

Master of Arts Thesis Euroculture

Home University: Georg-August Universität Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany

Host University: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, Olomouc, Czech Republic

December 2009

Title of Master Thesis

Ji Xianlin.

Cultural Influences on Overseas Chinese Students in Germany:

A Case Study.

Submitted by

Jia TAN

20850935

(49) 176 7833 2112

Supervised by

First Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Dr. Martin Tamcke

Second Supervisor: Dr. Ondřej Kučera



MA Program Euroculture Declaration

I, (Jia TAN) hereby declare that this thesis, entitled "Ji Xianlin. Cultural Influences on Overseas Chinese Students in Germany: A Case Study" submitted as partial requirement of the MA Program Euroculture, is my original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within it of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the list of References.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Program Euroculture.

December 2009

Table of Contents

1.	Introduction	4
	1.1 Hypothesis and Research Reasons	5
	1.2 Research Question, Goals and Problems	9
	1.3 Methodology	10
2.	Review of Relevant Studies and Theories	13
3.	Ji Xianlin's Formative Years in China: Original Cultural Identification	21
	3.1 China's Situation Before Ji Xianlin Went to Germany	21
	3.1.1 China's Domestic Reality	22
	3.1.2 Ji Xianlin's Birthplace: Shandong Province	24
	3.1.3 Chinese Students in Germany	25
	3.1.4 Discussion: Collective Identity	28
	3.2 Personal Identification of Ji Xianlin	30
	3.2.1 Family Background	30
	3.2.2 Education Background	31
	3.2.3 Eagerness to Study Abroad	32
	3.2.4 Discussion: Ji Xianlin's Personal Identity in the Formative Years.	33
	3.3 Discussion: Ji Xianlin's Original Identification	34
4.	Ji Xianlin's Ten-Year Stay in Germany: 1935-1945	39
	4.1 German Society: 1935 -1945	40
	4.2 Ji Xianlin's Stay in Germany	42
	4.2.1 Days in Berlin	43
	4.2.2 Life in Goettingen	48
	4.3 Discussion: Cultural Hybridity and Influences in Germany	55
	4.3.1 Patriotism Rationally Strengthened	59
	4.3.2 Orientation Decided and Academic Spirits Learned	62

	4.3.3 German Thoroughness Appreciated
	4.3.4 Stereotypes towards German Culture Adjusted
5.	Ji Xianlin's Return to China
	5.1 Developments and the Cultural Influences
	5.1.1 Years before the Cultural Revolution 1946 – 1965
	5.1.2 During the Cultural Revolution: 1966- 1977
	5.1.3 Years after 1978
	5.1.4 Discussion: Representations of Cultural Influences from Ji Xianlin's
	German Stay
	5.2 Comparisons with Other Overseas Chinese Students
	5.2.1 Cai Yuanpei (1868 -1940)
	5.2.2 Zhu De (1886-1976)
	5.2.3 Comparisons and Discussions
6.	Conclusion 82
7.	Bibliography

1. Introduction

Recently, a striking phenomenon in China is the large number of youths who went abroad to conduct studies. According to the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, the number of overseas Chinese students, from 1978 to 2008, amounted to 1,391,500.¹ In fact, since the beginning of the twentieth century, studying abroad was already popular and attractive for many Chinese people. It is worth noting their significance in Chinese modernization and developments that followed. The overseas Chinese students that returned to China became a driving force in nearly every aspect of the multifaceted process of China's modernization – military, technological, scientific, diplomatic, financial, political, ideological, and literary fields.² Due to this, this group of people, namely the overseas Chinese students, became a heatedly discussed topic in China both in academia and in public. People can easily find articles and programs about overseas Chinese students.

Nevertheless, as one of the popular destinations for Chinese intellectuals, Germany has not gained much attention in the discussions about overseas Chinese students in academia and in public. In 1877, China started to send youths to Germany, merely five years after students were sent to America; and the United States was the first destination to receive overseas Chinese students officially sent by the Chinese government. Since then, Chinese students continued to go to Germany to study.³ During their stay abroad, they not only received education but also were culturally influenced. It is interesting that the cultural influences on the overseas Chinese students were different, even when they stayed in the same place.

¹ Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. (2009). http://www.moe.edu.cn/

² Wilber, C. Martin. (1965). P. v.

³ Harnisch, Thomas. (2000). P.26.

1.1 Hypothesis and Research Reasons

Thus, I start this thesis with a hypothesis that cultural influences are not only connected to the dominant culture but also to the original cultural and sometimes they turn out to promote the original cultural awareness and are established according to people's perceptions and reflections through encounters with other cultures. To examine my hypothesis, I chose Ji Xianlin as my case study among the returned overseas Chinese students.

First and foremost, it is quite interesting to think about the special circumstances that must have conditioned Ji Xianlin's stay and cultural influences on him in Germany during the Nazi period. His life and his studies were difficult. As a foreigner in a German city, he should have been confronted with a lot of problems, especially in face of frequent bombings, hunger, and loneliness. How did he manage in circumstances like that? How did he feel? What were cultural influences on him? How was he influenced culturally day after day in Germany? Many similar questions came to my mind and I was appealing to explore the answers.

Moreover, Ji Xianlin's influence in academia and society aroused my curiosity to explore the links between his stay in Germany and his later developments. He was honored as an Alumnus of Georg-August University Goettingen⁴ in the year of 2008.⁵ Because of his book about the stay in Germany, specifically at Goettingen University, the number of Chinese students at Goettingen University increased significantly and reached 400 in 2008.⁶ He often mentioned that his stay in Goettingen was unforgettable throughout his

5

⁴ Georg-August University Goettingen is Goettingen University.

⁵ Goettingen Masterminds. (2009). See http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/90011.html

⁶ Alumni Goettingen. (2009). See http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/118669.html

life. Besides, the China Confucius Foundation established Ji Xianlin Research Institute to study Ji Xianlin, when he was still alive. He spent most of his life in academia, as a student, and as a professor until his death. On 11 July 2009, this famous Chinese scholar deceased. Ji Xianlin was respected not only in China but also in other countries. In the United States, it is hard to imagine that the death of a humanist of Tocharian and Sanskrit studies with a life span of ninety-eight years would have attracted the level of attention that Ji Xianlin's passing received in China. In China, the way this famous scholar was remembered was remarkable. Thousands of people stood in line to gain entrance to his memorial ceremony wishing to pay their last respects.⁸ The queue was hundreds of meters long and people had to wait for quite a few hours. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao and other high officials as well as celebrities attended Ji Xianlin's memorial ceremony. Persons from all age groups, from children under the age of ten to elders at the age of ninety years went to this ceremony. Upon his decease, Chinese media, literati and many Chinese people did a lot to memorize him. Indeed, Ji Xianlin, with longevity should, according to Chinese culture, have been regarded as a good death¹⁰. However, many people cried sadly and felt his absence to be unacceptable. They expected that Ji Xianlin would always live, for he was considered to be a lamp in the darkness to give directions and bring brightness.¹¹

In Germany, activities were organized and articles were published to commemorate him.¹² The president of the Goettingen University, Professor Doctor Kurt von Figura, addressed a speech to Ji Xianlin's family to show the sympathy of the university and express sadness of losing an "excellent scientist" and "a long-standing friend".¹³ In

⁷ Qian, Wenzhong. (2009). A series of interviews about Ji Xianlin.

⁸ Weston, Timothy. B. (2009). George Mason University's Hisory News Network.

⁹ Sina Online News. (2009). Many of them were neither relatives, friends, or acquaintances of Ji Xianlin. They were just ordinary people who admired Ji Xianlin and felt sad to lose him.

¹⁰ A good death in Chinese culture means an elderly person dies at a very old age over 90. Then friends and relatives should not feel quite sad at the death of the aged person because the life span was already very long.

¹¹ Beijing TV News. (2009). Daily Evening News. 12th July 2009.

¹² Buchvorstellung Programm. (2009).

¹³ Alumni Goettingen. (2009). See http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/118669.html.

Berlin, Goettingen, and Frankfurt, people memorized Ji Xianlin through lectures and press conferences in addition to the first publishing of a German translation of his book *Liu De Shi Nian (Ten Years in Germany)* introducing Ji Xianlin's influence across the world.¹⁴ The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), issued an article in its magazine to report Ji Xianlin's death and his scholarly achievements.¹⁵

In India, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh expressed condolences over the death of Ji Xianlin to Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, on behalf of the Indian government and people, "Ji was one of the most famous indologists in the world", and "Ji's death made India lose a true friend" and "an outstanding person advocating the continuing development of the bilateral ties" between India and China. How could Ji Xianlin's death gain so much attention around the world? This is probably due to his achievements. As he said, his stay in Germany was a milestone in his life, especially in his academic life. Then what lay behind his ten years in Germany that caused his later scholarly success? Probably, the answer might be the German cultural influences on him. Thus, the second reason to study him is to analyze the connection that underlies his later developments and his overseas study in Germany.

Thirdly, Ji Xianlin was unique to some extent in his time. Unlike many of previous or his contemporary overseas Chinese students, Ji Xianlin pursued only in studies not in any revolutionary or political movement, although the whole world was in various wars. Nonetheless, after the failure of trying to return to his motherland in 1941, Ji Xianlin had to give up immediate departure after he gained his PhD degree in Germany, and was dedicated in academic research again. This was quite different from the other Chinese students in Germany. For instance, Zhu De, the first statesman after Mao Zedong, left

-

¹⁴ These are a series of three relevant book introduction programs from Berlin to Goettingen and at last to Frankfurt. Details can be seen from http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/123720.html.

¹⁵ DAAD Alumnus. (2009).See http://www.daad-magazin.de/11272/index.html

¹⁶ China Daily Online News. (2009). See http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/

¹⁷ Ji, Xianlin. (2008). P. 18.

Germany after no more than three years since he entered Goettingen University where Ji Xianlin studied. Zhu De threw himself into Chinese revolution, while Ji Xianlin involved himself with scholarly exploration. ¹⁸

In addition, up till now, very few academic papers have ever been written about the relationship between Ji Xianlin and his study in Germany. One may argue that there is a Ji Xianlin Research Institute which would issue related scholarly articles in this topic. As a matter of a fact, according to their website and their journals, the majority of the articles they published are extracts from Ji Xianlin's works; the rest are people's comments on him and narrations of his life stories. One can hardly find real research papers about German cultural influences on him. The explanations might be as follows. Researches about overseas Chinese students are mainly about those who returned to China before 1945, and accomplished great achievements in some areas. For instance, Cai Yuanpei carried out a reform in Beijing University and led the modernization of the whole education system in China. Path De, a Communist Party leader, played an important role in founding the People's Republic of China. In terms of political contribution, Hu Lanqi, "a legendary woman", actively participated in the Chinese revolution and promotion of democracy. Zhang Baihua spread Western aesthetic views across China. Nevertheless. Ji Xianlin returned to China in 1946.

Moreover, Ji Xianlin's book *Liu De Shi Nian (Ten Years in Germany) is a* rare and direct source written as an autobiography by the very case study person. It not only mentions bombs, hungers, and crazes about Hitler at that time, but also represents a real picture of his stay from his own perspective. In his book, he narrated his feelings and experiences during the whole decade. To make it more authentic, he quoted his diaries that were

¹⁸ Li, Shixun. (2000). P.150.

¹⁹ Huang, Yi. (1994). P. 213.

²⁰ Harnisch, Thomas. (2000). P.47.

²¹ Li, Shixun. (2000). Pp. 150-155.

²² Kubin, Wolfgang. (2000). Pp. 139-145.

²³ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). P.136.

written in Germany.²⁴ It is important to mention that Ji Xianlin did not change even a single word of his diaries for publishing.²⁵ Accordingly, this is likely to be more real than many other people whose biographies were written by other authors.

Last but not least, "overseas Chinese Students" is a heatedly discussed topic in China. Over the past few years, the number of Chinese students in Germany has increased to a large extent. According to the Chinese Embassy in Germany, there were at least 37,000 Chinese students in Germany in the year of 2008, with 27,111 registered in higher education institutions. Many similarities can be drawn from comparing the university education during the days of Ji Xianlin from 1935 to 1945 and the present. As more people and scholars pay attention to intercultural communication, it would be important to research on a famous professor to get a deeper understanding of the cultural influences overseas Chinese students received. Thus, the thesis is written in the hope of offering a new research source in the field of Sino-German intercultural studies.

1.2 Research Question, Goals and Problems

The research question of the thesis is: how was the whole process of the cultural influences on Ji Xianlin shaped during his ten-year stay in Germany? In details, this research question is followed by several guiding questions. First, were the cultural influences on Ji Xianlin during his stay in Germany connected not only with German culture but also Chinese culture? Second, was his self-awareness of being a Chinese promoted when he was located in the German culture? Third, how did his original identity impact his re-identification in Germany due to the cultural hybridity?

²⁴ Alumni Goettingen. (2009). See http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/118669.html

²⁵ Bian, Yufang. (2009). See http://tv.people.com.cn/GB/160622/9646508.html

²⁶ Chinese Embassy in Germany. (2008). I write "at least" here, because the Embassy says the statistical data does not cover all the students.

This thesis aims to analyze the forming process of cultural influence on Ji Xianlin through discussing his re-identification. To be more specific, it intends to find out how these impacts emerged through his identity reconstruction in another culture rather than in his country. During this process, his cultural identity was re-formed and re-structured while being confronted with *otherness* in a foreign country.

Meanwhile, some problems are inevitable. For instance, the book *Liu De Shi Nian (Ten Years in Germany)* was written by him in the 1980s, despite direct quotations from his early diaries that he wrote when he stayed in Germany. It is quite convincing to insert these diaries. Real feelings and conditions are represented. Nonetheless, these diaries might to some extent disguise some of his feelings by simply not recording them in the diary. If we bear in mind that his descriptions were mainly done fifty years after his stay in Germany, his perceptions must have been changed during these five decades. They would not be the original thoughts when he was in Germany. Thus, it is difficult to dialectically analyze the sources from his book. To add up, cultural influence may appear from quite complex factors, such as his origin, his personality, his location, the people around him, his activities, etc. This thesis analyzes the cultural influence through process of identification and employs Homi K. Bhabha's obscure theory. Frankly speaking, this stays challenging. As Chen Xiaomei puts forward that, "in cultural matters, things are never simple or straightforward."²⁷

1.3 Methodology

In order to verify the hypothesis and answer the research question, this thesis focuses on the whole life of Ji Xianlin with a special emphasis on his stay in Germany. The

²⁷ Chen, Xiaomei. (2002). P. 17.

forming process of cultural influences would be a key point to analyze. This is why I think of focusing on Ji Xianlin's stay in Germany. It is never fixed and often changes. Influence is a kind of change. Thus, in this thesis, the way of analyzing influence is to shed light on the re-identification process.

To analyze cultural influence on Ji Xianlin, I collected a wide range of materials about Ji Xianlin, such as the works written by him and by other people, interviews, TV programs, media reports, and video resources. Among them, the thesis concentrates mainly on the time of his stay in Germany where influence appeared as a result of that the Chinese and the German cultures interacted, conflicted, and overlapped. Original sources are indispensable, on an account of getting the most direct information. For instance, Ji Xianlin's Liu De Shi Nian (Ten Years in Germany) and Wo De Xueshu Rensheng (My Academic Life) are originally in Chinese. Many interviews and articles about Ji Xianlin are in Chinese. Archives and relevant books such as Yi Huang's Der deutsche Einfluss auf die Entwicklung des chinesischen Bildungswesens von 1871 bis 1918 (The German Influence on the Development of Chinese Education from 1871 to 1918) are in German. Theories and some other references are in English. Thus, the bibliography of this thesis consists of English, German, and Chinese books and articles, (through databases), online materials, and literary works. Some translations are necessary when the original edition is not in English. In this thesis, I translated these by myself.

Moreover, the thesis employs theories about cultural studies to analyze the cultural influence and re-identification. Among these theories, Homi K. Bhabha's cultural hybridity theory is a key text. Although he is an expert in Post-Colonial theory, some of his conceptions are compatible with the case of Ji Xianlin, who was exposed in an entirely different cultural environment, and changed his self-identification due to this exposure during his stay in Germany. Besides, in an endeavor to sketch a clear-cut picture of his life in Germany and his later developments, the thesis compares him with some earlier or

contemporary famous people who also studied in Germany.

Therefore, the study about the cultural influence on Ji Xianlin is through analyzing cultural identification during Ji Xianlin's life with a focus on his stay in Germany by employing Homi K. Bhabha's cultural hybridity theory and other professionals' identity theories.

2. Review of Relevant Studies and Theories

Until now, there exist not many studies about the overseas Chinese students in Germany. Despite that 9010 relevant articles could be found researching about overseas Chinese students in the Jstor database.²⁸ Nonetheless, when narrowing down the topic to Chinese students in Germany, the result turns out to be only 157 articles.²⁹ On the Chinese academic database (CNKI), only 294 results are listed.³⁰ Moreover, many of the listed articles cannot be related to the topic of this thesis.

Yet, a leading Chinese professor in the discipline of German Studies, Ye Jun, states that some scholars have constantly published some academic papers on the studies of Chinese Students in Germany, and thereby promoted developments in this field. The instance, Thomas Harnisch issued a book in the year of 1999, *Chinesische Studenten in Deutschland- Geschichte und Wirkung ihrer Studienaufenthalte in den Jahren von 1860 bis 1945.* This book has over 500 pages with large quantities of fundamental research and a detailed index of names in German and Chinese editions. As a German scholar, Thomas Harnisch concentrated on German factors and collected a wide range of German resources. Yet, he was not able to echo inner feelings of Chinese students in Germany. Thus, this is a good resource for the perspective of a German scholar, but not correct in some perceptions for Chinese students.

Another book by Yi Huang, Der deutsche Einfluß auf die Entwicklung des chinesischen Bildungswesens von 1871 bis 1918 (The German Influence on Chinese Education Developments from 1871 to 1918), is about how Chinese education was influenced by

²⁸ Jstor Database. (2009). See http://www.jstor.org/action/

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ CNKI Database. (2009).See http://epub.cnki.net/

³¹ Ye, Jun. (2002). P. 57-61.

³² Ye, Jun. (2003). Pp. 52-53.

Germany. Yi Huang compared the traditional Chinese education system with the later reformed one through the analysis of German language courses in China, German missionaries' efforts, and the German official cultural policies towards China before the First World War. A separated chapter is about the Chinese students in Germany between 1899 and 1918.³³ However, this chapter depicts much about contemporary overseas Chinese students in the West, not only in Germany. As a result, the book is a general discussion and not based on a specific individual case.

In 2007, Yaqun Zhang and Juangun Xiao cooperated in writing a paper Commentary on Chinese Students Studying in Germany from the 1920s to the 1930s.³⁴ The co-authors shortly mentioned Ji Xianlin together with other celebrities. Even though the paper itself is not long, it sketches a general picture of Chinese Students in Germany during the two decades with hard data and historical facts.

The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) started a research project "120 years Chinese students in Germany" in the year of 1997 and issued a book 120 Jahre chinesische Studierende an deutschen Hochschulen (120 Years Chinese Students in German Higher Education) on the result of this study. This book encompasses nineteen scholars' papers about the development of Chinese students in Germany, their life and work, their aims and perspectives, and six case studies. It provides the thesis with resources for comparisons with Ji Xianlin.

Besides, some other scholars in German Studies in China have researched on Chinese students in Germany. The amount of their outcomes is still relatively small. Nonetheless, these sources are quite important as references to get an idea of how Chinese students in Germany developed and lived. In order to clarify the intercultural influences on Ji Xianlin,

Huang, Yi. (1995). P. 12.
 Xiao, Qunjuan. & Zhang, Yaqun. (2007). P.15.

some theories in the field of cultural studies are essential.

Dealing with intercultural identification, Homi K. Bhabha's landmark book Location of Culture provides relevant research with epoch-making ideas such as Cultural Hybridity and Survival of Culture. In Homi K. Bhabha's words, cultural hybridity is a cultural subjective social process based on cultural varieties and cultural differences.³⁵ His theory employs discourse analysis and interactions between different cultures. Although he writes from a post-colonial perspective to deduce how colonized people struggle for their own cultural identities in order to survive in a mixed cultural ambivalent environment, his argumentations about cultural identity and identification shed light on how to analyze the process how foreigners re-identify themselves and survive in a foreign country. Accordingly, this approach provides the thesis with a good theoretical background to analyze Ji Xianlin's stay in Germany.

This thesis works with cultural identification analysis to shed light on the formation processes of cultural influence. Thus, prior to the analysis, it is important to clarify the related theories and to demonstrate the definition of cultural influences in the context of my thesis.

Studies of identity have a long history in Western cultures. Their theories can even be traced back to the ancient Greeks. Aristotle's account of identity suggests that identity is formed through individual self-determination and collective activities.³⁶ He put an emphasis on activities to highlight the influence of environments on one's identity construction. The idea of self-determination is worth pondering. Foucault furthers this notion and says identities do not pre-exist. They are produced within discourses of a social structure. In his version, relationship is determined between power, discourse and

Olson, Gary A. and Worsham, Lynn. (1999). P. 39.
 Frank, Jill. (2004). P. 93.

what exists in the world.³⁷ Stuart Hall states that identities are not fixed but instead are re-constructed due to changes of positions and encounters with other cultures.³⁸ Different from these opinions, Peter Wagner focuses on a collective discourse and puts forward that identity literally means sameness.³⁹ In contrast, in an individual discourse, identity is an object which is constructed, defined, and continuously changes meaning. It is closely connected to the question: Who am I?⁴⁰ It takes similarity as its mark to make a distinction between us and them, combines the internal, the subjective, and the external, and exists more by others than by us.⁴¹ Then again, we see the relationship between identity, location, and time. Alcoff, Linda Martin points out that,

"Identities need to be analyzed not only in their cultural location but also in relation to historical epoch. The constellation of practices, beliefs about identity, and lived experiences associated with various identities, and the legal or formal recognitions of identity not only undergo constant change but can produce truly new forms of identity." 42

According to Homi K. Bhabha, cultural identification happens through a process of alterity from an ex-centric position and represents social experience as the contingency of history.⁴³ To clarify the process, he states that there are three conditions that underlie an understanding of the process of identification: first, relation to an otherness; second, in a space of splitting; third, the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image.⁴⁴

These conceptions of identity and identification indicate that identity construction

³⁷ Baldwin, Elaine, (2004), P.30.

³⁸ Hall, Stuart. (2000). P. 118.

³⁹ Wagner, Peter. (2008). P.238.

⁴⁰ Teitge, Dennis Wayne, Teitge, Joyce Smith and Weigert, Andrew J.(1986). P.31.

⁴¹ Woodward, Kath. (2004). P.7.

⁴² Alcoff, Linda Martin. (2003). P. 3.

⁴³ Bhabha, Homi K. (1999). Pp. 193-197.

⁴⁴ Bhabha, Homi K. (2004).P.p.63-64.

continues and never stops during one's life, which literally refers to a question: who am I?⁴⁵ This relates to outside and inside namely, collective and individual factors.⁴⁶ Among all these theoretical concepts, the one of Homi K. Bhabha seems most plausible. The three conditions that underlie the forming of an identity can be applied to the life of Ji Xianlin, who went abroad to face otherness, and was far away from his homeland, as well as his consciousness of his own identity and his own understanding in assuming this identity and the changes in Germany.

Now that identity and identification are defined, the concept of cultural identity is determined by the word "cultural". As the adjective of culture, the question of tagging "cultural" becomes defining its noun "culture". What is culture? This seems to be a very simple question. Nonetheless, when the effort is made to actually conceptualize it, we can become confused. There are multiple ways to define culture, and all of them are acceptable and reasonable. Brooks Peterson points out that perfectly correct conception of culture can be so varied that people can be bewildered to articulate what culture is.⁴⁷ According to the definition in the dictionary, culture is "the totality of socially transmitted behavior patterns, arts, beliefs, institutions, and all other products of human work and thought."48 This definition indicates that culture penetrates every aspect of life, but this definition cannot end our bewilderment. To avoid confusion, professionals tend to specify culture into different categories. For instance, Roger Scruton assorts culture in three types: common culture, high culture, and popular culture. 49 Brooks Peterson recommends that people define culture by picking a few elements from the "dictionary definitions" in a way relevant to themselves, to their life situations, and to their environments. By this means, he defines culture as a relatively stable set of inner values and beliefs shared by groups of people in a place where the impact of these

⁴⁵ Teitge, Dennis Wayne, Teitge, Joyce Smith and Weigert, Andrew J. (1986). P. 31.

⁴⁶ Woodward, Kath. (2004). P. 7.

⁴⁷ Peterson, Brooks. (2004). P. 17.

⁴⁸ The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition. (2000).

⁴⁹ Scruton, Roger. (2007). P. 2.

values and beliefs on these people is noticeable.⁵⁰ In a word, culture is related to locations, thoughts, behaviors, and manners. In this thesis, culture refers to the various values and beliefs in a place which impact local people's living patterns and ideologies. It can be seen from a noticeable but easy to be ignored point and also from an obvious and dominant part.

Therefore, cultural identification in the thesis is a process of self-recognition, which is constantly changing and generated by them (differences) more than by us (similarities). One could argue that the relationship between the process of self-recognition and the importance of being by others are vague and somehow contradictory. As a matter of fact, this argument is true to a certain extent, provided an original identity is often constructed within one culture. Nevertheless, in one culture, there would as well be ourness and otherness, with respect to differences existing between communities, schools, and families. Identity is established through similarities on the inside and differences on the periphery. The encounters with dissimilarities of otherness generate the awareness of ourness, through diversified cultural factors, such as ideologies, living patterns and behaving manners shared by people in the same place. Determinant elements can be origins, experiences, thoughts, and confrontations with differences. The most common cultural aspects in life within local contexts are likely to be ignored but their functions in the process can be very important. The outcomes of the process of cultural identification are changes, which people usually regard as influences. In order to explain the process more clearly, the cultural hybridity theory of Homi K. Bhabha displays a theoretical insight.

Cultural hybridity is the process that happens when different cultures meet and interact. Homi K. Bhabha emphasizes the word "beyond" in the introduction of his masterpiece *The Location of Culture*. He indicates that people begin to define themselves in the

⁵⁰ Peterson, Brooks, (2004), P. 17.

moment of transit when space and time cross to produce complicated figures of "difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion." Here, in Homi K Bhabha's words, the "identity" is in contrast to "difference", because in the other two parallel pairs, "past and present", "inside and outside" are opposite in meaning to each other. Thus, "identity" here means sameness or similarity, which is similar to Peter Wagner's view about identity. Hence, Homi K Bhabha's statement can be understood in this way: people often sense their own cultural identity when they travel to another space or stay in another time, namely, the moments when they are confronted with *otherness*. In this sense, people's self-awareness of their cultural identity is constructed in a complex with differences and sameness.

In Homi K. Bhabha's theory, the term of *otherness* appears frequently. It is the core of cultural hybridity. What is the meaning of *otherness*? In his definition, *otherness* is an object of desire and mockery, an expression of discrepancy which is contained in the fantasy of origin and identity. In accordance with *otherness*, *ourness* (the origin and identity mentioned by Homi K. Bhabha) exists. To be more specific, the consciousness of *ourness* emerges from an acknowledgement of our own inwardness, depth of characters, and those qualities that we commonly articulate.⁵³

Above all, we can conclude that cultural hybridity is the precondition and process of cultural influence, from which individuals first recognize the *otherness* and *ourness*. They select the acceptable parts in the *otherness* for them to re-form *ourness*, and thereby construct a new cultural identity. The new part of the new cultural identity is the outcome of so-called cultural influence. To analyze the new part, we should first be well aware of the old part, and then follow the line to discuss the recognition of ourness and otherness, the cultural hybridity, and finally the outcome, meaning the new cultural

⁵¹ Bhabha, Homi K. (2004). P.2.

⁵² Wagner, Peter. (2008). P. 238.

⁵³ Bhabha, Homi K. (2004). Pp.69-96.

hybrid identity. Therefore, we come to know the cultural influences through analyzing the process of cultural identification. It is not a point but a line which consists of numerous points. Cultural influence is the result, or an end of a section in the line. It comes from all the previous points. Different people have different lines. Thus, they have their own life.

3. Ji Xianlin's Formative Years in China: Original Cultural Identification

The analysis starts with the days before Ji Xianlin went to study abroad, in order to follow his cultural identification process. Cultural influence is performed in the form of changes. To see those changes, we should first know what the original state is. During the first twenty-four years of his life, Ji Xianlin stayed in his motherland and grew up in a Chinese cultural context. How did his experiences shape his original identification? Identity consists of two parts: the individual and the collective.⁵⁴ Thus, this chapter sheds a critical light upon these two aspects respectively, through showcasing a general picture of China before 1935 and Ji Xianlin's personal experiences, to analyze Ji Xianlin's original identification.

3.1 China's Situation Before Ji Xianlin Went to Germany

What was the situation in China before Ji Xianlin went abroad? To give a general view of this period, the following sections sketch a brief picture of current China's domestic circumstances. Since the background information is to discuss Ji Xianlin's identification, the focus is on the origin and developments of overseas Chinese students in Germany as well as his hometown.

⁵⁴ Frank, Jill. (2004). P. 93.

3.1.1 China's Domestic Reality

The last half of the nineteenth century marked a turning point in Chinese history and its power in the world. From then on, China was forced to open its borders to the outside world. The Western new technology and their disastrous aggressions armed with modern military weapons severely broke China's long-standing traditional self-cultivated abundance and peace. Being confronted with constant invasions by the Western powers, Qing government did not take a risk of defense to death, although the public and the military were willing to fight for their country. As a consequence, the Qing government signed extremely unfair treaties. This turned China into a semi-feudal and semi-colonized country. According to these treaties, the current Qing government had to pay those countries an extremely huge sum of gold and silver, and to grant them special privilege of stationing troops in several cities and regions. The current situation in China was severe. The invasions did not only encompass frequent bullets and bayonets brought by the military wars, but also largely affected the social life. Because of the unfair treaties, the influx of cheap European textiles caused economic difficulties and urban unemployment in China.⁵⁵

In the hope of changing this harsh situation, Chinese government and the public took actions and made efforts. The government supported the Self-Strengthening Movement (1861-1894) which claimed to learn the advanced technology from other countries. As a result, they sent students abroad to study for a certain period of time.⁵⁶ This was a difficult decision, accounting for that before the invasions, Chinese people had considered foreigners to be uncivilized peoples, "whose best fortune lay in becoming vassals of the Middle Kingdom". ⁵⁷ As for the public, at the dawn of the twentieth

⁵⁵ Wright, David Curtis. (2001). P. 115.

⁵⁶ Chen, Fengxiang, and Lin, Liyue. (2002). P. 66.

century, in northern and central China, the Boxer Rebellion emerged as a kind of xenophobic and superstitious movement. It gained a large number of followers to eliminate foreigners and foreign influences in China. The Boxers were practitioners of traditional Chinese martial arts and perceived the Qing government as incompetent to resist the invasions of the foreigners and unable to cope with the Western challenge.⁵⁸

In the year of 1911, when Ji Xianlin was born, Xinhai Revolution took place. Its victory overthrew Qing Empire and founded a republic for the first time in Chinese history. Pioneers of this Revolution were mostly intellectuals who studied abroad. They actively introduced western thoughts into China in order to enlighten people to construct a united peaceful and powerful China. In fact, this did not fundamentally change China's society that was suffering from aggressions and interval turbulence. The reality was that China was not held together but divided into several parts ruled by different warlords. Jiang Jieshi (also written as Chiang Kai-shek), the successor of Sun Zhongshan (also written as Sun Yat-sen), became the chief leader of the Republic. He rooted out the warlords' local rules in 1926 and achieved unification in 1928 with the assistance of a newly-founded Chinese Communist Party. Then Jiang Jieshi began to target his ally, the Chinese Communist Party, and a long civil war started.⁵⁹ During this time, China was turbulent, and diversified demonstrations took place everywhere. It was an era with all possibilities. In the 1920s and 1930s, due to the cultural movement in ideologies brought by the May Fourth Movement in 1919, many local intellectuals learned and debated severely about various thoughts from abroad, such as liberalism, realism, pragmatism, communism, and so on. More Chinese people became eager to go abroad to have a look. Meanwhile, the promising future after studying abroad was attractive. Accordingly, a fever of going abroad to study spread across China. Germany was one of the destinations for Chinese students to pursue overseas studies. 60 To perceive the

⁵⁸ Wright, David Curtis. (2001). Pp.115-116.

⁵⁹ Brazier, Chris. (2001). P.120.

⁶⁰ Wright, David Curtis. (2001). Pp.115-134.

collective identity of China, one should not ignore these intellectuals who studied abroad. The following sections sketch these Chinese Students in Germany. Before that, there would be a small introduction of Ji Xianlin's birthplace: Shandong Province.

3.1.2 Ji Xianlin's Birthplace: Shandong Province

Ji Xianlin was born in Shandong Province, the origin of Confucius, where traditional thoughts were dominant, while it experienced direct conflicts with foreigners. As a center of the Boxing Uprising, by 1899, many Shandong residents participated in this movement. Even the local governors were impressed by it. Foreigners were horrified and their governments pressured the Qing government to take actions. The Empress Dowager Cixi experienced complex feelings towards the Boxing Uprising. In 1900, she approved of their efforts and then she was worried about the consequences. A combined force of 18,000 troops from Japan, Russia, Britain, Germany, the United States, France, Austria, and Italy reached China, and the empress fled the city with the puppet emperor she dominated. Li Hongzhang was ordered to stay in Beijing to negotiate with these foreigners and finally signed new unfair treaties with these countries and punished all the supporters of the Boxers in the government and in the cities. This joint troop, which was called the Allied Armies of Eight Nations, conducted all the disastrous crimes in China and resulted in unrecoverable losses of Chinese cultural treasures. For the Qing government, the Boxing Uprising was a two-edged knife. On the one hand, it weakened the Qing government's authority, and on the other hand, it irritated the foreigners to commit even terrible aggressions in China and robbed even greater unreasonable sums of money and land. At last, this became a very crucial cause of the collapse of Qing government.⁶¹ Because of the treaty, since 1898, Germany started to station its navy base in Shandong Province. Then after its failure in the First World War, Japan drove

⁶¹ Wright, David Curtis. (2001). Pp.115-118.

out Germany from the region, and occupied it. The May Fourth Movement was to regain the territory but failed to fundamentally change the situation in Shandong. There were new schools in the western education way and a fever of studying abroad. Working in foreign companies and institutions was regarded as very good jobs, because foreigners enjoyed superior privileges to locals and their stuffs were well-paid. As a matter of fact, Shandong province was like many other places in China at that time, under a chaotic circumstance. In a word, Shandong province was a place where people had complicated feelings towards foreign cultures.

3.1.3 Chinese Students in Germany

Historically and culturally speaking, the overseas Chinese students in the early half of the twentieth century cannot be ignored. Indeed, their contributions to the modernization and social transformation were remarkable. They opened a new page in the history of Chinese overseas studies in Germany. Besides, one should bear in mind that Ji Xianlin became one of these overseas Chinese students. It is important to mention their developments and significance in order to discuss the collective identity of Ji Xianlin's formative years.

Germany as a Destination

Why was Germany chosen as the destination? It was partly because Li Hongzhang, the current supreme general⁶³, advocated sending students to Germany which thrived with surprising speed. Li Hongzhang paid Otto von Bismarck and Alfred Krupp high

⁶³ As a supreme general, Li Hongzhang was in charge of China's Administration and taken no orders from anyone but the Emperor.

⁶² Ji, Xianlin. (2008). P. 4.

compliments.⁶⁴ In his view, Germany was not only a possible political partner, but also an appropriate place for military studies.⁶⁵ Moreover, Germany's unprecedented growth into a strong power in the world was considered to be a good model of the weakening Qing Dynasty, who was eager to become strong quickly. As a military power, Germany was thought as a place where military training and technology of manufacturing weapons were worth learning.⁶⁶

In addition, Germany's high quality education and policies appealed to Chinese students. From 1901 to 1933, thirty Nobel Prizes were granted to the scientists in Germany, amounting thirty percent of the total. On 20th May 1921, China signed a bilateral treaty with Germany, which established a newly fair diplomatic relationship with the western world and drove Chinese youths willing to go to Germany.⁶⁷

Many famous people pursued in spreading the good aspects of Germany across China. For instance, Kang Youwei⁶⁸, an influential celebrity in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, regarded Germany as the best in the world in the fields of politics and military might.⁶⁹ Liang Qichao, the mentor of Kang Youwei and another distinguished person in China's history, stressed not as much in these two fields as in the cultural range. In 1902, he had already published an article about Immanuel Kant. Later, he introduced Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche to China. ⁷⁰ Above all, owing to the encouragements from the government and literati, Germany's unparalleled booming

⁶⁴ Sun, Ying. (1997). Pp.155-156.

⁶⁵ Huang, Yi. (1995). P.183. "Nicht nur ein moeglicher aussenpolitischer Partner, sondern auch ein geeigneter Studienort fuer die Militaerausbildung." This means (Germany was) not only a possible political partner, but also an appropriate place for military studies.

⁶⁶ Ye, Jun. (2005). P.2.

⁶⁷ Xiao, Qunjuan. & Zhang, Yaqun. (2007). Pp. 1-2.

Kang Youwei travelled around the world and had been to Germany for 11 times. He was the leader of the *Hundred Day's Reformation* (also called *the Coup of 1898*). For more information about Kang Youwei, you may go to his memorial website: http://www.eeloves.com/memorial/archive-show/mid/102180/id/20160, or books about him, such as Hsiao, Kung-Chuan: *A Modern China and a New World – K`ang Yu-wei*, *Reformer and Utopian*, 1858-1927 (1975). Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

⁶⁹ Kang, Youwei. (1995). De Guo You Ji (the third volume). Pp. 153-156.

⁷⁰ Zhong, Shaohua. (1998). Pp.131-154.

speed and high quality education, Chinese youths went to study in Germany.

The Significance of the Chinese Students in Germany

The moment they returned to China, they committed themselves to reviving the country by using their knowledge. As mentioned above, China was undergoing a turning point, and eager to reinforce her own power. During this time, these overseas students demonstrated their abilities and skills in nearly all walks of life, in which they acted as leaders. Their importance was illustrated in Professor Wang Yichu's words,

"Study abroad⁷¹ was also part of the process through which the Chinese began to adjust to the realities of the world outside the Middle Kingdom. Without taking into account this phenomenon of Western education, modern China is incomprehensible".⁷²

Next, these students, who returned to China, held an important role in the Sino-German intercultural communications, and greatly influenced Chinese intellectuals' thoughts through introducing German cultures. Their bilingual capability was advantageous in the translation of many German classics and various schools of thoughts into Chinese. As a matter of fact, there were some mistakes and even several obvious misinterpretations in the translation accounting for translators' own misunderstandings. Nevertheless, these works broadened Chinese people's horizons and restructured Chinese cultures. These returned Chinese intellectuals also gave lectures in universities and high schools to enlighten and teach students with knowledge they acquired from the West.⁷³

⁷¹ Although the "study abroad" here did not only refer to Germany, it included Germany.

⁷² Wang Yichu. (1966). P. V.

⁷³ Song, Junjian. (2009). Online resource.

3.1.4 Discussion: Collective Identity

From the perspective of Elaine Baldwin, identities are very often connected to places, and we tend to identify ourselves or others with a particular area, such as a city, a region, and a country. Agreeing with this statement, a general picture of China in the early twentieth century is sketched to provide historical background to explore the collective identity at that time, because for Ji Xianlin, his original identity would be connected with his cultural location: China. From the late nineteenth century on, China realized its deficiency and backwardness in technology, when facing Western powerful advanced weapons. Previous prides and peaceful abundance faded away. Loss of cultural self-respect emerged. People were ambivalent in thoughts.

On one hand, Chinese people still regarded their time-honored history of Chinese civilization as a masterpiece in the world; on the other hand, they had to acknowledge the advance of Western world. Thus, some of them upraised and the Boxing Uprising swept through the northern China. ⁷⁶ Some of them sensed the importance of developments and advances. Therefore, since 1876, owning to constant invasions from other countries, China started to send students to Germany in the hope that they would return with advanced knowledge and contribute to strengthening their country. These students were significant in China's modernization. In a positive circle, more people started to consider studying abroad. A fever of studying abroad rose. Studying abroad became a common dream for many Chinese youths. ⁷⁷ However, not everyone went abroad to strengthen China. From a more practical reason, many of them just wanted to find a better job, because studying abroad was regarded as gold-gilded. ⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Baldwin, Elaine. (2004). P.19.

⁷⁵ See the 3.1.1 China's Domestic Reality of the thesis.

⁷⁶ See 3.1.2 Ji Xianlin's Birthplace: Shandong Province of the thesis.

⁷⁷ See 3.1.3 Chinese Students in Germany of the thesis.

⁷⁸ Ji, Xianlin. (2008). P. 3.

It would be interesting to point out that Chinese people were objective to separate the evils of western and Japanese armies and politics, which brought wars and disasters to China, from the good aspects of western countries and Japan such as their advanced scientific technology and ideology. There were people against Westerners such as Boxers and May Fourth Movement pioneers. There were also many people who longed for their previous peace and abundance, and stayed home remaining a life style of their fathers and ancestors. Some others went abroad to see the world, to broaden their horizons, and to realize the limits. In spite of these differences, we should be aware of that in their eyes, country and governments were clearly different conceptions. They may either upraise, or continue their life, or start a rather different new life in comparison to their elder generations. What they cared was their land, their life, and their future generations. They were different but they also shared similarities. They were in a transition between traditions and modernizations. They showed complicated feelings towards the Western world and Japan. They

To conclude, tradition and modernization existed together in current China, with turbulence and new thoughts. Shandong province, where Ji Xianlin was born, was a previous center for uprisings and meanwhile a place with foreign semi-colonization. Foreigners enjoyed superior privileges. The significance of returned overseas Chinese intellectuals was obvious. They influenced many contemporary youths to go abroad. There was a fever of studying abroad. Germany was one of the popular destinations. Foucault states that identities are structured within discourses of a social structure. For Ji Xianlin, the social structure was the Chinese society. Being a member of the Chinese society, Ji Xianlin grew up and gained his identity in this "social structure". Meanwhile, identity is produced through individual and collective activities. In Ji Xianlin's case, his personal upbringing experiences of his first twenty-four years' life,

⁷⁹ See 3.1.1, 3.1.2 and 3.1.3 in this thesis.

⁸⁰ Baldwin, Elaine. (2004). P.30.

⁸¹ Frank, Jill. (2004). P. 93.

namely, "individual activieties" were important in his original identity construction. Thus, how would this collective identity work on his identity formation? Prior to answering this question, it is necessary to know his original personal identity formation.

3.2 Personal Identification of Ji Xianlin

An individual identity has the part of shared identity and its own uniqueness. As for Ji Xianlin, it is determinant from his family background, his education experiences, and his own desires. These shaped his characteristics and ideologies, in which the collective identity plays a role.

3.2.1 Family Background

Ji Xianlin was born in a traditional Chinese family in a remote village in 1911, which decided his being very conventional. His family put high expectations on the only boy of his generation.⁸² His parents were poverty-stricken and could not afford for him to go to school. His father and his uncle grew up together and were very close. Besides, his uncle did not have a son. As a consequence, Ji Xianlin went to his uncle's home in the city of Jinan at the age of 6.83 His uncle took the responsibility to bring him up. He sent Ji Xianlin to school and paid him private lessons of English and Classic Chinese. He took Ji Xianlin as his own son and cultivated him with a special attention.⁸⁴

In a conventional family, parents decided their children's marriage. For Ji Xianlin, his

⁸² Qian, Wenzhong.(2009). Wenzhong You Hua. (Words between Lines) is a TV interview program about Ji Xianlin Xianlin after his death. Qian Wenzhong is Ji Xianlin's student and was very close to Ji Xianlin.

⁸³ Cai, Degui. (1995). P.61.

⁸⁴ Qilu Online Video. (2009). This was said by Ji Xianlin's niece, the granddaughter of Ji Xianlin's uncle.

wife was selected by his uncle. He accepted this arrangement, although he was reluctant. In his early diary when he was a bachelor student in Qinghua University, he wrote that, "concerning marriage, I used to think that I should take it seriously, but now I find it is ok to let it be."85 From this, we could see his paradoxical attitude towards marriage. Traditional views occupied an important position in his self-identification.

3.2.2 Education Background

Ji Xianlin's education implanted more traditional Chinese values through his early education, while the later education instilled western thoughts in him. Due to careful arrangements of his uncle, Ji Xianlin experienced both traditional Chinese education and modern westernized school education. As a child, he went to a traditional Chinese school (Sishu in Chinese), where he learnt Chinese classics and the teachers emphasized traditional Chinese values. Then he received education in a modern system through primary school, high school, and university. During the school time, he attended private lessons of English and classic Chinese. Then he entered one of the best universities in China: Qinghua University, where students had more chances to go abroad. He majored in Western studies with a focus on German. He was a top student in secondary high school time and at Qinghua University. 86 In Qinghua University, courses were taught in English. Even his German teachers gave lectures in English instead of German. He studied English, French, and German. Among the three languages, German was his major. He read a lot of western books, some of which he bought directly from abroad. For instance, on 24th August 1933, he bought the collective works of Goethe; on 13th September 1933, he bought *Sons and Lovers* and *Swann's Way*. 87

 ⁸⁵ Ji, Xianlin. (1933). Diaries on 25th May 1933.
 ⁸⁶ Cai, Degui. (1995). Pp.61-62.

⁸⁷ Ji, Xianlin. (1933). Sina Online Library.

Besides, teachers and professors, namely the authorities in school and universities, were influential in shaping Ji Xianlin's identity as a student. Ji Xianlin often mentioned his teachers' and professors' influences on him. One instance was as follows. His teachers in high school were extraordinary. The school principal was at the same time the director of the Education Department in Shandong Province. The principal used to be a Zhuangyuan, that is to say, being ranked the first in the Imperial Examination. He wrote a couplet and a fan for Ji Xianlin as an award for his excellent grades in the examination. It was a great honor at that moment to get something written by a Zhuangyuan, not to mention as a prize for a student. From then on, Ji Xianlin, who was naughty and not studious, became diligent and remained a top student ranking first throughout his entire high school time.88

3.2.3 Eagerness to Study Abroad

Like many other youths in his time, Ji Xianlin expected to go abroad, despite the real financial problems and the consequent difficulties of his family. After graduating from university, he worked as a teacher in a high school and tried to save money to go abroad. He was devastated after he realized that it would be hopeless to collect enough money to accomplish his deposit task.⁸⁹ Yet, one year after his graduation, he was fortunately granted as one of the first three students with a scholarship offered by the German Academic Exchange Service and Qinghua University. Indeed, in comparison to other official scholarships, this one was 120 Marks per month much less than the government scholarship 800 Marks per month. Ji Xianlin had to borrow money from others to pay for the journey. Meanwhile, he had other problems. He had to support his poor family, including his wife, and his two very young children. Worse still, his uncle was out of

 ⁸⁸ Ji, Xianlin. (2006). Sina Online Library.
 ⁸⁹ Ji, Xianlin. (1999). P. 97.

work. The whole family including his uncle's was lacking money. Yet, he received a complete support from his big family who believed that Ji Xianlin would glorify the whole family after a two-year overseas study. Thus, he started his journey towards Germany.⁹⁰

3.2.4 Discussion: Ji Xianlin's Personal Identity in the Formative Years

As can be seen from above, Ji Xianlin, a peasant's son brought up by his well-off uncle, was traditional and easy to be influenced. He loved his family very much and was obedient. Without his uncle, he would not get an access to education. His uncle influenced his upbringing. Besides, his life, at the very beginning, was particularly tied up with education. Would it not have been for receiving a good education, his parents would not have let their only son leave for Jinan city distant from them. Ji Xianlin had some Western influences because of his studies and readings. For him, his education portrays Chinese and Western influence. Like other Chinese in his time, Ji Xianlin was eager to go abroad in order to conduct studies and be "gold-gilded" so that he could find a promising job after graduation. In his biographical book, he mentioned and explained this. The reason why he chose Qinghua University instead of Beijing University was that the chance to go abroad at Qinghua University was larger than at Beijing University. His family supported him to conduct overseas studies although they faced a lot of real mainly financial problems. Thus, his family provided Ji Xianlin with enough love and care which maintained his traditional value and obedience. His education led him to learn of the outside world and gave him expectations towards going abroad. In fact, all these were due to his fundamental traditional characteristics. According to traditional Chinese culture, a well-educated man⁹¹, should have a decent job with a promising

⁹⁰ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). Pp. 11-12.

⁹¹ Like other cultures, Chinese traditional society was a patriarchy.

future. By achieving this, he could glorify his family and ancestors. In this period, despite extinction of previous imperial examination, this thought was kept as a traditional value. As an educated person, he probably expected to have his own love and marry according to his own choice. In his time, many men divorced with their arranged wives and married with those they loved. However, Ji Xianlin kept this arranged one. Just as he said, he did not dare to disobey his family's decisions of his marriage, education, and career. He was not as bold as others to step in a breach of his no-love marriage.92

To sum up, for Ji Xianlin, with conservative perceptions established in family and traditional Chinese education, his personal identification included the following features: traditional, family-focused, success-oriented, and obedient; meanwhile, he was also influenced, to a certain degree, through western studies and readings.

3.3 Discussion: Ji Xianlin's Original Identification

Comparing collective identities and individual identification, Ji Xianlin formed his original identity in the era of early twentieth century. Western influence can be traced in his school education and his university life. Chinese traditional ideology was rooted in his mind through his family, his early school education and his environment. As previously stated in the theory chapter, identity is formed through individual self-determination and collective activities, 93 and do not pre-exist. 94 There is a highlight in the influence of environments on the identity construction and the interactions of individual and collective elements. In this sense, it is important to think over the relationship between the social contexts of China from 1911 to 1935 and his

 ⁹² Ji,Xianlin. (2008). Pp.1-8.
 ⁹³ Frank, Jill. (2004). P. 93.

⁹⁴ Baldwin, Elaine. (2004). P. 30.

own experiences to understand his original identification.

According to the above respective discussions of the collective identity and individual identity in Ji Xianlin's formative years, it is important to mention the encounters of traditional Chinese and modern western cultures both in the individual experiences of Ji Xianlin and the collective factors of China. Foreign invasions brought along with western cultures into China, which led different reactions among the Chinese people, such as the uprising, the emergence of many modern westernized schools and universities, the spread of western thoughts, the hatred towards foreigners, the eagerness to work in foreign units, and the fever of going abroad. Nonetheless, one thing was in common that the Chinese citizens expected to regain peace and stability. In the Shandong province, the conflicts between western and Chinese cultures might have been to a large extent, due to its long-term dominant Confucius influence, and the later German and Japanese semi-colonization. The Shandong residents probably expressed their complicated feelings towards the Western world and Japan in their daily life and influenced their offspring's formation of world views. In Jinan, the capital of Shandong province, Ji Xianlin may have received many of such remarks from his uncle, who took Ji Xianlin as his own son and sent him first to Sishu (a traditional Chinese school) and later to westernized modern schools; at the same time, he paid Ji Xianlin private lessons after school to learn English and Classic Chinese. In Ji Xianlin's upbringing experiences, he was likely to have been confronted with many conflicting thoughts and ways of teaching and learning between traditional Chinese ways and westernized patterns. One should also bear in mind that although Ji Xianlin went to a westernized high school, it was run by Chinese people and the principal was a previous Zhuangyuan. Ji Xianlin remained to be a top student with best grades throughout his high school time under the influence of his principal because of the principal's awards in a traditional Chinese way. This was a great honor according to the perceptions of traditional Chinese culture: a couplet and a fan. Then Ji Xianlin accepted the arranged marriage by his uncle, with

reluctance and no love. The reasons might be the Chinese traditional education in his early years, the long-term Confucius influence in his birthplace Shandong, and the dominant traditional values from his family. The western influence on him became more in his university time. Ji Xianlin shared commonness with many other contemporaries also in terms of an open mind to welcome the western thoughts. The teaching language was English and he read many western books in the fields of philosophy, cultures, and novels, because he studied in foreign language departments and Qinghua University was more westernized at that time with larger chances for students to go abroad. Meanwhile, the fever of studying abroad was mirrored in him. In addition, he was in Beijing away from his traditional family in Jinan, Shandong province. After graduation, he returned to Jinan working as a teacher in a high school for a year before he was granted with a scholarship to go abroad, during which he stayed again with his family. As previously clarified in the theory chapter, the cultural identification by Homi K. Bhabha emphasizes the representation of social experience as the contingency of history. 95 This could be employed to explain Ji Xianlin's identity before he went abroad. Despite many actual troubles, Ji Xianlin still dreamed of going abroad and seized the opportunity to realize it. One may wonder whether or not the reason was simply the eagerness to go abroad. What factors lay behind his desire to study abroad? If he had not returned to Jinan but had stayed in Beijing, would he still give up a well-paid but unstable job in order to go abroad and leave the whole family behind facing real financial problems and borrowing money to realize his dream of "studying abroad"? He did not have a big plan to change his country through overseas studies. His interest in academics was not obvious. His reason to go abroad was merely for a better future. What was a better future for him? Would it be a well-paid job? If so, then he had already had it before he went abroad. Would it be a stable decent job? If so, how would he know whether it could be or not stable in an unstable society in his time? In this sense, he shared the common expectation with his contemporaries that he would like to live in

⁹⁵ Bhabha, Homi K. (1999). Pp. 193-197.

stability. He may have thought of the failure of the Boxing Uprising and felt disappointed to see the turbulence and semi-colonized situation in his region. As a student in Qinghua University in Beijing, he may also have learned of the movements and demonstrations held by Chinese students and other people from 1911 to 1935. Probably, due to his experiences with both Chinese traditional and westernized educational backgrounds, he was in himself quite paradoxical in thoughts and in views towards his life at that moment. His birth in an impoverished family and the early death of his mother may have imbued him with a strong sense of the importance of being alive. This could explain why his encounters with both traditional and modern education did not make him break through his arranged marriage and keep him behave more in a traditional way. Meanwhile, he may have thought of his principal in his high school, a previous Zhuangyuan, who became a principal in a westernized school instead of a traditional Chinese school or instead of working as a high official in the capital, 96 which showed one aspect of western culture's superiority to Chinese cultures. Moreover, he had no love in his marriage, and he did not dare to end it, but he may have enjoyed the distance from it when he was a bachelor in Qinghua University. Thus, to go abroad might be a way of staying away from his arranged marriage without really facing it. Moreover, he had received westernized education and read many western books which may have equipped him with a viewpoint that being an individual was far more important than forgetting one's individual existence but to be considerate for others and emphasizing the importance of a group or a community rather than that of an individual. This was contradictory to traditional Chinese ideology, which stressed the importance of the whole instead of the individual. For him, to study abroad was an opportunity for himself not for his family. He chose it, probably out of the western influence on him and the outcome of his conflicts with the traditional Chinese dominance in his mind. These reasons might be the real better future for Ji Xianlin, not to mention the possibility he

⁹⁶ In ancient China, *Zhuangyuan* would be appointed to a very high position in the government in the capital city.

would possibly glorify his ancestors and his family as well as a probably better job after his accomplishment of his overseas study.⁹⁷

Therefore, Ji Xianlin's original cultural identity was largely constructed with influences from the Chinese situation, his family, and his own experiences in life and both traditional Chinese and westernized education. First, he was traditional in many aspects. Second, he was easy to be influenced and was obedient in personality but not responsible for his family. Third, he did not have a big plan to change his country through overseas studies. Fourth, western influence can be traced in him, with confrontations of conflicts and clashes in his own thoughts and behaviors. The cultural identity was formed through complicated factors within every single moment of his first twenty-four years. How was it impacted and changed through his stay in Germany? Did a re-identification take place that was decided by this original identity? These questions are discussed in the following chapter.

 $^{^{97}}$ For the details of the examples, please see the background information given in 3.1 and 3.2 of the thesis.

4. Ji Xianlin's Ten-Year Stay in Germany: 1935-1945

Ji Xianlin went to Germany in 1935 and left in 1945. During the ten years, cultural influence gradually emerged. He mainly stayed in Goettingen and for a short period in Berlin. He in this chapter, cases that show Ji Xianlin's life in Germany were mainly through two aspects: the collective and the individual. The collective part depicts the German society: daily life, education, economy, and Chinese students' general situation. The individual part showcases what he experienced, who he got along with, where he had been to, and how he felt. As mentioned in the theory chapter, cultural identification happens through a process of alterity from an ex-centric position and represents social experience as the contingency of history. Ji Xianlin was located in Germany where he was on the periphery in terms of culture. In another word, he was in an ex-centric position, and his cultural identification or re-identification in Germany would be closely connected to his experiences during the stay and also the continuance of his original cultural identify. The discussion is not only based on his experiences in Germany but also his original identification.

Thus, with an employment of Homi K. Bhabha's cultural hybridity theory and his three conditions of the process of identification in hybridity: first, relation to an otherness; second, in a space of splitting; third, the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image, ¹⁰⁰ the final part of this chapter analyzes the cultural hybridity outcomes and cultural influences when Ji Xianlin was in Germany.

⁹⁸ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). P.1. P.30. and P. 136.

⁹⁹ Bhabha, Homi K. (1999). Pp. 193-197.

¹⁰⁰ Bhabha, Homi K. (2004).P.p.63-64.

4.1 German Society: 1935 -1945

The ten years should be perceived in two stages: 1935-1938, and 1939-1945. During the first years after Hitler became Chancellor, the Nazis were engaged in extending and consolidating their power through a series of moves in different aspects, such as the civil service, army, economy, and so on. The SS (Schutzstaffel, a major Nazi organization under Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party) "was able to arrest, detain, imprison, torture and murder, with little respect for any rule of law or putative notion of justice." Thus, many Germans led a double life, due to fears of arrest and informers; in public, they withheld their real views and feelings and only in complete privacy with family and close friends, they expressed their inner thoughts. The Nazis promoted mass parades, the apparently adoring populace, which led to the emergence of totalitarianism. Attempts of a war-orientated economy slowed down the economic recovery and growth in the early 1930s. From 1936 to 1939, the return to full employment meant a steady income for many, despite the lacking of skilled workers, and the hostility of considerable numbers of peasants. 101

In the 1930s, the number of Chinese students in Germany inclined from 153 in 1928 to 700 in 1937. The following table demonstrates the number of students sent to Germany each year from 1931 to 1937. ¹⁰²

Year	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Students	66	84	64	68	61	101	117	52

Source: Minguo Shiqi Zhongguo Liude Xuesheng Yu Zhongde Wenhua Jiaoliu

Then in 1939, the Second World War broke out. Hitler used propaganda to control

¹⁰² Yuan, Qing. (1997). P. 237.

¹⁰¹ Fulbrook, Mary. (2002). Pp. 60-70.

people's thoughts, and tried to maintain his dictatorship with promises that Germany would become a world power and people's life would be improved. The reality, however, was not as he promised. German government "intervened to direct consumption to make Germany more self-sufficient", which resulted in less imported necessities and more home-grown food stuffs. The prices of clothes rose; while the quality declined. During the war, the government invested more in armament and military trainings, the life quality in Germany fell. Because of the conscription, the number of men decreased significantly in daily life. Women began to take burden of raising their family. Due to the bombs and fights, people were under high risk and turbulence. ¹⁰³

As a matter of fact, because of the war, Nazi Germany saw a depression in previous high-quality university education and scientific research. The educational policies of the Third Reich reduced rapidly the number and strength of professional, scientific and intellectual competence of Germany's current and future elites since 1939. ¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile, not all the elites fled. In higher education, notwithstanding the anti-intellectualism of the Nazis, their "cultural revolution soon faded as it became clear that the new regime had no interest in the renewal of German science and scholarship as an end in itself." ¹⁰⁵ Being traditionally uninvolved in politics, many German writers, artists, musicians, and scientists stayed and flourished under the Nazis. ¹⁰⁶

For Chinese students in Germany, the number decreased to a large extent. Their life was difficult during the war: they could not get remittance from China and withdraw money from their bank accounts, nor could they get letters from home; they suffered from food shortage and dangers of fights and bombs.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, Japan invaded China. They

¹⁰³ Kirk, Tim. (2007). Pp. 93-193.

¹⁰⁴ Lane, Allen. (2005). P. 502.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. P. 305.

¹⁰⁶ Fischer, Klaus. P. (1998). P. 365.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. P. 241.

were concerned about the situation in their country and the developments of the Anti-Japanese war. Thus, many of them went back to China. 108

All in all, during the ten years, the collective identity of German society can be summed up that differences in German society were obvious between pre-war period and war-time in the following aspects. Before the war, the number of Chinese students increased in the 1930s. Average German people enjoyed relatively peaceful life with a slowing-down economic recovery and full employment, although they disguised their real feelings in public due to fears of Nazis and many peasants disliked Nazis due to their intervention into their yields and products. Nazis started to control every aspect of Germany. Their propagandas promoted popularity of Hitler among masses. During the war, life in Nazi Germany was difficult. Necessities were not sufficient. Inflation emerged. People suffered from hungers and bombardments. Many elites left Germany. However, the university and research institutions were not much affected nor controlled by Nazis ideology because their long tradition was not to involve in politics. Chinese students in Germany declined significantly in numbers because of the war in Germany and the situation in China. These were the characteristics of German social structure. What was the personal part then? In the following section, details about his stay in Germany will be depicted.

4.2 Ji Xianlin's Stay in Germany

Located in another culture, Ji Xianlin's previous modes and routines seemed to lose its original functions. Some of the most common things were completely different. Ji Xianlin became truly aware of divergences between his Chinese and the German cultures. According to the discussion in the theory chapter, cultural identity is unfixed

¹⁰⁸ Yu-Dembski, Dagmar. (2000). P. 50.

and constructed in a relation to otherness with its inside originality.¹⁰⁹ In this sense, every single thing of the stay in Germany functioned more or less in Ji Xianlin's identity reconstruction.

4.2.1 Days in Berlin

The first destination for Ji Xianlin in Germany was Berlin. For him, the stay in Berlin was a preparing time of a new identity construction and he gradually got exposed to new cultural influences that came with living in a new country. It was also a time full of misunderstandings. Indeed, many stories which happened at this time could be considered to be jokes, whilst they began the cultural hybridity process with cultural differences. Ji Xianlin did not seem to have conceived this phase as being very difficult owing to the freshness and his curiosity for the new situation. However, there were also moments of doubts and sadness due to the huge cultural discrepancies. ¹¹⁰

His Watch and a German Couple

According to his diary, in September of the year 1935, Ji Xianlin's friend took him to a watch shop to repair his watch. He thought he knew the way to the shop, and he did not ask his friends to come along when he went to fetch it. He showed the receipt to the watch repairman, who searched everywhere in his shop but did not find this watch. The second day, Ji Xianlin went to the shop again as the watch repairman told him. This time the watch repairman's wife was there who was more anxious than her husband, because she could not find the watch. Ji Xianlin appeared in the watch shop a third time and the couple was very much worried about the watch. Then Ji Xianlin expressed his

¹¹⁰ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). Pp. 35-36.

¹⁰⁹ See Teitge, Denis Wwayne, Tetge Joce Smith and Weigert, Andrew. (1986). P. 31. And Bhabha, Homi.K. (1999). P. 193-197. In this thesis, they are in Chapter Two.

doubts if the shop was the one he went to repair his watch. Correspondingly, the old man and his wife checked this receipt and showed Ji Xianlin their receipts book. They were quite different from each other: one was green and big, whereas the other white and small. Finally, it turned out that Ji Xianlin did not go to the shop where he amended his watch. The wife was irritated, but the husband told Ji Xianlin there was another watch shop not far from his one and gave him the exact address. There he found the shop which was the correct one. 111

Ji Xianlin's tone in the whole story was told in a humorous way. Nonetheless, if we read the story carefully, we can find that he used nine "doubts" in the narration. However, he did not express his doubts until the third time he went to the shop and the couple could not find his watch. What kept him silent until the very end? The probable answer might be his feeling of otherness. In the end of this story, he wrote the following sentence, "I do not know how big Berlin is, nor which part of Berlin I am located in. Berlin is a sea, and I was just floating on the sea." 112 What did Ji Xianlin mean in this the discourse? Modern discourse analysis is interested in discourses that represent the highest density of co-occurring parameters of contexts, users, and texts. 113 If we analyze this quote in this way, the context would be Berlin, a city in a foreign country; the user, "I", namely Ji Xianlin, a newcomer from China; texts, no idea of his location in the foreign city with many doubts and no attachment. Thus, specifically from his words in the lines, which were not in accordance to the easy tone Ji Xianlin tried to articulate in this story, his recognition of being an other instead of us in German culture was clear.

A Payment in a German Shop

Shopping is a normal thing in daily life. Nonetheless, differences exist between

¹¹¹ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). P. 178. ¹¹² Ibid. Pp.176-179.

¹¹³ Duszak, Anna. (2009). P. 38.

Germany and China. Ji Xianlin described this difference recalling the total should be seventy-five pfennigs and the customer paid 1 mark. In China, shop assistants or shop keepers counted quickly either with an abacus or simply in their mind and gave the extra twenty-five pfennigs to the buyer. Whereas in Germany, a shop assistant would say seventy-five pfennigs at first, and then put five pfennigs on the table saying eighty pfennigs. Then the assistant took out another ten pfennigs announcing ninety pfennigs, again ten pfennigs telling the customer one mark. Finally the twenty-five pfennigs were given to the buyer. 114

Evaluating this story, Ji Xianlin employed words like, "simple-minded", "likable", "unsophisticated", "even a little bit foolish", "finally done", and "both satisfied". 115 Most of these words were positive. What were the functions of the language in this context? Ji Xianlin discovered a difference in shops between China and Germany. From his terminology we could say he recorded this as an interesting thing, meanwhile he depicted German individuals in shops as German collective identity. There might be some other ways of payments and some other shop assistants with other characteristics. Yet, he did not seem to perceive in this way. The cultural discrepancy he experienced here was new for him nonetheless gave him knowledge about another world.

Greetings

When Ji Xianlin stayed in Berlin, German citizens greeted each other not in their traditional way as "Guten Morgen", "Guten Tag", or "Guten Abend" any more, because of the Nazis' efforts to propaganda their totalitarian thoughts and the gradually emerging craze about Hitler. Instead, they raised their right arm, saying, "Heil Hitler"

¹¹⁴ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). P. 35.

¹¹⁵ Ibid

These three terms mean "good morning", "good day" and "good evening" in respective.

or "Heil, mein Fuehrer". 117 Chinese people still greeted in the previous German way with German people, who would also reply in the same way to Chinese. Thus, the German and Chinese people greeted differently in their own life, and lived in peace with each other.

In fact, this can be seen as a self-awareness process when the location changed. Homi K. Bhabha states that, "to be for an *other* – entails the representation of the subject in the differentiating order of otherness." In this case, Ji Xianlin stated out his feeling of being a member of *others* in Germany and searched for his *ours* as a Chinese who greeted in a different way from average Germany people. He constantly categorized people in the way of "German people" and "Chinese". Notwithstanding this categorization was subjective, it is necessary to point out that Ji Xianlin was reminded of his dissimilarities with the local German people in cultural identities, not from his own perceptions but also from the surroundings. He was willing to greet in this way, meanwhile he kept on a recognizing process of self-awareness to be a Chinese, a foreigner in Germany, which may entail his loneliness and nostalgia to expect an attachment to a group.

Food

Food is an essential part of a culture. In Takeda Hiroko's comments on the food discourses with reference to Foucault's theory, we live in the midst of food discourses and are expected to practice and perform food discourses grounded in cultural nationalism. If Xianlin narrated a story about food on one of the first days in Germany. He bought some ham in a shop and then went back with it in the hope of having a good supper. He was "cheerful" and expectant. Then a "but" emerged. To his

[&]quot;Heil Hitler" means "Hail Hitler"; "Heil mein Fuehrer" is "Hail, my leader".

¹¹⁸ Bhabha, Homi K. (2004). P. 64.

¹¹⁹ Hiroko, Takeda. (2008). P. 24.

surprise, ham was raw. Judging from his own culture, he became angry. In the description, he used "very angry", "resentful", "unfair", "unacceptable even in dreams", and "how could Germans play tricks on foreigners". In China, only cooked meat would be eaten. It would be unacceptable to eat raw meat. At the very first moment when he recognized that the ham was raw, expressions like "Germans" and "foreigners" appeared in his mind. His reaction revealed how he considered situations unconsciously and took his habitual ideology for granted even when he was located in another culture. Food, as a necessary part of everyday life, became one of the most direct aspects to disclose cultural differences. On the "early morning" of the next day, Ji Xianlin went to the shop, questioned the ham, and then he learnt that in Germany only the best and freshest meat could be served raw. 120 Thus, he knew this was cultural discrepancy.

Analysis of the Four Cases

In Homi K. Bhabha's explanation, in place of the symbolic consciousness giving the sign of identity its integrity and unity, its depth, people are faced with a dimension of doubling; a spatiality of the subject, that is closed up in the illusory perspective of the mimetic frame or visual image of identity. What is the image? He further clarifies, the concept of image "marks the site of ambivalence", makes present absent, and "must never be read mimetically as the appearance of a reality."¹²¹ In return, these experiences gradually altered his cultural identity through cultural hybridity.

These four cases represented the early stage of Ji Xianlin's ten-year stay in Germany, offering a glance of his feelings from the words he used in his discourse in his book. He generalized the behavior to be German, instead of interpreting it as behavior of this person or that person. This reaction was in a process of identification. According to

Ji, Xianlin. (2004). P. 36.
 Bhabha, Homi. K. (2004). Pp. 71-73.

Homi K. Bhabha's statement about identification in his cultural hybridity theory, identification "bears the mark of splitting in the other place from which ours comes". 122 Here "the other place" for Ji Xianlin was Berlin. Being located in a foreign culture, Ji Xianlin became aware what his "ours" was: his identity as being a Chinese. He was not confident enough to express his doubts in front of German people, and tended to isolate himself from others by not asking help from his friend and by imitating others. In general, this period was a time that laid ground for deeper cultural influences. The four stories in Ji Xianlin's book offered a glance of his first days in Germany and his feelings from the words he used in his discourse in the book.

4.2.2 Life in Goettingen

Ji Xianlin went to Goettingen in October 1935. Instead of staying there for two years according to his plan, he lived in Goettingen for a decade. This was the longest time for him to stay in a same place but Ji Nan and Beijing. Ji Xianlin regarded Goettingen as his "second hometown". 123

Nostalgia and Two Mothers

In his book, Ji Xianlin said he had two mothers in his life. One was his mother, and the other was his country. Ji Xianlin often thought of and dreamed about the two mothers. 124 From his diaries, he felt a sweet pleasure on a bitter and sad nostalgia (on 16th November 1935); he was in a terribly deep homesickness (on 20th November 1935); he was homesick for his country again at night (on 28th November 1935); he felt two years was too long and nothing (clothing, food, accommodation, and activities) was

Bhabha, Homi. K. (2004). P. 64
 Ji, Xianlin. (2004). P. 40.
 Ibid. P. 50.

comfortable so that he would not want to stay any longer in Germany (on 6th December 1935); and he woke up with tears from a dream in which he met his mother (who died before Ji Xianlin went abroad) on 11th July 1936. These diary entries suggested that Ji Xianlin was very homesick. He desired to go back and found himself an outsider in Germany. During the World War Two, Ji Xianlin's nostalgia increased greatly. It was partly because of the attitudes of average German people towards bombardments and hungers. During the Second World War, Ji Xianlin experienced bombardments. Being a small town, Goettingen suffered from large-scaled bombardments merely twice. Nonetheless, these were quite dangerous. Lights were forbidden. It was totally dark at night. Ji Xianlin sensed even more loneliness. People fled to basements or bunkers due to the barrages. They cleaned ruins after explosions. He thought of the situation in China where people were suffering from the Japanese bombardments and harassments. Ji Xianlin felt more homesick and raised his love towards his country due to the common agonies of war and the sight of the local German people who stayed together, fled together, and returned to normal life together. 125

Studies, Work and Research

Ji Xianlin said that entering Goettingen University was a milestone for him. 126 This statement confirmed the significance of his studies in Germany throughout his life. At first, Ji Xianlin was not sure what major he should choose. He first decided to major in German Studies, but after the first semester he changed his major into Indian Studies which became his lifelong academic research field. According to the German regulations at that time, students must study one major and two minors, if they wanted to gain a PhD degree. Thus, Ji Xianlin selected Indian Studies as his major, English Linguistics and Slavonic studies as his two minors. When Ji Xianlin was a student at

 ¹²⁵ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). Pp. 50-86.
 ¹²⁶ Ji, Xianlin. (2008). P. 18.

Goettingen University, he registered more than ten languages courses; he was so engaged in studies that he suffered from insomnia, which was worsened due to the craze about Hitler and his aggressions into other countries during the Second World War. In 1941, Ji Xianlin passed his final exams (oral tests and defense) and got his PhD degree. He got four "sehr gut" (excellence) respectively for his thesis, Indian studies, Slavonic languages, and English. After gaining a PhD degree, Ji Xianlin tried to return to his country but he failed.¹²⁷

In 1942, German government admitted the authority of Wang Jingwei's government, a fake Chinese government controlled by Japan; the previous official Chinese Guomindang government was forced to move to Switzerland and had no diplomatic relationship with Germany.¹²⁸ It was very difficult for Ji Xianlin to go to Switzerland not to mention returning to China.¹²⁹

Thus, he stayed in Germany to work as a Chinese teacher in the Sinology department and kept on doing research as a post-doctoral student in Indian Studies until he left Germany for China in 1945. He published several high-quality papers during this time. During these years, despite of the bombardments and hungers, his life was generally stable. He went to university every day, except Sundays and the barrage periods when everyone fled to the basements or to the bomb shelters in the hill. Moreover, he was very satisfied with and even amazed that libraries in Goettingen University (either in institutes or in the central library) collected so many books that almost all the books, even the rare ones, which he needed for his research, were available in these libraries. As a poor student, he did not have much money and did

¹²⁷ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). Pp. 54-72.

¹²⁸ Yu-Dembski, Dagmar. (2000). P. 50.

¹²⁹ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). P. 72.

¹³⁰ DAAD China Info. (2005). P. 4.

¹³¹ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). Pp.73-76.

not have hobbies.¹³² From this, we can say that Ji Xianlin's life in Goettingen was mainly about studies and research.

Ji Xianlin's Social Network in Germany

Ji Xianlin's life included not only studies and work, but also social life. In Germany, he got along well with others and had several German friends. To discuss the cultural influence, his social network would be important to mention, because these were also the sources of influence.

Professor Waldschmidt

Among all the teachers in Germany, Ji Xianlin was closest to his "Doctor-Vater" (PhD supervisor) Professor Waldschmidt. He followed Professor Waldschmidt from the beginning of his Indian Studies. The influence from Professor Waldschmidt would also be the most. For a whole semester, he was the only student of Professor Waldschmidt in Sanskrit courses. At first, Ji Xianlin was afraid that the professor would cancel the course, because Ji was the only student registered and he was a foreigner. However, in the first lesson, Professor Waldschmidt merely smiled, chatted with Ji Xianlin for a while, and started the course. This was a good start for Ji Xianlin to get along well with Professor Waldschmidt and be influenced by him. Professor Waldschmidt was a student of famous Sanskrit expert Heinrich Lueders, whose students included Ma Yinke. In other words, Ma Yinke and Ernst Waldschmidt were students of the same professor. Ji Xianlin decided to conduct Indian Studies under the influence of Ma Yinke, his favorite professor in China. Waldschmidt enjoyed a high reputation in this field. Ji Xianlin approved of Professor Waldschmit's teaching method, although at first he was not used to it. Professor Waldschmidt taught ancient Indian languages, Sanskrit and Pali language,

¹³² Ji, Xianlin. (2008). P. 53.

in a traditional German way. He put the students in a real practice instead of assigning numerous analysis, as the method to teach swimming by pushing the students into water, they would either be drowned or learn how to swim. Ji Xianlin found it a very efficient way to learn a foreign language, and was surprised to see the "miracle" of finishing a whole set of complicated Sanskrit grammar and basics within forty days from May 26th Anmeldung (registration of the course) to June 30th Abmeldung (End of the course). Professor Waldschmidt was strict and serious in studies. He emphasized the reasons and evidences in research. Once, Ji Xianlin handed in a paper's introduction to Professor Waldschmidt. He said nothing but showed Ji Xianlin the original introduction with a newly added bracket. He explained to Ji the introduction was all-encompassing and not sufficient and strong enough to defense others' attacks. 133

Professor Sieg

After 1939, because of Nazi's conscript Professor Waldschmidt asked his retired teacher Professor Sieg at the age of seventies to help him in teaching Ji Xianlin. In fact, Ji Xianlin was again the only PhD student. Similar to his student Professor Waldschmidt, Professor Sieg did not show any unwillingness to instruct a foreign student, and he was very dedicated in research. During the first lesson, he claimed that he would teach Ji Xianlin all he mastered in his field. Besides the planned courses, he voluntarily provided Ji Xianlin with Tocharian courses. At that time, Professor Sieg was the leading expert in Tocharian studies. Nobody was more authoritative than him in this field. This was certainly an opportunity to learn Tocharian and to attain achievements in Indian Studies under such an expert. Ji Xianlin accepted this offer, though he had already a lot of work to do and suffered from neurasthenia. At last, Professor Sieg realized his promise that he taught Ji Xianlin his entire knowledge of Tocharian. 134

 ¹³³ Ji, Xianlin. (2008). Pp. 25-41.
 134 Ji, Xianlin. (2009). Online Book Resource.

Professor Haloun

Professor Haloun regarded Ji Xianlin as one of his two real friends in Goettingen. They worked together at the Sinology Institute. Ji Xianlin liked the abundance of books there, some of which were even very rare in China, and admired Professor Haloun's attainments in Chinese classics that he was even an expert in oracles. Because of Professor Haloun's achievements in Sinology and the grand collection of books, many famous sinologists from other countries went to this Institute both for visiting him and for reading. However, Goettingen University seemed not to pay enough attention to him, and after a long time of frustration, Professor Haloun left and started his professorship at Cambridge University. He was happy to work with his friend Ji Xianlin and invited him to teach there. Ji Xianlin told Professor Haloun that he would tell him if he took the offer or not after he went back to China. 135

Two Professors in the Bombardments

Ji Xianlin saw two unusual things in the barrage when others were running and seeking places to hide. One was Professor Prandtl, the authority of aerodynamics, who observed carefully a short wall around the playground to know how air pressure caused by explosions damaged the wall. The other was a geophysical professor, who rushed to the roof of a building while others hasted to run down to the basement while the bombardment happened. For him, it was a great chance to perform experiments. 136 They both demonstrated how dedicated the German professors were to their research.

¹³⁵ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). Pp. 64-64.136 Ibid. Pp. 75-78.

Landlady: Mrs. Oppel

In the ten years, Ji Xianlin lived in Mrs. Oppel's home. The landlady Mrs. Oppel was

very nice and treated Ji Xianlin as her son. She talked to Ji Xianlin every day with all

the minute things, such as who she met in the day, what she bought, what happened, and

where she had been to. She insisted on making bed for Ji Xianlin, because the bed Ji

Xianlin slept on belong to her son when he lived at home. She kept her house and the

pavement in front of her house extremely clean as many other German women did.

During the Second World War, she was not crazy about Hitler or against him. Her

husband died of hunger in the wartime. Then she was alone living with Ji Xianlin. They

experienced peace and war together in a decade. 137

The Meyer's Family

The Meyer's four-member family included Mr. Meyer, Mrs. Meyer, and their two

daughters. Mr. Meyer, a retired man similar to Ji Xianlin's landlord, was candid and not

voluble. He also went thinner due to the hunger during World War Two and often stayed

at home. His wife was very friendly and got along very well with Chinese students. She

smiled a lot. Ji Xianlin went to the Meyer's very often, because Irmgard, the elder

daughter of Mr. Meyer's, helped him type his dissertation and other papers during his

stay. As a reward, Ji Xianlin took Irmgard to every part of Goettingen city. Besides, the

family invited him whenever they held a party. 138 Gradually, the two youths began to

fall in love with each other. However, Ji Xianlin did not express his love in words,

because he knew he had a wife in China. Finally, he left Germany with a paradoxical

feeling. 139

¹³⁷ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). Pp.102-106.

¹³⁸ Ibid. Pp. 112-114.

Ma, Dingsheng. (2009). In a TV program called Fengfan Da Guomin: Ji Xianlin Aishang Jimo. (Respectful

54

Chinese: Ji Xianlin Liked Loneliness).

Those who hated Hitler

Before he went abroad, his teacher advised him not to talk about politics in Germany. So he obeyed. Then no matter how hard others tried to discuss politics with Ji Xianlin, he just kept silent. Nonetheless, in front of the friends who also hated Hitler, Ji Xianlin showed willingness to criticize Nazi together with them in private places. These people were from different walks of life, such as a medical student, a judge, Mrs. Boehncke and her daughter. 140

Discussion: Cultural Hybridity and Influences 4.3 Germany

To discuss the outcome of cultural hybridity in this chapter is to sum up the cultural re-identification of Ji Xianlin in Germany which is crucial to shed light on the cultural influences. According to Homi K. Bhabha, when different cultures meet, especially one culture is dominant while the other one is on the periphery, people would set culture, which they are familiar with, as a strategy to survive. 141 That is to say, people tend to live in their own culture, with their own cultural living patterns, ideologies, habits, and the like, to survive in an unfamiliar cultural environment. Nevertheless, their strategy to live in this way would be unpractical in front of the dominance of another culture. Thus, Homi K Bhabha further points out that, a way to survive in another culture with the above strategy is mimicry. What does mimicry mean in his view? Mimicry is a "repetitive copying of another language, culture, manners, and ideas." ¹⁴² In this sense, people need to adapt their own cultural way of life to another culture by constantly

 ¹⁴⁰ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). Pp. 107-111.
 ¹⁴¹ Bhabha, Homi. K. (2004). P. 245.
 ¹⁴² Huddart, David. (2006). P. 57.

imitating another cultural articulation, actions, and thoughts to some extent and maintain their own culture inside to some extent so as to survive. Therefore, there must be conflicts and integrations in people's identification because they need to decide to what extent they should keep their original identity and to what extent they need to mimic.

As for Ji Xianlin, he was in another country with its own culture being dominant. As Homi K. Bhabha points out that culture could be a strategy to survive in the context of the experience of minorities with uneven and differential, often, disadvantaged cultural replacement. It is is in the German culture inside, but outside he lived in the German culture. Every member (both outsiders and insiders) contributes more or less to form a culture. Though probably very difficult to see, the contribution is there. As a foreigner, Ji Xianlin reflected how Germans, at least, the people around him, treated others. The treatment of foreigners is one aspect of a culture. Thus, in the above, there were many cases given to represent a general and all-encompassing life of Ji Xianlin in Germany. Meanwhile, being in this culture, he would also adapt to it and develop new habits by imitating the language, the manners, and so on.

As a result, his cultural re-identification consisted of two parts: one was the maintenance of and a development from his original cultural identity; and the other was the new cultural identity part through his confrontation with German culture. As previously discussed in the original identification chapter, Ji Xianlin demonstrated the deep influence of traditional Chinese culture in his ideology and behaviors with encounters of western new thoughts. According to a lecture by Doctor Guan the stages of overseas studies can be classified as a U-shape, which can be divided into three stages. For the second stage, people feel frustrated, because they acquaint themselves with the new environment, many things are not fresh any more, and they cannot live

¹⁴³ Bhabha, Homi, K. (2004), P. 247.

with their previously established living modes in this new culture. To survive in another culture, people would on one hand maintain their previous cultural identity and on the other hand, adapt themselves to the new culture through seen and unseen changes. Meanwhile, at this very stage, cultural influences reach its climax. After freshness of confrontations with German culture in Berlin, Ji Xianlin probably stepped into the second stage in Doctor Guan's conception in Goettingen, where he underwent cultural clashes and changed his own perceptions and living styles.

Due to these characteristics, Ji Xianlin's stay in Germany enclosed quite a few cultural conflicts. The living styles were different: in China he used to live a relatively well-off life, because of his uncle's finance in his school and university time and his fairly good income during the year he worked as a teacher; while in Germany he became a poor student and had to save money to keep a living. Food, language, accommodation, and ways of thinking were all different. Because he was poor in Germany, he could not afford an equivalent life standard in Germany as the one in China, which may probably have caused his feeling of gaps between past (his stay in China) and present (his stay in Germany). Meanwhile, his previous habitual life modes were not applicable in Germany. He had to adjust his living patterns to a German way in order to survive, which was difficult in the process of changes and seemed to cut his very few connections with his originality. For instance, in the first days of his stay in Germany, he discovered many cultural differences, such as the payment dissimilarity in shops. He had to ask the German watch repairman whether or not he had been to the correct shop the third time he went to the shop. Yet, if this happened in China, the Chinese watch repairman would recognize it immediately at the first sight whether the receipt belonged to the shop or not and told the client how to get the correct shop. The food was different and reminded him of his cultural relocation. Greetings were kept in a traditional way between Chinese

-

¹⁴⁴ Guan, Huiping. (2009). Speeches on Integrating into German Culture. Doctor Huiping Guan is a psychoanalyst who addressed a series of lectures about intercultural integration for overseas Chinese students in Germany. One was held in Goettingen University on 15th Oct 2009.

people and German people instead of the alterations of what German people did among them in Berlin. Due to these cultural shocks, his nostalgia increased day and night, which later in Goettingen reached the climax.¹⁴⁵ Freud's psychoanalysis about dreams indicates that a dream has its dependence on the waking state and is excessively sensitive to the inner life and the emotional stimuli of the mind. 146 Be Ji Xianlin awake or asleep, his awareness of being a member of others in German culture instead of us being part of the German population was obvious. Freshness faded away. For Fanon, like Lacan, the main moments of such a repetition of the self lie in the desire of the look and the limits of language. 147 Ji Xianlin's German, in comparison to his mother tongue, was certainly not sufficient to express his diversified inner feelings as he expressed his mood with beautiful Chinese classic poems in Chinese, especially the first years in Germany. This repetitive homesickness gradually intensified his intention to attach to the Chinese culture, and strengthened his love towards his country. In addition, he did not have a big dream but merely an intention for a better future after overseas study, which strengthened his feelings of emptiness in heart. These intensified his loneliness and doubts why to stay in Germany. This may explain why he wrote in his diary that he wanted to go back immediately in the beginning of his German stay. That was his expectations to grasp something familiar that he felt sense of belonging. At that time, he could not express his homesickness and inner feelings through phone calls or mails as people do nowadays. He could not really feel happy at the thought of his situation. At this time, he may find it very difficult to balance the degree of continuing his own cultural identity and the degree of altering himself into a new identity through mimicry. As a consequence, the thought of returning and giving up the attempt to balance appeared. 148

Nevertheless, he did not leave Germany soon but stayed there for ten years. Firstly,

¹⁴⁵ See Chapter Three and Chapter Four of the thesis to get the background information about his life.

¹⁴⁶ Freud, Sigmund. (2004). P.70.

¹⁴⁷ Bhabha, Homi.K. (2004). P. 64.

¹⁴⁸ See Chapter Three and Four to get details about the background information of these examples listed.

perhaps he did not want to go back as a failure, due to his traditional thoughts and the reality that his family had real financial problems. Second, he probably liked living in a relatively stable society rather than a turbulent environment. Thirdly, it was very likely that he hoped he could live his own independent life instead of in a family-oriented environment. However, when the Second World War broke out, what he experienced were war, hunger, deeper nostalgia, turbulence. Why would he still have chosen to stay, whereas many other Chinese students fled back to China? He may have already developed the passion towards academic studies and enjoyed the time with his professors and in the institute. Meanwhile, he fell in love. Irmgard helped him type his PhD dissertation, which was around the year of beginning of the World War Two. This might probably be the first time he encountered with love, even though he did not express his sentiment in words. In his heart, he might have experienced pleasures and comforts. Due to the love, he was likely to be willing to stay with Irmgard, who he loved, by not returning to China but living in Germany. Clashes were probably strengthened again, between sympathy towards his country and finally towards his family due to his strong awareness of agony in war and his personal happiness because of the love and promising career development. The following sections analyze in details the outcome of cultural hybridity and the cultural influences. 149

4.3.1 Patriotism Rationally Strengthened

Then what were the outcomes in this cultural hybridity? One of them was the rational strengthening of the love towards his motherland. In other words, his patriotism was intensified rationally. What is patriotism? Here it means the love and loyalty towards the motherland, and willingness to contribute to the betterment and development of the country. It is different from nationalism, though "in scholarly literature and common

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter Three and Four to get details about the background information of these examples listed.

language, 'love of country' and 'loyalty to the nation', patriotism and nationalism, are used as synonyms." A language of patriotism without nationalism is the ideological victory that marginalizes a political thought. ¹⁵¹

As for Ji Xianlin, he deeply sensed his Chinese origin in the confrontations of German *otherness*. He often dreamed about his two mothers: his mother and his country. This was a reflection of his assumption in his image. Homi K Bhabha clarifies the three conditions for the reconstruction of cultural identity in cultural hybridity, the first was the relation to an otherness; the second is cultural location in a splitting space, and the third is the image of identity and the transformation of people who assume that image. His two mothers were symbols of his original place and the image of identity, which through his nostalgia signaled his feeling of displacement. In his life, he regretted that he did not stay by her mother's side. This previous experience worked on his re-identification that he should be with his country (another mother in his words) so as to avoid regret. Meanwhile, his loneliness and deep nostalgia during the stay in Germany developed this sentiment. Although he got along well with others in Germany and had several German friends, he was well aware of his *otherness* in this country from the very beginning (see the four cases above) and then through his daily life with the terms as which he described himself (a foreigner or a Chinese) in Germany.

Homi K. Bhabha says culture is a strategy to survive. As for Ji Xianlin, he kept his Chinese identity inside as a strategy to live through the hungers and bombardments as well as the ten years abroad. For him, patriotism was good, but it should not be connected with politics. Thus, he would rather give up many things in order to return to China. These were a well-paid job in Cambridge University which was a promising academic career for him and his love with Irmgard in Germany. According to Cai Degui,

¹⁵⁰ Viroli, Maurizio. (1997). P.1.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. P. 161.

¹⁵² Bhabha, Homi K. (2004). Pp. 63-64.

¹⁵³ Ibid. P.245.

the deputy director of *Ji Xianlin Research Institute*, if Ji Xianlin were not bounded with traditional values, he would have married Irmgard Meyer.¹⁵⁴ In the 1990s, a student asked Ji Xianlin why he did not go to Cambridge University and take Irmgard with him so that he could both have a good job and his own love; Ji answered, he loved his country and respected his wife who was a very good woman, so he returned to China instead of going to Britain.¹⁵⁵ It might have been very difficult for Ji Xianlin love and promising academic career in Europe. In this respect, the stay in Germany turned out that in the conflicting and integrating process of his Sino-German intercultural interactions, he was paradoxical and hesitant for a long time and finally his sense of his Chinese identity excelled the other. He was apt to categorize and stay in his own culture, accounting for his increasing patriotism.

This patriotism was not due to any political reason. He was not a member of any political parties, and did not show any willingness to participate in political movements and fights. All he wanted was to live in his country taking the responsibility for his family and to do something that could betterment his country. These had nothing to do with politics. Thus, the outcome should be rational patriotism instead of nationalism. Furthermore, he was fully aware of the importance of peace and stability. Before he went to Germany, he already felt the difficulty of staying in a turbulent society. When the Second World War broke out, especially the society was under high risks, this expectation for peace and stability was intensified. There were almost only female students in university, because male students and teachers were enlisted to the army. Hungers and bombardments ruined the previously good land. He kept silent in commenting politics in front of others, only except with people who also hated Hitler. Ji Xianlin clearly realized the importance of peace and stability so he would not run any risk of breaking peace and stability. These factors co-worked to make Ji Xianlin's

Ma, Dingsheng. (2009). In a TV program called "Fengfan Da Guomin: Ji Xianlin Aishang Jimo. (Respectful Chinese: Ji Xianlin Liked Loneliness).".
155 Ibid.

patriotism increased in a rational way. 156

4.3.2 Orientation Decided and Academic Spirits Learned

Secondly, Ji Xianlin decided his research orientation and learnt academic spirits in Germany. At the beginning of his days in Germany, he did not know what he wanted to study. He was only eager to gain overseas education experience and got a certificate so that he could find a good job in China after he finished studies abroad. He was possibly lack of self-confidence, because of language shortage, poverty, and no dreams. He had no support from home and meanwhile would like to survive with dignity. Besides, he was a poor student and had no hobbies. 157 Nevertheless, he was a student. To be more specific, he was an overseas Chinese student in Germany. As previously discussed, Ji Xianlin sensed his Chinese identity and his patriotism was strengthened. Meanwhile, he was clear about his student identity. Lived experiences with diversified identities and the recognitions of identity produce not only changes but also new forms of identity. 158 In other words, living in a culture with various identities, people would recognize their own identities and undergo changes, and finally they structure their new identities. In Ji Xianlin's case, he lived in Germany with different identities, such as being a Chinese, a foreigner, a student, and etc. He must have experienced changes in himself. For instance, his patriotism was strengthened through the constant self-awareness under different circumstances in Germany. As an overseas Chinese student in Germany during the Second World War, what was the new identity for Ji Xianlin in studies? His recognition of otherness and ourness estranged him from the German culture at first. Then, due to the previous enthusiasm for Sanskrit aroused in the courses of his favorite professor in Qinghua University, Chen Yinque, he chose this course. Professor Waldschmidt did not

¹⁵⁶ See Chapter Three and Four in this thesis to get background information about the examples listed.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

¹⁵⁸ Alcoff, Linda Martin. (2003). P. 3.

cancel the course with only one student. Ji Xianlin felt respect and warmth, which he longed for as a lonely and poor foreign student in Germany. His previous memory in high school and traditional value on authorities determined his decision in pursuing in the Indian Studies. This was also a strategy for him to survive in Germany. Due to these factors from inside and outside, past and present, he took Indian Studies as his major with a focus on the ancient Indian languages. Besides, his professors were the authorities and gave him exceptional trainings in this field. To add up, he was neither interested in politics nor parties. Thus, all his interests were in studies. ¹⁵⁹

Due to these interests, he probably participated in studies with more energies and time. He might have shown more willingness to learn from his teachers not only the knowledge but also the academic spirits they demonstrated. Moreover, he was likely to extend the range to observe and learn the research atmosphere and academic concentrations in Goettingen. Then through mimicry, a strategy of survival in cultural hybridity in Homi K. Bhabha's theory, he learned the German academic spirits. Professor Waldschmidt wrote in the comments of Ji Xianlin's PhD promotion, although the education and language backgrounds were so different, as a person from East Asia, Mr. Ji mastered the German academic spirits to a rarely perfect extent. 160 Therefore, one aspect of the new identity, namely, the outcome of cultural hybridity, was that he settled on his research orientation and mastered the German academic spirits.

4.3.3 German Thoroughness Appreciated

Appreciation of German thoroughness was another outcome. Thoroughness is said to be the core of German culture in the world. Ji Xianlin also mentioned "thoroughness" as a

See Chapter Three and Four in this thesis to get background information about the examples listed.
 DAAD China Info. (2005). P. 4.

German merit in his book.¹⁶¹ What is thoroughness? Frederick Scott Oliver says that, "the thoroughness of the German race is no empty boast."¹⁶² Greg Nees defines thoroughness as, "Germans are great believers in doing things thoroughly... If they are going to do something, they spare little expense or time in doing it well. And if they can't do it thoroughly, they are inclined not to do it at all."¹⁶³

Ji Xianlin appreciated this thoroughness. Why was thoroughness not directly as another outcome of the cultural hybridity from his experience of getting along with his German professors, landlords, and friends? Cultural re-identification in the hybridity was a continual process of self-determinant recognition and acceptance of the parts that the subject would like to choose and mimic in the location where otherness was obvious and dissimilarities interacted to establish new ideologies. ¹⁶⁴ This statement can be understood that in the identity reconstruction process, people tend to choose and imitate the obvious differences they accept and appreciate and finally establish new ideologies. However, the appreciation does not directly cause new identity. As for Ji Xianlin, he commented his professors, "concerning working attitude, all my German professors are good examples. They are extremely serious, careful, and precise. They write articles after rounds of considerations and discussions. Only after these would they publish their papers. The thoroughness (Grundlichkeit) of German scholars is famous across the world. I deeply felt this."

We should be careful to conclude thoroughness was another outcome. Homi K. Bhabha says, "the question of identification is ... always the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image." How Ji Xianlin assumed this was a part of his re-identification. First, concerning the academic research

¹⁶¹ Ji, Xianlin. (2004). P. 115.

¹⁶² Oliver, Frederick Scott. (2008). P. 54.

¹⁶³ Nees, Greg. (2000). P. 39.

¹⁶⁴ Bhabha, Homi K. (2004). Pp.69-96.

¹⁶⁵ Ji, Xianlin. (2009). Online Book Resource.

¹⁶⁶ Bhabha, Homi K. (2004). P. 64.

spirits of his professors for which he mentioned thoroughness, Ji Xianlin saw how serious and dedicated their professors were in the pursuit of studies. Professor Waldschmidt was very strict about thesis writing and studies. Professor Sieg, the authority of Tocharian, kept his promise to teach Ji Xianlin all the knowledge he mastered in his field even though he already retired and there were bombardments during the Second World War. Professor Haloun, an expert in Sinology, was even able to read oracles. The other two professors whom Ji Xianlin saw during the bombardments period paid no attention to their own safety but to the opportunities to observe phenomenon and results in the explosion spots that their labs could not present. Second, in terms of the daily life, he saw how people insisted on doing things. Mrs. Oppel and Mrs. Meyer kept their houses and streets in front of their places clean by washing them every day completely. Mrs Oppel kept making bed for Ji Xianlin as she used to do for her son. These were what Ji Xianlin found good about German society, and he also learnt the way how to conduct academic studies, how to get along with German people, and how to efficiently learn foreign languages. 167 Thus, the highly compliment of the thoroughness in Germany might be more appropriate.

4.3.4 Stereotypes towards German Culture Adjusted

Next, Ji Xianlin did not stereotype a culture any longer, at least not as much as before. People tend to identify a location as a whole to talk about their characteristics. Sometimes, this would lead to stereotype and ignore the diversity in the culture. In Germany, Ji Xianlin stayed for ten years, which was long enough to perceive the diversity within a culture. There was a craze about Hitler, but not everyone was a participant. In a dominant Fascist society, the German academic sector maintained its original studying and researching atmosphere. As a matter of fact, variety is the

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter Three and Four in this thesis to get background information about the examples listed.

collective characteristic of every society and culture. We should be careful to say that in Nazi Germany, workers were like this, students were like that, woman behaved in this way, and man acted in that way. If we do so, we easily over-simplify the reality and are neither correct nor academic. People were different from each other although they shared a lot in common. Although regulations and standards in university were the same towards academic studies and German people were thought to stress high-quality (for instance, their thoroughness is defined in this sense) in every aspect, there were students who finished studies and also who did so badly that professors would become very angry towards the results. ¹⁶⁸

At first, Ji Xianlin would use terms such as "German people" and "Chinese people" to depict the distinctions between the ways and manners of people behaved in Germany and China. Gradually, he no longer described in this way but mentioned the differences by categorizing people into different groups, according to ages, genders, and backgrounds. Step by step, he merely described persons due to their own characteristics by directly referring to individuals. When he left Goettingen, he loved this small town and regarded it as his "another hometown". For a hometown, how would people describe locals only as a whole group with these or those characteristics? They would sketch a general portrait of the locals, and also treat everyone as an individual with no or very few stereotypes. ¹⁶⁹

To sum up, for Ji Xianlin, the outcomes of the cultural hybridity were mainly in four aspects. First, the stay strengthened his patriotism in a rational way. Second, he found his life orientation in Indian Studies and mastered German academic spirits. Next, he appreciated German thoroughness. Besides, he developed an objective attitude towards a foreign culture. In this process, Ji Xianlin reconstructed his cultural identity with new

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter Three and Four in this thesis to get background information about the examples listed.

elements added and old parts delimitated. These were the outcomes of cultural hybridity during his stay in Germany, the re-constructed identification. How did they relate to Ji Xianlin's achievements and developments after he left Germany?

5. Ji Xianlin's Return to China

In order to fully analyze the cultural influences on Ji Xianlin in Germany, and the perception of cultural identity process, it is necessary to discover the relationship and representations of the cultural hybridity outcomes during the German stay in his later developments after he returned to China. In the year of 1945, Ji Xianlin left Germany and stepped on the journey back to China. He went with other Chinese students firstly to Switzerland and from there to Hong Kong and at last back to Shanghai. The moment he landed in Shanghai, Ji Xianlin kneeled down to the ground and kissed the earth he held with his hands saying that, "My motherland, finally I am back." Then he started his life as a returned overseas Chinese student in China.

5.1 Developments and the Cultural Influences

Ji Xianlin's life after he returned to China can be divided into three stages: the years before 1966, of the Cultural Revolution, and after 1978. Although he was confronted with considerable hardship, Ji Xianlin reached great academic achievements and received many awards. In the following the relationship between the cultural influences from his German stay and his accomplishments will be discussed.

5.1.1 Years before the Cultural Revolution 1946 – 1965

Ji Xianlin established Oriental Language and Literature Studies Department in Beijing University in 1946. However, he found no resources to further his academic research

¹⁷⁰ Ifeng TV. (2009). Wo De Zhongguo Xin. (My Chinese Heart: Ji Xianlin).

which was already in a good shape when he was in Goettingen. He had paradoxical feelings towards the question if he should stay in China or go back to Europe. Due to the patriotism intensified in Germany, he finally decided not to leave his country and refused Professor Haloun's invitation to teach in Cambridge University, even though it would be a great opportunity for his academic studies in his research field. Nonetheless, his enthusiasm towards academic research developed in Germany pushed Ji Xianlin into concentrating on studies. He decided to pursue in relevant studies about Indian languages and cultures. ¹⁷¹

In the following years, he gave lectures to students and meanwhile went to lectures he was interested in. He was strict towards his students in studies but very kind in daily life. 172 Some of the lectures he attended were held by other teachers some of who were much younger than him. Others did not understand why a professor and department director would be willing to attend lectures as a diligent student. He kept on doing studies although the academic atmosphere was not good. The appreciation of German thoroughness drove him to continue his academic work with great efforts. He collected resources and wrote academic papers. To his surprise, besides his academic work, he was involved in many administrative activities. He was so busy with various meetings and conferences that he did not have much time for his academic work. Nonetheless, he kept on researching. During the twenty years, Ji Xianlin published 31 academic papers. Nonetheless, he wondered why there were meetings where people criticized and sought every possible error of others in their thoughts and behaviors. 173 Thus, he did not participate in criticizing others. Because of his leadership, others did not criticize him for the first few years until the criticizing blaze reached its climax. 174

-

¹⁷¹ Ji, Xianlin. (2008). Pp. 60-64.

¹⁷² Zhang, Baosheng. (2009). http://www.sxgov.cn/

The criticizing meetings were characterized in the Cultural Revolution. People needed to conduct self-criticisms and to criticize others every day even every hour. They were required to recognize the so-called fundamental errors and incorrect views. However, there were in fact not so many mistakes and crimes as expected. Thus, people just exaggerated a very small mistake to a terrible criminal commitment. ¹⁷⁴ Ji, Xianlin. (2008). Pp. 66-90.

5.1.2 During the Cultural Revolution: 1966-1977

The Cultural Revolution was a disaster for intellectuals, for Chinese people, and for the country. It was a period when the majority did not dare to tell truths. The government put little value on education and knowledge. This craze was quite similar to but probably even wilder than that in Nazi Germany during the Second World War. There was no war outside but only constant fights inside with bricks, sticks and hands. Schools did not teach students knowledge. Universities were places for passionate criticisms and fights. This movement hurt the Chinese intellectuals most severely. It is Xianlin was persecuted almost to death; he could not conduct academic research. In the movement, many couples became enemies. They fought and criticized each other, whereas Ji Xianlin kept the same family relationship with his wife as before. The ten years should be divided into two parts: 1966 – 1972, and 1973 -1977. Only in the latter part did Ji Xianlin have the possibility to do academic research.

In the year of 1973, Ji Xianlin was appointed to work as a gate-keeper in a students' dorm in Beijing University and had time to secretly conduct research.¹⁷⁷ From 1973 to 1977, he completed the translation of *Ramayana*, one of the two great Indian epics, which had 18755 verses in seven volumes.¹⁷⁸ Ji Xianlin translated it from Sanskrit into Chinese. He did this tough task at high risks. If someone found out that he was doing translation, then he would certainly face terrible punishments. What gave him the great courage to insist on academic studies? His experience in the years between 1966 and 1972 would be a reason. He was hurt almost to death, so he was not afraid of death anymore and he knew anything might happen. Another reason might be his passion towards studies developed when he was in Germany. The third reason would be the

¹⁷⁵ Law, Kam-Yee. (2003). P. 1.

Qian, Wenzhong. (2007). It was a speech addressed in the Shanghai Library on 12th May 2007.

¹⁷⁷ Ji, Xianlin. (2008). P. 91.

¹⁷⁸ Ji Xianlin Research Institute. (2008).

German academic spirits in his re-identification that no matter what happened to him, he would still persist in his academic studies with all his efforts, just as the professors he saw during the bombardments in the Second World War. Last but not least, his appreciation of German thoroughness could be seen here. Ji Xianlin kept the translation in the form of poems. When he was at home, he translated a part of *Ramayana* into prose and wrote the section onto a small piece of paper. During the next day, he would think over how to translate the prose into poem. Then he repeated this until he finally finished the translation. ¹⁷⁹

5.1.3 Years after 1978

This period was Ji Xianlin's golden time in China, during which he accomplished large quantities of academic researches and writings. He received considerable awards home and abroad. Since the Open-Up Reform in 1978, Chinese economy boomed. Accordingly, Chinese intellectuals regained their respect and freedom to carry out studies. Ji Xianlin not only continued his Indian Studies, such as Sanskrit and Tocharian, but also pursued in a wide range of subjects, such as Comparative Literature studies, Intercultural Communications, Linguistics, Foreign Languages Teaching, Translation, International Relations, Chinese studies, and etc. 180

During this time, he spent more than twenty years concentrating on a scholarly project, *History of Sugar*, which had only two previous relevant parallel complete researches done by Professor von Lippmann, a German scholar, and Professor Deerr, an English intellectual. The result of his research was published in a book, *History of Sugar*, which encompasses the entire history of sugar in the world from a perspective of intercultural

¹⁷⁹ Ji, Xianlin. (2008). P. 92.

¹⁸⁰ Qian, Wenzhong. (2009). Wenzhong You Hua. (Words between Lines)

communications. In order to collect resources, Ji Xianlin looked through and read all the related books in the library day and night at the age of 80. The library was far from his home, but he kept going there, be it was raining or snowing, be it was 35 degrees in summer time or on frozen cold winter days. 181 Mr. Ji read through the whole set of Siku Quanshu (also known as the Imperial Collection of Four)¹⁸²

He gained international recognition for his research and translations. Meanwhile, he was a good writer, linguist, historian, educator, and active leading person in intercultural communications and comparative literature studies. He wrote a lot of books about his thoughts and his experience. One book, Niupeng Zayi (Memory of the Cultural Revolution) was written without taking into account the risk of publishing the book. He hoped this book could show how a true Cultural Revolution was and remind younger generations not to repeat the same faults and craze. When he was 84 years old, he was still working over 8 hours per day to do academic researches. 183 One day before his decease, he was still interviewed by CCTV (Chinese Central TV Station). He was versatile in humanity studies and continued a lifelong academic research. Many people went to visit him, including high officials, media, his students and friends, as well as strangers. He welcomed them in a very polite way and respected everyone. His room was always the same: small and simple, even a little shabby, but full of books. He often said eight words to others, "aiguo, xiaoqin, zunshi, zhongyou" (Love your country, care for your parents, respect your teachers, and cherish your friends). 184 He put forward a definition of "Grand Chinese Studies" in which the philosophy and history of every ethnic group in China should be included. This respect was likely an impact from how his professors treated him, regardless of his origin. Due to all the things he had done, many Chinese people admired him. He was regarded highly. His death has caused a stir

 $^{^{181}}$ Ji, Xianlin. (2008). Pp. 259-260. 182 Siku Quanshu, which used to be the world's most complete encyclopedia in Ming Dynasty, is the largest collection of books in Chinese history.

³ Cai, Degui. (1995). Pp.61-65.

¹⁸⁴ CCTV. (2009). Mianhuai Ji Xianlin. (Ji Xianlin in Memory).

in China. A senior Chinese journalist, writer and Ji Xianlin's student, Bian Yufang, comments that, "Ji Xianlin is a cultural phenomenon." 185

5.1.4 Discussion: Representations of Cultural Influences from Ji Xianlin's German Stay

After he returned to China, the influence from his German stay can be traced through his life and scholarly deeds. As discussed above, Ji Xianlin's cultural identity was re-constructed in Germany with new parts such as the four outcomes of cultural hybridity. With regard to Homi K Bhabha's theory, people start to recognize their identity in the moment of transit when space and time cross to produce complicated figures of "difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion."186 What were the "past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion" here for Ji Xianlin? They represented differences from those during his stay in Germany. "Past" referred to his formative years and his ten-year stay in Germany, and "Present" was his life after he returned to China; "inside", his feelings, thoughts, and ideologies, and "outside", the domestic situation; "inclusion", the aspect that shared things in common with him, and "exclusion" meant discrepancies for him. These factors interacted to make Ji Xianlin aware of his identity. For the analysis, it would follow these complex elements to discuss the representations of cultural influences on Ji Xianlin during his stay in Germany after he went back to China. His passion and perseverance in academic research were originated in Germany under the influence of his professors' academic spirits. Then this outcome in his re-identity construction seemed never to fade away. Instead, because of the agony in the Cultural Revolution, it increased. I would make a bold hypothesis that during the ten years (1966-1976), Ji

¹⁸⁵ Bian, Yufang. (2009). In a TV program Zhuiyi Jixianlin. (Mourning Ji Xianlin).

¹⁸⁶ Bhabha, Homi K. (2004). P. 2.

Jia TAN.

Xianlin again sensed the *otherness* and *ourness*. The mere difference was that the *otherness* was current Chinese situation and the society, while *ourness* was his own passion towards academic research, peace, and original conscience. According to Homi K. Bhabha, cultural identification is through a process of alterity from an ex-centric position and represents social experience as the contingency of history. As for Ji Xianlin, his new cultural identity with cultural hybridity between Chinese cultures and German cultures distinguished him from many other Chinese people. As a result, he was again to some extent located in an ex-centric position. He was very likely to assume his stay in Germany as an image of identity: people around him in the World War Two still concentrated on their own academic research and cared about their family; he developed his enthusiasm for and gained pleasures from his every momentary progress in research. This functioned during and after the Cultural Revolution. Correspondingly, he stuck to concentrating on academic research whole-heartedly to recall this memory and maintained this identity. 188

His patriotism was rational with no political elements. He did not criticize others in the movements and insisted on issuing a book to disclose the reality in the Cultural Revolution which was regarded as problematic because of some possible dangerous results. On one hand, it was because of his personal experiences and conscience. On the other hand, it was likely because that he did not want to see a craze connecting patriotism and politics which lead to extreme nationalism like that in Nazi Germany. He had a family with only respect and no quarrels despite probably with no love, this may result from his experience with his landlady who lost his husband and became very lonely and helpless in the Second World War so that he knew how important a husband meant to his wife; besides, Ji Xianlin may feel guilty and respectful towards his wife as he answered his student why he would give up his love in Germany but return to China

¹⁸⁷ Bhabha, Homi K. (1999). Pp. 193-197.

¹⁸⁸ See Chapter Three, Four and Five in this thesis to get background information about the examples listed.

that she was a good wife. Every day, he got up at 4 am and slept at 9 am.¹⁸⁹ This was probably a reflection from the routine life in Germany and a way of recalling his good memory in Germany. He showed respects towards everyone and every culture. He put forward a definition of "Grand Chinese Studies" in which the philosophy and history of every ethnic group in China should be included. This respect was likely an impact from how his professors treated him, regardless of his origin. He stressed the importance of harmony and peace, the inner peace and the domestic peace, as well as the world peace. This would be a consequence from the turbulence he experienced during the Second World War and the Cultural Revolution.¹⁹⁰ Therefore, cultural influences on Ji Xianlin during his stay in Germany can be seen in his later life through his career in academia, his family harmony, his living patterns, his manners, and his thoughts.

5.2 Comparisons with Other Overseas Chinese Students

For the overseas Chinese students in Germany, they share the same experience of studying abroad but they receive different cultural influences. The history would be a crucial factor. One may argue that the Chinese students have their origins in common which form their history before they go abroad. In this sense, the argument is correct. Yet, these are just from a collective point of view, provided they are born in the same period and region. Even if all these match, their families, education, and other experiences would differ one from another. These differences would shape their dissimilar history and finally construct their diversified cultural identities to have different cultural influences. Therefore, it is worthwhile to compare Ji Xianlin with other two Chinese celebrities who once studied in Germany to discuss their differences in cultural influence that produced during their overseas study. On one hand, it can be a

¹⁸⁹ Zhang, Baosheng. (2009). http://www.sxgov.cn/

¹⁹⁰ See Chapter Three, Four and Five in this thesis to get background information about the examples listed.

way to prove the theories I employ in this thesis. On the other hand, it can draw similarities and differences in the comparisons to analyze and generalize the cultural influence on overseas Chinese students.

5.2.1 Cai Yuanpei (1868 -1940)

Cai Yuanpei was born in 1868 in a merchant's family in Zhejiang Province, South China. He received traditional Chinese education, and ranked the third in the Imperial Examination. Then he was admitted to work in the *Hanlin Yuan* (the highest Imperial Academy). In Beijing, the capital city of Qing government, Cai Yuanpei learnt of the advanced Western knowledge and showed sympathy towards forefathers of Hundred Days' Reform. He thought the failure of the Reform lay in the lack of cultivating enough participants. Thus, he decided to go to Germany to study and have a look at how they educated people. In the year 1907, Cai Yuanpei, at the age of 40, gave up the well-off life as a high official in China and began his studies in Germany without scholarships. He worked during his studies. He did not like the life in Berlin. He went to Leipzig University where he studied pedagogy, philosophy, European and German Cultural history as well as arts. ¹⁹¹ In Germany, he managed to study as quick and much as possible. ¹⁹² In 1911, he finished his studies and returned to China. In 1916, he became President of Beijing University. ¹⁹³

Concerning his contribution to the modernization of China's education system, Cai Yuanpei introduced the German education management system into one of China's best universities Beijing University and succeeded in the introduction of a newly free academic atmosphere. Due to this, Beijing University got rid of, to a large extent, its

¹⁹¹ Chen, Hongjie. (2000). Pp. 157-158.

¹⁹² Cai, Jianguo. (2000). P. 171.

¹⁹³ Chen, Hongjie. (2000). Pp. 159.

previous chaotic studying ambiance. Reforms in universities and schools started from then on, aiming at establishing an all-embracing academic realm where no dictation would appear and every school of thoughts could have its own stand. He introduced German philosophy, aesthetics, and democratic education systems into China. Until today, Cai Yuanpei is still considered to be the best president of Beijing University, who held sway among modern Chinese educators, and one of the top 100 patterns in modern China.

5.2.2 Zhu De (1886-1976)

Zhu De was born in 1886 in Sichuan. He was poor and funded by his uncle for education in a Sishu, (Chinese Traditional School). He entered Yunnan Military Academy in 1909 and took part in Chinese Tongmenghui (also known as the Chinese United League) in the same year. He participated in the Xinhai Revolution in 1911. He used to work for a warlord as a brigade commander. Then his application for a membership was refused by the Communist Party because of his warlord experience. 197

He went to Germany to seek for chances to participate in the Communist Party. In Berlin, he met Zhou Enlai¹⁹⁸ and was permitted to become a Communist Party member. Zhu De studied social science in Goettingen University and founded *Chinese Students' Union* there with other Chinese students. Their main task was to introduce China to German people and to gain sympathy and support from Germany for Chinese revolution. He was finally expelled from the German government because his leading role in a number of protests. He went to Goettingen University in 1923 and left in December

¹⁹⁴ Li, Xiaoming. (2009). http://myy.cass.cn/file/2009050533585.html

¹⁹⁵ Cai, Jianguo. (2000). P. 169.

¹⁹⁶ People Online News. (2009). http://shuangbai.people.com.cn/GB/158065/159060/9536241.html

¹⁹⁷ Xinhua News Agency. (2003). http://news. xinhuanet. com/ziliao/2003-01/17

¹⁹⁸ Zhou Enlai, a founder of Chinese Red Army, was later Premier of People's Republic of China.

1924. Then he went to Soviet Union to study military affairs in 1925 and went back to China one year later. 199

In China, Zhu De was active in revolution and politics. He was a good militarist and got along very well with others. The world called the two chief leaders of Communist Party in China *Zhu Mao*. Zhu was Zhu De, and Mao was Mao Zedong. Without Zhu De, the Communist Party may not have been successful. Zhu De was the person who was an expert in military, while Mao Zedong was in politics.²⁰⁰

5.2.3 Comparisons and Discussions

Pertaining to original identification, all of them received both traditional and modern education. Zhu De and Ji Xianlin were both poor and financed by their uncles. Cai Yuanpei was born in a rich merchant family. Cai Yuanpei and Zhu De were both concerned with the future of China and were eager to contribute to their country in the form of fundamental revolutions; the reasons might be that Cai Yuanpei learned of western advance and saw the turbulent situation in China with the corruption in the Chinese government. For Zhu De, his military education and poor background may let him become very patriotic and eager to change his own and the country's situation. The differences between them were the fields of their dedications. Cai Yuanpei worked in the field of education to seek for changes, while Zhu De turned to politics and revolutions. Yet, as for Ji Xianlin, he seemed not much involved in these public revolutions or reformations. Ji Xianlin cared more about personal developments, even though he was born in Shandong Province, a previous center of the Boxing Uprising. Cai Yuanpei and Zhu De were more pro-modernization than Ji Xianlin, though they

¹⁹⁹ Sun, Kuizhen. (2009). P. 3.

²⁰⁰ Ifeng TV. (2009). Fengfan Da Guo Min: Zhu De. (Excellent Chinese People: Zhu De).

were older than him. They breached the tradition and absorbed new thoughts. Ji Xianlin was more traditional in a way of accepting his arranged marriage and obeying to his parents' arrangement to go to Shandong.²⁰¹

Concerning their reasons to go abroad, Zhu De wanted to participate in Chinese Communist Party. His reason to study abroad was out of politics. Cai Yuanpei went abroad because he was eager to see the German advanced education, to study their philosophy and way of teaching, and then cultivated Chinese students in a similar way. He hoped that by doing this more people would become qualified in achieving a fundamental revolution to strengthen China. Ji Xianlin dreamed to go abroad for reasons of personal development. He wanted to have a promising future. ²⁰²

On an account of their life in Germany, Cai Yuanpei had no scholarship so he worked while he studied abroad to finance his study. He worked very hard and studied a lot in order to return to China with as much knowledge as possible to modernize Chinese education and cultivate more excellent people so as to construct a newly united China. Zhu De participated in political activities, and contacted a lot with Chinese students there due to the Chinese Students' Union. Ji Xianlin also went to the Goettingen University, except that he did not participate in any political activities. He stayed much longer than them. During the ten years, he concentrated on his studies and was more involved in the German society than in the Chinese community in Germany. He suffered from bombardments and hungers. He felt the thoroughness of German people, and was impressed by their kindness and academic spirits. For him, German cultural influence would be more, accounting for the length of his stay, the activities he participated in Germany, and the people he mainly got along with.²⁰³

²⁰¹ See the original identification of Ji Xianlin in Chapter Three and those of Cai Yuanpei and Zhu De in Chapter Five of the thesis to get background information about the examples listed.
²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ See Ji Xianlin's Stay in Germany in Chapter Four and Cai Yuanpei and Zhu De in Chapter Five in this thesis to get background information about the examples listed.

Jia TAN.

As far as the cultural influences were concerned, for Cai Yuanpei, his German stay provided him with necessities to carry out the education reforms. German university system, academic freedom, classic philosophy and aesthetics equipped him with sufficient examples to copy. Concerning Zhu De, German stay was a determinant landmark in his life. During the stay, he became a Chinese Communist Party member. His political life was active in Goettingen. Since then, his whole life was about politics, military strategies, and revolutions. As for Ji Xianlin, he was influenced mainly through an increase in the rational patriotism, the academic spirits, appreciation for its thoroughness, and his attitude towards another culture.

It is clear from the comparison that even with similar backgrounds and similar destinations, cultural influence on individuals may still vary. The determinant factors can be concluded as below: the social structure, ²⁰⁵ the self-determination activities, ²⁰⁶ the relation to *otherness*, in a splitting space, ²⁰⁷ and the complicated figures produced by displacement of location and time from "difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion."

Furthermore, the life of Ji Xianlin in Germany was more possible to resonate with that of the students' nowadays with respect to his focus on studies. Zhu De and Cai Yuanpei, who prepared for their later epoch-making contributions, were beyond the reach of the masses. Someone may argue that Ji Xianlin's experience was also not repeatable, because of the Second World War, the internal wars and Japanese invasion wars into China in his time. This is quite true. Nonetheless, regarding to his nostalgia, his cultural re-identification, his efforts in studying and the like, all these are reproducible and familiar to every

²⁰⁴ See Chapter Four and Five in this thesis to get background information about the examples listed.

²⁰⁵ Baldwin, Elain. (2004). P.30.

²⁰⁶ Frank, Jill. (2004). P.93.

²⁰⁷ Bhabha, Homi K. (2004). Pp. 63-64.

²⁰⁸ Ibid. P.2.

generation of overseas Chinese students.

Therefore, the comparison verified my hypothesis that cultural influences are not only connected to the dominant culture but also to the original cultural and sometimes they turn out to promote the original cultural awareness and are established according to people's perceptions and reflections through encounters with other cultures. In the above three cases of Cai Yuanpei, Zhu De, and Ji Xianlin, when we follow the line from their origins, their reasons to go abroad, and their life in Germany, as well as their later developments, we come to know the cultural influences on them respectively.

6. Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, cultural influences on Ji Xianlin during his ten-year stay in Germany are summarized and interpreted from his identification perspective through the determinant factors in the shaping process. The thesis shed light on the forming process of the cultural influences on Ji Xianlin from 1935 to 1945 in Germany through discussing the original cultural identity construction and re-identification in the discourse of cultural hybridity as well as the analysis of the representations in later developments including a comparison with other two Chinese who studied in Germany and returned to China. To be more specific, the whole life of Ji Xianlin was mentioned with a focus on his ten-year stay in Germany. Homi K. Bhabha's cultural hybridity theory and other identification conceptions in the cultural and sociological studies provided a theoretical support to shed light on the whole process of re-identification and the outcomes of cultural hybridity in this chapter.

Concerning Ji Xianlin's original identification, Chinese tradition shadowed on him deeply so that western influence on him through his school time and university life did not shake his traditional Chinese roots but drove him to go abroad leaving his family behind with an aim to have a promising career after he returned. Nevertheless, probably he was not sure what a better future really meant at that time.

During his ten-year stay, he clearly recognized his *ourness* (*being a Chinese*) and *otherness* (*German culture*) through the exposure in a completely different culture. He was confronted with internal and external cultural differences, conflicts and paradoxes with respect to social life, studies, work, love, friendship and career developments. Nostalgia and loneliness intensified his love towards his country. The academic spirits of German professors left him deep impressions, such as Professor Waldschmidt, Professor

Sieg and the two professors during the Second World War. He gained enthusiasm for academic studies. During the ten years 1935 -1945, he established his social network in Germany. Because of this, he mentioned German life through every individual instead of a whole group after he sensed the diversity gradually. All these small changes emerged step by step during his stay in Germany. Meanwhile, his original identity impacted his perceptions of the German culture and finally, to some extent, determined his re-identification and cultural hybridity outcomes in Germany.

The relationship and representations of the cultural hybridity outcomes during the German stay in his later developments were discussed after he returned to China. These cultural influences can be traced through his academic career, daily life, manners, and ideologies mainly in the four aspects as continuances of the cultural hybridity outcomes in Germany. Comparisons were made between Ji Xianlin and another two Chinese celebrities, Cai Yuanpei and Zhu De, which clarified the reasons why their cultural influences would be different. Firstly, they had different original identities. Although they grew up in the same cultural location: China, they were born in different years, and had different family backgrounds, different experiences, and different reflections and aims to go abroad. Secondly, their activities in Germany were different and the lengths of their stay were varied. Thus, the determinate elements to decide cultural influences were the original identities, the aims to go abroad and the experiences during the overseas stay. The cultural influences were shaped through every single intercultural interaction and the perception of the students themselves.

Therefore, the cultural influences on Ji Xianlin during his stay in Germany were established through complicated factors, which were closely connected to: first, his original identification including his upbringing experiences and the social structure he was located in at that time; second, his stay in Germany including the German culture, the cultural hybrid, the people he got along with, and the activities he participated in. Among

these factors, Ji Xianlin's perceptions of his cultural identity played an important role. Due to these thoughts, he decided his behaviors and activities. Moreover, he picked the acceptable parts from German culture to form his own new cultural identity, which were represented as outcomes of cultural hybridity, namely, the cultural influences. Thus, his cultural influences were not only connected to the dominant culture (German culture) but also to his original Chinese culture and they turned out to promote his cultural awareness and were established according to his own perceptions and reflections through encounters with cultural differences and conflicts in Germany.

In the process of writing, the author found that the cultural influences were not easy to analyze by following a line of the identity construction. Although, in daily life, people easily commented someone was influenced in another culture, in academic studies, it seemed complicated to define what the cultural influences exactly were, especially in the analysis of exact cultural influences. Prior to writing this thesis, the author had expected possible difficulties and challenges and mentioned them in the introduction; as a matter of fact, it was even more difficult than imagined.

As a result, there would be limits in the analysis of the cultural influences on Ji Xianlin during his stay in Germany. The author mainly analyzed from intercultural interactions between German culture and Chinese culture in the case of Ji Xianlin. However, it cannot be denied that Ji Xianlin might probably be influenced by Indian culture. His major was Indian Studies with focuses on Sanskrit and Tocharian. These were directly related to Indian culture. Nevertheless, the lengths of the thesis may not permit this angle, meanwhile it was not very related to the author's intention of writing this thesis, and furthermore, it might be problematic to find the resources to shed light on the Indian cultural influences on him.

There had been a doubt about whether or not it would be necessary in this thesis to

include the whole life of Ji Xianlin rather than only his stay in Germany. With the application of relevant cultural concepts and theories, Homi K. Bhabha's cultural hybridity theory in particular, the function of original identity was highlighted. It was the determined factor. In the analysis of Ji Xianlin's cultural hybridity outcomes during the stay in Germany, the author found Ji Xianlin's strengthened rational patriotism was due to his clear recognition of ourness. Having been confronted with otherness, Ji Xianlin intensified his awareness of ourness. If the original identification had not been discussed, how could the thesis say what the ourness for him was? If this could not be clarified, how could there be a conclusion that the cultural hybridity outcome, which was also the cultural influence here, was the intensified rational patriotism? Concerning the hypothesis, it would also be necessary to analyze the original identification of Ji Xianlin to discuss the relationship between cultural influences and the original culture. Thus, the formative years of Ji Xianlin was indispensable to the analysis of cultural influences on him during his stay in Germany. For many people, discussions of the later developments may be the most important. Nonetheless, in this thesis, the stay in Germany was the most important. The cultural influences are likely to be connected with the later developments to examine whether or not they are correct. Yet, the analysis of the cultural influences was through the identification, which was unfixed and continued to be reconstructed. Thus, the author thought it might be more important to focus on Ji Xianlin's stay in Germany than his later life in China. In addition, cultural hybridity outcomes can be regarded as cultural influences, whereas they can also be thought as something appearing prior to the cultural influences.

To conclude, cultural influences on Ji Xianlin during his stay in Germany linked with his later achievements. They were shaped from complex factors that constructed Ji Xianlin's cultural identity. These cultural influences were not only direct representations and imitations of the German culture such as the academic spirits and appreciation of German thoroughness, but also intensification of his Chinese cultural awareness such as his

rational patriotism and sense of responsibilities towards family. Meanwhile, there was also something in-between. He became more objective to treat different cultures instead of stereotyping them.

7. Bibliography

- Alcoff, Linda Martin. (2003). Introduction: Identities: Modern and Postmodern. In Alcoff, Linda Martin & Mendieta, Eduardo. (Ed.) *Identities: Race, Class, Gender,* and Nationality. Pp. 1-9. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Alumni Goettingen. (2009). The University of Goettigen mourns the death of the Chinese academic Dr. Ji Xianlin. Retrieved on November 4th 2009 from Goettigen University website: http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/118669.html.
- 3. American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition. (2000). Boston, Mass. [u.a.]: Houghton Mifflin.
- 4. Baldwin, Elaine. (2004). Introducing Cultural Studies. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.
- 5. Beijing TV News. (2009). Daily Evening News. 12th July 2009.
- Bhabha, Homi K. (1999). The Postcolonial and the Postmodern: The Question of Agency. In During, Simon. (ed.). *The Cutlural Studies Reader.* (2nd Edition). Pp. 189-208. London and New York: Routledge.
- 7. Bhabha, Homi K. (2004). The Location of Culture. New York: Routledge.
- 8. Bian, Yufang. (2009). Zhuiyi Jixianlin. (Mourning Ji Xianlin). Retrieved 25th November 2009 from the People Website: http://tv.people.com.cn/GB/160622/9646512.html

- 9. Bian, Yufang. (2009). Ji Lao Zunzhong Lishi, Xieguo de Riji Yizi Bugai. (Ji Xianlin Respected the history, and Did not Change a Single Word of His Kept Diaries).

 Retrieved 24th November 2009 from the People Website: http://tv.people.com.cn/GB/160622/9646508.html
- Brazier, Chris. (2001). The No-Nonsense Guide to World History. Oxford: New Internationalist Publications Ltd.
- Buchvorstellung Programm. (2009). Ji Xianlin "10 Jahre in Deutschland" Buchvorstellung. Retrieved September 15th 2009 from Goettingen University Website: http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/123720.html
- 12. Cai, Degui. (1995). Xueguanzhongwai De Jixianlin Xiansheng (Ji Xianlin: Conversant with both Chinese and International Past and Present). In *Wen Shi Zhe* (*Literature, History, and Philosophy*), vol. 5, pp. 61-66. Jinan: Shandong University Press.
- 13. Cai, Jianguo. (2000). Eigenheiten chinesischer im Ausland studierender Intellektueller der Neuzeit: Cai Yuanpeis Studienaufenthalt in Deutschland. (Peculiarities of Overseas Chinese Students Intellectuals of the New Times: The Stay of Cai Yuanpei in Germany). In Kaderas, Chiristoph. & Hong, Meng. (ed.). (2000). 120 Jahre chinesische Studierende an deutschen Hochschulen. (120 Years Chinese Students in German Higher Education). Pp. 167-180. Bonn: DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service).
- 14. CCTV. (2009). Mianhuai Ji Xianlin. (Ji Xianlin in Memory). Retrieved 10th November 2009 from: http://space.tv.cctv.com/video/VIDE1247936716343887.

- 15. Chen, Fengxiang, and Lin, Liyue. (2002). Zhongguo Jindaishi. (Chinese Modern History). Taipei: Wu-Nan Book Inc.
- 16. Chen, Hongjie. (2000). Cai Yuanpei und die Rezeption der deutschen klassischen Universitaetidee in China Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts. In Kaderas, Christoph. & Hong, Meng. (ed.). 120 Jahre chinesische Studierende an deutschen Hochschulen. (120 Years Chinese Student in German Higher Education). Pp. 156-166. Bonn: DAAD.
- 17. Chen, Xiaomei. (2002). Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- 18. China Daily Online News. (2009). Indian PM Sends Condolences over Ji's Death.

 Retrieved 16th November 2009 from: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/
- 19. Chinese Embassy in Germany. (2008). Chinese Students in Germany. Retrieved 20th
 November 2009 from: http://www.de-moe.edu.cn/
- 20. CNKI Database. (2009). Retrieved November 3rd 2009 from CNKI Database: http://epub.cnki.net/
- 21. DAAD Alumnus. (2009). Ji Xianlin Gestorben. Retrieved 19th September 2009 from: http://www.daad-magazin.de/11272/index.html
- 22. DAAD China Info. (2005). 70 Jahre DAAD-Austausch zwischen China und Deutschland. (70 Years DAAD-Exchange between China and Germany). In *Die Zeitschrift der DAAD Aussenstelle in Beijing. Juni 2005*. Beijing: DAAD Org.

- 23. Du Gay, Paul. & Hall, Stuart. (1996). Questions of Cultural Identity. London: Sage.
- 24. Duszak, Anna. (2009). Discourses "off Course"? In Renkema, Jan.(ed.). Discourse, of Course. An Overview of Research in Discourse Studies. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- 25. Fischer, Klaus P. (1998). Nazi Germany: A New History. New York: Barnes & Noble Books.
- 26. Frank, Jill. (2004). Citizens, Slaves, and Foreigners: Aristotle on Human Nature. In American Political Science Review, Vol. 98, No. 1, pp. 91-104. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association.
- 27. Freud, Sigmund. (2004). The Interpretation of Dreams. Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing.
- 28. Fulbrook, Mary. (2002). History of Germany, 1918-2000: the Divided Nation. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- 29. Goettingen Masterminds. (2009). Retrieved 10th October 2009 from: http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/90011.html
- 30. Guan, Huiping. (2009). Speeches on Integrating into German Culture. Goettingen: Chinese Christian Fellowship.
- 31. Harnisch, Thomas. (2000). Militaerische Ausbildung und Universitaetsausbildung: Chinesisches Deutschlandsstudium vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg. (Military Training and University Education of Chinese Students in Germany before the First World War).

- In Kaderas, Chiristoph. & Hong, Meng. (ed.). (2000). *120 Jahre chinesische Studierende an deutschen Hochschulen*. (120 Years Chinese Students in German Higher Education). Pp. 19-43. Bonn: DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service).
- Hall, Stuart. (2000). The Question of Cultural Identity. In Kate Nash.(ed). Readings
 in Contemporary Political Sociology. Pp. 115-122. Malden: Blackwell Publishers
 Ltd.
- 33. Hiroko, Takeda. (2008). Country: Delicious Food in a Beautiful Country: Nationhood and Nationalism in Discourses on Food in Contemporary Japan. In *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism: Vol. 8, No. 1.* Retrieved 1st July 2009 from Jstor database: http://www.jstor.org
- 34. Huang, Yi. (1995). Der deutsche Einfluss auf die Entwicklung des chinesischen Bildungswesens von 1871 bis 1918: Studien zu den Kulturellen Aspekten der deutsch-chinesischen Beziehungen in der Aera des deutschen Kaiserreichs. (The German Influence on Chinese Education Developments from 1871 to 1918: Studies from the Cultural Aspect of Sino-German Relatioship in the Era of the German Empire). Frankfurt am Main (u.a.): Lang.
- 35. Huddart, David. (2006). Homi K. Bhabha. New York: Routledge.
- 36. Ifeng TV. (2009). Fengfan Da Guo Min: Zhu De. (Excellent Chinese People: Zhu De). Broadcast on 1st August 2009.
- 37. Ifeng TV. (2009). Wo De Zhongguo Xin. (My Chinese Heart: Ji Xianlin). Broadcast on 7th February 2009.

- 38. Ji, Xianlin. (1933). 25TH May Diary. In *Qinghua Yuan Riji.* (*Diaries in Qinghua University*). (2009) Retrieved 20th July 2009 from Sina Online Library: http://vip.book.sina.com.cn/book/chapter_100427_62342.html
- 39. Ji, Xianlin. (1999). Ji Xianlin Sanwen Quanbian (Volume 1). (Collected Prose Works of Ji Xianlin). Beijing: China Radio and Television Publishing House.
- 40. Ji, Xianlin. (2004). Liu De Shi Nian. (Ten Years in Germany). Beijing: China Renmin University Press.
- 41. Ji, Xianlin. (2006). Wo De Xin Shi Yimian Jingzi. (My Heart Is a Mirror). Retrieved 22nd November 2009 from: http://book.sina.com.cn/
- 42. Ji, Xianlin. (2008). Wo De Xueshu Rensheng. (My Academic Life). Beijing: China Society Press.
- 43. Ji, Xianlin. (2009). Ji Xianlin Tan Dushu Yu Zuoren. (Ji Xianlin. On Reading and Behaving). Retried 23rd November 2009 from ifeng online book resource: http://book.ifeng.com/book.php?book_id=1921
- 44. Ji Xianlin Research Institute. (2008). Ji Xianlin Nianpu. (A Chronicle of Ji Xianlin). Retrieved 20th November 2009 from: http://www.chinakongzi.org/
- 45. Jstor Database. (2009). Retrieved November 3rd 2009 from jstor database: http://www.jstor.org/action/
- 46. Kang, Youwei. (1995). De Guo You Ji. (The third volume). In *Kang Youwei Yigao: Lieguo Youji*. Shanghai: ShangHai People Press.

- 47. Kirk, Tim. (2007). Nazi Germany. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 48. Kubin, Wolfgang. (2000). Zhang Baihua (1896-1986) und sein aesthetisches Werk.
 (Zhang Baihua 1896 -1986 and his aesthetic works). In Kaderas, Chiristoph. & Hong, Meng. (ed.). (2000). 120 Jahre chinesische Studierende an deutschen Hochschulen. (120 Years Chinese Students in German Higher Education).
 Pp.139-145. Bonn: DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service).
- 49. Lane, Allen. (2005). The Third Reich in Power. 1933-1939. New York: Penguin Books.
- 50. Law, Kam-Yee. (2003). Chinese Cultural Revolution Reconsidered: Beyond Purge and Holocaust. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 51. Li, Shixun. (2000). Hu Lanqi, eine legendaere Frau. (Hu Lanqi, a Legendary Woman). In Kaderas, Christoph. & Hong, Meng. (ed.). 120 Jahre chinesische Studierende an deutschen Hochschulen. (120 Years Chinese Student in German Higher Education). Pp. 150-156. Bonn: DAAD.
- 52. Li, Xiaoming. (2009). Sha Jiansun: Cai Yuanpei Tichang "Jianrongbingbao" Bingfei Wu Yuanze de Jianshoubingxu. (Sha Jiansun: Cai Yuanpei Provocate "All-embracing academic atmosphere" Does not Mean Intake All Opinions Without Principles).

 Retrieved on September 29th 2009 from:

 http://myy.cass.cn/file/2009050533585.html
- 53. Ma, Dingsheng. (2009). Fengfan Da Guomin: Ji Xianlin Aishang Jimo. (Respectful Chinese: Ji Xianlin Liked Loneliness). This is a TV program broadcast by Ifeng TV

on 15th August 2009.

- 54. Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. (2009). Chuguo Liuxue Gongzuo Jianjie. (An Overview of the Overseas Students). Retrieved 10th December 2009 from: http://www.moe.edu.cn/
- 55. Nees, Greg. (2000). Germany: Unraveling An Enigma. Yarmoth: Intercultural Press.
- 56. Oliver, Frederick Scott. (2008). Ordeal by Battle. Torrance: Martin Press.
- 57. Olson, Gary A. and Worsham, Lynn. (1999). Staging the Politics of Difference: HomiK. Bhabha's Critical Literacy. In *Race, Rhetoric, and the Postcolonial*. New York:State University of New York Press.
- 58. People Online News. (2009). Xuejie Taidou, Renshi Kaimo. (A leading educator and modeling gentlemen.) Retrieved on October 1st 2009 from the People website: http://shuangbai.people.com.cn/GB/158065/159060/9536241.html
- 59. Peterson, Brooks. (2004). Cultural Intelligence: A Guide to Working with People from Other Cultures. Yarmoth: Intercultural Press.
- 60. Qian, Wenzhong. (2007). Ji Xianlin: A Scholar and Elder. (A Speech on 12th May 2007) Retrieved 29th November 2009 from: http://www.chinakongzi.org
- 61. Qian, Wenzhong. (2009). Wenzhong You Hua. (Words between Lines). Yishu Renwen Channel. (Arts and Humanities Channel).
- 62. Qilu Online Video. (2009). Ji Xianlin's Qinqng Jiashi. (Ji Xianlin's Relatives and

- Family). Retrieved 22nd November 2009 from Qilu Website: http://vod.iqilu.com/content/index/251566
- 63. Scruton, Roger. (2007). Modern Culture. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- 64. Sina Online News. (2009). Shuqian Ren Qianwang Babaoshan Gongmu Songbie Jixianlin. (Thousands of People Went to Babaoshan Cemetery to Express their Condolences over the Death of Ji Xianlin.) Retrieved on October 13th 2009 from the Sina website: http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2009-07-20/021815978503s.shtml
- 65. Song, Junjian. (2009). Xixuedongjian Qian Bainian Suoyin. (A Brief Summary of the First Hundred Years' Westernization in China). Retrieved on September 18th 2009 from: http://www.xschina.org/show.php?id=13338
- 66. Sun, Kuizhen. (2009). Xunfan Zhude Tongzhi Zai Goettingen De Guju. (A Visit for Commrade Zhude in Goettingen). In *Zongheng. (Horizon and Vertical)*. Vol.3, pp. 3-5. Beijing: China Wenshi Press.
- 67. Sun, Ying. (1997). Aus dem Reich der Mitte in die Welt hinaus --- die Chinesischen Gesandtschaftsberichte ueber Europa unter besonderer Beruecksichtigung Deutschlands von 1866 bis 1906. (From the Kingdom in the Middle to in the World --- the Chinese Embassy Reports about Europe with Particular Reference to Germany from 1866 to 1906). Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- 68. Teitge, Dennis Wayne, Teitge, Joyce Smith and Weigert, Andrew J.(1986). Society and Identity: Toward a Sociological Psychology. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- 69. Viroli, Maurizo. (1997). For Love of Country: An Essay on Patriotism and Nationalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 70. Wagner, Peter. (2008). Modernity as Experience and Interpretation: A New Sociology of Modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 71. Wang, Yichu. (1966). Chinese Intellectuals and the West: 1872- 1949. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press.
- 72. Weston, Timothy. B. (2009). A Cultural Symbol Passes from the Scene: Ji Xianlin, Not Michael Jackson. In George Mason University's History News Network. Retrieved on 16th November 2009 from: http://hnn.us/roundup/entries/
- 73. Wilbur, C. Martin. (1965). Foreword. In Wang, Yichu. *Chinese Intellectuals and the West.* 1872-1949. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press.
- 74. Woodward, Kath. (2004). Questioning Identity: Gender, Class, Ethnicity. (2nd Edition). New York: Routledge.
- 75. Wright, David Curtis. (2001). The History of China. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- 76. Xiao, Qunjuan. & Zhang, Yaqun. (2007). 20 Shiji 20-30 Niandai Zhongguo Liude Jiaoyu Zongshu. (Studies on Chinese Overseas Education in Germany 1920s-1930s). In *Journal of Xuzhou Normal Uni (Philosophy and Sociences Edition), Vol. 33, No.5, September 2007.* Xuzhou: Xuzhou Normal University Press.
- 77. Xinhua News Agency. (2003). Zhu De. Retrieved 10th October 2009 from:

http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2003-01/17/content 693978.htm

- 78. Ye, Jun. (2002). Zhongguoren Liuxue Deguoshi Yanjiu Zhi Jinzhan. (Developments of the Studies on the History of Chinese Students in Germany). In Deguo Yanjiu. (German Studies). Vol. 4, Pp 57-61.
- 79. Ye, Jun. (2003). "Bahnbrehendes Werk" und "Sympathisches Verstaendnis". Lektuere des Beitrages" Chinesische Studenten in Deutschland Geschichte und Wirkung ihrer Studienaufenthalte in den Jahren von 1860 bis 1945" von Thomas Harnisch. In *Deutschland-Studien*, Vol. 18, Iss. 66. P. 51-53.
- 80. Ye, Jun. (2005). Ling Yizhong Xixue: Zhongguo Xiandai Liude Xueren Ji Qi Dui Deguo Wenhua De Jieshou (Another Learning from the West: Chinese Students in Germany and Their Acceptance of German Culture in Modern Times). Beijing: Beijing University Press.
- 81. Yu-Dembski, Dagmar. (2000). Studenten und Revolutionaere: Chinesen in Berlin (1929 1949). (Students and Revolutions: Chinese in Berlin 1929-1949). In Kaderas, Chiristoph. & Hong, Meng. (ed.). (2000). 120 Jahre chinesische Studierende an deutschen Hochschulen. (120 Years Chinese Students in German Higher Education). Bonn: DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service). Pp. 44-51.
- 82. Yuan, Qing. (1997). Minguo Shiqi Zhongguo Liude Xuesheng Yu Zhongde Wenhua Jiaoliu. (Chinese Students in Germany and Sino-German Cultural Communications during Minguo Period). In *Jnidaishi Yanjiu.* (*Modern History Studies*). Vol. 3. Pp. 235-249. Retrieved 15th July from: http://jds.cass.cn/
- 83. Zhang, Baosheng. (2009). Ji Xianlin Diyidai Xuesheng Zhuiyi Laoshi. (Ji Xianlin's

First Generation of Students Memorizing Him). 14th July 2009 Retrieved 24th September 2009 from Huanghe News: http://www.sxgov.cn/

84. Zhong, Shaohua. (1998). Liang Rengong Liuri Bainian Ji: Guanyu Zhishi Tixi de Wenhua Sikao. In *Xueren, vol.13. pp. 131-154*. Nanjing: Jiangsu Literature and Art Publishing House.