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# Hanfu and the Legitimization of Nationalism in Post-2013 China: A case study of young content creators' vlogs on Bilibili

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## 概要

本论文调查：1) 中国年轻女性如何在社交媒体短视频中展示汉服，网民对此有何反应，以及 2) 汉服运动可能以何种方式促进中国政府主导的民族主义的合法化。2013 年后的中国利用古代中国的文化，通过民族团结和去除西化来壮大国家。本文通过 3 个步骤分析来自 Bilibili 的 5 个汉服短视频：1) 对视频的反身分析；2) 对评论的元论述分析；以及 3) 综合步骤 1) 和 2)，与 2013 年后中国民族主义文献进行交叉分析。本文表明汉服是汉族民族文化的象征，在汉族引发了骄傲感和民族主义情绪。本文的结论是，汉服运动传播古代文化和历史，有助于奠定一种文化基础，使得中国政府可以通过族群和民族团结来强化国家。

## **Abstract**

This thesis investigates: 1) how the Hanfu is presented in videos on social media by young Chinese women and how the netizens respond to it, and 2) in what way the Hanfu Movement might be contributing to the legitimization of the Chinese government's nationalism in Post-2013. Post-2013 China uses ancient Chinese culture to strengthen the country through national unity and the removal of Westernization. Five Hanfu short-videos from Bilibili were analysed through 3 steps: 1) reflexive video analysis, 2) metadiscourse comment-analysis, and 3) cross-analysis of step 1) and 2) with literature on post-2013 Chinese-nationalism. This thesis suggests that the Hanfu is a Han-Chinese ethno-cultural symbol which incurs pride and nationalist sentiment in the Han-people. In conclusion, the Hanfu Movement's dissemination of ancient culture and history helps to lay the cultural foundation of the Chinese government who needs to strengthen the country through ethnic and national unity.

Keywords: Hanfu Movement, Post-2013 Chinese nationalism, short-video, social media, Bilibili, young Chinese women, ancient Chinese culture.

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# 1. Introduction

Following Xi Jinping's instatement as leader of the Communist Party of China (CCP) in 2012, the Chinese government has constructed the legitimisation of their rule and decisions upon a state-led nationalism founded in ancient traditional Chinese cultural notions and Confucian values. This has been done to establish rule, to unite the country, and to achieve the 'China Dream', the dream of the rejuvenation of the Chinese identity and culture from before the westernization of China (Guo, 2016; Johnson, 2021). The Chinese government has heretofore disbanded a number of social gatherings but has yet to define their stance on the flourishing Hanfu Movement, which began in 2003 (Northrop, 2018). The Hanfu is the traditional costume worn by the Chinese, specifically the Han-people, throughout all dynasties except for those governed by the Mongol and Manchu people (Pan, 2020).

This thesis will explore the Hanfu's place in Chinese state-led nationalism by attempting to answer the following questions:

1. How is the Hanfu presented in videos on social media by young Chinese women and how do netizens respond to it?
  - How can one understand Hanfu as a form of nationalism?
  - What new forms of nationalism can it be said to represent?
2. In what way might the Hanfu Movement be contributing to the legitimization of the Chinese government's nationalism in Post-2013?

This thesis aims to analyse connections between the portrayal of the Hanfu in self-produced videos published online and their comments, and the post-2013 state-led Chinese nationalism through artistic expression in the videos and the netizens' response to it. This thesis will begin with a report of the portrayal of the Hanfu by women on Chinese social media platforms based on data collected from popular short-video social media platform *Bilibili*, known for its vlogging-content and young members. It will then analyse these videos based on the government's ideology on nationalism in Post-2013 China. Focus will be on cultural and nationalistic elements.

This paper argues that the Hanfu Movement aligns with the ideas the Chinese state wishes to promote to reach the state's goals, which are: strengthening the Chinese nation through the establishment of cultural identity and national unity, thus achieving the China Dream.

## 2. Literature and Theory

### 2.1 From culturalism to nationalism

The most established theory regarding Chinese culturalism and nationalism proposes that the ancient Chinese identity was based in a generally accepted culture rather than an ethnically, territorially or loyal-to-the-emperor nation, and that the challenge of Western imperialism along with the fall of the Qing dynasty dismantled the Chinese belief of cultural superiority and introduced Western ideology – including democracy, ideology, industrialization, modernized education, etc. – thus triggering a turn towards nationalism (Zhao, 2004; Townsend, 1992).

The theory is widely recognized, but equally questioned and debated (Zhao, 2004; Townsend, 1992). In his book *A Nation-State by Construction*, Suisheng Zhao summarizes Prasenjit Duara's argument against the thesis, writing "the Chinese defined their differences from others not simply in terms of a superior universal culture, which might conceivably be internalized by others, but in terms of something like a built-in 'racial' superiority based on irreducible geographic, climatic, and even biological factors.". Michael Ng-Quinn elaborates on this, arguing that "the core determinants of Chinese national identity were essentially affective, based on unity and a culture in existence since the period of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou, thousands of years ago.". Many Chinese nationalists and scholars maintain similar opinions, claiming that "nationalism existed in pre-modern China and was always an important political force in China's long history. ... the ancient Chinese self-image, *Huaxia*, meant "the Chinese nation" upon which Chinese national consciousness was developed at a very early stage of history." (Zhao, 2004).

Regardless of the debates regarding the pre-1900s history of Chinese nationalism, the general assumption is that the thesis holds up. Zhao (2004) writes "Although the Chinese empire stretched back two millennia, it was not a nation-state before the nineteenth century and, therefore, nationalism did not exist in ancient China.", with a 'nation-state' being defined by its elevation of characteristics such as ethnicity, language, and ancient customs. Instead, ancient China's composition appears to be strongly founded in Confucianism. Two prime elements of Chinese culturalism have been proposed: the first being that of cultural superiority, as Zhao writes, echoing Joseph Levenson: "..., culturalism permeated traditional Chinese thought as Chinese culture was the focus of people's loyalty. The ancient Chinese perceived their country as the only civilization in the universal world

(*tianxia*), one that embodied a universal set of values.” (Zhao, 2004). The second proposing that the ruler of ancient China must be versed in the universal principles in order to rule the Chinese people; “All those who accepted its teachings and principles, including the alien Mongol Yuan and Manchu Qing dynasties, could be incorporated within its culturalist bounds.” (Zhao, 2004; Townsend, 1992). Supporting the fundamental ideas of the thesis, Babadzan (2010) proposes that “In the virtual absence of ideological alternatives, identity culturalism appears to occupy the field, even if it does not always make for consensus.”. In response to Anthony Smith, Ernest Gellner argued that “nationalism emerged only toward the end of the end of the eighteenth century and became widespread during the nineteenth” (Maxwell, 2021).

Culturalism waned from the west’s intrusion until its official end with the May Fourth Movement in 1919, whereas nationalism grew from the arrival of the West onward and was catalysed by the defeat to Japan in 1895 (Townsend, 1992). Culturalism was not eradicated in one go but faded over time. China wanted to adopt Western ideas to strengthen their nation whilst avoiding falling victim to their imperialism and not succumbing to their pressure. This in turn led to China partly or completely turning its back on the culturally traditional Chinese values. During this time, democracy experienced a surge of support, and Confucianism was discarded any time it came into conflict with democracy. However, most scholars, and even youth, still sympathised with the Confucian values of filial piety, benevolence, and loyalty even after democracy had overpowered culturalism (Wasserstrom, 2016).

## **2.2 Chinese Nationalism in Post-2013 China**

Since Xi Jinping came into power in 2012, the Chinese government has shifted the basis of its nationalism from a politically founded one to a culturally founded one on which all of China’s decisions economically, politically, and socially are built (Johnson, 2021). Johnson (2021) writes: “Xi Jinping establishes success over historical traumas and national rejuvenation as titular themes of his administration.”

The Chinese government’s nationalist narrative depends on overcoming and rectifying the trauma incurred by the century of humiliation and negative Western modernization and imperialism which oppressed and brutalized the nation in the wake of the transition from culturalism to nationalism (Guo, 2016; Johnson, 2021). The goal is social rejuvenation, revival of the Chinese nation as well as the establishing and strengthening of

China's position in the global environment (Johnson, 2021; Kubat, 2018). The national identity itself is a product created by the state. Johnson, writes: "..., efforts to empower the CCP as the cornerstone of Chinese politics and society reveal an overwhelming governmental fixation with curating and perpetuating a distinct Chinese nationalist identity." (Johnson, 2021).

Since Xi Jinping became chairman, the Chinese government has further started increasingly embracing and incorporating cultural heritage into their nationalism and politics in comparison to before. This is shown by Xi's adding 'cultural confidence' to the CCP's 'three confidences': "'ideological confidence', 'confidence in the [socialist] road', 'confidence in the [socialist] system'" (Guo, 2016). It is also shown in Xi's depiction of the CCP as "the rightful beneficiary of and successor to China's cultural traditions" (Kubat, 2018), drawing on the ancient idea of the Heaven's Mandate, and suggestions of using ancient philosophy in legislation and management (Kubat, 2018). "The CCP under Xi Jinping blends modernist and state-centric constructivist nationalist ideologies to affirm the central government's authority and simultaneously remedy contemporary issues while supporting future aspirations." (Johnson, 2021) where "nationalism exists due to the shifting balances of power, industrialization, mass migrations, traumas of regional and global conflicts, and ideological shifts characteristic of only modernity" (Johnson, 2021) according to modernists, and "nationalism is a by-product of the state's policies that create an artificial identity to support its broader political goals" (Johnson, 2021) to state-centric constructivists (Johnson, 2021). The party no longer follows Mao Ze Dong Thought, no longer promotes its original revolutionism and fight against class struggle (Johnson, 2021), no longer identifies as "programmatically anti-traditionalist" (Kubat, 2018), and no longer relies on the economic prosperity of the past which legitimised the Party and its rule in 1949-2013 (Johnson, 2021; Kubat, 2018). Instead, the Party bases its legitimacy upon "the conformity to traditional notions of good governance" (Guo, 2016), which are remnants of the Confucian belief in the Heavenly Mandate; thus, China's political leadership incorporates reference to cultural heritage from the old 'national conditions' in their justification of political system, values, and development. The focus has moved to "... a focus on [future] economic development, harmonious society and [ultimately] the 'China dream'" (Guo, 2016), with the 'China dream' being the dream of Chinese rejuvenation – the reclaiming of Chinese culture and the greatness of the dynasties. In achieving these goals, the CCP sees China gaining a position in the global environment which China considers itself deserving of. According to the Chinese

government, the acquisition of the ‘China Dream’ is dependent on the stability and cohesivity of the Chinese society. The stability and cohesivity of Chinese society are in turn dependent on the population identifying with the Chinese national identity, an identity which is shaped by the Han-majority of the Chinese population but maintains the importance of a ‘united front’ and ‘ethnic unity’. The state promotes “internal unity, the central government's authority, and creating a positive global image” as the three rudimentary cornerstones necessary to the sustaining of their nationalism (Johnson, 2021). Johnson (2021) writes:

This nationalist identity must inspire the Chinese people to support China's rise and deter international doubters of China's global ambitions. Ultimately, a nationalist ideology is the CCPs formidable tool for consolidating public approval, deterring dissension, and espousing a sympathetic global image. The modern iteration of the CCP transformed from a formidable political organization and symbol of the revolution into the executor of China's dream of a hegemonic future.

This in turn has led to China being the most inward-looking and least politically liberal than any other time in the post-Mao era as China is coming to reject the Western values it adapted after the Hundred Years of Humiliation (Guo, 2016; Johnson, 2021; Cui, 2022). Aleksandra Kubat (2018) argues that “by referencing traditional culture, and, in particular, by drawing on traditional moral virtues, the CCP realigns itself with societal expectations without making concessions over the ideological foundations of the party state.”.

### **2.3 The Hanfu Movement in 21<sup>st</sup> Century China**

The Hanfu Movement began in 2003 when Chinese citizen Wang Letian wore and posted online about wearing Hanfu and has grown since (Wang, 2016). Two years prior, in 2001, a group of government officials had worn the Tang-suit to an international meeting which had sparked conversation regarding it, its validity as national costume, and Chinese national costume. Today the Hanfu has grown into a large billion-dollar industry in China alone (Cui, 2022).

The Hanfu is the generally accepted national costume of the Han-nationality in China (Wang, 2016; Pan, 2020, Cui, 2022). It was worn by Han-people from the Han-dynasty to the Ming-dynasty, with exception for the Mongol-ruled Yuan-dynasty and the Manchu-ruled Qing-dynasty (Pan, 2020). It is composed of the layering of fabrics and comes in many

styles owing to its long history as well as the modernization and personal touches added by 21<sup>st</sup> century wearers (Northrop, 2018; Cui, 2022).

Scholars generally agree that Hanfu culture emerged in response to drastic globalization and long-term westernization as an attempt to reclaim Han-cultural roots and national identity (Xie, 2022; Pan, 2020; Cui, 2022). Pan (2020) suggests that “The enhancement of economic strength and the restoration of national self-confidence has also prompted people to re-examine their national cultural identity.”. The regaining of economic strength alongside the end of the One Hundred Years of Humiliation created space for a national self-confidence and the rejuvenation of traditional culture (Cui, 2022). They also generally agree that the core goal of the Hanfu Movement is to promote traditional Chinese, or Han-, culture and engage in spreading patriotic sentiment toward the motherland (Xie, 2022; Pan, 2020; Cui, 2022). Xie (2022) references Yeung’s work, writing “the behaviours of Hanfu enthusiasts represent the positive implications of patriotism to the country by demonstrating individual’s passion for Chinese heritage”. Other aims have also been suggested, such as the wish to create national cohesion (Xie, 2022; Pan, 2020), a pursuit of antiquity and purity of symbols (Pan, 2020), and an outlet of self-expression (Cui, 2022). As the culture has grown and been popularized, purposes for sporting the garments have come to vary. Still, an underlying sense of Han-nationalism appears to permeate the movement (Xie, 2022).

The culture is not without its controversies. There are debates regarding whether it can be called the ‘Chinese culture’ or if it is Han-culture, and if claiming the former is to dismiss China’s minorities recognized by the Chinese government (Pan, 2020). There are also those who call into question the validity of the Hanfu as authentic clothing as the dress is oftentimes altered to suit modern fashion, styles are often combined, and personal touches added, as well as those who question the historical accuracy of the dress and its wear and what amount of style-adjustment is acceptable (Northrop, 2018; Pan, 2020; Cui, 2022). The deputy director of the Cultural Development Strategy Center at the Chinese National Academy of Arts Zheng Changling has stated that the “Hanfu” has existed and developed over thousands of years of history and takes many different forms depending on period, region, and ethnic integration. Thus, “Hanfu” cannot be clearly defined (Chen, 2021). The influence on or by Japan and Korea in terms of cultural clothing and its origins are widely debated as well, with all claiming the culture as their own (Pan, 2020, Cui, 2022). The

movement's nationalistic theme also occasionally leads to expressions of Han-chauvinism amongst the participants (Cui, 2022).

The Chinese government and Xi Jinping, who support the rejuvenation of traditional Chinese culture, have not banned the social gatherings, and do not utilise them as a direct tool in politics, but maintain a hand in the discourse (Northrop, 2018; Cui, 2022; Johnson, 2021; Kubat, 2018; Guo, 2016). Furthermore, the movement was recently commemorated by the Chinese government through the organization of a 'Traditional Garment Day' in 2018 (People's Daily Online, 2018). Cui (2022) writes: "the Hanfu Movement is situated in the broader mode of governance in contemporary China, which encompasses consumption, ideology, and, most importantly, personal affect."

## **2.4 Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework of this essay is created in part by Sarah Pink's (2012) discourse on reflexive analytical framework on visual ethnography and Kecheng Fang's (2022) analysis method of metadiscourse, and in part created by me based on the above literature review. Its foundation is based in Maxwell's (2021) discussion on nationalism in fashion history. The analysis process of this thesis is divided into three steps. The first is the video analysis, the second the comment analysis, and the third the cross-analysis of the results from the video and comment analyses against the findings of the literature review. The video and comment analyses aim to answer the first research question regarding the Hanfu's portrayal, and the cross analysis aims to answer the second research question regarding the Hanfu's role in the legitimization of Post-2013 Chinese nationalism.

Drawing on Sarah Pink's (2012) reflexive analytical framework on Visual Ethnography in video content the first step of the analysis (the video analysis) focused on how the creators portray the Hanfu in their videos. Through seeing what environments the Hanfu is inserted into and what cultural objects and subjects are incorporated, we can see what the creators associate with the Hanfu. Through these associations we can see what the Hanfu means to the creators and where the boundaries of the Hanfu's social and cultural definitions are drawn. This is based on Pink's (2012) argument that video is always the subjective representation of its creator and its viewers. The latter is also relevant for the next step which analyses the opinions of the viewers.

In the second step, borrowing from Kecheng Fang's (2022) analytical process of metadiscourse the netizen's comments were analysed and deconstructed to see how they,

whom by praxis in contributing to the comment section of a Hanfu video is a part of the Hanfu discussion, reflect on and view the Hanfu and, in particular, how they view it in relation to national identity and culture in Post-2013 China. Adjusting Fang's (2022) analysis process to fit the online environment and topics of this thesis, the comments were analysed in three read-throughs: in the first all comments and references related to the research questions were noted down (e.g. the Hanfu, culture, ethnics, and nationalism), in the second any emerging patterns were noted down, and in the third the attention was on identifying any validating or contradicting elements to the patterns in step two in order to finetune the findings.

Kechang Fang's (2022) metadiscourse analysis illustrated the way a community's participants see themselves and their community. This thesis analyses how Hanfu community members views themselves in relation to nationalism and national identity. As both analyses focus on how the members of a community view themselves as seen through how they express themselves online, this method was deemed appropriate.

The third step also utilized Pink's (2012) theory when cross-analysing the results from the video and comment analyses against the findings of the literature review discussing nationalism in post-2013 China. Pink argues that the purpose of analysing visual media should be to "explore the relationship between visual (and verbal) knowledge" and contextualise the visual using the verbal and vice versa. For the literature review, the search focused on information pertaining to the Hanfu Movement as well as the transition from culturalism to nationalism during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the nationalism of post-2013 China, the role of traditional culture in Post-2013 Chinese nationalist ideology, and the link between nationalistic theory in fashion history. Analysing these findings against the background of nationalism in post-2013 China could reveal what role the Hanfu plays in the legitimization of the Chinese government's rule in Post-2013 China. Through Pink's proposed reflexive approach we can form an understanding of the relationship between how the Hanfu is portrayed, what the netizens think, and how these fit into the greater narrative on Post-2013 Chinese nationalism.

The analysis' foundation also drew from Maxwell's (2021) article where he presents and discusses the application of different nationalist theories on the study of clothing and criticises the lack thereof. Previously, focus has been on clothing through perspectives of class and gender. He proposes that the clothing can be regarded through Billig's theory of 'banal nationalism'; daily exposure to representation of the nation which creates a shared

feeling of national belonging, a sense of tribalism through national identity, as well as other theories on nationalism.

Maxwell (2021) also discusses the potential of the ‘Warwick debate’ between Anthony Smith and Ernest Gellner. Smith argued for ethnosymbolism, saying that “nations have deep, and ancient historical roots stemming from ethnic symbols” whereas Ernest Gellner argued that “nationalism emerged only toward the end of the end of the eighteenth century and became widespread during the nineteenth”, thus taking the modernist approach.

### **3. Methodology**

#### **3.1 Data selection**

The primary data is composed of short-form vlog-like videos created and uploaded by Chinese creators and the comments left on these by netizens. Short-form videos are creator-centred lifestyle, fashion or other-videos that span one to five minutes (Wang, 2022). The videos in this data sample are vlog-style with film-elements, making the videos less personal in some cases. The choice to use video and comments created by the Hanfu community’s members themselves stemmed from Sarah Pink’s (2012) argument that visual media represents the creators’ and the viewers’ opinions and views. The video creators and their viewers, i.e., the netizen leaving comments, automatically reflect their own views and opinions in their content. Therefore, studying these videos and their comments may provide insight into the Hanfu Movement’s members’ opinions, here on post-2013 Chinese nationalism in association with the Hanfu.

The data was selected from the video-sharing platform Bilibili. Bilibili was chosen in favour of other video-sharing platforms such as Douyin, Weibo and Xiaohongshu as the platform is of Chinese origin and is popular amongst youth. It also exclusively contains video-content, and longer videos averaging 3 to 10 minutes. Bilibili, established in 2009, is “one of the fastest-growing vlog communities” (Sohu, 2019 cited in Wang, 2022) after expanding its user market from anime, comics, and games to include fashion, lifestyle, news, etc., and actively promoting vlogging. Bilibili gears itself toward a “youth-oriented platform” and has created a monetary and entertainment ecosystem consisting of contributors, audiences, commercial partners, and third parties (Wang, 2022). Due to its young users and great popularity as a vlogging platform, the site was fitting as the data source for this thesis, which aims to investigate videos of both categories.

Five videos were chosen by creators whose content revolve around the Hanfu. Using the keywords ‘汉服’ (*hànfú*) and ‘汉服运动’ (*hànfú yùndòng* “Hanfu Movement”), the videos were selected from the top results on the first page of search-results ordered after “综合排序” (*zōnghé páixù*, “comprehensive search”) – these videos are generally the most frequently watched – as well as from the “watch-next recommendation-list” to the right of the screen of a playing video which shows similar content.

Videos were picked based on length, 1 minute to 5 minutes; content, the Hanfu; number of views, thousand or more; and number of comments, hundred or more. The more popular the better. The videos were required to be self-produced showcasing young, Chinese people, usually including the creator themselves, wearing Hanfu. The videos chosen all include only women participants. This was not a deliberate choice as the aim was not to study gender, but happened as the vast majority of videos only included woman participants and the few that included men did not meet the requirements such as popularity and length set by this thesis. Forcing the inclusion of male Hanfu would mean potentially skewing the results. Compilations, reposts of other creators’ content, and marketing-directed content was excluded due to reasons such as unknown source, irrelevance to the thesis topic, and commercial interest. Commercial interest was avoided as this study aims to analyse the Hanfu community on a member-basis and commercial interest may skew the portrayal and discussion about the Hanfu to suit an image the monetary benefactor’s commercial interest. If several videos by the same creator was suggested only the most popular of these was chosen in order to allow videos by other creators in the data pool for the sake of content source diversity. This repetitive recommendation of one creator’s content occurred due to the tendency of website-recommendations to favour similar content and content creators to what the user has previously consumed.

The comments were those under the analysed videos. The top comments and their replies were chosen as they had the most traffic and likes, and thereby enabled the most support or discussion. The total character count of the comments analysed was approximately 19,000.

### **3.2 Analysis process**

The data analysis process focused on the question “How is Hanfu clothing presented by young Chinese women on social media?”. In order to answer this question, the videos were analysed visually and auditorily based on depicted time, location, music, sounds, activities,

and primarily references to ancient Chinese culture. Then any themes and patterns in the presentation of the Hanfu based on these categories was identified. All speech or text was transcribed and translated by myself except certain poems which had pre-existing translations. The finding from these questions were then elaborated on through research of their history and cultural significance in order to determine information such as origin, meaning, and potential historical significance, and thereby their relevance to the video as well as to the representation of the Hanfu and the post-2013 Chinese nationalism. The answers to the first research question was then analysed against the information collected about post-2013 Chinese nationalism.

Sources used in the analysis of the primary data consist of peer reviewed research papers, newspaper articles, and forums or websites used by the Hanfu community. This was done for three reasons; first, to get an understanding of the scholar-acclaimed information, and two, to get an understanding of the creators-perceived correct information. There may be gaps between what has been presented in peer-reviewed articles in the academic field, and what is considered correct in online forums. It was important to understand this as the creators may have intended to be historically accurate but failed to as their sources were inaccurate. The third reason is the great variety of versions of the same subject. A legend may have several retellings due to e.g., the inaccuracy of oral history, and a piece of clothing may be styled differently due to personal taste. Non-scholarly sources were in some cases used to show alternative iterations.

### **3.3 Scientific Limitations**

Social media oftentimes use algorithms that suggest content according to user-interaction and watch history. The content in this thesis might therefore have become skewed. The data pool is also very small meaning the data may not be representative of the entire Hanfu Movement, but only of a small sub-category, and completely different viewpoints, opinions, and information may have been missed. Furthermore, any group of people or movement will have differing views and opinions, and degrees of agreement of what they are involved in. As the data pool was small, it is not possible to determine where on this scale this sub-category of videos and Hanfu-views fit in and if it deviates from the majority's opinion or not.

Vlogging culture has been state sanctioned through positive campaigns and policies which enable the growth of creators, audiences, and commercialization (Wang, 2022). The commercialization in combination with the state-support of the vlogging

community may cause skewed data. However, this support is of the vlogging community as a whole and thus may be too far detached from this thesis’s data to have any considerable impact.

Additionally, I am a student of Chinese language and history, not of sociology, politics, or media. Certain references may also have been missed due to unawareness. Culture is far-reaching and it is impossible for a single person to know every aspect of any culture.

#### **4. Bridging the past and present – the Hanfu Movement in post-2013 China**

Five videos were analysed. For ethical consideration, they were identified as 茶 (*chá*, tea), 仙 (*xiān*, God, fairy), 蛇 (*shé*, snake), 汉 (*hàn*, Han), and 宋 (*sòng*, Song) throughout the text based on their main theme. Two videos were themed “mythology and legends” (videos 仙 and 蛇) and three were themed a particular dynasty’s culture and lifestyle. Of these three, one was themed “Han-dynasty” (video 汉) and the other two “Song-dynasty” (videos 宋 and 茶). The table below shows each video’s length and popularity as counted in views, likes, comments and bullet-comments (on-screen in-time comments). The bullet-comments have not been included in the analysis as these are quite short and general and the comment section tends to contain more information, but they reflect the videos’ popularity. The photos in the appendix are from a video made by the Chinese Costume Restoration Team showing restored Hanfu (中国网, 2021). This video was not included in the analysis and is used as reference for the articulation of “authentic” Hanfu, called “accurate” throughout the thesis.

Video	Length (minutes)	Views	Likes	Comments	Bullet-comments
茶	4:11	210,000	25,000	677	586
仙	2.15	585,000	5,8000	1,294	1,000
蛇	1.13	56,000	3,496	174	143
汉	2.48	73,000	6,225	149	595
宋	2.08	95,000	6,946	276	548

*Table 1. The analysed videos’ statistics as of 3 April 2023.*

## 4.1 Modern approaches to cultural intelligence: bringing the past to the future

This section discusses the Chinese Hanfu participants and netizens' approach to and use of ancient Chinese cultural and historical information, and what this says about their thinking regarding the Chinese culture and history.

### 4.11 Presentation of the Hanfu in Videos

The variations in design of the Hanfu are as plentiful as the length of its existence, and an all-encompassing image of the “Hanfu” cannot be clearly defined (Chen, 2021). However, distinct styles of the Hanfu can be attributed to certain dynasties, regions, and ethnic integration, a concept commonly accepted in the Hanfu community. It is also common to see Hanfu-wearers combining elements across styles.

Dynasty-themed video 汉 showcased two styles of QinHan-dynasty Hanfus: Quju and Zhiju, to educate about their composition and history. The information presented was collected from museums and referenced in the video-description. It was evident that the 汉-creator valued the accuracy of the historical information they disseminated and the cultural value and history of the garments they displayed highly and did not merely consider the clothing a beautiful aesthetic.

The remaining two dynasty-themed videos 宋 and 茶 showed the Song-dynasty's culture. The Northern Song-dynasty had two iconic Hanfu-styles (see Fig. 1 and 2, respectively Fig. 3 and 4). Looking at both videos' Hanfus it could be concluded that the Song-dynasty was reflected in the Hanfus. The Hanfus in 宋 and 茶 differed slightly between the models within each video, but both displayed the same styles of Hanfu. All models wore crossed-collared long-sleeved blouses layered over an inner blouse (see Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). Most of the blouses in both videos had long-sleeved grand sleeves. The blouses were tucked into floor-length skirts tied at the waist with a single or double falling ribbon, and in one case tied to a decorative ring above the knees, like the jade pendent often worn by Song-dynasty noble women (Off The Great Wall, 2014b). Half of the skirts conformed to the style of the horse-faced skirt (Mamianqun 马面裙), characterized by its small, intense pleating. The other half conformed to the tulip-skirt which was dyed with tulips and retained the flowers' scent. Both skirts were popular in the Song-dynasty (Off The Great Wall, 2014b; New Hanfu, 2022). Many of the ladies also wore a long, thin shawl slung over their backs (装束复原 Chinese Historical Costume, 2020). These elements are all characteristic of the Song-dynasty Hanfu

(see Fig. 1 and Fig. 2.) (装束复原 Chinese Historical Costume, 2020; Off The Great Wall, 2014a; Off The Great Wall, 2014b; New Hanfu, 2022). However, one model in each video wore short-sleeved outer blouses cut off at the elbow or shoulder (see Fig. 6), like the loose-sleeved shirt of the Tang-dynasty, which entertained several styles of Hanfu (see Fig. 6) (Off The Great Wall, 2014a). Many of the women also wore an outer shorter skirt layered over the floor-length skirt, most of which reached the mid-calf and some which reached the knees. This resembled the skirt-layering of Western Wei of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (see Fig. 5) (装束复原 Chinese Historical Costume, 2020).

This further suggests that the content creators that made dynasty-themed videos considered the historical accuracy of the Hanfu important as well, even though they did not aim to be educational. It was important for the dynasty-video creators that their Hanfus adhered accurately to the dynasty they were presenting. This also suggests that the creators value the Hanfu and the cultural integrity of their videos and did not merely aim for an aesthetic visual when making these videos. There was a level of historic appreciation as well.

Some of the Hanfus exhibited elements of the Western Wei-Hanfu through the skirts, and some exhibited elements of the Tang-Hanfu. One might argue that this was incorrect. However, due to the close proximity of the Wei-, Song- and Tang-dynasties in time, and the tendencies of clothing and trends to bleed over between eras, it is feasible to assume that influences between dynasties' trends carried over between each other. Therefore, the blending of trends cannot be considered historically incorrect. Additionally, as the models of both videos implemented the same deviations it can be assumed that the creators considered this historically correct.

The mythology-themed videos 仙 and 蛇 derived the inspiration and concept of their costume design from their respective themes rather than a dynasty. The models in 仙 wore Hanfu inspired by both the first and second Northern Song-dynasty Hanfu with the straight neckline, grand-sleeved knee-length jackets, crossed-collared blouses, and thin shawls (see Fig. 1, 2, 3 and 4). Some also had modern elements, one wearing wide pants imitating the skirts, and the colours were bright and pastel. In 蛇, the Hanfus imitated the second Northern Song-dynasty Hanfu (see Fig. 1 and 2). The Hanfus were green and white, reflecting their roles as White Snake and Green Snake of the Legend of the White Snake.

In both mythology-videos, the Hanfu took the form of a traditional Hanfu and reflected the mythology only in accessories and the Hanfu's colours. The mythology-theme may have provided more creative freedom in not adhering to any particular dynasty's fashion trends. The fashions of dynasties are innately human, and mythology is fantastical. The mythology provided a buffer, which allowed for greater creative freedom. The mythology-buffer also aided in the creation of the image of otherworldly beings who live away from human civilization, apart from human-made trends.

Yet, the mythology-videos still adhered to one dynasty's Hanfu style, suggesting that even the mythology-themed creators considered the style of the Hanfu important and wished to retain the comprehensive form of the Hanfu of a certain dynasty. The historical accuracy also appears to have aimed to conform to the accuracy of the myth, which still means that the Hanfu was historically accurate as folklore is a part of human history.

#### **4.12 Presentation of Ancient Artefacts in Videos**

The presentation of the Hanfu extended beyond the Hanfu itself. Through investigating the environment into which the Hanfu was inserted, we could see what the creators associated with the Hanfu and thereby what it meant to them. All videos analysed contained references to one or more elements of ancient and traditional Chinese culture such as literature, crafts, objects, history, legends and myths, or other. Below the video-analysis of these elements is presented.

To begin with, the creators only included ancient Chinese cultural and historical elements in their videos. There were no modern or foreign elements. All videos took place outside in natural, time-neutral locations, or locations with historical Chinese architecture except for 汉. 汉 filmed indoors but used furniture such as low tables and candleholders of ancient Chinese style. 茶 and 仙 filmed in historical villages, 蛇 at a lotus-lake in nature, and 宋 at a riverside pagoda. None showed modern technology, architecture, activities, or music. All elements were also exclusively Chinese, and none exhibited elements from foreign cultures or countries. This suggested that the creators wished to present the Hanfu only in the context of Chinese history and culture and associated it strongly with both of these categories.

Moreover, all cultural and historical content was *historically accurate*, as perceived by the Hanfu community. This could be seen in the incorporation of literature

reflecting the dynasty presented in their videos. 宋 and 茶 referenced literature. Both videos referenced Song-dynasty literature, specifically lyric poetry 词. 茶 included an excerpt of the poem 《卜算子·送鲍浩然之浙东》 (*Bu Suanzi Sending Bao Haoran to Eastern Zhejiang*) by Northern Song-dynasty poet Wang Guan. It describes seeing a dear friend off and bidding them goodbye. The poem was altered slightly, and not included in its entirety. 宋 also quoted *Poem on a Stringless Qin* by Jin-dynasty writer and poet 陶潛 Táo Qián (Tao Yuanming). It read “但识琴中趣，何劳弦上声” (“If one knows the inner significance of the qin; Why make the effort to put on strings and pluck them?”) (NOMA, 2022; Pavillion Gallery, 2021; Baidu, 2022a) and was presented with a qin-playing model.

宋 quoted the first half of lyrical poem (词) 《好事近·梦中作》 (*Song of Good Event · In Dream*) by Northern Song-dynasty poet Qin Guan (1049-1100 AD) (Gushiwen, n.d.). It describes Qin Guan’s dream journey; the first half describing his soul’s journey upon the clouds and mountains (iStudy-China, 2022). It read “春路雨添花，花动一山春色。行到小溪深处，有黄鹂千百。” (“The spring rain hastens roadside flowers to grow; They undulate and fill mountains with spring. Deep, deep along the stream I go, And hear hundreds of orioles sing.”) (iStudy-China, 2022). The video showed a pagoda next to the river in the rain with birdsong playing in the background.

As described above, 茶 and 宋 showed specifically Northern Song-dynasty Hanfus. Here, the literature in both videos was not only real ancient Chinese literature, but it was also written during the Northern Song-dynasty, the dynasty which both videos presented. This suggests that the creators not only cared about presenting the correct dynasty, but also went so far as to focus on a dynasty’s specific era. The videos also reflected the literature’s content in the cases of Tao Qian and Qin Guan’s poems, which suggest that the creators cared for their content and did not include the poems as just props.

The historical accuracy could also be seen in the detailed incorporation of myths and legends. 仙 referenced fairies, 仙女, and the fairies from the *Legend of Dong Yong* first written down in 刘向 Liú Xiàng’s 《孝子传》 (*Biography of the Filial Son*). The 仙女 (*xiännû, fairies*) are beautiful, immortal, female deities or spirits of high status and refined moral characters of unusually great wisdom “纤尘不染” (*Xiānchén bù rǎn*) with extraordinary abilities from Chinese mythology (Baidu, 2023a). The *Legend of Dong Yong*

describes how seven heavenly fairies fell in love with Dong Yong after he sold his body to slavery to pay for his father's burial. The fairies descended onto earth, married him, and shortened his sentence from three years to one hundred days. The Jade emperor found out and recalled the fairies. They returned to heaven and sent their sons to earth after one year (Baidu, 2021b). The theme was visible in the Hanfu, slow-motion editing, make-up, and the choice of background music, but not presented directly except in the title. The song was *山鬼* (*Mountain Ghost*), an instrumental piece from the Warring States Era (475-221 BC) written by 屈原 Qū Yuán of the State of Chu. The song is an offer song for sacrifice to the mountain ghosts. It describes a mountain ghost's meetings with its beloved, its wait for its beloved's return, and the mountain ghost's feelings (see Fig. 9). As the song portrays mountain ghosts it reflected the video's theme of mountain fairies. The video showed seven models with fairy-like aesthetic. There was no reference to or appearance of Dong Yong, but the comments mentioned him and the legend.

蛇 referenced *白娘子和许仙* (*the Legend of White Snake*), a Tang-dynasty folklore describing "a love story between a human and an immortal". The story follows Green Snake (青蛇) and White Snake (白娘子) who ascend to earth and land at the West Lake in Hangzhou after achieving immortality and immense power through a thousand years' cultivation. There, they meet Xuxian (许仙), a young man carrying an umbrella, on a bridge and White Snake immediately fell in love with him. Xuxian lends the demons his umbrella when it starts raining and the demons thank Xuxian the next day with a meal. There, Green Snake informs Xuxian of White Snake's feelings, and he reciprocates. They married, moved to Zhenjiang, and opened an herbal medicine shop (TED-Ed, 2019a; TED-Ed, 2019b; Lily & Honglei – Asian American Artist Collaborative, 2023). Then a misled monk, Fahai, tells Xuxian his wife is a snake demon which he at first refuses to believe, but then accepts. The story ends in heavenly war, White Snake's pregnancy, and finally White Snake's entrapment in Leifeng Pagoda (Google Arts & Culture, n.d.). The legend has many versions across China. Some say Xuxian had, upon eating an immortality-medicine from a Heavenly God, become sick and vomited into White Snake's lake, where she had eaten the medicine and gained her powers and immortality. Other stories allege that White Snake caused harm to humans and was thus punished by the Heavenly Gods, and even others suggest that the Snake demons were sisters (TED-Ed, 2019a; TED-Ed, 2019b; Lily & Honglei – Asian American Artist Collaborative, 2023).

One, the models were styled according to their character. Green respectively white with scale-imitating make-up, snake-shaped huadian (花钿), and upwards-curved demon-inspiring eyebrows. Strands of their hair were waxed to their cheeks and forehead in wave-shapes, which created the illusion of having recently been in water. Two, the location was a large lotus-covered lake which hinted at the story's West Lake. It could also have hinted at White Snake's lake into which Xuxian vomited the immortality-medicine in an alternative version of the story. It also started raining, which happened during Xuxian and the demons' meeting. Three, the models carried an oil-paper umbrella (油纸伞), a reference to the umbrella Xuxian gave the demons. Four, the title “《Green Snake》Xuxian, don't come out [original short film]” and description “Older sister, you cultivated for one thousand years, is it worth it for a Xuxian?” appeared to ask if Xuxian would be worth the struggles White Snake and Xuxian went through in the legend. It blatantly referenced the legend.

Although there was no “real” history to accurately adhere to, folklore is a fundamental element of human history and, here, ancient Chinese culture. The videos adhered strongly to the legends, incorporating them through details such as the umbrella in 蛇 and the slow-motion effect in 仙, thus accurately replicating a part of history. Additionally, the buffer of reasonable doubt mentioned above applies to the artefacts as well.

The importance of the Hanfu was not limited to the accuracy in its portrayal. It also appeared to extend to a will to spread and educate about ancient Chinese culture and history. 茶 incorporated traditional Chinese medicine and, particularly, the Rabbit Bowl (兔毫建盏). The creator provided well-researched information about both traditional Chinese medicine and the Rabbit Bowl (兔毫建盏), and thorough directions for the making of both (see Appendix Fig. 10). The “Rabbit hair cup” or “Rabbit hair bowl” (兔毫建盏) is a type of black-glazed kiln-fired teacup that starts resembling precious gems upon being fired. It originated from the Fujian-province in the Song-dynasty (Baidu, 2022b). The Rabbit Bowl is a Song-dynasty craft in a Song-dynasty video. The creator presented the information in an educational manner. This further strengthened the idea that the Hanfu community wished to not only share ancient Chinese culture and history but to educate about it. They were not just aiming for the aesthetic.

The above data showed that the Hanfu was portrayed in exclusively ancient Chinese settings. This suggests that the creators perceived it as an integral part of ancient

Chinese culture and history and as an ethnocultural symbol of the Han-people. The data also suggests that the Hanfu community not only viewed the Hanfu as an aesthetic but associated it strongly with *accurate* ancient Chinese culture and history, as perceived by the Hanfu community, and that they found this accuracy important. This further suggested that the creators wanted to spread and educate people about ancient Chinese culture. The wish to educate about it in turn suggested a pride in the culture and history, and ultimately supported the idea that the Hanfu community wants a rejuvenation of ancient Chinese traditional culture.

#### 4.13 Approach to the Hanfu in Comments

The main topics in all comment sections were the same, but each video had different proportions of the topics: cinematography, models, Hanfu, commercial aspects, and history and culture. Generally, the myth-videos' comments and the dynasty-videos' comments had different focuses.

The myth-video's comment sections, 仙 and 蛇, contained minimal discussion about the Hanfu and the history and culture. The main topics were the beauty of the models, requests for store links, and inquiries regarding cinematography (video technology, story, background music, location, etc.). The majority of comments also contained self-deprecating jokes about not affording Hanfu and the beauty of the models. This was true in 仙 in particular. The attitude towards the models was also often objectifying and sexualizing. Under 仙, two netizens commented “你好，我是董永(= · ω · =)” “Hello, I am Dong Yong(= · ω · =)” respectively “七仙女你们好。。我是一个心像董永的癞蛤蟆” “Hello seven mountain fairies ... I am a heart-like Dong Yong toad”, requesting the models to marry them by referencing the video's legend about Dong Yong, who married all seven fairies. Another commented “Lady Snake is so charming, sexy” under 蛇. The models were regarded as objects to view rather than active creative participants. This may stem from the focus on myth rather than dynasty which shifts the focus from historical accuracy to creative freedom of the director through mythology. It may also stem from the director of both myth-videos being male and thus catering to a male audience and the male gaze.

In the three dynasty-themed videos, the comment section focused on the Hanfu, history and culture, and cinematography. In comparison to the myth-videos' comments, the dynasty-videos' cinematography discussion focused on the creator as a Hanfu participator and a creative voice rather than only a videographer and editor, as in the myth-

videos. There were no sexualizing or objectifying comments, instead they focused on praising the models as active participants and creative individuals. The dynasty-videos mainly sparked conversation about the Hanfu, discussing skirt designs, historical accuracy, sewing tips, etc.

As the myth-videos' comment sections contained less discourse on the Hanfu there were fewer examples from these comment sections. However, although the proportions of discourse on each topic differed, all videos appear to uphold similar views and discuss similar topics regarding the discourse on the Hanfu and Han-nationalism

### ***Han-Nationalism and Hanfu accuracy***

Using Kecheng Fang's (2022) method of analysis, two broad themes emerged from the analysis: the importance of historical accuracy and Han-nationalistic themes.

Firstly, the netizen strongly and blatantly expressed the importance of accurate historical representation of the Hanfu and traditional culture, and oftentimes demanded it. Comments often praised accuracy and criticised or questioned perceived inaccuracies. This was obvious in one comment on 汉: “卧槽比现在古代电视剧好看多了，这个才是真正的古代” “Fuck, it looks much better than the ancient TV dramas now, this is the real ancient times”. The netizen praised the video for its highlighting of the “real” ancient culture whilst simultaneously criticising TV dramas for failing at it, a comparison which was common across all comment sections. The netizens did not merely care about the overall “look” of the video but paid close attention to small details as well. This can be seen in the comment “你好，我感觉你们的视频拍的很好，服装造型妆容很有古色古味，就是感觉发饰有点过于现代感，感觉用复原款的发饰可能更好呢，其他的没说的” “Hello, I think your video is very good. The costumes and make-up are very antique, but the hair accessories are a bit too modern. I feel that it may be better to use restored hair accessories. I haven't said anything else”. The netizen complimented the accuracy whilst still criticising the accessories for being too “modern” and not sufficiently reflecting the ancient style.

Furthermore, the preservation of the Hanfu's historical accuracy was not only appreciated amongst the netizen, but oftentimes assumed as a given. One netizen's reply under 汉, “今年国丝汉服节是汉晋主题的，也许会重新流行起来。不过就是太优雅了，应该是行动最不方便适用场合最少的款式之一。” “This year the National Silk Hanfu Festival is Han-Jin themed, perhaps [it] will become fashionable again. But it's too graceful, [it's] probably the one style with the most inconvenient movement and applicable to the

fewest situations.”. Another wrote: “因为，穿出门的话，确实曲裾最不方便。但是曲裾真的好端庄，肃穆。超级适合那种特别大的场合。” “Because, if you wear it to go out, Quju is indeed the most inconvenient. But the Quju is truly very dignified, serene. [It] suits this kind of especially big occasion super much.”, shows that the netizens assume that the Hanfu cannot be altered and instead choose to avoid wearing certain Hanfus instead of altering them for modern use. In the same thread another netizen commented “当代民族服饰不就是为了凸显美感和工艺的嘛，少数民族同胞也不会穿旧社会的破衣烂裳啊” “Isn't contemporary ethnic clothing just to highlight the beauty and arts, and fellow ethnic minorities don't wear the worn-out clothes of the ancient society either.” suggesting that the ancient clothing is meant to display ancient beauty and does not need to be actively worn in daily modern society.

The netizen also noted the importance of preserving the ancient shape of the Hanfu which they appear to consider “correct”. “... 但是汉服一定是要形制队才能被称为汉服，如果形式不对就叫汉元素就行了” “... But Hanfu definitely must have form to be called Hanfu, if the form isn't right, then it's okay to just call it Han-elements.” (8 likes) The netizen appear to protect the Hanfu’s integrity as a cultural garment, further strengthening the idea that the Hanfu is strongly defined, and that the netizen do not wish to allow the definition to become muddled. Additionally, the netizen writes “Han-elements”, suggesting that they consider the Hanfu the property and inheritance of the Han-people.

The importance of historical accuracy also extends to the presentation of traditional culture. In 宋 the two models drink water out of a set of glass cups with a jug. Nine comments address the perceived inaccuracy in the use of see-through glass, and several of these suggest using porcelain instead. One netizen wrote “换个汝窑壶杯会更好壶，反正瓷器更配” “It would be better to change the Ruyao pot and cup, anyway, porcelain is more suitable”. Another netizen separately wrote “你这国风玻璃杯玻璃壶也太出戏了，只这开头就看不下去了” “Your Chinese-style glass glasses and jug is too disengaging [for the audience], I can't watch it from the start to finish” to which the creator defended the historical accuracy to their choice citing “悄悄告诉你哦，西汉时期已有无色透明玻璃杯。展出在广州南汉二陵博物馆” “Let me tell you quietly, there were colourless transparent glasses in the Western Han-dynasty. Exhibited in Guangzhou Nanhan Erling Museum”. Additionally, in

another instance, one netizen pointed out that “第一个翻书镜头错误✘，古书是从右往左翻的” “The first shot of flipping the book page is wrong ✘, ancient books are flipped from right to left”. It is clear that the historical accuracy of the video content is of great importance to both the viewers and the creator.

The second trend showed Han-nationalism through comments on the Hanfu's Han-ethnic origins and Han-ethnic identifying sentiments. In the video section it was established that the Hanfu represents the *Chinese* history and culture. However, the[se] comments suggest that it is more specifically considered to *Han*-history and culture. Netizen generally agreed that the Hanfu is the clothing of the Han-ethnicity, as seen in the comments “毕竟是我们老祖宗的衣服呀” “It's our forefathers' clothes after all” under 仙, and “着我汉家衣” “Wearing my Han-family's clothes” (11 likes)” under 汉. The netizen also expressed pride in relation to the Hanfu. “汉服真美啊 我堂堂大汉族衣冠华丽 华夏文明 仁义礼智信 我就认为大汉族就是世界最优秀的民族” “Hanfu is so beautiful. I am a dignified Han-nationality. I have gorgeous clothes. Chinese civilization, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trust. I think the Han-nationality is the best nationality in the world.” (36) (茶). The pride appears rooted in the Han-nationality and its culture, which is displayed visually through the Hanfu. The netizen also appear to consider the Han-nationality and the Chinese civilization synonymous, as shown in the previous sentence's use of “Han-nationality” and “Chinese civilization”, as well as in the comment on 茶 which reads “我的天呀，也太美了，我的华夏我的汉[给心心][给心心][给心心]” “Oh my god, it's so beautiful, my Huaxia [China] my Han [Give heart emoji][Give heart emoji][Give heart emoji]” (2 likes) and its reply “华夏和汉是划等号的，汉民族前身就是华夏民族” “Huaxia and Han are equated, and the predecessor of the Han-nationality is the Huaxia nation”. The first comment first and foremost states the netizen's identification with the Han-culture and the Chinese nation. The first comment also directly states a pride for the Han-culture and the Chinese nation separately but states the two together suggesting a feeling of the two being connected. The reply, however, directly and explicitly states the netizen's opinion that the ancient Chinese nation is the ancestor of the contemporary Han-nationality, thus suggesting that the ancient Chinese self-image and the Chinese nation (Zhou, 2004) stems from the Han-people and culture. Using the term Huaxia also suggests that the netizen identify with this ancient

self-image of the Chinese nation and people, and in combination with Han-nationality suggests that the two are interpreted and considered synonymous.

The netizens' Han-nationalism and definition of the Hanfu is apparent in the comments relating to dynasties as well. On three occasions in the comment sections of 宋 and 汉, netizen posted comments listing the properties of each dynasty's Hanfu, but all comments excluded the Manchu-governed Qing dynasty. One under 汉 read

秦汉服饰敦厚朴素、唐制汉服朴拙雍容、晋制（南北朝）仙气飘逸、宋制汉服清雅大气、明制汉服端庄优雅。纵观中国历代汉服之美，它可婉约、可灵动、可雍容繁华，每一件都代表着中国人独特的审美。 Qin-Han dynasties clothing are genuine and simple, Tang-dynasty system Hanfu is simple and graceful, Jin-dynasty system (Northern and Southern dynasties) is ethereal and graceful, Song-dynasty system is refined and stylish, Ming-dynasty system is dignified and graceful. To comprehensively survey the beauty of China's past dynasties' Hanfu, it can be graceful, it can be flexible, it can be natural and prosperous, each one represents the Chinese people's unique aesthetics.

(630 likes). The exclusion of the last dynasty is suggestive of the netizen's opinion that the Qing clothing "Qingfu" is not a part of the Hanfu system as it was not mandated by the Han-people. Supporting this claim, one netizen wrote "别清制了，满服能算汉服？" "Leave the Qing-dynasty system, can Manchu clothes count as Hanfu?" (14 likes), blatantly questioning the Qing clothing's right to count as a Hanfu and indirectly opposing it. Additionally, the first reply under the comment copied its content and added "清制死者苏生" "Qing-dynasty system [of Hanfu] revived the dead" (41 likes) to which another agreed writing "笑死，神特么死者复生，不过确实，清汉女有种颓靡的美。" "laughed to death, God damn the resurrection of the dead, but it is true that Qing-Han women have a kind of dejected beauty." (38 likes). A third netizen wrote "清制那叫奴隶服装" "Then Qing-system [clothing] is called slave clothes" (17 likes). From these replies we can see a trend of speaking ill about Qing-clothing in a mocking tone. By contrast, two netizen replied inquiring about respectively praising Qing-dynasty clothing. Additionally, the comments do not appear to attack the Manchu-people. This suggests a widespread opinion wherein the majority appears to not consider Qing-clothing a part of the Hanfu system, whilst a minority may.

Further, some comments directed their criticism outside of the Chinese sphere and at the neighbouring Japan and Korea, suggesting cultural theft by the neighbouring countries. This suggested Han chauvinism. On 汉 one netizen wrote: “南北朝汉服就是和服的源头” “Northern and Southern-dynasty Hanfu is the source of the kimono” (5 likes) under 汉 whilst another commented

韩服就是我们明代交领右衽齐胸袄裙，自己去看北宋李公麟的古画《明皇击球图》宋人画《鱼篮观音图》明代周臣的古画《辟纁图》明代仇英的古画《宫女游园图》《百美图》《佳妇人例图》，全都是交领右衽齐胸袄裙，就是韩服交领右衽齐胸袄裙那种，所以所谓韩服其实就是明代交领右衽齐胸袄裙！你们看到的大长今李英爱穿的韩服就是我们明交领右衽齐胸袄裙！ Hanbok is the jacket and skirt with the right lapel and chest in the Ming Dynasty. Let's go to see Li Gonglin's ancient painting of the Northern Song Dynasty 'Ming Emperor Hitting the Ball Picture', the Song Dynasty painting 'Avalokitesvara in Fish Basket', the ancient painting of Zhou Chen in the Ming Dynasty 'Piyu Picture' and the Ming Dynasty Qiu Ying The ancient paintings of 'Garden Girls Visiting the Garden', 'Pictures of Hundred Beauties' and 'Pictures of Beautiful Women' are all jackets and skirts with cross-collared right lapels and chests, which are the kind of jackets and skirts with cross-collared right lapels and chests in Hanbok, so the so-called Hanbok is actually the right lapel and breast-length jacket and skirt from the Ming Dynasty! The hanbok you see Dae Jang Geum Lee Young Ae is wearing is our Ming [system] right lapel and breast-length jacket and skirt!

(10 likes) under 茶. In addition, the creator of the video replied “[给心心]他们的服饰文化本源就是中国啦” “[Give Xinxin] The origin of their [Korea] clothing culture is China” (2 likes) agreeing with the netizen's claim.

This also extends outside of the Hanfu to the cultural, one netizen commenting “日本就是从宋那边儿学过来的比较多，然后现在很烦的一个就是，在淘宝上或者是一些网站上搜点茶用的茶具，基本上都摆了四个大字儿“日本茶道”，看的我。。” “Japan has learned a lot from Song-dynasty, and one of the annoying things now is that when searching for some tea sets on Taobao or some websites, there are basically four big

characters ‘Japanese tea ceremony’, I can see. .” (13 likes) and receiving the replies “同! 我买茶具时看到日本茶道就烦” “same! I get annoyed when I see Japanese tea ceremony when I buy tea sets” and “不管在哪, 看到日本日式就烦。希望我们国产品牌越来越好。” “No matter where you are, seeing Japanese style is annoying. I hope our domestic brands will get better and better.” (1 like). This comment thread plainly expresses criticism and dismay at the Japanese culture amongst the netizens. These feelings appear to be rooted in the Chinese netizens’ understanding that ancient Chinese culture is the origin of much ancient Asian culture, and that Japan’s culture is inherited or taken from it, in this instance from the Song-dynasty. Using tea culture as their argument, the netizens thus display feeling “annoyed”. This annoyance appears to stem from their understanding that ancient Chinese culture’s role as the “original” culture is dismissed and unknown, and that the inheritors of the Chinese culture, Japan and Korea as stated above, has stolen it by claiming it as their own.

Taken together, these results suggest that netizens clearly distinguish the Hanfu as a culturally and historically rich garment of the Han-nationality. It strengthens the idea that the netizens consider it a representation and integral part of the Han-nationality and culture, both in the past and the present, and thereby a Han-ethnocultural symbol. Therefore, in combination with their current strong identification with Han-identity and culture, *Huaxia*, they identify with the Hanfu as the ancient costume of their history and ancestors and therefore themselves as well. Furthermore, as data suggests that the netizens also consider *Huaxia*, the Chinese nation, and the Han-nationality interchangeable, it is plausible to make the connection that the netizens’ Han-nationalism translates into their perception that China is built on the Han. Thereby, according to the netizens Han-nationalism may be considered Chinese nationalism, and the Hanfu considered the national garment of China. It also strengthens the idea that the Chinese netizen not only view the Hanfu as a piece of their history, but personally identify with it as the clothing of their Han national heritage, thereby Chinese national heritage, which they are continuing to uphold.

#### **4.2 Modernizing ancient history: the Chinese state’s relationship with ancient culture and the Hanfu Movement**

“Xi Jinping establishes success over historical traumas and national rejuvenation as titular themes of his administration” (Johnson, 2021). The Chinese government wants to rejuvenate Chinese culture to reinvigorate the strength of the Chinese nation. The results of the analysis in 4.1 suggest an interest in and reverence of, as well as a desire to experience and even

rejuvenate ancient Chinese culture. The Hanfu creators' rejuvenation and appreciation for the ancient literature and culture appears to go hand in hand with the state's nationalism and contributes to the construction of a Chinese national identity.

Maxwell (2021) proposed in his work that the clothing can be regarded through Billig's theory of 'banal nationalism'; daily exposure to representation of the nation which creates a shared feeling of national belonging, a sense of tribalism through national identity, as well as other theories on nationalism. The data presented in 4.1 suggests that the Hanfu is both strongly associated with ancient Han-culture and is established as an ethnocultural symbol of the Han-nationality. Through Billig's theory, the Hanfu symbolises the national identity which creates a sense of tribalism.

The Chinese government's nationalism depends on overcoming and rectifying the trauma from the Century of Humiliation and negative Western modernization and imperialism which oppressed and brutalized the nation after transitioning from culturalism to nationalism (Guo, 2016; Johnson, 2021). To rectify the issues and pain of the westernization in the Hundred Years of Humiliation, the Chinese government aims to reclaim their national identity from before the West to heal their cultural identity. Therefore, highlighting their unique Chinese traditional cultural traits to eschew Western influences to reclaim the ancient Chinese culture and national identity that made them strong in the first place is what the Chinese state sees as the solution to the issues of strength. The goal is social rejuvenation, revival of the Chinese nation as well as the establishing and strengthening of China's position in the global environment (Johnson, 2021; Kubat, 2018). As argued in the section on literature and theory: according to Xi Jinping, the acquisition of the 'China Dream' is dependent on the stability and cohesivity of the Chinese society, and the stability and cohesivity of Chinese society is in turn dependent on the population identifying with the Chinese national identity, an identity which is shaped by the Han-majority of the Chinese population but maintains the importance of a 'united front' and 'ethnic unity' (Johnson, 2021). The Hanfu's status as an ethnocultural symbol of the Han-majority is both a source of pride and of reverence. "The behaviours of Hanfu enthusiasts represent the positive implications of patriotism to the country by demonstrating individual's passion for Chinese heritage" (Xie, 2022).

The Hanfu Movement's reverence and dissemination of ancient Han-culture and Han-clothing promotes the Han-culture and its properties as beautiful, desirable and the true traditional and ancient culture of China. This particular idea aims to make the adherents to the Hanfu Movement feel united under the umbrella of a common history and ancient

culture. This feeling of agreement and union in one common heritage, the Han-culture, thus supports the government's aim to strengthen the Chinese nation through national cohesion based in a common culture. The Hanfu Movement appears to create the cohesion and unitedness founded in Han-culture that the CCP aims to create in society. It could thereby be argued that the Hanfu Movement provides the government's Han-national identity with the cultural and historical content it requires to create and strengthen it and the nationalism behind it. The Chinese state thereby acquire the Chinese national identity they need to for the stability and cohesivity of the Chinese society and thereby the 'China Dream'.

Contradictorily, the aforementioned "... identity which is shaped by the Han-majority of the Chinese population but maintains the importance of a 'united front' and 'ethnic unity'" (Johnson, 2021) has the potential to exclude the people who do not identify with the Han-identity. The Hanfu being presented as the primary and only "Chinese" historical costume is controversial as there are five Chinese minorities with national clothing and historical identity of their own. As seen in the comments above, the Qing-clothing was not considered Hanfu as it belonged to the Manchus.

## **5. Conclusion**

Research into different elements of ancient Chinese culture was thorough across all videos. It is seen in the deliberate fusion of literature and visuals, the careful incorporation of small details to express strong associations to the myths, the thorough explanation of the process of ancient crafts, and the accuracy of the Hanfu in regard to the denoted dynasty. The historical accuracy was of particular importance. The degree to which the videos stuck to historical accuracy varied, but even the least accurate video was highly accurate. The most historically accurate video referenced its sources and displayed the cultural information in an educational manner. Although the videos strongly adhered to historical accuracy, they retained a playfulness in their approach to the cultural content. This hints to of a stance of reverence and respect rather than sacralisation.

The great care taken in the use of cultural artifacts, and the deliberate decision to utilise them and their historic value and connotations suggests that the interest in history and culture extends beyond the aesthetic that the culture may provide for their video's "looks". In this way, the content extends beyond the general enjoyment of literature, legends, and storytelling, suggesting a deeper appreciation for the traditional Chinese culture and a

feeling amongst these creators of identifying with this culture and the traditional craft, practices, ceremonies, and rites that go along with it.

The comments suggest that the netizens clearly distinguish the Hanfu as a culturally and historically rich garment of the Han-nationality, a representation of it, an ethnocultural symbol of the Han-nationality. The comments suggest that they consider the Hanfu the ancient costume of Han-history and ancestry, and thereby their own too. They also suggest the netizens view of *Huaxia*, the ancient concept of the Chinese nation, as the Han-people's nation. It also suggests an opinion that the Hanfu is the national garment of China. It also strengthens the idea that the Chinese netizen perceive the Hanfu as the clothing of *their* Han-national heritage, thereby Chinese national heritage, which they are continuing to uphold.

The Chinese government works to build and perpetuate a national identity. The government is encouraging this national identity to create national cohesion amongst the people and thereby acquire strength and stability in the country. This national identity is built on the Han-majority's ancient culture and history. In combination with the Hanfu, this suggests that the Hanfu Movement, with its strong Han-cultural, historical, and nationalistic connection, acts as an anchor for the national identity and nationalism the Chinese government wishes to create. While the Chinese government does not explicitly support the Hanfu Movement, the government does not appear to oppose it either since they need to strengthen the support for the government's nationalism. In conclusion, the Hanfu Movement may indirectly provide the Chinese government's Han-centred Chinese nationalism with cultural substance, which in turn legitimizes the national identity and its nationalism.

Finally, as the videos are isolated to its historical content and refrains from reference to modern times, the videos do not appear to hold political opinion, they thus do not introduce an ideological opposition to the established government. It is purely cultural in content, and culturally aligned with the post-2013 state-led nationalist ideology promulgated by the CCP Post-2013.

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## Appendix

These photos are taken from the Chinese Historical Costume Show 2020 created by 装束复原 (the Chinese Costume Restoration Team), a team of full- and part time employees who work to restore traditional Chinese wardrobe based on archeological finds, art, literature, etc. The team puts on public runway shows and broadcasts their work publicly (中国网, 2021). Authorization to use the content of the Chinese Historical Costume Show 2020 was given by the 装束复原 team.



Fig. 1. Northern Song Dynasty Hanfu, First Version, front (装束复原 Chinese Historical Costume, 2020).



Fig. 2. Northern Song Dynasty Hanfu, First Version, back (装束复原 Chinese Historical Costume, 2020).



Fig 3. Northern Song Dynasty Hanfu, Second Version, Beizi-style, front upper dress (装束复原 Chinese Historical Costume, 2020).



Fig 4. Northern Song Dynasty Hanfu, Second Version, Beizi-style, front lower dress (装束复原 Chinese Historical Costume, 2020).



Fig. 5. Western Wei Hanfu, Northern and Southern Dynasties, front upper and middle dress (装束复原 Chinese Historical Costume, 2020).



Fig. 6. Loose-sleeved outer blouse of the Early Tang Dynasty Hanfu, front (装束复原 Chinese Historical Costume, 2020).

<p>若有人兮山之阿， 被薜荔兮带女萝。 既含睇兮又宜笑， 子慕予兮善窈窕。 乘赤豹兮从文狸， 辛夷车兮结桂旗。 被石兰兮带杜衡， 折芳馨兮遗所思。 余处幽篁兮终不见 天，路险难兮独后 来。 表独立兮山之上， 云容容兮而在下。 杳冥冥兮羌昼晦， 东风飘兮神灵雨。 留灵修兮憺忘归， 岁既晏兮孰华予。 采三秀兮于山间， 石磊磊兮葛蔓蔓。 怨公子兮怅忘归， 君思我兮不得闲。 山中人兮芳杜若， 饮石泉兮荫松柏， 君思我兮然疑作； 雷填填兮雨冥冥， 猿啾啾兮狖夜鸣。 (猿 同：猿) 风飒飒兮木萧萧， 思公子兮徒离忧。</p>	<p>If someone likes the mountain, he will be brought by Xue Lixi. It's both gazing and laughing, and Zi Muyu is good and sweet. Take the red leopard and follow the raccoon, and the magnolia car and tie the osmanthus flag. Du Heng was taken by Shi Lanxi, and Fang Xinxi lost his thoughts. The rest of the place is secluded and the sky will never be seen, and the road is dangerous and difficult. The table is independent on the mountain, and the cloud is rong and below. The night is dark, the day is dark, the east wind is blowing, and the gods are raining. Staying in spiritual practice and forgetting to return, who is Huayu when you are old. Picking Sanxiu in the mountains, Shi Leilei and Ge vines. Blaming the son, I am disappointed and forget to return, and the king thinks about me, and I will not be idle. The people in the mountains are fragrant and duruo, drinking stone springs and shady pines and cypresses, You think about me, but you doubt it;</p>	<p>It seems that someone passed by that mountain, and it was me wearing a sarong waistband with radishes. Look at how beautiful Qiaoxiao is, and you will envy my graceful posture. Driving a red leopard followed by a flower raccoon, magnolia wooden cart with sweet-scented osmanthus tied up as colorful flags. It's me who wears Shilan waist and Du Heng, and I break branches and flowers to give you a lovesickness. I can't see the sun in the deep bamboo forest, the road is difficult and difficult, and I come late alone. Standing alone on the top of a high mountain, clouds and mists float and roll under your feet. The day is as dark and dark as the night, and the east wind blows the gods and rains down. Waiting for the goddess to forget and go back, who will make me look like a flower forever when I get old? In the mountains, pick the long-lasting Zhicao, and the rocks and kudzu vines are coiled around. Complaining that the goddess is sad and forgets to go back, do you miss me, don't you have time to come. The people in the mountains are like fragrant Duruo, drinking from the mouth of the stone spring and covering the head with pine and cypress, Do you miss me? My heart is full of doubts.</p>
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	<p>The thunder fills the rain and the rain is dark, and the chirping of apes chirps all night.</p> <p>The wind is rustling and the wood is rustling, thinking about your son and leaving you alone.</p>	<p>The thunder rolls and the rain is dim, and the chirping of apes pierces through the deep night.</p> <p>The wind blows and the fallen leaves rustle and fall, Missing the Goddess is vainly troubled. [4]</p>
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Fig. 8. Lyrics of 九歌·山鬼, original Chinese and translated English (Baidu, 2020).

<p>夜唱琵琶 丝竹如麻  酒家有胡女 笑当垆 似花  弄脚缤纷 锦靴铜铃挂  长安城中遍寻她  舞袖举 杯光箸影 如画  有郎似情意在她  含眉娇羞于那红烛下  他却冷眼 似黄沙  哎呀 快活一场  管它爱恨情长  安得与君决绝而忘  免叫生死两茫茫  号角声起 故人陇头吟  郎醉里却把他寻  胡旋一曲将芳心暗许  君心不在我心  哎呀 快活一场  管它爱恨情长  欢颜不过水中月  看过终能忘  绿腰摇 粉泪滴啊  不见白头人啊  葡萄盏 照不出啊</p>	<p>Singing pipa at night silk and bamboo like hemp  There is a bearded girl in the restaurant, smiling like a flower  Colorful feet, brocade boots and copper bells  Search for her in Chang'an city  Dancing sleeves and raising cups and chopsticks are picturesque  Youro seems to love her  With eyebrows shy and shy under the red candle  His eyes are as cold as yellow sand  oh have a good time  Love it or hate it  Ande and Jun never forget  Avoid life and death  The trumpet sounded, the old man Longtou chanted  Lang Zuili found him  Hu Xuan made a secret promise  Your heart is not in my heart  oh have a good time  Love it or hate it  happy face but the moon in the water  never forget  Green waist shaking pink tears  Wont meet old people  The grape cup can't be photographed  Xizhou is far away</p>
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西州远啊	Aiya, to have a good time
哎呀 快活一场	Love it or hate it
管它爱恨情长	Ande and Jun never forget
安得与君决绝而忘	Avoid life and death
免叫生死两茫茫	oh have a good time
哎呀 快活一场	lovesickness
管它相思长	happy face but the moon in the water
欢颜不过水中月	never forget
看过终能忘	

Fig. 9. Lyrics of 桃花姬 “peach blossom Ji” by 叶里, original Chinese and translated English (Baidu, 2021a; QQ 音乐, n.d.a.).

<p><b>【兔毫建盏】</b></p> <p>兔毫盏在宋点茶法中扮演着重要的角色，宋徽宗在《大观茶论》中对兔毫盏有“盏色贵青黑，玉毫条达者为上”的夸赞，杨万里有“鹰爪新茶蟹眼汤，松风鸣雪兔毫霜”之说。</p> <p>银兔毫—南宋陆游《村社杂书》叙：东山石上茶，鹰爪初脱鞞，雪落红丝暄 x，香动银毫瓯。</p> <p>金兔毫—北宋大诗人黄庭坚《西江月》叙：兔褐金丝宝碗，松风蟹眼新汤，无因更发次公狂，甘露来从仙掌，金丝宝碗指的就是金兔毫。</p> <p>异兔毫—《大宋宣和遗事》记载：又以惠山泉，建溪异毫盏，烹新贡太平嘉瑞茶，赐蔡京饮之。</p> <p>...</p>	<p>Rabbit teacups played an important role in the Song ordering tea method. Song Huizong praised the rabbit teacups in his "Daguan Tea Theory" that "the color of the teacup is precious, green and black, and the one with the best jade hair is the best", and Yang Wanli has "eagle claws". New Tea Crab Eye Soup, Song Feng Ming Xue Rabbit Hair Cream".</p> <p>Yin Rabbit Points One Southern Song dynasty Lu You's "Miscellaneous Books of Villages and Communities" recounts: Tea is served on the stone of Dongshan, the eagle's claws are just detached, the snow falls on the red silk, and the fragrance moves silver.</p> <p>Golden Rabbit Hair - The Northern Song dynasty poet Huang Tingjian's "Xijiang Moon" narrates: Rabbit Brown Golden Silk Treasure Bowl, Songfeng Crab Eye New Soup, no reason to send second public madness, nectar comes</p>
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<p>01:05-01:13</p> <p>点茶之前要先暖盏，用开水过一遍茶碗，否则茶不浮。然后以小勺舀取茶末，在盏中调作膏状，不时以汤瓶冲点，边冲点边以竹制的茶筴或银制的茶匙在盏中回环搅动，即所谓“击拂”。</p> <p>...</p>	<p>from cactus, Golden Silk Treasure Bowl refers to Golden Rabbit Hair .</p> <p>Yituhaoyi's "Remains of Xuanhe in the Great Song dynasty" records: He also used Huishan Spring, Jianxi Yihaocha, cooked Xingong Taiping Jiarui tea, and gave Cai Jing to drink it.</p> <p>...</p>
<p>01:32-01:39</p> <p>点茶是两宋饮茶的主流形式，是中国古代茶艺的代表之一，已传播到日本，韩国，朝鲜，它对日本抹茶道和高丽茶礼产生较大的影响。</p> <p>...</p>	<p>01:05-01:13</p> <p>Before ordering tea, warm the cup first and pass the tea bowl with boiling water, otherwise the tea will not float. Then use a small spoon to scoop out the tea powder, mix it into a paste in the cup, and pour it with a soup bottle from time to time. While pouring, use a bamboo teapot or a silver teaspoon to stir in circles in the cup, which is the so-called "swipe".</p> <p>...</p>
<p>1:52-1:57</p> <p>一汤：可用汤匙先将茶末调成膏状。水要环绕着茶注入，不可直接冲在茶末之上。</p> <p>二汤：二回注水要求来回成一条直线，快注快停。</p> <p>三汤：三回注开水时，运用茶筴要轻盈均匀，此时茶面沫饽大半已成定局。</p> <p>四汤：注入的开水量要少，茶筴的击拂要舒缓。</p> <p>五汤：此时注入开水要看茶汤沫饽的状态决定击拂轻重</p> <p>六汤：如果这个时候沫饽勃然而生，只要缓慢搅拌就行。</p> <p>七汤：最后一次注开水要看沫饽厚薄，凝固程度，如果达到要求，点茶便可完成。</p>	<p>01:32-01:39</p> <p>Ordering tea was the mainstream form of tea drinking in the Song dynasty and one of the representatives of ancient Chinese tea art.</p> <p>...</p> <p>1:52-1:57</p> <p>Step one: Use a spoon to turn the powdered tea into a paste. The water should be poured around the tea, not directly on top of the tea powder.</p> <p>Step two: The second water addition requires a straight line back and forth, quick addition and quick stop.</p>

<p>...</p> <p>2:17-2:25</p> <p>点茶，也常用来在宋代斗茶时进行。它可以在二人或二人以上进行，但也可以独自自煎(水)，自点(茶)，自品，他给人带来的身心享受，能换来无穷的回味。</p> <p>...</p> <p>3:29-3:35</p> <p>点茶完后，要将茶汤分 x 入盏，供人饮用，一勺一盏，而且每盏茶汤的沫饽要均匀。分茶时行茶艺礼仪，更显雅趣。</p>	<p>Step three: When pouring boiling water the third time, use the tea whisk lightly and evenly. At this time, most of the tea noodles are a gone.</p> <p>Step four: The amount of boiling water added should be less, and the blowing of the teapot should be soothing.</p> <p>Step five: At this time, pour boiling water into the tea soup to determine the severity of the blow depending on the state of the tea soup.</p> <p>Step six: If the dough comes into being at this time, just stir slowly.</p> <p>Step seven: The last addition of boiling water depends on the thickness of the foam and the degree of solidification. If it meets the requirements, it can be completed by ordering tea.</p> <p>...</p> <p>2:17-2:25</p> <p>Ordering tea is also often used in the Song dynasty when making tea. It can be performed by two or more people, but it can also be decoction (water), order (tea), and be tasted alone. The physical and mental enjoyment it brings to people can evoke endless aftertastes.</p> <p>...</p> <p>3:29-3:35</p> <p>After ordering the tea, divide the tea soup into cups for people to drink, one spoon per cup, and the foam of each cup of tea soup should be even. It is more elegant and interesting to perform tea ceremony etiquette when tea is divided.</p>
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Fig. 10. The original and translated text of the on-screen 茶 video, entailing the tea ritual process and information regarding the ancient teabowl “兔毫建盞”.