

# REMERGING AS A GLOBAL POWER? RETHINKING “NEW QING HISTORY” FROM THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN “QING” AND “CHINA”

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## ABSTRACT

China has emerged as one of the 21<sup>st</sup> century’s most confident and consequential nations. From the Belt and Road Initiative to the Health Silk Road, China has proactively engaged with Eurasian countries and successfully projected its leadership abroad. Up to this point, the question left unanswered is, is this China’s debut as a global power? As it is critical to take note of the complexity of China’s rise, this article approaches the issue from a historical perspective and interrogates the role of the Manchurian’s rule over China beginning in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. By revisiting the rise of China more than 400 years ago from the lens of “New Qing History”, this paper argues that continuity can be found between the Qing empire and the contemporary rise of China as a global geopolitical power.

Different from most Chinese scholars’ emphasis on Qing’s completion of the “grand unification (*da yitong*)”, “New Qing History” highlights Qing’s distinctiveness and the utilization of archival materials written in the Manchu language. There have been heated discussions on the topic, yet few of them approached the issue from the relationship between “Qing” and “China”. Supported by original archival materials written in Manchu language, this article explores the different receptions of “New Qing History” in Chinese and Western academia based on scholars’ understanding of the relationship between “Qing” and “China”. It further advocates a fluid understanding of ethnic identity in China as well as the so-called “Chineseness” in contrast to the conventional essentialist perception. By incorporating China

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into global history, this article aims to provide a new perspective in understanding contemporary China's emergence as a global power and its state policies towards ethnic minorities.

**Keywords:** New Qing History, Manchuria, Manchu Language, Qing empire, Continuity, Chineseness, Ethnic identity, Global History

## INTRODUCTION

The rise of the “New Qing History”<sup>i</sup> originated in the United States during the 1990s has sparked heated discussions in recent decades. Comparing to the established study of Qing history that has long focused on the far-reaching impact of Han culture, or the process of “Sinicization”, “New Qing History” centers the Manchurians and accentuates their Manchu ethnic identity. Thus, scholars of “New Qing History” advocate the utilization of historical source materials written in Manchu or other non-Han ethnic languages, arguing that distinct narratives might reflect alternative perspectives, different from those of the Han-Chinese.

“New Qing History” emphasizes Qing's distinctiveness from other dynasties established by the Han-Chinese, as well as the Manchurian's ethnic identity different from that of the Han ethnicity. Throughout the discussion on “New Qing History”, the two concepts “Qing” and “China” have constantly interwoven with each other, yet although there have been numerous overviews of “New Qing History” or reflective papers on the ensuing discussions<sup>ii</sup>, few approached the topic from the relationship between “Qing” and “China”.

Since the relationship between the two plays a decisive role in studying the Qing dynasty and its historical significance, this essay is a humble attempt to compare and contrast the disparate stances<sup>iii</sup> adopted by “New Qing History” scholars and Chinese scholars who engage in Qing studies on the relationship between “Qing” and China. The first section of this article examines the significance of Qing dynasty in history; The second and third section aim to offer an overview of “New Qing History” scholars and Chinese scholars' different stances on the relationship between “Qing” and “China”; The fourth section explores the underlying reason behind the disparate opinions; As “Ethnic Identity” plays a crucial role throughout the discussion, author of this essay proposes another way to understand the Manchurian's ethnic

identity in the fifth section; Lastly, the conclusion section briefly summarizes this essay, and re-examines the legacy of the “New Qing History”.

## ON THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF “QING”

Qing dynasty plays a decisive role in both contemporary Chinese history as well as contemporary global history. As a regime set up by the Manchurians, different from other dynasties established by the majority Han-Chinese, it had governed China for more than 260 years. Given its long-lasting ruling as a non-Han ethnicity, there have been scholarly disputes over the underlying reason for Qing’s success between Chinese and Western scholars. According to Ding Yizhuang, discussions surrounding this question marks the starting point of the “New Qing History”<sup>iv</sup>.

Pingti-Ho 何炳棣(1917-2012), like most scholars who engage in the study of Qing dynasty, attributes Qing’s successful governance of China to its successful completion of *Sinicization*<sup>v</sup> and *Confucianization*<sup>vi</sup>. According to Ho, by assimilating into the culture of the majority Han-Chinese, the Manchurians integrated themselves into the traditional change of dynasty of China and thus justified their legitimacy. Ho claimed that by gradually adapting to the orthodox culture, namely sinicizing themselves, had the Manchurians maintained the regime for so long. The idea puts Han-Chinese, or “China” at the center, and describes a uni-directional process of one becoming identical to the other. On the relationship between “Qing” and “China”, as Ho puts it “therefore, the Ch’ing period is of greatest importance to the formation of modern China as a geographic entity”<sup>vii</sup>. Ho equated “Qing” and “China” by underscoring the relationship between Qing’s territorial expansion and modern China’s inheritance of these territories.

## “NEW QING HISTORY” SCHOLARS: DIFFERENTIATE “QING” FROM “CHINA”

Renowned “New Qing History” scholar Ding Yizhuang concludes that there are two major characteristics of the “New Qing History”: its emphasis on the differences of the Qing from

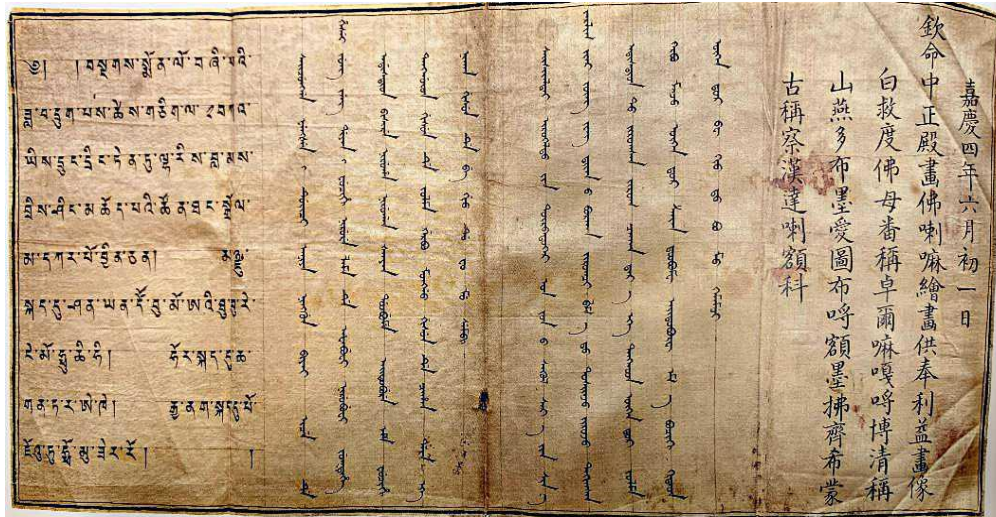
other dynasties throughout history, and its emphasis on the Qing's "Manchu element"<sup>viii</sup>. Although "New Qing History" scholars adopt different research approaches in different historiographical sub-fields<sup>ix</sup>, they all place the Manchurians at the center of their studies, and pay close attention to their agency and ethnic identity different from the Han-Chinese. Thus, they differentiate "Qing" with "China", while foregrounding the former's distinctiveness. Evelyn S. Rawski and Joanna Waley-Cohen's representative arguments will be further elaborated in this section.

Evelyn S. Rawski refuted Pingti-Ho's proposal of "Sinicization", and differentiated "Qing" from "China" in her presidential address titled "Re-envisioning the Qing: The Significance of Qing Period in Chinese History"<sup>x</sup> to the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) in 1996. She pointed out that the Manchu rulers of Qing might have assimilated the Han culture, but this could hardly be the cause of the regime's success. Because among Qing's sprawling territories, "China Proper"<sup>xi</sup> only constitutes part of the map. Albeit it is an important constituent<sup>xii</sup>, there are still many other areas that had never been ruled by a Han regime before, and Ho's thesis of "Sinicization" cannot explain the Manchurian's rule over these areas. According to Rawski, it is unconvincing to put the Han-Chinese at the center and attribute Qing's long-lasting rule to "Sinicization", and that the two concepts of "Qing" and "China" should be differentiated as "China" only constitute part of the Qing Empire's vast territory<sup>xiii</sup>. Thus, when it comes to the underlying reason of Qing's enduring rule, Rawski said that "the key to Qing achievement lay in its ability to implement flexible culturally specific policies aimed at the major non-Han peoples inhabiting the Inner Asian peripheries in the empire"<sup>xiv</sup>.

Joanna Waley-Cohen vividly describes Qianlong (1736-1795) as "famously skilled at presenting a different face to different subjects"<sup>xv</sup>, for he is a thorough Confucian ruler for the Han-Chinese, Khan for the Mongols and Uyghurs, and religious leaders for the Tibetans<sup>xvi</sup>. The Qing emperors only appear as the Confucian "Son of Heaven, *tianzi* (天子)" for the Han-Chinese as they inherit the preceding political institutions, whereas a separate institution, *Lifan Yuan* 理藩院 was set up to govern other ethnicities, and the Qing emperors present themselves as different leading figures in front of other ethnic groups.



The intricacies between Qing emperors' different identities to different subjects can be explored from the material archives preserved in the First Historical Archives of China. Many Qing emperors are themselves devout believers of Tibetan-Buddhism (i.e., Lamaism), they patronized Buddhist temples and constructed premises within the capital such as the famous



**Figure 1. Emperor Jiaqing's Edict on Putting up Religious Paintings**

The Fourth Year of the Jiaqing Era (1799). 54cm\*26cm. Emperor Jiaqing's instruction on putting up a painting of the White Bodhisattva in *Zhongzhengdian*. From right to left, the languages are respectively Hanwen, Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan. (Extracted from *The First Historical Archives of China. "Qingdai Wenshu Dangan Tujian [Illustrated Compilation of Historical Archives of Qing Dynasty]"*. Hong Kong, Joint Publishing, 2004.)

*Yonghegong* 雍和宮 as places of worship. Since Mongolians and Tibetans constitute the majority of believers, the Qing emperors' religious patronage also helped to consolidate their legitimacy at the border. Below (**Figure 1.**) is an edict of Emperor Jiaqing (1796-1820), who used *Hanyu* (language of the Han-Chinese), Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan in his command to put up a painting of the White Bodhisattva in *Zhongzheng Dian* (place of worship within the Forbidden City). Multi-lingual edicts are not commonly found among the archives, yet Emperor Jiaqing's deployment of language showcases how he appreciates the Tibetan religious heritage as a believer, and more importantly, as the religious leader who utilizes the Tibetan language to consolidate his cultural ties with the non-Han ethnic groups.

In light of the above, different from rulers of other dynasties, Qing emperors built up solid connections with other ethnic groups by identifying with their religion and culture, and hence

justified the legitimacy of their ruling by presenting themselves as different kinds of leading figures.

Looking back, “Sinicization” only points out how Qing rulers assimilate to the Han culture, which is only one facet of Qing’s assorted ruling strategy. Thus, author of this essay contends that Pingti-Ho’s proposal is not comprehensive enough to encapsulate the success of Qing’s long-lasting rule. To take a step further, it is also incomprehensive to apply the above logic and thus place the spotlight solely on the Manchurian’s interaction with the Han-Chinese, ignoring the unique way in which the Qing rulers utilizing their non-Han identity to build up cultural ties with other ethnic minorities.

Qing’s unique ethnic policy constitutes its distinctiveness throughout history, as well as the Manchurian’s ethnic identity, different from that of the Han-Chinese. This explicates “New Qing History” scholars’ differentiation between “Qing” and “China”.

### **CHINESE SCHOLARS: “QING” CONSTITUTES “CHINA”**

There have been Chinese scholars like Ding Yizhuang who spoke highly of the academic contribution of “New Qing History”, and advocated for the long-overdue recognition of ethnic source materials. Yet overall, Chinese scholars hold a prudent and skeptical view towards New Qing History, and its emphasis on the Manchurian’s “Ethnic Identity”.

Liu Fenyun 劉鳳雲 and Liu Wenpeng 劉文鵬 argue that it is dangerous to segregate “Qing” from “China”, or from the Chinese history, as it poses threat to the collective national identity, “Chinese identity”, as they commented:

*They (some New Qing History authors) challenged the basic concepts and principles about “China,” “Chinese,” and “Chinese nationalism,” and questioned the Chinese common identity as the “Chinese nation.” These theoretical tendencies have potentially undermined China’s legitimacy as a “state”<sup>xvii</sup>.*

Differentiating “Qing” from “China” challenges the idea that the latter has been a unified multi-ethnic country. Therefore, most Chinese scholars find such political identification inappropriate, as it undermines the historical foundation and legitimacy of the modern nation-state. As Huang Xingtao 黃興濤 puts it “it has been a prevalent practice to roughly distinguish the ‘great Qing state’ from ‘China,’ as Evelyn Rawski did”<sup>xviii</sup>. Hence, we can see a clear-cut demarcation between Chinese scholars and “New Qing History” scholars on the relationship between “Qing” and “China”.

Moreover, many Chinese scholars also strongly disagree with “New Qing History” scholars’ reference of “Qing” as an “Empire”. Since the latter incorporate Qing History into the scope of world history, or “global history”<sup>xix</sup>, and compared it with other contemporaneous colonial powers, they depict Qing as a continental empire that loosely governs the semi-independent Inner Asian territories of Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang<sup>xx</sup>.

Author of this essay doesn’t refer to Qing as an “empire” largely for two reasons. First of all, to assess the relationship between ethnic minorities and the Qing court archival materials on the political, economic, and institutional connections between the two would entail careful examination. Nevertheless, since relevant materials have not been completely disclosed to the public, it is beyond the scope of this essay to verify the argument. Second of all, the diction “empire” takes root in the context of Western postcolonial studies. In the Chinese context, the narrative of “Da Yi Tong (grand unity)”<sup>xxi</sup> is frequently used to describe the expansion of territory. Thus, when evaluating the significance of Qing in history, instead of rendering it as an “Inner Asian Empire”, narratives of “unprecedented grand unification” are commonly seen in the Chinese discourse. Western narratives are not universally applicable, and they may simplify or over-generalize the historical facts on Qing’s ethnic policies. Apart from being part of a loosely structured empire, or being ruled by a central government, there might be other possibilities as well. It is crucial to find narratives formed on the basis of Qing’s own experience, or it would lose its agency to more powerful cultures.

## **WHAT CAUSES THEIR DIFFERENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE ISSUE?**

Chinese and Western scholars' different views on the "New Qing History" are largely caused by their distinct cultural background and academic tradition.

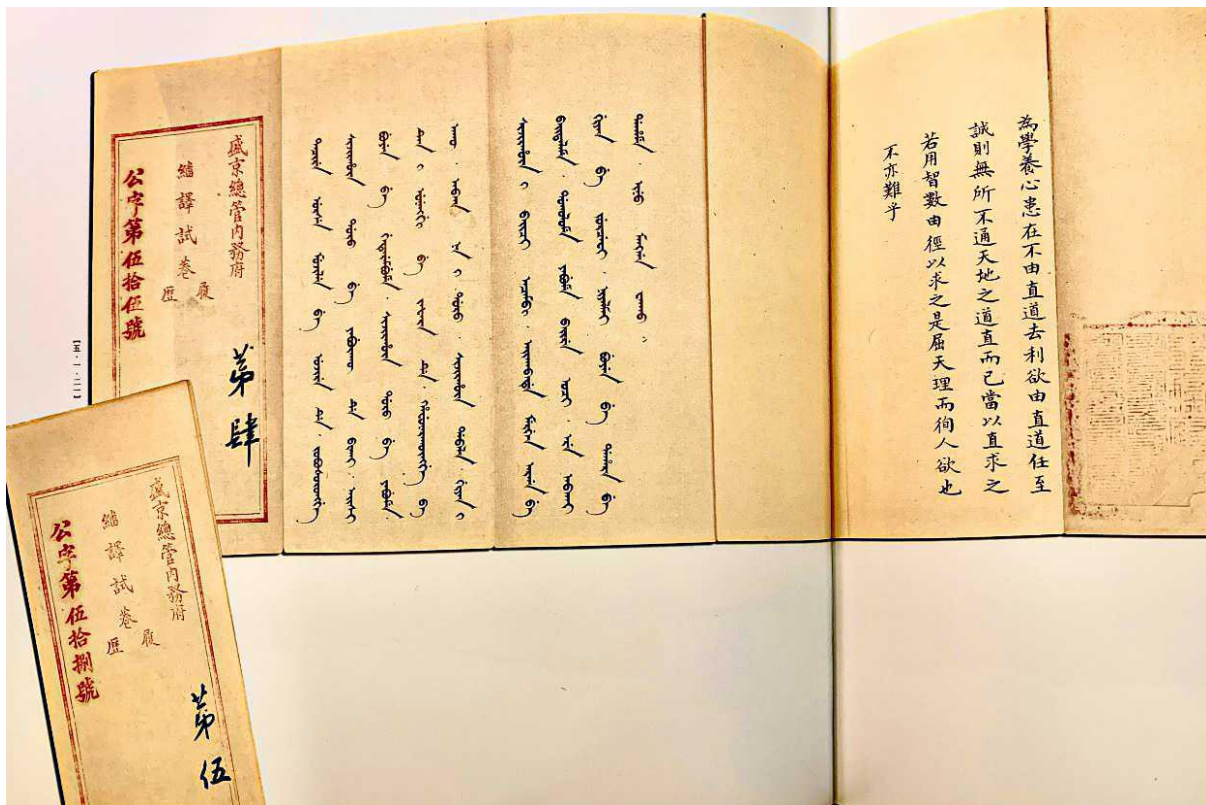
According to Ding Yizhuang, the emergence of "New Qing History" is closely related to "Western historiographical approaches"<sup>xxiii</sup>, which have been influenced by postcolonial studies, ethnographic studies, and ethnic studies in the 1990s. For instance, from a postcolonial perspective, when putting Qing within a global context, it can be considered as an Inner Asian empire, similar to other contemporaneous colonial powers of the West, as it conquered other regimes by force and interacted with them in different ways, among which "China" is only one constituent. Hence, scholars may argue that "Qing" is a broader, and more conclusive entity comparing to "China", geographically, politically, and culturally. But it is also noteworthy that the rise of postcolonial studies was amid the Independence Movement in the 1950s and 1960s of the Western historical context, when many ex-colonies declared independence from their imperial metropolises. The Western focus on "ethnic identity", or "identity" in general is inextricably linked with their history and culture. Thus "New Qing History" is also a product of Western narrative, exerting influence on Chinese historiography.

Also stimulated by the distinct cultural background, Western scholars have a rather different perception of "China" comparing to Chinese scholars. Li Aiyong critically pointed out that Western culture values difference and purity while Chinese culture values harmony and complexity<sup>xxiii</sup>. Thus, in the modern Western context, "nation" is considered as the opposite of "foreign country", as the latter connotes exoticism, distinction, and heterogeneity. Nonetheless, within a Chinese context, there is more to "China" than "Han-Chinese", as the Book of Rites puts it: "中國夷戎，五方之民，皆有性也 (Among the plethora of ethnicities within China, each have their own characteristics)". People from all ethnicities has their own traits, and the idea of "China" is fluid and inclusive that it tolerates and embraces such diversity. Hence, the different understanding of "China", taken root in the different cultural backgrounds between China and the West, also constitute the disparate understanding of "Qing" and "China" among scholars.



## EXPLORING THE MANCHU “ETHNIC IDENTITY”

The Manchurian’s ethnic identity plays a decisive role in the debates between Chinese and “New Qing History” scholars on the relationship between “Qing” and “China”. On the one hand, there has been a widely accepted consensus among “New Qing History” scholars that



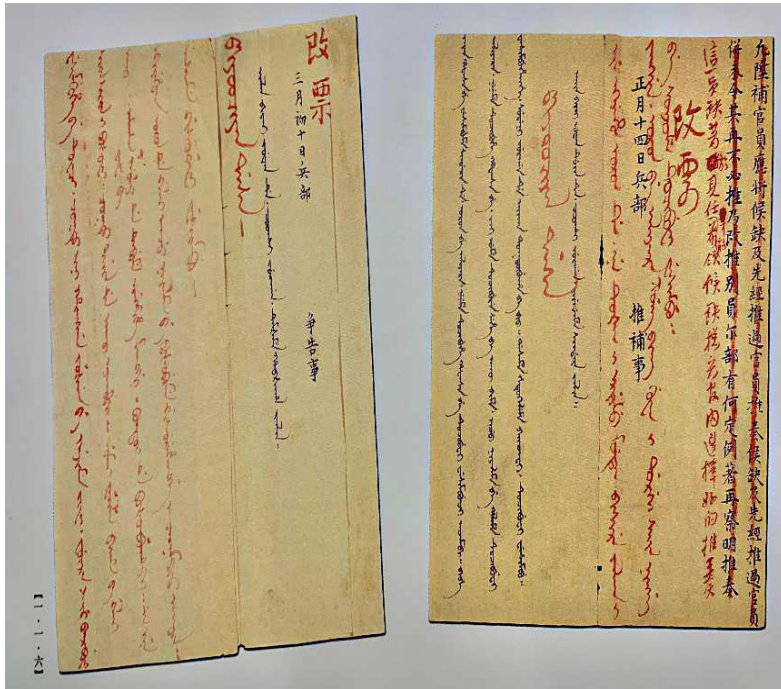
**Figure 2. Translation Test for Candidates who are affiliated with the Eight Banners**

27cm\*12.5cm. Candidates of the Eight Banners are required to translate Jingjie 經解 (a passage from the Book of Rites) from *Hanwen* to Manchu during the exam. (Extracted from The First Historical Archives of China. “Qingdai Wenshu Dangan Tujian [Illustrated Compilation of Historical Archives of Qing Dynasty]”. Hong Kong. Joint Publishing. 2004.)

the Manchurians preserved their Manchu identity all the way until the demise of the Qing dynasty<sup>xxiv</sup>. The official status of the Manchu-language can be seen as a testament to this argument. Even in late Qing when *Hanyu* was widely used, descendants of the Eight Banners were still obliged to translate *Hanwen* (the written form of *Hanyu*) into Manchu (Figure 2.).

On the other hand, although “Sinicization” is inconclusive to explicate Qing’s long-lasting governance as mentioned earlier, and that the term itself is problematic<sup>xxv</sup>, it is still evident that

Manchurians have grown more assimilated into the Han culture as time passes. The assimilation can be corroborated by the language used in *zouzhe* (letter of suggestions from ministers) and Qing emperors' use of languages in their response at different stages of the Qing period (**Figure 3. and Figure 4.**)



**Figure 3. Emperor Qianlong's Response with Red Ink 朱改票籤**

22.5cm\*9cm. During the Qianlong Era (1736-1795), communication between the emperor, his ministers, and relevant administrative departments mainly relied on the bilingual usage of both *Hanwen* and Manchu. The ruler responded in Manchu. (Extracted from The First Historical Archives of China. “*Qingdai Wenshu Dangan Tujian* [Illustrated Compilation of Historical Archives of Qing Dynasty]”. Hong Kong. Joint Publishing. 2004.)



**Figure 4. Emperor Guangxu's Response to *zouzhe***

32.5cm\*30cm, 9.5cm\* 21cm. The *zouzhe* to in the Guangxu Era (1875-1908) were written in *Hanwen* and were replied to by the emperor in *Hanwen* as well. (Extracted from The First Historical Archives of China. “*Qingdai Wenshu Dangan Tujian* [Illustrated Compilation of Historical Archives of Qing Dynasty]”. Hong Kong. Joint Publishing. 2004.)

In the Qianlong era, archives waiting to be inspected by the supreme ruler were written in both *Hanwen* and Manchu, and the emperor solely used Manchu in response. But during Guangxu's reign (1875-1908), the documents were largely written in *Hanwen* and were responded to in *Hanwen* as well. Thus, there has been an increasing influence of Han culture on the Manchurians as can be inferred from the different adoption of languages in communication.

Amid the different opinions on Manchurian's ethnic identity held by scholars from both sides, there seems to be a clear-cut demarcation. Regardless of the distinct supporting evidence or historical approach, Chinese scholars are prone to accentuate the inseparable influence of "China" upon "Qing" and the latter's gradual assimilation, while "New Qing History" scholars keep holding on to Qing's Manchu identity, which had purportedly persisted until Qing's downfall in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, author of this essay wants to propose a new possibility on the Manchurian's ethnic identity, which will be analyzed together with the above-mentioned debate between Pingti-Ho and Evelyn Rawski.

Seemingly the two contradict each other, but author of this essay argues that "ethnic identity" is itself a flexible and fluid concept that is ever-changing in nature. We don't have to rigidly equate the "ethnic identity" of the Manchurians with the kind of pure "Manchu-identity" that only contains pure Manchu elements, ignoring the assimilation of cultures at different stages of history. Each ethnicity has its own identity which differentiates them from others, such identities also change over time, in different stages of history. Thus, it is imperative to be aware of the distinctiveness of the Qing, whereas it is also of paramount importance to understand the change of its collective identity via interacting with other ethnicities.

Similar to "ethnic identity", the concept of both "Qing" and "China" are constantly changing as well: Returning to Ho and Rawski's debate, Ho only sees the proliferation of Han culture and its influence on the Manchurians from many aspects, especially near the end of the Qing dynasty. However, he ignores that the Qing also adopts many cultural elements from other ethnic minorities in terms of religion and diplomacy as mentioned above. This ruling strategy constitutes the distinctiveness of "Qing" from other dynasties in the Chinese history, as well as the Manchurian's unique ethnic identity, which will be masked when generalized into the overarching and all-encompassing idea of "China".



On the contrary, starting from a Manchu-centered point of view, Rawski took note of the change of “faces” of the Qing rulers when interacting with different subjects, and thus trial blazingly pointed out that China is only a part of the Qing empire. However, it is also noteworthy that probably due to the predominant number of the Han-Chinese, or the inclusive culture of “中國” as mentioned above, “China” has been a crucial, if not indispensable role part of Qing’s ruling, and had heavily influenced it during the latter part of its reign. Thus, “Qing” and “China” seem largely two blended concepts overlapping with each other without clear-cut demarcations.

Author of this essay contends that the key in understanding the relationship between “Qing” and “China” is that both concepts are not sedentary, but ever-changing in nature. Thus, it is better to put each of them in specific contexts and thus, to make effective comparisons.

## CONCLUSION

This essay approaches the heated discussion on “New Qing History” from the relationship between “Qing” and “China”. It first gives an overview of the different stances adopted by “New Qing History” scholars and Chinese scholars who engage in Qing studies on this issue, and then explores the underlying reason that causes such difference. It also proposes a new way to understand “ethnic identity” and its relation to concepts like “Qing” and “China”. In general, it is beneficial to break out the “Han-centric” perspective, and be more aware of the historical and cultural heritage, and narratives of other ethnic minority groups, thus restoring their historical agency<sup>xxvi</sup>. This is the precious historiographical value brought by the “New Qing History” that warrants our attention.

Nonetheless, as mentioned above, the “New Qing History” takes root in the Western historical and cultural context, and is built up upon a narrative different from that of China’s own. Therefore, we should also be cautious when using Western narrative to inspect Chinese history, as it might insidiously follow the same logical pattern as interpreting Manchurian’s history from the Han’s perspective. On the contrary, we should take a more immersive approach to study the internal driving force of history based upon the research area and its

people, but not upon the discourse of more advantaged or mainstream discourse. Only in this way, can we “discover history in Manchuria”, or to “discover history in China”.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>i</sup> “New Qing History” is placed in quotation marks throughout this essay for two reasons: Firstly, there has not been a widely accepted definition or description of this field of research, and representative scholars from the school of “New Qing History” sometimes even contradict with each other’s opinion; Secondly, there have been scholars like Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光 who contends that “New Qing History” is not as “new” as it claims to be. Ge argues that the self-proclaimed “New Qing History” follows the same theoretical framework as the “East Asian history studies” during the Meiji-Taisho Japan. Thus, in order to highlight the unresolved controversies behind its naming, author of this essay places “New Qing History” in quotation marks.

<sup>ii</sup> Early overviews include Ding Yizhuang 定宜莊. “Dui meiguo xuezhe jinnianlai yanjiu zhongguo shehuishi de huigu (Overview of U.S scholars’ Research on Chinese Social History of Late)” *Currents of China Studies*, no.9, 2000; Zhang Ruiwei 張瑞威. “Shei shi Manzhouren? Xifang jinnianlai Manzhoushi Yanjiu Shuping (Who are the Manchurians? An overview of Western Study on Manchu History of Late)”, *Journal of Historical Anthropology* 4, no.1 (2006):93-112. More recent discussions include Li Aiyong 李愛勇. “‘Xin Qing Shi’ yu ‘Zhonghua diguo’ wenti: youyici chongji yu fanying’ (On New Qing History and ‘Chinese Empire’—Another Impact and Response)”. *Journal of Historical Science*. no. 4 (2012): 106-18.; and Yizhuang, Ding, and Elliott, Mark. “How to Write Chinese History in the Twenty-first Century: The Impact of the “New Qing History” Studies and Chinese Responses.” *Chinese Studies in History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 70-95.

<sup>iii</sup> It is inaccurate to say that Western and Chinese scholars hold diametrically different points of view on whether “Qing” is the same as “China”. Because a) most scholars, both from China and the West, have confirmed the innovation research method that “New Qing History” advocates, namely the utilization of multi-ethnic source materials; b) There are Chinese scholars like Ding Yizhuang who repetitively accentuates the importance of the Manchu ethnic identity, and the difference between the two concepts; whereas there are also Western scholars like Joseph W. Esherick who claimed that it was the Qing emperors who used the term “China” to refer to their territory, thus equating “Qing” and “China”. Generally speaking, most Chinese scholars take a more prudent and careful stance on this issue, and assert the Chinese national identity by equating “Qing” with “China”; While the Western school of “New Qing History”, starting from Evelyn S. Rawski, are more prone to differentiate the two concepts.

<sup>iv</sup> Yizhuang, Ding, and Elliott, Mark. “How to Write Chinese History in the Twenty-first Century: The Impact of the “New Qing History” Studies and Chinese Responses.” *Chinese Studies in History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 71.

<sup>v</sup> Ho, Ping-Ti. “The Significance of the Ch’ing Period in Chinese History.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 2 (1967): 189-95.

<sup>vi</sup> Ho, Ping-Ti. “In Defense of Sinicization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski’s “Reenvisioning the Qing”.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 1 (1998): 123.

<sup>vii</sup> Ho, Ping-Ti. “The Significance of the Ch’ing Period in Chinese History.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 2 (1967): 191

<sup>viii</sup> Ding Yizhuang, “You meiguo de ‘xin qingshi’ yanjiu yinfa de ganxiang” (Thoughts on the “New Qing History” Study in the United States). *Chinese Studies in History*, vol.43, no.2 (2010): 94.

<sup>ix</sup> There hasn’t been a conclusive definition of “New Qing History” because the research framework was originated from distinct historiographical studies on the Manchurians and their culture. For instance, Patricia Berger’s study on Manchurians and Buddhism; James Millward’s study on the economy of Xinjiang under Qing’s governance etc.

<sup>x</sup> Rawski, Evelyn S. “Presidential Address: Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (1996): 829-50.

<sup>xi</sup> China Proper is also known as Han di, or Han di shi ba sheng, or guan nei, which normally refer to the 18 provinces where Han-Chinese are most densely populated, and thus where Han culture plays a relatively dominant role. It first officially appears in late Qing revolutionist Zou Rong’s (1885-1905) “The Revolutionary Army”, and was described in Chapter Four as “Han Chinese, the most quintessential ones throughout the Chinese history, are



our compatriots who mainly inhabit *China Proper*” (“漢族者，東洋史上最特色之人種，即吾同胞是也。據中國本部”). The link between concepts like “China”, “Chineseness”, “China Proper” and the modern “China” as a nation-state has been widely discussed, and it warrants extra attention when using these concepts to avoid misunderstanding.

<sup>xii</sup> The idea that China plays a critical yet partial role in Qing’s rule is also corroborated by Joanna Waley-Cohen through the empire’s date of establishment. Hung Taiji announced his ambition to build an empire in 1636, while it was only eight years later, in 1644 had the Manchurians entered Beijing, and established their capital. Assigning Beijing as the empire’s capital verifies China’s significance to the empire, whereas the eight-year time lag speaks volumes for Qing’s other ambitions aside from China.

<sup>xiii</sup> Rawski, Evelyn S. "Presidential Address: Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (1996): 829-50.

<sup>xiv</sup> Rawski, Evelyn Sakakida. *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions*, 1998, 7.

<sup>xv</sup> Waley-Cohen, Joanna. "The New Qing History." *Radical History Review* 88, no. 1 (2004): 199.

<sup>xvi</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>xvii</sup> Liu Fenyun, Lin Wenpeng, “‘Xin Qing shi’ yanjiu: butong fanxiang de xueshu zhengming (Research on “New Qing History”: Exceptional Academic Discussions)”, trans. Guo Wu. *Social Sciences in China Press*, no. 130 (2010).

<sup>xviii</sup> Huang Xingtao, “Qing chan Manzhou ren de Zhongguo rentong: dui Meiguo xin Qing shi de yizhong huiying” (The Qing Manchurian’s “Chinese identity”—Response to the “New Qing History” of the United States), edited by Liu Fengyun et al. (2010): 16

<sup>xix</sup> Yizhuang, Ding, and Elliott, Mark. "How to Write Chinese History in the Twenty-first Century: The Impact of the "New Qing History" Studies and Chinese Responses." *Chinese Studies in History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 76.

<sup>xx</sup> Waley-Cohen, Joanna. "The New Qing History." *Radical History Review* 88, no. 1 (2004): 195.

<sup>xxi</sup> There was an unprecedented expansion of territories in the High Qing period under Qianlong’s reign. Under this circumstance, “Da Qing Yi Tong Zhi (Unification of the Great Qing)《大清一統志》” was compiled in the Jiaqing Era to document the vast new territory of the Qing.

The English translation of “Da Yi Tong” is by Guo Wu in "How to Write Chinese History in the Twenty-first Century: The Impact of the "New Qing History" Studies and Chinese Responses."

<sup>xxii</sup> Yizhuang, Ding, and Elliott, Mark. "How to Write Chinese History in the Twenty-first Century: The Impact of the "New Qing History" Studies and Chinese Responses." *Chinese Studies in History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 71.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Li Aiyong. “‘Xin Qing Shi’ yu ‘Zhonghua diguo’ wenti: youyici chongji yu fanying’ (On New Qing History and ‘Chinese Empire’—Another Impact and Response)”. *Journal of Historical Science*. no. 4 (2012): 106-18.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Yizhuang, Ding, and Elliott, Mark. "How to Write Chinese History in the Twenty-first Century: The Impact of the "New Qing History" Studies and Chinese Responses." *Chinese Studies in History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 76.

<sup>xxv</sup> According to Ding Yizhuang, the concept itself is also problematic as it connotes an absolute one-way process of one ethnicity becoming identical to the other. Yizhuang, Ding, and Elliott, Mark. "How to Write Chinese History in the Twenty-first Century: The Impact of the "New Qing History" Studies and Chinese Responses." *Chinese Studies in History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 81.

<sup>xxvi</sup> The term “historical agent (ones who possess ‘historical agency’)” is defined by Ding Yizhuang as “**all** ethnic groups and individuals with their own subjectivity, historical narrative, and historical dynamics” in the study of “New Qing History”. The concept is applicable to both Manchurians, Han-Chinese, and other ethnicities. Yizhuang, Ding, and Elliott, Mark. "How to Write Chinese History in the Twenty-first Century: The Impact of the "New Qing History" Studies and Chinese Responses." *Chinese Studies in History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 79.