]

If seventeen *jinshi* in the course of a dynasty demonstrated "vigor," the *qi* of Nanjing's literati excelled in comparison. Between 1814 and 1835, eighteen literati from Shangyuan County earned *jinshi*. In the same period Shangyuan and Jiangning together produced thirty-four. The plethora of publications on local history further provided ample evidence of flourishing literati culture; by rights the *qi* of Nanjing's literati should have been thriving. Following their logic of resonances, the city's residents might have expected virtuous conduct, pleasant weather, and appropriate interactions with foreigners. Instead, they faced corruption, flooding, and warships. The circle of Nanjing elites inspired by Yao Nai opined that misguided policy

prevented the activism of literati from finding full expression. Overcoming these impediments required that they restore *qi* to its ideal state.

The fallout from the surrender to the British in the Opium War was one example of the claim that the natural and righteous energies of the city's elites were being stifled by bad decisions. Similarly Guan Tong thought that central government mistrust of literati activism intensified the risk of social unrest. Guan lamented changes that had taken place since the Ming dynasty, arguing that the "pure discussions" (*qing yi*) of Ming literati had helped bring to light a plague of governmental mismanagement, whereas their Qing counterparts merely concerned themselves with examination success. In Guan's account, a complacent Qing literati class meant that "the dynasty knows about its own deterioration, but it completely dissembles." In other words, Qing ministers and officials could with impunity cover up the problems of corruption and poverty, and literati failed to fulfill their proper roles as moral critics of government. To "nourish the *qi* of literati and collect it in human talent" could provide an antidote so that such practices would come to light and be eliminated.[46]

Those who advocated the transformation of *qi* felt that urban elites needed to lead the way. Mei Zengliang argued that common people in rural areas were susceptible to the deceptions of local leaders because they "do not know that there are the pleasures of the prestigious reputations and cultured things (*wen wu*) of high officials and literati." The people had a natural yet unfulfilled desire for pleasure. In Mei's view, rural strongmen could use this desire to manipulate people into rebellion with false promises of wealth and power. Proper ritual could prevent such deception by channeling the people's impulses toward measured pleasures. In rural villages, if the people could put into practice the appropriate rituals, then their actions would accord with the natural fluctuations of *qi*. If, on the other hand, unscrupulous local leaders assaulted the people with seductive sights and sounds, then the experience would "startle and disturb the *qi* of their blood" (*zhendang xueqi*), ultimately causing the people to give free reign to thoughts of rebellion.[47]

By using the concept of literati *qi* to explain social problems, a select group of Nanjing's wealthy elites perpetuated several ideas about political activism. Moral cultivation fostered activism. Such cultivation concentrated in cities, and especially in Nanjing; indeed, lack of literati *qi* helped explain social disorder in the countryside. The group depicted themselves as the primary bearers of virtues, suggested that virtues demanded activism, and

they portrayed these insights as grounded in local experience. These residents of the city defined the problem in such a way that their own involvement in politics offered a (seemingly) obvious solution. Their increased participation would mean power to remonstrate with the emperor, to criticize individual officials, and to organize military opposition to foreign aggression. Their arguments about *qi* naturalized their political aspirations.

RITUAL AS A SOLUTION TO POLITICAL PROBLEMS

For the group of Nanjing elites who drew inspiration from Yao Nai, virtue stood at the heart of the central political problems of the first half of the nineteenth century: the problem of selfishness, the problem of resonance, and the problem of unbalanced *qi.* Cultivating virtues could overcome selfish interests, inspire meaningful activism, and settle *qi* into regular, harmonious fluctuations. They envisaged the return to a cosmic harmony described in ancient texts, and they argued that their city displayed the possibility of attaining that harmony. At the same time, they awaited the full realization of their visions. Their descriptions of their city included both models of virtue and examples of political failure, accentuating the gap between the state that existed and the state they thought they could attain.

Through their actions in Nanjing, certain elites made this cosmic harmony appear imminent, and they identified themselves as the actors who could bring it to fruition. In depicting their city as a center of cosmic renewal, they employed tactics already familiar: constructing buildings, writing about the city, and performing rituals. Because of the way this group of Nanjing's elites described the challenges facing the empire, ritual played an especially important role for that subset of literati who harbored utopian aspirations. Ritual, they argued, could foster virtue in participants. Their logic of ritual also appeared to solve the problem of resonance. Although the problems facing Nanjing—ecological, administrative, and military—extended far beyond the gates of the city, in their utopian imagination they could convince themselves that their city was of such significance that the ritual activities of urban literati could transform society as a whole. They maintained as well that ritual practices could reinvigorate *qi*, resulting in cosmic harmony. Ritual thus addressed the problems of virtue, resonance, and *qi.*

Beyond their explicit arguments, one can discern additional advantages to their emphasis on ritual. Rituals helped particular families in Nanjing to

appropriate the symbols of empire in their city, allowing them to rebut the notion that the emperor uniquely embodied the state. In particular, ritual bolstered their attempts to emphasize the Ming heritage of their city, invoking a time when literati groups held much greater sway in politics. In rituals, they depicted an alternative hierarchy: Nanjing, and therefore its elite, stood at the center of the empire, its literati acting (according to their depiction) in selfless ways in order to realize a utopia that they manifested in the city itself.

Nanjing's Roster of Offerings

As Yao Nai, Gan Xi, Jin Ao, Wu Guangyu, and others in their circle sought to use ritual to make political arguments, they benefited from changes taking place throughout the Qing empire, and they also exploited practices that involved a wide variety of Nanjing elites.

In the nineteenth century, changes in Qing law allowed increasing numbers of local gods and shrines to be included in the Qing roster of offerings (*sidian*). In this state cult, government officials presented offerings to an array of gods and spirits. The expansion of the cult meant, however, that more and more ritual sites within Nanjing, and throughout the Qing empire, became imbued with a form of government recognition, and degree holders gained more opportunities to take part in the rituals and to suggest spirits worthy of state honors. These changed afforded new opportunities for elites of varied political convictions to depict themselves as acting for the good of the state. The state cult also allowed elites to claim empire-wide significance for local actions.

In Nanjing, local gentry often helped maintain temple sites, and their contributions allowed them to enhance their status. In 1822, Liangjiang governor-general Sun Yuting (1753–1834) reported that wind and rain had damaged the gates and buildings of the City God temple in Nanjing. Tile had fallen from the roof and several columns and railings had cracked. Sun requested 1,959 ounces of silver from the provincial treasury for repairs, which were "to reveal devotion and reverence," suggesting that spirits paid attention to the efforts of Sun and his subordinates.[48] Other appeals to the central government for funds for Nanjing sites of worship included 597 ounces of silver for repairs to the outdoor Altar to the First Agriculturalist in 1824, 1,044 ounces of silver for repairs to the Altar of Celestial and Terrestrial Spirits, and 1,388 ounces of silver for the Guandi Temple and the Reveal Loyalty Shrine.[49] Some requests spoke explicitly of care for ritual

sites in terms of sincerity in, for example, the phrase "reveal sincerity and reverence" (*zhao chengjing*), others such as "reveal devotion and respect" (*zhao qiansu*) did not use the word, but echoed discourse of sincerity as crucial for effective government.[50] Although the group of men centered on Yao Nai would place a particular emphasis on the transformative powers of virtue, and of ritual, the performance of virtue in ritual was not limited to that subset of Nanjing's educated elites.

Elites in Nanjing and throughout China could also suggest figures for inclusion in the state roster of offerings. Doing so allowed them to assemble concrete models of virtue. "As for the worthies of a locality," wrote one Nanjing scholar, "it is not the case that their worthiness is limited to the locality. We say that their locality is glorified by their worthiness."[51] This statement, from the preface to a collection of biographies of local worthies, reflected a view that shrines could display widely the virtues of people from a particular place. Shrines allowed Nanjing's elite residents the chance to produce meanings for an audience both within and beyond the city walls.

Like their counterparts throughout China, local elites in Nanjing used shrines as venues for celebrating the virtues of native sons and daughters. Regardless of their other intellectual or social affiliations, educated elites cataloged the shrines in the city, penned biographies of the people enshrined, and composed poems describing their experiences visiting shrines, and played active roles in rituals at shrines. Reflecting practice throughout the empire, liturgies included roles for descendants of those enshrined, and local elites submitted for government approval the names of people they thought worthy of enshrinement.

Shrines helped those who thought of themselves as members of the literati class to establish clear illustrations of virtuous conduct. Shrines could be dedicated to famous individuals (*zhuansi*, "special shrines") or to particular categories of people (*zongsi*, "general shrines"). General shrines were named for virtues rather than individuals; they were dedicated to categories of moral exemplars. The numbers of people included in these shrines swelled in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nanjing's Shrine for Local Worthies reflected this trend. It included forty-eight people in 1721, sixty-three in 1748, and ninety-five in 1824.[52] This increase resulted from intense efforts on the part of literati to record local history and to suggest new people for inclusion in the cult. A similar trend occurred, for example, in the lower Yangzi city of Suzhou, approximately 130 miles southeast of Nanjing. Elite residents

of that city focused on the cult of local worthies throughout the Qing period, producing successive volumes of biography and portraits that celebrated these exemplars of literati accomplishment. These ritual activities took place in the context of an increasing interest in local history. Seunghyun Han has argued that such elite projects augured "the gradual dissolution of the imperial-centered cultural logic of the eighteenth century."[53]

Elite activism in Nanjing supports this interpretation, but local politics gave the shift away from imperial logic a particular inflection. The circle around Yao Nai, which continued to foster utopian visions even after his death, emphasized the idea that acts of loyalty, righteousness, filiality, and chastity produced refined states of *qi*, and shrines were the places where that *qi* accumulated most densely. By promoting the city's reputation for virtue, literati suggested that revived forms of *qi* might accrue to the city rather than the person of the emperor. Biographies of the enshrined could also support the notion that literati activism in military and administrative spheres might benefit the empire. They used shrines to depict Nanjing as a place whose literati *qi* could resonate throughout the empire. In so doing, by for example proposing family members for enshrinement, they could enhance their own status.

The city's Shrine to the Chaste and Filial (Jiexiao Ci) provides a brief case study of how this group invested heavily in enshrinement. Determining the names of deserving candidates for enshrinement itself relied on a process of "collecting [written sources] and interviewing [people]" (*caifang*). According to Qing statutes, and following the model of earlier dynasties, emperors could confer honorary distinctions (*jing biao*) upon virtuous and filial women and enshrine them. The wealthy families in Yao Nai's circle took it upon themselves to lead the way in proposing candidates. The problem was finding them:

> Until now the earnestly virtuous and resolutely chaste, if they are poverty stricken, have not recommended or reported [for enshrinement]. Thus they are lost in obscurity and unknown. The licentiate Fang Mingjun suggested detailed collecting and interviewing of all the families recorded in gazetteers and documents. [Those] for whom the truth could be determined but were not yet made known amounted to several hundred people. Education officials created a list recording the details, and requested that all receive honorary distinctions and a general memorial arch be constructed.[54]

Nanjing's urban institutions, such as benevolence halls and widows' homes, also provided avenues for collecting and interviewing to "make known hidden virtues" (*biaoyang qiande*).[55] At least five different books dedicated to the publication of the names and brief biographies of the virtuous appeared between 1809 and 1850.[56] By compiling names, this group sought to secure a social tranquility that reinforced their own privileged positions. At the same time, they contributed to the reputation of Nanjing as a center of virtuous activities, home to women who preserved their chastity and literati who did not let such laudatory acts go unrecognized.

Throughout China, local elites located, recorded, and rewarded the virtuous in the nineteenth century. Nanjing was distinctive not for the impulse to enshrine, but rather for the particular historical and political valences the shrines could convey. Families in Yao Nai's circle used shrines to juxtapose their local activism with imperial power. They further coopted symbols of imperial power by producing and maintaining the city's Ming heritage.

The Ming City and the Spirit Music Temple

Since the Qing conquest and through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, visitors to and residents of Nanjing faced complex choices regarding the city's Ming legacies. Some writers discussed Ming sites as no different from other historical dynasties, relegating the Ming to a past that might contain certain lessons for the present, but that nevertheless remained distant. A related approach was to set up a contrast between the Ming and the present day, as when the Kangxi emperor had discerned lessons for rulers in Nanjing's cityscape.[57] Alternatively, people in the Qing could claim to sense the continuing presence of the Ming around Nanjing. Yao Nai and his circle took this approach, emphasizing continuities in the Ming buildings that still stood, the rituals they performed, and the lingering *qi* of Ming exemplars. By invoking the Ming, they suggested that Nanjing remained a kind of imperial capital and that ritual activity in the city could thus reverberate throughout the empire. By continually reinfusing the city with Ming significance, they thought they could regard the city as center of an idealized polity that could reinvigorate *qi* in decline and thereby address the problems of natural disasters, corruption, and foreign incursions.

Differing descriptions of the Spirit Music Temple (Shenyueguan) provide a useful window on the different ways people in Nanjing could perceive the Ming. The Spirit Music Temple originally served as a residence and training center for Daoist musicians who conducted ceremonies at imperial altars.[58]

It lay just outside the Ming Forbidden City between the Altar to Mountains and Rivers and the Altar to Heaven and Earth. The building survived and continued to house Daoist priests throughout the Qing until the Taiping War, yet in the seventeenth century Yu Bingshi treated it and the surrounding altars as if they were in ruins.[59] Yu contrasted the liveliness of the Ming site with its subsequent decline. In Yu's account, during the Ming the site bedazzled visitors with olfactory and auditory potency:

> The river arrived from the east and encircled the altar, then flowed west and entered the great Yangzi. Next to the altar was the Spirit Music Temple for storing musical instruments. The deep forest soared toward heaven. Tall evergreens filled the eyes. . . . Next to the temple were many varieties of plums. In the season of plum blossoms, one could take pleasure in their endless succession.[60]

Yu went on to describe how the area had deteriorated: buildings had burned, blossoms thinned, and the torrents of water in the moats were reduced to a trickle. The work was republished in 1849, and included poems accompanying this description and repeating the idea that the present only dimly reflected the altar's former glory.[61] Both versions also suggested that some hint of imperial splendor could be found in the sound of the water, the call of birds, or the diffuse scents of the remaining trees, but that the building had for the most part lost its original splendor. In this rhetorical mode, one experienced the Ming as loss and distance.

In fact, the Spirit Music Temple was far from completely lost. During the Kangxi emperor's tours, it had been refurbished as a travelling palace, and it stood within Nanjing's banner compound.[62] Chen Wenshu, the native of Hangzhou enamored with Nanjing's past who wrote the *Fodder Mound Collection*, recalled this past in describing the temple and added a legend that when the future Yongle Emperor seized the throne in the early Ming, the last opposing soldiers had surrendered here.[63] Yao Nai, Wu Guangyu, and other scholars in their circle placed greater emphasis on what had survived rather than what had been lost. They continued to call the site the Spirit Music Temple and not the travelling palace. Also figuring prominently in gazetteers, guides, and literary collections were shrines honoring Ming figures such as the incorruptible official Hai Rui and the philosopher and statesman Wang Shouren. On the outskirts of the city sat the mountain tomb of Zhu Yuanzhang, the first Ming emperor.[64] Visual representations

of the site were more complex. Yao Nai, when editing the 1811 prefectural gazetteer, wrote that images of ancient places did not do justice to the true experience of those sites. The Spirit Music Temple is not included on his map.[65] However, the editors of the 1824 gazetteer, including Wu Guangyu, depicted the temple on their map of the city alongside other remnants of the Ming, including the site of the Ming imperial palace in the center of the banner garrison in the eastern part of the city. Two Ming imperial altars, though no longer standing, also appear, as does the former Imperial College, now the prefectural school. The Large and Small Review Grounds are both represented, as is the Old Interior Palace (Jiunei), where the Hongwu emperor lived while awaiting completion of his main palace in the western part of the city.[66]

The differences between these accounts of the same spot suggest that Nanjing's Ming legacy did not primarily depend on the state of surviving buildings. The nature of Ming sites in the early nineteenth century afforded a range of possible responses to the Ming, each of which could draw on earlier ways of interacting with historic sites. Yao Nai and his circle reproduced and selectively preserved the Ming in order to create Nanjing's distinctive urban space. Through Ming sites and symbols, they addressed the problem of resonance, the question of how their acts in the city affected the entire empire. Their approach to the problem was particularly evident in their offerings to Confucius.

Offerings to Confucius

One of Wu Guangyu's projects intimated his ongoing concern for the legacy of the Ming in the city. In Ming times, Nanjing's prefectural school compound had been the Imperial Academy, a school for students from throughout the empire who qualified by examination. In 1652, the Qing converted the space to a prefectural school and Confucian temple, but the association of the site with the Ming remained; Qing histories of Nanjing duly recorded the complex's grand past.[67] When its main buildings were destroyed by fire in 1819, some advocated moving the school to a quasi-official Daoist temple complex in the center of the city.[68] Wu, however, favored reconstruction at the old site, and his arguments prevailed.

Probably because of the Ming legacy of the compound, some thought that the fire augured portentous consequences. One of Wu's biographers linked the destruction of the school to a series of other omens: a yellow cloud over one of the school gates and a beam of light emitting from one of

the school buildings.[69] Although it is not clear how Wu interpreted these omens, he took the reconstruction effort very seriously, even piously. He supervised construction during the rebuilding, and he performed a vigil at the steps of the school once a month, thus displaying his "sincerity and respect" (*cheng jing*), the qualities regarded as crucial to success in all ritual undertakings.

Wu's commitment to the rebuilding of the school arose also from his membership in the Education Association (Sasao Hui), a group of Nanjing literati who acted as benefactors to the city's various schools.[70] The Education Association had been formed in 1796, the revival of a literati club that had existed in Nanjing in the Yongzheng period (1723–35).[71] It raised funds for Nanjing's two government schools and Confucian temples. In addition to Wu Guangyu's aforementioned repair project on the prefectural school in 1819, the group helped fund stipends for students.[72] In 1836, the association contributed to improvements to the *yamen* of county education officials,[73] and, in 1838, the group financed repairs of the quarters for keeping vigil prior to offerings at the Confucian temple in the county school.[74] Wu's sons continued to participate in the association after his death in 1839. The Education Association also sponsored offerings modeled on, but distinct from, the Qing state cult. It offered a sheep and a pig to Confucius at the county school twice a year on the anniversaries of his birth (the twenty-seventh day of the eighth lunar month) and death (the eighteenth day of the second lunar month).[75] These nonofficial collateral offerings took place for over a hundred years, and the literati who took part in this ceremony did not participate in state offerings.

The activities of the Education Association demonstrate one way that local activism could seem to resonate in larger spheres. Like Wu Guangyu's creation of an endowment for boatmen and his sponsorship of the Life-saving Bureau, the performance of offerings to Confucius displayed sincerity rather than selfishness. These activities collected literati in a way that made their motives appear to be above reproach. Another name for the Confucian temple was the "Temple of Culture" (Wen Miao), so rituals honoring Confucius subtly conveyed the idea that Wu Guangyu's activism exemplified culture rather than parochial interests or selfish political goals.

The rituals performed at Nanjing's prefectural school further illustrate the ways Wu Guangyu, Yao Nai, and their circle used the Ming past for new purposes. The school housed a temple to Confucius where Qing officials made twice-yearly offerings in accordance with imperial statutes. Students

at the school participated as assistants, musicians, and dancers, but their roles were auxiliary to those of the officials who served as masters of ceremonies. In this way, the prefectural school fit into a Qing administrative geography, in which literati were separated from the emperor and subordinate to the bureaucracy.

At the same time, the school buildings had once housed the Ming Imperial Academy, a gathering spot in the early part of that dynasty for some of the most famous scholars in the empire. This Ming site continued to offer sensory experiences; participants in rituals at the site employed Ming implements.[76] Present-day (that is, early nineteenth century) sounds were thus simultaneously Ming sounds, and students from Nanjing's elite families took on the roles of the great scholars of an earlier age.

The offerings gave literati a chance to venerate Confucius directly, without the mediation of Qing officials. Yet the rituals took place in the same physical space as the state offerings to Confucius, a space that Wu had helped rebuild after the 1819 fire. The school was thus simultaneously a center of local accomplishment, a site of Qing ritual, and a Ming place in the heart of an imperial capital.

Fang Xiaoru

Yao Nai, Wu Guangyu, and their contemporaries created Ming sites rather than merely inheriting them. In writing, they constituted Nanjing as a simultaneously Ming and Qing city and rhetorically created the *qi* that they claimed could bring about political change. Their artistry was particularly evident in their treatment of Fang Xiaoru (1357–1402), the figure whose shrine Yao Nai wrote about in the essay quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

Nanjing was (or at least was claimed to be) stained with blood: bloodstains were visible on rocks, and these marks were a recurring topic of literary production from the sixteenth century until the nineteenth century. Early nineteenth-century writers of local history noted that one could "still" find traces of the blood of martyrs to the Jianwen emperor, that is, those men who had died because they refused to switch allegiance when, in 1402, the Prince of Yan marched on Nanjing, removed the young Jianwen emperor from the throne, and declared himself the Yongle emperor.[77]

Fang Xiaoru had been an advisor to the Jianwen emperor and refused to author the announcement that the Prince of Yan had ascended to the throne. Fang instead pressed the Prince on the question of succession, asking what

had become of the Jianwen emperor's son (who, if alive, would be the rightful heir to the throne). Enraged, the Yongle emperor had Fang's tongue cut out.[78] The blood from Fang's tongue that supposedly remained in Nanjing flowed into a cavity on the steps of the audience hall of the Imperial Palace, just inside the Meridian Gate.[79] His body was taken to the outskirts of the city for burial, and in 1589 a shrine was constructed on the site of his grave.[80] Sites honoring those who died out of loyalty to the Jianwen emperor dotted the city, casting Nanjing as a place where seminal acts of selflessness had once occurred and could still take place.

In the late Ming, emperors revisited the Jianwen episode, resulting in the enshrinement of Fang. In 1574, Nanjing residents constructed the Record Loyalty (Biaozhong) Shrine, which included 118 people who had died defending the Jianwen emperor.[81] The episode involved a commemorative conundrum for subsequent rulers: Fang's loyalty to the Jianwen emperor inherently meant opposition to the Yongle emperor. From the point of view of a reigning monarch, excessive sympathy with the Jianwen emperor could serve as thinly veiled opposition to imperial power in general.[82]

Emperors tended to emphasize the loyalty of the Jianwen martyrs without dwelling on their uncomfortable questioning of the Yongle emperor's succession. Early essays about the shrines employed this rhetorical tactic. In the Wanli period (1572–1620), the virtues of the Jianwen martyrs lay primarily in their willingness to die in defense of the dynasty; enshrining them thus served as a model for future generations of loyalists.[83] In 1777, the Qianlong emperor made similar arguments when he decided to bestow posthumous titles on the Jianwen martyrs. Such rewards could "encourage and propagate loyalty and obedience" (*baochan zhongliang*) by making known models of virtue so that they could be emulated.[84] The imperial discourse of the Jianwen incident involved using Fang Xiaoru and his counterparts as models of virtue applicable throughout the empire. For the emperor, these men represented model subjects for whom loyalty to monarch and loyalty to the state were inseparable.

In contrast, residents of Nanjing cast the Jianwen episode as a local tragedy, one in which the *qi* remaining in the city overshadowed the distant monarch. Subsequent to the Yongle emperor's accession to the throne in 1403, Beijing had become the primary capital of the empire, and Nanjing became the secondary capital. Looking back at these events from the perspective of around 1656 (that is, shortly after the Qing conquest, when Nanjing lost even its status as secondary capital), the incident must have

seemed the beginning of a long decline. In his "Record of the Repair of the Shrine to Fang Xiaoru," the local scholar Bai Mengding (dates unknown) noted that Fang Xiaoru's grave faced the mountain where the founding Ming emperor was buried. Bai imagined each figure gazing upon the other and crying. The thought led Bai to conclude that Fang Xiaoru's *qi* remained in that place. Enshrining Fang Xiaoru was thus like seeing Fang Xiaoru.[85] A visit to the shrine provided an experience unique to Nanjing, one that allowed contact with a major figure of the early Ming. Bai himself was moved to tears, and it is a demonstration of the permeability of Ming and Qing Nanjing that the figure of Bai could weep together with an emperor and martyred minister more than two hundred years his senior.

This sense of the particularity of the martyrs—that is, the aspects of the Jianwen incident that were unique to Nanjing rather than object lessons for the entire empire—brings us finally back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to Fang Xiaoru's bloodstains on the steps of the imperial palace, and to his shrine and grave on the outskirts of the city. Fang's story had come to include a third site beyond one of the city gates, the site of Fang's execution. Yao Nai and his followers cast each of these sites as retaining Fang's *qi*, but the steps offered the most tangible traces of the incident. The permanence of these stains reflected the staying power of Fang's heart/mind (*xin*), whose *qi* remained intact (even in multiple sites) because of the force of his virtue:

> Outside the Zhengyang gate there is a place where green grass does not grow. It is the place where Fang Xiaoru was punished. Inside the Meridian Gate on the stones of the steps of the Zheng Pavilion there is a concave surface. . . . At that time [the depression] was where the blood from his mouth flowed. It is probable that [Fang's] *qi* of loyalty and duty has blended and congealed in space and time.[86]

Fang's blood offered a visible manifestation of the invisible virtues of loyalty and duty. These virtues were on the one hand universal, capable of (in Yao Nai's words) "permeating heaven and earth," but at the same time he also described Fang's virtues as having precise locations: the steps of the palace, the shrine to Fang on the outskirts of the city, and the collective shrine to Jianwen martyrs in the center of town.[87] Ming experiences had geography; each one corresponded to a site in Nanjing. By writing this geography onto spaces where offerings took place, the educated elites who placed

emphasis on virtue could claim empire-wide resonance for the actions that took place in the city.

In this view, not just any action could transform the empire. Rather, literati needed to learn, and to teach others, the kinds of deeds that might lead to the desired utopia. Ritual suited this need because, as conceived by literati, ritual could inspire present-day observers and participants to act more virtuously. Wu Guangyu expressed a widely held view in a poem he wrote about Fang Xiaoru's shrine. Like Yao Nai, Wu Guangyu described the place as imbued with Fang Xiaoru's *qi*, and Wu catalogued the efforts of Nanjing's literati to have the site enrolled in the state roster of offerings (the list of temples and shrines where government officials would present wine, incense, and sometimes cooked meat and silk at specified times of the year). In Wu Guangyu's account, men gathered and were moved by Fang Xiaoru. The emotional resonance of the episode inspired their selfless acts: "As soon as they think of past matters their emotions are stirred." The melancholy story so touched them that they took pains to ensure Fang received his due honors. They petitioned officials to present offerings at the shrine (Wu claimed the offerings had not taken place for ten years). They presented offerings themselves. They donated money to ensure the shrine remained in good repair. Fang Xiaoru, in Wu's view, inspired people to cultivate their own present-day virtues, and their own "upright *qi*" mingled with Fang's, uniting past and present at the site. Ritual thus promoted efficacious and meaningful action in a charged landscape.

Like the Spirit Music Temple and the prefecture school, the shrine to Fang Xiaoru bore the legacy of the early Ming, when the Spirit Music Temple displayed the most august rituals, when Fang Xiaoru served as a powerful minister, and when the Imperial Academy housed eminent scholars.[88] All three places allowed educated residents access to that time through smells, sites, or sounds. The Spirit Temple had surrounding water and flora. Fang Xiaoru offered blood and tears. The school offered music that some identified as identical to the airs once played in the Imperial Academy. And each site was a place of ritual.

CONCLUSION

Chinese scholars had long understood *qi* as the fundamental stuff of the cosmos. Viewed as a discursive device, *qi* was indeed a building block, crucial for connecting the physical movement of bodies in ritual to affairs of

state and to the cosmos itself. In the interpretation promoted by Yao Nai, literati produced *qi* by writing: letters about the Opium War, poems about city sites, stele inscriptions about temples, biographies of one another, accounts of Nanjing's history, and treatises about the state of the world. In their writing, Yao and his students claimed that the empire's *qi* had decayed, but that deeply moral acts could lead to its regeneration.

This connecting of virtuous action and cosmic renewal was the discursive work of writing about *qi*. From that association, others followed. Yao Nai and the circle of wealthy, lettered literati he inspired—including students like Guan Tong, interested philanthropists like Wu Guangyu, and authors like Gan Xi—could treat such various activities as raising money for boatmen, fighting the British, criticizing the emperor, or making offerings at shrines as acts that could reshape the polity. They knew how to construct meaning in the city because they came from families who had been involved in maintaining the city's Ming past through the literary production of *qi*. They understood how a place could be several things at once—a palace could also be a military encampment, for example. Their maps, their ritual spaces, and their utopian visions reflected this sense of simultaneity. They constituted themselves as elites, Nanjing as their city, and the empire as centered around, and dependent on, literati activity. They depicted their centrality in the empire as natural and virtuous, and sought to translate their ritual efficacy into other forms of influence. They hoped for more aggressive defense against foreigners by literati-led militias. They wished to combat corruption in government and in their own class, and to make evident the problems of agitated *qi*: flooding, epidemics, and an unruly populace. They also promised that their leadership could ameliorate such problems.

These men created the *qi* that they saw throughout Nanjing, a product of poetry and history and geographical writing. Born into a world in which such writings formed part of the class identity of literati, they continually renewed the city's *qi* with more words. Naturalizing *qi* allowed them to move in a powerful landscape, and ritual gave them ways to make their acts intelligible. Their political program (however partisan) conformed to the world they displayed to themselves, and virtues manifested themselves as a means to bring about meaningful change and to return to an ideal state they described as the world of the ancient sages.

This group of activists in Nanjing incubated a vision that would, with the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion, spur a search for political alternatives that allowed wider participation in administration in order to mobilize

resources to fight the war. Through ritual practice in Nanjing, they anticipated future changes by enacting a utopian view of how the state should be. The primary justification for their claims was evidence found—and produced—in the city itself. They had made Nanjing a city of virtues, proof that elite activity could and should be an integral part of imperial governance. They would, however, find themselves ill prepared for the city's utter destruction.

CHAPTER 3

Wang Shiduo's Flight from the New Jerusalem, 1853–64

When on March 19, 1853, Taiping troops broke through Nanjing's walls, the local scholar Wang Shiduo sequestered himself in his house for two days. On March 21, soldiers armed with knives led him outside the city and forced him to help haul the dead from the battlefield and dump the corpses into the Qinhuai River. Returning from these morbid labors, he heard singing: Taiping adherents were blessing the evening meal. Wang had heard rumors that the Taiping could conjure green smoke that would confuse (*mi*) those who inhaled it. To Wang, exhausted from the day's work, the Taiping rituals suggested such sorcery, and he was afraid. After a few days, however, once Wang had been assigned to a dormitory and participated in Taiping religious services, he concluded that Taiping troops had no unusual powers, but only "empty words" (*kong yan*).[1] Nine months later, Wang would flee the city.

As the Taiping established governance over Nanjing, they used the city to display their vision of a Christian cosmos, employing the tactics of construction, writing, and ritual familiar to both the Qianlong emperor and to those early nineteenth-century Nanjing elites who had used the cityscape to express utopian visions. Although the Taiping sought to depict their version of Christianity as self-evidently true, most of Nanjing's elite residents recoiled from the picture of their world in the grip of demons. The small phrase, "empty words," typified the language that a wide variety of elites

employed to describe the Taiping, whose urban policies would upend the lives of Nanjing's residents. Those who survived the war, even those not previously given to cosmic speculation, would come to embrace visions of cosmic harmony similar to those of Yao Nai and his circle.

The Taiping so alienated men like Wang Shiduo that he and others of his class would have not have acknowledged any commonality with the Taiping as "utopians." Yet for all their conflict over the content of their conceptions of space, the cosmic visions of loyalists and Taiping evinced similarities of form: not just spatial practices for shaping the city, but also shared vocabularies of truth and falsehood. Supporters of Taiping and Qing each claimed that the enemy engaged in deception (*huo*), confusion (*mi*), or trickery (*zha*). The Taiping accused the Qing of being demons who enslaved the people, and Qing supporters leveled the analogous charge that Taiping "bandits" (*zei*) seduced the people with empty words. Each side asserted that it offered true (*zhen*), practical (*shi*), or applied (*yong*) solutions to social problems, and each declared that virtue allowed one to distinguish the real from the vacuous (*xu*) or empty (*kong*).

Because of the perceived ubiquity of falsehood, the Taiping sought to demonstrate the applied, substantive, practical nature of their policies in establishing administration over Nanjing. To describe this aspect of their program, they employed the word "practical" (*shi*), which recent historians have generally associated with the statecraft movement, but which nineteenth-century writers applied to a very broad range of activities. As groups competed over different cosmic visions, each claimed its own version as "practical." In this discourse of delusion, competing groups defined practicality in terms of their own utopian ideas. Taiping adherents described themselves as awakening (*xing*) and realizing (*wu*) the true nature of the world while Nanjing elites, with increasing desperation, sought effective means to defeat the Taiping and bring *qi* back into equilibrium. By seizing Nanjing, the Taiping had gained, and the city's prominent families had suddenly lost, a place where they could inscribe their visions, perform their rituals, and make tangible the form of government they wished to implement in the world. The Taiping shaped Nanjing in such a way that (they hoped) would allow urban residents to cultivate virtue and reject the forms of government and religion that the Taiping regarded as demonic.

Wang Shiduo never experienced the awakening that the Taiping leaders of the city hoped to bring about. He found the Taiping regime frightening rather than liberating. Wang's wartime ordeals exemplify the tension between ideol-

ogy and lived experience during the Taiping War.[2] Many of those who endured the Taiping War wound up alienated from all sides of the conflict, and from whatever ideological commitments they may have held at war's outbreak. As Tobie Meyer-Fong has noted, "What we retrospectively term the 'Qing side' was an agglomeration of competing interests that took shape against a perceived common enemy. . . . They professed loyalty, but they were bitterly critical and obviously disillusioned."[3] Wang's experience suggests that through much of the war Nanjing elites remained critical of the Qing imperial government, and they despaired of finding a viable way to oppose the Taiping. One aspect of their sense of hopelessness lay in their displacement. The occupation of Nanjing, and the attendant destruction of sites in the city, cut residents off from the spatial practices described in the previous chapter, leaving them with no clear sense of how to act effectively in the world.

After six years of relative isolation in Anhui, Wang would eventually find a way to reorient himself. In 1861, he would join the staff of Zeng Guofan, the leader of the Hunan Army who, in 1864, would succeed in retaking Nanjing for the Qing. Wang's involvement in the Hunan Army would renew his sense that cosmic harmony was achievable, and Wang would eventually become an architect of the new postwar cityscape, one in which poetry, history, and rituals could (from Wang's point of view) again display the truth of the world and cultivate the virtues that permitted meaningful action.

THE TAIPING ASSAULT

In the first half of the nineteenth century, people in Nanjing who considered themselves part of the literati class felt a growing sense of crisis. They justified their attempts to take a more central role in politics in part by asserting that they could help avert calamity and attain cosmic harmony. They recognized certain weaknesses of the Qing imperial government, particularly the prevalence of social unrest and the impotence of the army against the British, but for all their attention to the government's weaknesses, they did not see the Taiping coming. They understood the possibility of rebellion, but had no inkling that a Christian group from southern China would be able to take and hold Nanjing for more than eleven years, and still less that the city in which they had displayed their ideas about virtue, government, and cosmos would wind up utterly destroyed. How had the Taiping emerged so quickly? And what god drove them to fight with such a fury?

The Taiping movement arose in rural Guangxi province, on the periphery of a region that had witnessed sharp economic decline following the Opium War.[4] Hong Xiuquan failed the licentiate examinations four times between 1827 and 1843. On the third of his trips to Canton to take the exams, in 1837, he had an intense epiphany of traveling to Heaven and being given a sword to slay demons by a man with a white beard. After Hong collected a treatise on Christianity, "Good Works to Admonish the Age," which his cousin had read and recommended following the examination fiasco, Hong began to study missionary publications. He concluded from his reading that he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ, that the man with the beard was his father, and that his purpose in life was to rid the world of evil, bringing about a heavenly kingdom of great peace.[5]

Hong's ethnic background may have contributed to his understanding of the world as a theater of cosmic battles. The Hakka minority group often found itself in conflict with Han Chinese in southeastern China. Hakka spoke a unique dialect and women did not bind their feet. Tensions with other groups in the region (often over land) led Hakka to organize themselves for collective defense, leading to a high degree of social cohesion. Hong proselytized among them, and so his movement took on Hakka characteristics. Hong initially converted members of his extended family, who in turn, in 1844, organized among the Hakka the "God Worshippers Society" (Bai Shangdi Hui) dedicated to spreading Hong's message. The heightened religious fervor intensified the conflicts with neighboring groups.[6]

Hong sought to rally his followers with an urgent call to arms and at the same time infuse them with a common moral code. According to Hong, the Great God directed an epochal battle with supernatural and terrestrial demons, and Hong himself had already taken up the sword to defend his father in Heaven. Hong claimed that he had cleared the demons from the orders of angels, but that the battle continued on earth. Hong saw himself as rallying human soldiers for this war. In a poetic commentary to the Second Commandment ("Thou shalt not worship false gods") written around 1847, Hong wrote:

> The perverse fiends very easily delude the human spirit;
> If you mistakenly trust them, you will in the end go down to hell.
> We exhort the brave and heroic to awaken and realize
> It is urgent that you make the exalted Heavenly Father your intimate.[7]

This passage typified Hong's views prior to 1850, when he still described these demons as the gods of Chinese popular worship, who in temples normally appeared as statues or paintings. By ridding the world of these "idols," adherents of the Taiping movement hoped to "save the world" (*jiu shi*) and usher in a new age.[8]

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In 1850, the character of the movement changed, as did the identity of the demons.[9] The God Worshippers began to clash with militia forces, and both sides sought additional arms and followers. Among the Taiping, this militarization spawned new political, spiritual, and military leaders. Most notably, one of the comrades, Yang Xiuqing, claimed to be the "Wind of the Holy Spirit" (Shengshen Feng), giving voice to God's wishes on earth. Subsequently, disagreements among Taiping leaders would be common, leading to changing doctrines and multivocal proclamations. Hong himself was insistently monotheistic: he, Jesus, and the other Taiping leaders were emissaries of God, but not themselves divine. The leaders debated such matters as the nature of the Holy Ghost, the relationship between individual leaders and the Heavenly Father, and the relative influence any given leader should have in the movement. Adherents of the Taiping (now numbering between ten and thirty thousand) came to share a new understanding of the conflict between God and demons. The Qing emperor emerged in Taiping doctrine as a rival and enemy of the Great God, Shangdi, Hong's Heavenly Father.[10] The Taiping now treated supporters of the emperor as either demons or slaves of demons, and they reoriented their mission to not only eliminate false gods but also eradicate the Qing dynasty and institute a government dedicated to the worship of the Great God. In a series of battles between 1850 and 1853, the entire group fled Guangxi and attacked northward, gathering new followers and developing an army that soon threatened the survival of the Qing.

In describing his new war, Hong depicted demons as worldly incarnations of otherworldly malevolent spirits (*gui*, lit. "ghosts") that opposed God. In a commentary on the Genesis story he described the first malevolent spirit as adapting the guise of a serpent to tempt Eve:

> Eve at first trusted the talk of the malevolent spirit, so that subsequently her descendants were washed away in the flood. Before [Eve] died, the serpent deceived her in violation of the sacred directive, [saying] that she would not die, but could even be a god.[11]

According to Hong, in more recent times the malevolent spirits had worked their deceptions through demons who, in the guise of gods, bewitched by claiming credit for the work of God. People came to see demons, rather than God, as bringers of rain, bestowers of good harvests, and protectors in wartime. Most popular religious ceremonies offended Hong because he believed that in presenting offerings to demons, people misplaced their devotions and contributed to their own continued enslavement.

In the political realm, Hong thought that spirits had manifested themselves as Manchus, allowing the Qing conquest of the Ming dynasty. The Taiping described Qing conquerors as "foreign dogs" (*hugou*), "demonic foreigners" (*yaohu*), and "foreign slaves."[12]

> Since the demonic foreigners have seized and occupied China, they have induced man to trust malevolent spirits ever more profoundly, and the demonic fiends have conducted strange practices to an ever greater extreme. They deceived, seduced, and ensnared the souls of men under Heaven, causing them to fall into hell where they could not turn to Heaven. The people of the world fell for these schemes and were thoroughly poisoned. All of these constituted the strange and abnormal activities [of the demons]. No wonder [the people] sank without realizing it themselves.[13]

In proclamations and published treatises, Taiping leaders insisted on the need to destroy the devices of demons and turn to the "true" (*zhen*): the true way and the true God. Taiping administration should awaken, enlighten, and purify those in its jurisdiction. Loyalty to this new government required undergoing a conversion that allowed one to see the true nature of things:

> With regard to human life, respect for Heaven and support of the Sovereign lie essentially in loyalty; to cast off the malevolent spirits and become human—this must come through an awakening.[14]

Although demons, in Hong's view, constantly sought to lure followers back into slavery, ritual could both cultivate and strengthen loyalty to the movement. The Taiping thought God, though omnipotent, would not immediately grant ultimate victory over the demons.

> It can be known that the Heavenly Father's power and ability are indeed omnipresent. However, the fact that our Heavenly Father refrains from immediately

> exterminating the ruthless demons is perhaps because of his desire to make our brothers and sisters determined at heart, to make them double their efforts in discipline that they may enjoy the Heavenly Father's great blessings.[15]

The new world would be one of blessings bestowed by the Heavenly Father, whom all should praise and thank.

The 1850 shift in the nature of the demons would shape Taiping rule in Nanjing. As Hong sought to establish his Heavenly Capital, he thought he was reaching the culmination of his long cosmic battle. He described to his new subjects the character of the demons, and he sought to explain how it had come to pass that the populace had so long erred in its perceptions of the world. Hong treated Qing rule as a horrible prison of consciousness in which people could not see how to act for themselves. When the Taiping conquerors arrived in Nanjing, they would enact this vision by killing Manchus and destroying temples. The Taiping also left themselves a task even more difficult than conquest: convincing urban residents that the whole of life up to now had taken place in a dystopia of demonic enslavement.

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It is unclear at what point Taiping leaders decided to make Nanjing their capital, but as they marched north from January 1851 through December 3, 1852, they began referring to Nanjing as a "little heaven" (*xiao tiantang*).[16] Military considerations encouraged them to make Nanjing a base of operations. The Taiping had developed a small fleet of attack boats, and Nanjing's situation on the Yangzi was conducive to naval operations. Nanjing was also the first city the Taiping occupied that had been an imperial capital.[17] They attacked on the Sabbath before Easter week, suggesting that just as the resurrection of Jesus had created a new spiritual basis for the relationship between God and the people, so too did the creation of the capital forge a new center of political authority.[18]

The choice of Nanjing as capital would direct the theater of battle for eleven years. Qing leaders would view the recapture of Nanjing as essential to crushing the Taiping movement, but unfortunately for the Qing, the combination of British and Taiping assaults had sapped the dynasty's military forces in southern China. Poor tactical decisions compounded these problems. Qing generals would gather their forces into "great encampments" (*daying*) outside the city. The Taiping were able to rout these concentrations of troops in 1856, 1858, and 1860. After 1860, new regional armies, including

Zeng Guofan's Hunan Army, operated outside the regular chain of command and brought new threats to the Taiping. Over the course of the war, these threats meant that the city slowly shifted from a civilian population center to become a military compound, with many of the city's inhabitants compelled to leave. The early years of Taiping occupation, however, represent a sustained effort to convince residents that they stood at the threshold of true cosmic harmony.[19]

On March 19, 1853, Taiping forces detonated stores of gunpowder that miners had placed beneath the city walls, blowing a breach into the Yifeng Gate in the northwest of the city. Although the bannermen guarding the city beat back this initial assault, a handful of Taiping soldiers pressed all the way to the reviewing grounds where the Qianlong emperor had once conducted troop reviews. There they happened upon the palanquin of Governor-General Lu Jianying and killed him. When the panicked palanquin bearers spread news of the governor's death, the soldiers guarding the city abandoned their posts, mistakenly believing that the full Taiping force had already entered Nanjing. The remaining Taiping soldiers then scaled the western walls of the city unopposed.[20]

In the ensuing battle, the soldiers followed religious imperatives. Bringing about the Heavenly Kingdom meant exterminating the demons and the instruments of their deceptions, including alcohol, opium, and excessive sexual desire. Hong Xiuquan issued an edict banning the smoking of opium because dependency on the drug could turn users into "living demons" (*sheng yao*).[21] In an 1853 proclamation to the people of Nanjing, Yang Xiuqing would describe the task as "sweeping clean the cosmos" (*saoqing yuzhou*).[22] The Taiping first routed Qing troops and local militia and then slaughtered banner families. Approximately 30,000 people committed suicide or were killed when the Taiping took the city. The Taiping flattened the quarter of the city that had housed the banner garrison, tearing down structures and eradicating traces of banner (i.e., "Manchu") presence in the new Heavenly Capital.[23]

The Taiping also eliminated other demons—the images of gods that populated Nanjing's temples. A missionary traveling outside of Nanjing reported enthusiasm for the undertaking that suggested a carnival atmosphere:

> These juvenile adherents of the Taiping movement returned to a congenial occupation. It was their appointed task to pull down a temple. Strong ropes were placed over a high wall with its remainder of roof. About fifty young men

> and boys applied their strength to pull these ropes. They did so with the most lusty shouts. After a few minutes the old pile of bricks and timber began to totter. Then still louder vociferations were heard, and above them the crash of the falling ruin. Truly these young rebels have their amusements, a pleasant change from the war of cannon and the brunt of battle.[24]

Others witnessed the annihilation with horror. Nanjing resident Chen Zuolin (1837–1920) whose father had been a friend of Wu Guangyu and patron of the Lifesaving Bureau, was too frightened to leave his house during the initial assault, but from his rooftop he witnessed the burning of the Chaotian Temple, the Daoist complex in the center of the city.[25] Because Taiping soldiers might kill religious professionals on sight, Buddhist and Daoist priests in Nanjing changed clothes to disguise their occupations.[26] The Taiping even treated other forms of Christianity with suspicion. Ten Chinese Roman Catholics fled to Shanghai and recounted the following story to the priests there:

> On March Twenty-first, the Tseu [Xu?] family, the richest and most distinguished of our Christian families, was expelled from their house which the rebels wanted for their leaders, and thirty-one members of this family were shut up in the neighboring house, where they were quickly burnt alive. Two young men of this family, aged seventeen and eighteen, who had been absent when their parents were burnt, have just arrived in Shanghai, after having covered seventy or eighty leagues as beggars. Five other members of the same family were also absent during the execution of the thirty-one, but no one knows where they have gone or what has become of them. Everything which pertained to Christianity at Nanjing, church ornaments, silver, papers, all were deposited with the Tseu family. Consequently everything is lost without recourse. The same day several insurgents entered the city chapel, where the Christians were gathered and were reciting the prayers of Holy Week; the rebels forbade them to kneel for prayers and ordered them to be seated while reciting the new prayer to the Heavenly Father. The Christians answered that they were Catholics and did not know any other religion. It was pointed out that if, within three days, they still would not obey, they would all be decapitated.[27]

The Christian community in Nanjing had been extremely small, but the experience of these refugees confirmed a more general truth: the Taiping arrived in Nanjing as a force of destruction. Having depicted Qing territory

as a form of hell, the Taiping sought to annihilate all traces of demonic presence in order to create their new world. Eight years after the Taiping takeover, a British visitor would exclaim: "Nanjing was once famed for the grandeur of its monasteries and the number of its priests. They have all disappeared."[28]

NANJING AS HEAVENLY CAPITAL: URBAN LIFE UNDER THE TAIPING

In the days leading up to the Taiping onslaught, Wang Shiduo had complained in his diary about the inadequacy of both Qing regular troops and the city militias that local officials had hastily attempted to muster. Even so the speed of the Taiping advance along China's inland waterways surprised him and nearly everybody in Nanjing. Multiple imperial proclamations had assured city residents that the Taiping faced defeat and "annihilation."[29] Wang suspected the Taiping of magical powers in part because his knowledge of the movement consisted solely of wild rumors. During the first two days of the Taiping siege, he remained in his house, listening to cannon fire, the sounds of killing, and the light rain.[30]

After the street fighting ended, and after Wang Shiduo realized that he had mistaken Taiping religious services for sorcery, he remained concerned for the safety of his family. Even after the Taiping attack, he and his relatives could have escaped, but he feared that he would not be able to protect himself in the surrounding no man's land.[31] In the following days he sought to follow the instructions of the city's new rulers and to decipher their customs. Soldiers came to his house looking for loot, and he gave them money. He heard preachers calling on people to worship Jesus the Elder Brother, promising to give them a red cloth that people could wear to show acquiescence to Taiping rule: "I heard that many people in the neighborhood went to worship the Elder Brother, though in fact they only went through the motions of the ceremony, but really did not worship."[32] Wang himself declined to go. At home, he secretly recorded the names and details of people who died opposing the Taiping or who killed themselves (often by drowning, hanging, or immolating themselves) rather than serve under the Taiping.[33] For all his distrust of the Taiping, Wang did not make that choice.

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Upon establishing their capital in Nanjing, the Taiping sought to induce urban residents to renounce the past and awaken to a new reality. In so

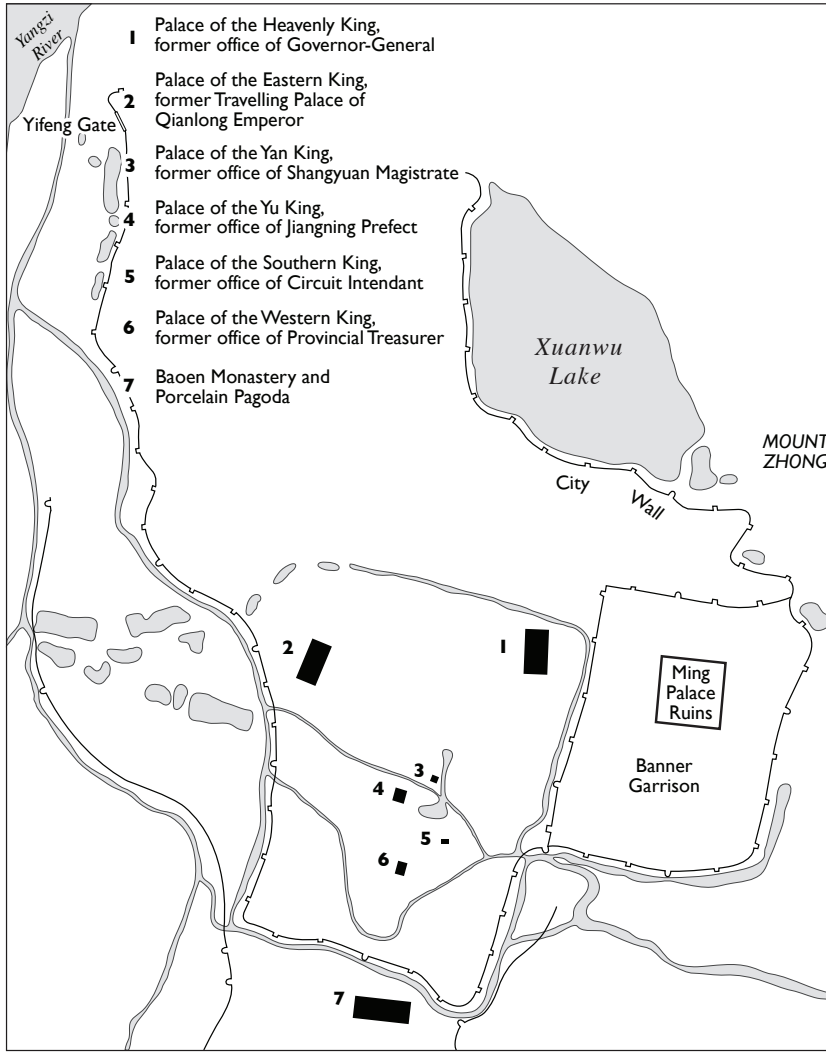
doing, they used Nanjing itself, destroying or repurposing its physical structures, writing anew about its landscape, and conducting religious ceremonies to promote virtue. In Nanjing, at least, the Taiping occupiers did not primarily expect to win converts through argument. Rather, the Taiping shaped urban space to reflect their complex views of cosmic space, creating experiences that they thought would cause residents to affirm the truth of Taiping visions.

The Taiping initially sought to mold Nanjing's poetic cityscape for their own ends. In several publications, they used the notion of the city's royal *qi* to argue that God had chosen the city as the ideal center for governance. The essays typically referred to the long tradition of writing about Nanjing's exceptional landscape. At the same time, the authors described the city in the terms of Taiping religion: as a unique space in which one could perceive the hand of God and the workings of the heavens.

> Jinling's [Nanjing's] city walls are strong and thick; Jinling's granaries are full and sufficient. Jinling's topographical conditions are like a crouching tiger and a coiling dragon; and Jinling's customs are elegant, simple, and generous. Hence, we know that when in the past our Heavenly Father, the Supreme Lord and Great God, created Jinling, he had long held the belief that Jinling should be permeated with royal *qi* and should truly deserve to be the site of the Heavenly Capital of the future.[34]

Urban construction projects reinforced the notion of Nanjing as an intersection of heavenly and worldly kingdoms. As time passed, Hong promoted more leaders to the status of "king. The Taiping repurposed Qing government buildings as palaces for Taiping kings (map 3.1). The destruction of temples and the annihilation of Qing armies seemed to Taiping adherents to confirm the reality of this vision, for them a concrete, visible truth rather than a utopian construct.

The Taiping created new urban institutions to enact their program of renewal. When the Taiping leaders took over governance of Nanjing in 1853, they subdivided the urban population into units called *guan* (dwellings). Everybody had to live in a *guan*, and *guan* had to consist of only one sex; the Taiping ordered that even families had to separate. The system abolished private property. Residents lived and ate communally, receiving their food rations through the *guan*. *Guan* leaders decided legal disputes, provided eduation, allocated funds, and oversaw religious ceremonies.[35] Every



MAP 3.1 Palaces of the Taiping Kings. Source: Guo Yisheng, ed., *Taiping Tianguo lishi ditu ji*, 60; Wang Hongming, *Nanjing jianzhi zhi*, 187–99.

guan had a place of worship, and the Taiping conducted public ceremonies in the city's open spaces. The *guans* were "the primary social unit of the Taiping state":

> They were made up of the citizenry of Nanjing, divided into twenty-five member groups and organized according to occupation: there were guan for bricklayers,

> carpenters, millers, bakers, shoemakers, embroiderers, artists, tailors, and even the makers of soy sauce and bean curd—all of whose produce was turned over to the state treasury and from which in turn they drew rations and supplies.[36]

This form of organization reinforced the ideas promulgated in Taiping edicts and publications: that their aim was to reshape the world. Prior attachments to one's property, to one's family, or to one's emperor were to be abandoned in favor of the new community of awakened followers of the one true God.

Taiping leaders seem not to have anticipated the resistance this order would create. Wang Shiduo, for example, responded by creating his own *guan* for the elderly along with twenty-four friends, but he remained concerned about his family.[37] Regular visits to check on the health of relatives in different *guan* became a feature of urban life in the early years of Taiping occupation. Perhaps sensing the level of general discontent, in 1854 Yang Xiuqing issued a "Proclamation to the People of Nanjing" explaining that the separation of sexes was necessary as a temporary measure "in order to prevent the inculcation of sexual promiscuity."[38] In 1855, the Taiping ended the policy, and men and women could live together once again. By that time, however, many residents had already fled as Nanjing came more and more to resemble an armed camp.

In addition to upending the social order, the Taiping also rearranged time. In his early revelations, Hong Xiuquan had noticed that demons moved according to the phases of the moon, by which he meant that Chinese religion marked festivals, auspicious days, and rituals for gods according to the lunar calendar. In 1853, the Taiping discarded the lunar calendar and adapted a solar calendar in which even-numbered months had thirty days and odd-numbered months had thirty-one days. This method yielded a year of 366 days, a problem corrected in a new calendar issued in 1861, which left off an even-numbered month every forty years. Every seventh day (Saturdays in the Western calendar) was the Taiping Sabbath, or "Day of Calm Rest" (Anxi Ri) designated for special ceremonies honoring God.[39] Most previously existing almanacs included certain auspicious days, considered better suited for events such as weddings, but the Taiping rejected this practice as demonic delusion. The Taiping kings declared,

> The remaining improper doctrines and perverted views of preceding calendars are all the result of the cunning devices of demonic fiends to deceive and delude

> mankind. We, your ministers, have eliminated them entirely. The years, months, days, and hours are all determined by our Heavenly Father. Every year is auspicious and good; every month is auspicious and good; every day as well as every hour is auspicious and good.[40]

The new age was possible because the Taiping had defeated demons and overcome delusion. For the Taiping, this form of time reflected space; both time and space distinguished the true Heavenly Kingdom from previous rhythms of life in Nanjing, and both revealed God to be omnipotent and good.

By subdividing society into small groups, Taiping leaders could facilitate communal ritual practices overseen by representatives of the Taiping state. Of these, Sabbath rituals were among the most important, as Hong Xiuquan himself attested in commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew published around 1853. For Hong, the Sabbath signaled the fulfillment of prophesy and the dawn of a new age:

> Now the Sabbath has come for Heaven and earth. The Father and the Elder Brother descend into the world to destroy the wrong and preserve the proper, to gather the wheat and burn the tares. It is fulfilled. The righteous enjoy good fortune in the Heavenly Father's kingdom. It is fulfilled. Respect this.[41]

The celebration of the Sabbath signaled the fulfillment of the Taiping mission to overcome demonic deceptions and return to the true way. The ceremony allowed adherents of the movement to worship the Heavenly Father, to express thanks for his blessings, and to express allegiance to his divine will. Taiping officials oversaw the rituals by presenting offerings and explaining religious doctrines. According to regulations printed in 1853:

> Throughout the empire all officials must every Sabbath, according to rank and position, reverently present sacrificial animals and offerings, sacrifice and worship, and praise the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Lord and Great God, and expound the holy books.[42]

On the evening before the Sabbath, banners appeared in marketplaces reading "Tomorrow is the Sabbath. Let each person be reverent and respectful."[43] Preparations began in the very early morning; just over a month after the Taiping entered the city, one Nanjing resident wrote in his diary that he

encountered a group of "bandits" in the midst of a Sabbath ceremony. They had arisen in the night to set up a table with oil lamps and offerings of food. Participants were singing praises in a manner that sounded to the listener like Buddhist chanting. When they finished, they ate.[44]

Within the *guan*, the space for Sabbath celebrations was curtained off, and a table set up with a red tablecloth, flower vase, and lamps made of horn or glass. Before the ceremony, three cups each of tea, meats, and rice were placed on the table. Toward the front of the table was a bamboo tablet with the words "receiving heavenly commandments." Taiping officials sat in chairs behind the table.[45]

During the ceremony, between three and seven Taiping officials led the *guan* in prayer and in songs praising the Heavenly Father.[46] Nanjing residents recorded several versions of the doxology, but each included the formulation

> Praise the Great God, the Holy Heavenly Father. Praise Jesus as the true king who saved the world. Praise the beautiful sagely wind of the Holy Ghost as the holy spirit. Praise the three positions united as one true god.

One account continued:

> As for the true way, how does it resemble the way of the world, able to save [one's] holy spirit, bringing inexhaustible blessings? The knowing will enthusiastically take part, accepting [the way] and producing blessings. The foolish will reflect and become enlightened, the way to Heaven will be clear. The vast benevolence of the Heavenly father is boundlessly great. He did not shelter the Heavenly Son, but sent [the son] down among the people to give [the son's] life to redeem for us our crimes and wrongdoing. If people know how to repent and reform, their souls will ascend to Heaven.[47]

In this view, the Sabbath celebration could lead people, even "the foolish," to an understanding of the world, so that they would "know how to repent and reform." The Taiping intended that the ritual would afford people the ability to understand how to act in the world.

The liturgy then called on participants to declare themselves followers of God. When the singing ended, the community submitted a memorial written on yellow paper to the Heavenly Father. The memorial included a short prayer and the names of all the people congregated. Everybody knelt as the

presiding official read the memorial, which was then burned. Services concluded with a communal meal.[48] In this way, Taiping leaders hoped that participants would confirm for one another a shared experience of the world.

The Taiping enlisted Nanjing's residents in religious ceremonies to foster the virtues that would bring about their vision of perfect governance. Hong Xiuquan's description of virtue used vocabulary of morality inherited from Chinese classic texts, and he therefore employed language similar to that of Yao Nai and his circle, but Hong invested this shared conception of morality with new shades of meaning.[49] In Hong's view, God granted virtues to people, who nevertheless could choose how they used God's gifts, and in Taiping rituals, participants frequently expressed gratitude to God for such blessings.[50] Whereas "loyalty" for the Qing meant willingness to die in defense of the dynasty, for Hong it meant commitment to Heaven as well as support for God's earthly kingdom. "Steadfastness" and "sincerity" carried the implication that supporters should defend their faith against demonic enemies. By so doing, they became "unashamed to act as a person should act (*bu kui wei ren*)," and therefore truly human.[51]

The Taiping hoped to win converts to their cause, true believers. Their success in gaining committed adherents remains unclear. The writings of survivors like Wang Shiduo brim with hostility, and one group of local degree holders participated in a plot to throw open the city gates to Qing forces. On the other hand, a number of educated residents took part in editing the massive quantities of printed material that the Taiping produced to promulgate regulations and doctrines. Thanks in part to these labors, the Taiping ushered the state into nearly every aspect of urban life.

Regardless of the level of belief the Taiping succeeded in inspiring, the effort to win converts tells us a great deal about Taiping spatial practices. For the Taiping, creating space entailed depicting a Christian cosmos, relegating previous understandings of the world to the status of phantasms, ordering urban life to inspire the "awakening" that, the Taiping claimed, would allow insight into the true nature of things, and suggesting to followers particular forms of meaningful action. The Taiping hoped that by living settled lives in this new world, urban residents would come to see the Taiping world as simply true, that experience would allay doubts, and that supporters would confirm to one another that they had previously lived their lives in a state of delusion.

Many residents remained unswayed, and in any event war upset these plans. The ongoing siege of the city made conditions more and more difficult

for civilians, and by the end of the war most of Nanjing's prewar populace had fled. Their efforts to survive as refugees and the eventual rise of Zeng Guofan as an effective general against the Taiping would sway many Nanjing gentry towards loyalism, and also toward the Song style of cosmology that first Yao Nai, and then Zeng Guofan, embraced. For this reason, one cannot make sense of postwar utopian visions without understanding their experiences of flight alongside their encounters with the Taiping.

THE JOURNEY OF WANG SHIDUO

Wang Shiduo had five daughters and one son. His fifth daughter, born in 1839, died a year later. His fourth daughter died at age five in 1842, the same year as the Treaty of Nanjing that ended the Opium War.[52] His third daughter, Shuling (b. 1834), and his oldest daughter, Shuqin (1829–56), both immersed themselves in classical studies as children and helped their father edit a history of the Northern and Southern dynasties (220–589), the period when Nanjing had served as capital of successive dynasties in the south. The two married brothers in the Wu family, but Shuqin's husband died prior to the Taiping War. Wang's second daughter, Shuping (1832–53), though frequently sick as a child, also studied classical scholarship with her sisters. In 1848 she married into a different family, surnamed Fan. Wang's son was born in 1852, and died shortly after. The fates of Wang's three grown daughters contributed to his choice to leave Nanjing and fed his growing sense of alienation. Of his children, only Shuling would survive the war.[53]

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Jonathan Withers has argued that Nanjing's literati might have sympathized with an anti-dynastic movement, but that Taiping social policies alienated the elite class. Nanjing's literati faced a choice between a dynasty they viewed as corrupt and a movement that they regarded as brutal and bizarre. Their experiences with the Taiping led them to support the existing dynasty rather than risk their social position.[54] Withers perhaps overstated the extent of anti-dynastic sentiment in Nanjing prior to the war; the city's literati attempted to assert power within the Qing, not to overthrow it. But certainly the multiple failures of the Qing army in 1853 demoralized the city's residents, and Taiping doctrine, administrative policies, and rituals alienated many of the city's educated elites. Most fled in the first three years

of the war. An important aspect of their support for the dynasty was not just their lives under Taiping rule, but also the flight from Nanjing and the ensuing journeys on which elites embarked before they found ways to contribute to the war effort. Alongside Wang's experience of urban life under the Taiping, his time in exile would shape his contributions to the war effort and to postwar reconstruction.

The problem most Nanjing elites faced when they left Nanjing was not *whether* to oppose the Taiping, but *how.* This dilemma raised the larger question: how to act effectively in the world? In the first half of the nineteenth century, Yao Nai's circle had used Nanjing to answer that question by displaying models of virtue and by arguing that acts in the city could reverberate throughout empire and cosmos. Now, the Taiping seemed to confirm the inverse: making the city a rebel capital could sow chaos. Losing control of Nanjing's cityscape now presented a conundrum. If the construction of knowledge of the cosmos, of ideals of government, and of virtuous action had all relied on spatial practices, what happened when war and dislocation made those practices impossible? Convinced that the cosmic programs of both Qing and Taiping were completely vacuous and cut off from Yao Nai and Wu Guangyu's style of activism, Wang despaired of finding a way to act in the world.

RELUCTANT EXILE

Wang found, for example, that he could not care for his daughters during the Taiping occupation, nor they for him. At first it seemed otherwise. Taiping troops manned the city gates and demanded passes from those who wished to leave, the walls around the Heavenly Capital proved porous. In 1853 and 1854, departure arose from choice rather than necessity. Although Wang detested Taiping rule, he initially chose to remain because in the city he could maintain contact with a network of neighbors and friends, including those in his *guan.* Wang Shiduo accommodated himself to Taiping rule by forming a *guan* for the elderly with the help of Shuling's husband. Shuling remained nearby. Shuping stayed in a different *guan* with her mother-in-law. Shuqin, widowed and well-educated, wound up working as a secretary in the palace of Yang Xiuqing, the Eastern King. The city's new leaders demanded labor from the entire populace, but the requirements placed on the fifty-one-year-old Wang were less onerous. In part to remain

near his daughters, Wang dwelt in Nanjing for nine months before embarking for southern Anhui.

Travel was risky. While calm prevailed in Nanjing, war could afflict rural areas surrounding the city at unpredictable times. Wang did not know how to estimate the costs of travel or how to anticipate the scarcity of daily necessities.[55] Wang hesitated to abandon his books: forty-nine cases of maps, geography, dynastic histories, and studies of the Classics. In February 1853 he had entrusted several dozen volumes to friends, who had shunted them out of the city before the Taiping attack. Wang knew he would only be able to carry a small portion of his remaining hoard.[56]

Family tragedy appears to have swayed Wang toward flight. Shuping found herself in a women's *guan* together with her mother-in-law. According to Wang, the mother-in-law convinced Shuping to do a double share of the required work. Shuping got sick. In Wang's telling, she "asked for pears, but there were none; she asked for all kinds of food, but there was none."[57] As she lay dying, she did not recognize her father. He wrote in his diary, "I could not even go out to buy a coffin for her."[58]

It took some time to arrange an exit, but on December 17, 1853, Wang quit the city, paying off firewood collectors so that he and his wife could obtain passes to depart through the south gate. He and his wife left separately, only a few days apart, but they were unable to rendezvous in a nearby village as planned, and so would not see each other for a year. His destination was Xuxi prefecture in southern Anhui, about 118 miles from Nanjing. Wang was familiar with Xuxi because he had previously lived there for two years (1845–46) working as a tutor for a local family. He explained:

> People of Xuxi are different from people of other places. When the world is [well] governed, they go out and conduct trade. When the world is in disorder (i.e., rebellion) they return home. Each household has fields. Those with a lot have dozens of *mu*, but even those with a little have a few *mu*. The popular customs are thrifty and simple. If one labors at plowing, it is possible to support oneself. If brigands arrive then one can hide in the deep mountains. If the brigands retreat, then one can return.[59]

Wang Shiduo joined an exodus of people seeking to escape the war. In choosing where to go, these people relied on their judgments about the future course of the war and their connections in other parts of the empire. Common destinations were the poorer areas north of the Yangzi, such as

Rugao County, too destitute to entice a Taiping anabasis. Others fled downriver to Shanghai, a city that enjoyed relative prosperity and protection as a result of increasing foreign trade in the wake of the Opium War.

Of the Nanjing elites described in the last chapter, the majority died during the rebellion. Of the survivors, Wang left the most detailed record of his movements and of his thoughts at the time. Like other Nanjing literati, Wang pondered the changed political situation from a position of exile. Noting the force of the Taiping attack and the ineffectual response of the Qing, he sought to find more effective means of countering the rebels and returning home.

REFLECTIONS ON DECEPTION FROM ANHUI

Wang felt confident that he could go to southern Anhui because his former teacher, the *Yili* specialist Hu Peihui, was a native. Hu had died in 1849, but Hu's family had invited Wang to lodge with them. Once there, he worked as a teacher for two wealthy lineages. Surrounding mountains somewhat isolated the county from battle, but it lay close enough to Nanjing that he held out hope that his family could join him there. His wife did arrive in 1855. Also in 1855 his oldest daughter, Shuqin, escaped Nanjing, but she did not make it to Anhui. In 1856, following the collapse of the Great Encampment of Jiangnan, she despaired of reaching her family and committed suicide. Wang heard of her death in 1857.[60]

In Anhui, during the years 1855 and 1856, Wang considered the causes of the war and the reasons it continued. He filled his journal with attempts to account for the surrounding chaos. From his observations of the Taiping, Qing militia, government officials, and literati, Wang concluded that a central problem of governance was the selection and use of talent. As he considered how best to cultivate and evaluate talent, he often returned to a familiar theme: the need for practical and applied knowledge. Wang argued that because most officials lacked such knowledge, the war would not soon end.[61]

Wang's interest in applied knowledge originated before the war, when he took part in a number of the scholarly currents described in the previous chapter. He had specialized in the study of geographical features in historical texts, particularly ritual classics and the accounts of the Six Dynasties. This interest in turn had led him to pursue the local history of Nanjing. Although not given to Tongcheng-style scholarship, he did interact with elites in the Yao Nai circle. He had befriended Jin Ao, the author of *Tales of*

Minor Matters in Nanjing, had taken part in the many discussions of local history in Gan Fu's library, and had helped to edit a county gazetteer that was never published because of a lack of funds. His geographic interests also brought him into close contact with the famed statecraft scholar Wei Yuan, and he helped edit Wei Yuan's study *Illustrated Gazetteer of Maritime Kingdoms* (Haiguo tuzhi). Relatively few of his early writings survive, but he does not appear to have engaged in utopian speculation about the cosmos, but concentrated rather on specific policy proposals.[62] He continued this line of thought in his wartime diary, but would emerge transformed, committed to the idea that the moral action of literati could bring about cosmic harmony. War would make Wang embrace utopian ideals.

In Xuxi, however, Wang did not yet embrace programs for an ideal world. For example, in scholarship, Wang emphasized ritual Classics such as the *Rituals of Zhou* (Zhouli) and the *Ceremonies and Rituals* (Yili) over the works favored by Song Learning scholars: the Four Books and the *Classic of Changes* (Yijing). Wang thought that the utopian aspects of Song Learning distracted scholars (and therefore the officials who passed civil service examinations) from more immediate concerns. These scholars "trick each other with empty discussions of bringing about a 'great peace' and regard it as scholarship."[63]

Wang saw the Taiping movement as a group of bandits who, in response to economic difficulties exacerbated by poor governance, pillaged whatever areas they could reach. In Wang's view, the size of the population relative to the available land constituted the root of the problem. Without sufficient land, the empire's rural populace lacked a means of livelihood. In the countryside, these conditions made people desperate and therefore foolish, willing to listen to any teachings that promised improvements to their lives. Under these circumstances, rebellion seemed inevitable to Wang.[64]

In addition to his observations of wartime conditions, at certain points in his diary Wang contemplated radical changes to address the chaos around him. For example, Wang considered censoring the Classics tested on civil service examinations. Wang argued that most rebellions of the past could be attributed to misplaced ardor for various teachings he regarded as deceitful, including Islam, White Lotus sectarianism, the Eight Trigrams, and the *Laozi*. By teaching the people things that were not true, these movements accumulated followers and spread disorder.[65] In Wang's view, even the teachings of ancient sages could have this effect. "Didn't the sages also make errors?" he asked while in Anhui, giving two examples suggesting that

they had "used ghosts and spirits to make the people foolish" and "used divination by tortoise shell to deceive the people."[66] Wang praised the Taiping for their editing of the Classics:

> In revising the Four Books and the Five Classics, the rebels have deleted the parts on worshipping and sacrificing to spirits and gods, and on rituals. One should not discard [the rebels'] words because of who they are. This is indeed an action of great merit, which is comparable to that of the sages. In times to come, there may be some who will consider their words valuable.[67]

The idea of editing ritual out of the Classics appealed to Wang because he thought that falsehood begat falsehood. Classical texts led believers to expect that gods would take revenge for affronts: if you attacked a god, you could expect retribution. In Wang's view, the Taiping had taken advantage of this belief by sacking thousands of temples without incurring godly retribution. The people then respected the god of the Taiping because the Heavenly Father now seemed more powerful than their own gods.

Wang described in particular the case of Magistrate Zhu of Xiangzhou, a prefectural seat in Hong Xiuquan's native Guangxi. When the magistrate captured a group of rebels after praying at the Temple of Nine Immortals, he attributed his success to divine intervention. When the Taiping subsequently attacked the town and destroyed the temple, the people (according to Wang) were all the more fearful of the rebels. Wang had concluded, "Therefore, everywhere the bandits go, they must destroy temples to demonstrate their fearsomeness."[68] Because the appearance of divine power without real efficacy gave force to the rebels and undermined proper governance, Wang favored any measure, including the editing of the Classics, that prevented misplaced trust in otherworldly powers.

In another, more infamous, passage of his diary, Wang considered female infanticide as one solution to the problems he saw around him; fewer girls would mean fewer babies, and thus less population pressure on the land. He considered promoting the use of drugs to cause abortions as well as a head tax on the female population to support the policy.[69] Historians have cited Wang's diary as an example of demographic thought. But it is hard to know how to interpret these ideas. He did not propose them in any public form; we only know of them from his diary (which Shuling kept after his death, but which was only published in the twentieth century). He did not air these wartime thoughts despite his capacity to do so in subsequent positions on

the staffs of Hu Linyi and Zeng Guofan and in Nanjing's academies. In those posts, he would publish an extensive corpus, including moving accounts of the deaths of his daughters ("I am unable not to grieve,")[70] but never again mentioned infanticide nor editing the classics. Wang did indeed propose such measures, but only to himself. They reflected his own turmoil and despair, his grasping for some kind of new sense of practical action. After 1856, he stopped writing in his diary altogether.

PERSONAL ARMIES

Wang became aware of a new kind of fighting force through his correspondence with his former examiner, Hu Linyi, who had granted Wang the *juren* degree in 1840. Now, in 1858, Hu was serving as governor of Hubei Province. He invited Wang to join the staff of the force he was mustering against the Taiping. Wang joined him in the provincial capital of Wuchang at the new year. Hu, alongside his fellow Hunanese, scholar-official Zeng Guofan, structured military hierarchy on the basis of ties between soldiers and their commanders. Whereas Qing policy discouraged personal loyalty to one's superiors, the personalities of the leaders of personal armies inspired the devotion of soldiers. This close connection between leaders and soldiers appears to have both spurred better morale and fostered better communication down the ranks than in government units. Unlike militia, Hu and Zeng's forces linked together the human and financial resources of a large geographical area, remaining in place as standing armies rather than ad hoc responses to particular threats. These "personal armies" (*qinbing*), had proven highly effective in defending Hunan from the Taiping, faring much better in battle than either Qing or local troops.[71] In 1856, Hu Linyi's army captured Wuchang on the central Yangzi. Thereafter, Hu and Zeng coordinated the battle for Anhui and the strategic approaches to the Taiping capital.[72] Shortly after the Empress Dowager Cixi came to power in a coup, she granted Zeng Guofan official responsibility for the war in Anhui, Jiangsu, Jiangxi, and Zhejiang. At the same time, Zeng became Liangjiang governor-general, meaning that if and when he won the battle for Nanjing, he would take up office in the very site where the Heavenly King now sat on his throne.[73]

Hu's army appealed to Wang because it could make optimal use of talent. The troops fought harder because of their affective ties to others in their units: "As for personal armies," he wrote, "the soldiers are especially brave and capable."[74] Both Zeng and Hu found administrative positions for edu-

cated elites. Zeng's army created a complex logistical apparatus for acquisition and disbursement of funds, munitions, food, and building supplies. Money initially came from fees charged to local elites, but soon after the outbreak of war new taxes (called *lijin*) on commerce funded the armies. The staffing of armies relied heavily on educated men, many of whom had been forced to leave their homes as a result of the rebellion. Jonathan Porter has aptly described Zeng's operation as a "personal bureaucracy," and shown that it included more areas of specialization than the parallel structure of Qing field administration.[75] These examples of Hu Linyi, Zeng Guofan, and their military advisors helped persuade Wang that the incompetence and misery he had witnessed resulted not from overpopulation, from slavish attention to classics, or excessive reliance on ritual, but rather from failures of leadership. The right people, Wang now thought, could coordinate effective counterattacks, giving him hope that the Taiping would be defeated.

Working for Hu Linyi afforded Wang new opportunities for scholarly endeavor. Wang produced charts to accompany annotations to the *Classic of Waterways* (Shuijing), an account of rivers in ancient China. Hu helped Wang publish the work in 1859. That same year, Wang moved to Wuchang and took part in the compilation of a work on military strategy based on careful reading of the dynastic histories, the *Military Strategy from Reading History* (Dushi binglue), which was intended to educate Hu's commanders in the arts of military tactics.[76] Wang himself contributed to military strategy. Wang's study of rivers helped him see the importance of the upriver city of Anqing to the Taiping defense of Nanjing. By gaining control of the navigation of the Yangzi, he thought, regional armies would stand a better chance of preventing Taiping counterattacks of the sort that had destroyed the first Great Encampment of Jiangnan.[77] This idea gained currency especially among the staffs of Hu Linyi and Zeng Guofan, who made Anqing the center of the theater of battle.[78]

Wang realized that by making use of knowledge of history and geography, he and other scholars could contribute to the war effort through their own specialized talents. There was even more to it: what in 1855 and 1856 had seemed empty to Wang now seemed substantial. Did Wang find his footing simply by taking up a position in Hu's army? Did his studies of geography settle him, perhaps by mapping a path back to Nanjing? Did news of the death of his oldest daughter somehow jar him into a new way of thinking? Whatever the reason, Wang would soon embrace ritual, and the Classics, and the pursuit of cosmic harmony. He would feel that he now

recognized a means of effective action in the world. He would come to see the fundamental problem as the need for virtue, and would believe that ritual could help make people virtuous, thus restoring harmony to the world. He would become a utopian.

APPLIED RITUAL

In 1861, four years after joining Hu Linyi's staff but still two years before he would return with Zeng Guofan's triumphant army to Nanjing and take part in the rebuilding of the city, Wang Shiduo wrote a preface to a compilation of illustrations of proper ritual practices in Confucian temples. In it, he argued that ritual helped produce virtue:

> In ancient times the sages made use of virtue (*de*) to govern all under Heaven. Prior to them, patrimony had been used [to rule]. Continuing after them, ritual and music were used. Then ritual is the established practice (*ju*) of virtue, the eight tones are the flowering of virtue, and music and dance are the words and bearing of flourishing virtue. [Ritual and music] are the means to transform the devious and perverse minds of the people and to bring [the people's minds] to moderation, uprightness, harmony, and equilibrium.[79]

Ritual could both lead people to virtue and itself be an example of the virtues of the ancient sages. In contrast to his earlier view that ritual should be expunged from the classics, Wang now saw ritual in part as a practical measure. By cultivating virtue, ritual could help end the war.

Wang argued that like all aspects of civil and military administration, ritual should be applied rather than empty, practical rather than wasteful. His journey during the Taiping war and his interactions with Hu Linyi and Zeng Guofan helped shape his views of what constituted applied ritual. Wang frowned on those offerings that in his view merely displayed feats of power for personal gain, favoring practices that celebrated the collective endeavors of those fighting the Taiping.

Wang considered offerings to the souls of the heroic dead to be one form of applied ritual. He worked to ensure that the fallen would receive honors (including enshrinement in Shrines for the Loyal and Righteous), an enterprise that contributed to his evolving understanding of what was practical.[80] Even before joining Hu Linyi's staff, Wang had considered it his duty to collect lists of names of the people who perished while fighting the Taiping. He

had listed the names of the dead in his diary, and he likened the failure of loyalists and officials to keep track of the rebellion's victims to the bungling of Nanjing's defense. Both resulted from an abrogation of responsibility, when rather than standing up to the attacking Taiping legions, literati "pulled up their blankets and lay down."[81] Wang had also seen *qi* as a crucial factor in separating the good from the bad.

Nanjing literati, and particularly those concerned with local history, had throughout the early nineteenth century engaged in collecting (*cai*) written records of exemplary conduct and interviewing (*fang*) witnesses to virtuous acts. Literati had gathered names of the virtuous and petitioned officials to include such figures in government shrines. For Wang, the Taiping assault lent urgency to the task of identifying the virtuous in order to encourage loyalty in others. The new circumstances meant that literati *qi* could not accumulate in specific, revered locations such as the Ming Imperial Academy. The destruction of such sites called for greater emphasis on people and their present day accomplishments.[82] Because improper customs could muddy *qi*, causing people to be bad, appropriate models of behavior were necessary. In Wang's words, "Being good results from the clearness of *qi*. Not being good results from the turbidity of *qi*."[83] By providing such models, certain ritual practices, such as enshrining the dead, could have practical applications.

The enormous scale of the Taiping rebellion made it difficult for provincial officials to carry out Qing regulations for identifying the dead. Governors submitted memorials on an ad hoc basis, but the precarious military situation meant that measures were usually limited in scope. Following victory at Wuchang in 1856, Hu Linyi set up a local Bureau of the Filial and Righteous (Jieyi Ju). Hu memorialized that it was difficult to grant appropriate rewards to the dead because the destruction of records prevented a clear idea of who perished at the hands of the Taiping. He therefore created the office to investigate each case and recommend people for posthumous rewards and enshrinement.[84] In Hunan, Zeng Guofan on September 18, 1858, and again on August 19, 1860, recommended that private shrines honoring the dead in individual counties be incorporated into the Qing roster of offerings.[85]

Identifying the dead formed part of Wang's experience of war. It was for him not so much a question of commemoration as one of truth: if he could name opponents of the Taiping in Nanjing as exemplars, then he continued to resist, in some small way, the Taiping vision of the Heavenly Capital. After moving to Hubei in 1859, Wang Shiduo became involved in more

formal efforts to name and enshrine the dead. He realized that the advent of personal armies provided new bureaucratic tools for tracking down and commemorating the victims of the war. He thought it would be possible to expand the scope of such efforts by creating an office similar to that set up by Hu Linyi, but incorporated into the regional bureaucracy of Zeng Guofan's Hunan Army. In 1860, Wang wrote a letter to Zeng Guofan proposing a "Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness" (Zhongyi Ju) responsible for the area of operations of Zeng's army: Jiangxi, Anhui, and parts of Jiangsu province.[86] The bureau could check to make sure that the same person was not enshrined twice, compile short biographical accounts of those who died, and forward the names to Zeng for submission to the throne. The office could also help keep track of paperwork between the provincial authorities, the Board of Rites, the Board of War, and the Board of Finance (which allocated funds to give money to surviving relatives of the dead, nominally for burial expenses). Zeng was thrilled with the suggestion, writing that the procedure "can immediately be thoroughly implemented and repeated."[87]

At the urging of Wang and others, Zeng established the Bureau as part of his general staff.[88] Gentry managers (*weiyuan*) coordinated many local efforts to catalogue the victims of the war. The office traveled as part of Zeng's field encampment (*xingying*) compiling cases usually grouped by a particular location or military engagement. Following the first case submitted on August 19, 1860 (XF 10/7/3), Beijing routinely approved the bureau's proposals for enshrinement.[89]

For Wang Shiduo, the bureau was a model of how literati activism could foster governance through ritual by making known exemplars of appropriate conduct. From 1860 Wang no longer proposed such radical measures as editing the Classics, and he became more likely to endorse existing state ritual as practical.

Wang's perspective had thus shifted since his time in Xuxi, when he had advocated expunging ritual from the Classics on the grounds that rituals were empty words that deceived the people. Wang now argued that ritual was not inherently empty. Instead, the issue lay in the approach of those who enacted ritual; one could perform rituals in either an empty or a substantial fashion. "Ritual and music," Wang admonished, "may not be performed emptily."[90] Wang had come to understand the chaos of the time as a product of such empty practices: the Taiping had chosen rites that did not follow the teachings of the ancient sages, and most Qing officials had failed to under-

take the ceremonies with appropriate sincerity. Yet practices like offerings to Confucius and enshrinement of the fallen suggested to Wang that what he regarded as substantial ritual could restore civilization.

CONCLUSION

Wang Shiduo's journey from Nanjing to Anhui and back again was an intellectual as well as a physical ordeal. On his journey he searched for the *shi*, which, in addition to "practical," can mean "substantive," "actual," or "real." Wang understood the problems of the time as stemming from failure to distinguish the impractical from practical, vacuous from substantive, fake from actual, fictional from real. The progress of the war shaped his own progression; for a polity to be "practical" it must contribute to defeating the Taiping. The failure of Qing imperial forces to defend Nanjing alongside the loss of his two daughters led to his despair, and give context to his ideas in 1855 and 1856 for a radical remaking of received learning, and particularly Song Learning. The ensuing successes of the personal armies helped persuade him that the problem had been the people and not the rituals or the learning. He wrote that thanks to Hu Linyi, in Hubei

> The war-torn areas are now pacified. The governance of officials is now clear [i.e. unsullied by corruption]. The *qi* of the people has now swelled. Hundreds of glorious [matters] are now reported accomplished.[91]

For Wang, social harmony became possible under these circumstances, for, as he put it, "the emergence of ritual and music are the beginnings of governance."[92]

Wang Shiduo came to share with Taiping leaders, Yao Nai's circle, and Zeng Guofan the conviction that ritual made manifest basic truths of government and cosmos. The Taiping War was a battle over which set of rituals, and therefore what form of polity and what view of reality, should be implemented. In this battle, the practices and ideas Wang helped develop between 1856 and 1861 would prevail. Following Hu Linyi's death, Wang joined Zeng Guofan's staff and would work in the Book Bureau publishing the very works of Song philosophers that he had once criticized.

Wang Shiduo's ideas about history, ritual, and statecraft connect prewar ritual practice in Nanjing to the new institutions that would develop after the war. In publishing ritual texts, reviving the Qing state cult in areas affected by the Taiping, and developing new ways of honoring the dead, Wang believed he was engaged in a form of practical administration that

could defeat the Taiping by mobilizing local elites to dispel deception. In the postwar period, he would become a key figure in the writing of local history, espousing utopian ideals that appear at first sight divorced from his wartime bitterness, but that in fact reflected his experience of rootlessness and his desire to place himself back into a familiar spatial context. This urge for spatial and social order, shared among survivors of the war, would continue to shape politics and urbanism in Nanjing for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 4

Zeng Guofan's Construction of a Ritual Center, 1864–72

On July 19, 1864, Qing forces detonated a mine under the fortifications surrounding Nanjing, causing a two-hundred-foot section of the city wall to collapse. Soldiers serving in the Hunan Army under Zeng Guofan's brother, General Zeng Guoquan (1824–90), stormed through the gap, plundered Taiping palaces and treasury, and killed anyone who appeared to be allied with the rebels. Fires broke out in several parts of the city and continued to burn for five days, punctuated by occasional explosions of gunpowder stores. In the few areas that survived the blaze, soldiers occupied the remaining houses or fashioned quarters for themselves using wood from damaged structures. When Governor-General Zeng Guofan arrived in Nanjing on July 27, he presided over an occupied city whose buildings were mostly rubble and whose residents were wholly destitute.[1]

In a joint memorial reporting the victory to the throne, Zeng Guofan and other commanders compared the Taiping to other threats the dynasty had survived, including the Revolt of the Three Feudatories (1673–81) and the White Lotus War (1796–1805). In terms of both the number of provinces affected and the number of cities that fell, the Taiping War was the most severe of these uprisings, and so the present triumph (they argued) bespoke the dynasty's renewed vigor, its capacity to "eliminate the depraved" (*qu xie*) and "select the worthy" (*qiu xian*). Although aware of the enormity of the task of reconstruction (*shanhou*), they echoed a common trope of the time,

claiming that a dynastic revival (*zhongxing*) was taking place in this, the Tongzhi reign (1861–75), a period some modern scholars have named the "Tongzhi Restoration."[2]

This notion of revival obscures the exertions of those charged with instituting local government in the city. Nanjing's devastation was such that the call for a return to *status quo ante bellum* remained more of a slogan than an actual policy. Instead, Zeng Guofan and his personal army transformed the city and redefined the relationship between Nanjing residents and the larger polity. He involved the literati class in government in steps he termed "practical administration" (*shizheng*), and he found models of virtue in the acts of otherwise ordinary people. By constructing buildings and performing rituals, he inscribed his political thought into the cityscape, adapting the prewar utopian visions of Nanjing's literati to the new situation.

Prior to seizing Nanjing, Zeng had developed within his staff a complex organizational apparatus that one scholar has termed his "private bureaucracy."[3] Independent of regular Qing government channels, Zeng and his staff (*mufu*) had over the course of the rebellion established ways of coordinating military campaigns, collecting transit taxes and donations for military use, obtaining materiel, recruiting and evaluating personnel, and keeping track of the dead.[4] Only late in the war (around 1860) did some of these men receive appointments in Qing field administration. This military apparatus governed Nanjing in August 1864.[5] Its leaders viewed the project of reconstruction (like the project of waging war) as one that necessitated mobilization of people and resources outside the ranks of the imperial bureaucracy. They wished to transform Nanjing's meaning from rebel capital to site of victory over the Taiping.

Zeng Guofan considered Yao Nai an inspirational figure, and he dedicated himself to the utopian idea that moral cultivation could bring about cosmic harmony.[6] Virtue, Zeng thought, had made victory possible. Zeng therefore sought to make virtues manifest in the city, and to show how these virtues could now bring about good governance. Unlike Yao's circle of Nanjing families, Zeng did not draw upon the long traditions of writing about Nanjing's sites. He was suspicious of appeals to the city's imperial past, not least because the Taiping had used the same approach in founding their capital. Nevertheless, Zeng used the familiar tactics of construction, writing, and ritual to encourage elite activism and to make Nanjing a model to bring order to the whole empire. In 1864, Zeng and his staff were able to

enact their ideas on a canvas that the constant warfare of 1850–64 had rendered nearly blank.

In this context, city building was a form of state building. The recovery of Nanjing involved extending bureaucratic control over land and resources, improving the capacity of government officials to exert coercive power, and enhancing their claims of moral authority.[7] Zeng and other leaders aspired to reconstruct the city of Nanjing, and with the city, civilized governance, from the ground up. These men were able to set their own priorities for rebuilding the city, and they believed that the cityscape—its wall, its buildings, its public spaces—could help them achieve political goals. They established new urban institutions to secure needed building materials, address the immediate needs of the poor, and settle lingering property disputes. They hoped to reconstitute the region's scholarly elite by repairing Nanjing's examination compound, local academies, and temple to Confucius. They erected shrines to the thousands who had died in defense of the dynasty, thus depicting Nanjing as the seat of the virtues that preserved the empire. Those who fought to defend the dynasty, rather than Qing monarchs, became embodiments of virtue. Although they claimed the victory in Nanjing as the fulfillment of dynastic restoration, in fact Zeng and his staff shored up the power of the Qing state at the expense of the Qing court.

PEOPLE AND PROBLEMS

In the 1860s, even before the final defeat of the Taiping, local groups were carrying out reconstruction throughout the areas of China once occupied by the Taiping. Nanjing was unusual both because it had been the Taiping capital and because Zeng Guofan had served there as Liangjiang governor-general after the war.[8] Zeng and his Hunan Army commanders remained nervous that rebels might reemerge among the bands of people searching for food. The problem of preserving order among these people shaped the immediate priorities of Nanjing's occupiers in rebuilding the city. For these reasons, in 1864 the few remaining residents of Nanjing (many of them camped outside the city walls) initially experienced the Tongzhi Restoration as a military occupation by the Hunan Army.

Shanhou, the Chinese phrase for "reconstruction," meant doing good works that could provide relief to people in the aftermath of a calamity. The same root, *shan* was also used for benevolence associations. *Shan* included

a wide range of activities, including care for widows, orphans, and the poor, as well as supporting burial, education, and medical expenses.[9] Whereas "revival" stressed the fortunes of the imperial house, "reconstruction" called attention to such good works in a particular locality. Reconstruction had been taking place throughout the course of the rebellion as areas switched hands between Qing and Taiping forces, but final defeat of the Taiping in Nanjing made the scope of "reconstruction" even broader, extending it to include a fundamental reordering of urban government.

This shift took place because of the immense scope of relief efforts in Nanjing. The wars, famine, and disease resulting from the Taiping Rebellion had killed millions of people in central and southern China. Because Nanjing had been the focal point of repeated military campaigns, it had suffered a disproportionate share of the slaughter. Probably fewer than one in ten of the people living in the city in 1850 had survived until 1864, and by 1868 these residents constituted perhaps 40 percent of Nanjing's postwar population.[10] The other 60 percent had moved to the city from elsewhere, especially Anhui and Jiangxi, where they had managed, like Wang Shiduo, to find respite from the war. To capture this distinction, it makes sense to think of the surviving prewar populace (most of whom had fled their homes during the war) as "returnees" and members of other groups as "newcomers."

The first newcomers were soldiers of the Hunan Army, who continued to pillage the city through the end of July 1864 with the tacit agreement of their commander, General Zeng Guoquan. Zeng Guofan owed these men back pay, and so they regarded loot from the city as just compensation for years of battle.[11] The wholesale slaughter of the inhabitants of cities occupied by the Taiping had become standard military practice; commanders assumed that anyone in the city was allied to the rebellion. Whatever the justifications, the ongoing mayhem in Nanjing troubled Zeng Guofan, especially after the court chastised him for the sack of the Taiping palaces and treasury and for his army's lack of discipline.[12] It took months to pay the troops' wages and decommission them. On August 21, 1864, Zeng managed a force reduction of 25,000 troops, and by June 1865 the Hunan Army was disbanded entirely.[13] Following the demobilization, some soldiers remained in Nanjing, adding a Hunanese accent to reconstruction in the form of a separate graveyard and one of the largest native-place associations in the city.[14]

A large population of displaced people, some new and some returning, also inhabited Nanjing. Thirteen years of war around the city had led to great movements of people, and the prolonged siege had exacerbated the

problem. Over the course of the war, officials referred to these people as "refugees" (*nanmin*), a term that referred to anybody without a specific place to stay.[15] The word could include those who had endured the war in Nanjing and its immediate vicinity as well as those from other provinces who had arrived not long after the Hunan Army. Nanjing's new administrators emphasized the helplessness of the widowed, the orphaned, and the aged, but the refugee group also included rougher sorts: militiamen, Taiping loyalists who had escaped the city just before it fell to the Qing, and bands of locals gathered together for self-preservation.[16] In July 1864, commanders of the Hunan Army forbade these destitute people from entering the city, a policy that allowed soldiers to occupy houses more easily.[17] Despite the prohibition, thousands poured into the city throughout the following year.[18] Zeng Guofan wanted these people to find settled occupations and worried that those who did not might incite sedition.

The most prominent returnees were Nanjing's educated elite, who were another target of reconstruction efforts. This group had abandoned the city shortly after the Taiping conquest in 1853, many fleeing to Shanghai or to remote areas. Others, like Wang Shiduo, found paid administrative positions on military staffs.[19] Although wealthy in comparison to other refugees, surviving the rebellion had drained their financial resources.[20] When these people arrived in Nanjing, most were initially either unable or unwilling to contribute large sums to rebuilding projects beyond the repair of their own homes. In contrast to Suzhou, for example, where local residents sponsored charitable organizations for burying the dead, feeding the hungry, and caring for widows and orphans, in Nanjing it was Zeng Guofan's own military organization that funded and managed relief projects in the immediate wake of the Taiping defeat.[21]

Even for those few returnees and newcomers who managed to earn, save, or steal money, there was little to buy. The extreme scarcity of wood hampered the construction of houses, and very few manufactured goods were available; through 1865 clothing markets only sold used garments.[22] Nanjing was so devastated that reconstruction depended on access to goods from outside the city, and until 1870 Zeng Guofan and his staff were better able than anyone else to form such connections. As Liangjiang governor-general, Zeng controlled government finances along the lower Yangzi, and he also sat at the apex of a large network of personal loyalties arising from his control of the Hunan Army. Because Zeng's army had successfully conquered Nanjing after several other armies had failed, he enjoyed considerable per-

sonal prestige. He also had the wealth and authority of government office. These overlapping personal and professional loyalties allowed Zeng and his staff to bring money, wood, and skilled labor to Nanjing. Although no single person or group dictated the course of the rebuilding process, the utter destruction of the city coupled with the poverty of its inhabitants meant that Zeng and his staff could shape what "reconstruction" would mean.

In this context *shanhou* became a more expansive project than providing relief; it entailed a host of measures to transform Nanjing from a conquered rebel capital into a model of Zeng's vision of good government. Reconstruction included:

> . . . summoning [back to the city], those who had fled strengthening mutual-responsibility groups, reviving schools, encouraging agriculture and sericulture, rewarding the loyal and righteous, [promoting] worship at shrines and temples, repairing the city walls, giving relief to the orphaned and poor, overseeing military preparations, and repairing government buildings.[23]

To attain these goals, Zeng and his staff created institutions to expand the tasks government could accomplish.

Zeng's tenure in Nanjing was not unbroken. He served three stints: 1864–65, 1867–68, and 1870–72. Li Hongzhang (1823–1901), commander of the Huai Army that had advanced against the Taiping westward from Shanghai, served as acting governor-general from May 1865 to February 1867. In October of 1868 Ma Xinyi (1821–70) took over the post when Zeng became Zhili governor-general. Although both Li and Ma had served on Zeng's staff during the war, rebuilding might have looked different had Ma Xinyi not been assassinated in the winter of 1870. Zeng returned to Nanjing convinced that failure to follow through with his program for reconstruction would lead to social unrest, and he remained in an ideal position to channel resources to favored projects.

The near-monopoly on available resources, and thus on the power to shape the city, continued into the early 1870s, when groups with access to wider networks of political and economic power emerged. One measure of the capacity of city residents to finally have access to resources without relying on Zeng was the availability of wood. In the fall of 1871, a bureau was created to levy a transit tariff on wood, suggesting a lively trade.[24] By the time of Zeng's death, in April 1872, city government no longer dictated the course of the rebuilding process.

PRACTICAL ADMINISTRATION

Descriptions of certain precincts of Nanjing in 1864 recall images of Dresden or Tokyo in 1945. Destitute inhabitants fossicked through the rubble in search of shelter. Piles of reeking corpses obstructed the roads.[25] One resident of the city complained that many people were still dressed in Taiping garb, that rivers and wells required dredging, that bridges had collapsed.[26] Once busy neighborhoods had disappeared completely: "You could walk over a mile without seeing a single house or person."[27] In the section of the city formerly occupied by the banner garrison, a layer of underbrush had grown over the thoroughfares, so that "the ground afforded an excellent cover for game . . . but no one looking at the present moment would have thought it was a city."[28] Another visitor, Zhou Fu (1837–1921), describing the city in December 1864, also noted that war had leveled most of the banner district and estimated that not even half of the original houses remained standing in the rest of the city. Zhou could make out a few signs of the Taiping, including a gate to Hong Xiuquan's palace reading "Glory of the True God." At the same time, Zhou thought he saw in the city remnants of its fundamental *qi*. At the ruins of the wall of the former Ming Forbidden City (itself in the banner area) Zhou reported a purple hue where, he imagined, he could still make out the bloodstains of Fang Xiaoru.[29]

Zeng Guofan wished to turn Nanjing back into a city, but he also wanted to exert control over what the cityscape could mean. To do this, he imported an organizational form that he had developed during the war, when he had delegated particular tasks to groups of talented men (usually degree holders) organized in "bureaus" (*ju*). Examples of these wartime bureaus included the Accounting Bureau (Baoxiao Ju) to monitor expenditures, the Transport Bureau (Zhuanyun Ju) to arrange supplies for troops, and the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness (Caifang Zhongyi Ju) to honor those who had died opposing the Taiping.[30] Zeng and his staff described these innovations as forms of "practical administration" (*shizheng*).[31]

As was the case for Nanjing's early nineteenth-century literati and the Taiping, those using the word "practical" could connote both specific urban policies and grander utopian conceptions of the cosmos. One's understanding of the practical, substantive, and true depended to a large extent on how one pictured the world. Zeng Guofan and his staff labeled their actions as "practical," and they claimed that their acts both addressed immediate administrative concerns and brought about a larger program of

moral renewal. Continuing the discourse employed during the war, they contrasted their own innovations with what they described as the empty (*kong*) and vacuous (*xu*) teachings of the Taiping. They implied as well that dynastic revival came because of the efforts of the literati, whose moral engagement with politics gave them the capacity to distinguish the true common good from self-interested and deceitful machinations of the rebellious and the corrupt. Restoring governance in the vast swaths of Jiangsu, Anhui, and Jiangxi affected by rebellion was not, in this view, the product of policies that any official could implement; rather, it resulted from the "practical minds" (*shixin*) of those allied with Zeng Guofan.[32]

Military victory had initiated the first step of this enterprise; the Taiping defeat allowed the army to rid Nanjing of the "malicious and unclean" (*e hui*).[33] The ensuing military occupation of the city brought government based on "humanity and caring" (*ren ai*), manifested in the desire of Nanjing's new administrators to relieve the suffering of the people.[34] The framing of bureaucratic change as an aspect of reconstruction underscored the benevolent focus of local government, and Nanjing's new administrators paired each component of practical administration with a corresponding social good. Military buildup was a means to "protect the people" (*wei min*), the rebuilding of government offices helped "govern the people" (*zhi min*), and the construction of temples and shrines allowed "the *qi* of the people to be harmonious" (*min qi he*).[35] Zeng himself stressed in the fall of 1864 that his goals included not merely the immediate task of rebuilding the city, but also the more utopian aspiration of restoring it back to original *qi* (*huanhui yuanqi*). Like others in the nineteenth century, Zeng's vision of this ideal, pure state in turn dictated his understanding of the practical.

In memorials, public proclamations, and gazetteers, Zeng emphasized the personal qualities of Nanjing's new administrators. The selection of talented and virtuous men was a key aspect of this moral rhetoric. The organization of bureaus ensured that governor-general Zeng Guofan would act as the final arbiter of the worthy and unworthy. Zeng's selections on occasion diverged from his rhetoric. Zeng insisted that the project of reconstruction relied on the energies of local gentry, but in fact newcomers created Nanjing.[36]

Although Nanjing's returning elites did eventually establish close ties with the city's new administrators, including participation in poetry clubs, joint compilation of local gazetteers, and sponsorship of local academies, only a few returnees received positions of responsibility in bureaus in the

period 1864–72.[37] The gentry who worked in Nanjing's bureaus in 1864 were not the merchants, scholars, and landowners who had resided in the city prior to the rebellion, but rather natives of Sichuan, Hunan, Hubei, and Anhui who had joined Zeng Guofan's staff during the war. After the seizure of the key strategic stronghold of Anqing in 1861, they set up bureaus for printing books, requisitioning grain, and reconstruction. The area of responsibility for these institutions included Anhui, Jiangxi, and eventually those parts of Jiangsu controlled by the Hunan Army. When Zeng transferred these administrative offices to Nanjing, these bureaus retained their regional scope, but Zeng made Nanjing itself a top priority, lavishing it with attention he did not pay to other cities in the region.

The men who served in bureaus seemed to exemplify Zeng Guofan's vision of government based on the morally inspired activism of literati, who would work in conjunction with provincial officials to order the world. Elites could manage construction projects, help provide relief during natural disasters, run charitable organizations, mediate disputes, and educate through the example of their righteous conduct and their involvement in academies and charitable schools. Of course, none of these goals was particularly novel, nor in and of itself was the use of the term "bureau" to denote an organization devoted to such quasi-governmental activities. As Susan Naquin has observed, "the term *ju* . . . had a pedigree as a place for legitimate government business" and was used for certain offices that "procured supplies for the throne."[38] An example of such an institution in Nanjing was the Imperial Silk Factories (Zhizao Ju), which had gone by this title since 1648.[39] A lifesaving bureau and a bureau for local militia had existed in Nanjing before the war, and Wu Guangyu's grandson would help revive another after 1870. The prevalence of such local charitable and defense institutions has been well-documented for the nineteenth century. During the Opium War, local militia in South China, although assembled for attacking the British, increasingly took on roles in local security and then local welfare projects in Canton's hinterland.[40]

In Zhejiang, local elite associations proliferated, and they initiated relief and reconstruction projects after the Taiping Rebellion.[41] A remarkable upsurge in gentry-led organizations (many titled "bureau") has been identified in Hankou, rural Jiangsu, and Beijing in the late nineteenth century.[42] In Nanjing as well, charitable institutions of returning elites recovered after the war: for example the Lifesaving Bureau, a firefighting association, and benevolence societies for widows and orphans.[43]

Zeng's bureaus diverged from these institutions in several key respects. The bureaus originated outside of Nanjing, and, in terms of both function and personnel, they continued practices established in Zeng's earlier bases of Qimen and Anqing. Several of these institutions, including the Reconstruction Bureau, the Book Bureau, and the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness, had regional jurisdictions, showing a scope found in Zhejiang only at the end of the nineteenth century.[44] The leadership of Zeng's bureaus enjoyed very close interaction with (and were sometimes composed of) high-level provincial officials. Military hierarchies allowed centralized coordination through the Reconstruction Bureau, and the bureaus became mainstays of both city and regional government. The bureaus reflected elite activism but not, in Nanjing, *local* elite activism.

The background of Tu Zongying (1812–94) typified the experiences of Zeng Guofan's staff, and his story illustrates the porous boundary between bureaus and the imperial bureaucracy. Although Tu received his *juren* degree in 1844, he did not gain a position in Qing field administration until after the Taiping Rebellion. During the war, Tu Zongying served as a militia leader in his home of Lu'an, Anhui. When the county fell to the Taiping in 1858, he fled to Shandong, where he held a variety of positions in academies and local schools. In 1862, he joined Zeng Guofan's staff in Anqing, working in the Rice Bureau, which attempted to keep grain prices low in areas where Hunan Army troops were stationed.[45] In 1864, he came to Nanjing to head the new Mutual Responsibility Bureau, which initially policed city and surroundings for Taiping remnants, but soon its main duties involved adjudicating property disputes. Within a year, Tu attained the position of prefect of Jiangning, responsible for Nanjing and surrounding counties. Tu's income prior to meeting Zeng is not clear, but after 1862 he earned a yearly salary of 30 ounces of silver for his work in Zeng's bureaus. As prefect, he made 200 ounces of silver a year.[46] Despite the rhetoric of selfless gentry activism, participation in Zeng's bureaus clearly furthered the careers of his subordinates.

Although bureaus arose throughout the lower Yangzi region in the second half of the nineteenth century, the case of Nanjing nevertheless diverged from the norm. In other cities around the Lower Yangzi, local gentry managed institutions bureaus for maritime transport, the salt gabelle, and commercial taxes, each headed by circuit intendants or expectant officials, but with gentry managers.[47] In Nanjing, what was distinctive was the degree to which Zeng Guofan could direct personnel decisions in both the provincial

bureaucracy and in bureaus. He took particular interest in the reconstruction of Nanjing, and bureaus gave him power to shape the city's reconstruction. This form of practical administration represented both a vision of government and a political expedient, a model of gentry activism and a means to raise money, distribute relief, decide property issues, and revive Nanjing's agricultural production

Money and Resources

Within a month of his arrival in Nanjing, Zeng created the Reconstruction Bureau (Shanhou Ju), which raised and allocated funds for reconstruction projects throughout the region controlled by the Hunan Army. In 1864, Zeng personally appointed its deputies, each of whom had previously served in his wartime staff and held concurrent appointments in the imperial bureaucracy.[48] One of the bureau's chief responsibilities in 1864 was to manage scarce resources. Its fiscal power extended even to such matters as extra pay (*jintie*) for low-level officials and the use of horses in post stations (*yizhan*).[49]

The desolation in central China led deputies of the Reconstruction Bureau to search well beyond the walls of the city for revenue and resources. Because of the scarcity of lumber, Zeng Guofan issued an order in 1864 forbidding soldiers from tearing down houses or removing wood from the city.[50] Two branch bureaus monitored the city gates to prevent the removal of valuables, especially wood. In 1865, when construction began on the prefectural school, the bureau's agents could locate no domestic wood anywhere along the Yangzi river: "Therefore foreign wood (*yang mu*) was purchased in Shanghai."[51]

As with the search for lumber, the need for funds also forced city administrators to leave Nanjing. From 1864 to 1874, deputies of the Great Reconstruction Contribution Bureau (Shanhou Dajuan Ju) traveled downriver to sell honorific degree status to wealthy men who had not passed the civil service examinations, collecting over 500,000 ounces of silver.[52] The Reconstruction Bureau's other sources of revenue—fish and (more importantly) merchants—flowed into the city by water; the bureau profited from a levy on fishing in Xuanwu Lake and from transit tariffs (*lijin*) on goods transported on the Yangzi river.[53] Tariff revenue became so significant that one gazetteer referred to commercial taxes as "the groundwork for the roots of the dynasty's revival" (*zhongxing genben zhi suoji*).[54]

The broad mandate of the Reconstruction Bureau to rebuild the city

combined with its control of tax revenues meant that other new bureaus in Nanjing at this time were subordinate to it. The Reconstruction Bureau appointed deputies and set the budgets of other bureaus. Its overlapping membership with Qing provincial government and its association with Zeng Guofan allowed it to draw on regional networks of revenue collection to subsidize Nanjing and to finance ongoing military campaigns. By 1880, the Reconstruction Bureau had become a fixture of Liangjiang governance, with Jiangning provincial treasurer, salt taotai, grain intendant, and expectant intendants all serving *ex officio* as deputies.[55]

The priority given to Nanjing over other, equally ravaged areas in central China resulted in part from the city's status as an administrative center and in part from its history as Taiping capital. Because many provincial officials resided in Nanjing, rebuilding the city was a form of self-enrichment. The city's administrators also hoped that a prosperous Nanjing would symbolize a final triumph over the Taiping, a visible lesson in the futility of rebellion.

Property

News of Qing victory precipitated a stream of returnees after 1864. Where once their houses stood, many found only rubble. The brother of Nanjing scholar Hu Enxie (1825–88) was more fortunate. When he returned to the family home in 1866, it was still standing, but occupied by a soldier surnamed Peng. Hu had the deed, so "After much wasted argument, [Peng] began to move out." Hu was one of many whose abodes survived the upheaval, but whose encounters with soldiers occupying the neighborhood tempered the joy of finding home and hearth intact.[56] The soldiers left reluctantly, usually only after payment, and many refused to relinquish their freshly commandeered quarters.

Between 1864 and 1865, Zeng Guofan introduced a series of measures to ensure that Nanjing homeowners could regain their property.[57] In August 1864, he ordered property owners to bring their deeds to the Reconstruction Bureau. The bureau in conjunction with the county magistrate would examine the deed and the property. If everything seemed in order, then the officials were to write "examined" (*yanqi*) on the deed and affix the seal of the magistrate or the bureau to certify ownership (*guanye*). If her or she lacked a deed, the person seeking to regain the property could bring neighbors to the Reconstruction Bureau to testify that the owner had lived there before the war. The bureau would then issue a permit (*danzhao*) that served as *de facto* title to the land.[58]

This system had the opposite effect of the one intended. Instead of returning houses to their original owners, it created a means for squatters to obtain official sanction for their use of the land. Newcomers hoping for title to land simply bribed witnesses. The permits meant to settle disputes only complicated matters when the owners subsequently returned to Nanjing bearing original deeds. To mediate these conflicts, Zeng created Mutual Responsibility Bureaus (*Baojia ju*) headed by Tu Zongying in November 1864. The term "mutual responsibility" referred to a system of local control where groups of one hundred households selected headman with responsibilities for tax collection and policing. Headmen were supposed to report problems to the overworked county magistrate. The reworking of this system in 1864 created an additional layer of surveillance. The Mutual Responsibility Bureaus maintained staffs of men who patrolled the city and who investigated property disputes.[59] These bureaus were in turn subordinate to the Reconstruction Bureau, integrating the imperial bureaucracy, Zeng Guofan's staff, and local hierarchies of status.

The creation of Mutual Responsibility Bureaus allowed Zeng to modify the regulations for adjudicating property disputes after 1865. Instead of simply testifying, claimants had to submit written affidavits from witnesses and agree to a two-year waiting period:

> Henceforth people without deeds must go to the Reconstruction Bureau to explain the matter clearly in a petition. It will be up to deputies of the Mutual Responsibility Bureaus to proceed to make inquiries in order to clarify matters, to make the occupants sign bonded affidavits (*jujie*), and to issue a joint certificate (*shuanglian zhizhao*)[60] [for the occupant] to temporarily act as owner. For two years, it will not be permitted to mortgage the property conditionally (*zhuan dian*)[61] or to sell the property.[62]

The new regulations also clarified directions on how to handle false assertions of ownership:

> If, after the property has been handed over the real owner appears and submits clear and definite proof [of ownership], the people who had been handed the property after signing a bonded affidavit posing [as the true owner] must wear the cangue for two months and serve in military exile at a distance of 1,300 miles from the capital. Severe punishment of false claimants is the means to protect the true owners.[63]

These regulations suggest a bevy of competing claims for land in the city. Because suppression of the rebellion had killed so many people, it is likely that many of the disputes involved people with equally tenuous links to the property at hand. Nevertheless, returnees could (and often did) find their former homes occupied by soldiers, and because most of the deputies of the Reconstruction Bureau and the Mutual Responsibility Bureaus had arrived in Nanjing with the Hunan Army, they had sympathy for the occupants. Although members of Nanjing's educated elite appear to have regained their property, survivors with less money or status probably had difficulties. As late as 1873, the Nanjing scholar Chen Zuolin still condemned neighbors who had conspired to obtain property.[64]

The regulations for occupying land resembled those for houses. Cultivators applied to the Reconstruction Bureau, which deputed members of the appropriate Mutual Responsibility Bureau to investigate. According to Zeng's 1865 proclamation, if the original owner did not resurface, the land was declared "official property" (*guandi*), and the person using the land became a tenant (*dian*) who paid rent to the Reconstruction Bureau.[65]

As implemented in Nanjing, practical administration constituted a sustained project of state building. Zeng Guofan and his staff were able to make use of new modes of revenue collection, new forms of policing, new institutions for investment and management, and new agricultural initiatives. The rule that unclaimed land became government property made the state the largest landlord in the city. Zeng and his staff portrayed this mobilization of local forces as a moral good, a means to reinvigorate the economy and to relieve the suffering of the commoners. In addition to their practical administrative functions, bureaus also modeled a vision of government that promoted local enterprise. As representations of ways in which the state should operate, the bureaus emphasized the capacity of local officials to recruit talented men over the fortunes of the imperial house. The phrase "Tongzhi Restoration" has obscured the extent to which local officials understood state power as reliant on the activities of actors outside of the imperial bureaucracy. The former capital of the rebellion could become instead a model of how to prevent rebellion.

In this context, government was "necessarily both concrete and imagined,"[66] both enacted in daily routines and depicted in an idealized form. Buildings stood as the most visible expressions of Zeng Guofan's goals; he had the power to select what construction projects would receive priority, and he sought to capitalize on the symbolic value of the city's new edifices.

Eliminating the Taiping and establishing social harmony required a new Nanjing, a center of virtue rather than rebellion. For Zeng and his staff, education and ritual were essential to cultivating virtue, and this predisposition shaped their priorities in rebuilding the city.

THE NEW CITYSCAPE

During a visit to Nanjing on December 19, 1868, the German geologist Ferdinand von Richthofen turned off of one of the "few streets of business" and found himself among the "ruins" of the city, where "a meager population inhabited the rubble, suffering in the dirt and stench of their existence." What particularly appalled Richthofen's sensibilities was what he saw as the waste by government officials, who devoted precious resources to the construction of a temple. Though he thought the structure had a certain charm, Richthofen exclaimed: "How much better could labor and money be used in this large, destroyed city, where indescribable misery is the most noteworthy sight."[67]

Beneath Richthofen's dismissive attitude toward temples lay an important observation about the reconstruction of Nanjing. The relative dearth of private wealth meant that from 1864 to around 1870 the construction of large buildings depended on government funding. In addition, the land regulations dictating that unclaimed land became government property afforded Zeng Guofan and the Reconstruction Bureau an opportunity to shape urban space according to their own priorities. The recent rebellion (as well as the ongoing war in North China against the Nian) weighed on their minds, and so they concentrated on construction projects that they thought would prevent social unrest.

As Zeng Guofan and other government officials arrived in Nanjing, they generally occupied buildings that were already standing. The 1865 land regulations stipulated that if the owner of a property returned to Nanjing and found his house used as a government office, he could not occupy the house, but could collect rent for the period of time the house was in use.[68] Because it could requisition existing buildings, the Reconstruction Bureau was selective in its choice of building projects, especially in the years 1864–67 (map 4.1). Table 4.1 provides a list of the completion dates of structures built under official supervision.

The military nature of many of the early building projects reflected Zeng's ongoing wariness of the bands of people descending on Nanjing. In

TABLE 4.1 Rebuilding Nanjing—Selected Sites

Military Installations	
1864	City Wall
1866	Qing Banner Garrison
Granaries	
1865	Large and Small Grain and Rice Granaries
1868	Fucheng Bridge Granaries
1870	Dashing Tiger Granary
1872	New Prosperity Granary
Educational Buildings	
1864	Examination Compound
1865	Jiangning Prefectural School *The school was opened in 1865. The entire compound was completed in 1869.*
1865	Downriver Examination Quarters *The examination quarters housed candidates during provincial examinations. This one was expanded in 1867.*
1865	Upriver Examination Quarters
1867	Fengchi Academy
1869	Zhongshan Academy
1869	Xiyin Academy
1870	County School of Shangyuan and Jiangning
Yamen	
1865	Yamen of the Prefect
1867	Yamen of the Provincial Treasurer
1869	Yamen of the Grain Intendant
1870	Yamen of the Salt Intendant
1870	Yamen of the Shangyuan County Magistrate
1871	Yamen of the Jiangning County Magistrate

order to maintain detachments of soldiers in the city in the event of unrest, the Construction Bureau worked in conjunction with military officials to build barracks for soldiers, a priority that underscored the highly military character of Nanjing's population in 1864–65. The repair of the city wall in 1864 was probably an attempt to block vagabonds from entering and to prevent looters from escaping the city.

Alongside these precautions, Nanjing's administrators desired to mold urban space in a manner that would further their administrative goals. The following examples illustrate ways they thought their choices might model their ideals of governance and prevent future disorder.

The Examination Compound

Resumption of the Jiangsu provincial examination was probably Zeng Guofan's primary concern in fall of 1864, and he took steps to complete the

Yamen (continued)

1871	Yamen of the Colonel of Governor-general's Troops
1872	Yamen of the Banner Garrison General
1872	Yamen of the Banner Lieutenant General
1871	Yamen of the Colonel of Nanjing Green Standard Troops
1872	Yamen of the Governor-General
1872	Yamen of the Imperial Looms

Temples

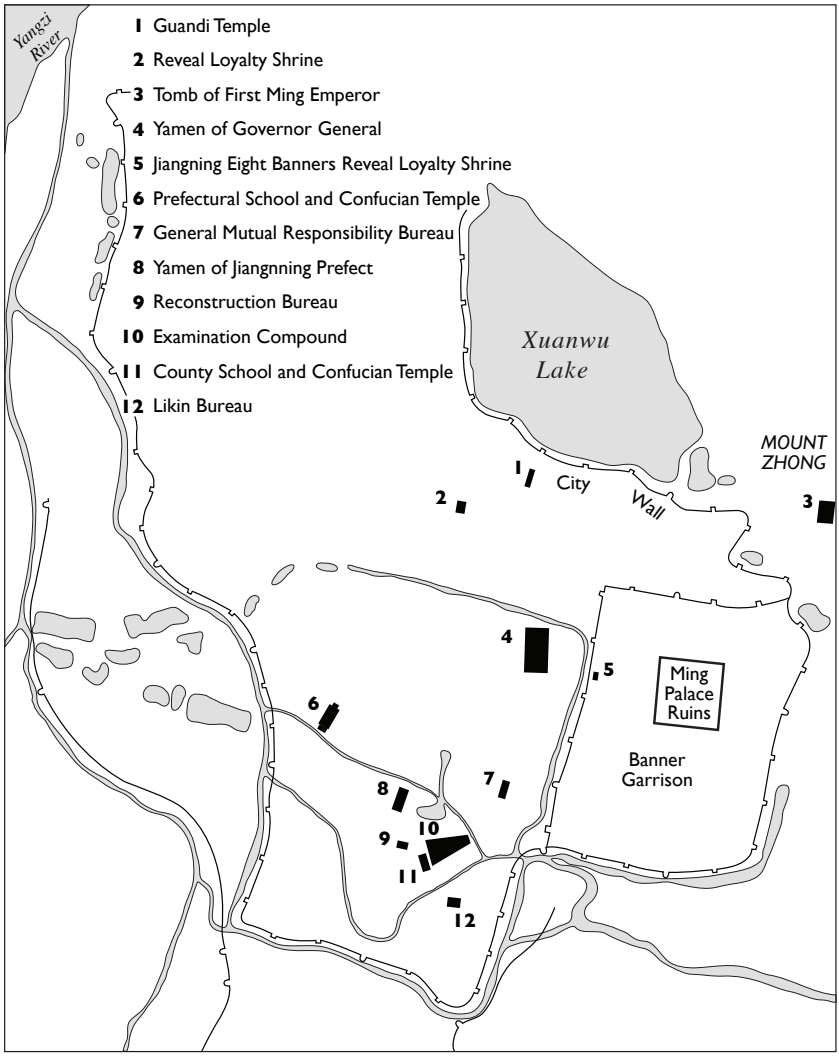
1864	Hunan Army Shrine to Reveal Loyalty
1864	City God Temple *Moved to pre-war site south of the prefectural yamen in 1873.*
1865	Confucian Temple
1867	Dragon God Temple
1868	Huai Army Shrine to Reveal Loyalty
1868	Nanjing Shrine of Loyalty and Righteousness
1868	Fire God Temple
1869	Guandi Temple
1870	County Shrines to Virtuous and Filial Separate shrines for Shangyuan County and Jiangning County.
1873	Altar to Soil and Grain
1873	Altar to Agriculture
1873	Tomb of Ming Emperor
1873	Shrine to Qing Generals Xiang Rong and Zhang Guoliang *Constructed on site of 1864 City God Temple.*
1873	Wenchang
1873	"10,000 Year Temple"
1873	Shrine to Zeng Guofan

SOURCE: *SJLXJ, juan* 11. Dates indicate completion of construction

project even before beginning work on reconstruction of the banner quarter. In a September 13 memorial, Zeng noted that in addition to recruiting talented men to serve in the Qing bureaucracy, the gathering of examination candidates would attract "merchants and commoners" to the city, perhaps offering a boost to the local economy.[69] Holding exams would also encourage study of the examination curriculum, a task Zeng had made easier by establishing the Book Bureau (Shu Ju) to publish the Five Classics, Four Books, and other materials useful for preparation.[70]

Most importantly for Zeng, examinations could reconstitute the gentry elite throughout the lower Yangzi region. In contrast to Nanjing, most of the area would depend on local energies to recover from the war. In Zeng's view, holding examinations could entice capable men to return to the area. It would confer status on those best schooled in the Classics, and thus presumably most likely to support Zeng's vision of reconstruction.

Upon arriving in Nanjing, Zeng appraised the state of the examination



4.1 Rebuilding Nanjing: Selected Sites. Source: *SJLXJ*, *juan* 11; Wang Hongming, *Nanjing jianzhi zhi*, 165–74.

compound. He reported that more than 16,000 cells were intact, but the writing boards (*haoban*) that served as desks inside the cells were missing. The residences for examination officials had been destroyed.[71] Workmen cannibalized materials from the various Taiping palaces that remained in the city, and Zeng also dispatched the former Hunan Army commander and

current Jiangsu Provincial Judge Huang Runchang to Hubei and Anhui to gather workmen and procure wood.[72] By October 1864, more than 2,000 people were laboring day and night at the compound. Construction was completed on October 11, and examinations were held on December 19.[73]

Over 20,000 candidates thronged the compound. For most of these men, the occasion of the examinations was also the first opportunity to see the former Taiping capital. They observed the state of Taiping palaces, the decorations on the facades of the city's buildings, and the soldiers occupying the city.[74] The examination compound offered a contrast to traces of the rebellion. By displaying the benefits of the new order amidst the destruction of the old, it enlisted arriving educated elites into Zeng's reconstruction project and heralded the advent of more peaceful times.

The Tomb of the First Ming Emperor

The speed of repairs to the examination compound contrasted sharply with the slow process of rebuilding the site of the tomb of the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–98). The disparity in the treatment of the two sites exposed the degree of discretion Nanjing officials exercised in construction projects. The veneration of emperors of previous dynasties was a dynastic rite. Making offerings at imperial mausoleums declared the passing of the Mandate of Heaven from previous dynasties to the current one.[75] Much as the Qianlong emperor had used the occasion of his tours to articulate his own claims, the Qing court now found the moment of crushing an anti-dynastic rebellion the opportune moment to reassert legitimacy. Furthermore, Qing rulers wished to prevent anyone else from using the tomb to assert a rival claim.[76]

The tomb complex on Mount Zhong had included a large monumental hall (*dian*) on a platform for presentation of offerings, several smaller pavilions to house guards and prepare offerings, a wall surrounding the complex, the two-story Bright Tower (Ming Lou) that served as the main gate to the tomb, and the tomb itself. In Ming times, the hall for offerings was modeled on the audience hall of the imperial palace. It was a three-story structure that included a nine-bay hall and a total of thirty bays of rooms attached to either side.[77] The war around Nanjing had destroyed the sacrificial buildings and left the tomb itself badly damaged.

On July 11, 1864, six days before Qing forces took Nanjing, an imperial edict instructed Zeng Guoquan to present an offering to the first Ming emperor and to report on the measures necessary for the repair of the

complex.[78] Zeng Guoquan did in fact make an offering on July 19, but the Nanjing Construction Bureau did not complete the repair project until 1873. The ostensible reason for the delay was the cost of construction. The director of the Reconstruction Bureau reported on December 30, 1864, that woodworkers and masons had accompanied deputies of the Reconstruction Bureau and the Construction Bureau to inspect the site:

> Following the destruction of war in Nanjing, the people have begun to return, and everything has gotten very expensive. The artisans [who inspected the site] estimated the cost of workman and construction materials, but the price is much higher than the usual cost of implementing repairs. At this time the work has not yet begun, and it is difficult to determine the exact cost of each item.[79]

The deputies calculated that reconstruction of the buildings on the site would require over 120,000 ceramic roofing tiles (*wa*) and 34,500 bricks. Deputies of the Construction Bureau thought they could assemble workmen to fire these products in kilns on the outskirts of Nanjing but that they would have to import wood and decorative porcelain from Jiangxi and Hunan. They estimated the total cost of materials and labor at over 20,000 ounces of silver, a sum to be paid from the budget of the Reconstruction Bureau.[80] January 13, 1865, Zeng Guofan directed the Reconstruction Bureau to postpone the project indefinitely, noting that Nanjing required numerous large-scale construction projects and that the price tag for repair of the tomb complex could grow even higher in the months necessary to complete the project.[81]

Subsequent repairs took place in piecemeal fashion and on a much smaller scale than originally planned. In 1867, the hall containing the Yongle stele was replaced, and, in 1872, deputies of the Reconstruction Bureau, worried that horses from nearby barracks were damaging the site, authorized repairs to the thirty-three kilometer wall surrounding the tomb complex. In the course of collecting bricks for the wall, the deputies decided to take the opportunity to build three single-story buildings (*ping fang*) to house a guard for the complex and to facilitate offerings. The reduced scale of the complex lowered construction costs to about 740 ounces of silver.

The imperial edict ordering the repair of the tomb reflected the sense of renewed dynastic vigor implied in the term "restoration," but the belated allocation of labor, wood, bricks, tiles, and other construction materials to the rebuilding of the tomb complex did not match the high level of imperial

concern for the fate of the site. In 1864 and 1865, the deployment of resources to rebuild the examination compound but not the Ming tomb indicated that Zeng Guofan and his personal bureaucracy had more say than the central government in determining priorities in the rebuilding of Nanjing.[82] The contrasts between the two sites suggest reasons the tomb complex was of lesser importance to Nanjing's administrators. Whereas examinations attracted educated men to the city, the offerings at the Ming tombs were only open to representatives of the emperor and a handful of officials. Zeng could expect the rebuilding of the examination compound, located in the center of the populated area of the city, to stimulate commerce and to foster a lively urban environment in ways the imperial mausoleum would not. The sites also symbolized different aspects of Qing government. The examination compound allowed the selection of men based on merit for participation in the bureaucracy, but the tomb complex represented dynastic power and the unique prerogatives of the emperor. In this respect the reconstruction of the city paralleled the establishment of the new bureaus; both displayed particular concern for the involvement of educated elites in government. Zeng Guofan's clearest articulation of this concern came on the occasion of the completion of the Nanjing prefectural school.

The Prefectural School and Confucian Temple

Promoting literati activism required more than the revival of examinations. Zeng Guofan also wanted to revive educational institutions in the city. The Nanjing prefectural school was the largest of several schools and academies built between 1865 and 1870, and its construction became a particular point of pride for Zeng. In contrast to both the examination compound and the Ming imperial tomb, Nanjing's administrators, working in conjunction with returning elites, constructed the school on a completely different site from where it had previously stood. At the same time, it also reflected a broader trend toward construction of schools and academies in the post-Taiping period.[83] The selection of the new site was strategic and reflected the ability of Nanjing's administrators to use the construction of buildings as a means to shape the religious landscape of the city.

In addition to school buildings, the compound of the prefectural school would, as it had before, house a large temple to Confucius, several smaller shrines to local notables and famous officials, and a large open courtyard offering additional space for performing and viewing offerings to the sage. The old school, the former Ming Imperial Academy where Wu Guangyu's

Education Association had performed rituals to such political effect, was not rebuilt after the war.[84] In 1866, Nanjing's administrators selected what they saw as a more auspicious site for the school: the Chaotian temple where the first Ming emperor had sponsored Daoist priests, and where the Qianlong emperor had visited on his tours.[85]

As recently as 1833, residents and officials of Nanjing had contributed to the repair of the complex, which still housed a copy of the Daoist canon along with several priests.[86] When the Taiping occupied the city, they burned the complex along with most other temples in the city, and the priests either died or fled. By building a school and a temple to Confucius on the site, Nanjing's administrators were appropriating a central piece of real estate and preventing the reconstruction of the Daoist buildings that had previously stood there.

Construction of the prefectural school posed logistical problems comparable to the repair of the examination compound. Deputies of the Reconstruction Bureau purchased wood in Shanghai and porcelain in Jingdezhen (a place known for its kilns and high-quality workmanship). The building for the school was completed in 1866, but the Confucian Temple, gates, shrines, office for educational officials, and subsidiary structures remained under construction until 1869, and the school was not opened until 1871. The cost for the entire complex totaled over 117,500 ounces of silver, or almost six times as much as the Hongwu emperor's tomb, which Zeng had claimed was too expensive to rebuild.[87]

This enormous expenditure reflected the importance of the school and temple complex in Zeng's plan for preventing the resurgence of rebellion. In his "Record of the Reconstruction of Nanjing's Prefectural School," probably written in 1871, Zeng Guofan explained the construction of the school in terms of the Chinese word *li*. *Li* meant norms for proper interactions in relationships, and Zeng's account emphasized the various contexts in which *li* could be invoked: "When the kings of old set down the *li,* everybody was restrained by rules and models (*gui fan*). From childhood, a system to protect [all the people] was already established."[88] Zeng noted that *li* included such basic matters as washing, cooking, and dress, cases where one might translate the term as "etiquette" or "propriety." *Li* also incorporated broader community ceremonies like funerals and marriages as well as liturgical instructions for communication with gods and spirits. Zeng argued that the failure to adhere to these norms was a root cause of social disorder.

Zeng maintained that understanding *li* created a sense of proper order

(*xu*—precedence, arrangement according to rank), which in turn could lead to knowledge of the arts of governing. By performing rituals, Zeng could make this knowledge active and visible. The construction of the prefectural school and the presentation of offerings to Confucius furthered Zeng's vision of harmony through adherence to *li*. By replacing the Chaotian Temple, the school helped extinguish ritual practices that Zeng considered improper, but which had not been deemed so by most Nanjing literati and officials before the war. Instructing students in the proper ceremonies for marriage, funerals, and offerings to Confucius promoted ritual practices that were in accordance with *li*. Studying Classic texts provided examples of the need to adhere to *li* in order to achieve good government. The *Great Learning*, for example, would allow students to comprehend the "precedence [of affairs] from first to last and beginning to end" (*benmo zhongshi zhi xu*), and thus also master "the arts of governing the state and pacifying the empire" (*zhi guo ping tianxia zhi shu*). For Zeng, the destructiveness of the Taiping rebellion (still evident throughout the city in 1871) served as a visible warning of the consequences of failure to maintain the social norms embedded in *li*: "Without *li* and without study," he concluded (paraphrasing Mencius), "bandits arise among the people." Zeng thought that more than economic recovery, education and ritual were palliatives for rebellion, a view that justified the vast sum spent on the construction of the school.[89]

For these reasons, Zeng placed much higher priority on the restoration of rituals to Confucius than to Ming Taizu. Offerings to the sage were among the most elaborate in the statutes, and deputies of the Reconstruction Bureau exerted themselves in preparations. In Nanjing the training of dancers and musicians, selected from local degree holders and students, began around the time of the opening of the prefectural school on March 24, 1871.[90] Chen Zuolin witnessed the preparations. He noted that the most "genteel and refined" of the local lower-lever degree holders served as dancers, and the most "talented and distinguished" of those who had passed tests qualifying them to sit for civil service examinations took part as musicians.[91] Few in Nanjing knew the liturgy, so the bureau employed a group of literati from Shanghai to teach forty students the proper techniques for dancing as the law required (in unison with a feather in one hand and a flute in the other).[92] The participants consulted handbooks for the purchase of the necessary ritual implements: drums, bells, stringed instruments, flutes, baskets, and wine vessels.[93]

The offering took place on September 23, 1871. As Liangjiang governor-

general, Zeng Guofan led the ceremonies, but officials, gentry (both new and returning), and students of the prefectural school all took part, assembling before dawn in the courtyards of the temple. The spectacle of lanterns, colorful costumes, music, drums, and dance probably attracted a throng of spectators.[94] Offerings of oxen, sheep, pork, grain, fruit, silk, and wine were arranged on tables in the two main halls of the temple, and the singing of hymns accompanied the presentation of each offering.[95] The lyrics to these hymns were a medley of expressions from the examination Classics. For example, the assembly of officials, students, and literati sang the following as Zeng prostrated himself before the sage and presented silk:

> Take *li* as the model, trespass not![96]
> Ascend the hall, repeat the sacrifice!
> Sound together drum and bell!
> In all sincerity [lift] tankard and conical cup.
> Most famous, most eminent[97]
> [are] these excellent ministers.[98]
> The *li* are graceful, the music unsullied.
> As you observe them, you grow benevolent.[99]

Although dictated by statute, the ceremony took on particular meanings in Nanjing. The hymn both addressed and engaged the assembled crowd. The admonition to "take *li* as the model" hinted at negative consequences for those (like the Taiping) who modeled themselves on different visions of *li.* At the same time, the lyrics appealed to the aesthetic sensibilities of the participants and observers, urging them to savor the beat of the drum, the melody of the instruments, perhaps the taste of the wine in the cup. Classical allusions in lines one, five, six, and eight afforded a chance for intellectual engagement. Along with the ever-present figure of Confucius, these scholarly references delineated a community of officials and gentry that distinguished itself through study, knowledge, connoisseurship, and delight in the refined pleasures of the offerings.

In a lengthy poem about the occasion, Gan Xi's grandson, Gan Yuanhuan, wrote that the rituals confirmed for him the transformation of Nanjing back into a center of literati learning and activism: "None did not look up to and depend on the abundant virtue and praise the utmost sincerity [of the participants]. The music encompasses teachings from the time of the sages yet sings the equilibrium and peace of this generation."[100] Gan Yuan-

huan celebrated virtue, which could extend through time and bringing about peace, and the sincerity that ritual both cultivated and enacted. The rhetoric would have been familiar to his grandfather, to Yao Nai, and to their circle in the early nineteenth century, and indeed echoed concepts employed by the Taiping. The setting, however, gave the sentiment a distinct connotation, a sense of triumph over chaos and of enormous accomplishment.

Although the curriculum and liturgies at the school did not differ from elsewhere, the context of Nanjing gave them a particular nuance. The rites portrayed the literati elite as a cohesive unit when it in fact included two distinct groups. One group consisted of Zeng's personal bureaucracy, which had maintained its power following the Taiping defeat. The other was being reconstituted through Zeng's efforts to summon former residents to their homes, to hold examinations, and to revive ritual practices that established the cultural underpinnings of the elite. The former group shaped the post-war city until 1870, the latter only came to prominence afterwards. In the early period, Zeng's espousal of local activism helped justify his imposition of novel administrative forms, but after 1870 returning elites would use the symbolic meanings of Zeng's work to assert itself in late Qing politics.

This changing social makeup of Nanjing was particularly evident in the course of construction of shrines honoring the war dead. These processes reflected trends taking place throughout war-torn areas. Like the examination compound and provincial school, these sites became crucial to the ways urban residents expressed political ideals. The shrines also helped complete Nanjing's transformation from rebel capital to ritual center and from war zone to embodiment of elite virtue.

SHRINES AND THE CITYSCAPE

Thus far we have seen that Zeng Guofan had unusual control over the reconstruction of Nanjing, and that he focused his efforts on making Nanjing a center of education, ritual, and government. He and the new elites managing the reconstruction of the city treated these elements as interconnected. Proper education stressed ritual, and ritual in turn produced appropriate hierarchical obligations that culminated in a polity that endured because each member contributed to the good of the whole. Projects that advanced this good were deemed "practical" because they seemed to reconstitute a group of moral elites who could work to address immediate problems and model virtuous conduct to the potentially less trustworthy groups converg-

ing on Nanjing. As a result, state power could be evident in local rather than imperial activism. Projects supporting literati, such as the prefectural school, received more attention than those devoted to imperial initiatives, such as the first Ming Emperor's tomb.

Such was the context for the extraordinary program of shrine construction in the post-Taiping period. Over the course of post-Taiping reconstruction, the numbers of people included in Nanjing's various shrines for local figures swelled to the tens of thousands, a phenomenon repeated throughout the vast area of central and southern China where war had been waged. The work of reconstruction included labors on behalf of the dead: collecting and disposing of bodies, determining whether a person's manner of demise suggested ally or enemy, constructing shrines and composing biographies.[101] These activities designated groups of people—increasingly large and diverse groups of people—as defenders of the dynasty. Postwar enshrinement depicted relatively ordinary people as exemplars, defining their virtues in terms of their heroic deaths on behalf of the state. Officials and the various elite groups in Nanjing had come to view the continued existence of the Qing state as resulting from multiple acts of bravery by thousands of people. Because it so closely linked moral action to a stable polity, Zeng Guofan regarded building shrines as practical administration *par excellence*.[102]

Enshrinement meant that officials made offerings before the spirit tablets of the people so honored. Shrines and the figures installed in them could also inspire nonofficial offerings by family members and admirers of the deceased. Such rituals were said to "console loyal souls" (*wei zhonghun*), to provide solace for spirits made restless by violent death. Enshrinement could provoke literary reflection in biographies, poems, and reminiscences. Such writings invoked the spirits of the dead, elaborated on the virtues that allowed particular souls to merit enshrinement, and claimed that these virtues continued to inspire survivors of the Taiping cataclysm.

Another stated purpose of enshrinement was to publicize the names and actions of those who had shown loyalty to the dynasty. Generals, officials, and residents of Nanjing repeatedly emphasized the need to "display" (*zhang*) or "record and make known" (*biao*) the names and moral qualities of those who had died in support of the Qing. The names of men were written on steles, those of women on freestanding ceremonial archways constructed in front of shrines and visible to passersby. Shrines themselves were accessible, located within the city and open to those wishing to go and burn incense for the dead.

In nineteenth-century Nanjing, there were three regular channels for inclusion in Qing state shrines. The most common method prior to the Taiping War involved local degree holders, who could submit petitions to local officials, who in turn would forward the requests up the chain of command. During the war and in the early years of reconstruction, governors and military commanders memorialized the throne with lists of soldiers who had perished in the fighting. In 1860, Zeng's staff had included the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness, thus adding a third path.[103] After its transfer to Nanjing in 1864, deputies of the bureau could conduct interviews with survivors to identify the virtuous dead, record their names, and submit cases to the governor-general. As applied throughout Qing provincial administration, these procedures facilitated a post-Taiping explosion in the numbers of men and women included in Qing state shrines.

Although shrine construction was an extremely widespread phenomenon, in Nanjing it produced specific effects. Nanjing's shrines were regional in scope, marking the decisive victory of armies based outside the city over the Taiping within. Nanjing was unusual, however in the manner in which dynastic and local achievements intersected. When Zeng transferred his private bureaucracy to Nanjing, it included the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness, which came to serve Anhui, Jiangxi, and those areas of Jiangsu where Zeng's forces had been active. In contrast to other lower Yangzi cities like Hangzhou and Suzhou, the achievements celebrated at Nanjing marked the definitive triumph over the Taiping. Shrines thus had complex geographic associations: empire (proclaiming the Qing's defeat of the Taiping), region (celebrating the Hunan and Hubei armies that recaptured Nanjing), and city (enshrining residents of Nanjing killed in the war). The scope of the shrines, the pace of construction, and the meaning attributed to them all had particular valence in Nanjing.

The form of sites commemorating the dead evolved gradually, reflecting a variety of interests within Nanjing as well as central government directives. Whereas shrines to Hunan Army troops and to bannermen appeared in the early phases of rebuilding, shrines to Nanjing natives were built only after prewar elites began returning to the city. Immediately after the war, Nanjing's literati class could not engage in either the construction of shrines or the writing of accounts of the city's past that would give ritual spaces a deep poetic density. The process of shrine construction thus offers one window onto the reestablishment of Nanjing's literati class in the postwar period.

There was nevertheless a common thread in the ways shrines (whether

they honored Hunan army soldiers or Nanjing residents) depicted the past. Soldiers, city administrators, and returning literati all recognized that Nanjing had been the Heavenly Capital, the locus of rebellion. By building shrines and making offerings to the souls of those killed by the Taiping, the city's various elites rewrote this history, focusing not on rebellion, but on chastity and loyalty. Rather than Heavenly Capital, Nanjing became the discursive seat of pacification. Nanjing's leaders hoped that this depiction of a virtuous past would help ensure a peaceful future.

Shrines for Soldiers

Because the population of Nanjing immediately after the defeat of the Taiping in 1864 consisted mostly of soldiers, Zeng Guofan's first priority in the construction of shrines was to honor those people who took part in the battles that eventually led to victory. In November 1864 Zeng Guofan proposed using a former residence of a Taiping King, the Ting Wang, as a Reveal Loyalty Shrine for the Hunan Army. The palace was near the Lianhua Number Five Bridge, and most of the surrounding area had been destroyed during the siege of the city. Seven buildings remained on the site, and Zeng reported that his brother, Zeng Guoquan, and other officials of the Hunan Army had donated money to pay for fashioning wooden spirit tablets and converting the buildings into a shrine. An edict of December 6, 1864, signaled central government approval for the plan.[104] Huang Runchang managed the construction and installation of 11,630 spirit tablets.

The shrines afforded spaces and opportunities for depicting acts that had taken place during the war, for rehabilitating reputations, and for disseminating particular views of the past in the rhetoric of solemn reverence. Although different people wrote the stele inscriptions at shrines to commemorate the actions of armies, they shared the view that soldiers had saved the dynasty and that death at the hands of the Taiping demonstrated loyalty. Writings about these shrines, such as Zeng Guofan's "Account of the Jinling Shrine to Reveal Loyalty of Officials and Gentry" (*Jinling guanshen zhaozhong ci ji*) and Bing Yuan's "Stele Inscription at the Jiangning Eight Banners Shrine to Reveal Loyalty" (*Jinling baqi zhaozhong ci beiwen*) gave short descriptions of the war.[105]

Zeng Guofan's account of the shrine emphasized the need to express overwhelming grief while at the same time lauding the actions of Hunan Army soldiers. He described the idea to build the shrine as a response to wartime pain, claiming that his inspiration was seeing the "white bones"

spread across "hundreds of miles." He continued, "At that time I heard the sounds of private offerings (*si si*) [to the dead] and nocturnal weeping (*ye qi*). It was the ultimate sorrow under heaven."[106] Zeng noted that at the fall of the Great Camp of Jiangnan in 1856, Qing forces were undermanned. He then portrayed the campaign for Nanjing as the key to Qing victory over the Taiping and pointed to the critical role played by troops from Hunan.[107]

Zeng's account of the Hunan Army downplayed the role of Qing banner forces, which had after all been wiped out during the Taiping capture of the city in 1853. Efforts to honor these representatives of Qing imperial power in the city seem to have stressed the particular acts of brave individuals in banner households rather than the martial capabilities of Qing troops. In January 1865, Jiangning Banner Commander-in-Chief Fuminga (1805–82) won approval for separate shrines for male and female bannermen inside Nanjing's banner garrison. The site was completed in 1867.[108] A stele erected at the site read:

> As for the officials, soldiers, and women of the Eight Banners, some shut their doors and set themselves ablaze. Some hanged themselves or leapt into water [to drown themselves]. Some were killed upon insulting the bandits. With one mind and united will, thirty thousand people looked on death [calmly], as if returning home, and not one among them submitted to humiliation. [109]

In this account, bannermen displayed allegiance to the dynasty by refusing the "humiliation" (*ru*) of serving the rebels. The word "humiliation" connoted violation, as if any contact with rebels meant a kind of rape. The taboo of humiliation highlighted the relationship between female chastity and virtue (*zhen jie*) and male loyalty and righteousness (*zhong yi*). That thirty thousand bannermen all shared this virtue with "one mind and united will" signaled a change from the early nineteenth century in the understanding of what constituted moral exemplars. Exemplary virtue was now widely available and visible. The construction of shrines in the most important theater of the war gave military commanders a platform to suggest (particularly to central government officials, but also to the city's various inhabitants) that their acts of sacrifice had ultimately saved the Qing, either directly by defeating the Taiping in battle or indirectly by inspiring others to act virtuously.

Such works tended to erase the ambiguities of wartime experience. If, for example, a conscript had fought on both sides of the war, one would not know it from these sources. Furthermore, for many participants in the war,

shrines did not adequately express the scope of their suffering. Commemorative projects in turn affected the writing of the history of the war by exaggerating the level of allegiance participants felt to one side or another.[110] The shrines did reflect other kinds of wartime experience: not, perhaps, ideological commitment to the Qing, but at least the renewed belief that virtuous acts had brought the war to an end and that the celebration of loyalty and chastity could help prevent further rebellion. Different groups expressed in shrines the complex relationship between local elites, provincial authorities, and the dyanasty.[111] Zeng Guofan would attempt to resolve these tensions by creating a larger shrine complex that could encompass multiple claims to virtue.

A New Ritual Center

Throughout the course of the Taiping War, military officials, censors, governors, and the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness had recommended that literati and commoners from Nanjing be enshrined when no shrines existed in Nanjing to accommodate them. Only in 1866 did the censor Zhu Zhen propose the construction of a shrine for natives of the city who had been killed in the war. Acting on an edict of June 2, 1866, Li Hongzhang had a shrine set up as an annex to the Guandi Temple, which had been recently erected on the site of the former Ming Imperial Academy.[112]

As Nanjing's former residents slowly returned to the city in the 1860s, pressures increased for the construction of additional shrines. Although a native of Hunan, Zeng Guofan understood that many constituencies inhabited Nanjing. His attempts to respond to each group led, in 1866 and 1867, to the development of a single shrine complex that would pay tribute to the many who had perished fighting the Taiping. Although his shrine still sought to console the troubled souls of the dead, the political nuance of this new complex differed from the shrines to the Hunan Army and banner garrison. The threat of further uprisings now seemed less acute, but there remained the problem of sustaining social relations among Nanjing's diverse inhabitants. Both new and returning elites claimed that building shrines and performing rituals could encourage virtuous conduct. In this way, proper treatment of the dead could help govern the living.

Upon his return to Nanjing in 1867, Zeng Guofan discovered that the shrine in the Guandi Temple was "verging on collapse," that work had halted, and that spirit tablets had not yet been set up.[113] Zeng rebuilt the shrine and added another, so that the complex included both army and navy troops

from Hunan and Hubei who had taken part in the siege of Nanjing from 1861 to 1864.[114] Zeng further expanded the site so that it included four general shrines: one for the land troops who took part in the siege of Nanjing from 1861 to 1864, one for the naval troops who fell in the same battle, and two rooms for people who had perished in Nanjing throughout the course of the war, one for loyal men and one for chaste women.[115]

The most elaborate of these shrines was the one for men: the Nanjing Reveal Loyalty Shrine for Officials and Gentry (*Jinling guanshen zhaozhong ci*). It included categories of people that appealed to constituencies well beyond the walls of Nanjing. Zeng intended the shrine to commemorate anyone who had died in Nanjing or in any of the various campaigns to liberate Nanjing. Nominally a single shrine, it actually included five rooms in an east-west line. The central hall was for the officers and soldiers who died in 1853 when Nanjing fell to the Taiping. Two halls to the east honored those who had fallen defending the Great Camps of Jiangnan between 1853 and 1860, as well as those who died in defense of Zhenjiang and Yangzhou. The hall to the west commemorated gentry and commoners from Nanjing who perished, as well as persons from elsewhere who were killed in Nanjing. The hall to the far west honored military officials stationed in Zhenjiang and Yangzhou slain in the war.[116] The site thus called to mind overlapping geographic allegiances. It displayed loyalty to the dynasty, Nanjing's status as the hub of a regional theater of battle, and individual contributions of residents of the city opposed to the Taiping.

Spirit tablets at the site classified the dead into both social hierarchies and hierarchies of virtue. For officials and military personnel, the arrangement of spirit tablets reflected the rank of the person enshrined. For civilians, the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness distinguished between five categories of people: male gentry, male commoners, women, militiamen (*tuanding*), and entire households (*yimen xunnan*). Household servants (*jiading pufu*) did not receive spirit tablets, but their names were included on steles and memorial arches.[117] Although these categories represented an expansion of the variety of people treated as models of virtue, the manner of display ensured that these models did not contradict status distinctions.

The shrine complex also distinguished the very exceptional from the merely praiseworthy. "Special" (*zhuan*) shrines were to house individuals of unusual merit. If numerous members of a family had been killed, that family might be awarded a special shrine, but as of 1874, an unnamed literatus complained: "In the counties of Shangyuan and Jiangning, an enormous number

of special shrines need to be constructed. This is particularly urgent."[118] With few exceptions, the special shrines that appeared in the 1860s and early 1870s were not separate structures, but instead were included as part of the larger general shrine complex.

Zeng Guofan thought that virtue could beget virtue. Making extraordinary acts of loyalty visible could cause even the "obstinate" (*wan*) to come forward to support existing social relationships and even the "timid" (*nuo*) to follow the examples of the enshrined and stand up to defend the dynasty.[119] Both the dead themselves and (through ritual) those honoring the dead could serve as norms (*gui*) for the populace as a whole, a phrase reminiscent of Zeng's claims about the prefectural school. Those elites whose family histories had been tied to Nanjing shared the city's symbolic centers with soldiers from the middle and lower Yangzi regions. These models could resonate throughout the empire, making Nanjing the hub of a much broader geography. In the words of the 1874 gazetteer, "As for the utmost extremes of misfortune and chaos [as well as] the completion of pacification, Nanjing was a focal point (*shu*) for all of it."[120]

CONCLUSION

By combining a regional network of advisors with his position in Qing regional administration, Zeng Guofan was able to assemble the money and materials necessary to build a new Nanjing. His goals included erasing the legacy of the rebellion, reconstituting a local elite, creating a center of regional government, and commemorating the war dead. In addition to physical construction, events, texts, and rituals helped shape the meanings of crucial spaces within the city. Key sites in the city could display a vision of government and provide platforms for enacting it.

Zeng shared with Yao Nai a sense that virtue could bring about utopian transformations, but Zeng's Nanjing differed from that of Yao Nai's circle of wealthy families. Loyalty became a much more central virtue, and the sense of a lingering Ming presence was now lost. Instead, the occupation of Nanjing in the wake of the Taiping Rebellion allowed Zeng and his staff to reshape the governance of the city. This effort took the form of a military occupation, supported by coercive power, with new institutions staffed almost entirely by men in Zeng's personal bureaucracy, not by "local elites" in the sense of literate men who had resided in Nanjing before the war. Zeng and his staff, however, represented their project as one of reviving the gentry

class in general. Zeng gave high priority to institutions, such as the examination system and local schools, that encouraged the study of Classics that in turn would provide models of proper social relationships (*li*), allowing government in the sense of restraint through mutual bonds and obligations. This program conferred the twin benefits of supporting Zeng's power and discouraging rebellion. Rituals naturalized the activities of officials and elites, and they contributed to a kind of status and legitimacy that was distinct from the model of the Qing monarch as embodiment of the state. It also located Nanjing within the framework of Zeng's vision of the cosmos. The physical rebuilding of Nanjing therefore involved producing space, locating the city in empire and cosmos, and contrasting this space to that of the Taiping. At the same time, many elements of Nanjing's reconstruction, including the rebuilding of schools, the construction of shrines, and the attempts to reconstitute a local elite, reflected much broader trends throughout areas of China affected by the war.

Throughout the process of reconstruction Nanjing's new leaders made choices. They could, for example, have given greater priority to building offices for provincial officials. Zeng Guofan could have followed imperial commands and devoted more time and resources to Ming Taizu's tomb at the expense of the examination compound. Zeng could have continued the precedent of Li Hongzhang and spent less money on shrine construction, freeing up funds for (for example) military needs. Zeng and his underlings profited from the choices they made. They sometimes subverted central directives, but they shared with the dynasty, and with elites throughout southern China, an interest in extending the reach of the bureaucracy over urban property, revenue collection, and resource allocation, as well as creating a state free from rebellion.

To that end, Zeng turned to Nanjing itself. A person walking through the city could encounter a model of the new order and recognize this order as true. Nanjing itself, Zeng hoped, could evoke a vision of truth. Visitors could know that political power was not up for grabs; know that the Taiping had been vanquished; know Nanjing as the place where victory had come; know that many had died in defense of the dynasty, and that souls of the fallen had found care; and know that the city abounded with virtue, and that such virtues ensured a more stable and prosperous future. This transformation of the cityscape re-established and perpetuated Qing rule. Thus, in post-Taiping Nanjing, building was state building.

CHAPTER 5

Chen Zuolin Reassembles the Poetic City, 1872–1912

Chen Zuolin enjoyed ruins: a wall, a tomb, a rise in the land, or anything that might allow him to imagine life in an earlier time. Ruins demonstrated that people's accomplishments could have staying power, and that the past could remain visible and shape daily life. Chen also loved traveling, and part of his joy lay in the ability to see what his predecessors had seen: the Yellow River, the sacred mountain Taishan, the great ocean. His approach to history as a series of traces, some visible in texts, others marked in the landscape, allowed Chen to incorporate the past into the realm of the *shi*—the solid, applied, and tangible.

Chen inherited these passions from his father, grandfather, and great-uncle. His grandfather and great-uncle had joined Wu Guangyu in his philanthropic activities, which included famine relief and the funding of the repair of the city's Confucian temple.[1] His father, Chen Yuanheng (1818–92), had been one of the early nineteenth-century scholars influenced by Yao Nai and had amassed a collection of works on local history, specializing in the Six Dynasties and the Ming, when Nanjing was an imperial capital. When the Taiping stormed Nanjing, the family fled, abandoning the library, and sojourned in Jiangsu province, north of the Yangzi, an area so famously poor that even armies tended to avoid it. Chen Yuanheng collected books as he traveled, copying editions when he could, gathering what he could find of the remains of Nanjing's poetic past. Chen Zuolin helped him in this task,

later writing that he feared he would die away from the city, becoming a "ghost of a different place" (*yidi zhi gui*).[2] After the family returned to Nanjing in 1865, Chen Yuanheng entrusted the collection to his son, asking Chen Zuolin to organize and publish the material. Chen Zuolin became an expert on Nanjing's history, an archivist of its literary heritage, author of gazetteers about the city, a noted poet and essayist, and, in the early twentieth century, a teacher and librarian.[3]

The prewar Nanjing families influenced by Yao Nai had appealed to Nanjing's heritage as an imperial capital, and in so doing acted as if their ritual actions in the city could affect the entire empire. Their formulation of solutions to problems followed a logic of resonances similar to that of the imperial rituals at Beijing's altars and temples, which were meant to reverberate through the whole empire. Although Chen Zuolin also sought political stability, cosmic balance, and personal status, his utopian visions took a different form. Chen saw himself as part of the self-strengthening (*ziqiang*) movement. He wanted to reinvigorate the polity, not primarily through armaments or technology, the aspects of self-strengthening that have attracted perhaps the most attention, but rather by showing how quotidian acts could lead to great bounty. In Chen's view, virtue could lead to wealth and power, and, like his ancestors, he sought to embed his views in his depictions of Nanjing. At the same time, even as Chen argued that Nanjing was a highly distinctive place, his own life reflected the widespread concerns of the postwar period. He grappled with the problems of recovering history and texts, of commemorating the dead, and of encountering new forms of urban modernity. Chen is interesting both for his distinctive utopian ideas and for the light his cosmic, political, and urban visions shine on broader trends in the late nineteenth century.

Chen Zuolin was sixteen *sui* when the Taiping stormed Nanjing. He saw the Chaotian temple burn, was separated from his mother and grandmother, and fled when his father feared that the men of the family might be conscripted into the army of the Heavenly Kingdom.[4] He returned to Nanjing a little before the rest of his family, visiting in 1864 to take part in the provincial examinations (which he would not pass until 1875). Although no stranger to war's misery, he was shocked at the level of destruction he saw when he returned: the "barren encampments and abandoned ramparts, and desolation filling the scene."[5]

War's effect on Chen was paradoxical. He was a lover of travel forced to travel under the direst circumstances imaginable, a connoisseur of ruins

facing a vista of ruin that included his own home. So intertwined was his sense of self with the cityscape that when writing of his boyhood before the rebellion, he would later recall structures rather than people or events. He laid out his remembered childhood against Nanjing's sites: north to the former provincial school, now a temple to Guandi; south to the Baoen Temple and Yuhua Terrace (the rise in the land where Fang Xiaoru's shrine was located); east to the Qinhuai River, whose banks were the location of the examination compound and the pleasure quarters of the city; west to the Mochou Lake, created during the Six Dynasties when a dyke was constructed to prevent the Yangzi from flooding.[6] Chen embraced his father's charge to resurrect these vistas through texts.

Chen Zuolin's labors after the war demonstrate that maintaining Nanjing's past traces would require efforts on a scale commensurate with that of rebuilding Nanjing's physical structures. In the reconstruction of the poetic city, Chen played a role analogous to that of Zeng Guofan's role in the restoration of government and the construction of the physical city. Like Zeng, Chen sought to make certain kinds of knowledge self-evident, and he engaged in spatial practices to display and enact these truths.

Chen's Nanjing differed from the city of his forefathers, for it was no longer a Ming city. The Taiping New Jerusalem had unmoored Nanjing from its past, and the war had obliterated many of its most meaningful places. From the perspective of Nanjing's returning elites, Zeng Guofan had begun to undo the damage, but returning elites still sought to reconstitute their class. As men like Chen returned to Nanjing, they reasserted their roles as arbiters of virtue and custodians of the city's symbolic meanings. They sought to take the lead in enrolling souls of the war dead in the city's new shrines, to revive charitable institutions, and to restore the city's textual heritage. In the 1860s, Chen assisted Wang Shiduo in compiling gazetteers and proposing names of the honorable dead for inclusion in shines. Beginning in the 1870s through the fall of the dynasty in 1911, Chen attempted to rescue texts that war had made rare, helping to compile selections of poetry and prose by Nanjing's past and present literati. He wrote comprehensive chronologies of Nanjing's history and composed biographies of the city's most prominent residents. At the same time, he indulged his passion for uncovering the hidden by writing gazetteers of small, urban neighborhoods, including exacting descriptions of each street. All of Chen's work took on new meaning in the last decades of the Qing, as elites sought to maintain

their status through patronage of urban institutions even as national reforms, such as the gradual reform and abolition of the examination system, undermined other sources of their claims to authority.

Chen's vision of the city shared the utopian aspirations of his father and grandfather and of Wu Guangyu, and his writing reflected their shared sense that virtue was both timeless and fixed in place. Yet he depicted Nanjing with such acumen that his city necessarily differed from the poetic and ritual imaginings that had come before. In delineating Nanjing's history and geography, Chen found new antagonists: not the failings of the literati or the autocracy of emperors, but rather, first and foremost, the chaos of the Taiping, and later the incursions of foreigners and the ongoing weakness of the dynasty itself. In response to these challenges, Chen anchored the suppression of the Taiping and the reconstruction of the city into the wider frame of Nanjing's past. He tried to show—through geography, history, and ritual—that the enduring acts of moral men and women continued to shape the city, and that Nanjing could stand at the center of the revival of the Qing polity.

After Chen returned to Nanjing in 1865, he did not leave again for ten years. His travels in that period took him instead to places within the city. In 1866, he climbed the city's bell tower and looked over the city's lakes and markets, declaring that despite wartime conflagration, the "efficacious and serene *qi*" (*lingxiu zhi qi*) of the city still remained.[7] In 1871, he went to Linggu Monastery and left an account of its rebuilding. Zeng Guofan, having read of the magical landscape there, had, in 1867, appealed to the dragon god of a local spring to bring rain during a drought and, achieving success, constructed a temple at the site.[8] Monks had repaired the main buildings of the complex itself, and so one could once again view the legacies of the monk Bao Zhi and the Liang Emperor Wu. In 1873, Chen visited the shrine to Fang Xiaoru. He enrolled first in the Zhongshan, then the Xiyin Academies, and spent much of his time preparing for the provincial examinations. Under the guidance of Wang Shiduo, Chen prepared essays and conducted research on local history. As Wang worked on compiling the 1876 gazetteer, he enlisted Chen to write a chronology of historical events, an account of military matters, and biographies of famous officials, local worthies, and filial sons.[9] Chen's histories followed from his work on the gazetteer.

Chen intended much of his historical work to be "comprehensive" (*tong*), focused not merely on the events of the Taiping War but on the

entirety of Nanjing's past. Chen's *Brief Account of Military Matters in Jiangsu* (Jiangsu bingshi jilue), for example, extended his gazetteer chapter on military affairs by offering a narrative of war in the Lower Yangzi region since the Zhou Dynasty. He expanded his chronology into the *Comprehensive Annals of Nanjing* (Jinling tongji) and its sequel, *Comprehensive Annals of Nanjing in our August [Qing] Dynasty* (Guochao Jinling tongji), which provided year-by-year descriptions of major events in the city. A similar chronology of his own life, the *Remembrances of Chen Zuolin* (Keyuan beiwang lu), included a dense narrative of the war years, but continued into the early Republic.

Did Chen Zuolin find the war smaller, or less devastating, or less bitter when he relegated it to a chapter in a much longer narrative of the dynasty, of Nanjing's past, or of his own life? He did not say, but he did consistently describe his historical writing as a reaction to the war. He opened his account of war in the Lower Yangzi region with a call for peace:

> I was born and grew up in the south. Worried about the present and considering mistakes of the past to serve as a warning, I wrote and published this work, so that the phrase "military prowess lies in laying down arms" (*wu zai zhi ge*) will counsel future generations.[10]

"Military prowess lies in laying down arms" is a classical expression; the character for the word "martial" (*wu*) is composed of the characters for "stop" (*zhi*) and "spears" (*ge*), suggesting that true military strength lies in gaining the capacity to not need to wage war. Chen Zuolin wanted his historical works to convey warnings of what could disrupt peace. Only a sage, he thought, could truly prevent war, but the past held a few examples of those who, like Zeng Guofan, had brought hostilities to an end, and many more cases of those whose virtues could ameliorate wartime suffering. As Chen considered the loathsome crimes of the Taiping, he most despised their destruction of texts. Books, he thought, were similar to ruins: both were the remnants of an earlier time.

Chen joined in the effort to compile and publish records of the past. He stood in the midst of what Tobie Meyer-Fong has aptly termed "gathering," a metaphor adapted from the notion of "collecting and interviewing" (*caifang*) to identify virtues that, literati feared, might otherwise have gone unrecognized. In the postwar period, literati throughout affected areas dedicated themselves to identifying the virtuous dead and publishing biog-

raphies describing their virtuous acts. In Meyer-Fong's use, it could refer to the people who reunited in their native places at war's end, and then to the even larger task of collecting, writing, and publishing texts that might otherwise have been lost.[11] In Nanjing, the work of gathering had many dimensions, including the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness, which published biographies of the honored dead. Wang Shiduo served on the Book Bureau, a part of Zeng Guofan's private bureaucracy dedicated to publishing excellent works of poetry and prose, classical texts, and histories to aid in preparation for civil service examinations, as well as administrative manuals to promote the rejuvenation of local government.[12]

Another member of Zeng's bureaucracy, Yang Wenhui (1837–1911), in his spare time set about collecting and publishing Buddhist texts. In 1863, Yang joined Zeng in working to procure grain for troops of the Hunan Army. In 1864, Yang underwent a religious conversion and became a devout Buddhist. The following year Zeng summoned him to Nanjing to work on the Construction Bureau**.** In 1866, Yang and thirty-one other people each donated a Mexican silver dollar to publish Wei Yuan's *Four Sutras of the Pure Land* (Jingtu sijing). In 1868, he established the Nanjing Sutra Publishing Office (Jinling Kejing Chu) to make available sutras and Buddhist tracts that the Taiping had destroyed when they sacked the city's temples.[13]

The scale of loss in Nanjing haunted Chen. As he, along with a small circle of his friends, compiled and published selections of the poetry and prose of Nanjing residents, they focused in particular on those belletrists who had lived during the Qing dynasty whose works had been scattered or destroyed in the Taiping War. The work of Chen and his circle was in that sense archival, but with the added nuance that they thought they were preserving more than mere texts. Chen described his task using the same language his fellow literati had employed in their search for people deserving enshrinement, as "bringing forth the hidden brightness of concealed virtue."[14] Because writing, in his view, transmitted the moral qualities of the writer, he regarded publishing these texts as "the responsibility of our generation," a crucial aspect of reviving Nanjing's local elite and mobilizing them to bring about a better future.[15] By publishing books, he thought he could transmit the *qi* of the writers, leaving concrete, physical traces in the cityscape.

In collecting and publishing texts, Chen and his circle applied their skills of textual criticism to the task of using their scholarship to further postwar recovery. Their own writing had a certain self-congratulatory tone. They

celebrated the virtues of the dead, but also the virtues of the living (i.e., Chen Zuolin and his collaborators) who made past acts known. They proclaimed themselves the custodians of culture in Nanjing. Rituals and books both embedded virtues into sites and provided a way of understanding disparate events in Nanjing's past as part of a coherent whole, and presenting Nanjing as a city that could serve as a model for the world and cosmos. By producing urban space in this manner, Chen created a utopian program for strengthening China whose efficacy Chen claimed was evident in the city itself.

For Chen and his circle, the Chinese term "comprehensive" (*tong*) suggested even more than a complete record of Nanjing's past. In its verbal form, the word meant "to extend throughout." Writing about Chen's *Comprehensive Biographies*, one contemporary argued that by presenting the lives of Nanjing's model residents, Chen himself provided a model of action that could apply throughout the empire:

> As for the regions together with the counties under Heaven, if all were able to give the concentrated effort of these biographical records, then each would have something arise from them. Collecting [biographies] and producing books is certainly a matter of great prosperity. This is the means by which comprehensive biographies are comprehensive.[16]

The author went on to explain how biographies might resonate:

> By setting examples in counties and regions, their fathers and older brothers will have a means to enact [proper] teachings; their sons and younger brothers will have a means to enact [proper] methods. Then customs will be improved and human relationships cultivated. If extended and applied as a standard across the four oceans, then among customs none will not be improved, among human relationships none will not be cultivated, and there will be great unity under heaven (*tianxia datong*). This is the ultimate completion of "comprehensive."[17]

In other words, if Chen (and others like him) could provide enough models of moral action, then the established customs of a particular area would be such that people would be naturally generous and sincere, which in turn would strengthen their bonds to one another. In this way, an account of virtue in Nanjing could potentially bring harmony to the entire world.

THE RECOVERY OF TEXTS

To look back in time across the gulf the war had created, to collect or reconstruct texts, to make known virtuous actions that might otherwise remain obscure—in short to do the work necessary to claim comprehensiveness—meant applying scholarly techniques of compilation and proofreading that before the war had been the province of book collectors and evidential research scholars. Because these projects required money, they took place alongside the revival of trade in Nanjing, particularly the silk trade. Although the city did not in the nineteenth century reach prewar levels of prosperity, by the 1870s surviving local elites were able to return to the city, reestablish their status, gather in gardens, visit courtesans, construct libraries, and take part in the bureaus that now held a large role in urban administration. This revival made possible their scholarly activities, which in turn shaped their acts of commemoration, including ritual.

Chen Zuolin was one of seven people who gathered near the Wulong Pond in 1887 to celebrate the completion of a compilation of poems by people who had lived in Nanjing and its surrounding prefecture from the beginning of the Qing through the Daoguang reign. The manuscript had survived the war, and its contents would later inspire Chen and his circle to perform rituals and write poetry celebrating the survival of their forebears' literary legacy. Publishing the poetry collection helped them to construct their sense of continuity and thus to assert literati privilege in the changed circumstances of the late nineteenth century. By applying scholarly practices, including copying texts, forming libraries, and checking for errors and textual discrepancies, they revived prewar utopian strategies of poetry, history, and ritual.

Before the outbreak of the Taiping War, the private libraries of Nanjing counted among the most famous in the Lower Yangzi region. At that time, three friends, Jin Ao, Gan Xi, and Zhu Xuzeng, all under the sway of Yao Nai's utopian ideas, and each with renowned book collections, made use of their libraries to produce works of local history. For his part, Zhu Xuzeng had started to create a compilation of poetry from Nanjing, including mainly verses produced by Nanjing residents and special chapters for women, Buddhists, Daoists, and famous people who had sojourned in the city. His inspiration for the project, he claimed, came from a poetry collection sponsored by the late-Ming scholar and activist Huang Zongxi, who had undertaken a similar project titled the *Excellent Poets of Yaojiang* (Yaojiang yishi).[18]

Zhu had continued the work of book collecting, bibliographic notes, and poetry compilation while in Zhejiang, and his extant works all date from his time there. The contrasting fates of his work in Nanjing and in Ningbo, where he lived at the end of his life, reflect the differing effects of the war in each place. Zhu himself died in 1860. In 1861, the Taiping took Ningbo with relatively little fighting. In May 1862, Qing, British, and French forces retook the city, a treaty port, which was central to their mutual mercantile interests, in a storm of artillery and gunfire.[19] Despite heavy casualties, the war in Ningbo did not last long. The city's surrounding topography, featuring inland mountains and offshore archipelagos, meant that one could flee with relative ease if necessary. Given a boat, or the means to hire one, one could reach Shanghai, a city protected in part by international forces. There was no such thing as a pleasant place to endure the Taiping War, but if your main goal was the survival of your literary legacy, you could do worse than Ningbo.

In his time in Zhejiang, Zhu had been part of a network of people interested in book collecting and local history. Xue Shiyu, who served as district magistrate in Jiaxing and Jiashan counties, would later become an important figure in Nanjing's scholarly life. Another relative of Gan Fu, Gan Bing (1819–80) at the time of Zhu's death was serving as subprefect in Dinghai, on the offshore islands near Ningbo. Gan knew that Zhu had completed a volume of poems about scenic places in rural Zhejiang, and, in 1860, he went to Ningbo to see if he could make a hand copy of the manuscript. Zhu had already lent it to Wang Shijing (dates unknown). The work survived in Wang's hands, and, after the fighting in Zhejiang ended, Gan was able to make a copy and arrange for the work to be printed.[20] Zhu's work to correct the extant editions of the poetry of Cao Zhi (192–232), a son of the Three Kingdoms period hegemon Cao Cao (155–220), also survived. In an afterward to the work, Zhu Xuzeng's son, Zhu Guimo (died ca. 1886), reported that after Shaoxing fell to the Taiping, he had gone to Ningbo to retrieve his widowed mother. He found that the local scholar Xu Shidong (1814–73) had already transported many of Zhu's books "deep into the mountains." Xu had borrowed the manuscript of the Cao Zhi work for copying. Xu's copy of this work, and presumably the books he had hidden away from Zhu's collection, were nevertheless destroyed in the war. After the war, however, Zhu Guimo discovered that several other scholars in the area had hand-copied the manuscript, titled *Investigation of Variants in Cao Zhi's Collected Poems* (Caoji

kaoyi). Zhu was subsequently able, in 1873, to return to Zhejiang and bring a copy back to Nanjing.[21]

Zhu Guimo probably retrieved his father's lengthy manuscript for the poetry collection (Zhu said that it took up "dozens of boxes") at the same time that he extricated his mother from war-torn Zhejiang, thus performing two filial acts in one stroke.[22] Zhu Guimo then went on to Beijing. He was serving at the time on the personal staff of Bao Yuansheng (1811–84), who held a variety of positions in the capital. In 1864, Hong Rukui, a member of Zeng Guofan's personal bureaucracy, invited Zhu to join him at the Nanjing Book Bureau. He was perhaps acting on the recommendation of Wang Shiduo, who himself worked at the Book Bureau and who had known the older Zhu before the war.[23] Zhu Guimo seems to have done little with the poetry collection until Wang Shiduo and Chen Zuolin began working on the gazetteer for Shangyuan and Jiangning countries. At that point, they asked to consult the collection, which contained a great deal of biographical information, and they stored the manuscript in the office of the provincial director of education. In 1869, Governor-General Ma Xinyi recruited Zhu Xuzeng's old friend Xue Shiyu to take over as director of Nanjing's Zunjing and Xiyin academies, where he would spend seventeen years helping prepare students for the civil service examinations.[24] His appreciative students donated a garden and study for him near the Wulong Lake in the eastern section of the city, itself not for from the Xiyin Academy. Xue inspired his student Weng Changsen to collect money to finally publish the poetry collection.

Upon the collection's publication, Chen Zuolin together with thirty-nine other participants in the project gathered in their teacher's garden, dressed in ceremonial robes, and performed rituals honoring the poets whose work they had finally compiled and published. The date was March 14, 1887. It was, according to Chen, a wintry scene, with thin ice over the pond and barren trees visible on the mountains surrounding the city. They played music to welcome the spirits of the poets, recited prayers, presented offerings of food and incense, and then shared a common meal. Of those gathered, Chen Zuolin and seven others formed a small poetry society dedicated to writing in what they now identified as a local tradition Their collaboration led them to identify as a circle: The Seven Masters of Shicheng (Shicheng, or "stone city," was a fortress within the city dating to the Warring States period and also synecdoche for Nanjing itself). At their gatherings, Chen and his friends

would write poems and keep them in a box. Their patron Weng Changsen would finance the publication of these poems as well.[25]

Of this collection, *Transcriptions of Poems of the Seven Masters of Shicheng* (Shicheng qizi shichao), Deng Jiaqi wrote that the group was reviving "the custom of reciting poetry," which, he claimed, had perished during the Taiping.[26] Some of the poems celebrated their original gathering, which Chen and the other six equated to the cultural fluorescence of Nanjing's Six Dynasties heyday: "The literati and great scholars of Nanjing follow the practices of the Qi and Liang Dynasties, and they value highly the pure discussion of the Wei and Jin Dynasties."[27] Chen Zuolin's own account of the gathering brimmed with allusions to famous meetings of poets. He names as antecedents the ritual dances at the court of Cao Cao (155–220 CE), the famed calligrapher Wang Xizhi's Preface to *Collected Poems Composed at Orchid Pavillion* (commemorating a gathering that took place in 353 CE), and the wild banquets thrown by the great aristocratic Wang and Xie families of the Six Dynasties Nanjing. With these comparisons, Chen claimed to curate Nanjing's imperial past. The compilation of poems, the rituals honoring the poets, the gatherings of Chen and his circle, and the poetry they subsequently wrote and published—all marked them as the figures best qualified to identify and make known virtue.

At the same time, Chen constantly noted a sense of loss. He compared the gathering to the experience of Yang Tan of the Jin Dynasty. Yang Tan had last seen his friend Xie An depart for the capital via Xizhou, but Xie An had then died. In sorrow, Yang Tan refused to travel to Xizhou, but one drunken evening forgot himself and entered the town, at which point he was, according to the account in the dynastic history of the Jin, overwhelmed with a sense of grief and loss.[28]

Chen's work throughout his life contained a similar tension. On the one hand he celebrated the accomplishments of Nanjing's reconstituted literati class. Chen's collection of books and biographies provided him with access to knowledge and enabled him to write about Nanjing. In his accounts of the city, he would claim—and in this respect he resembled not only prewar literati, but also the Taiping and Zeng Guofan—that Nanjing offered a model of a possible, better future for the state as a whole. Yet, on the other hand, the writing of Chen and his contemporaries involved the cataclysm of the war. For every book they recovered, they could name several others that had been lost. Their sense that their project remained incomplete tempered their enthusiasm for the literary culture they were recreating. Reconstructed

Nanjing preserved some essence of the city Chen remembered from his childhood, but it remained for him a lesser place. However comprehensive Chen's work, it also conveyed a sense of loss, grief, and fracture, one that seems typical of the generation that survived the Taiping War. Indeed, to be truly comprehensive, it was necessary to delve into the contours of loss, to show exactly who and what had perished. To that end, Chen and his contemporaries cataloged the dead.

THE VENERATION OF THE DEAD

When Chen's contemporaries contemplated virtue and harmony, they thought of the souls of the restless dead. As the local elite of the city returned to Nanjing after the war, they composed biographies and poems about the deceased. Here are summaries of a few representative examples:

> Zhu Qi, an eccentric poet, dressed all in white like a ghost. For a time, he would lurk in Buddhist temples, then leap out and surprise passersby. When the Taiping occupied Nanjing, however, Zhu decided that he could not endure the humiliation (*chi*) of serving them, so he and his wife, surnamed Yang, drowned themselves in a pond.[29]
>
> Wang Hu loved to study the Zuo Commentary of the Classic "Spring and Autumn Annals," a record of the Zhou Dynasty supposedly compiled by Confucius himself. A man working in the Taiping government attempted to entice Wang to accept a position as a clerk writing histories of the movement. Wang, incensed, yelled, "You are just bandits! What do you know of history? How could I be a bandit?" The man killed him.[30]
>
> Zhou Luo a *juren* of 1837, in 1853 volunteered with his brother, Zhou Tai, to join the militia defending the city. Both were gravely injured, but managed to return home. They burned down their house and then, along with eighteen members of their family, drowned themselves.[31]

Chen's biographies refer to Nanjing as the capital of the Taiping, but also as a center of virtue, a "collecting point of loyalty and righteousness."[32] Chen Zuolin's role in recovering texts and writing history took place alongside much broader efforts thoughout the empire to "exhort virtue and encourage loyalty." Like Qing officials, returning elites regularly expressed fear that the heroic deeds of the dynasty's defenders would go unnoticed. Some added that neglect would harm families of the deceased because those deserving

of posthumous awards might not know they could apply (or might lack imperial approval even if they did apply). Thus, writing biographies was itself a virtuous act. For his part, Chen recorded both forms of virtue: that of the war's martyrs who continued to haunt the city, and that of the survivors who cataloged the dead.

The work of the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness, though begun in 1860, only made significant progress after military action had ended in Nanjing. The deputies of this office worked in conjunction with county and prefectural schools to collect information on the dead, and their sources included both texts and interviews. Deputies of the Liangjiang Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness reported their findings to the governor-general in the form of "cases" (*an*), and provincial and capital officials, with approval of the dowager empress, routinely granted their requests for enshrinement and posthumous honors.[33] Because deputies were responsible for the provinces of Anhui, Jiangxi, and parts of Jiangsu, they had limited time to devote to Nanjing.[34] In much of that jurisdiction, official documents (for instance, those reporting the destruction of the great encampments) contained incomplete or contradictory information.

With Wang Shiduo's 1876 compilation of a local history, returning Nanjing elites became more involved in the process. By the late 1870s, these returnees were working to secure wealth in the new postwar order in order to restore their local prominence and to ensure proper treatment of the souls of their family members who had fallen in the war. Indeed, the author of one such compilation, Wang Huanggui (d. 1865) himself served on the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness.[35] Local elites also had financial incentives to bring clarity to the situation: the dynasty offered money to the families of the meritorious dead for the construction of memorial arches.

As one of the gazetteer editors, Wang sought to identify the loyal and chaste, and he both made use of and contributed to the records of the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness (which were kept in the governor general's yamen). He also recruited educated men to go into rural areas around Nanjing to conduct interviews.[36] As one of these men described the charge, he was to locate "the worthiness that has been lost or missing" and "the virtue that has been obscured or hidden" (*youqian zhi de*) and "expound and propagate" (*chanyang*) them. He was supposed to find "evidence" (*zheng*) for these acts, although in what form he does not say. Having established the accuracy of the information, he was to make a detailed report to the gazetteer compilers.[37]

Nanjing's educated elite excelled in the skills involved in investigating the dead because they had already engaged in similar activities before the war. They applied methods of textual comparison and collation that the generation of Zhu Xuzeng had developed in Nanjing's extensive private libraries. As Chen Zuolin worked on local history, other members of his circle investigated the archives of the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness, now housed in the governor-general's yamen. As deputies of the bureau and compilers of the gazetteer engaged in collecting and interviewing, they drew on the prewar practice of creating biographical compilations of virtuous women. The difficulties that these biographers encountered in keeping track of the dead were the kinds of problems they knew how to solve.

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No single figure better illustrates the complexity of the task, the variety of skills involved, and the range of motivations impelling literati than Gao Detai (b. 1838), who, at the urging of Zhu Guimo, sought to work independently of the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness to bring clarity to the regulations regarding rewards for the dead. Gao, too, had been recruited by Wang Shiduo to work on the 1876 gazetteer. Gao, who had also served as a deputy in the Bureau of Silk and Cotton, continued the task of collecting information even after 1876. In 1877, Gao published his research as *Reference Guide to the Loyal and Heroically Chaste* (Zhonglie beikao).

Like Chen Zuolin, Gao Detai credited his father with motivating him to undertake his postwar scholarship. The circumstances of war, however, left Gao particularly haunted. According the account Gao Detai published alongside the *Reference Guide,* his father, Gao Taiju (1782–1853) had regarding living alongside the Taiping as an intolerable form of pollution (*wu*). Gao Detai's older brother had attempted to rally militia forces to defend Nanjing, but the Taiping assault overwhelmed them. Gao's father then dismissed all his servants except for one, Jiang Fu, who was called upon to fetch eight enormous pots (*ju weng*) and fill them with water. When neighbors asked what he was up to, he told them he was preparing to put out a fire should the Taiping try to burn down the house. Gao Taiju summoned his family to the house, and had himself, his wife, and his four sons along with their wives and daughters sealed into the pots to kill themselves. Neighbors heard the commotion, rushed in, and cracked open the pots, thus saving Gao Detai, his aunt, and the daughter of one of his brothers.[38]

After the war, Gao initially became known for his expertise on the silk

industry.[39] It is likely the family had earned its money as silk merchants, and that he himself profited from the gradual postwar revival of the industry. He then devoted himself to the dead. Gao recognized a need for a work that survivors could use to check whether they qualified for money from the dynasty. At the same time, he and his many collaborators thought the *qi* of the valiant dead spread throughout heaven and earth, and they wanted to erase the humiliation of the Taiping occupation by revealing the many heroic acts of resistance. In 1887, the Liangjiang Loyalty and Righteousness Bureau issued its own biographical tome, the *Records of Loyalty and Righteousness in Liangjiang* (Liangjiang Zhongyi Lu) with significant attention devoted to Nanjing as well as the entire jurisdiction of the bureau. Alongside biographies, official and unofficial works reprinted edicts and memorials of interest to those who qualified for posthumous awards. Gao Detai's book included prefaces describing the intense efforts that had preceded its publication. For example, Duanmu Cai (1820–92) drew attention to the masses of incomplete or self-contradictory records and to the work of verifying the testimony of people who could profit by describing their relatives as Qing loyalists.[40] Biographical compilations displayed multiple models of exemplary conduct, highlighting both the activism of reinvigorated elites and the heroism of wartime loyalists.[41] Men like Chen Zuolin could point to them as evidence of the virtues of Nanjing residents, but local boosters from throughout Anhui, Jiangxi, and western Jiangsu could do the same.

The bulk of the biographies resemble Chen Zuolin's accounts. Replete with inspiring acts of loyalty, the works zero in on the moment of death. One figure shouts with his last breath "I've lived as a man of the Great Qing, and by dying I'll become a ghost of the Great Qing!" This detail is recorded for posterity even though the biography also describes the annihilation of all likely witnesses to the event.[42] Although the prefaces to these works insist that the authors strove for detail and accuracy, the prose's rhetorical verve most forcefully conveys the virtues that Nanjing's new and old elites wished to publicize to a postwar audience.

Biographers employed a common vocabulary. Death in combat could include street fighting (*xiang zhan*), being speared (*qiang*), or being struck with a bullet from a foreign gun (*zhong yangqiang er si*). More common were such phrases as "to encounter bandits and die" (*yu zei si*), "to meet with harm" (*yu hai*), and "to be harmed" (*bei hai*), all of which connoted a chance encounter with the enemy, not a full-scale engagement. Suicide was the single most frequent cause of death. Even the most humble family could

glorify itself by plunging into a nearby aquifer or securing cords strong enough to serve as nooses. In the genre of heroic death, these gestures suggested fortitude, but also devotion to the dynasty. People killed themselves because they refused to allow rebels to claim their allegiance. The following biography of Tu Xuan demonstrates standard conventions of the form:

> Tu Xuan, courtesy name Xuanzhi, was a stipend student from Shangyuan County. Honest, sincere, and straightforward, Tu studied with Hu Peihui. Tu also wrote the extremely detailed Biographies of Teachers of the Classics of the Han and Wei Periods. In 1853, when the bandits pressed near Nanjing, Tu addressed his family, saying: "For several generations we have been a literati family, swearing not to live among bandits. If matters become desperate, the only thing to do is start a fire and immolate ourselves." His family members all promised [to do so].
>
> When Nanjing fell to the Taiping, Tu donned the full dress [of the gentry] and sat upright [in a formal manner]. He ordered his family to ignite a fire and immolate themselves. Along with Tu Xuan, his younger son, Tu Zhaofen, died. The rest of the family was saved by neighbors. Tu Xuan's cousin on his father's side, the licentiate Tu Woling, was at that time in the Militia Bureau. He denounced the bandits and [refused to] submit to them, [and so] was killed by them.[43]

As in many of the biographies in these collections, this one opens with a brief account of the protagonist's character. These descriptions correspond to the occupation of the person in a formulaic manner. Because Tu had a degree, his biographers paid tribute to his scholarly abilities. Other frequent noted character traits are: for women, a will to remain chaste, and for soldiers, the bravery to confront opponents in battle. These qualities of the main characters are precisely what lead to their resistance to the Taiping. Tu Xuan's biography underscores the link between his education and his defiance of the onrushing rebels ("For several generations we have been a literati family, swearing not to live among bandits"). Tu Xuan's study with Hu and his own research also marks him as part of Nanjing's prewar scholarly circles. Although the figures discussed in biographies are not always well educated, the stories often draw connections between the background of the main characters and their willingness to die.

The exemplars in these biographies exhibit the determination (*zhi*) to bring about their own deaths. Faced with imminent peril, they react with

resoluteness, dignity, and calm (*kang kai*).[44] They die volitional deaths, resulting from deliberate action rather than chance encounter or bad luck. Tu Xuan, being "sincere and straightforward," addresses his family members in a frank manner regarding their duty to avoid serving the Taiping at all costs. The phrase "did not submit" (*bu qu*) used in the description of Tu Woling is very common, and implies that the Taiping had offered to spare the protagonist's life in return for allegiance.[45] The figures in biographies resist with a force of will expressed in the cliché "exhausted one's energies" (*jie li*) or display honor in their decision to of commit suicide to prevent the Taiping from being able to kill them. This language bolstered the image of loyal subjects opposing the rebellion in any way possible and thus actively bringing death upon themselves. It made the manner of one's death a decision rather than a mere byproduct of war, a gesture of resistance rather than defeat. Exemplary loyalty to the dynasty was near to hand; it had been displayed in every corner of Nanjing.

Given the apparent ubiquity of virtue, literati still wished to distinguish themselves as a class. In part they did so by highlighting their roles in gathering the names of the dead, but one incident from the Taiping occupation also reflected particularly well on local elites. In late 1853, the Nanjing native and prefectural degree holder Zhang Jigeng had exploited regional rivalries in the Taiping ranks to convince some soldiers to rebel. The plan was for these troops to throw open the Taiping Gate (in the northwestern part of the city by Xuanwu Lake) and link with forces in the Great Encampment of Jiangnan. If all had gone well, Qing troops would have been able enter the city undetected. Zhang claimed to have the allegiance of over 6,000 people. However, the commander of the encampment, Xiang Rong, worried that Zhang's plot might be a trick to ensnare the Qing troops, kept delaying the date. In March 1854, one of the participants divulged the scheme to the Taiping. Zhang managed to get word out to attack immediately, but the Taiping had since built an additional wooden wall around the gate. Watchmen heard the sounds of Qing loyalists trying to cut through the wall, and the entire plot was foiled. Over 800 people were killed.[46] All 800, particularly the leaders of the plot, earned special mention in the biographical collections.

Biographies of the heroic dead reflected ritual norms and Qing law. The families of the honored dead could qualify for state honors if they showed that their male relatives died (whether in combat or through suicide) in support of the dynasty. Women's virtue remained a degree of separation from

dynastic loyalty. The Qing honored them for filial devotion to their (loyalist) families. For this reason familial bonds weighed particularly heavy on women. Female speakers voiced fears of humiliation and pollution through contact with rebels, and they agonized over the possible shame when they encountered their relatives in the underworld.[47] In these stories, the willingness to die results from a clear sense of one's duty to one's ancestors, one's living relatives, and the dynasty.

State shrines included spirit tablet for the souls of the virtuous, and rituals performed at these shrines would "console loyal souls" (*wei zhonghun*). Imperial rescripts authorizing enshrinement referred the names of the people enshrined to the Boards of Rites, War, and Civil Appointments for consideration of posthumous awards. In theory, these awards provided for burial and funeral expenses, and in some cases they also conferred honors on descendants of those enshrined. Soldiers and officials (usually those whose careers had already been extremely successful) could receive posthumous epithets. These honorary names were two character phrases granted only to the most eminent officials. Upon his death in 1872, Zeng Guofan received the title "Cultured and Upright" (*wen zheng*). Soldiers and officials of unusual merit also qualified for the conferral of "honorary licentiate" (*yinsheng*) degree, treated as a licentiate for purposes of examinations. Soldiers and officials as well as degree holders and militia members could receive (in order from least to most common):

a. Award of brevet rank (*xian*) to the deceased. The Board of Civil Appointments recommended the posthumous rank for civil officials and for holders of civil degrees. The Board of War handled military officials and those holding degrees from the military examination system. Military officials generally received a brevet rank one class higher than their rank at time of death.
b. Hereditary military rank for the eldest surviving male descendant of the deceased. This rank generally decreased one level with each succeeding generation.[48]
c. A one-time lump sum payment (*xu*), ostensibly to help families bury and perform proper funerary rites to their ancestors, or (if the victim was a woman) to construct commemorative archways in front of their homes. The Board of War recommended the amount according to the rank or examination status of the person who died. If the death was considered to be one of unusual merit, the payment was higher.

Posthumous awards brought renown and money to the families of the fallen. These sums could in theory console the dead in much the same way as the rituals performed by government officials, allowing offerings to take place in family shrines.[49] Relatives of the dead thus had incentives to make sure their fallen family members were included in Qing shrines. Those who fought to preserve the state could thus expect security in the afterlife, and it is this tranquility of spirit that Zeng Guofan and other Qing officials probably imagined as the goal of "consoling loyal souls."

Biographers represented their subjects as particularly sensitive to the overlapping obligations of family and dynasty. From this acute sense of duty, the exemplars deliberately chose death. Death, when it came, was violent and sometimes very painful, a detail that made the decision appear even more virtuous. Although these deaths were in part the result of the war, the biographies emphasized moral judgment and determination over the specific circumstances of the rebellion. By focusing intensely on the moment of death, the compilers of biographies afforded literati acts of resistance as much claim to veneration as the exploits of soldiers.

Chen Zuolin's biographies of the war dead, like the ones that opened this section, generally followed the same conventions. He did, however, include more ambiguous cases, like that of Shi Ke. Chen recorded that prior to the war, Shi had given generously to Nanjing's charitable causes. In 1860, when the Great Encampment of Jiangnan fell, Shi Ke fled to hide in the deep mountains, where he starved to death. It is not clear from Chen's account whether Shi Ke refused food (and therefore committed suicide rather than serve the Taiping) or simply could not survive in the mountains. Because Chen did not devote his work exclusively to the war, he may have decided Shi Ke merited inclusion because of charitable acts rather than heroic death.

Postwar enshrinement located the strength of the polity in the figures of soldiers, militiamen, and poor women as well as officials, literati, and the monarch. The vigor of the state seemed to depend on their vigor, and the diversity of subjects asserted that the virtues depicted were to be emulated by all rather than merely admired. In the numbers and diversity of people included, in the association of small acts with dynastic survival, and in the views of the past they contained, shrines and biographies redefined political community. These practices were thought to counteract the "foul stench" (*xing shan*) of the war with the "splendor" (*yao*) of loyalty. [50]

Within Nanjing, as the city's elite families recovered from the war, the care of souls generated renewed activism and provided new opportunities

for manifesting virtues among both the living and the dead. For Chen, however, the dead dwelled in, but did not define Nanjing. Chen's biographies encompassed the stories of death in a much longer frame of virtuous acts that had shaped the city for hundreds of years. Furthermore, the city's present provided models that suggested ways of invigorating the polity apart from heroic death. To convey the bountiful minutiae of the late nineteenth-century cityscape, Chen wrote gazetteers.

THE MAGNIFICATION OF URBAN SPACE

In 1875, Chen passed his provincial examinations. Although he would never attain the highest degree, his status as a member of the upper gentry was now secure. Having not left Nanjing since 1865, he marked the occasion by embarking on new journeys. He went first to Suzhou, and the following year he travelled to Beijing to take part in the metropolitan examinations. As he traversed Shandong province, he noted that he was near the ancient home of Confucius, the heights of the sacred peak, Mount Tai, and the dykes of the Yellow River. Approaching Beijing, he sojourned in Huang Village, reflecting that the Buddhist sectarian Lin Qing had also resided there briefly prior to launching an attack on the capital in 1813.[51] Arriving in the city, he was taken with its cosmopolitanism and splendor. He observed imperial princes and Tibetan Buddhist lamas. He visited altars, and he was impressed with the beauty and the *qi* of the pines growing nearby. He noted in particular the Altar to Sericulture, where the Empress Dowager Cixi had reintroduced the offerings to the silkworm goddess, echoing the ritual of inspecting silkworms that the Qianlong emperor's consort had performed on tours to Nanjing.[52]

If the majesty of imperial monuments of the capital recalled Nanjing during the Southern Tours, then the commercial vitality of Shanghai, where Chen journeyed by steamship in 1877, conjured a more exotic and bewildering urban scene. The treaties between the Qing and foreign powers had made the city the primary entrepot of international trade, and the numbers of people fleeing the Taiping War had swelled the city's population. The International and French Concessions, Chen said, were like a mirage, and the light of the gas lamps combining with the sounds echoing in the streets was "dazzling" (*xuanyao*).[53]

Having seen Beijing's palaces and Shanghai's commerce, Chen returned home with a new sense of what a city could be. He continued work on his

histories, but,abandoning any ambitions for further examination success, he concurrently investigated Nanjing's neighborhoods, which he would describe in minute detail. If Nanjing's surface lacked the grandeur of Beijing or the beguiling confusion of Shanghai, its substance was for Chen equally alluring. Nanjing's bridges, canals, and buildings, however ordinary, each had a name and a story that Chen could incorporate into Nanjing's already dense literary web.

What was Chen Zuolin trying to make visible when he described Nanjing's layout bridge by bridge and block by block? His answer involved self-strengthening, the effort to rely on classical models to match the economic and military capacities of the western powers: "Self-strengthening begins from a unified state, and a unified state begins from the wealth of the people."[54] His gazetteers constructed a city in which disparate elements collaborated to create wealth and power. His detailed vistas of the city also proclaimed its recovery and recorded the efforts necessary to overcome the devastation of the Taiping War. His selective presentation elided competing visions of the city as missionary outpost, as treaty port, as railroad terminus, as subordinate to Beijing or Shanghai. And so, alongside his effort to locate Nanjing in time through his historical writing, Chen worked to map the city in space: to both provide an exacting account of its cityscape and to show how the city was at the center of larger spatial regimes.

Chen's most detailed accounts concerned Nanjing's southern districts, where a number of traces of the city's Six Dynasties heyday remained. Chen published the first of three gazetteers of the area in 1885, the *Small Gazetteer of Bridges over the Transport Canal* (Yundu qiaodao xiaozhi).[55] The Transport Canal was a network of waterways that crisscrossed the central city and connected to the Qinhuai River. The neighborhood around the canal had been the Six Dynasty's capital Jiankang, when the city had been linked to its rich agricultural hinterland through an extensive series of canals.[56] Chen Zuolin wanted to illustrate that this medieval landmark shaped the contemporary city. The major edifice of the neighborhood was the provincial school that Zeng Guofan had reconstructed on the site of the Chaotian Temple, and that site in turn was on the side of a hill that had been an ancient forge. Chen's next gazetteer, the *Small Gazetteer of the Phoenix Summit* (Fenglu xiaozhi), also described a contemporary neighborhood centered on a famous site. The Phoenix Terrace was an elevated spot from which one could view the Yangzi River. It had been the subject of poetry ever since the great Tang master Li Bo wrote "Climbing Phoenix Terrace at

Nanjing." Chen's work reprinted much of the site's literary legacy. Chen added accounts of temples and scenic sites and biographies of worthies who had lived in the area from the time of the Wu Kingdom. He wrote also of economic activity, the weaving industry in the area, gardens, orchards, and markets. He devoted a chapter to minting coins using machinery adapted from Europe.[57] In 1899, Chen also published his *Outline Gazetteer of the Eastern City* (Dongcheng zhilue), which supplemented his previous work by examining a neighborhood to the south of the Transport Canal and east of the Phoenix Terrace.[58] These three nonofficial gazetteers covered the entire southern portion of the city, which was the area of greatest population density. Three other works took on the entirety of the city rather than its particular corners: a collection of anecdotes of city life, a description of temples of the Six Dynasties, and a description of commerce in the city.[59]

Chen's works embedded Nanjing's *qi* in the city's quieter quarters as well as its famous sites. A bridge over the transport canal, the Red Earth Bridge, received its name from the clay that one could reach by digging on either bank; Chen attributed the same color to the "remaining *qi*" of Ye Mountain, itself a landmark of the Six Dynasties period.[60] To the northwest, on Donkey Hide Alley, had lived a community of leatherworkers whose materials put out a rancid smell, especially in the summer, and polluted the water until officials prohibited the slaughter of animals in the area. A bit further to the west was Chen Zuolin's own residence, which his family rebuilt brick by plank after the war.[61] To the north, there had once been a Guandi temple. Chen reported that an able magistrate had repaired the temple in the early nineteenth century, but that it was no longer extant. Further to the west was the former residence of Ma Xiangfu, a censor under the Daoguang emperor and a respected poet. In another quarter, Chen leads the reader through a series of edifices: the Fengchi Academy, then, to the south, the Thousand Buddha Convent and a temple to General Shi. To the north lay the Lianzi military barracks, the Fang alley, and the Lijin Bureau.[62]

And on and on—a mélange of residences, biographies, bridges, names, hills, and poets. In each corner of the city, Chen found fecundity. He attributed this in part to Nanjing's unusual *qi*, "deep and thick," which contributed both to its imperial solemnity and to its agricultural fertility.[63] Chen wrote of vegetable fields sprouting in spring with golden flowers and jade-colored stems, arbors of mulberry trees, gardens of leeks and celery and turnips. Standing on the city wall, he could see young women and their children spread across fields like "large, squirming ants," gathering mush-

rooms, clove, shepherd's purse, and aster flowers. Nanjing's waterways held fish, shrimp, crab, and clams, as well as water bamboo, water chestnuts, and cattails.[64] Each area of the city, in Chen's telling, had an associated product. The hillside north of Qingliang monastery had notable bamboo; Yuhua Terrace produced multicolored rocks that shone brightly after a light rain. Linggu Monastery and the Ming Tombs, with their surrounding springs, no longer held forests, but provided water for distilling liquor or steeping tea leaves.[65] The tea itself grew outside the southern walls in the area around the Baoen Monastery. The fields surrounding the city could support rice or wheat. The silk industry had revived. Weavers worked their looms throughout the region, but especially in the southern city. Buckwheat, corn, the potato, and the sweet potato supplemented the diet of the poor.[66]

With such detail, Chen's writing produced an illusion of comprehensiveness, yet his survey of the city's southern quarters, however evocative of daily life, elided a great deal. Islam and Daoism figured little in his work, making it very difficult to assess how these communities fared after the war. Even more strikingly, his seemingly photographic surveys of Nanjing left certain institutions underexposed, dark. Readers of his work would miss the completion of a Catholic Church in 1870, a primary school constructed by French missionaries in 1875, the establishment of the Imperial Post Office in 1897, and the establishment of the Fowler Bible School (Huiwen Academy) that opened in 1888. Nanjing became a treaty port, open to foreign ships, in 1899 and a terminus of a railroad line to Shanghai in 1908. Also in 1908, Nanjing became the seat of the Jiangsu Consultative Assembly, an elected body that came into being in the last wave of the Qing dynasty's reform attempts. Each of these events introduced new edifices: the port and railroad station in the northwest along the Yangzi's banks, the church and academies in the more crowded southern section, and the assembly near the banks of Xuanwu Lake. Each structure in turn implied Nanjing's connection to a larger spatial regime: a universal kingdom of God (or at least a terrestrial network of missionaries), a transportation grid, or a new kind of state. By leaving out the buildings, Chen bolstered his own version of Nanjing's spatial importance. Like the Qianlong emperor, like his literati forebears, like Hong Xiuquan and Zeng Guofan, Chen's depiction of the city also expressed his vision of the state as a whole. Of these figures, Chen exercised the least influence on the physical city, adding little more than his own house and some modest contributions to the city's academies. Instead of building, he wrote.

In his depictions, Chen used the layout of the city to connect its various sinews: famous people, government offices, virtue, history, and scenic sites. He gave priority to naming the city's various elements (and he explained the origins of each name as a way to connect the visible object to its unseen past). He mentioned repair and reconstruction of these structures mostly in the context of post-Taiping rebuilding. In Chen's depiction, governance, and wealth reinforced one another, providing a model for the entire empire. Chen's gazetteers mapped Nanjing's spaces in exacting detail, and they also implicitly suggested the connection of Nanjing to the rest of empire. Nanjing could be the center of renewal. Its wealth and virtue could ripple through the empire, allowing it to become strong.

In Chen's telling, the city *produced;* bountiful with agriculture and a booming cacophony of sounds: the wheels of carts on the thoroughfares, the clack-clack of looms, the hiss of the steam-powered mint.[67] Nanjing was well-governed. It housed institutions for defense, policing, charity, and industry. Chen showed that the city owed its prosperity to the virtues of ordinary people, but he still argued that morally inspired literati showed themselves uniquely capable of recognizing, fostering, and mobilizing people to act. Their virtue in turn enabled the city's recovery by creating its wealth and power. Taking up the slogan of "self-strengthening" that reformers were then promoting throughout the empire, Chen tried to demonstrate that true strength rested in the local, and particularly in the bountiful, harmonious *qi* that pervaded the city.

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In his recovery of texts, his veneration of the dead, and his magnification of urban space, Chen refashioned the city of virtues. He did not wholly ignore the changes happening in Nanjing in the early twentieth century. He wrote a textbook for the newly emerging primary schools, and he took a position as a librarian in the new Jiangnan Library in 1907. He felt that the lessons of the long process of post-Taiping recovery, a recovery that he thought continued into the early twentieth century, could guide China into the future. Though impressed, perhaps bedazzled, by Shanghai's modernity, Chen felt that the new necessarily carried in it remnants of the old. And so he attempted to anchor the city of Nanjing in its past, to show how the city's history permeates each corner and becomes embedded in the cityscape, and to demonstrate that neither the Taiping efforts nor the war that destroyed the city, could obliterate this past. His vision of *qi* as both physical substance

and a reflection of moral worth, a vision he shared with earlier utopians, gave him a powerful vehicle for making his arguments seem as self-evident as bridges, flagstones, or walls.

Yet at the time that Chen was writing his accounts of the city, revolutionaries, more sympathetic to the Taiping than to its enemies, were stirring. They would overthrow the dynasty. Following the abdication of the Qing emperor on February 12, 1912, Chen would retire from his work and cede the cityscape to new political visions, new understandings of national space, new utopians.

Conclusion: Elements of Utopia

Nanjing's residents lived variously in the Qing empire, in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, and in the Republic of China, but they did not experience any of these entities all at once, as a whole. Instead they interacted with the immediate manifestations of each regime: steles and gateways left by the emperor, troop compounds, government buildings, legal proceedings, officials and the rituals they performed, civil service examinations. In their own acts of scholarship and virtue, they thought they could reshape and strengthen the polity. The nature of their aspirations depended greatly on what they had experienced. In the eighteenth century the Qianlong emperor, in one of his many guises as universal emperor, imprinted his rule in the city, appropriating and extending its poetic heritage. Elites residing in Nanjing, faced with this expensive, self-aggrandizing display, reacted against it. A circle of wealthy families applied Yao Nai's teachings about virtue to their immediate surroundings, returning to the sites the emperor had visited and using them to depict a different kind of empire, one in which literati self-cultivation, rather than the personal characteristics of emperors, formed the basis of the strength of the polity. In so doing, they hoped they could end disorder and repel foreign threats, local manifestations of more global trends of international trade, technological innovation, and colonialism.

The massive rebellions of the mid-nineteenth century, particularly the Taiping, both resulted from and contributed to constraints on the reach of the imperial state. As a result, even those who wished the Qing dynasty to remain in power found themselves imagining new ways of ordering the empire. As a result, the nineteenth century became an age of utopian visions.

When the Taiping stormed Nanjing, elites such as Wang Shiduo found

themselves powerless, unable to counter the Taiping construction of Nanjing as the center of God's kingdom. Zeng Guofan, by creating the Hunan Army and recruiting educated men to serve in it, solved the immediate problem of how to act in an efficacious manner. In seizing and rebuilding Nanjing without the assistance of the British, he also answered the broader question of what kind of polity to create by founding new institutions that, he claimed, would allow local elites to recognize and foster virtue in the population at large. As new challenges, first in the form of missionaries, later manifested by foreign merchants and the reformist policies of the Qing central government, arose in opposition to this vision, Chen Zuolin, still reacting primarily to the Taiping, depicted Nanjing as a model city for the new age, a font of wealth and power.

At each step, the Qing central government, the colonial policies of foreigners, and hostile political movements threatened to undo the ideal worlds that advocates of utopian visions were trying to fashion. These threats appeared in specific sites: Taiping palaces where once yamen had stood, a Jesuit church in the center of the city, a foreign concession on the banks of the Yangzi. These places invoked new relationships between locations within the city and the world at large. A Taiping palace meant that Nanjing was a new Jerusalem in the Heavenly Kingdom. A Jesuit church evoked a different path to God and warned that in the postwar period returning elites would have rivals in their quest to define virtue. At the end of the century, a foreign concession identified Nanjing as a treaty port, a node in colonial networks of trade. As residents of the city lost their ability to construct in Nanjing monumental sites to display their visions of the cosmos, their capacity to assert cosmic truth diminished. Yet, as the case of Chen Zuolin demonstrates, they could still write the city anew, grounding their particular versions of truth in specific locations that they imbued with a cosmic resonance.

In setting forth their political visions, activists in Nanjing claimed to inhabit a distinctive place. Elite families in the early nineteenth century suggested that rituals in the city could resonate through the empire in part because the city's royal *qi* made it a capital. The Taiping held that Nanjing reflected Heaven, and Chen Zuolin suggested that the city's fecundity could bring wealth and power to the state. These claims allowed the proponents of utopian visions to imagine themselves as uniquely situated to transform the world. In fact, many of the activities in which they engaged took place

throughout China. As in Nanjing, communities of scholars in Guangzhou and Yangzhou investigated and celebrated local history.[1] The Taiping War gave a common set of experiences to an enormous number of people, and scholars of the nineteenth century have identified similar trends elsewhere. In Hangzhou, and indeed throughout areas affected by war, they cataloged and enshrined the dead.[2] One could find as much evidence of charitable activities in Hankou or Beijing as in Nanjing.[3] Elite involvement in state ritual practices became increasingly common throughout China over the course of the nineteenth century.[4] In none of these respects was Nanjing unique; in each case, the Taiping War seems to have accelerated trends already evident in the early nineteenth century.

And yet the rhetoric of Nanjing as capital had a certain power, and different groups employed it to great effect, evoking larger worlds out of elements that were near to hand. In the nineteenth century, their materials included buildings, graves, poems, histories, and rituals. Because the individual constituent parts were unique, their effectiveness seems to have come from their conjunction. In the context of new limitations on imperial power that gave a relatively free hand to those advocating political alternatives, groups in Nanjing harboring utopian visions (1) opposed the emperor, foreign imperialists, and each other; (2) sought to claim the allegiance of adherents by grounding their imagined worlds in apparently tangible realities as well as cosmic truths; (3) criticized rivals for espousing vacuous falsehoods; (4) promoted virtues that could allow individuals to bring about the desired world; and (5) saw that world as present only in nascent form.[5] Despite the convulsions of Qing and Republican China, here is a remarkable continuity: Wu Guangyu and Yao Nai, Hong Xiuquan, Zeng Guofan, Chen Zuolin, and twentieth century modernizers (most notably Chiang Kai-shek) all sought to inscribe their particular solutions to social disorder into Nanjing's cityscape. Transformations of the city have paralleled transformations of the polity.

Early twentieth-century political elites in the new Republic of China sought to effect new metamorphoses of Nanjing in part because they wanted to build a symbolic center of the Chinese national community in a site away from the Qing capital. They attempted to showcase their state and community as modern, which for them meant, among other things, stripped of any cosmic resonance. They hoped as well to co-opt or create citizens of the nation and harness citizenship to create a strong nation-state. Rejecting Chen Zuolin's portrayal of a bountiful metropolis, they saw in Nanjing's

existing streets crowded, unhygienic backwardness.[6] They devoted themselves to reconstructing Nanjing, making the city a "laboratory of modernity" that would both reflect and bring about a new age.[7]

Multiple attempts to make Nanjing a capital reflected the tumultuous political history of the Republic. In 1912, Sun Yatsen, seeking to distinguish his government from that of the Qing, and also hoping to limit the influence of Yuan Shikai, established Nanjing as the seat of his republican government on January 1, 1912. Yuan Shikai had switched sides and forced the Qing to abdicate on condition that he be made president of the new republic.[8] Because Yuan's power base was in north China, he returned the organs of state to Beijing when Sun resigned on Feburary 15, 1912. Soon after Yuan's death in 1916, warring factions divided China into militarized fiefdoms. Chiang Kaishek defeated a coalition of these warlords and managed (at least in name) to unite the country. In 1927, wishing to remain near his power base in order to press his advantages against rivals within the Nationalist party, and also hoping to benefit from the legacy of Sun Yatsen, Chiang made Nanjing his capital.[9] The Nanjing decade lasted until 1937, when Japanese soldiers took the city after protracted battle and engaged in atrocities that have come to be known in English as the "Rape of Nanjing." Chiang retreated to Sichuan, and Nanjing became seat of government for the Japanese-occupied areas. Following Japanese surrender in 1945, Chiang Kaishek returned, but his loss to the Communists in 1949 marked the end of efforts to make Nanjing the center of the polity.

From nineteenth-century utopian movements, nationalist modernizers obtained tools for replicating political power in a city. They learned how to construct meaningful places in an already-charged landscape, how to link those places to larger concepts of national space, and how to display and enact their spatial practices in ritual. The governments that constructed Nanjing in the twentieth century also discarded elements of the utopian toolkit: not just ideas about time and cosmos, but also the notion that virtue shaped the *qi* of the city. They claimed, often dubiously, that science grounded their new forms of knowledge. Yet in shaping Nanjing, political elites have relied on techniques cultivated in the nineteenth century, and even those utopian elements that governments have sought to repress have shown remarkable resilience.

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Shifts in the city's status have left corpses. The Taiping massacred bannermen, and Hunan Army braves slaughtered the Taiping. In 1911, the Qing

governor, upon hearing that revolution was underway, locked the city gates and ordered the execution of anybody not wearing a queue.[10] During the Nanjing decade, Nationalist police and soldiers shot subversives on execution grounds to the south of the city, and of course the Japanese wartime capital only came into being after the Rape of Nanjing.

The frequency of killing meant that new leaders in the city engaged in classifying, interring, and memorializing the dead; these practices helped manifest the state in Nanjing. In the nineteenth century, Zeng Guofan developed institutions for identifying the heroic dead; these institutions further subdivided the fallen according to status: officials, soldiers, militiamen, gentry, commoners, women, and entire families. Because more people had access to state honors in the nineteenth century, Mark Elvin, referring to enshrinement of widows, has described the process as the "democratization of virtue," but the phrase is misleading. [11] More people could be described as virtuous, yes, but the number of people with the privilege of judging virtue remained low. Educated elites sought to ensure that they remained virtue's arbiters. Their efforts determined who would receive state honors, and they penned the biographies that recorded their decisions. Perhaps most importantly, they wrote the texts and engaged in rituals that settled the souls of the dead. Death ritual created sites and occasions for literati to reproduce their conceptions of afterlife, *qi*, the ideal subjects of the polity, the ideal state, and therefore the cosmos as a whole.

The fate of individual corpses could prove as telling as the disposition of mass death. In the eighteenth century, the Qianlong emperor claimed special communion with Zhu Yuanzhang, the first Ming emperor. Through poetry and ritual at the site of Zhu's tomb, Qianlong asserted his own legitimate rule over China proper, a role he juxtaposed with complex alternate spatial conceptions (demarcating an area of conquest, a multiethnic empire, and even asserting, in Buddhist language, a form of being in which geography was meaningless). During the Taiping War, the tomb became an encampment for various armies, and Zeng Guofan afforded it low priority despite urgent edicts from Beijing commanding that he perform rituals at the tomb. What Qing monarchs took as a site to assert their imperial prerogatives became, in 1912, a place for Sun Yatsen to declare victory over the Qing and indeed over monarchy itself. In one of his first acts as president of the new republic, Sun presented offerings at Zhu's tomb. After the institutions Sun had hoped to create in Nanjing crumbled, he dictated in his will that he be buried in Nanjing. Chiang Kaishek subsequently ordered that a

mausoleum for Sun be built nearby. Charles Musgrove has shown that it was constructed on a monumental scale explicitly for the purpose of allowing large gatherings for ceremonies of national belonging. This ceremonial center reverberated in rituals honoring Sun throughout China. Musgrove observed as well that prayer texts honoring Sun echoed the earlier conceptions of Nanjing as a magical landscape: "Behold Nanjing's great geographic situation! Truly the country has been established on a fine foundation!"[12] The party created a park on the site of the tomb, with a cemetery for those who had died for the nation. The area also came to house tombs for party leaders, and Linggu monastery became a martyr's shrine. Because of such practices, Musgrove has aptly named the area a Nationalist necropolis.[13]

In other words, the practices developed around the dead in the nineteenth century proved flexible enough that twentieth-century leaders could attempt to generate new spatial meanings. In place of an empire with subjects whose virtue could produce *qi* that might settle the cosmos, they hoped to forge a nation with citizens whose love of country allowed them to die for the cause of progress. In both Qing and Republican China, different groups contested these practices. The point is that the founders of the early Republic had previously experienced ways of using the dead to display a polity, and their choice of Nanjing as capital made available meaningful locations to help them in the effort to legitimate their new state.

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Although Chen Zuolin died in 1920, his way of looking at Nanjing—the intense gaze, the desire to record the poetic legacy of each site—survived. His son, Chen Yifu (1873–1937) catalogued the city's northern neighborhoods with the same attention the older Chen had bestowed on its Six Dynasties core. In 1934, the scholar Wang Huanbiao published the Gazetteer of the Ming Tomb (Ming Xiaoling zhi). The preface argued that the resting places of Chinese emperors, because they had survived the Manchu regime, could "stir the virtue of the people."[14] In 1937, on the eve of Japanese invasion, another writer saw in the destruction of the Porcelain Pagoda of the Baoen Temple during the Taiping War on the one hand a metaphor for China's weakness ("Our country's buildings as a rule are made of mud and wood, not like the fortifications of Westerners made of strong rock . . ."), and on the other hand a lasting testament to the artistic achievement of Nanjing and China as a whole.[15] These writers were among the many who found in

Chen Zuolin's project of strengthening the Qing empire a model for serving contemporary goals of forging a national culture and community.

In recent years, writing gazetteers has become a different sort of occupation, one that appears to bestow more attention to the cityscape than even Chen Zuolin could muster. Like most localities in the People's Republic, the Nanjing city government has produced general overviews of the city itself, as well as specialized volumes on public security, archives, transportation, population, natural features, local dialect, food, customs, religion, people, industry, and scenic sites, including the Linggu Monastery. These publications highlight government projects, and one of their goals is to show how the state governs multiple aspects of city life. Gazetteers tend to quantify Nanjing's population, telling readers, for example, that in 1952, when the city's population was 953,964, there were 37,887 babies born in Nanjing, while in 1982 the number was 35,223 births in a population of 2,149, 333, or that in 1982, 6.7 percent of the urban population over age fifteen were students, while 8.2 percent worked in agriculture and 39.1 percent worked in industry.[16] In such works, the entire urban community (and by replication throughout the People's Republic, the national community) becomes visible as a "mass public."[17] Alongside these textual renderings of Nanjing, the city government has devoted itself to urban renewal and is reconstructing the city with even greater thoroughness than Zeng Guofan. Part of this process involves rebuilding famous sites so as to cash in on tourism. Such commodification extends well beyond the purview of municipal authorities. Commercial publishing houses have been reprinting older gazetteers, including many of those that serve as sources for this book. Just as the dead remain in Nanjing, so do the poetic legacies of the nineteenth century.

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Through ritual, different people manipulated bodies and objects in Nanjing's charged cityscape to suggest that their actions resonated in larger realms. These practices invoked polities. In ritual, advocates of particular visions of the state could display and enact different modes of political belonging, suggest models of virtue to inspire action within the desired realm, and variously depict Nanjing as an administrative center within a larger empire, as a model city for strengthening the state, or as the center of a new world. Each vision implied a different form of political belonging that could be articulated in particular ceremonies.

When visiting the city on his eighteenth-century tours, the Qianlong emperor could embody his various roles as universal emperor, construct religious landscapes, display military might, and array officials and literati around him as subjects of his rule. Yao Nai, Wu Guangyu, and the literati of their circle could construct temples, identify virtuous exemplars, and perform offerings to an array of gods and spirits. Such rituals allowed them to see themselves, rather than the person of the emperor, as the agents of cosmic harmony. Taiping rituals brought about more radical displacement by rejecting the Qing empire and its subjects as demonic delusions. In ritual, Taiping adherents confirmed to each other, and proclaimed to outsiders, that they lived in a new kind of world. When Zeng Guofan's Hunan Army defeated the Taiping, he advocated rituals such as offerings to Confucius as a means to incorporate literati into new urban institutions that he hoped would mobilize broad social forces for self-strengthening. Chen Zuolin's ritual activities sought to preserve that role for literati amidst the onslaught of missionaries, merchants, and modernizers who were transforming Nanjing's built environment. In each case, rituals helped people to understand themselves as acting within a larger geographic whole. In ritual, utopians contested space.

Even as ritual ceased to define areas of statecraft, performing rituals remained crucial to creating forms of political belonging. Public ceremonies, schooling in dress and etiquette, and queue cutting contributed to what Henrietta Harrison calls "the making of the Republican citizen." Disputes among different actors helped determined what citizenship required, to what political body citizens adhered, and who might enjoy the full benefits of citizenship. Recent scholarship has shown how public speaking, textbooks, rituals, the press, travel, translation, and debate (particularly over China's place in the world) contributed to creating citizens in the twentieth century. Citizens were expected to express sympathy with one another, to participate in political institutions, and to "awaken" to their duty to sacrifice themselves to prevent the destruction of the nation.[18] In David Strand's words "Citizenship, not only as an idealized state of mobilized support for the Chinese nation, but also as a pattern of individual and group activism, took hold on an everyday basis."[19] Citizens, so the new thinking went, could act in the interests of the nation and bring about progress.

The early twentieth century produced a great variety of forms of citizenship in China. The handful of examples we have seen here, however, suggest that the making of subjects in the nineteenth century was fully as complex

as the forging of citizens in the twentieth. As different political movements have occupied Nanjing, participants have sought ways to display and enact programs of cosmic transformation, and also to define new forms of political belonging within the space they have imaged.

What were the legacies of these movements? Their attempts to forge new spatial orders, to create new modes of political belonging, did not lead to modernity. It did mean, however, that modernizers worked with a repertoire of actions that they applied to new contexts, breaking apart the constellation of elements that had characterized nineteenth-century movements. Those elements, including veneration of the dead, compilation of poetry and history of sites within the city, and ritual practices, continue to exist as a kind of political potential energy. There are perhaps innumerable ways to naturalize power, to embed it in bodies or landscapes or the movements of heavenly bodies or the language of scientific discovery. Another is to create cityscapes, and to use them to define and celebrate virtues.

Many of the constituent elements of this political strategy remain available, but they have not recently been combined nor applied to a sense of cosmic resonance. Of course people in China and throughout the world do continue to invest cityscapes with political meaning. Here, too, certain contemporary grievances seem to have nineteenth-century antecedents. The leveling of neighborhoods has fostered simmering discontent over political participation. Residents of cities continue to make use of opportunities and also suffer disruptions from shifting world markets. Given grievances broadly similar to those of nineteenth-century activists, urban dwellers might use similar tactics of political imagination. Because these ways of naturalizing power can accommodate a variety of political goals, it is not clear whether such a movement would be desirable. It should, however, at least make sense to add the potential for such a movement to our own sense of the possible. We should not be surprised to encounter new utopias.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

DQTL	*Da Qing tongli* [Comprehensive rituals of the Qing Dynasty].
ECCP	Arthur W. Hummel, ed. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*.
GZD-GC	First Historical Archive, Beijing. *Gongzhongdang* [Palace memorial archive], *gongcheng* (construction) category.
JLTJ	Chen Zuolin. *Jinling tongji* [Comprehensive annals of Nanjing].
JLTZ	Chen Zuolin. *Jinling tongzhuan* [Comprehensive biographies of Nanjing residents].
JNFZ-JQ	*Jiangning fuzhi* [Jiangning prefectual gazetteer]. 1811.
JNFZ-GX	*Jiangning fuzhi* [Jiangning prefectual gazetteer]. 1880.
JLSZ	Zhu Xuzeng. *Guochao Jinling shizheng* [Selections of Qing dynasty poetry from Nanjing].
JLWC	Qin Jitang, ed. *Guochao Jinling wenchao* [Transcriptions of prose from Nanjing during the (Qing) dynasty].
KYWC	Chen Zuolin. *Keyuan wencun* [Surviving prose of Chen Zuolin].
LJCFZYZL	*LiangJiang caifang zhongyi zhuanlu* [LiangJiang biographical records of loyalty and righteousness (acquired by) collecting and interviewing].
NPM: YZD	National Palace Museum (Taiwan). *Yue zhe dang* [Monthly record books of the Grand Council].
QDNXSD	*Qinding Nanxun shengdian* [Imperially commissioned great canon of the southern tours].
QSL	*Da Qing lichao shilu* [Veritable records of the Qing dynasty].
SJLXZ	*Shang Jiang liangxian zhi* [Gazetteer of the two counties of Shangyuan and Jiangning].
SYXZ-KX	*Shangyuan xianzhi* [Shangyuan county gazetteer]. 1721.
SYXZ-DG	*Shangyuan xianzhi* [Shangyuan county gazetteer]. 1824.
TPTG	Xiang Da, ed. *Taiping Tianguo* [Taiping Heavenly Kingdom].
WMCXSJ	Wang Shiduo. *Wang Meicun xiansheng ji* [Collected works of Wang Shiduo].
YBRJ	Wang Shiduo. *Yibing riji* [Diary of 1855–56].
ZLBK	Gao Detai, *Zhonglie beikao* [Reference guide to loyalty and heroic chastity].
ZGFQJ	Zeng Guofan 曾國藩. *Zeng Guofan quanji* 曾國藩全集 [Complete works of Zeng Guofan].

NOTES

INTRODUCTION: AN AGE OF UTOPIAN VISIONS

1 I derive this phrase from Fabio Lanza's analysis of Beijing student movements, in which he states: "Space is not simply the stage of events but truly the stake of political struggles." Lanza, *Behind the Gate: Inventing Students in Beijing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 7.

2 *Qianyizhao shengshu* [New Testament with Hong Xiuquan's annotations]. In Michael, *Taiping Rebellion,* 2: 227; Jin Yufu, *Taiping Tianguo shiliao*, 76–88. See also Hong's note on Revelations 3:12, noting that John's prophesy of a New Jerusalem was now fulfilled. Michael, *Taiping Rebellion,* 2: 235.

3 *Tianqing daoli shu* [Book on the principles of the heavenly nature], 1854. In Xiang Da, *Taiping Tianguo*, 1: 355. Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 366.

4 Reilly, *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*, 126, citing "Jinling guijia jishi lue" in Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo,* 4: 652.

5 Michael, ed., *Taiping Rebellion,* 2: 116; Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo*, 1: 75–76.

6 Lin Man-houng, *China Upside Down*, 107–14.

7 William Rowe, "Introduction: The Significance of the Qianlong-Jiaqing Transition in Chinese History," 84; Matthew W. Mosca, "The Literati Rewriting of China in the Qianlong-Jiaqing Transition," 121–23. Seunghyun Han sees the switch in increasing activism of lower gentry, notably in the form of examination boycotts. See "The Punishment of Examination Riots in the Early to Mid-Qing Period," 158. These articles all draw on the views of David Nivison, Philip Kuhn, and Susan Mann. See Kuhn and Jones, "Dynastic Decline"; Kuhn, "Ideas Behind China's Modern State," 295–337; and Nivison, "Heshen and His Accusers," 240–41.

8 Wang, *White Lotus Rebels*, 254–58; McMahon, *Rethinking Chinese Imperial Decline*, 6–7.

9 Kuhn, *Origins of the Modern Chinese State*, 17; Polacheck, *The Inner Opium War,* 15.

10 See, for example, Dodgen's account of what he called "Confucian engineers," in *Controlling the Dragon*, 136–44. See also Leonard, *Controlling from Afar*, 233.

11 Ricoeur, *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*, 301–15.

12 In everyday English usage, calling somebody a "utopian" can be a form of censure, an accusation that a person harbors unworkable fantasies. It can also be a compliment, carrying the sense that a person answers to a higher calling. Following Richard Noble and Krishan Kumar, I see utopian ideals as neither good nor bad, but rather as strategies in power struggles. In Noble's words, utopias offer "some insight into . . . the contradictions and limitations that drive our will to escape the here and now in the first place" ("Introduction: The Utopian Impulse in Contemporary Art," 14). The sociologists Kumar similarly recognized that although a utopia may call for "a state of impossible perfection," the form of that perfection must be recognizable to a readership, audience, or group of followers. Utopia for Kumar is "in some genuine sense not beyond the reach of humanity. It is here if not now" (Kumar, *Utopianism*, 3).

13 Wu Jingzi, *The Scholars*, 312.

14 Important studies of Nanjing include Mote, "Transformation of Nanjing"; Fei, *Negotiating Urban Space*; Luo, "From Imperial City"; Withers, "Heavenly Capital"; Stuer, "Dimensions of Place"; Coleman, "Municipal Politics" ; Lipkin, *Useless to the State*, Musgrove, *China's Contested Capital*.

15 Rogaski, *Hygenic Modernity;* Stapleton, *Civilizing Chengdu;* Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai*.

16 Tsin, *Nation, Governance, and Modernity*.

17 Carroll, *Between Heaven and Modernity*, 3, 130.

18 Yeh, *Shanghai Splendor*, Bergère, *Shanghai;* Lee, *Shanghai Modern*.

19 Mote, "A Millennium of Chinese Urban History"; Mote, "The Transformation of Nanjing, 1350–1400"; Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China*.

20 Fei, *Negotiating Urban Space*, 2–3. In a similar vein, see Luo "From Imperial City to Cosmopolitan Metropolis," 62–66.

21 Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*; Finnane, *Speaking of Yangzhou*.

22 According to David B. Honey, the name "Jinling" dates to around 333 BCE, when the state of Chu (481–212) controlled the area. See "Before Dragons Coiled and Tigers Crouched," 15.

23 "Jianye" was the name given by Sun Quan (182–252) in 229. The city became "Jiankang" following its establishment as the capital of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420). Honey, "Before Dragons," 15–16.

24 Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, 1, 43–44.

25 Owen, "Place: Meditation on the Past at Chin-ling," 417.

26 Chinese emperors had two names, a personal name (in this case, Zhu Yuanzhang) and a more formal temple name (Ming Taizu). In addition, the span of an emperor's rule was given a reign name (e.g. the Hongwu reign). Confusingly, it has become conventional to refer to Ming and Qing emperors by the name of the period in which they ruled; hence "Qianlong" or "the Qianlong emperor" for the emperor who reigned in the Qianlong period. This book generally uses reign names to refer to the person of the emperor.

27 Jonathan Hay, "Ming Palace and Tomb in Early Qing Jiangning."
28 Ter Haar, "China's Inner Demons," 37–40.
29 *Da Qing yitong zhi*, 1842 edition, 35: 1b, 37: 6a.
30 Essay by Zhao Yi in *Huangchao jingshi wenbian*, 78: 9a.
31 I would like to thank Yang Fu for his insights into the use of "royal *qi*" in early texts. In 1616, Nurhaci declared himself emperor and afterward, in 1625, transferred his seat of power to Shenyang. See Roth Li, "State Building Before 1644," 34–37.
32 Owen, "Place," 420.
33 *Jian Tianjing yu Jinling lun*; Michael, *Taiping Rebellion,* 2: 234.
34 Zito, "Ritualizing *Li*," 321–48. Norman Kutcher has referred to the correspondence between filial devotion to parents and loyal service to the emperor as the "parallel conception of society." See *Mourning in Late Imperial China*.
35 Robert Culp, *Articulating Citizenship*, 9–11.
36 I follow Patricia Thornton's modification of Charles Tilly in understanding the "state" as the "principal concentrated means of coercion"—and moral regulation—"in a well-defined territory." Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States,* 130–31. "State building" here is understood as extending bureaucratic control over land and resources, improving the capacity of government officials to exert coercive power, and also as enhancing their claims to moral authority. Thornton, *Disciplining the State*, 1–3; Wong, *China Transformed*, 74.
37 Mark Elvin called this phenomenon the "democratization of virtue" ("Female Virtue and the State in China," 111–52). I think the reference to "democracy" is not wholly fitting. More and more people were considered to be potential models of virtue, but (as the following chapters will demonstrate) the power to define what constituted virtue remained in the hands of a relatively small group of urban elites.
38 Thornton, *Disciplining the State,* 203.

1. THE QIANLONG EMPEROR'S TOURS OF THE IMPERIAL CITY, 1751–84

1 Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 17–18.
2 Yuan Mei, *Suiyuan nüdi shixuan*, 97.
3 Chang, *Court on Horseback,* 115–16.
4 *QSL*, 385: 2a–11b, dated QL 16/3/*xia*; *JLTJ*, 2: 2b–4a.
5 According to Mark Elliot, the banner garrison comprised 17 percent of the total area of Nanjing within the city wall: *Manchu Way*, 110.
6 Stephen Owen, "Place," 417.
7 Chang, *Court on Horseback*, 74.
8 Ibid., 437.
9 Wu, *Passage to Power*, 106–11. The last Ming loyalist attack on Nanjing took place in 1659. Elliot, *Manchu Way*, 108.
10 Hay, "Ming Palace and Tomb," 15. Here and below I have slightly modified the translation. The essay appears in *JNFZ-JQ*, 1: 1b–3a.

11 Hay, "Ming Palace and Tomb," 18; *JNFZ-JQ,* 1: 1b–3a.
12 Stuer, "Dimensions of Place," 116.
13 Hay, "Ming Palace and Tomb," 37–38. Hay describes the images as "utopian" (38).
14 On the importance of this office during the early Qing, see Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor,* 87–89.
15 *JNFZ-JQ*, 1: 5b–2: 18a.
16 Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror,* 260 (quotation); 36–52 (universalism); Crossley addresses the Qianlong emperor's tendency to fashion encyclopedic replicas of the empire (see 281–85).
17 Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries,* 1.
18 Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva," 5–34; Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 8.
19 Elliot and Chia, "The Qing Hunt at Mulan," 81.
20 Forêt, *Mapping Chengde,* 100–110.
21 Strickmann, "Maoshan Revelations," 3; Bokenkamp, "Daoism: An Overview," 2182–83.
22 Makeham, *Transmitters and Creators,* 85–86, note 21, citing *Nan Qi shu*, 16: 315.
23 Kirkland, "The History of Taoism," 187; Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon,* 634.
24 Kohn, ed. *Daoism Handbook*, 597–98.
25 *SYXZ-DG*, 12: 14b–15a; *JNFZ-JQ* 10: 15a.
26 The *bian'e* appears in *QDNXSD*, 89: 8a–15a.
27 Zhang, *Jinling da Baoen sita zhi*, 16–17.
28 Murata, "Chugoku no Aikuōto," 3–18; Xia Weizhong et al., "Nanjing Tianqi si de yan'ge," 229–36; Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 277–80; Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*, 186.
29 Zhang, *Jinling da Baoen sita zhi*, 124.
30 *JNFZ-JQ,* 6–7a; Zhang, *Jinling da Baoen sita zhi*, 114–22*;* Mote, *Imperial China,* 617; Hobson, "The Porcelain Pagoda of Nanjing," 31–34.
31 Elverskog, *Our Great Qing,* 76–79.
32 Lewis, *China Between Empires*, 206–7; Janoush, "Emperor as Bodhisattva," 140–49**;** Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, 243–44; Ku, "The Buddharaga Image of Emperor Wu," 277; Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins*, 380–83.
33 Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation, 30–33.
34 Berkowitz, *Patterns of Disengagement*, 236–38. Faure, *Rhetoric of Immediacy,* 99.
35 Wang Huanbiao, *Ming Xiaoling zhi*, 18–21.
36 Bennett, "Patterns of the Sky and Earth," 1–26.
37 Luo Xiaoxiang, "From Imperial City," 62–66; Mote, "Transformation of Nanjing," 149.
38 On *qi*, see *Linggu chanlin zhi* 12: 6b ; and *JLSZ* 11: 10a, 19a. On animals, see *JLSZ*, 11: 18b–19a. The quote about white dragons comes from a poem by Wang Daqian, 11: 19a.
39 *Linggu chanlin zhi*. 4: 2a.
40 *QSL-QL* 385: 5b, 16/3/25 (April 20, 1751).

41 *QDNXSD*, 10: 14a; *JNFZ-JQ*, 1: 21a.
42 *QDNXSD*, 2: 30a; *JNFZ-JQ*, 1: 7b.
43 Zito, *Of Body and Brush,* 154.
44 The review ground's name included the word "small" (*xiao*) to distinguish it from "large" (*da*) Jiaochang, which lay south of the former Ming palace, which was used for massive ceremonies during the early Ming.
45 *JNFZ-JQ*, 17: 3b–4b.
46 *QDNXSD,* 76: 8a.
47 The ritual itself appears to have been a smaller-scale version of the grand inspections held at Nanyuan Park in Beijing. See Cohen, *Culture of War in China*, 71–75; *DQTL*, 39: 4a–14a.
48 Chang, *Court on Horseback*, 192. Chang draws from Gao Jin, *Nanxun shengdian*, 87: 2b–3a, 88: 2b–3a.
49 Chang, *Court on Horseback*, 217.
50 Ibid., 206–210.
51 *QDNXSD,* 76: 1a.
52 *QDNXSD,* 76: 8a.
53 Gao Jin, *Nanxun shengdian* 12: 24b; translation adapted from Chang, *Court on Horseback*, 207.
54 *QDNXSD*, 2: 28a; *JNFZ-JQ*, 1: 6a. The poem also appears on a tour scroll now held in the Musee Guimet, Paris. See Rey, *Les très riches heurs*, 192.
55 Gao Jin, *Nanxun shengdian*, 67: 3a, dated QL 27.
56 On the early Qing rulers' respect for Zhu Yuanzhang, see Elliot, "Whose Empire Shall it Be?" 61–63.
57 *QDNXSD*, 14: 13b–14a; *JNFZ-JQ*, 1: 21a, from tour dated QL 27.
58 Wang Huanbiao, *Ming Xiaoling zhi*, 156 (account by Qian Daxin), 154 (Yuan Mei), and 159 (Chen Wenshu).
59 The following account is based on *QSL-QL*, 657: 2b, dated QL27/3/17 (officials dispatched), and 657: 8b , dated QL 27/3/26 (emperor). *QDNXSD*, 67: 7b–8b; *Da Qing huidian zeli*, 82: 13b–21a; *DQTL,* 9: 16b–2a.
60 *QDNXSD*, 65: 1a.
61 *QDNXSD,* 35: 1a. Similarly, Angela Zito argued that Qianlong renewed cosmic cycles of yin and yang through ritual and in so doing regenerated his own position as emperor (*Of Body and Brush*, 150).
62 Chang, *Court on Horseback*, 261–65; see also Appendix C, 466–69.
63 Ibid., 265.
64 *JNFZ-JQ*, 16/13a–b; Keenan, *Classical Academies,* 38–39.
65 Kuhn, *Origins*, 17.
66 Ibid., 31–32.
67 Cited in Polachek, *Inner Opium War*, 35. The quotation comes from the *Shilu*, 1173: 17b–18a, edict dated QL 48/1/8. Translation modified from Polachek.
68 Chang, *Court on Horseback,* 467–69; *JLTJ*, 2: 2b–11b.
69 Keenan, *Classical Academies*, 39–42.

2. LITERATI POLITICS IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

1 Yao Nai, *Xibaoxuan shiwen ji*, 14: 20a.
2 *JLWC*, 8: 33b.
3 Gao Detai, *Jinling jiye suoji*, 2: 1a–b.
4 Li, *China's Silk Trade,* 53; Wu, *Zhongguo ziben zhuyi de mengya*, 370.
5 Susan Mann, *Precious Records*, 138.
6 Zhuquan juren, *Xu Banqiao zaji*, 53.
7 Lü and Ge, *Qingdai shehui yu shixue*, 3. On comparisons between the Ming and Tokugawa, see de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Principle and Practicality*, esp. 22–30. For discussion of eighteenth-century applications of the concept of practicality, see Rowe, *Saving the World*, 133–37.
8 Ibid., 206–18.
9 Wang Jiajian, *Wei Yuan nianpu*, 53. Other prominent literati associated with Tao Chu's staff were Hu Linyi (1812–61, see chapter 3), Bao Shichen, Chen Shirong (1787–1864), Cheng Enze (1785–1837), who also served as director of the Zhongshan Academy, and Mei Zengliang (1786–1856), the only one of the group who called Nanjing his native place. Shang Xiaoming, *Xueren youmu yu Qingdai xueshu*, 295–96.
10 Lin Manhoung, *China Upside Down*, 203.
11 Huters, "From Writing to Literature," 74.
12 Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries*, 123.
13 Huters, "From Writing to Literature," 74.
14 In the text that follows, I refer to this group in shorthand variously as "Yao Nai's school," "Yao Nai's circle," "Yao Nai's followers," or "the group indebted to Yao Nai." They were an intellectual and social cluster that continued in Nanjing after Yao's death and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and were not limited to the social contacts that Yao Nai enjoyed during his lifetime. Chen Zuolin's family was also part of this group. See chapter 5. Some prominent residents of Nanjing who were *not* in this group were Wang Shiduo and other students of Hu Peihui (see chapter 3), the poets Jin He (1818–85) and Cai Lin (1819–68), and most of the He Changling's circle (see below).
15 For more on Wu Guangyu, see below. His son Wu Changhua obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1814. His grandsons included the poets Wu Chengqin (1803–78).
16 *JLTZ*, 25: 1a, 8a–b. For more on Zhu Xuzeng and his family, see chapter 5.
17 Mei Zengliang, *Boyan shanfang wenji*, 12: 19b–22a.
18 Gan Xi, *Baixia suoyan*, 8/8a, 10/1a, and afterward by Gan Yuanhuan.
19 Jin Ao, *Jinling daizheng lu*, author's introduction.
20 *JLTZ*, 37: 6a–b.
21 On local turns in Chinese history see Bol, "The 'Localist Turn' and 'Local Identity'," and Miles, *Sea of Learning*, 282.
22 Catherine Stuer has aptly labeled works of this type as "serial landscapes." Stuer, "Dimensions of Place," 320. See her discussion of the *Fodder Mound Collection*, 318–26.

23 Chen Wenshu, *Moling ji*, author's introduction. For references to the city's *qi* see 1: 3a, 2: 6b, 3: 14b, 6: 3a, and 6: 24b.

24 *The Scholars,* which circulated in manuscript form in the eighteenth century but was not published until the next century, represents another work that conveyed a vision of moral reform through ritual, which Yao Nai's circle would have seen as an antecedent to their own. See Shang, *Rulin Waishi*, 72–78.

25 Miles, *Sea of Learning,* 160–63.

26 Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture*, 194–95.

27 Kuhn and Jones, "Dynastic Decline and the Roots of Rebellion."

28 On grain prices, see Gan Xu, "Zhen zai yi [Proposals for relief of disasters]," in *JLWC*, 10: 1a–4b. On grain transport, see Wei Yuan, "Haiyun quan'an xu [Introduction to *The Complete Records of Sea Transport*]," in Wei, *Wei Yuan ji*, 41–43. On famine relief, see Wang Zhihua, "Zhen zai yi [Proposals for the relief of disasters]," in *JLWC*, 8: 33a–35a.

29 Guan Tong , "Shuo shi shang [Discussion of the literati, part one]," in Guan, *Yinjixuan wen erji*, 1: 7–8a (467).

30 Gan Xu, "Zhen zai yi," 10: 2a–b.

31 Biography of Wu by his sons and epitaph by Cheng Enze in the opening *juan* of Wu Guangyu, *Buyuan shiji*. Wu's biography and surname suggest that he had Muslim heritage, but he apparently did not comment on Islam in his writings.

32 Information on the Lifesaving Bureau comes from Gan, *Baixia suoyan*, 2: 7a, 3: 2b, 7: 16b; *JNFZ-GX*, *juan*14, part 9 *shang*: 22b–24b. Wu Guangyu's role is highlighted in *JLTZ*, 10: 8b; and Li Huan ed., *Guochao qixian leicheng chubian* , 460: 15a–17a (187: 239–43). See also Wu Guangyu's biography in *Jiangning fuzhi*, *juan* 14, part 3: 6a–b.

33 *SYXZ-DG*, 8: 26a–28a; Han Wenqi, *Han da zhongcheng zouyi*. Han Wenqi (1763–1841) was Jiangsu governor from 1822 to 1824.

34 In other words, the total quota for two counties was fifty-nine boats.

35 *QSL-DG*, 54: 6a–b (edict dated DG 3/7/9).

36 Han Wenqi, *Han da zhongcheng zouyi*, 3: 2a. Although the sources are silent on the matter, I speculate that merchant donors might have been able to use space on the transport boats in return for endowing the fund.

37 Wakeman, "The Canton Trade and the Opium War," 195–207.

38 *JLTJ*, 3: 5a; *JNFZ-GX*, 10: 7b.

39 *JNFZ-GX*, 10: 7b. Jin He, "Weicheng jishi liuyong [Six verses giving an account of the siege of the city]," in Qi Sihe, ed., *Yapian zhanzheng*, 4: 726–27.

40 Ssu-yü Teng, *Chang Hsi and the Treaty of Nanjing*, 64–71 (eleventh-hour resolution), 87 (signing of treaty), and 106 (withdrawal of troops).

41 Polachek, *Inner Opium War*, 159–64; 194–200.

42 Bao Shichen, *An Wu sizhong*, 35: 18a.

43 Yao Ying, *Dongmin wen houji*, 15: 17b.

44 Ibid.

45 Chen Weiyuan, "Taiping xian chayuan gaijian shiyuan ji [Account of the conversion of the Taiping County censor's office into an examination compound," in *JLWC*, 6: 46a. Chen Weiyuan was Chen Zuolin's grandfather. See chapter 5.

46 Guan Tong, "Ni yan fengsu shu [Draft of a letter speaking of popular customs]," in *Yinjixuan wen chuji*, 4: 1a–3b. The quotation is on page 1b.

47 Mei Zengliang, "Min lu" [Discussion of the people], in *JLWC*, 7: 35a–36a. Others beyond the Tongcheng circle made similar arguments. Wei Yuan claimed that there was also an abundance of vital *qi* in urban areas because people were collected together. In rural areas, "people are scattered and so *qi* is scattered." In his view, the relative lack of ritual and music in rural areas could exacerbate these natural tendencies. Wei, *Wei Yuan ji*, 61. Unlike Yao Nai and company, Wei excluded holders of the *shengyuan* degree from his category of "literati." See Kuhn, *Origins*, 41–42.

48 *GZD-GC*, 3/1489 (Sun Yuting memorial dated DG 2/*run* 3/25).

49 On the 597 ounces for the Altar to the First Agriculturalist, see *GZD-GC*, 3/1745 (memorial of Han Wenqi dated DG 4/2/14); on the 1,044 ounces of silver for the Altar of Celestial and Terrestrial Spirits, see *GZD-GC*, 3/1686 (Sun Yuting memorial dated DG 3/8/16); and on the 1,388 ounces for the Guandi Temple and Shrine to Reveal Loyalty, see *GZD-GC*, 3/2318 (memorial of Jiang Youxian dated DG 10/3/12). As the Qing imperial archives have suffered from a tumultuous twentieth century, so these figures probably do not represent all of the money that the provincial treasury approved for temple repair.

50 *GZD-GC*, 3/1686 (Sun Yuting memorial dated DG 3/8/16); and *GZD-GC*, 3/2738 (Tao Shu memorial dated DG 15/1/21).

51 *JLWC*, 8: 38a.

52 *SYXZ-KX*, 11: 9a–b; *Jiangning xinzhi*, 9: 6b–8b; *SYXZ-DG*, 9: 17a–19b. The 1811 prefectural gazetteer give the number 44, but this calculation only includes Ming and Qing figures.

53 Seunghyun Han, "Reinventing Local Tradition," 212. Tobie Meyer-Fong identified a similar shift in Yangzhou, from eighteenth-century elites who relied on ties outside the city in order to enhance their local status to nineteenth-century elites who emphasized their ties to Yangzhou and "local places were important because they were local." Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture*, 127.

54 Gan Xi, *Baixia suoyan*, 1: 20a.

55 Yao Nai, *Xi Baoxuan shiwen ji*, 399.

56 *JLTZ*, 37: 6a–b.

57 See chapter 1.

58 Langlois and Sun, "Three Teachings Syncretism," 110. Liu, "Daoist Priests," 56–58.

59 Hay, "Ming Palace and Tomb", 12–13, 21.

60 Yu Binshi, *Jinling langu shi*, 1: 4a. Yu lived during the seventeenth century; the poems were originally published after the conquest and before 1673. See Hay, "Ming Palace," 14.

61 Yu Binshi, *Jinling langu shi*, 4b–5a.

62 Stuer, "Dimensions of Place," 271; *JNFX-JQ*, 8: 12a; *SYXZ-DG*, 12: 3a; Liu, "Daoist Priests," 57. After the Taiping War, it became the site of a mass grave and altar for orphan souls. *JNFZ-GX*, 8: 3a. See chapter 4.

63 Chen Wenshu, *Moling ji*, 6: 31b–32a.

64 For a different view, see Stuer, "Dimensions of Place," 304. This map comes from *SYXZ-DG*, 2: 7b–8a. This map is quite similar to those in the front matter of *Nanji zhi*, and in *SYXZ-KX*, 1b-2a. The biggest change is that Qing maps include an additional wall that demarcates the banner garrison. Nanjing was a palimpsest: the Qing city sat on top of, but did not replace, the Ming city.

65 *JNFZ-JQ* 3: 2a–3b. The map did include the Old Interior Palace. See Stuer's excellent discussion in "Dimensions of Place," 303–309. Yao Nai's critique of representation is in *JNFZ-JQ*, 6: 1a, cited in Stuer, "Dimensions of Place," 303.

66 Stuer, "Dimensions of Place," 229, 307.

67 *JNFZ-JQ*, 16: 1b (566); *SYXZ-DG*, 9: 30a (673). Jin Ao, *Jinling daizheng lu,* 2: 1a.

68 Gan Xi, *Baixia suoyan*, 2: 14a.

69 Front matter, in Wu Guangyu, *Buyuan shiji.*

70 Jin Ao, *Jinlin daizheng lu,* 8: 2a; *SYXZ-DG*, 9: 13a–b. *Sa sao* literally means "sprinkling and sweeping," a reference to the basics of education.

71 *SYXZ-DG*, 9: 13a–b.

72 Wang Du, "Jiangning Taishou Yu gong Peiyuan xiufu fu xueji" (Account of Prefect Yu Peiyuan repairing the prefectural school), *SYXZ-DG*, 9: 34b–36b; Jin Ao, *Jinling daizheng lu*, 8: 2a.

73 Gan Xi, *Baixia suoyan*, 7: 18a.

74 Ibid., 7: 24a.

75 Jin Ao, *Jinling daizheng lu*, 8: 2a.

76 Yu Binshi, *Jinling langu shi*, 4: 13b. *SYXZ-DG*, 9: 9b–10a, 9: 30a–32a.

77 Gan Xi, *Baixia suoyan*, 3: 1b; *JLSZ*, 27: 29b, 29: 8a; *SYXZ-DG*, 11: 9b

78 Useful summaries of events and issues appear in Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes*, 20–22; Tsai, *Perpetual Happiness*, 71–72; and Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations,* 97–105.

79 Gan Xi, *Baixia suoyan*, 3: 1b.

80 *JNFZ-JQ*, 13: 9a.

81 *SYXZ-KX*, 12: 16a–20a. Peter Ditmanson has observed that interest in the gory details about the Jianwen Martyrs emerged at about the same time as efforts were made to commemorate them in particular localities ("Venerating the Martyrs of the 1402 Usurpation," 146–49). On the motives of the future Yongle emperor, and in particular his expurgation of the historical record, see Hok-Lam Chan, "Legitimizing Usurpation," 95–102.

82 Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes*, 22.

83 *SYXZ-DG*, 23: 17a–20a.

84 "Obedience" here meaning "law-abiding." Edict dated QL 41/2/8 (February 6, 1777), in Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan, ed., *Qianlong chao shangyu dang*, 129, no. 328. See also *QSL-QL*, 1000: 22a–23a. Nanjing residents were quite sympathetic to these goals at times. See, for example, Yao Nai, *Xibaoxuan shiwen ji*, 399.

85 Bai Mengding, "Chongxiu Fang Zhengxue Citang ji, [Account of the reconstruction of the Shrine to Fang Xiaoru]," in *JLWC*, 2: 38a–b. This essay probably commemorates the repair that took place in 1656.

86 Gan Xi, *Baixia suoyan,* 3: 1b. Another Jianwen martyr, Huang Zicheng, was also

claimed to have traces of blood remaining in the city. See poems in *JLSZ*, 35: 22a, 36: 13a, 36: 38a.

87 Yao Nai, "Fang Zhengxue ci chongxiu jian ji," in *Xibaoxuan shiwen ji*, 234–35.

88 Alexander Woodside has described this academy; see "The Divorce Between the Political Center and Educational Creativity."

3. WANG SHIDUO'S FLIGHT FROM THE NEW JERUSALEM, 1853–64

1 *YBRJ*, 1: 2a (15) (sequestered), 1: 2b (15) (corpses), and 1: 5a–b (21–22) (sorcery). Rumors about Taiping magic were widespread in Nanjing. See Withers, "Heavenly Capital," 69–73.

2 Platt, *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom*, 140–63. Withers, "Heavenly Capital," 117–18, 153–58.

3 Meyer-Fong, *What Remains,* 98. Helpful overviews of Taiping historiography include Teng, *Historiography of the Taiping Rebellion* and Xia Chuntao, "Ershi shiji de Taiping Tianguo shi yanjiu."

4 Useful general histories of the Taiping War include Jian Youwen, *Taiping Tianguo quanshi*; Franz Michael, ed., *The Taiping Rebellion*; Mao Jiaqi, ed., *Taiping Tianguo tongshi*, and Cui Zhiqing, *Taiping Tianguo zhanzheng quanshi*. The best brief overview of the Taiping movement remains Philip Kuhn, "The Taiping Rebellion," 264–317.

5 On the life of Hong Xiuquan, see Jonathan Spence, *God's Chinese Son*.

6 Spence, *God's Chinese Son,* 110–25. Robert P. Weller, *Resistance, Chaos, and Control*, 62–64.

7 *Tian tiao shu* [Book of the heavenly commandments], in Xiang Da, *Taiping Tianguo*, 1: 78; Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 120. For this passage and subsequent Taiping documents cited in this chapter, I have adapted the translations in Michael. On the dating of the text, see Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 111.

8 On the development of ideas about demonic forces in the early years of the Taiping movement, see Wagner, *Reenacting the Heavenly Vision,* 47–67; Weller, *Resistance, Chaos, and Control*, 60–68; ter Haar, "China's Inner Demons," 42–52.

9 ter Haar, "China's Inner Demons," 46–47; Spence, *God's Chinese Son*, 114–21. Rudolf Wagner dates the shift to 1848. See *Reenacting the Heavenly Vision*, 60–66.

10 Thomas Reilly, *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*, 92–99.

11 *Jiuyizhao shengshu*, 75–76; Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 225. The passage is Hong's annotation of Genesis 3: 1–21.

12 A more literal but unwieldy translation of *hu* is "tribe from the north."

13 *Tianqing daoli shu*, in Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo,* 1: 363; Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 372.

14 *Tianqing daoli shu,* in Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo*, 1: 565; Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 367.

15 *Tianqing daoli shu,* in Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo*, 1: 592; Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 377.

16 Li Congjian, "Chongyi Taiping Tianguo tianjing jiandu", 44–48.

17 Li Congjian argues that the decision to make Nanjing the capital came in the immediate wake of the Jintian uprising in 1851 ("Chongyi Taiping Tianguo tianjing jiandu," 44–48). Jonathan Withers claimed that Taiping leaders considered Beijing as well, but chose Nanjing instead in December 1852 ("Heavenly Capital," 7). Franz Michael cites the confession of a captured adherent to support the idea that Hong Xiuquan was still considering other locations even after the Taiping occupied Nanjing (*Taiping Rebellion*, 1: 69–70).

18 I am grateful to Susan Naquin for pointing out the religious significance of this date.

19 On Taiping institutions, see Jian Youwen, *Taiping Tianguo dianzhi tongkao* and Luo Ergang's *Taiping Tianguo de lixiang guo*.

20 Withers, "Heavenly Capital," 49–52.

21 Luo Ergang, ed., *Taiping tianguo wenshu congbian*; Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 442–43. The edict is dated June 1853.

22 The proclamation was probably issued in 1853. Luo Ergang, ed., *Taiping Tianguo wenshu congbian*, 114–15; Michael, *Taiping Rebellion,* 2: 464.

23 For the deaths of bannermen, see *JLWC*, 14: 10a. On the destruction of garrison buildings, see Withers, "Heavenly Capital," 52–53; Edkins, *Chinese Scenes and People,* 280. A 1739 estimate of the banner garrison's total population numbered 51,000; see Elliot, *The Manchu Way*, 121.

24 Edkins, "*Chinese Scenes and People*," 253.

25 Chen Zuolin, *Keyuan beiwang lu*, 1: 9a. For more on Chen, see chapter 5.

26 Jian Youwen, *Taiping Tianguo quanshi*, 532.

27 "A Letter by Mgr. F. X. Maresca, Catholic Bishop of Nanking," in Clarke and Gregory, ed., *Western Reports*, 37–40.

28 Edkins, "*Chinese Scenes and People*," 279. The statement was an exaggeration. Some temple buildings remained but were used for other purposes. "The Wenchang Gong, the Temple of the God of Literature, for example, became the new Office of Printing; the Guandi Temple became a factory for the manufacture of gunpowder" (Withers, "Heavenly Capital," 104). The walls of the county temple to Confucius remained standing (Jian, *Taiping Tianguo quanshi*, 531).

29 *YBRJ*, 1: 8a; Withers, "Heavenly Capital," 39–40.

30 *YBRJ*, 1: 9b.

31 *YBRJ*, 1: 5b, 7b–8a.

32 *YBRJ*, 1: 2b**,** translated in Withers, "Heavenly Capital," 100.

33 *YBRJ*, 14a–16a.

34 *Jian Tianjing yu Jinling lun*. It is not clear who wrote this collection—educated residents of Nanjing, southerners familiar with the discourse on royal *qi,* or both. Michael, *Taiping Rebellion,* 2: 234.

35 Withers, "Heavenly Capital," 106.

36 Ibid., 105–106.

37 *YBRJ*, 1: 4a.

38 Luo Ergang, ed., *Wenshu,* 114; Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 464.

39 Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 321.

40 *Ban xing lishu* [Calendar by imperial sanction], in Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo*, 1: 171; Michael, *Taiping Rebellion,* 2: 324.

41 Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 228; Jin, *Shiliao*, 79. Hong wrote the passage in his commentary on Matthew 13: 24–43, the parable of the wheat and the tares. In it, the good farmer sowed wheat; his enemy sowed tares in the field amongst the good farmer's wheat. Upon discovering the sabotage, the farmer said that one must allow the tares to grow alongside the wheat until both ripen, and only then can they be separated.

42 Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo*, 1: 326; Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 20.

43 Li Gui , *Jinling bingshi hui lue*, 1: 24a ; Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo* 3: 262; Clarke and Gregory, ed., *Western Reports*, 333; Withers, "Heavenly Capital," 96.

44 Chen Zuolin, *Keyuan*, 1: 13a (diary entry dated XF 3/3/16 [April 23, 1853]).

45 Zhang Dejian, *Zeiqing huizuan* [Collected reports on the state of the bandits], in Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo*, 3: 261–62. See also Reilly, *Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*, 125–126.

46 Zhang Dejian, *Zeiqing huizuan*, 3: 261–62.

47 Xie Jiehe, *Jinling guijia jishi lue*, in Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo*, 4: 652. Similar versions appear in Li Gui, *Jinling bingshi huilei*, 1: 24a; *YBRJ*, 1: 5a–b (which indicates that the doxology was posted); and Reilly, *Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*, 127.

48 Reilly, *Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*, 126; Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo*, 3: 261–62.

49 *Tianqing daoli shu,* in Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo*, 1: 393–406; Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 397–408.

50 *Tianli yaolun* [Important Observations Regarding Heavenly Principles] (1854), in Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 361–62; Reilly, *Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*, 54–55 (on Protestant antecedents), 98 (on Taiping themselves).

51 *Tianqing daoli shu*, in Xiang, *Taiping Tianguo* 1: 405, Michael, *Taiping Rebellion*, 2: 407–48.

52 The primary source for Wang's actions in the early part of the war is *Yibing riji* (*YBRJ*), an edited, typeset edition of his diary that was compiled in 1936. For Wang's activities between 1856 and 1864, I have relied on letters and an autobiographical account in his collected works (*WMCXSJ*, *juan* 10 [letters], 12: 2a–3b [493–496]), an essay by Wang (collected in Zhao Heping, ed., *Beijing Tushuguan cang zhenben nianpu*, 151: 367–71) and biographies by Gan Yuanhuan (in *JLWC*, 15: 69a–81a) and by Gu Yun (in *JLWC*, 4: 15a–18a). Zhao Zongfu drew on these sources for *Wang Meicun nianpu gao* [Collected works of Wang Shiduo]. See also the entry by Teng Ssu-yü in *ECCP*, 834–36, and Otani Toshio, *Shindai seiji shisô to Ahen Sensô* 583–611.

53 Zhao, *Nianpu*, 171 (deaths of youngest daughters), 174–75 (marriages and scholarship of daughters).

54 Withers, "Heavenly Capital," 146–47.

55 *YBRJ*, 1: 5a, 1: 7b–8a.

56 Ibid., 1: 7a–b, 1: 19a–b.

57 Ibid 1: 10b; Withers, "Heavenly Capital," 132. *WMCXSJ*, 12: 13a–14b.

58 *YBRJ*, 1: 10b.

59 *YBRJ*, 1: 6a.
60 Zhao, *Nianpu*, 177–78.
61 *YBRJ*, 2: 21b–22a; 3: 12b;
62 Otani, *Shindai seiji shisō*, 584–89. Whereas I have emphasized Wang's changing views, Otani correctly pointed out the continuity of Wang's interest in geography (*dili*) before, during, and after the war (see esp. 607–608).
63 *YBRJ*, 2: 12b.
64 Ibid., 2: 5a; 2: 18b.
65 *YBRJ*, 2: 18a.
66 Ibid., 2: 10b.
67 Ibid., 2: 10b. Translation adapted from Withers "Heavenly Capital," 149.
68 Ibid., 2: 9b–10a.
69 Ibid,. 2: 19b–20a; 3: 25b. See discussion in Dikötter, "The Limits of Benevolence: Wang Shiduo (1802–1889) and Population Control," 110–15. Several scholars have discussed Wang's "theory," such as Shen Fuliang (see *Wang Shiduo de renkou lilun*, 14).
70 *WMCXSJ*, 11b–16a.
71 Kuhn, *Rebellion and its Enemies*, esp. 59, 147.
72 Kuhn, "The Taiping Rebellion."
73 Platt, *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom*, 255. Platt points out that because the new empress dowager needed Zeng's loyalty, she granted his many requests. So, in Platt's words, "the early months of 1862 saw what was, essentially, a complete takeover of the civil administration of eastern China by Zeng Guofan and his protégés" (*Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom*, 256).
74 Letter to Hu Linyi; *WMCXSJ*, 10: 5a.
75 Porter, *Tseng Kuo-fan's Private Bureaucracy*, esp. 71–91.
76 *ECCP*, 835.
77 *WMCXSJ*, 10: 7a–8a.
78 On the strategy behind the battle for Anqing, see Platt, *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom*, 135–37. On Zeng's use of his private bureaucracy there, 296–97.
79 Wang Shiduo, "*Shengmiao liyue tuji xu* [Preface to the *Collected Illustrations of Ritual and Music in the Confucian Temple*]," in *WMCXSJ*, 7a (325). This preface was written in 1861 at some time prior to the death of Hu Linyi in September of that year.
80 For more details regarding the shrines and posthumous honors, see chapter 5.
81 Qing regulations stipulated that the spirit tablets of those who died while fighting on behalf of the dynasty should be included in the Reveal Loyalty Shrines (for soldiers and officials) or the Shrines to the Loyalty and Righteousness (for male civilians), and that women who killed themselves rather than endure battle were enshrined separately in the Shrines to the Chaste and Filial. *YBRJ,* 1: 16a (quotation); 1: 14a–18a (list of the dead).
82 *YBRJ*, 2: 11b–12a.
83 *YBRJ*, 2: 11a
84 Hu Linyi memorial, received in palace on XF 6/10/15 (NPM: YZD 6/10/shang, 71–

76). The memorial states that Hu ordered the provincial treasurer to set up the office.

85 Memorials recommending shrines in Xiangxiang (dated XF 8/8/12) and Pingjiang (XF 10/7/3) in *ZGFQJ*, 2: 878–79; and *ZGFQJ*, 2: 1195.

86 Its area of activity was not coterminous with the Liangjiang governor-general's nominal jurisdiction, because the Bureau did not include those involved in Li Hongzhang's push westward from Shanghai.

87 Zeng Guofan, letter to Hu Linyi dated XF 10/5/21, in *ZGFQJ*, 22: 1420. Cited in Andrew Cheng-kuang Hsieh, "Tseng Kuo-fan," 103.

88 There are differing accounts of who inspired Zeng. A biography of Chen Ai, the first head of the office, suggests that Chen himself began to collect names and petition for their inclusion in local shrines. His efforts, according to this work, led to the establishment of the Bureau. Miao Quansun, ed., *Xubei zhuanji*, 45: 16a. This biography was written well after the rebellion, in 1910, but see Porter's interpretation of the same passage in *Tseng Kuo-fan's Private Bureaucracy*, 42. As noted above, Zeng was probably also inspired by local efforts to construct shrines. The idea of instituting a bureau for granting honors to the dead also appeared a few months later in a set of proposed regulations for militia submitted by censor Mao Changxi and received August 27, 1860 (XF 10/7/11); see *NPM: YZD* (XF 10/7), vol. 3, 18.

89 *LJCFZYZ*, *fan li*, 1: 1a–2b. The full title of the new institution was "Field Encampment Bureau for Interviewing and Collecting [Exemplars of] Loyalty and Righteousness" (Xingying Caifang Zhongyi Ju).

90 *WMCXSJ*, 8: 4a.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.

4. ZENG GUOFAN'S CONSTRUCTION OF A RITUAL CENTER, 1864–72

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1 Zhao Liewen, "Neng jingju shi riji," 369–70, 374 (fires, entries dated TZ 3/6/16 and 3/6/21), 383 (occupation of houses, entry dated TZ 3/7/16), 371 (indiscriminate killing, entry dated 3/6/17). See also memorial dated TZ 3/6/23 in *NPM-YZD*, TZ 3/6/*xia*, 91–104. Zeng Guofan was Zeng Guoquan's older brother. For the rest of this chapter, "Zeng" refers to Zeng Guofan.

2 Joint memorial by Guan Wen and Zeng Guofan dated TZ 3/6/23, in *NPM: YZD, TZ* 3/6/xia, 91–104. For a discussion of the use of the word "revival" (often translated as "restoration") during the Tongzhi reign period (1862–74), see Mary Wright, *Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism*, 43–46 and Kwang-Ching Liu "The Ch'ing Restoration," 409–10.

3 Porter, *Tseng Kuo-fan's Private Bureaucracy*, 1972, 75.

4 The Hunan army arose from the consolidation of local Hunanese militia units into

a force under the personal supervision of Zeng Guofan. See Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies,* 144–48.

5 Examples of provincial officials who were also on Zeng's staff between 1864 and 1865 include Wan Qichen (dates unknown), Jiangning provincial treasurer; Li Zongxi (1818–84), his replacement; Guo Boyin (1807–84), Jiangsu provincial judge; Pang Jiyun (d. 1884), Jiangning salt taotai; Li Hongyi (1831–85), Jiangnan grain intendant; and Tu Zongying (1812–94), Jiangning prefect. Jiangsu governor Li Hongzhang (1823–1901) had also served on Zeng's staff (see Cheng, *Zeng Guofan de muliao men*, 374–445).

6 On Zeng's indebtedness to Yao Nai, see Qian Mu, *Zhongguo jin sanbai nian xueshu shi*, 631–39 (Tongcheng School), 647–50 (ritual), and 654–55 (writing).

7 This definition comes from Tilly, *Coercion,* 130–31; Thornton, *Disciplining the State*, 1–4, 203; and Wong, *China Transformed*, 74.

8 In the endgame of the Taiping War, the Hunan Army advanced eastward through Anhui and into Jiangning Prefecture. The Huai Army of Li Hongzhang moved westward from Shanghai. Both Zeng and Li Hongzhang had formal jurisdiction over Nanjing because Li was appointed Jiangsu governor in 1862. However, a *de facto* division of responsibilities left Li to administer most of the province. For an example of Hefei, and a different model of reconstruction by elites involved in the suppression of the Taiping, see Meyer-Fong, "Urban Space and Civil War," 486–90.

9 Fuma Susumu, *Chugoku zenkai zentō shi kenkyū*, 178–91.

10 G. William Skinner puts Nanjing's prewar urban population at 300,000 people (Skinner, "Regional Urbanization," 238). Working from that figure, and taking into account Ye-Chien Wang's study of southern Jiangsu (see Wang, "Impact," 149–51), and the biographies of Nanjing residents, I guess that Nanjing's post-war population numbered 75,000, including 45,000 newcomers. However, there is no firm evidence and a plethora of alternative estimates. See Wooldridge, "Transformations of Ritual and State," 199–200 note 12.

11 Liu, "The Ch'ing Restoration," 435.

12 *QSL*, TZ109: 4a–8a (edict dated TZ 3/7/11). Cited in Hsieh, "Zeng Guofan," 168. Zeng Guoquan responded by declaring himself ill and returning home to Hunan in the fall of 1864.

13 Zhu Dongan, *Zeng Guofan zhuan*, 224–26.

14 Chen Naixun and Du Fukun, eds., *Xinjing beicheng, shang*: 50, 68, 74. The soldiers who departed either returned to their homes or joined units fighting the Nian Rebellion in North China.

15 I use the word "returnees" to refer to anybody who had come back to the city and had who had been living there in 1853. Most literati returnees, like Wang Shiduo, found settled places to live during the war. In the discourse of the time,"Refugees" (*nanmin*) meant anybody who needed shelter.

16 Escaped loyalists: Augustus Lindley, 775–78; bands of locals: Zhao Liewen, 383 (entry dated TZ3/7/16).

17 Zhao Liewen, *Neng jingju shi riji*, 383 (entry dated TZ3/7/16).). Zhao reported that some managed to force their way into the city. Zhao did not mention when the ban was lifted—probably after the arrival of Zeng Guofan in August 1864.

18 Zeng Guofan estimated 80,000 refugees around Nanjing in a memorial dated TZ 3/7/7 (Zeng, *Xianzheng Zeng Guofan wenxian huibian*, 2901).

19 Zhao, *Wang Meicun nianpu,* 178.

20 Resident Chen Zuolin in 1860 reported he was so poor that he lived on "bean porridge (*dou zhou*). Chen, *Keyuan beiwang lu,* 2: 4b.

21 *Suzhou fuzhi,* 1887, *juan* 24.

22 On wood, see below. On markets, see Zhang Hongdiao et al., *Jingzhou laoren*, 2: 10.

23 The quotation, written by Chen Zuolin in 1873, gives a retrospective view of what *shanhou* had involved over the previous decade. *KYWC,* 4: 1a.

24 *SJLXZ*, 11: 4b.

25 Zhao Liewen, *Neng jingju shi riji*, 375 (entry dated TZ 3/6/21).

26 *ZGFQJ*, 13: 324–25.

27 Mao Xianglin, *Mo yu lu*, 17–19.

28 Alabaster report to the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in *North China Herald* (Aug. 6, 1864), cited in Wright, *Last Stand*, 122.

29 Zhou Fu, "Zhou Fu ziding nianpu," 26, *shang*: 11b. I am grateful to Tobie Meyer-Fong for this reference.

30 On the development of the Accounting Bureau, see Zhu Dongan, *Zeng Guofan mufu yanjiu*, 76–90 and Porter, *Tseng Kuo-fan's Private Bureaucracy*, 95–110. On the Transport Bureau, see Porter, 107–110. On the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness, see Hsieh, "Zeng Guofan," 103; Wooldridge; "Transformations," 189–91; and Meyer-Fong, "Gathering," 46–48. See also Meyer-Fong, *What Remains*, 146–148.

31 *JNFZ-GX*, 6: 1a.

32 *JNFZ-GX*, 6: 1a. On eighteenth-century practical (or "substantive") learning, see Rowe, *Saving the World*, 133–37.

33 *SJLXZ*, 11: 1a.

34 *JNFZ-GX*, 6: 1a.

35 *SJLXZ*, 11: 7b, 10a, 13a.

36 *ZGFQJ*, 13: 324–325.

37 At least four people whose native place was Nanjing were members of Zeng's staff before 1864. Wang Shiduo and Sun Wenchuan served on the Book Bureau in Anqing and later Nanjing. Wang Yanchang also joined in 1858, and specialized in finances. Zeng transferred him to Nanjing in 1868. Shi Kai took part in the Lijin Bureau. In addition, Gao Detai sat on the Bureau of Silk and Cotton, but it is not clear when his tenure began. Cheng Xiaojun. *Zeng Guofan de muliao men*, 377, 412–13; *JNFZ-GX,* 1123; *JNFZ-GX*, 6/4b; Another native, Zhou Fu, joined the construction bureau in 1867, having previously served in the Huai Army with Li Hongzhang ("Zhou Fu ziding nianpu," *shang*: 13a–14a).

38 Naquin, *Peking*, 652.

39 Spence, *Ts'ao Yin,* 83.

40 Wakeman, *Strangers at the Gate*, 144, 164–67.

41 Rankin, *Elite Activism*, 96–106.

42 Rowe, *Hankow*, 130–34; Bernhardt, *Rents,* 130–35; Naquin, *Peking*, 651–71.

43 Benevolence associations for widows and orphans also appeared, often with direct initial support from the Reconstruction Bureau. *SJLXZ*, 14a–18b.

44 Rankin, *Elite Activism*, 137–47.

45 On the Rice Office see Porter, *Tseng Kuo-fan,* 80–81.

46 Tu Chengru, *Tuda sima nianpu*, 179.

47 Bernhardt, *Rents*, 122–23.

48 Members of the Reconstruction Bureau included Tan Ao (d. 1865), who previously served on the Mutual Responsibility Bureau; Hong Rukui (1824–87), who had worked to revive agriculture in Anhui; Li Zongxi, who had procured grain for the Hunan army in Sichuan; Pang Jiyun, who had been a clerk for Zeng Guofan; Li Shuchang (1837–97), who had been on the Reconstruction Bureau and Mutual Responsibility Bureau in Anhui; Yang Wenhui (1837–1911), who had served on the Rice Bureau in Anqing; and Wang Yinfu and Lu Bochui (dates unknown). *JNFZ-GX*, 6/1b; Cheng Xiaojun, *Zeng Guofan de muliaomen*, 403, 405, 442.

49 *JNFZ-GX*, 6/1b.

50 *Jinling fangchan gaoshi batiao*. A convenient reprint appears in *ZGFQJ*, 14:417–418.

51 *JNFZ-GX*, 6/2a; *SJLXZ*, 8/3a.

52 *JNFZ-GX*, 6/6b.

53 *JNFZ-GX*, 6/1b. Tariffs extended to salt, "goods," and (after 1870) wood *SJLXZ*, 11/4b.

54 *SJLXZ*, 11/4b–5a.

55 *JNFZ-GX*, 6/1b.

56 Hu Enxie, *Huannan yijia yan*, *xia*: 7a. Another source reports that Hunanese occupied an entire neighborhood around the Doumen Bridge (Chen Zuolin, *Jiaoyu gong Xi Lingcuo ji*, 159).

57 On October 21, 1864, Zeng responded to a request to forbid the occupation of houses, in "*Fu Jinling shi Chen Dong bing shu.*" Reply to the petition of the Nanjing literati Chen Dong," in *ZGFQJ*, 13: 324–25. Zeng alerted Chen that regulations had already been issued, an answer unlikely to assuage Chen's concerns.

58 *Jinling fangchan gaoshi batiao*.

59 *JNFZ-GX*, 6: 2a–b. After January 1874, the mutual responsibility bureaus were consolidated into a single Mutual Responsibility Bureau under the direction of an intendant.

60 This statement probably meant that the bureau kept half of the document and the occupant retained the other half, so that one could check to make sure both halves match.

61 "*Dian* was the sale of land or of part of the rights to land with the stipulation that the seller had the right to repurchase if certain conditions in the *dian* contract were met." Mark Allee, "Code, Culture, and Custom," 135.

62 *Jinling fangchan gaoshi batiao.*
63 *Jinling fangchan gaoshi batiao.*
64 *KYWC*, 4: 2a–b.
65 *Jinling fangchan gaoshi batiao.* The term "tenant" does not appear in Zeng's text, but rather in the 1880 gazetteer *JNFZ-GX* (6: 4b). Initially, owners faced no deadline to reclaim property. In 1869, however, Ma Xinyi ordered that all landlords should reclaim their property within a year or forfeit ownership. Ma Xinyi, *Ma Duanmin gong zouyi*, 7: 52a.
66 The phrase comes from Hay, "Ming Palace and Tomb," 3. Hay is talking about the polysemic nature of buildings, but the observation also holds true for institutions and ritual practices.
67 Ferdinand Freiherr von Richthofen, *Tagebücher aus China*, 65.
68 *Jinling fangchan gaoshi batiao.*
69 Memorial dated TZ 3/8/13 in *ZGFQJ*, 8: 4324.
70 *JNFZ-GX*, 6: 7b–8a.
71 Because the Taiping had also used the building to hold examinations, it was less damaged than other administrative buildings in the city.
72 Memorial dated TZ 3/8/13 (September 13, 1864) in *ZGFQJ*, 8: 4324. In it, Zeng adds that the wished to complete the examination compound before repairing the barracks for Nanjing bannermen because of the scarce resources. Huang was from Xiangtan, Hunan and a member of Zeng's staff.
73 Memorial dated TZ 3/9/11 (October 11, 1864) in *ZGFQJ*, 8:4378. Six Nanjing residents passed. *JNFZ-GX*, 12: 13b (152).
74 Mao Xianglin, *Mo yu lu*, 19.
75 Hay, "Ming Palace and Tomb," 28.
76 This fear would prove justified. Sun Yatsen, leader of the republican revolution that toppled the Qing in 1911, made offerings to the first Ming emperor on February 12, 1912. See Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen*, 41–42. For examples of the role of sacrifices to the emperor in the seventeenth-century Ming loyalist movement, see Hay, "Ming Palace and Tomb," 27.
77 Ann Paludan, *The Imperial Ming Tombs*; Hay, "Ming Palace and Tomb," 24–26. Pan Guxi, "The Yuan and Ming Dynasties," 214–15.
78 *QSL*, 109: 1a–2a (edict dated TZ 3/6/16).
79 Wang, *Ming xiaoling zhi*, 72b.
80 Ibid., 73b–80a.
81 Ibid., 80a.
82 Zeng had developed his resistance to imperial orders during the war. See Platt, *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom*, 131–35.
83 Keenan, *Imperial China's Last Classical Academies*, 21–23.
84 The building itself was on the site of the Ming Imperial Academy. *JNFZ-GX*, 5: 1a.
85 *JNFZ-GX*, 5: 1a (48), *SJLXZ*, 8: 3a.
86 Tao Shu, "Chongxiu Jinling Chaotian gong beiji [Stele inscription of repairs to the Chaotian Temple]" (1834?), in *Tao Shu ji*, 26.

87 *SJLXZ*, 11: 6b. This number might include the cost of ritual implements for the Confucian temple. For the rituals performed in the temple, see below.

88 ZGFQJ, 14: 337.

89 *ZGFQJ*, 14: 338. *Book of Mencius* 4/1/9. Jiao Xun, *Mengzi zhengyi*, 14: 8b–9a.

90 *ZGFQJ*, 3: 1835, diary entry dated TZ 10/2/14.

91 Chen Zuolin, *Bingzhu litan*, 348.

92 On the Shanghai troupe, see *SJLXZ*, 8: 4a; Ding Richang, "Dingji yuewu zhangcheng," 38a–40a. Forty students meant six rows of six dancers each, plus four alternates (ibid.). On the music used in the ceremony, see Joseph Lam, "Musical Confucianism," esp. 161–64. The handbook Lam cites apparently was not consulted in Nanjing. On the offerings, see Wilson, "Sacrifice and the Imperial Cult to Confucius," 277–78.

93 *SJLXZ*, 8: 4b. One suspects these items were also purchased in Shanghai.

94 Ding Richang, *Dingji yuewu zhangcheng*, 39a. Although the regulations were not descriptions of the ceremonies conducted in Nanjing, they warned that servants, sedan bearers, and "idlers" (*xianren*) should not make noise during the ceremony, suggesting that offerings to Confucius regularly drew large crowds.

95 Zeng Guofan's brief diary entry (dated TZ 10/8/9 in *ZGFQJ*, 3: 1884) provides the only eyewitness account. I have drawn on two other sources for this description: a depiction of the offerings performed by the Shanghai troop that trained Nanjing students (Mao Xianglin, *Mo yu lu*, 1–2) and a handbook (identified in *SJLXZ*, 8/4b). See also *Huangchao jiqi yuewu lu*; and Nicolas Standaert, "Ritual Dances," *The East Asian Library Journal* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 68–181.

96 *Classic of Poetry*, *Chuci* 209: 4; *Mao shi Zheng jian*, 13: 10b.

97 *Record of Rites*,17: 5; Kong Yinda, *Liji zhengyi*, 10: 16b.

98 Compare *Classic of Poetry, Si qi*, 240: 4. *Mao shi Zheng jian*, 16: 10b.

99 *Record of Rites*, 18: 4; Kong Yinda, *Liji zhengyi*, 11: 3b. The translation of this passage was adapted from Moule, "Notes on the Ting-chi," 134.

100 *JLWC*, 15: 62b.

101 Meyer-Fong, "Gathering," 42–48.

102 On construction of shrines in other war-affected areas, see Meyer-Fong, *What Remains*, 137–46; on Hangzhou in particular, see 151–63.

103 *LJZYCFZL, fan li*, 1: 1a–2b.

104 Zeng Guofan memorial dated TZ 3/10/22, in *ZGFQJ*, 8: 4572–73.

105 Zeng Guofan, "Jinling guanshen zhaozhong ci ji," in *ZGFQJ*, 14: 290–92; Bing Yuan, "Jinling baqi zhaozhongci beiwen," probably written on completion of the shrine in 1867, in *JLWC*, 14: 10a–11b.

106 *ZGFQJ*, 14: 300.

107 *ZGFQJ*, 14: 292.

108 *JLWC*, 14: 10a–11b.

109 *JLWC*, 14: 10b.

110 Meyer-Fong, *What Remains*, 175.

111 Meyer-Fong, *What Remains*, 147.

112 Zeng Guofan memorial dated TZ 6/12/3, in *ZGFQJ*, 9: 5801–02.

113 Diary entry dated TZ 6/8/25, in *ZGFQJ*, 3: 1890–91.

114 Zeng proposed adding a shrine for naval troops in a memorial rescripted on TZ 6/6/10 (*ZGFQJ*, 9: 5644–45). According to his diary entry of TZ 6/8/25, Zeng Guofan was having a morning meal at the shrine after performing ceremonies and, noticing that the buildings were dilapidated but contained a lot of space, conceived the idea of rebuilding the existing shrine and adding others (*ZGFQJ*, 3: 1890–91). His proposals of TZ 6/12/3 are in *ZGFQJ*, 9: 5801–02; see also *SJLXZ*, 10: 20a–22a, 11: 2b.

115 *ZGFQJ*, 9: 5801–5902, Zeng Guofan memorial dated TZ 6/12/3, in *ZGFQJ*, 14: 290–93; *WMCXSJ*, 12: 16b.

116 *ZGFQJ*, 14: 290–93. According to the 1874 gazetteer, *ShangJiang liangxian zhi* [Gazetteer of Shangyuan and Jiangning counties], the complex was further expanded to 81 rooms (*SJLXZ*, 11: 2b).

117 Board of Rites memorial dated XF 5/5/30, in Gao Detai, *Zhonglie beikao*, 8b (see prefatory matter).

118 *SJLXZ*, 10: 19a.

119 *SJLXZ*, 19: 1a.

120 *SJLXZ*, 10: 18b.

5. CHEN ZUOLIN REASSEMBLES THE POETIC CITY, 1872–1912

1 Chen's grandfather Chen Weiyuan (1793–1827) and great uncle Chen Weibing 1794–1860) both obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1819. *JLTZ* 45: 1a–2a.

2 Chen Zuolin, *KYWC*, 12: 6a.

3 *JLTZ*, 45: 6b–8a; *KYWC*,12: 6a; Chen, *Keyuan beiwang lu*, 2: 10; *Chen Zuolin aisi lu*.

4 Chen, *Keyuan beiwang lu*, 1: 17b.

5 Ibid., 2: 8b.

6 Ibid., 1: 2b–3b.

7 Ibid., 2: 10a

8 *ZGFQJ*, 12: 293–94. See also Schneider-Reinke, *Dry Spells,* 105.

9 Chen, *Keyuan beiwang lu*, *juan* 2; *JLTZ*, 45: 7a.

10 *Jiangsu bingshi*, 1: 1a. The phrase appears in *Zuozhuan*, Duke Xuan 12, and was a common cliché of the postwar period.

11 Meyer-Fong, "Gathering," 37.

12 *SJLXZ*, 11: 2b. On the bureau's role in publishing the works of Wang Fuzhi, see Platt, *Provincial Patriots*, 27–29.

13 On Yang Wenhui, see Shen Pengling, "Yang Renshan xiansheng nianpu," 593–95; Holmes Welch, *Buddhist Revival in China*, 98–99. On donations, see Luo Zheng, *Jinling Kejing Chu yanjiu*, 40–41. On the books printed, including the Surangama Sutra in 1869 and the Lotus Sutra in 1871, see Gabriele Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 60. Today the office continues to carve blocks and hand print Buddhist texts, and was shuttered only during the Cultural Revolution. I am grate-

ful to David Davies for telling me about his visit. The house published relatively little about Nanjing itself.

14 Chen Zuolin, afterward, in *JLWC*, 1a.

15 Qin Jitang, afterward, in *JLWC*, 8a.

16 Pu Wenjin, preface to *JLTZ*.

17 Ibid.

18 Gu Yun, *Boshan wenlu*, 1: 17a.

19 Platt, *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom*, 238–48.

20 Gan Bing, afterward, in Zhu Xuzeng, *Changguo dianyong*, written in 1866.

21 Zhu Guimo, afterward, in Zhu Xuzeng, *Caoji kaoyi*.

22 Gu Yun, *Boshan wenlu*, 5: 18a–b.

23 Wang Shiduo, preface, in Zhu Xuzeng, *Kaiyouyi zhai dushu zhi*, 3a.

24 Gu Yun, *Boshan wenlu*, 4: 12a–b.

25 Chen Zuolin, preface, in *Guochao Jinling xu shizheng*, 1: 8b. Wang Changsen, ed., *Shicheng qizi shichao*.

26 Deng Jiaji, *Bianshan zhai wencun*, *shang*: 28a.

27 Chen, *Keyuan wencun*, 8: 6a–b.

28 *Jin Shu juan* 79, biography of Xie An, 2072–73; *KYWC*, 8: 6b.

29 *JLTZ*, 41: 1b–2a. This and the following examples are summaries of longer texts, not translations.

30 *JLTZ*, 41: 1b.

31 *JLTZ,* 42: 3a

32 *SJLXZ*, 10: 20a.

33 Meyer-Fong, *What Remains*, 144–45.

34 Gao Detai, *Gao Zian yi gao*, 14–15; *LJZYLZ*, *fanli*, pp. 1a–2b. Reflecting their roots in the Bureau of Loyalty and Righteousness, Zeng Guofan's staff did not include the eastern section of Jiangsu (including Suzhou, Shanghai, and Yangzhou) in the Liangjiang Loyalty and Righteousness Bureau cases. Instead, they placed them in the purview of a separate Jiangsu Loyalty and Righteousness Bureau that reported to the Jiangsu governor in Suzhou.

35 Gao Detai, *Gao Zian yi gao,* 186.

36 *SJLXZ*, 19: 2a.

37 *JLWC*, 15: 48a–49b.

38 Gao Detai's biography of his father in *Wengfang lu*, 1a–3b. For another haunted survivor of the war, see Tobie Meyer-Fong's harrowing account of Zhang Guanglie, in *What Remains*, 176–95.

39 See chapter 4.

40 Duanmu Cai, preface, in *ZLBK*, 1a.

41 I am grateful to Tobie Meyer-Fong for sharing her thoughts on this work even prior to the publication of her book. See her treatment of the same material in *What Remains,* 169–71. Although she puts the book in the larger context of commemoration, and I stress its role in Nanjing's intellectual life, we reach similar conclusions. Meyer-Fong emphasizes Cai Duanmu's rebuke against the dynasty, stating: "His message, then, was that the dynasty had mismanaged its own commemorative proj-

ects" (171). I interpret in this and similar statements in other prefaces as assertions of the literati's rightful role in society, and particularly as local representatives of that class in the affairs of state.

42 *LJZYLZ*, 20: 37a (biography of Wang Xingyuan). The biography has the entire family burning themselves to death.

43 *ZLBK*, 1: 10b.

44 References to being *kang kai* include; *ZLBK*, 2: 1a (Li Fang biography) 2: 7b (Liu Jiechen) and 3: 2b (Hu Pei); and *LJCFZYZL* 34: 57a (Xie Rulin), 35: 42a (Tian Qinjian).

45 In one variation on the theme, the bandits attempted to recruit literate clerks for help with organizing documents. When the clerks refused, the bandits killed them. See *LJCFZYZL*, 35: 39b–40a (biographies of Xu Dawen, Zheng Yi, and Zheng Rubi).

46 Jian, *Taiping Tianguo Quanshi*, 1271–1276; Withers, "Heavenly Capital," 188–192.

47 On meeting relatives in the underworld, see biography of Chou Xiqi, in *LJCFZYZL*, 1: 30b; biography of Zhu Yongnian, *LJCFZYZL*, 34: 52b–53a; biography of Wang Yichang, in *LJCFZYZL*, 34: 55a–b. On fear of humiliation, see biography of Mrs. Zhang *nee* Chen, in *LJCFZYZL*, 34: 38b; biography of Chen Minggui, in *LJCFZYZL*, 34: 50a. Some biographies also portrayed a desire to maintain a one's "purity"(*qing bai*); see biography of Mrs. Li *nee* Feng, in *LJCFZYZL*, 20: 39a; and biography of Guo *nee* Chen, in *LJCFZYZL*, 34: 42b–43a.

48 This rank was "bestowed upon the sons, grandsons, younger brothers, or nephews, with due regard to seniority, of the person whom it is thus seen fit to distinguish" (Mayers, *The Chinese Government*, 69). For a list of the ranks, see Franke, *Sino-Malaysiana*, 237.

49 In practice such shrines were rare except among the very wealthy. Liu Qing, memorial dated 6/4/27, in *NPM: YZD* (TZ 6/4/*xia*), 271–74.

50 *SJLXZ*, 10: 19b.

51 Chen, *Keyuan beiwang lu*, 2: 18a. On Lin Qing and Huang Village, see Susan Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China*, 75.

52 Chen, *Keyuan beiwang lu*, 2: 18a. On silkworms, see Naquin, *Peking*, 348.

53 Chen, *Keyuan beiwang lu*, 3: 1a.

54 Chen, *Jinling wuchan fengtu zhi*, 125.

55 Chen Zuolin, *Yundu qiao xiaozhi*.

56 Dien, *Six Dynasties*, 120.

57 Chen Zuolin, *Fenglu xiaozhi*, in Chen, *Jinling suozhi wuzhong*.

58 Chen Zuolin, *Dongcheng zhilue*, Chen, *Jinling suozhi wuzhong*.

59 *Nanchao fosi zhi*; *Jinling wuchan fengtu zhi*; and *Bingzhu litan*.

60 Chen Zuolin, *Yundu qiao xiaozhi*, 1: 7a.

61 Ibid., 1: 7b.

62 Ibid., 1: 7a–8b.

63 Chen, *Fenglu xiaozhi*, 3: 1a.

64 Chen, *Jinling wuchan fengtu zhi*, 125–129 (see quotation about ants on page 126).

65 Chen, *Jinling wuchan fengtu zhi*, 136.

66 Ibid., 135.

67 Chen, *Fenglu xiaozhi* 3: 1a–5b. See also the illustrations in the front matter of a loom and the mint.

CONCLUSION

1 Miles, *Sea of Learning*, 162–63; Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture*, 117–23.
2 Wooldridge, "Transformations of Ritual and State," 190–91, 165–75; Meyer-Fong, *What Remains*, 140–71.
3 Naquin, *Peking*, 641–49; Rowe, *Hankou: Conflict and Community,* chapter 3.
4 Wooldridge, "Transformations of Ritual and State," chapter 1.
5 Compare with Rebecca Nedostup's characterization of the strategy of modern regimes in China. *Superstitious Regimes*, 279.
6 Lipkin, *Useless to the State*, 26–38.
7 Musgrove, "Building a Dream," 139.
8 Musgrove, "Building a Dream." On maneuvering and negotiation between Sun and Yuan see Bergere, *Sun Yat-sen*, 220–22.
9 Lipkin, *Useless to the State*, 35–36.
10 Harrison, *Making of the Republican Citizen.* 33.
11 Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State in China," 111–52.
12 Musgrove, "Nation's Concrete Heart," 244.
13 Musgrove, *China's Contested Capital*, chapter 4.
14 Liao Yizheng, preface, in Wang Huanbiao, *Ming Xiaoling zhi*.
15 Wu Shichan, preface, in Zhang Huiyi, *Jinling da Bao'en sita zhi*, 1.
16 Nanjing shi defangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, *Nanjing gong'an zhi*, 53–54, 70.
17 Igo, *The Averaged American*, 5, 17–20.
18 Lean, *Public Passions,* Fitzgerald, *Awakening China*, 87–92.
19 Strand, *Unfinished Republic*, 9.

GLOSSARY

an 案
an min 安民
Anxi Ri 安息日

Bai Shangdi Hui 拜上帝會
ban diaoling 半凋零
bao en 報恩
Bao Shichen 包世臣
Bao Yuansheng 鮑源深,
baochan zhongliang 褒闡忠良
baojia 保甲
Baojia Ju 保甲局
Baoxiao Ju 報銷局
baowei 保衛
Baozhi 寶誌
bei hai 被害
benmo zhongshi zhi xu 本末終始之序
bi 敝
bian'e 匾額
biaoyang qiande 表揚潛德
Biaozhong Ci 表忠祠
bu kui wei ren 不愧為人
bu qu 不屈

caifang 採訪
Cai Guanchao 蔡觀潮
Cao Cao 曹操
Cao Zhi 曹植
Chabina 查弼納
Chanyang 闡揚
Chen Ai 陳艾
Chen Shirong 陳世鎔
Chen Shulan 陳淑蘭
Cheng Enze 程恩澤
Chen Weibing 陳維屏
Chen Weiyuan 陳維垣
Chen Wenshu 陳文述
Chen Yuanheng 陳元恆
Chen Zuolin 陳作霖
cheng 誠
cheng ren 成人
chi 恥
chuxian 初獻

dan zhao 單照
Daoxue 道學
datong 大同
daying 大營
dai fu 大夫
deng 等
de 德
dian 殿

Dong Jiaozeng 董教增
dou zhou 豆粥
Duanmu Cai 端木埰
Dushi binglue 讀史兵略
dunchong shixue 敦崇實學

e hui 惡穢
en ke 恩科

Fang Mingjun 方明俊
Fang Xiaoru 方孝孺
fodi 佛地
fu 賦
Fuminga 富明阿
Fang Dongshu 方東樹

Gan Bing 甘炳
Gan Fu 甘福
Gan Xi 甘熙
Gan Yuanhuan 甘元煥
Gao Detai 高德泰
gao shen 告神
Gao Taiju 高態舉
guan 館
Guan Tong 管同
gui 鬼
gui fan 軌範
gui zhendao 歸真道
Guo Boyin 郭柏蔭
Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾
Guochao Jinling tongji 國朝金陵通紀
guwen 古文

hai 害
Han Wenqi 韓文綺
hanyuan canhua 含元參化
haoban 號板
haohua 豪華
He Changling 賀長齡
hu gou 胡狗
Hu Linyi 胡林翼
huanhui yuanqi 換回元氣
Huang Runchang 黃潤昌
Huangdi 皇帝
Huo 惑

jiading pufu 家丁僕婦
Jiankang 建康
Jiang Youxian 蔣攸銛
Jianye 建鄴
jie li 竭力
Jiexiao Ci 節孝祠
Jieyi Ju 節義局
Jin Ao 金鰲
jin tie 津貼
Jinfen 金粉
jing shi 經世
jing biao 旌表
Jingtu sijing 淨土四經
Jinling 金陵
Jinling baqi zhaozhong ci beiwen 金陵八旗昭忠祠碑文
Jinling Guanshen Zhaozhong Ci 金陵官紳昭忠祠
Jinling Kejing Chu 金陵刻經處
Jinling tongji 金陵通紀
Jinwen 今文
jiu sheng ju 救生局
jiu shi 救世
ju 矩
ju jie 具結
ju weng 巨甕
Junxu Ju 軍需局

Kaishan Si 開善寺
kang kai 慷慨
kong 空
kong yan 空言

li 禮
Li Hongyi 李鴻裔
Li Hongzhang 李鴻章
Li Zongxi 李宗羲
lijin 釐金
Lin Zexu 林則徐
lingxiu zhi qi 靈秀之氣
Longtan 龍潭
Lu Wenchao 盧文弨

Ma Xiangfu 馬湘帆
Ma Xinyi 馬新貽
Mao Changxi 毛昶熙
Mei Zengliang 梅曾亮
mi 迷
min qi he 民氣和
Ming Lou 明樓
Ming Xiaoling 明孝陵
mu fu 幕府
muyou 幕友

Nan Zhili 南直隸
Nanjing 南京
nanmin 難民
Niu Jian 牛鑑

Pingnan Guo 平南國

Qian Daxin 錢大昕
qiang 戕
qing bai 清白
qing yi 清議
qiu xu 邱墟
qi 欺
qinbing 親兵
qu xie 去邪

ren ai 仁愛
ren suoyi wei ren 人所以為人
ru (scholar) 儒
ru (humiliation) 辱

sa sao 灑掃
Sasao Hui 灑掃會
saoqing yuzhou 掃清宇宙
Shangdi 上帝
Shangqing 上清
shanhou 善後
Shanhou Dajuan Ju 善後大捐局
Shanhou Ju 善後局
shen (deep)深
shen (degreeholders) 紳
Shengshen Feng 聖神風
sheng yao 生妖
Shenyueguan 神樂觀
shi (practical, substantial, applied) 實
shi (literati) 士
Shi Ke 世科
shi qi 士氣
shi xin 實心
shi zheng 實政
Shicheng qizi shichao 石城七子詩鈔
shixue 實學
shu 樞
shuanglian zhizhao 雙聯執照
Shuju 書局
Shuo shi 說士
Shuling 淑苓
Shuping 淑蘋

Shuqin 淑芹
si 私
sidian 祀典
si si 私祀
su guanzhan 肅觀瞻
Sun Quan 孫權
Sun Yuting 孫玉庭

tan 貪
Tao Shu 陶澍
Tianqing guan 天慶官
tianxia datong 天下大同
tong 通
Tongzan 通贊
Tu Zongying 涂宗瀛
Tu Xuan 涂煖
Tuanding 團丁

wa 瓦
wan 頑
Wan Qichen 萬啟琛
Weng Changsen 翁長森
wang qi 王氣
Wang Hu 王濩
Wang Huanggui 王鍠桂,
Wang Shiduo 汪士鐸
Wang Shijing 王石鯨
Wang Xingyuan 汪星垣
wei min 衛民
Wei Yuan 魏源
wei zhonghun 慰忠魂
weiyuan 委員
wen miao 文廟
wen wu 文物
wen zheng 文正
Weng Changsen 翁長森
wu (comprehend) 悟
wu (pollution) 污
Wu Guangyu 伍光瑜
wu zai zhi ge 武在止戈
wu zhongbi 無終敝
wushang falun 無上法輪
xiang zhan 巷戰

Xiao Jiaochang 小教場
Xiao Tiantang 小天堂
xian 銜
Xie An 謝安
xing 醒
xing shan 腥羶
xingying 行營
Xingying Caifang Zhongyi Ju 行營採訪忠義局
xu (relief payment) 卹
xu (order, precedence) 序
xu (vacuous) 虛
Xu Shidong 徐時棟
Xuanyao 炫耀
Xuanxue 玄學
Xuanzang 玄奘

Yanzi Ji 燕子磯
Yao Nai 姚鼐
Yao Ying 姚瑩
Yaohu 妖胡
yan qi 驗訖
yao 耀
Yang 楊
yang mu 洋木
Yang Tan 羊曇
Yang Wenhui 楊文會
Yaojiang yishi 姚江逸詩
ye qi 夜泣
yi zhan 驛佔
yili 義理
yimen xunnan 一門殉難

ying 應
yinsheng 廕生
yong 用
youqian zhi de 幽潛之德
Yu 鬱
yu hai 遇害
yu zei si 遇賊死
Yuan Mei 袁枚
yuan qi 元氣

Zeng Guofan 曾國藩
Zeng Guoquan 曾國荃
zei 賊
zha 詐
zhang 彰
zhao chengjing 昭誠敬
Zhao Liewen 趙烈文
zhao qiansu 昭虔肅
zhen 真
zhen jie 貞節
zheng 徵
zhi min 治民
Zhizao Ju 織造局
Zhou Heping 周和平
Zhou Luo 周洛
Zhou Tai 周邰
zhong 忠
Zhongyi Ju 忠義局
zhendang xueqi 震盪血氣
zhenren juelu 真人覺路
zhi 志
zhong yangqiang er si 中洋鎗而死
Zhongshan Academy 鍾山書院
zhongxing 中興
zhongxing genben zhi suoji 中興根本之所基
Zhu Guimo 朱桂模
Zhu Qi 朱琦
Zhu Xuzeng 朱緒曾
Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋
Zhu Zhen 朱鎮
zhuan dian 轉典
zhuanlun shengwang 轉輪聖王
zhuansi 專祀
Zhuanyun ju 轉運局
zhuang junwei 壯軍威
ziqiang 自強
Zongming Guan 總明觀
zongsi 總祀

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