The Historian＇s Gaze

Essays on Modern and Contemporary China in Honour of Guido Samarani

# Patterns and Trends of World History／Global History in the People＇s Republic of China： Reflections by Prof．Ge Zhaoguang 

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#### Abstract

The essay examines selected relevant study and research in the field of World History／Global History in the People＇s Republic of China．One of the most authoritative Chinese voices in the current panorama of the studies，that of historian Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光，is presented here through a series of reflections expressed in his texts，podcasts and in personal exchanges of views with the Author of the essay． What emerges is how the historiographical approach of what in Chinese is called quanqiushi 全球史（World History／Global History）constitutes in itself a stimulating challenge both to the narrative of the uniqueness of Chinese national history，based on its past，and to a new Nationalist rhetoric．


Keywords World history．Global history．Sinocentrism．Ge Zhaoguang．World view．
Summary 1 Defining World History／Global History in Chinese．－ 2 World History／ Global History Studies in the PRC．－ 3 Global History and China／from China：Inserting China in Global History．

## 1 Defining World History／Global History in Chinese

In modern Chinese historiography，there has been a significant sep－ aration between a＇national history＇（benguoshi 本国史）of China and a＇history of the world＇（shijieshi 世界史）dealing with countries out－ side China（also called waiguoshi 外国史，＇foreign history＇），particu－ larly Western countries（also called xiyangshi 西洋史，＇Western his－ tory＇）．In the early decades of the twentieth century，the interest of Ca＇Foscari

Chinese scholars in the＇history of the world＇was mainly motivated by the desire to understand the decline of China＇s role in the inter－ national scenario．After 1949 －when the People＇s Republic of China （PRC）borrowed Marxist historical materialism and its world history theory from the Soviet Union－，the use of the term shijieshi spread widely in Chinese academic circles．Although there has been some significant resistance by historians to ideological control，the task as－ signed by the new regime to historians was to study the development of the world socialist revolution within which the establishment of the ＇new democracy＇promoted by the Chinese Communist Party（CCP） began to take place（Fan 2021）．In 1964，the Chinese Academy of So－ cial Sciences founded its own Institute of World History（Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan shijie lishi yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院世界历史研究所）． The institute undertook a separate study of the different world are－ as remaining unrelated to the historiographical approach of World History／Global History．

It is impossible not to overlook the difficulty and ambiguity of the terminology．Historiographical perspective on World History／Global History uses different terminological formulations in different lan－ guages，and this can often lead to misunderstanding．In material published in China and in related discussions，similar terms are of－ ten applied to different approaches．The term＇history of the world＇ （shijieshi 世界史）often refers to specific historical studies of countries other than China，while＇global history＇（quanqiushi 全球史）refers to the historiographical approaches of World History／Global History and mainly deals with history of the connections between different human communities．

In fact，the approaches of World History／Global History concern ＂the story of connections within the global human community＂，to use Manning＇s definition（2003，3），and emerge from an attempt by part of the Anglophone scholarship to overcome the concept of＇universal history＇，to break free from a teleological and Eurocentric vision and to abandon the centrality of nation－states．In the early 1960s，William McNeill put the accent on relationships，interactions，and networks that transcend spatial divides．Here we do not wish to delve into the complexity of the debate around the definition of＇World History／Glob－ al History＇and the use of the term．However，a fundamental point to be made is that the interpretative paradigm of World History／Global History evidences an endeavour to abandon what is known as＇con－ ceptual Eurocentrism＇and not to ignore the particularities and spe－ cificities of the histories of Others（Conrad 2016，164－75）．While us－ ing analytical concepts across time and space，it is important to be aware that concepts and terms always have their own historicity and are not neutral．In fact，they bear traces of the context and conditions from which they emerged．Although Chinese historians try to break
away from the influence of Eurocentrism in the discussion of World History／Global History，they often take as their basis European and American historical categories，which are not always suitable to ex－ plain the Chinese reality．Thus World History／Global History often receives criticism in China，with accusations of being Eurocentric even in the critique of Eurocentrism．Actually，one of the emerging methodological sensitivities of World History／Global History is the at－ tention to what is defined in technical terms by the term＇positional－ ity＇，i．e．the awareness that the place where a global historian writes is decisive for his point of view and shapes the way in which she／he reads and interprets history（Conrad 2016，162－84；Beckert，Sach－ senmaier 2018，1－15）．

In the panorama of World History／Global History studies in the PRC， a particularly interesting contribution comes from Prof．Ge Zhao－ guang 葛兆光，a historian who was Director of the National Institute for Advanced Humanistic Studies at Fudan University（Shanghai） from 2007 to 2013．Born in 1950 in Shanghai，Prof．Ge graduated from Peking University in 1984．After teaching at Yangzhou Univer－ sity，he was a faculty member of Tsinghua University from 1992 to 2006 and was appointed to the post of Professor in the Department of History．Since the late 1990s，he has acquired extensive interna－ tional experience as visiting scholar in Hong Kong and Taiwan，as well as in Japan，Belgium and the United States．

From 2019 to 2021，Prof．Ge Zhaoguang promoted and coordinat－ ed the production of the podcast Global history from the Perspective of China with hundreds of episodes in Chinese，divided into six sea－ sons．${ }^{1}$ Each season corresponds to a key theme：the origin of humani－ ty，wars and migrations，the circulation of goods，religions and faiths， diseases and climate，and the great geographical discoveries．${ }^{2}$ With the collaboration of various experts，this audio programme is mak－ ing a significant contribution to the dissemination of themes and ap－ proaches of World History／Global History in the PRC．As he himself recently explained to the Author of this essay in a private conversa－ tion，Prof．Ge Zhaoguang gathered together over 20 young scholars to produce a set of more than 200 episodes using the Vistopia audio platform．The aim has been to guide society towards a sense of global citizenship that transcends the nation，one which leads to a feeling of

[^0]unity through equality and fraternity．The podcast concluded in 2021 and is now being compiled into a book．${ }^{3}$ Over the course of two and a half years，it is believed that nearly 100，000 listeners tuned in sever－ al million times．A survey was undertaken which shows that the au－ dience includes not only university students，postgraduate students， and white－collar intellectuals，but also scholars in different fields，in－ cluding economists，sociologists，legal scientists，not to mention fa－ mous intellectuals and opinion leaders．

As for the discussion on terminology，Prof．Ge Zhaoguang explains that academic circles in the PRC are generally clear on a few points： ＇history of the world＇，shijieshi 世界史，is composed of regional or na－ tional histories and is written in the style of a＇puzzle＇；it forms a historical narrative from a particular perspective（e．g．European－ centred or China－centred）and it refers to an＇era＇（five social for－ mations，ancient times，medieval times，or modern times）；＇global history＇，quanqiushi 全球史，on the other hand，transcends national borders，emphasises interconnection，influences and intertwining， and advocates a＇decentralised＇historical narrative often embrac－ ing a long－term period．

As Ge has noted，nowadays in the PRC：
in general learning and academic settings，＇history of the world＇ （or＇history of all nations＇or＇foreign history＇）and＇Chinese his－ tory＇are still regarded as separated．In Chinese universities and secondary schools，＇history of the world＇seems to be mainly for－ eign history other than China．In China，a＇world history without China＇and a＇Chinese history without the world＇have come into being，and we criticise this．The history of China and that of the world do not seem to communicate other than what is referred to as＇the history of Sino－foreign relations＇．Moreover，the basic con－ text and focus of analysis of the narrative of＇history of the world＇ have been influenced by the Western view of the evolution，de－ velopment and progress of civilisation，the Marxist view of eco－ nomic history，and the Soviet Union＇s five－social－formation theo－ ry，so that changes in the＇history of the world＇seem to have fixed ＇rules＇or＇purposes＇．${ }^{4}$

As Conrad noted，in China＂Global History is not generally regarded as a methodological alternative but as a context in which the growth of the nation can be explained and promoted＂$(2016,208)$ ．

3 The publication of the book collecting the podcast materials is in progress．Prof．Ge Zhaoguang，the curator，estimates that it will be published at the end of 2023.

4 Conversation with the Author on 31 March 2022．The translation into English was reviewed by Ge Zhaoguang．

## 2 World History／Global History Studies in the PRC

It is perhaps no coincidence that World History／Global History en－ tered the People＇s Republic of China in the 1980s，in the climate of ＇Reform and Opening－up＇，when the expression＇universal view of his－ tory＇was translated into Chinese as quanqiu shiguan 全球史观（Liu 2012，491－511；Spakowski 2009，475－95）．More precisely，this term comes from the translation of Geoffrey Barraclough＇s work，Main Trends in History，which appeared in the Chinese language in 1987 （Barraclough 1987）．The following year，a volume by L．S．Stavrianos was also published in Chinese and later，especially in the 2000s，texts by several world historians were translated and published，including McNeill，Bentley and Pomeranz．

According to Ge Zhaoguang，Chinese historians have been aware since the 1990s that World History／Global History has a different re－ search model to the＇history of the world＇．In the 20 years since 2000， many foreign works on Global History have been translated and pub－ lished in China：apart from those by John R．McNeill，Jared Diamond and other works that influenced the direction of Global History，there have also been publications of complete，systematic Global History works．One such example is Jerry Bentley and Herbert Ziegler＇s Tra－ ditions \＆Encounters：A Global Perspective on the Past（Peking Uni－ versity Press，2007），which has now reached its sixth edition．In 2020 alone，two important translations were published：L．S．Stavrianos＇ A Global History：From Prehistory to the 21st Century（Peking Uni－ versity Press，2020）and The Penguin History of the World（Oriental Publishing Center，2020）by J．M．Roberts and O．A．Westad．＂Inter－ estingly＂，says Prof．Ge，＂the Chinese version of The Penguin Histo－ ry of the World，which should have used the term＇World History＇ （shijieshi 世界史）was specifically changed into Penguin Global Histo－ ry（Qi＇e quanqiusi 企鹅全球史）．Perhaps this shows how popular Glob－ al History is in China＂．${ }^{5}$

While continuously dealing with the strong influence of ideology and the persistence of the Marxist framework，new attempts at re－ reading China＇s past and present history are based on patterns seen in the global past．In recent years，these attempts have been con－ fronted with a pressing demand from the Chinese government to put the work of historians at the service of the＇Belt and Road Initia－ tive＇．Perez－Garcia presents the debate on a＂Global History with Chi－ nese characteristics＂（2021）．In this regard，the position expressed by Zhang Xupeng 张旭鹏，in an article appeared in 2020 in the influential journal Lishi yanjiu 历史研究，is noteworthy．He argues that for China， with its long historiographical traditions，the nation－state is still an

5 Conversation with the Author on 31 March 2022.
important framework for the development of historical narrative and that the goal of Global History is not to transcend or dissolve the na-tion-state, but to reshape the understanding of the nation-state in a larger space and time. "This dialectical relationship between global history and national narratives makes it possible to construct a global history with Chinese characteristics". And he goes on:

This understanding of the self and the world developed within the national narrative rather than outside it will become an important methodological premise for constructing a global history with Chinese characteristics, and it is also the contribution of Chinese historiography to global history. (Zhang 2020, 155-6)

Nonetheless, as Perez-Garcia has noted,
history in China has strong political connotations, and one of the objectives of the 'Silk Road' policy is to renew the cultural exchanges and encounters between the West and China. [...] Today in China the role of global history is to develop a new national narrative to foster the unification of the country through a shared common past of more than fifty ethnic minorities. (2021, 3-4) ${ }^{6}$

Chinese historians are faced with neo-nationalistic narratives that reinterpret past history with the political intent of creating a new national identity and a new image for China in the world. However, in the PRC there are researches into the perspective of World History/Global History, and the output of Chinese intellectuals in the dialogue with the international academic community deserves careful attention and in-depth understanding and discernment.

Studies in World History/Global History have developed in the PRC in particular since the early 2000s. As Prof. Ge Zhaoguang puts it, when the concept of World History/Global History arrived in China in the 1990s, it aroused great interest in academic circles and, to a certain extent, corrected several major problems in past "history of the world". As Ge Zhaoguang says,

The threshold for Global History is very high and puts forward higher requirements for scholars, requiring them not only to be experts in the history of a country, but also to have a broader vision and be good at unearthing historical documents, archaeological materials, and even anthropological investigations that are obscured by national histories. Moreover, Chinese historians are

[^1]required to understand China in a peripheral or even global con－ text，and world historians should link Global History and Chinese history together in their investigations．However，the current state of Global History research in China can be described with a Chi－ nese saying：＂The thunder is loud，but the rain is small＂．That is to say that internationally there are many popular theories on Global History but there are very few Chinese attempts at writing Glob－ al History．I have always felt that Global History deals more with perspective and awareness of research methodology rather than being a grand narrative of＂a vast territory and a long history＂， and although China has now engaged in translating global histo－ ries of e．g．pepper，cotton，tea，and white sugar，there are very few Chinese research in these specific fields．${ }^{7}$

Capital Normal University（Shoudu shifan daxue 首都师范大学）was the first university to establish a Global History research centre in the PRC：the university＇s Global History Center（Quanqiushi yanjiu zhongxin 全球史研究中心 ${ }^{8}$ was set up in 2004，followed by centres set up by other academic institutions．Beijing Foreign Studies Universi－ ty（Beijing waiguoyu daxue 北京外国语大学）founded the Institute for Global History，IGH（Quanqiushi yanjiuyuan 全球史研究院），in 2014 and Shandong University（Shandong daxue 山东大学）established the In－ stitute of Global History and Transnational History（Quanqiushi yu kuaguoshi yanjiuyuan 全球史与跨国史研究院）in 2016 （Wang 2018）．${ }^{9}$ Over the past few years，IGH，headed by Prof．Li Xuetao 李雪涛，has been noted for its lively，rigorous approach．In fact，as a qualifying aspect of its work it has chosen to reject any perspective centred on a geographical area．${ }^{10}$ Such a feature is in line with the views of IGH＇s Director，who is adamant that Global History research must avoid both＂Eurocentrism（Ouzhou zhongxin lun 欧洲中心论）＂and＂Sino－ centrism（Zhongguo zhongxin zhuyi 中国中心主义）＂（Li 2014）．In con－ trast to Nationalist views most commonly seen at present among Chi－ nese historians，IGH launched its journal Global History and China （Quanqiushi yu Zhongguo 全球史与中国）in 2017；through the study of China in Global History，this journal aims to show how today＇s Chi－ nese civilisation is the result of exchanges with different cultures and

[^2]to investigate the global significance of Chinese culture．The journal， co－edited by Prof．Li Xuetao and Prof．Wolfgang Kubin，is published in Chinese and outstanding Chinese and foreign scholars in the field of World History／Global History contribute to the publication．

The most well－known journal of World History／Global History in the PRC，however，remains the Global History Review（Quanqiushi pin－ glun 全球史评论），published in the Chinese language by the above－men－ tioned Capital Normal University research centre．${ }^{11}$ The journal is cur－ rently edited by Liu Xincheng 刘新成，who has held this role since the publication began in 2008，and by Liu Wenming 刘文明．Until 2014 it was published annually with the release of a monographic issue each year，while it has been published semi－annually since 2015．The jour－ nal aims to disseminate in the PRC the themes and theories of the in－ ternational debate on World History／Global History，hosting contribu－ tions by well－known foreign world historians and reviews of the most important World History／Global History texts published in the West． Jerry Bentley，for example，contributed to the journal between 2006 and 2012 and was a visiting professor at the research centre where it is published．In the editorial of the second volume（2009）of the jour－ nal，Liu Xincheng traced the underlying vision，identifying the concept of＇interaction＇（hudong 互动）between different civilisations as the en－ gine of human history and the cornerstone of World History／Global His－ tory（cf．Liu 2009，3－12）．Liu agrees with the harsh criticism of Euro－ centrism／Western－centrism shared by most Chinese historians but，at the same time，argues for the need to move beyond the sole dimension of national history in favour of an approach that fully embeds China into global history．Thus，he ultimately recognises that，like other civ－ ilisations，Chinese civilisation too progresses through relationships and exchanges with external worlds．At a time in history when it is not obvious to find alternative paths to nationalistic thinking and sen－ timent，the World History／Global History approach offers wide－rang－ ing and forward－looking perspectives．

The issues of the Global History Review feature many contributions by foreign historians and many reviews of volumes written by Western scholars．Among the main themes addressed by Chinese historians in their research articles，the areas that emerge in particular are：en－ vironmental history；the history of empires（often addressed through the comparison between the Chinese empire and other empires of the past，or the exchanges between ancient China and the Graeco－Roman world）；the history of the seas and oceans，with attention to the role of

[^3]ports and more generally to commercial and cultural exchanges；the history of Central Asia as a privileged place for the intertwining cul－ tural and economic exchange between China and the West．

## 3 Global History and China／from China： Inserting China in Global History

Ge Zhaoguang entitled his podcast Global History from the Perspec－ tive of China，but he specifically clarifies that＂from［the perspec－ tive of］China＂and＂China－centred＂are completely different ideas． In Global History the＇centre＇should be disintegrated and＇connec－ tivity＇should be emphasised．＂Global History from China＂does not indicate that China is competing for a share in Global History high－ lighting its historical status；rather，it means that the world is looked at from the perspective of China．In short：＂If China is the centre，it goes against the ideal of Global History＂．${ }^{12}$

Prof．Ge gives three arguments to explain the underlying idea be－ hind the choice of title．Firstly，he reminds us that no historian can be omniscient and omnipotent，and look at Global History 60 degrees without blind spots．${ }^{13}$ He recalls and underlines the importance of the above－mentioned＇positionality＇of global historians．The second argumentation regards the awareness that Chinese historians are paying attention to Global History om the position and perspective of China．From this point of view，this＇perspective＇and those com－ ing from Japan，Europe，the United States and Australia can comple－ ment each other．As he puts it，

Perhaps the history we see cannot avoid having a Chinese inter－ pretation and understanding．So，when we put together these glob－ al pictures from different perspectives，isn＇t it comprehensive？ Therefore，when we talk about global geographical discoveries， we do not take Zheng He＇s voyages to the West as a great geo－ graphical discovery to belittle Columbus and Magellan（this is a China－centric position），but say that Zheng He＇s sailing west was mainly meant to promote the prestige of the Celestial Empire and not to promote the global exchange of goods and cultures．There－ fore，there is no promotion of a＇great geographical discovery＇in the true sense．${ }^{14}$

[^4]Finally，he also takes into account the fact that when the Chinese listen to historical narratives，they tend to feel closer to things that are famil－ iar to China and thus easier to understand．So，he starts from a selec－ tion of Chinese stories to recount Global History is audio programme． For example，the＇Silver Age＇，i．e．the age of mining and trading silver， was a major event which involved the Americas，Europe，and Asia af－ ter the fifteenth century．When talking about this，Prof．Ge refers to a recent archaeological discovery in China，the＂Jiangkou sunken silver＂， which refers to a large amount of silver hidden at the bottom of a river when the peasant army lost a battle at the end of the Ming dynasty．${ }^{15}$

As in China people had used silver as currency since the late Ming dynasty，a shortage had been caused．This easily triggers the fa－ miliarity of the Chinese audience（or readers）and helps them un－ derstand．Of course，because it is the ear that listens to the sound and not the eye that reads the text，it is also very important that this kind of history programme through an audio（podcast）plat－ form uses a short，relaxed，and lively narration，and that the con－ tent tells a story instead of speaking big truths，avoiding being too academic and using everyday language instead．To this end， I spent a lot of time and energy revising and supplementing the manuscript．Many listeners left messages and comments，saying that the program changed their understanding of global history， subverted the historical view in textbooks，opened up their own outlook on the world，and changed their self－centred worldview． This is very comforting to me．${ }^{16}$

Another attempt to include China in Global History hat of the afore－ mentioned journal Global History and China．It also performs the function of spreading the approach of World History／Global History， although limited to the academic field．Specifically，its intention is to contribute to definitively overcoming the disciplinary boundary be－ tween the history of China and the history of the rest of the world， integrating Chinese history into global history and aiming to under－ stand history through interactions．This disciplinary boundary is still dominant in the way history is taught at the various school lev－ els in the PRC．The journal Global History and China places particu－ lar attention on the history of ideas，knowledge transfer and schol－ arly exchange，as well as the cultural and linguistic contact between the East and the West．

[^5]In his preface to the first issue of the journal，Li Xuetao refers to the great example of Xu Guangqi（徐光启；1562－1633），as a precursor of a fruitful method of cultural interaction，summarised in the formu－ la＂translate－integrate－overcome（fanyi，huitong，chaosheng 翻譯，會通，超勝）＂，coined by Xu Guangqi himself at the end of the Ming era（Li 2013，56）．This example refers to the experience of cultural exchang－ es carried out by European Jesuit missionaries and Chinese scholar－of－ ficials at the beginning of the seventeenth century．According to Ge Zhaoguang，this experience would mark the beginning of a turning point in the overall view of the outside world that Chinese culture expressed．Despite the intense intercultural exchanges of previous eras，the maps drawn by the Jesuits，and Ricci in particular－and the transmission of their scientific knowledge more generally－，would have posed a decisive challenge to Chinese scholars，some of whom would have，from that moment on，begin a slow process of abandon－ ing their traditional Sinocentric view（Ge 2018，28－49）．

In conclusion，nowadays the World History／Global History ap－ proach could seriously challenge the narrative of the uniqueness of Chinese history and its exceptionalism，as well as the narrative of the external world＇s views of the Chinese tradition and of the views of the twentieth－century Chinese historiography that spring from na－ tionalism and anti－Western victimhood．It is then not only a matter of questioning the ingrained habit of considering the history of the world as a history of countries outside China，but of developing new conceptions that are able to go beyond a methodology that remains tied to nationalistic views，despite strong political pressure．It is evi－ dent that the World History／Global History approach promotes a deep and less conflictual understanding of the recent past．

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[^0]:    1 The podcast Cong Zhongguo chufa de quanqiushi 从中国出发的全球史（Global Histo－ ry from the Perspective of China）is accessible by downloading the app：https：／／bit． ly／3BiTKeJ（fee required）．
    2 It should be noted that many contributions by Chinese historians in the field of World History／Global History have so far focussed more on methodological and conceptual issues，while still relatively few works are addressing specific themes of World Histo－ ry／Global History．This podcast，due to the variety of topics covered，is therefore par－ ticularly rich and innovative．

[^1]:    6 See also Global History Network in China (GHN) at the website https://www.global historynetwork.com.

[^2]:    7 Conversation with the Author on 31 March 2022.
    8 The centre＇s website：https：／／ghc．cnu．edu．cn；an English version is also availa－ ble：https：／／ghc．cnu．edu．cn／english．
    9 For more information，see https：／／globalhistory．bfsu．edu．cn／index．htm\＃and https：／／www．media．sdu．edu．cn／info／1002／13669．htm．
    10 In the self－introduction posted on the IGH website itself，the rejection of any form of＇centrism＇is placed in the foreground（Fandui ge zhong xingshi de zhongxinzhuyi xue－ shuo 反对各种形式的中心主义学说，Oppose all forms of centrism）．See https：／／global history．bfsu．edu．cn／ar．htm？opType＝view\＆chelID＝10\＃．

[^3]:    11 The list of volumes published until 2018 is available on the following webpage： https：／／ghc．cnu．edu．cn／zxkw／index．htm．In addition to this journal，another one appeared in 2021，entitled Quanqiushi 全球史（The Chinese Journal of Global History）， edited by Li Xuetao and published by Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe 社会科学文献出版社（Social Science Literature Press）．

[^4]:    12 Conversation with the Author on 31 March 2022.
    13 See the introductory text to the above－mentioned podcast Cong Zhongguo chufa de quanqiushi 从中国出发的全球史（Global History from the Perspective of China）．
    14 Conversation with the Author on 31 March 2022.

[^5]:    15 Cf．Baiyin shidai：faxian xin dalu yu quanqiu maoyì 白银时代：发现新大陆与全球贸易（Sil－ ver Age：Discovering the New World and Global Trade），podcast Cong Zhongguo chufa de quanqiushi 从中国出发的全球史（Global History from the Perspective of China），no．VI．2．
    16 Conversation with the Author on 31 March 2022.

