Hopeful Disappointment: Cultural Morphology and the Relation Between China and Europe

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Abstract This study focuses on the mutual artistic images shared between Europe and China so as to seek out and compare the current conditions of their cultural psychology. Above all, a theoretical argument will be made that Europe and China hold a special position in the establishment and development of the cultural psychology of the other. In this research, the image of this other is analyzed under the consideration of two aspects: The diagonal study focuses on the hidden cultural psychological structure in the image of the other, whilst the longitudinal research aims to outline the diachronic process of the change in the image of the other. Resorting to the theory of psychoanalysis, the shapes of cultural psychology and the development of two cultural entities—Europe and China—are subsequently sketched and compared. By these means, a new method of classifying cultural morphology is suggested; namely, cultural psychology is classified into four stages: the pre-Oedipal stage/mirror stage, the Oedipal stage, the post-Oedipal stage and the conciliatory stage. The present study proves that the China-image in Europe has gradually been freed from *Orientalism* over the past three decades, which is a sign of its standing at the entrance to conciliatory stage. The Europe-image in contemporary China is still steeped in *Occidentalism*, which indicates that China is still mired in the Oedipal stage. The encounter between the two different stages of Europe and China is discussed in order to find a better way to promote mutual understanding between the two and to make the cooperation more effective in the globalized world. Finally, this study speculates on the impetus that will propel China into the next stage.

Keywords Image · Psychoanalysis · Culture morphology · Orientalism · Occidentalism

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Introduction

We live in a world of images. For thousands of years, both in China and in Europe, myriad images of other nations have been produced. According to the theory of Pageaux (1989), images of another nation are a reflection, a projection of the society and culture of the image-maker. With this in mind, against the background of research on China's image in Europe and Europe's image in China, this study aims to: (1) Reveal the special psychological relationship between Europe and China; (2) Explore the morphological development of images as they relate to the cultural psychology of Europe and China; (3) Provide a new perspective for understanding the problems in the encounter between these two great culture circles. This study will be carried out in the following three steps: (1) Analysis of the images and classification of the developing phases of the images; (2) Research on the cultural psychological structures of Europe and China in every phase; (3) Construction and interpretation of the cultural morphological model with respect to psychoanalytical theory; (4) Discussion of the current phenomena created by the encounters between Europe and China, followed by a prognosis of their developing trend.

Properly speaking, the terms "Europe" and "China" in my study are not meant to refer to the geographical or political notion, but rather the concept of "culture circles" (Veit 2013, pp. 188–189; Hahn 2013, p. 357). They can be larger or smaller than the actual political area, and they can also change in different historical eras. Regardless of their exact definition, for each other they represent the stereotypical Far East and Far West at their extremes.

The main objects of study are the representative images of China and Europe in selected well-known Chinese and European travel books, historical literature, literary texts and films dating anywhere from the 4th century B.C.E. until today. In order to efficiently dig down past mainstream ideology to the deep level of cultural psychology, three presumptions will be made: (1) The images produced by news media are not considered objects of study because, according to Hall (1980), the production of news nowadays is entirely an ideological encoding process; (2) The main research objects after the 1980s are visual images in film, since in contemporary culture there is a widespread notion that "visual images have replaced words as the dominant mode of expression in our time" (Mitchell 2005, p. 5); (3) Especially the immanent power relation between the images will be taken into account. The "power relation" referred to here is to be understood as an internal hierarchical relation between two factors in an image, e.g. the relation between the West and the East, between the European and the Chinese, which can help us to elicit the essence of the image of the other.

The image of China in Europe has been widely researched (Lee 1991; Kubin 1995; Spence 1998; Mackerras 1999; Zhou 2006). Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) contains an appropriate illustration of such perceptions: It is a mirror image the Western ideology, which is produced to "define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (Said 2003, pp. 1–2), and has

"served as foils to the West at one time or another, either as idealized utopias, alluring and exotic dreamlands, or lands of eternal stagnation, spiritual purblindness, and ignorance" (Zhang 1988, p. 127).

Over the last two decades, the image of Europe in China has received more attention (Paau 1999; Uhalley and Wu 2001; Mei 2008). Working from a historical perspective, Pang (2006) amassed images of Europe in Chinese literature from the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E. to 220 C.E.) to the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) and used them to demonstrate the development in the Chinese perception of Europe. Since the late Qing Dynasty (after the Opium War of 1840), the image of Europe has become polarized. The perceptions have swung between a devil and a model (Paau 1999; Meng and Hirakawa 2000; Meng 2006). This phenomenon is called "Chinese Occidentalism" (Chen 1995, p. 5) and persists even to the present day.

The innovation of this study is that I will systematically outline and evaluate the development of the images of Europe and China by placing the cultural images side-by-side in a morphological model. Cultural morphology is primarily understood as the interdisciplinary study of the dynamic relations between folklore and region (Knobloch 2010, p. 116). It focuses on the parallel differences between cultures or civilizations. Moreover, it gives special regard to the consequences of their encounter as well, namely the impact and the conflict. There are generally two different research directions: synchronic and diachronic. *The Clash of Civilizations* of Samuel Huntington (1996) is a representative work in this field. The term "cultural morphology" is also related to research on the "laws of rise and decline" of "the great cultures of world history" (Knobloch 2010, p. 122), which aims to find out and predict how and why a culture changes. The works of Spengler (1918), Toynbee (1947), and Fukuyama (1992) belong to the most influential works in this aspect.

This study is a synthesis of the two research directions mentioned above. It discusses the diachronic development of the cultural psychology of Europe and China. At the same time, it also delves into the problems created by their encounters. Moreover, the classification and predication of most research so far are based on materials and systems, e.g. productivity, economic structure, social and political systems. By contrast, the innovation of this study lies in our assumption that, in addition to production conditions or the development of economy or industry, the immanent cultural psychological mechanism can also be treated as a significant criterion for cultural morphological classification.

A lot of studies have proven the mutual references between individual psychology and cultural psychology (Cooley 1902; Devereux 1978; Erdheim 1988; Fromm 1950; Lorenzer 1986, Gilbert et al. 1998). Thus, it has been widely recognized that "culture is an inextricable part of mental life. Culture must be seen as an inseparable part of people's psychological functioning…" (Magnusson and Marecek 2012, p. 19). Therefore, researching culture from a psychological perspective is an ontological return to the human being, to the core of cultural problems, and helps us to understand complex cultural phenomena and the relationship between cultures.

That is why the present study will make use of the psychoanalytic theories of Sigmund Freud (1948) and Jacques Lacan (1977, 1988, 1997) to interpret and predict the cultural development and cultural encounter of Europe and China.

Cultural Psychological Structure of China and Europe

As previous studies about the relationship of Europe and China have mainly focused on the politics, economy and history of cultural exchanges, any analysis and comparison of Europe and China on the basis of psychological theory will necessarily have great significance. In the present study, Europe and China as image-makers will be analyzed as personified collectives. In other words, they are assumed to be akin to individuals with a human psychology that can be illuminated with a quadrilateral psychological structure (Lacan 1977, pp. 193–194) (see Fig. 1). According to Lacan, an individual possesses a "subject", or rather, a false subject separated from the true one, as the nominal spokesperson of the individual (Lacan 1988, p. 244). In addition, there is "another subject" in this structure.[1] It is the subject of the unconscious. We can, for instance, assume that the author of a literary work is the subject of the work, because it seems that only the author can dominate the meaning of his or her own work. As a matter of fact, there is "another meaning" (Ingarden 1979, p. 70) that is latent, and which depends upon the language; namely, the use, structure and context of the language, including both the social and historical contexts. This other meaning is namely "another subject," referred to by Lacan as the "big Other" (*Autre*) (Lacan 1977, p. 312). The big Other is a symbolic order, the symbolic identity of the subject.[2] In the case of a human, the big Other must first of all be considered as a locus, and more specifically the locus in which speech is constituted (Lacan 1997, p. 274). In arguing that speech does not originate in the ego, nor even in the subject, but rather in the big Other, Lacan is stressing that speech and language are beyond one's conscious control; they come from another place, outside consciousness, and hence "the unconscious is the discourse of the Other" (Lacan 1977, p. 172). Similarly, what determines the "meaning" of a human individual is not his/her conscious, but his/her unconscious, which is constituted in the big Other. Under the mandate of the unconscious, the subject internalizes the question "what does the Other want of me?" (Lacan 1977, p. 316). This is what

[1] "The big Other designates radical alterity, an other-ness which transcends the illusory otherness of the imaginary because it cannot be assimilated through identification. Lacan equates this radical alterity with language and the law, and hence the big Other is inscribed in the order of the symbolic. Indeed, the big Other *is* the symbolic insofar as it is particularised for each subject. The Other is thus both another subject, in his radical alterity and unassimilable uniqueness, and also the symbolic order which mediates the relationship with that other subject." (Evans 2006, p. 136).

[2] "[T]he subject acquires a 'symbolic' identity that is different in kind from the 'imaginary' identity acquired at the level of the ego. Symbolic identification consists in being recognized by the big Other, thereby obviating the need for struggle at the imaginary level." (Cutrofello 2005, p. 168).

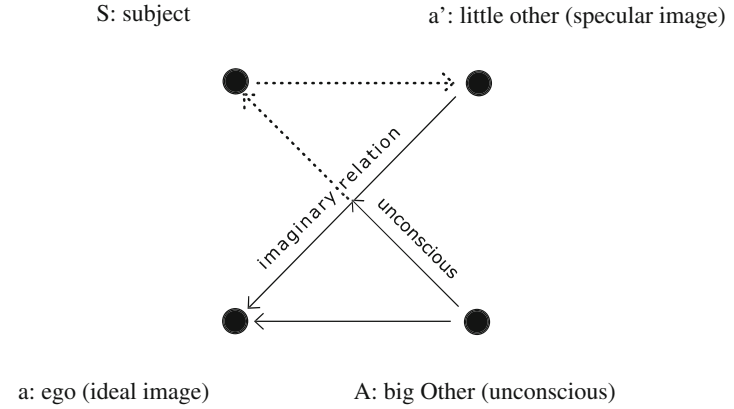


Fig. 1 Schema L of Lacan

Lacan means by his claim that man's desire is the desire of the Other (Lacan 1977, pp. 264, 312). The big Other is constituted by internalizing the authority of the extrinsic parents' orders and the laws (Caudill 1997, p. 159). Thus, it is an operation that mediates the relationship between the inner-self and outside world of an individual, between the self and others (Dredd 2013, p. 939).

In Lacan's theoretical framework, there is another "other", namely the little "other" (*autre*) (Sheridan 2001, p. xiv).[3] The little other is a reflection and projection of the ego (*moi*) (Lacan 1977, pp. 2, 90) that develops from the infantile mirror stage (Lacan 1977, pp. 1–7). To be specific, in the mirror stage, the infant projects its ideal onto the image in the mirror. This mirror image projected with the ideal is just the little other. The infant identifies with the little other, and the identification forms the ego, an ideal ego. And the infant sees himself only in this ideal ego; he may believe that this ideal ego is him. Thus, we can say that it is the image of the little other that constitutes the imaginary identity of the subject.[4]

As shown in Fig. 1, the Schema L of Lacan is a brief illustration of the relation within the subject, the little other, the ego and the big Other. We can see that the little other plays an important role in the whole psychological structure. At first, through it the ego is visible, because it echoes the ideal ego. Furthermore, through it the subject also becomes visible, because the subject identifies with it. In addition, through it the unconscious/the big Other is reachable as well, because the little other

[3]The Lacanian term "autre" is written uniformly as "the little other" in this study.

[4]"The mirror phase theory had shown how the human infant attains a mastery of its motor functions through capture in an image. An image is assumed which is first of all outside, be it in a mirror or in the image of another child. This identification, Lacan argues, will set the framework of the ego. … The constitution of the ego always takes place in reference to the other, the specular little other whose image the subject has appropriated. The arrow goes from [other] to [ego] to indicate that the ego is first of all the other, that it is the image of the other that will constitute our own identity." (Leader 2003, p. 179).

functions as a disguise for the big Other. According to Lacan, if speech is founded on the existence of the big Other, "language is so made as to return us to the little other" (Lacan 1988, p. 244). In the lacanian quadrilateral, the line that separates the subject and the big Other is "the wall of language" (Lacan 1988, p. 244). That is to say, as a barrier, language will "drastically prevent us from understanding him" (Lacan 1988, p. 244), namely from understanding the big Other by means of leading us to the little other. The little other is thus a variant of the big Other. Therefore, an intensive analysis of the variant of the big Other could be an effective approach to learning the truth about the big Other. All in all, as the specular image of the ego and a variant of the language of the big Other, the little other is the key to unlocking the psychology of the individual and culture.

Now, let us get back to our topic of the image of China and Europe. First of all, the images of China and Europe are constituted by discourse, which is the product of symbolic order. They therefore implicate the desire of the big Other, namely, the unconscious of culture. Furthermore, the images of Europe and China serve as the typical little other. As mentioned previously, the little other plays an important role in the whole psychological structure.

However, not every image in mirror can be treated as a little other unless the following two conditions are present: Firstly, the spatial otherness from the image-maker self. The infant and its image in the mirror exist in two spaces; they can never touch each other. The spatial difference between them is insurmountable. This great spatial otherness allows the imagination of the image-maker to fully unfold. The initial identification of the subject merely occurs in the *imaginary* (Evans 2006. pp. 82–83). The second is the formal similarity with the subject. The shapes of the infant and its image in the mirror are equal. This equality makes the infant certain that the image in the mirror is capable of being invested with its self-conception.

In the cultural psychological structure of China and Europe, the image of Europe and the image of China in most literary texts meet the conditions mentioned above. This is primarily because Europe and China are far apart not only geographically, but also psychologically. Neither was ever totally conquered by the other, neither militarily nor culturally. Therefore, neither was ever fully dependent on the other. Furthermore, as opposed to the relationship between Europe and the Middle East, there is no direct religious conflict between them. Hence, psychologically, they can face one another across a great distance relatively calmly. Consequently, their imagination can unfold and be embodied fully in each other. Secondly, Europe and China are both great cultural entities. They are counterparts of one another in terms of area of cultural territory and strength of cultural content. Both of them are thus able to arouse the desire of the other and carry the other's ideals.

As stated, the image of Europe and the image of China function exactly as the typical little other for each other, which is necessary for the respective development of the whole psychological structure of Europe and China. As shown in Figs. 2 and 3, this means that, through the image of Europe and the image of China, we can clearly see the psychological structures of the two cultures. In this sense,

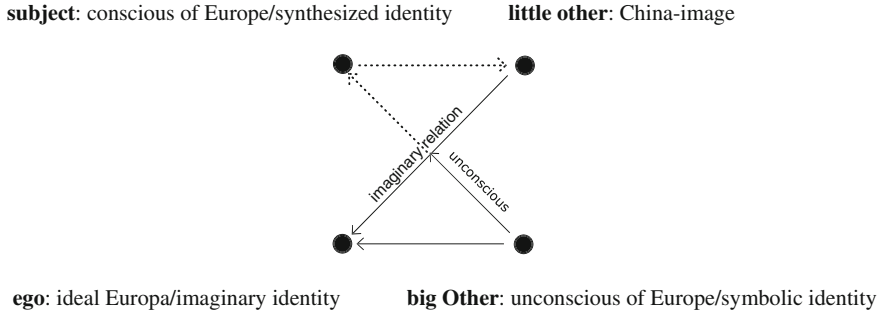


Fig. 2 The psychological structure of Europe

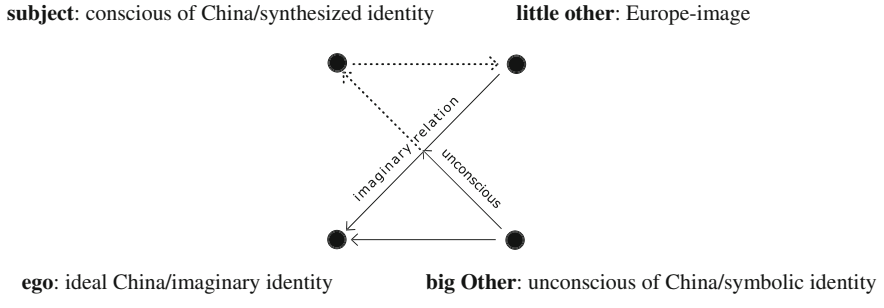


Fig. 3 The psychological structure of China

Europe and China are irreplaceable with respect to one another. At this point, it is appropriate for us to turn to China's image in Europe.

China's Image in Europe

The 1st Phase

In Europe, the word "Seres" (land of silk) was generally recognized as the Greek name for China and the Chinese.[5] The first reliable reference to Seres is found in the work of the Greek physician and historian Ctesias of Cnide in the 4th century B.C.

[5]"[*S*]*ilk* was coined from the Greek name for China (*Seres*)." (Rossabi 1997, p. 7) "In the Roman Empire, senators and upper-class women wore delicate Chinese silk and referred to China as the land of the Seres, or 'silk people'." (Perkins 2013, p. 464) The French historian George Cœdès mentioned that the "land of silk (*pays de la soie*)" in the works of the authors in the Classical times refers to the China (Coedès 1977, p. 1).

E. (Coedès 1977, p. 1). Ctesias created the image of tall and long-lived Seres,[6] which exerted a lasting influence on later works about the physiological condition of the Seres until the 10th century. The next relevant reference to Seres was found in a verse of Virgil's *Georgica* in 30 B.C.E.: "(Dirai-je) comment, des feuilles de leurs arbres, les Seres détachent de fines toisons?" (Coedès 1977, p. 2). Henceforth, a myth about silk production, namely about the wool-bearing trees, which lasted for more than one thousand years in Europe,[7] was officially started. Based on this myth about the abundant natural resources produced by the wool-bearing trees, the image of the rich Seres gradually began to develop. The geography of the Seres and the surrounding areas were among the first to be introduced in detail in the *Geographica* of the Greek scholar Strabon (58 B.C.E. to 21 C.E.). According to his description, the Seres apparently lived a great distance from Europe. The terrain there was strategically situated and difficult to access (Coedès 1977, pp. 4–8). The Roman geographer Pomponius Mela, born around 1 B.C.E., is regarded as the first famous author who made mention of the personality of the Seres. In his work *De Chorographia*, the Seres are described as righteous and honest traders who do not like to talk with others.[8] This image was later repeated by the Roman naturalist Pliny the Elder (23–79) in *Naturalis Historia* (Coedès 1977, pp. 13–14). These two works can be considered the origin of the virtue of the Seres.

The above-mentioned records are the known sources and representative samples of later images of the Seres presented by Greek and Latin writers. Based on research on 92 quotes from Greek and Latin writers on the silk land Seres, namely from Ctésias' description to Jacques de Vitry's text in the 13th century,[9] it is evident that, before the 13th century, the characteristics of the Seres-image were relatively simple and stable, mostly legendary and rather positive: Physically, the Seres were considered to be tall and longevous; materially, they were believed to live in luxury owing to silk production; geographically, they were perceived as unreachable; temperamentally, they were characterized as honest but less communicative.

Although the images of the Seres constructed by classical authors are simple and imaginary, many kinds of "balance" in the images become apparent when the images created by the various authors are observed as a whole. First, there is a balance between myth and reality: On the one hand, the Seres are rich because of a natural endowment, namely the legendary wool-bearing trees. On the other hand, they are industrious and skillful and obtain their wealth by hard work (e.g. "ils détachent le duvet blanc des feuilles en l'eau; puis nos femmes exécutent le double travail de dévider et de tisser: c'est grâce à des opérations si compliquées,

[6]"On dit que Seres … sont de si haute stature, … ils vivent plus de 200 ans." (Coedès 1977, p. 1).

[7]Until at least the 14th Century, the story of the wool-bearing tree was still considered scientific knowledge when mentioned by scholars (Coedès 1977, p. 161).

[8]"L'intervalle qui sépare ces deux montagnes est habité par les Sêres, nation pleine de justice et bien connue pour la manière dont ils font le commerce, laquelle consiste à laisser les marchandises dans un lieu solitaire où l'acheteur en prend livraison hors de leur presence." (Coedès 1977, p. 11).

[9]All 92 of these quotes were collected by George Coedès in his work *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient* (1977).

accomplies dans des contrées si lointaines, que la matrone pourra paraître en public sous une étoffe transparente."[10]). On the one hand, they are abnormally tall and long-lived. On the other hand, their clarification for the good physiological condition of the Seres was the climate, the soil and their diet (e.g. "les uns attribuent cette longévité à l'air, d'autres au sol, d'autres enfin au régime"[11]).

The second balance is the balance in the character of the Seres, namely the dialectical relationship between the bad and the good of the character: The Seres are righteous and civilized (e.g. "Les Sêres sont civilisés et très pacifiques entre eux"[12]), but unsociableness is treated as their weakness (e.g. "il ressort que les Sêres sont insociables et d'abord difficile"[13]). Although the Seres are less communicative in social life, they are active participants in their family life. They were faithful to their wives (e.g. "ni Cypris en conjonction avec Arès, ne peut forcer aucun d'eux à avoir commerce avec la femme d'autrui"[14]), and take delight in pleasing them (e.g. "Chez les Sêres par exemple, les hommes se tressent (les cheveux), et restent chez eux, parfumés et parés comme des femmes afin de mieux plaire à leurs épouses."[15]).

The first and the second balances make the Seres human. With these balances, the image of the Seres seems simple but not extreme, it is imaginary but not absurd. They assured the Europeans that, despite their strange appearance and behaviour, the Seres are ordinary people with normal human characteristics: They are rich because they work hard; they are long-lived because they follow a healthy diet; they are unsocial, but they are righteous. In a word, they are not terrible.

The third balance is in regard to the possibility of a bilateral relation. The recurring theme of the insurmountable geographical distance between Europe and Seres made the Europeans believe that it is impossible for the Seres to invade Europe. Furthermore, the introverted and peaceful character of the Seres (e.g. "Ils sont si modérés dans leurs besoins, et aiment à ce point la vie paisible qu'ils évitent toute relation avec les autres hommes."[16]) that was repeatedly emphasized by the classical authors deepened the sensation that the Seres live contentedly in the Far East and never thought of attacking Europe. Subsequently, an imaginary peaceful relation between Europe and the Seres was created through the image of the Seres themselves.

In conclusion, the above-mentioned information indicates that, before the 13th century, the little other in the psychological structure of Europe was a righteous and

[10]See *Naturalis Historia* of Pliny the Elder (Coedès 1977, p. 13). Other examples: *Bella Punica* of Silius Italicus (Coedès 1977, p. 19), *Periegesis* of Dionysius Periegetes (Coedès 1977, p. 71), *Adversus Hæreses III* of Epiphanius (Coedès 1977, p. 91).

[11]See *Makpobioi* of Lucien (Coedès 1977, p. 75).

[12]See *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* of Solin (Coedès 1977, p. 85).

[13]See *Comment Dionysius Periegeta* of Eustathius of Thessalonica (Coedès 1977, p. 158).

[14]See *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Bardaisan (Coedès 1977, p. 77).

[15]See *Adversus Hæreses III* of Epiphanius (Coedès 1977, p. 91).

[16]See *Res gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus (Coedès 1977, p. 97).

peaceful normal human being who would not pose a threat to Europe. This little other mirrored an ideal ego: that of a fortunate and confident man living without aggression from the Far East. The subject-identity was a person with safety and peace. Nevertheless, the big Other was the motivity of imagining a safe world to dispel the unspoken fear and anxiety to the real world and the life.

The 2nd Phase

In the 13th century, Mongolians conquered the whole of Asia and some parts of Europe, which led to the integration of the entire Eurasian Continent and was beneficial to international trade and information exchange. As a consequence of this, a large amount of information about the Far East was also suddenly available to Europeans. Thus, from that time, not only the quantity and variety but also the concreteness of the image of China advanced by leaps and bounds in Europe. However, almost all of the images of China from the middle of the 13th century until the beginning of the 20th century had a common point: They were either extremely idealized or demonized.

Travel reports from the 13th century[17], as well as the travelogues of Marco Polo (1254–1324), Odoric of Pordenone (1286–1331) and John Mandeville (1300–1371) constructed an image of an extremely rich and huge empire in the Far East. In 1585, Mendoza's *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de Eusebius la China* (The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the Situation Thereof) (1585) was published, which was a great hit in Europe and brought with it wide acceptance of the image of a powerful Chinese Empire with an almost perfect political system. Around the second half of the 17th century, the image of rational Confucius and a harmonious and virtuous country began to take root in Europe, indebted to works like Athanasius Kircher's *China Illustrata* (China Illustrated) (1667) as well as Philippe Couplet and Prospero Intorcetta's *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* (Confucius, Philosopher of the Chinese) (1687).

In the literary works of the time, there was a positive response to these positive images of China. In Lodovico Arrivabene's *Il Magno Vitei* (The Great Vitei) (1597), the Chinese emperor is a wise, kind, and noble ruler who indulges his passion for science and art. In *Lettres chinoises* (1740) by Marquis d'Argen, the Chinese person is a philosopher with the spirit of Enlightenment. The protagonist of *The Citizen of the World* (1790), written by Oliver Goldsmith, is a scholar whose grace and breadth of knowledge fill the Europeans with admiration.

After these four centuries of mainly positive light being shed on China, the negative image became increasingly more common in the 18th century.

[17]For instance: *Ystoria Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus* (History of the Mongols, which we call Tartars) of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and *Itinerarium fratris Willielmi de Rubruquis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratia 1253 ad partes Orientales* (The Journey of William of Rubruk to the Eastern Parts) of William of Rubruck.

Defoe (1719) described Chinese people as ignorant, dirty and rude in his fictional story *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. George Anson laid bare the moral bankruptcy of the Chinese in his travel journal *A Voyage Round the World* (1748). In the same year, *De l'esprit des lois* (1748) was published. In this work, Montesquieu refuted the praise of the Jesuit missionaries for the Chinese polity and philosophy. He characterized China as a despotic state whose principle is fear (Montesquieu 2002, p. 128), and the Chinese moral as rites that are in no way spiritual (Montesquieu 2002, p. 318). In 1837, Hegel's *Vorlesung über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (Lectures on the Philosophy of History) (1837) was published. Hegel relegated China to a settled existence of its own, which played no active part in historical progress (Hegel 1984, p. 216). From then on, the image of a backward, barbaric, despotic and senile China has been taking root in Europe.

The German author Karl May rehashed Defoe's and Anson's negative image of China in his fictions, such as *Der blau-rote Methusalem* (The blue-red Methusalem) (1892). In Judith Gautier's *Le Dragon impérial* (1893), *La Fille du ciel* (1911 with Loti) and Pierre Loti's *Les derniers jours de Pékin* (1902), China (as Hegel judged) is depicted as 'historyless' and as static as an antique. After the first was published in 1913, Sax Rohmer's serial novels about Dr. Fu-Manchu sold well for more than half a century. With the wide distribution of the novels, the sinister, vicious Fu-Manchu became a negative symbol of Chinese people that lodged itself in the public mind.

During this phase, the both extremely positive and negative images of China corresponded to the function of the Orient delineated in Said's *Orientalism* (1978). They effectively helped define Europe as its opposite image, idea, personality and experience, and made the fervent desire of Europe abundantly clear. The positive "China" gave the Europeans an attractive ideal to pursue, one that was materially rich, politically liberal, and mentally moral as well as rational. All in all, what Europe aspired to was a kind of perfectly powerful masculinity. And the negative "China", with which Europe made a clean break, represents the reverse side of this masculinity.

In summary, from the middle of the 13th century until the end of the 19th century, the little other in the psychological structure of Europe was an extremely divided image, swinging between an angel (civilized, sapiential) and a demon (barbaric, stagnant). From this, it can be determined that the ideal ego was a strong man with wealth, power and rationality. The subject-identity was a radical hegemonic seeker of progress and dominant power. A great desire for masculinity characterized the big Other in this phase.

The 3rd Phase

Even today, the *Orientalism*-type of the image of China still exists in Western literature. It has not been dispelled, but, starting from the beginning of the 19th century, it no longer absolutely dominated the image of China any more. The reason

for this is that several new kinds of images of China arose in European literature at this time, namely the background type, the parabolic type and the philosophical type.

The background type refers to an image of China that serves primarily as a social and historical background for Europeans' actions in literary works. The stories are set in China or in Chinatown, which acts as a stage for the thoughts and actions of the European protagonists. The descriptions of China are relatively objective and realistic. In other words, they are not extremity demonized or idealized. As protagonists, the Europeans are endowed with many good characteristics such as courage, justice, rationality, wisdom and charity. The Chinese figures merely serve as a foil. Compared to the *Orientalism* type, the contrary relationship between Chinese and Europeans appears more moderate. The European protagonists give up their arrogant appearance and show obvious sympathy, tolerance and respect for the Chinese. The German writer Baum (1939), for instance, depicted in *Hotel Shanghai* the tense situation in Shanghai during World War II. In *Les Conquérants* (1928) and *La Condition humaine* (1933), André Malraux showed a panorama of the Chinese revolution during the civil war of China. In the novel *Peonies and Ponies* (1941), Harold Acton made China come alive by vividly depicting the transition from feudalism to the Republic of China. *Kopfgeburten oder Die Deutschen sterben aus* (Headbirths: Or the Germans Are Dying Out) (1980) by Günter Grass describes a special, modernized China where people lead their modern lives in their own way—not in the Western way.

The parabolic type refers to the parabolic use of the Chinese element. By means of the so-called "Chinese stories", or stories concerning China or Chinese, the philosophical, moral, or political opinions of the authors are clearly emphasized. Compared to the *Orientalism* type, the parabolic image of China is not simply angelic or evil, but rather more complex; it does not work as the contrast of Europe, but serves foremost as a proof of the universality of the author's opinions; moreover, it serves as a mouthpiece through which the ordinary life and the ideas of Europeans are alienated and exaggerated by the exotic Chinese element, so that the opinions of the author may be considered more "common" and more easily accepted by the public. A typical example is the image of China in Bertolt Brecht's *Der gute Mensch von Sezuan* (The Good Person of Szechwan) (1964), first performed in 1943. This story has nothing to do with any real historical and geographical concepts of China. Through the Chinese story, Brecht discussed general human nature, which is not limited to the Chinese but transcends nations. Franz Kafka's image of China in *Beim Bau der Chinesischen Mauer* (The Great Wall of China) (Kafka 1931) also belongs to this type. Through greatly exaggerated Chinese despotism, Kafka aimed to elucidate the general relationships between "the individual" and "the others", the social system and history.

Finally, the philosophical type refers to the image of China that acts as a carrier of Chinese thought and Chinese culture in literary works. The stories of this type generally take place in China without European protagonists. Compared to the parabolic type, these works do not only have Chinese characters and Chinese backgrounds, but also contain Chinese philosophical ideas. With the aid of the Chinese stories, the European authors expressed their understandings of Chinese philosophy and discussed their possible applicability in society at the time. *Die drei*

Sprünge des Wang-lun (The Three Leaps of Wang-lun) (Döblin 1915) by Alfred Döblin, *Comment Wang-Fô fut sauvé* (1936) by Marguerite Yourcenar and Bertolt Brecht's *Legende von der Entstehung des Buches "Taoteking" auf dem Weg des Laotse in die Emigration* (Legend of the Origin of the Book *Tao Te Ching* on Lao Tzu's Way into Exile) (1939) are representative examples of the European authors' pursuit of Taoism, which, in comparison with Confucianism, gives greater attention to the harmony between humans and nature, as well as to the dialectical thought of the strong and the weak.

The 3rd phase is a period of transition. That means that, although the European image of China at the time did not fundamentally break away from *Orientalism*, it was obviously that the image of China was becoming humanized. Nevertheless, the European characters still maintain a psychological distance from the Chinese. The literature relegating the image of China to a background type prevents almost all of the possible influences from Chinese aspects. In other words, the European protagonists essentially remain uninfluenced by the Chinese characters or Chinese thought. In the novels where the image of China is depicted parabolically, typical European opinions are replaced by universal viewpoints, but the reality of China is not taken into account. In the fictional stories wherein China's image belongs to the philosophical type, the Chinese hero is given authentic Chinese thought in the end, but there are no Western characters in these fictions at all. This suggests that the European is "lurking" beneath the text and avoiding head-to-head competition with the Chinese. This development can be interpreted as a result of the weakening self-confidence and the increasing anxiety about the reality of Europe.

On the whole, from the beginning of the 20th century until the emergence of a new type of the image of China in the 1980s, the little other of the psychological structure of Europe was a humanized and intellectual person in the distance. The ideal ego was a conflation of the Eastern and Western strong points. The subject-identity was that of a reflective innovator. In the end, the speech of the big Other was characterized by the expectation that femininity would balance out the pain and ill effects of the enthusiastic aspiration towards masculinity.

The 4th Phase

In the 1980s, some significant changes happened in the European image of China. These changes appeared in almost all of the relevant European films[18] from the 1980s till the present day[19]. In these films, China's image is not only humanized,

[18]In this study, the term "European film" is defined as a film shot by a European director.

[19]E.g.: *The Last Emperor* (1987), *Drachenfutter* (Dragon-fodder) (1987), *L'amant* (1992), *Irma Vep* (1996), *Augustin, roi du Kung-fu* (1999), *Maður eins og ég* (A Man like me) (2002), *Clean* (2004), *Kinamand* (Chinaman) (2005), *Jadesoturi* (Jade-Warrior) (2006), *Gomorra* (2008), *City of Trance* (2008), *Qu'est-ce qu'on a fait au Bon Dieu?* (2014).

but also the traditional power relation between Europe and China (Europe > China) in the image is subverted, namely the superior identity and the absolute dominance of Europe are not only weakened but also almost dispelled. Hence, two new kinds of power relations between Europe and China appear: Europe < China and Europe = China; this allows a dialogue to be established between them.

In the film *The Last Emperor* (1986), the Chinese historical characters and events are treated with understanding and sympathy. The Chinese protagonists and the Chinese story deliver a message relevant to all people: Life is a Sisyphean cycle; we are not masters of our own lives and we strive persistently, though in vain, toward our life goals; nevertheless, one should never give up on the ideal of inner goodness. Consequently, China functions in the film as a miniature version of the history of all mankind.

The film *L'amant* (1992) by the French director Jean-Jacques Annaud is adapted from the novel of the same name by Marguerite Duras. In the film, there is an extra plot that does not exist in the novel: the quarrel between "my" Chinese lover and "my" older brother Pierre in the ballroom. In the novel, the Chinese is weak both physically and mentally and he is no match for Pierre. In the film, he is described as an educated and cool gentleman. The tension in the ballroom created through the camera language, like the low shot of the Chinese and the high shot of "my" older brother, etc., demonstrates that the Chinese wins this "war" through his inward confidence and wisdom: namely, by overcoming hardness with softness. Such a plot would hardly have been conceivable before the 1980s.

The Danish film *Chinaman* (2005) attempts to show the typical yet complex traits of Chinese people. As the film demonstrates, both the Chinese and the Europeans are human beings with strengths and weaknesses. China plays the role of cooperation's partner, who, together with the Europeans, struggles against the difficulties in life. Thus, the relationship between China and Europe is based on equal footing. The film negates not only the conflict of cultures but also the assimilation of these same cultures. It advocates dialogical contact and cooperation between different cultures instead.

By and large, the Chinese characters in the films from the 1980s possess their own individuality, historicity and initiative. Meanwhile, they are the active participants in their interactions with the Europeans. These films give a whole new meaning to the differences and the commonalities between the cultures. In the previous imagological studies, it is undisputed that the image of the other fulfils an important function in society: It enables the production of self-identification through differentiation. Such self-identification of a cultural group or a nation works on the principle that, "We are we because we are unlike the others" (Daniliouk 2006, p. 31). This mechanism provides the main function of China's image prior to the 1980s. However, the image of China in European films has functioned differently since this time. The "differences" between cultures in these films are not based on ethnic differences (such as skin color, clothing, nationality, habits of thinking etc.), but on the fact that both the Chinese and the Europeans offer their own solutions to the difficulties of life. The "commonalities" do not refer simply to the biological and social universals of humankind (such as death, birth, pain, marriage,

work, dying), but rather the insight that the solutions that have been developed by different cultures to solve their own specific problems are actually accessible for the respective other. Both cultural groups can use them and be affected by them. The fact that the Europeans accept these differences and commonalities shows not only that Europe wants to accept the other, but also that Europe, too, becomes accepted by the other in the realm of the imaginary. In other words, the basic function of the image of China in these films is not to allow Europe to become distinguished, but to build up a wide "imaginary community" of several cultures in order to get a new feeling of safety in the new age. On this basis, an equal dialog between Europe and China is just beginning.

It follows that, since the 1980s, the little other of the psychological structure of Europe has been a cooperator with individuality, historicity and initiative. The ideal ego is an unobtrusive, modest man. The subject-identity is a dialogist. The big Other is the immediacy of breaking with old cultural relations and negotiating a dialogical community of cultures against the uncertainty and loneliness of existence.

Europe's Image in China

The 1st Phase

The first Chinese documentary evidence of Europe dates back to 史记 (Records of the Grand Historian) written by 司马迁 (Sīmǎ-Qiān, 145 or 135 B.C.E-86 B.C.E.). In 史记 (Records of the Grand Historian) the Roman Empire[20] referred to as "黎轩 (líxuān)", in 汉书 (Book of Han Dynasty) as "犁靬 (líjiān/líqián)" and in 后汉书 (Book of the Later Han Dynasty[21]) as "大秦 (dàqín)". The Chinese name for the Byzantine Empire in 魏书 (Book of Wei Dynasty[22]) is "普岚 (pǔlán)", whereas in 新唐书 (New Book of Tang Dynasty) and 旧唐书 (Old Book of Tang Dynasty[23]), it is "拂菻 (fúlín)". In 诸蕃志 (Foreign countries) from the Song Dynasty,[24]

[20]As mentioned before, the term "Europe" used in this study is not meant to refer to the geographical or political notion, but rather the concept of "culture circles" (Veit 2013, pp. 188–189; Hahn 2013, p. 357). At the time of writing the book 史记 (Records of the Grand Historian), there was a lack of cognitive conditions and information about the geographical and political landscapes of the world, so that for the Chinese, concepts like the "Roman Empire" and "Europe" were very ambiguous. Thus, the Roman Empire was understood as a whole culture circle, which represents the extremely Western area of the world in the Chinese cognitive scope and cannot be divided into the geographical European part and Non-European part. Therefore, although the dominion of the Roman Empire was eventually extended over Western Asia, the Chinese perception of the Roman Empire represents a primitive perception of Europe.

[21]Han Dynasty: 206 B.C.E. to 220 C.E.

[22]Wei Dynasty: 386–534.

[23]Tang Dynasty: 618–907.

[24]Song Dynasty: 960–1279.

the Byzantine Empire is known as "芦眉 (lúméi)". In the Ming Dynasty,[25] owing to the publication of 坤舆万国全图 (A Map of the Myriad Countries of the World) of Matteo Ricci in 1602, "欧逻巴 (ōuluóbā)", the Chinese transliteration of the Latin name "Europa" became the official Chinese name for Europe. Nevertheless, besides "欧逻巴", there were dozens of other names for Europe, e.g. "大西国 (dàxīguó)", "大洋国 (dàyángguó)", "西海 (xīhǎi)","天主国(tiāzhǔguó)" (Pang 2006, pp. 80–81). The variety of the Chinese names for Europe shows that, for a very long time, "Europe" was an unstable and fuzzy concept for most Chinese not specifically interested in finding out what it was. This reflects the Sinocentric worldview of China at the time.

The time from 史记 (Records of the Grand Historian) until the last half of the 19th century is defined as the first phase of the image of Europe in China. In this phase, Europe was depicted above all as an extremely remote place. For instance, 西域传 (Biography of Western Regions) of 后汉书 (Book of the Later Han Dynasty) relates that the Roman Empire is also known as the Western shore of the sea; the sea is very wide, so that it takes three months to sail across the sea by tailwind, and two years by thin wind.[26] 西戎传 (Biography of the Western Nations) of 魏略 (A Brief History of Cao-Wei Dynasty) relates that, from the boundary of the Parthian Empire, it takes two months to sail across the sea by tailwind, one year by thin wind, and perhaps three years if there is no wind.[27] In the Ming Dynasty, the Chinese scholars greatly exaggerated Matteo Ricci's travel time from Europe to China in order to emphasize the great distance between Europe and China (Pang 2006, 88–89).

Moreover, 西域传 (Biography of Western Regions) from 后汉书 (Book of the Later Han Dynasty) creates an image of Europe with abundant natural resources and great material wealth: The Roman Empire is a great power possessing more than four hundred cities and dozens of satellites; in the countryside, there is an abundance of gold, silver treasures, rare jewels and precious stones; all of the foreign treasures are produced there.[28] This image was repeated frequently in the historical documents in the Ming Dynasty.

Generally speaking, at least with regard to the physical features of Europe, the Chinese historical documents do not evidence any particularly overdrawn imagination. 张华 (Zhāng-Huá, 232–300) wrote in his 博物志 (Natural History) that the Europeans have deep-set eyes, high noses and hairy bodies.[29] 后汉书 (Book of the Later Han Dynasty) and 魏略 (A Brief History of Cao-Wei Dynasty) even stress that the Europeans are tall and straight, and resemble the Chinese (Pang 2006, pp. 6, 10). 经行记 (Record of Travels) of the Tang Dynasty relates that European men

[25]Ming Dynasty: 1368–1644.

[26]Original text: "大秦又称海西国, 此海海水广大, 往来者逢善风, 三月乃得度。若遇迟风, 亦有二岁者。" (Pang 2006, p. 5).

[27]Original text: "从安息界安谷城乘船直截海西,遇风利二月到,风迟或一岁,无风或三岁。" (Pang 2006, p. 9).

[28]Original text: "地方数千里,有四百余城,小国役属者数十", "土多金银奇宝", "凡外国诸珍异皆出焉"。(Pang 2006, pp. 5–6).

[29]Original text: "其人高鼻深目,多毛。" (Pang 2006, p. 11).

always don plain clothes, and that European women all wear bright and beautiful clothes with pearls.[30] This dressing style suited the Chinese aesthetics at that time.

Concerning the characterizations of the Europeans, 西域传 (Biography of Western Regions) of 后汉书 (Book of the Later Han Dynasty) contains a positive evaluation. The author 范晔 (Fàn-Yè, 398–445) considered Europeans to be simple and honest persons who sell goods at a fair price[31]; he described that there is no stealing or robbing,[32] and that rulers are fair and righteous, so the country is governed very well.[33] These opinions deeply influenced the historical documents from the Ming Dynasty. In the Age of Discovery, starting from 1517, Portuguese, Spanish, and Netherlanders reached the southeastern coast of China one after another. They traded with the Chinese while at the same time attacking Chinese people as well as burning and looting Chinese villages. Thus, as unexpected guests, they left a very bad impression on the Chinese during that time (Pang 2006, pp. 53–57), which led to the Europeans being called "番鬼" (fānguǐ, foreign devil) by the local people (Pang 2006, p. 95). However, the Chinese of the Ming Dynasty were not so one-sided as to completely demonize the Europeans. Many Chinese, as far as possible, maintained a neutral attitude and made objective comments on the events. For instance, 谢肇淛 (Xiè-Zhàozhè, 1567–1624), the author of 五杂俎 (Five Assorted Offerings), deemed the Europeans to be civilized and elegant, just like the Chinese.[34] 林希元 (Lín-Xīyuán, 1481–1565) pointed out:

> [T]he rather, they did fair business with them, and paid more than or even double the market prices for grain, pork, poultry, etc. The Chinese were happy to do business with them. In addition, they helped to expel pirates, and the latter were thus constrained in their harassing and plundering of the common people. (Hao 2011, p. 90)[35]

This kind of viewpoint was generally acceptable in the early years of the Qing Dynasty.[36] As the scholars of the Qing Dynasty reexamined this history of the conflict with the Europeans and composed the official history book of the Ming Dynasty (明史), they highlighted the Europeans' intention to pursue bilateral trade, and played down their aggression (Pang 2006). The private notes of the writers of the Qing Dynasty also show that before 1840, Chinese generally had an objective, even well-meaning attitude towards Europeans (Meng 2006, pp. 13–21).

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[30]Original text: "男子悉著素衣,妇人皆服珠锦。" (Pang 2006, p. 18).

[31]Original text: "其人质直,市无二价。" (Fan 2000, p. 1974).

[32]Original text: "终无盗贼寇警。" (Pang 2006, p. 7).

[33]Original text: "常使一人持囊随王车,人有言事者,即以书投囊中。王至宫发省,理其枉直。…. 其王无常人,皆简立贤者。" (Pang 2006, pp. 6–7).

[34]Original text: "又有天主国,更在佛国之西,其人通文理,儒雅与中国无别。" (Pang 2006, p. 87).

[35]Original text: "佛郎机之来…与边民交易,其价尤平,其日用饮食之资于吾民者,如米面猪鸡之数,其价皆倍于常,故边民乐与为市。未尝侵暴我边疆,杀戮我人民,劫掠我财物。且其初来,虑群盗剽掠己,为我驱逐,故群盗畏惮不敢肆。" (Hao 2011, p. 90).

[36]Qing Dynasty: 1644–1912.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the Chinese during this period attempted to conceive of Europe in the following manner: It is very far from China, so that it is not a big threat to China; the people there are normal, honest and civilized, so that China and Europe can, on principle, coexist peacefully; Europe is rich and willing to pay tribute to China, so that the Chinese should keep a more tolerant attitude toward the Europeans. This image of Europe suggests the effort of the Chinese to subsume Europe into their own existing knowledge system in order to stabilize the *Tianxia*[37] of China.

In conclusion, evidence shows that, before the last half of the 19th century, the little other in the psychological structure of China was a rich, civilized and normal human being. This little other reflected an ideal ego that would never feel threatened and insecure. Consequently, the subject-identity was a person with safety and stability. Nevertheless, the big Other behind all of the psychological phenomena was nothing more than the motivity of imagining a nonthreatening world to maintain the status quo of China's *Tianxia*.

The 2rd Phase

After the two Opium Wars (1840–1842 and 1856–1860) in the middle of the 19th century, the Chinese were forced to face great changes because of the sudden influx of the Western civilization. Since that time, the previously neutral attitude towards Europe began to drain away, and Chinese became used to demonizing or idealizing Westerners (including the Americans and the Europeans) in order to either vent their hatred towards the Western invaders or to stimulate China to develop and change. Like the *Orientalism* in Europe, it was the Westerners who were transformed into a stereotype. Accordingly, this kind of European image can be termed the *Occidentalism* type.[38] This phenomenon continues even today.

In the late Qing Dynasty, many Chinese learned from their past bitter experiences with wars against the Europeans and aimed to "[control] the barbarians by following the techniques that the barbarians are good at (师夷长技以制夷)" (Li 2014, p. 40). Against this background, Europe was described as a continent with highly developed science, technology and revolutionary vigor. This image of

[37]Broadly translated, the word "Tianxia (天下, tiānxià)" literally means "Everything under Heaven" or "All the land under the heavens". It was used by the ancient Chinese to refer to the whole world as they knew and imagined it (Tong 2006, p. 305). More specifically, it denotes the realm of Chinese culture and civilization. "The *tian xia* was perceived as a civilization realm where Chinese social and cultural practices prevailed against the social and cultural practices of the nomadic and other neighbouring kingdoms in the peripheral regions of China" (Tan 2014, p. 496).

[38]Xiaomei Chen points out that Occidentalism is a discursive practice that, by constructing its Western Other, has allowed the Orient to participate actively and with indigenous creativity in the process of self-appropriation, even after being appropriated and constructed by Western Others (Chen 1995, pp. 4–5).

Europe in 海国图志 (Illustrated Record of Overseas Countries) by 魏源 (Wèi-Yuán, 1794–1857), and 重订法国志略 (Revised Brief History of France) by 王韬 (Wáng-Tāo, 1828–1879), for instance, had a great impact on Chinese society at that time (Su 2006, pp. 99–116; Jin 2006, pp. 117–167).

In the period of the Republic of China, China's focus on Europe was being turned from European science and technology to the European culture and lifestyle. Therefore, Europe was mad out to be as a model of modernization for the new culture and new life of China. For example, in 良友画报 (Liangyou magazine, 1926–1945), one of the most popular magazines in China, the Western world always occupied a core position. With a large number of visualized pictures about Western figures, events, products, history, landscape, etc. 良友画报 (Liangyou magazine) depicted an imaginary prosperous West of advancement, modernization and prosperity (Ma 2006, pp. 342–362). By means of this image, the enlightenment of modernity and the life of ordinary Chinese citizens were connected deeply and closely, so that a yearning for the modern lifestyle lodged itself in the public mind of China.

Although there were many positive images of Europe, an extremely negative image of Europe has accompanied them closely since the middle of the 19th century. This negative image of Europe appeared first as a brutal and rapacious invader, namely as a foreign evil ("洋鬼子", yángguǐzi,). In the Ming Dynasty and the early Qing Dynasty, the Europeans were usually called "番鬼" (fānguǐ, foreign devil). However, sometimes "番鬼" was also used neutrally in writings about the Europeans.[39] In comparison with the name "番鬼", the word "洋鬼子" has lost all of the neutral meanings since the late Qing Dynasty. In the early 20th century, Chinese literature[40] used this word to convey only hatred, disdain and averseness (Meng 2006, pp. 1–2, 21–29). In addition to this, Europeans were known as a morally bankrupt people. France, for instance, in 重订法国志略 (Revised Brief History of France), is on the one hand a highly civilized and developed state; and on the other hand, it is a country where the people lead voluptuous and degenerate lives (Jin 2006. pp. 141–142). A negative image such as this was necessary for the Chinese, because only in the face of the moral bankruptcy of Europeans could the Chinese as moralists keep the last semblance of superiority.

With the implementation of the policy of reform and opening up since 1980s, China is becoming increasingly open to the world. The communication and cooperation between China and Europe are deeper and wider. For contemporary Chinese people, in addition to the official Chinese media, there are many ways to get information about Europe, e.g. by traveling abroad, pursuing an overseas study program or accessing any of thousands of online resources. Nevertheless, in the

[39]E.g. 粤剑编 (Book of Yue Sword) by 王临亨 (Wáng-Línhēng, 1548–1601), 竹叶亭杂记 (Sketches from the Bamboo-Leaf Pavilion) by 姚元之(Yáo-Yuánzhī, 1776–1852) (Meng 2006, pp. 15–18).

[40]E.g. 老残游记 (The Travel of Old Can) by 刘鹗 (Liú-È, 1857–1909), 警世钟 (Bell for the World) by 刘天华 (Liú-Tiānhuá, 1875–1905) (Meng 2006, pp. 1–2).

contemporary literary and visual works of China, the image of Europe is still trapped in the stereotypes of "angel" and "demon".

Since the 1980s, the European culture has been positively associated with modern science, technology, enlightenment, liberty and reformation, which stand in total contrast to the reality of Chinese tradition. Generally, this image continually plays the role of an appeal for the reformation of China. The "Europe" in the novel 苍河白日梦 (Day Dream by the Canghe River) (2009), the documentary 河殇 (River Elegy) (1988) and the film 巴尔扎克与小裁缝 (Balzac and the Little Chinese Seamstress) (2002) are prime examples of this image. In the plots of these works, Europe embodies a strong masculine charm, which attracts either the Chinese female characters in 苍河白日梦 (Day Dream by the Canghe River) and 巴尔扎克与小裁缝 (Balzac and the Little Chinese Seamstress), or the radically self-critical China in 河殇 (River Elegy). The Chinese self-feminization and the radical self-criticism in the presence of "the Western" symbolize a strong fascination with masculinity.

In addition, Europe is purported to be a model managing to combine modernity with classicality perfectly, e.g. Britain in the film 亲密敌人 (Dear Enemy) (2011), France in the film 将爱情进行到底 (Cherish Our Love Forever) (2011), and Italy in the film 小时代3 (Tiny Times 3) (2014). These popular movies, which are very well received by young Chinese people, contrive a not only rich but also noble Europe possessing modernity and classicality at the same time. Thus, this popular image of Europe embodies a kind of mental attitude of the contemporary Chinese who are becoming rich after the reform and opening up: They seek to look like nobility instead of being deemed "土豪 (tǔháo)".[41]

Just like in the late Qing Dynasty and in the Republic of China, the positive image of Europe is accompanied by the image of Europe as a morally bankrupt and rapacious invader. For instance, in the film 画魂 (A Soul Haunted by Painting) (1994), Paris is a combination of noble artistic palace and red light district; in the film 红河谷 (Red River Valley) (1996), there are the two British characters. One is like an angel of peace, and the other is a warmonger. In fact, the Europeans in the overwhelming majority of the films dealing with Chinese history after the 1840s are depicted solely as rapacious invaders.[42] This persistently negative stereotype suggests two messages to the Chinese audience. The first one is that if a country lags behind, it will get bullied and humiliated. The second one is that it is the invasion of the Europeans that caused a poorer and more backward China; now that the

[41]土豪 (tǔháo) once meant rich landowner, the villainous landed gentry and class enemy of communist China's proletariat. Now, 土豪 (tǔháo) has a new meaning: 土 (tǔ) means dirt or uncouth; 豪 (háo) means splendor; 土豪 thus refers to the "Beverly Hillbillies" of China. Their love for "bling" has become the backbone of the global luxury goods industry, yet they are also the subject of disdain, the butt of jokes, the punching bag for that which is offensive to good taste (Taub 2014, pp. 26–27).

[42]E.g. 火烧圆明园 (The Burning of Yuan Ming Yuan) (1983), 大清炮队 (The Artillery of the Qing Dynasty) (1987), 京都球侠 (The Football-Hero of Peking) (1987), 鸦片战争 (The Opium War) (1997), 辛亥革命 (The 1911 Revolution) (2011).

invaders are gone, Chinese should be full of confidence about China's tremendous development potential.

In summary, from the middle of the 19th century until today, the little other of the psychological structure of China is an extremely divided image, swinging between an angel (advanced, modern, noble) and a demon (voluptuous, brutal, invasive). Hence, this indicates that the ideal ego is a noble, modern and powerful country with tremendous potential for growth. The subject-identity is thus a radical but virtuous pursuer of progress. A great desire for masculinity serves as the driving force, namely, the big Other.

Cultural Morphological Model of Europe and China

On the basis of psychoanalytical theories, the German Sinologist Gerwig Epkes (1992) revealed the two relations—xenophobia and exoticism – between the private experiences of the German writers and their China-complex in his book entitled *Der Sohn hat die Mutter gefunden: Die Wahrnehmung des Fremden in der Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel Chinas* (The son has found his mother: The Other in German literature of the 20th century). Gerwig Epkes considers that the attitude of Europeans towards China is based on European relations, nature and rationality (Epkes 1992, pp. 18–22). According to this opinion, we can effectively explain the relation between Europe and China, and the developmental law of cultural psychology.

Analysis of the image of China in Europe indicates that the cultural psychology of Europe has experienced four phases. In the 1st phase, there was a close and harmonious relation between Europeans and nature. Psychologically, nature played a role as the mother of the Europeans. The Europeans were in awe of nature and depended on it. In this phase, the cultural psychology of Europe was like a baby in the mirror stage (Lacan 1977, pp. 1–7), who identifies with his "mother" and imagines strangers living in the unknown world as normal and kind people in order to get a sense of security. This phase-appears before the Oedipus complex begins. Thus, it can be called the pre-Oedipal stage/mirror stage.

In the 2nd phase, modern rationalism (like a father) interrupted the relationship between the "mother"/nature and the "son"/Europe, after which the "son" on longer wanted to have a strong attachment to the "mother"; instead, he wanted to be stronger, more independent and more masculine. So he made a choice to identify with the "father", just like a boy in the Oedipus complex (Freud 1948, p. 157) stage. In order to match the authority of the "father", he searched and idealized the identical qualities of the "father" (civilized, rational, enlightened) in China as confirmation. Then in order to emphasize the advancement of the "father", he searched and demonized the obverse qualities of the "father" (barbaric, stagnant, despotic) in China as contrast. The symptoms of this phase of the cultural psychology and the Oedipus complex of the human are similar. Therefore, this phase is named the Oedipal stage.

In the 3rd phase, the "son" successfully identified with the "father" and developed rapidly with his help. But the absolutization of the "father"/rationalism and separation from the "mother"/nature caused many crises and a great deal of pain. During this time, the "son" imagined that China still co-existed in harmony with his "mother" as a result of the Chinese Taoistic philosophy. He was full of envy and wanted to learn from China. This led to the emergence of philosophical China's image. At the same time, he kept his distance from China, because the harmonious relationship between China and his "mother" touched a tender spot within him. So, in some fictional stories, China or the Chinese function only as a background, one which is not involved in the actions of Europeans. The symptom of the cultural psychology in this phase is similar to the psychology of an individual who has overcome the Oedipus complex by means of identifying with his father. This phase is therefore described as the post-Oedipal stage.

Afterwards, the "son" deeply rethinks the limitations of his "father" and himself; he wants to be reconciled with the "mother". Reconciliation with the "mother" does not simply mean environmental protection, which could be a manifestation of the reconciliation. Rather, it means a new, sometimes even deconstructive, attitude towards himself; it means a new positioning in the world and in history; and it means a new balance in all kinds of relationships. All of these new things aroused a new ideal of a community with other "buddies"/cultures. This consequently gave birth to China's dialog-type image. This phase is accordingly named the conciliatory stage.

To summarize, the cultural psychology of Europe can be classified as follows into four stages: The pre-Oedipal stage/mirror stage, the Oedipal stage, the post-Oedipal stage and the conciliatory stage. Similarly, the cultural psychology of China is demonstrated through the Chinese image of Europe. In the first instance, there was a close and harmonious relationship between the Chinese and nature, just like the relationship between mother and baby. Moreover, Chinese philosophy e.g. Confucianism and Taoism, made a great contribution to extraordinarily long-term maintenance of this relationship. In this phase, the "baby" identified with its "mother" and imagined strangers living in the unknown world as normal and kind people in order to get a sense of security and stabilization. Therefore, until the middle of the 19th century, the image of Europe in China was relatively neutral and even leaned towards the positive. Hence, this phase of China can be defined as the pre-Oedipal stage/mirror stage.

In the 2nd phase, Chinese traditional thought was replaced by modern enlightenment. The rationalism that functioned in the role of a father encourages the "son"/Chinese to identify with him and to seek to become stronger and more masculine. Hence, China utilized Europe culturally, and consequently an extreme image of Europe came forth: On the one hand, Europe is adored as a successful model of modernization, namely as a concrete substitute of the "father" in the real world; on the other hand, Europe is depicted as a rapacious aggressor who is guilty of causing a backwards and weak (in other words, non-masculine) China.

Table 1 Cultural morphological model of Europe and China

Time	Europe	China
4th century B.C.E.	Pre-oedipal stage/ mirror stage	Pre-oedipal stage/ mirror stage
13th century C.E. 1250s		
14th century	Oedipal stage	
15th century		
16th century		
17th century		
18th century		
19th century 1850s		Oedipal stage
20th century	Post-oedipal stage	
21th century	Conciliatory stage	

According to these images, a cultural morphological model can now be constructed. Table 1 gives an outline of the development of the cultural psychology of Europe and China.

Encounters Between the Two Different Stages of Europe and China

The preceding sections of this study have argued that Europe is now standing at the entrance of a conciliatory stage. One of the cultural psychological features of this stage lies in the self-abasement and tolerant attitude, not only in order to be able to accept the other, but also to become accepted by the other. The increase in the number of Chinese entering and living in Europe is a symptom of this acceptance. As of 2011, more than 2.5 million Chinese were already living legally in Europe (Latham and Wu 2013, p. 26).[43] From 2013, several European countries (including Germany, UK, France and Italy) further relaxed their policies concerning the Chinese, e.g., they introduced a series of measures to simplify the visa application for Chinese citizens to increase the number of Chinese visitors (Ginten 2013; Enterprise and Industry Magazine 2013). Superficially, this is merely a way of stimulating the European economy. In practice, however, this is an initial step towards consciously or unconsciously actualizing the imaginary community of cultures in the real world.

The Europe-image in contemporary China is still based on *Occidentalism*, which indicates that China is still in the Oedipal stage. Nevertheless, we can now better

[43]"Europe has experienced a rapid growth in the Chinese population from 0.60 million in 1980 to 1.45 million in 2000 and jumping to 2.15 million in 2007. With a focus on the period from 2000 to 2007, in particular, the growth rate in Europe was about 48.3 per cent, considerably higher than the 12.5% global growth rate over the same period" (Wu and Latham 2014, p. 304).

understand the following social phenomena in China: The Chinese demonstrate an attitude of extremity and utilitarianism toward Westerners. This kind of attitude illustrates the dominant cultural psychological features of the Oedipal stage. For instance, it is no secret in China any more that a lot of Chinese companies and conferences "rent" Western students or models to play foreign leaders or experts in order to create a "高大上 (gāodàshàng, high-end, magnificent and classy)" spectacle and an illusion of internationalization (Farrar 2010). This is because the presence of Westerners represents both confirmation and recognition of the Western, which is a realization of the Chinese identification with Western masculinity, namely with the "father". On the other hand, there are many incidents where Westerners in China have been physically beaten by groups of Chinese because of their disorderly conduct (Richburg 2012). These events have caused heated discussions in Chinese society. One of the main viewpoints is that, because the image of Westerners in China is generally idealized, the Chinese are used to treating foreigners (mainly Westerners) amicably and courteously and some foreigners in China are therefore spoiled (Fu 2012; Pan 2012); however, foreigners displaying unethical or illegal behaviors in China spark violent emotions of Chinese patriotism and narrow national pride (Zhang 2012; Guo 2012). In other words, bad behaviors on the part of Westerners instantly awakens the image of Europeans as rapacious and aggressive invaders and calls to mind the humiliating events in the modern history of China. Hence, the Chinese can barely tolerate the human weakness of Westerners.

Nowadays, Europe and China are in two different stages of cultural psychology. One of the consequences of the encounters between the two different stages is potential disappointment of the people of both Europe and China, because they can encounter totally different attitudes and expectations. On the one hand, Europe welcomes China and wants to get to know China with an attitude of opening and equality. But, judging by the increasingly frequent contact with China in reality, instead of what is described in the news of politics and the economy, they have found that they are not yet ready to accept the countless differences between Europe and China in real life. For instance, facing an increasing number of Confucius Institutes, Europeans have exhibited symptoms of anxiety. Many papers carried headlines like: "Propaganda tool of the People's Republic", "In bed with China" and "China at the gates!" (Kuenzle and Song 2012). Another obvious example is that Europeans are dissatisfied with the uncouth behaviors or the different habits of the Chinese, since more and more Chinese have been coming to Europe (Spiegel Online 2013). They have become aware that Chinese visitors to Europe are hardly interested in European cultural treasures (Erichsen 2009). On the other hand, nowadays China still considers Europe with lots of wonder and anticipation. But, as a result of increasing personal experiences in Europe, these notions have caused disappointment among the Chinese. More and more Chinese have realized that many Chinese cities have become more modern than European cities; Europe is not as good as they have thought after all (Sheng 2014).

Nevertheless, this disappointment can unleash further progress. In the 18th century, due to the gap between the idealized image of China and the "reality" of

China described in travel reports and travel novels, Europeans also experienced similar disappointment in China. At that time, the disappointment in China needed to be highlighted in order to produce a contrast with the progress of Europe. That disappointment was actually another manifestation of European pride in itself. But the disappointment of the present day is completely different. Considered from the root of the cultural psychology of Europe, present-day disappointment is caused by the difficulty and frustration involved in the process of turning the imaginary community of cultures into a thing of reality. This disappointment will either lead to Europe giving up its community of cultures and becoming enmeshed in anxiety about the clash of cultures, or the Europeans will transform this disappointment into a driving force to solve the problem and press on.

For China, this disappointment could be helpful to prompt China to move on to the next cultural psychological stages. As noted earlier, the myth of European modernity is breaking down. Caricatures in the German magazine *Stern* even depict Europe as something of a "Barbarenland (country of barbarians)" to Chinese tourists (Erichsen 2009). But it is precisely the slowly developing "barbaric" Europe that allows China to see the advantages of the "barbarians", which, in turn, attracts the Chinese. The relatively good and safe ecological and social conditions (Gao 2014), or, in other words, the harmonious relationship between Europe/"son" and nature/"mother", is one of the obvious results of the conciliatory stage. At the beginning of the 20th century, with the image of a natural and philosophical China, European intellectuals criticized rapidly developing Europe and rethought the relationship between "father", "mother" and self. This is an important sign of the post-Oedipal stage at the time. After more than one hundred years, China is now in the Oedipal stage, departed from the "mother" and worshiping the "father", which has ushered in a moral and ecological breakdown. Nowadays, the "disappointing" Europe could play a role, like the function of China for Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, in motivating the Chinese to rethink the limitations of the "father" and be reconciled with the "mother".

Summary and Conclusion

As has been argued throughout this chapter, Europe and China are irreplaceable for each other in their respective cultural psychological development. The image of Europe and the image of China hence function as the typical little other through which the psychological structures of the two cultural circles become clearly visible. Starting with the typical little other, this chapter has revealed the structure and developmental law of the respective cultural psychology of Europe and China.

The study has indicated that, on the whole, the development of the respective cultural psychology of both Europe and China coincide with the psychological growth of the human being. Europe has gone through the pre-Oedipal stage/mirror stage, the Oedipal stage and the post-Oedipal stage, and it is now in the conciliatory

stage; China has undergone the pre-Oedipal stage/mirror stage, and remains in the Oedipal stage to this day.

This study has shown that the increase in knowledge and information about the other exerts limited influence on the essence of the image of the other. In times of a lack of knowledge, a neutral image of the other can still exist, while the extreme image can also prevail in the age of information. What plays a decisive role in the essence of the image is the psychological needs of the culture. Up till now, there have been four psychological needs that have given impetus to the development of the European cultural psychology: The need to establish security, the need to possess masculinity, the need to find a feminine balance, and the need to build and live in a safe community. To date, two psychological needs have driven the growth of the Chinese cultural psychology: The need to establish stability and the need to possess masculinity.

Nowadays, Europe and China remain in two different stages of their cultural psychology and encounter each other with totally different attitudes and expectations. Europe expects a pleasant cooperator; China idolizes a model of modernization. Thus, the most noticeable consequence of their encounter is a sense of disappointment with each other, because Europe and China do not seem to be able to meet each other's requirements. However, these disappointments also imply the promise of hope. If Europeans do not want to experience another clash of cultures, they can, through their disappointment, find the main problem and think up more targeted actions to realize their imagination. The Chinese have realized the advantages of the conciliatory stage from Europe's example, hence they can become more aware of the problems in present-day China, the limitations of rationalism, and the necessity to reconnect the world with oneself; hopefully, this will propel China to the next stage of psychological need.

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