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Case Study of Three Exhibitions“

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1. Introduction

1.1 China Exhibitions in German Museums

Museums play a significant role in national identity building, and have always been in centre of the debates on national identity. As the repository of national culture, they connect the past to the present through “recounting stories about the artefacts of past cultures”.¹ Museums have been used to house a national heritage, in this way a national identity is created to fulfil national ambitions.² Exhibitions in museums, in particular, act as a medium of and setting for representation. As Karp and Lavine note, exhibitions are contested. Struggles exist not only over the objects to be represented, but also over the controlling actors of means of representing. The articulation of identity is either “directly, through assertion”, or “indirectly, by implication”, with “struggles over objects and the modes of exhibiting them”. In short, exhibitions are “privileged arenas for presenting images of self and ‘other’”.³

This paper aims to unveil the *poetics and politics*⁴ of exhibiting the Chinese identity in German museums, in the realm of the cultural policies in both countries since the year of 1990, shortly after the Fall of the Berlin Wall. It is this year that marked the beginning of a positive development of the diplomatic relationship between People’s Republic of China and Federal Republic of Germany. As is defined by Lidchi, *poetics* refer to the consideration of the construction and reproduction of meanings, through a semiotic analysis of the diversity of ways in which exhibitions create representations of cultures. The *politics* of museums, on the other hand, refers to the role of museums in the production of social knowledge.⁵ Major research questions raised in this paper are thus as follows: In which way has the Chinese national identity been constructed in China exhibitions in Germany during the past three decades, and why? In other words, how have the museum exhibitions contributed to imagining the nation?

¹ McLean, F. (1998). Museums and the construction of national identity: a review, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 3(4), 244.

² McLean, F. (1998). 245.

³ Karp, Ivan. (1991). Culture and Representation. In: Karp, Ivan and Lavine, Steven D. (ed.) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington and London, 15.

⁴ The terms of “poetics” and “politics” are inspired originally by the text written by H. Lidchi. Reference of the work: H. Lidchi. (1997) *The Poetics and Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures*, in S.Hall (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, 151-222.

⁵ McLean, F. (1998). 247-248.

What are the differences between the situation in China and Germany, in terms of the construction of Chinese national identity through the Palace Museum, as well as the media discourse of this constructed identity?

Before coming right to the point of China exhibitions in Germany, it is firstly important to outline briefly the history of diplomatic relationship between Germany and China since the mid-twentieth century. After the WWII, Germany was divided into two parts: German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the then-called FRG (Federal Republic of Germany). The diplomatic relationship between China and the German Democratic Republic has been established in 1950, while no official contact between China and the Federal Republic of Germany was made despite some trade contact until the early 1960s. The 1970s witnessed China's admission to the United Nations and the normalisation of its diplomatic relations with Japan, Great Britain and United States.⁶ The diplomatic relationship between China and the Federal Republic of Germany was officially established on October 11th in the year of 1972,⁷ with a peak in the 1980s. After 1989, however, the bilateral relationship hit rock bottom. Despite this, exchanges in economy, technology and culture kept ongoing. The next years saw a gradual recovery, with an eventual normalisation in December 1992.⁸ After the reunification of Germany in 1990, with the "New Asia Policy" implemented by the German

⁶ Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Waijiaobu, 中华人民共和国外交部, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. Zhongde jianjiao beijing qingkuang, 中德建交背景情况, [Background Information of the Establishment of China-Germany diplomatic relationship]. (n.d.). Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.mfa.gov.cn/chn/gxh/xsb/wjzs/t9015.htm>. Original Chinese texts: "二战结束后, 德国分裂为民主德国和联邦德国(简称东德和西德)。中国和东德1950年即已建立外交关系。由于分属两大阵营, 中西德之间直至60年代初仅有一些民间贸易往来, 没有官方接触。.....60年代初, 西德已实现“经济奇迹”, 迫切需要开辟国外市场和改善国际地位, 加之中苏分歧公开化, 西德上下出现了积极发展对华关系的呼声。.....70年代初, 随着中美关系大门的打开和中国在联合国合法席位的恢复, 以及西德同苏联、东欧关系逐步正常化, 中国与西欧国家建交出现高潮, 以基社盟主席施特劳斯为首的西德对苏强硬派一再试探与中国发展关系, 同时西德各界要求同中国建交的呼声也日益高涨。”

⁷ Ibid. Original Chinese texts concerning the whole process of establishing the diplomatic relationship between China and Germany: "1972年8月, 中国外交部授权新华社驻波恩分社社长王殊为中方谈判全权代表, 德方谈判全权代表是西德外交部政治司司长冯·史塔登。8月18日至9月25日, 双方就建交相关的问题进行了八轮会谈, 进展总体顺利。29日, 双方代表草签了建交公报。10月, 联邦德国副总理兼外长瓦尔特·谢尔应邀访华。10月11日, 中国外交部长姬鹏飞和西德外长谢尔分别代表两国政府在北京签署中德建交公报。”

⁸ An official online source points out that the relationship reached the overall normalisation in 1993. Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo zhu Deyizhi Lianbang Gongheguo dashiguan, 中华人民共和国驻德意志联邦共和国大使馆, Embassy of People's Republic of China in Federal Republic of Germany. Zhongguo tong Deguo de guanxi, 中国同德国的关系, [Relationship between China and Germany]. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.china-botschaft.de/chn/zdgc/zdgcgk/>.

government in September 1993, the five years of 1993-1998 witnessed a comprehensive, fast and intensive relationship development between the two states. Gerhard Fritz Kurt Schröder taking position of Helmut Kohl as Chancellor of Germany in 1998 marked a new period in the bilateral diplomatic history. Despite some fluctuations, the relationship has experienced a stable development after Schröder's first national visit to China in 1999, followed by six more visits in the following years.⁹ In the Merkel time since 2005, the two sides have become "close cooperative partners" according to Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel who "keeps a positive policy towards China in general"¹⁰. The new Asia Strategy Blueprint against "China's Threat" in 2007 is a sign of US's impact on Germany, yet the economic co-operation between China and Germany based on a common interest will not change in the near future, as is suggested by Sun: Germany has long been China's most important economic partner in Europe, meanwhile the European country with the most investment in China.¹¹ It should be yet noted that Chinese official statements on Sino-German relations have clear-cuts and differing attitudes in terms of political, cultural and economical aspects; whereas Germany generally describes the relations over the period of more than forty-years as "extremely wide-ranging, remarkably close and of growing political substance". Besides, Germany also claims that "Germany adheres to a one-China policy" at the very beginning of the official webpage of the Federal Foreign Office.¹² It is also stated that "China views Germany both economically and politically as its key partner in Europe" and that "important elements of bilateral relations are regular high-level coordination of ... and cooperation in the cultural and scientific sectors."¹³

⁹ Lian, Yuru. (2001). 浅谈21世纪中德关系, Qiantan 21 shiji zhongde guanxi. [A brief overview of China-Germany diplomatic relationship in the 21st century]. 国际政治研究, *guoji zhengzhi yanjiu, The Journal of International Studies*, 2, 64-75.

¹⁰ Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo zhu Deyizhi Lianbang Gongheguo dashiguan, 中华人民共和国驻德意志联邦共和国大使馆, Embassy of People's Republic of China in Federal Republic of Germany. Zhongguo tong Deguo de guanxi, 中国同德国的关系, [Relationship between China and Germany]. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.china-botschaft.de/chn/zdgx/zdngxgk/>.

¹¹ Sun, Wenpei. (2008). 浅析默克尔时代的中德外交, Qianxi Moke'er shidai de zhongde waijiao. [Sino-German Diplomacy in Merkel Time]. 武汉大学学报 (人文科学版), *Wuhan Daxue Xuebao (renwen kexue ban), Wuhan University Journal (Humanity Sciences)*, 61:3, 338.

¹² (2016, November). Federal Foreign Office of Federal Republic of Germany, Bilateral relations with China. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/01-Nodes/China_node.html.

¹³ Ibid.

More specifically, in terms of cooperation between the two countries in the cultural sector, Chins states that the cultural exchange agreement was signed in 1979 and that a new agreement was reached during the former president Hu Jintao's visit in Germany in 2005 - the same year in which the Chinese Culture Centre Berlin was founded.¹⁴ High-level official cultural events were organised since 2008, including "Sino-German Dialogue Forum", "Germany and China - Moving Ahead Together", China Culture Year, and Sino-German Language Year among others. Meanwhile, Sino-German museum cooperation were also launched, such as the exhibition project "China in Dresden, Dresden in China" in Dresden in 2008, and the 2011-2012 the joint exhibition "The Art of Enlightenment"¹⁵ held at China National Museum.¹⁶ On the other hand, Germany, in a more general statement concerning the cultural relationship between the two countries, concludes with its promotion for the German language and culture in China¹⁷, but also with a description of China's foreign policy in cultural sector as follows:

"Since embarking on its reform and opening-up policy, China has gradually opened up to foreign culture as well. At the same time, the Chinese government has for some years now been stepping up its efforts to spread the Chinese language and Chinese culture abroad. It sees this as a contribution to promoting international understanding and improving China's image abroad. This job is being done by both state-run cultural institutions ("cultural centres") and the Confucius Institutes (of which there are

¹⁴ The Chinese Culture Centre Berlin (Chinesisches Kulturzentrum Berlin, Bolin Zhongguo wenhua zhongxin, 柏林中国文化中心) was then put into use in 2008.

¹⁵ German and Chinese names of the institutions and events are as follows: Chinese Culture Centre Berlin (Chinesisches Kulturzentrum Berlin, Bolin Zhongguo wenhua zhongxin, 柏林中国文化中心); "Sino-German Dialogue Forum" (Zhongde duihua luntan, 中德对话论坛); "Germany and China - Moving Ahead Together" (Deutschland und China - Gemeinsam in Bewegung, De Zhong tongxing, 德中同行); China Culture Year (Zhongguo wenhua nian, 中国文化年); Sino-German Language Year (Zhongde yuyan nian, 中德语言年); "China in Dresden, Dresden in China" ("Zhongguo zai Deleisidun, Deleisidun zai Zhongguo", "中国在德累斯顿·德累斯顿在中国"); "The Art of Enlightenment" (qimeng de yishu, 启蒙的艺术).

¹⁶ Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo zhu Deyizhi Lianbang Gongheguo dashiguan, 中华人民共和国驻德意志联邦共和国大使馆, Embassy of People's Republic of China in Federal Republic of Germany. Zhongguo tong Deguo de guanxi, 中国同德国的关系, [Relationship between China and Germany]. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.china-botschaft.de/chn/zdgx/zdngxgk/>.

¹⁷ (2016, November). Federal Foreign Office of Federal Republic of Germany, Bilateral relations with China. "The same is true of the arts sector: in addition to major state-supported exhibitions, private galleries and art fairs are making an important contribution..."

currently 17 in Germany), which mostly take the form of university cooperation arrangements.”¹⁸

Within the diplomatic relation frame between China and Germany from 1990 to 2016 as is introduced above, twenty China exhibitions were held in Germany, mainly in museums, as can be seen in Table 1 in the Appendix. Chronologically, one can see from these data that after the organisation of two exhibitions in 1990, the number of exhibitions has dropped and remained low until the next exhibition peak between 1997 and 1999, with four exhibitions over the span of three years. From then on, the frequency of exhibitions has since then been stable. Since 2014, another peak is reached with six exhibitions within three years. It can be seen that generally, the tendency has been in line with the diplomatic relationship summarised above.

More specifically, Cologne tops the list with six exhibitions (since 2012, all in the *Museum for East Asian Art Cologne*¹⁹), followed by Hildesheim with three exhibitions, held in the *Römer- und Pelizäus-Museum Hildesheim*. Dortmund, Darmstadt, Bremen and Berlin all hosted two exhibitions, surpassing Essen, Mannheim, Dresden and Munich, hosting only one exhibition each. In terms of topic, before 1997 (Mannheim 1997/1998), no imperial treasures from ancient China were exhibited in German museums. The exhibition themes ranged from the Terracotta Army (Dortmund 1990), science (Hildesheim 1990), fossils (Darmstadt 1991), medicine science (Bremen 1997) and religion (Essen 1995) among others. The Mannheim 1997/1998 exhibition, “The life of the Qing-Dynasty Emperors (1644-1911)”,²⁰ was the first cooperation between the Palace Museum (Beijing) and a German museum after the reunification of Germany.²¹ After this breakthrough, imperial textiles were on display in 2002 (Dortmund 2000). From 2008 to 2013, two more exhibitions (Dresden 2008/2009, Cologne 2012/2013) were held in cooperation with the Palace Museum, both focusing on Qing dynasty. One exhibition worth emphasizing is the 2009 Munich exhibition, with the title “The

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Original German name of the museum: *Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst Köln*.

²⁰ Original German name of the exhibition: “Das Leben der Kaiser der Qing-Dynastie (1644-1911)”.

²¹ Before that, exhibitions titled “*Palastmuseum Peking: Schätze aus der verbotenen Stadt*” and “*Europa und die Kaiser von China 1240-1816*” were held in Berliner Festspiele in Berlin (May 12th to August 18th, 1985). More information can be found at http://archiv2.berlinerfestspiele.de/de/aktuell/festivals/11_gropiusbau/mgb_rueckblick/mgb_rueckblick_ausstellungen/mgb_00_rueckblick/mgb_00_rueckblick.php.

Wittelsbacher and the Middle Kingdom: 400 years China and Bavaria”, in the Bavarian National Museum. This exhibition is significant at the regional level, despite the facts that it was not a cooperative exhibition with the Palace Museum, and that many objects came from the German collections. It offered an overview of the intercultural relationship between Shandong province and Bavaria in the 1500s. Themes of other exhibitions include a colonisation history of Qingdao (Berlin 1998), Hong Kong (98/99 Darmstadt), porcelain (Cologne 2015) and Chinese calligraphy (Cologne 2016). It is also noteworthy that there has only been one exhibition on the history of modern China - “China under Mao’s rule”²² (Bremen 14/15, in cooperation with Weltmuseum (i.e. “World Museum”), Vienna.²³

Among all the twenty China exhibitions in German museums from 1990 to 2016, this paper mainly focuses on three exhibitions as case studies: 1997/1998 “The Forbidden City - The life of the last emperors of China” in the *Reiss-Museum Mannheim (Mannheim)*, 2008/2009 “Golden Dragon, White Eagle: Art for the service of power in the court in China and the Saxon-Polish court (1644-1795)” in *State Art Collection Dresden (Dresden)* and 2012/2013 “Gloss of the Emperors of China: Art and life in the Forbidden City” in the *Museum for East Asian Art Cologne (Cologne)*.²⁴ In chapter 5, these three cases, as is shown in Table 2 in Appendix, will be analysed in detail from a cultural-anthropological perspective.

1.2 Literature Review

Empirical studies on national museum and identity construction at a global scale began to rise in recent years in the western academia, with the publishing of a book entitled “*National Museums: New Studies from Around the World*”, originated in the NaMu project

²² Original German name of the exhibition: “China unter Mao”.

²³ Original German name of the museum: Weltmuseum Wien.

²⁴ The original German names of the respective exhibitions, museums and cities are as follows: “Die Verbotene Stadt - Aus dem Leben der letzten Kaiser von China”, *Reiss-Museum Mannheim (Mannheim)*; “Goldener Drache, Weißer Adler: Kunst im Dienst der Macht am Kaiserhof von China und am sächsisch-polnischen Hof (1644-1795)”, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Dresden)*; “Glanz der Kaiser von China: Kunst und Leben in der Verbotenen Stadt”, *Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst Köln, (Köln)*.

(2007-2008) funded under the European Commission's Marie Curie Actions.²⁵ Among all case studies in this publication, two focus on China - Varutti's work on national museums in China and Barnes' on four China exhibitions in London in the 19th century.²⁶ Varutti examines in her work the aesthetics and narratives of national museums in China based on cases of six museums in China, among which Palace Museum is not on the list - yet the significance of the Palace Museum turning into a public museum has been mentioned, as will be seen in the following chapters. The study also provides useful insights for how the aesthetics, as part of the poetics, can be understood in a broader cultural and political context. In later years, no obvious progress has been made in this area, except that another project funded by EU - EuNaMus - was launched.²⁷ Throughout the years from 2011 to 2013, nine research reports have been published, however, all focusing on museum identity politics of national museums in Europe.

As a particular case in China, the Palace Museum in Beijing (Gugong bowuyuan, 故宫博物院) has long been under analysis - mainly in the Chinese academia, with a heavy focus on the art value of the artefacts. Only since recent years has the museum itself as a whole gained more attention from scholars from mainland China - who concentrate on the national consensus building process of the museum, the cultural value of the museum, and the role of the museum as a representative of Chinese culture. More specifically, Xu analyses in detail the way in which symbols of the imperial monarchy were destroyed by, and new national icons were constructed by the Republican China.²⁸ Zhang explores the history of the museum and states that it is the "astonishing representer of the traditional Chinese culture" and an

²⁵ The project title of NaMu is "Making National Museums". Forty early career researchers were funded from around the world, and six thematic conference/workshops were held in Norrköping, Leicester and Oslo between 2007 and 2008. The book contains 29 case studies - none of which come from North America, Australia or New Zealand that dominate the English-language museum studies literature.

²⁶ Please refer to the reference list for the two essays: Varutti 2011, Barnes 2011. Barnes' study will be introduced as one of the limited research on China's foreign exhibitions in this chapter.

²⁷ The project title of EuNaMus is "European national museums: Identity politics, the uses of the past and the European citizen", lasting from February 2010 to January 2013, coordinated by the Linköping University in Sweden. The project aims to study "the interrelation between collective representations and uses of history and cultural evolution in an enlarged Europe", as is stated in the official website (Project info). The official website of the project is <http://www.ep.liu.se/eunamus/>.

²⁸ Xu, Wanling, 徐婉玲, (2013). 博物馆与国家认同之建构——以故宫博物院开院为中心, Bowuguan yu guojia rentong zhi jiangou: yi Gugong Bowuyuan kaiyuan wei zhongxin. [Museums and building a national consensus: Focusing on the establishment of the Palace museum]. 故宫学刊, *Gugong Xuekan, Journal of Gugong Studies*, 2, 396-413.

“important and unique practice field for constructing national image of China”, demonstrating an “unified and diversified China” to the world.²⁹ Zhao analyses the characteristics and relationships of the two cultures within the museum - imperial culture and museum culture, aiming to find a developing path for the museum.³⁰ These studies on cultural meaning of the museum itself can provide a factual basis for the purpose of study of this paper.

In comparison with studies on the museum itself, however, there are not as many in terms of overseas exhibitions of the museum since the 1970s.³¹ This makes Naquin’s work an outstanding one, in which the foreign exhibitions of the museum in the time span from 1974 to 2004 were examined regarding exhibition history, exhibition catalogue and the changing view of the Qing Dynasty in academia - which has been displayed in the exhibitions.³² Another work on the first foreign exhibition - not of the museum, yet also of great significance - focuses on four cases in Britain in the mid-19th century, where “material culture of the Chinese Other”³³ was exhibited. It is argued that the representation of Chinese culture in national museums or nationally significant exhibitions, to some degree, reflected the self-image and conception of British nationhood. The two studies by western scholars, although very limited in number, are rich in content, providing both important insights and useful information.

The lack of Chinese literature in the particular field of Chinese foreign museum exhibitions can be complemented by news reports on the effect of overseas exhibitions as narrative gen-

²⁹ Zhang, Hongwei, 章宏伟, (2016). 紫禁城：从皇宫到博物院——故宫博物院的前世今生. Zijincheng: cong huanggong dao bowuyuan. [The Forbidden City: From Palace to Museum]. 江南大学学报（人文社会科学版）, *Jiangnan Daxue Xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban), Journal of Jiangnan University (Humanities & Social Sciences edition)*, 15:2, 59-61.

³⁰ Zhao, Guanqun, 赵冠群, (2014). 故宫博物院中的皇家文化与博物馆文化. Gugong Bowuyuan zhong de huangjia wenhua yu bowuguan wenhua. [The Palace Museum: The Royal Culture and Museum Culture]. Unpublished master thesis, Beijing, Chinese National Academy of Art.

³¹ The first overseas exhibition of the Palace Museum was held in 1974 in Tokyo, Japan, two years after the Sino-Japan relationship was normalized. More details can be seen in Naquin’s work (p.345).

³² Naquin, S. (2004). The Forbidden City Goes Abroad: Qing History and the Foreign Exhibitions of the Palace Museum, 1974-2004, *T'oung Pao*, 90:4/5, 341-397. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.js-tor.org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/stable/4528973>.

³³ Barnes, Amy Jane. (2011). Exhibiting China in London. In: Knell, Simon J. et. al. (ed.) *National Museums: New studies from around the world*. London and New York: Routledge, 386-399.

erators.³⁴ Research on the general status of China's cultural diplomacy, Sino-German relationship and China's foreign policy in relation to Chinese national identity may also serve as crucial background for content analysis.³⁵

1.3 Palace Museum and Identity Construction: *Within and Beyond Borders*

To study the overseas China exhibitions held by the Palace Museum, it is necessary to firstly study the significance of the museum in both Chinese and global context. This section aims to answer the following questions: How has the Chinese national identity been constructed through the collections, or directly through the Palace Museum itself? In another word, what is the relationship between the establishment (and running) of the Palace Museum, and the national consensus construction process?

The Palace Museum in Beijing was transformed from the Imperial Palace in 1925 (Oct.10, 1925). This was regarded as a “symbolically charged gesture”³⁶, as it was the first time when the former residence of the Emperor, his personal belongings and intimate aspects of his daily life were all exhibited to the public. Jane C. Ju states that the Palace Museum has become a national symbol after its establishment in 1925. Xu Ben makes an even clearer statement that the establishment of the Palace Museum in 1925 has the same symbolic significance as the opening of Louvre Museum (Musée du Louvre) in France in 1793, in that it goes beyond the building of ethnic Chinese identity to the announcement of political legitimisation.³⁷

The museum was opened to the public until 1931. From 1933 onwards, important collections of the museum were moved from Beijing to Shanghai to Nanjing, then to southwest China, in face of the Japanese invasion. Part of the collections were moved to Taiwan - firstly in

³⁴ Please refer to the online literature (primary literature) in the bibliography for these news reports.

³⁵ Studies on China's cultural diplomacy in a globalizing world include Miao 2006 and Zhang 2006; General information on Sino-German diplomatic relationship can be found at websites of Federal Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China; China's foreign policy can be reached in studies by Möller, Liu and Peter van Ness.

³⁶ Varutti, Marzia. (2011). The aesthetics and narratives of national museums in China. In: Knell, Simon J. et. al. (eds.) *National Museums: New studies from around the world*. Routledge: London and New York, 305.

³⁷ Xu, Wanling, 徐婉玲, (2013). 396-413.

Taichung (in 1957) and then in the “National Palace Museum” outside of Taipei in 1965. The museum was then closed from 1966 to 1971 during the Cultural Revolution.³⁸ Overseas exhibitions of the museum appeared in the 1970s, during which time China’s contact with the world was reestablished. This was manifested by China’s admission to the United Nations and normalisation of diplomatic relations with Japan (1972), Great Britain (1972) and United States (1979). Between 1974 and the early 2000s, the Palace Museum began to sponsor foreign exhibitions from its own collections in nearly 70 venues. The exhibitions focused mainly on lives of the Qing emperors in the 18th century and the Palace (Gugong, Forbidden City) itself.³⁹ This strategy can still be seen from foreign exhibitions at present time, especially from the cases to be analysed in Chapter 4.

The historical, political and cultural memory and consensus the Palace Museum carries, are multi-layered and have kept changing, as Xu claims.⁴⁰ The imperial collections possess rich symbolic significance in terms of religion, politics and aesthetics, acting as an important way of building political legitimacy. Therefore, the palace architecture and imperial collections in the Forbidden City has always been a symbol of the “feudal imperial authority”, as well as the most outstanding mark of national image and political power in Ming and Qing Dynasty ever since its establishment. The transformation of Forbidden City/Imperial Palace, then to the Palace Museum, is a metaphor of the historical development in China in modern times. The opening of the museum signifies that the Forbidden City has been transformed from a feudal imperial palace in Ming and Qing Dynasty to a public museum of the rising democratic republic, thus a new cultural symbol instead of an old palace in ancient times. Meanwhile, the objects under collection are no more symbol of imperial wealth - they are public collections of the new democratic republic. Most importantly, the political significance of the museum has not been diminished through academic researches; instead, it has been reemphasised and strongly demonstrated, and a new discourse in the public about the Imperial Palace, the collections and the Palace Museum has emerged.⁴¹

³⁸ Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), political campaign in China, launched in 1966 by Chinese Communist Party chairman Mao Zedong to eliminate his political rivals and revolutionise Chinese society. In the social chaos and political persecution that followed, thousands died and millions were imprisoned or exiled.

³⁹ Naquin, S. (2004). 341-344.

⁴⁰ Xu, Wanling. (2013). 396-413.

⁴¹ Xu, Wanling. (2013). 413.

Other studies also posit the Palace Museum in a historical and global context. The Palace Museum, in this regard, made manifest the “power of the state to desacralise the Emperor’s persona and to delegitimise his rule”. The granting of public access to elitist art and all the symbolic meaning it possesses was understood as “an act of modernisation on a new progressive path for the Chinese nation”, as is suggested by Hamlish.⁴² Hamlish also suggests that a paradox lies in the attempt of the museum to construct the past in the modern state: a contradiction between the need to sever the present from the imperial past, and the need to maintain a connection to and continuity with the ancient culture and civilisation. The museum aims to resolve this contradiction through the intersection of the following two discourses: one is a “global cultural rhetoric of museums and monuments” that “legitimises local meanings and political processes”, and the other is a “symbolic rhetoric of Chinese imperial rule” for promoting the “universality of a Chinese cultural heritage suitable for global consumption”. This is clearly manifested by the inscription of the museum to UNESCO World Heritage List in 1987 (as number 439),⁴³ when a global legitimacy to local claims of ownership (Chinese ownership in this case) was granted by the universal criteria for cultural heritage evaluation in the UNESCO convention. The paradox between the local and the global, the particular and the universal, reversely, also provides a possibility to resist the hegemonic and homogenising heritage ideology, satisfying the need to preserve local authority while building legitimacy within the global context. The rhetoric of global heritage thus serves as a tool for legitimising the state’s occupation of the former Imperial Palace - “a symbol of political (and moral) authority”.⁴⁴

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Chinese Identity

2.1.1 Chinese National Identity

⁴² Varutti, Marzia. (2011). 305.

⁴³ World Heritage List: Imperial Palaces of the Ming and Qing Dynasties in Beijing and Shenyang. (n.d.). Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/439>.

⁴⁴ Hamlish, T. (2000). Global Culture, Modern Heritage: Re-membering the Chinese Imperial Collections. In: S. A. Crane (Ed.), *Museums and Memory*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 156-157.

In the late twentieth century, issues of national identity received much attention in academia under the influence of changes caused by the process of globalisation. Based on theoretical and empirical journals published on *National Identities* from 2001 to 2011, Rembold and Carrier have reviewed whether the concepts of nation and nationhood are still useful for examining group identities.⁴⁵ It is argued that, taken into account the spatial dimensions of identity constructions, terms like space and territory should not be viewed as container analytical tools, but as products of social practices. Identity is thus variable and is attached to the places of action - the signification process of which depends on the historical experiences of the actors. The dominant significations in historical narratives are determined by the power. Empirically, it is also obvious that apart from studying the spatial dimensions of identity, it is necessary to study identity in terms of hybridity, as multilayered identities. However, national attachments have not faded away as they are newly considered as “the product of self-reflexive choice” instead of “a socially imposed structure”⁴⁶. Similarly, empirical evidence also exists that the impact of economic globalisation, mobility and communication has enhanced national attachments. The conclusion was made that there is a positive correlation between the diminution of political power over the nation (and particularly over “the definition of all things national”) and the possibility of the definition becoming a discursive term that attracts different social groups with common values and experiences - those who view nationhood as just *one* element of their complex identity.

The most fundamental question would yet be “what is identity?” - according to Erikson, identity is something that “connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (self-sameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others”.⁴⁷ Although national identity is sometimes logically defined just as the “largest and most inclusive form of collective identity”, the definition can still be problematic, as is suggested by Dittmer and Kim.⁴⁸ The complication lies in that inclusion within the national territory is not totally voluntary and one cannot always exist without penalty. A nation is a “nation-state” only partly

⁴⁵ Rembold E and Carrier P. (2011). Space and Identity: Constructions of national identities in an age of globalization, *National Identities*, 13:4, 361-377.

⁴⁶ Rembold E and Carrier P. (2011). 374.

⁴⁷ Erikson. (1960). The Problem of Ego Identity. In: Maurice R. Stein et al., *Identity and Anxiety*. Glencoe, Ill: Free Press: 30.

⁴⁸ Dittmer, L. and Kim, S. S. (1993). In Search of a Theory of National Identity. In: Dittmer, L. and Kim, S. S. (ed.) *China's quest for national identity*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 5.

defined by dimensions of the group, partly by the subordination of the group to sovereign authority. The classic definition of national identity by Verba and Pye emphasises that national identity is the “set of individuals who fall within the decision-making scope of the state”.⁴⁹ Defining national identity thus equals defining the included and excluded groups of people (such as guest workers, tourists and alienated ethnic minorities) by the national boundaries that may be both social and physical - whose dimensions are determined by multiple criteria like common language, ethnic or racial origin, political culture etc. It is also suggested that national identity is the “relationship between nation and state that obtains when the people of that nation identify with the state”, neither a property nor an aspect of either nation or state.⁵⁰

Among the two independent dimensions of national identity, one describes the degree (strong/weak) while the other portrays the substantive content with which people identify (i.e. the state itself). The state is thus at the core of the national identity discussion - defined by both what it *does* and what it *is*. It defines itself most clearly by what it *does* “as a collective unit”, and its performance is most visibly displayed in the international community as each state plays the role of “autonomous, unitary” actor and engages in events from demarches to wars. Taking this dimension into account is to provide a more comprehensive definition where state is not defined based on its component parts but on its relationship with/to other nation-states.⁵¹ It can be the theoretical foundation for studying the ways of exhibiting and identity construction in museums.

The theory has also been applied to research on Chinese national identity - Liu, in his doctoral dissertation on Chinese national identity and foreign policy, has found that there is a casual relationship between Chinese national identity and China’s foreign policy during the period of 1949-2004, mainly based on social identity theory.⁵² Liu argues that the way of Chinese self-identifying has transferred from an ethnic approach, to a nation-state approach

⁴⁹ Dittmer and Kim. (1993). 6.

⁵⁰ Dittmer and Kim. (1993). 13.

⁵¹ Dittmer and Kim. (1993). 14.

⁵² Liu, Zhiyong, 刘智勇, (2009). 中国国家身份与外交战略的选择(1949-2004), Zhongguo guojia shenfen yu waijiaozhanlüe de xuanze (1949-2004). [The Choice of China’s National Identity and Foreign Policy Strategy]. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Beijing, China Foreign Affairs University.

(from a global perspective), with the landmark of the Opium War.⁵³ Liu argues that China used to identify itself as the “Middle Kingdom” (Zhongyang Diguo, 中央帝国) in the “East Asian international system” (Dongya de guoji tixi, 东亚的国际体系) - one that was not actually “international”, as important nations like England, USA and France were not considered part of the system. Only after the Opium War (Yapian Zhanzheng, 鸦片战争) did China start to interact with the world and contemplate the relationship between itself and the rest of the world.⁵⁴

Liu divides the modern history of China (since 1949 when People’s Republic of China was established) into four time spans, in which China has implemented different foreign policy strategies. Accordingly, there are four identities of China in these time spans: the “mild socialist country” (1949-1956), the “revolutionist socialist country” (1957-1977), “a member of the global community” (1978-1995), and most recently (and future-oriented), “a member of East Asian community” (1996-2004).⁵⁵ It is also to be noted that after 1978, the in- and out- group foreign affairs strategy (a zero-sum strategy (linghe celüe, 零和策略) with low degree of cooperation) has gradually turned to a non zero-sum strategy (with much higher degree of cooperation and a win-win thinking). This serves as a strong argument against the “China Threat Theory” (Zhongguo weixie lun, 中国威胁论), and also shed light on the particular study on China-Germany official cultural exchange - which can be analysed based on the national identity-foreign policy casual relationship.⁵⁶

⁵³ Opium Wars (1839-1842, 1856-1860), two conflicts between Britain and China over trading rights. In the Second Opium War, also known as the *Arrow War* or the Anglo-French War in China, French forces joined the British. The wars are so named because they centered on the trade of opium, a powerful narcotic that British merchants were smuggling into China in vast quantities.

⁵⁴ Liu, Zhiyong, (2009). 40-41. Original Chinese texts: “中国人对自我和他者的思考决定了中国的国家身份。1840年之前，中国在东亚的国际体系中有自己独特的身份定位，那就是‘中央帝国’。但那还不是真正意义上的国际社会，因为在中国人的脑海中还没有其他一些重要国家的形象，如英国、美国、法国等等。鸦片战争之后，中国才被真正地推上了世界的舞台，才发现世界上原来有这么多强国，在相互交往的过程中，中国开始了对自我与世界关系的思考。”

⁵⁵ The four stages and the corresponding original Chinese terms are as follows: “mild socialist country (wenhe de shehuizhuyi guojia shenfen, 温和的社会主义国家身份)” (1949-1956), the “revolutionist socialist country (geming de shehuizhuyi guojia shenfen, 革命的社会主义国家身份)” (1957-1977), “a member of the global community (guoji shehui de yiyuan, 国际社会的一员)” (1978-1995), and most recently (and future-oriented), “a member of East Asian community (dongya gongtongti de yiyuan, 东亚共同体的一员)” (1996-2004).

⁵⁶ Liu, Zhiyong, (2009).

Similarly, Kay Möller, researcher at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin, also studies the foreign policy of China during the years between 1949 and 2004. It may be a complementary source to Liu's analysis of the relationship between China's national identity and foreign policy. Möller divides the modern Chinese history into the following six stages: "the alliance with Soviet Union" (1949-1955), "the end of the socialist camp" (1956-1965), "isolation" (1966-1969), "the normalisation of the relation with the West" (1970-1977), "the 'strategical triangle'" (1978-1989), and finally, "virtual great power" (1990-2004).⁵⁷

Table 3 below provides a summarised list of the changing history of the official "Chinese national identity" over the time span of 1949-2004, mainly based on the studies of Liu⁵⁸ and Möller⁵⁹. Liu's division of the time span between 1949 and 2004 into four periods, in which the national identity of China, self-positioning and the relation of China to the world (the role of China in the world) of People's Republic of China changes, along with the foreign policy concluded by Liu and Möller respectively, are shown in this Table. In addition, the reason why such foreign policy is implemented by China is resulted in the national identity, according to Liu. Liu examines this casual relation from both theoretical perspective and practical perspective (e.g. through content analysis of China's foreign policy documents).

⁵⁷ Möller, Kay. (2005). *Die Außenpolitik der Volksrepublik China. Eine Einführung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. 5-9. The six stages and the accordingly German original terms are as follows: "the alliance with Soviet Union (Die Allianz mit der Sowjetunion)" (1949-1955), "the end of the socialist camp (Das Ende des sozialistischen Lagers)" (1956-1965), "isolation (Isolation)" (1966-1969), "the normalisation of the relation with the West (Die Normalisierung der Beziehung zum Westen)" (1970-1977), "the 'strategical triangle (Das 'strategische Dreieck')'" (1978-1989), and finally, "virtual great power (Virtuelle Großmacht)" (1990-2004)

⁵⁸ Liu, Zhiyong, (2009).

⁵⁹ Möller, Kay. (2005)

Table 3: Official Chinese National Identity (1949-2004)

Nr.	Time	National Identity (Liu)	Self-Positioning (and China's relation to the world) (Liu)	Foreign Policy (Liu, Möller)
1	1949-1956	“mild socialist country (wenhe de shehuizhuyi guojia shenfen, 温和的社会主义国家身份)” - “mild” as conflicts between China and non-socialist countries are not that serious (esp. not as serious as in the second phase).	China is a socialist country. Global community consists of two camps: socialist (revolutionary) and capitalist/imperialist (anti-revolutionary). The former is called as “inner-group” (neituant, 内团体) to which China belongs, while the latter as “outer-group”(waituant, 外团体). Besides, there is also a group called “inner-group-to-be” (zhun neituant, 准内团体) to which nationalist countries (minzu zhuyi guojia, 民族主义国家) belong. (社会主义国家/革命/正义, 资本主义国家/帝国主义国家/反革命/非正义)	The alliance with Soviet Union: “Leaning to One Side” strategy (“Zu einer Seite neigen”, yibiandao, “一边倒”外交战略) - meaning China fully leans to the socialist camp. “Peaceful co-existence” strategy (“Friedliche Koexistenz”, heping gongchu, 和平共处): meaning China would coexist peacefully with countries under different systems (zhidu, 制度).
2	1957-1976	“revolutionist socialist country (geming de shehuizhuyi guojia shenfen, 革命的社会主义国家身份)”	China is a socialist country. However, the Soviet Union was newly categorised as member of the “outer-group” instead of the “inner-group”, due to (1) different opinions of the two sides on “peaceful transition” (heping guodu, 和平过渡) - referring to the possible forms of different countries transitioning to socialist countries, firstly came up by Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, (2) some other diplomatic conflicts, (3) Soviet Union's transfer to revisionism (xiuzheng zhuyi, 修正主义) as considered by Mao.	Three historical periods: 1. The End of socialist camp (1956-1965); 2. Isolation (1966-1969); 3. Normalisation of relations between China and the West (1970-1977). China implements a cooperative strategy towards the “real socialist countries” (inner-group) and “nationalist countries”(inner-group-to-be), whereas conflictual strategy (non-zero strategy) towards capitalist countries (outer-group), including Soviet Union which was newly categorised into this group - that was how the two sides became “enemies” instead of “friends”. That China eased the relation to U.S. was a flexible strategy yet not a fundamental change of position. (Liu, 78-83.)

Table 3: Official Chinese National Identity (1949-2004)

Nr.	Time	National Identity (Liu)	Self-Positioning (and China's relation to the world) (Liu)	Foreign Policy (Liu, Möller)
3	1978-1995	“a member of the global community (guoji shehui de yiyuan, 国际社会的一员)”	The leadership change upon Mao's death in 1976 has resulted in the change in self-positioning. Deng suggested that ideology and social system should not be the standards for making alliances - the absence of a “new standard” leads to “China viewing the global community almost as a whole”, despite the co-existence of other identity discourse such as the “weak identification” (ruoshi shenfen rentong, 弱势身份认同) of “Third World” (as is analysed by Van Ness) and “developing country”. The foreign policy has shifted since 1978 but not sharply changed until 1982. The 12th Party Congress symbolises the basic establishment of such a new identity of China. (Liu, 90-93.)	The “Triangle” between China, U.S. and Soviet Union (1978-1989): developing Sino-US relation while bettering Sino-SU relation. Since 1982: China implements an independent foreign policy of peace (duli zizhu de heping waijiao zhengce, 独立自主的和平外交政策) - non-alignment policy (bujiemeng zhengce, 不结盟政策), five principles of peaceful coexistence (heping gongchu wuxiang yuanze, 和平共处五项原则) and abstraction of anti-hegemonism (反霸的抽象化). That there is no “outer-group” alters China's foreign policy from zero-sum strategy to non-zero sum or win-win strategy (with more bi- and multilateral cooperations). (Liu, 93)
4	1996-2004	“a member of East Asian community (dongya gongtongti de yiyuan, 东亚共同体的一员)”	As the interaction, cooperation and reliance between China and East Asian countries increase (geographically, also eco-politically), China's identification with East Asia is also strengthened, contributing to establishing the new collective identity “member of the East Asia community”. Four factors (or master variables) leading to the emergence of such a new collective identity, according to Wendt, include: interdependence, common fate, homogeneity and self-restraint, which can be applied to this particular case. (Liu, 111.)	Since 1990s, China considers the diplomacy strategy at modern times as “giant-powers are the key, surrounding countries are prior, developing countries the basic and multilateral diplomacy the crucial stage”. (大国是关键, 周边是首要, 发展中国家是基础, 多边是重要舞台) The relationship of China with East Asian countries - in particular with the surrounding countries - is important. (Liu, 120.)

Peter van Ness, an American specialist on Chinese foreign policy and the international relations of the Asia-Pacific region, also studies the concept of “official national identity” based on China’s foreign policy, i.e. the identity that reflects “the CCP leadership’s image of China and its specification of the People’s Republic role in the world.”⁶⁰ It is suggested, quoting Kim and Dittmer, that “a viable sense of national identity is vital domestically to securing the political legitimacy of a regime, and equally vital internationally as the political rationale supporting claims to international leadership.”⁶¹ The importance of national identity, meanwhile, is dependent on “a leadership successfully linking symbols to power, to performance”, according to Arthur Wadron.⁶² Van Ness examines the forty-year history of PRC foreign policy from 1950 to 1988 and divides it into three periods based on the three foreign policy “lines” (luxian, 路线), which consist of four parts: the CCP leadership world view, the political-strategic component, the economic component and a sense of China’s global role.⁶³ Although the paper was published in 1993 and only provides analysis of the period before the year of 1988, some theoretical ideas and analysing methods may still shed light on the analysis of contemporary Chinese identity, for example, one very important point is made in the text about the necessity to distinguish between national-identity implementation and formation.⁶⁴ In addition are the the descriptions of the foreign policy making process:

“For the Chinese leadership, a foreign policy line is a unified, theoretically articulated, comprehensive design for dealing with the global system. Such a line begins with an analysis of the international situation. Then, on the basis of that analysis, the line prescribes a strategy for dealing with the principal problems that the analysis has identified. It is a paradigm or logically integrated model of foreign relations contain-

⁶⁰ Peter van Ness. (1993). China as a Third World State: Foreign Policy and Official National Identity. In: Lowell Dittmer, Samuel S. Kim (ed.) *China’s Quest for National Identity*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 198.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Peter van Ness. (1993). 199.

⁶⁴ Peter van Ness. (1993). 200.

ing prescriptions for both political-strategic policies and international economic relations.”⁶⁵

The three periods listed by Van Ness, i.e. those with “Socialist-camp line”(1950-57), “Third World line”(1960-70) and “Modernisation/Opening to the West line” (1978-88), are thus considered to be “the only three periods in the forty years of PRC history during which the party leadership implemented a comprehensive and consistent line in foreign relations”.⁶⁶ More specifically, in terms of the third period with “Modernisation/Opening to the West line”, a design of joining the North while still referring to South vs. North was constituted. This strategy aims to rely to the United States to deter possible threats from the Soviet Union to the national security of China, meanwhile to “integrate the Chinese economy into the capitalist world market system”.⁶⁷

2.1.2 Chinese Cultural Identity

Chinese identity, as defined in the “Brill’s Encyclopaedia of China” from a culturalism perspective, is history-based. Unlike the most known name of the ancient China, “Zhongguo” (Middle Kingdom), names like Hua and Xia have shown how the ruling classes of the Middle Kingdom from earlier times differentiated themselves in cultural terms.⁶⁸ The early forms of Chinese nationalism (or patriotism) can be traced back to Song times (960-1279). During this period of time when China was partly ruled by nomadic dynasties, the Chinese were identified as an ethnic group by “Han”. Beyond this early attempt to differentiate Chinese civilisation from other peoples (Jurchen, Manchurian, even the African merchants came to Guangzhou in the 12th century), however, no theoretical explanation of the components of the Chinese ethnic group emerged. This is also manifested in the way northern Chinese, whose territory was occupied by the southern Chinese of the Song, called the Southernns - “barbarians beyond the Huai River”. The phenomenon can be termed as “Chi-

⁶⁵ Peter van Ness. (1993). 201.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Peter van Ness. (1993). 203.

⁶⁸ Leese, D. (ed.) (2009). Brill’s Encyclopedia of China. Leiden: Brill, 118.

nese culturalism” (Joseph Levenson). In sum, it is suggested that the Chinese identity in traditional China, if ever existed, can be defined by “cultural achievements and similarities”.⁶⁹

Only after the clash with the West in the 19th century was this culturalism replaced with nationalism - a term that has received much more attention than “culturalism” in the academia. In Meissner’s study on the search of China for cultural and national identity from the 19th century to the present, the same argument of China’s transition from “culturalism” to “nationalism” is stated. 1840 Opium War - where the Chinese culture and the fundamentals of the elites’ self-perception was challenged - is regarded as the transitional point, marking the beginning of a “perennial identity crisis”.⁷⁰ Meissner divides the whole process into five periods:

Mid-19th century to 1895 as the first period, with the classic paradigm of “Chinese learning as essence (or substance), and Western learning for application (or as) function” (Zhongxue weiti, xixue weiyong, “中学为体，西学为用”), meaning a selective application of Western technology and science while remaining the Chinese culture at core of China’s society and state. During this period, China was supposed to only have to “learn from the superiority of the foreigners in order to rein in their superiority” (shiyi changji yi zhiyi, 师夷长技以制夷) (Zhang Zhidong, 张之洞, 1837-1909) to conquer against the Western threat. The industrial modernisation of China was thus launched with the establishment of arsenals, mines, railways, etc. - marked by two movements, i.e. “Movement for self-strengthening” (Ziqiang yundong, 自强运动) and “Yangwu movement” (Yangwu yundong, 洋务运动) (*Yangwu* stands for foreign affairs), aiming at protecting the threatened territory, Chinese culture as well as existing Confucian system of rule.⁷¹

During the second period, 1895-1911, the focus has been shifted from adoption of western technology to the political reform under western influences, led by intellectuals such as Kang Youwei (1858-1927), Liang Qichao (1873-1929), and Tan Sitong (1865-1898). Kang looked

⁶⁹ Leese, D. (ed.) (2009). 119.

⁷⁰ Meissner, W. (2006). China’s search for cultural and national identity from the nineteenth century to the present. *China Perspectives [Online]*, 68, 4. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <https://chinaperspectives.revues.org/3103>.

⁷¹ Meissner, W. (2006). 4-5.

to the Confucian classics to find the solution for defending the challenge from the West, which can be seen from his article “Confucius as Reformer” (Kongzi gaizhikao, 孔子改制考) and his attempt to “win the ideological legitimisation for political change by returning to a reformed Confucianism”, under the slogan of “changing the institutions based on the teachings of the old times” (tuogu gaizhi, 托古改制). Although the “Hundred Days Reforms” in 1898 failed, it is still of great significance that ideas like abolition of traditional Sino-centrist world view and the transformation of the Chinese empire into a constitutional monarchy were raised; most importantly, that Kang and other pioneer reformers recognised that the adoption of technology from the West alone cannot rescue China - the Chinese and Western learning was, in this way, equalised by the Chinese intellectuals.⁷² These early forms of nationalism have been analysed more specifically in German historian Osterhammel’s work, where nationalism (Nationalisms) is categorised into three types: Anti-imperialistic nationalism (Anti-imperialistischer Nationalismus), political nationalism (Politischer Nationalisms) and ethnic nationalism (Ethnischer Nationalismus).⁷³

The third period from 1911 to 1949 is regarded the most crucial by Meissner, as “neither before or since have Chinese intellectuals discussed so thoroughly and comprehensively Western ideas and Chinese culture”.⁷⁴ Four main groups emerged during this time, i.e. the Confucians, represented by Gu Hongming (1827-1928) and Zhang Junmai (Carsun Chang, 1887-1969); the nationalists around Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) and his party (the *Guomindang*); the liberals like Hu Shi (1891-1962), and finally, Marxists such as Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, Mao and others. Confucians believe that European civilisation, which is considered “material” (*wuzhi*), was going to destroy Chinese civilisation that is superior for its “spiritual” (*jingshen*) characteristic. Sun tried to synthesise the Confucian tradition with Western political liberalism in his work *Sanminzhuyi* (*Three People’s Principles*)⁷⁵, and was also convinced that China’s culture was superior, yet he wanted to “introduce Western democratic

⁷² Meissner, W. (2006). 5.

⁷³ Osterhammel, J. (1997). Shanghai, 30. Mai 1925: Die Chinesische Revolution. (Originalausg.). München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 114-121.

⁷⁴ Meissner, W. (2006). 5.

⁷⁵ Three Principles of the People (or Three People’s Principles, Sanminzhuyi) are the teachings of Sun Yatsen (Sun Yixian), which he developed in cooperation with close confidants. Their written version was finalised in a series of lectures Sun gave in 1924, following the reorganisation of the Guomindang (GMD). (Leese, D. (ed.), 988.)

institutions in China as part of a national government". Liberal thinkers, in contrast with Neo-Confucians, believed that the re-establishment of the greatness of China can only be achieved through the "scientification" of Chinese thought in all areas including technology, humanities and social sciences, and the "total Westernisation" (quanpan xihua, 全盘西化) of Chinese civilisation in connection with application of political liberalism and controlled capitalism. Marxists aimed to destroy Chinese "feudal" culture, especially Confucianism (da-dao kongjiao, 打倒孔教) and establish "a new socialist identity based on Marxism-Lenism". In the controversial discourses of "May Fourth Movement" (1919), and debates over "East West Culture" and "Science and Metaphysics" (1920s) and over "Westernisation" (1930s), it can be seen that China's cultural tradition became an essential part of national identity. The educated elites realised that the creation of a national language to protect China's culture, develop national education and if possible, to even prove that science has its roots in China, was necessary.⁷⁶

The time span from 1949 to 1978 marks the forth period, represented by the attempt to create a cultural and national identity based on Marxism-Leninism. After the 1949 establishment of the People's Republic of China, Marxism-Leninism, combined with the thought of Mao, became the new state-orthodoxy. The so-called "New Philosophy" (xin zhexue, 新哲学), with which the new political class legitimised the claim to power by Marxism-Leninist doctrine, provided the nation and individuals with an official identity. Meissner suggests that Marxism-Leninism may have served as the new *ti* (substance), whereas modern science and technology have been regarded as "function" (yong, 用). It is also suggested that the Western influence, except for natural sciences and Marxism, along with the so-called Chinese "feudal" culture, was aimed to be eradicated.⁷⁷

The last and also the fifth period is from 1978 onwards (when the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee in 1978 was held) until present. Three crucial developments marked the period, i.e. the renaissance of Confucianism and Western thought, as well as the emergence of nationalist movements in the Chinese-speaking area. The renaissance of Confucianism started around 1986 under the guidance of the Communist Party, and it is doubt-

⁷⁶ Meissner, W. (2006). 5-6.

⁷⁷ Meissner, W. (2006). 8.

less that this helps to solve the problems of cultural identity arose during the rapid modernisation. However, Meissner suggests that the revival of Confucianism in the 1990s served a dual purpose for promoting social harmony and stability, meanwhile for providing people with a sort of national identity to defend Chinese culture against the ideological Westernisation. It is believed that “a ‘National Confucianism’ can serve as a bulwark against the ideological impact of the West following rapid modernisation.”⁷⁸

In Meissner’s opinion, Chinese intellectuals responded to the Western challenges differently throughout history, however, they agree more or less on the following aspects in terms of history being regarded as parts of Chinese cultural and national identity:

- long history of China - at least four to five thousand years;
- the identity of the Han people as the descendants of the legendary Yellow Emperor;
- the continuity of the idea of a Chinese Empire running through all dynastic changes and foreign rule;
- the uniqueness of the Chinese language;
- the tradition of religion and philosophy (or Chinese thought);
- Chinese literature, poetry, painting, ceramics, music, etc.;
- the impressive number of inventions in areas such as medicine, weaponry, shipbuilding, porcelain, etc, which in many cases were unsurpassed until the Renaissance; and
- despite many regional varieties, a common everyday culture, including Chinese food.”⁷⁹

Meissner suggests that at the beginning, the self-perception of Chinese was more cultural - belonging to the Chinese “Kulturkreis” (culture area), a Chinese culturalism, than ethnic - belonging to the Han race. The culture was so attractive that it led to a predominance over the nations and tribes surrounding it for a long period of time in history (even until today). This predominance and the superior feeling out of it to other nations, along with the humiliation (xiuru, 羞辱) caused by the loss of China’s traditional hegemony in Asia and the forcing

⁷⁸ Meissner, W. (2006). 8-9.

⁷⁹ Meissner, W. (2006). 3-4.

powers of the West upon China after the invasion of the western nations to China during Opium War in 1840, were both important aspects of China's national identity.⁸⁰

2.2 Museum and the Construction of Identity

Construction of identity through museums has been under discussion for a long time with a previous focus on ethnographic museums, yet national identity has come to the center only since the 1980s. As is with national identities, the trend of cultural homogenisation is accompanied with a global resurgence of national consciousness. Museums, as repositories of national history, must carry the responsibility for demonstrating national identity. Theory-wise, in a comprehensive literature review by Fiona McLean⁸¹ about studies on museums and the construction of national identity, a number of empirical and theoretical work is listed, mainly in the last two decades of the 20th century. Among all the work mentioned, Kaplan's work "*Museums and the making of 'ourselves': the role of objects in national identity*" on national identity in museums is of great value in the research field. The symbolic significance of particular objects that stand for the nation was emphasised in her work, along with the important statement that museums are the products and agents of political and social change.⁸² Du Gay and his colleagues further demonstrate in their work how the articulation needs to be considered for the study of the biography of a cultural artefact, and describe the circuit of culture model which possesses five major cultural processes: *identity, representation, production, consumption and regulation*. Identity thus needs to be analysed alongside not only representation but also other processes. This circuit of culture model is used as a frame of reference for articulating the meanings of national identity in museums. Among these processes, representation stands for "the process by which members of a culture produce meaning" - not directly stemming from the object, but "from the way in which the object is represented."

⁸⁰ Meissner, W. (2006). 4.

⁸¹ McLean, F. (1998). 244-252.

⁸² Kaplan, F. (1994). *Museums and the making of "ourselves": the role of objects in national identity*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

This paper will mainly focus on the process of *representation and production*. In this realm, the work by Lidchi⁸³ should not be neglected. As Lidchi suggested, it is necessary to examine “how meaning is created through classification and display”. She believes that museums generate representations and attribute value in accordance with certain perspectives or classificatory schemas which are “historically specific”. The value of objects is embedded in the way in which objects are decoded and encoded - “decoding unravels the meaning of that which is unfamiliar, while encoding translates that which is unfamiliar into which is comprehensible”. Therefore, the meaning of the object is culturally constructed and it varies in different historical contexts, depending on what classification system is used - curators are those who select the meanings that they consider to be important to the visitors to exhibit and exclude those meanings they consider unimportant. As a result, the texts which are used to interpret objects in the museums need to be studied apart from their historical trajectory.

Poetics and politics of display - two recent critiques of museums - are thus considered as significant aspects for understanding the creation of meaning through display. Poetics refer to the consideration of the construction and reproduction of meanings through a semiotic analysis of the diversity of ways in which exhibitions create representations of cultures; while politics interrogates the historical nature of museums and collecting.⁸⁴ More specifically, the discussion basis for the poetics is that all cultural producers (museum curators, designers, advertisers etc.) are engaged in the creation of myths, and in the context of museums, it is objects, texts, context of display and visual representations that articulate meanings and represent culture; the politics of museums, on the other hand, refers to the roles of museums in the production of social knowledge.⁸⁵ Here, Foucault’s thinking⁸⁶ on museums will be taken into consideration. Museums thus need to be examined in terms of the link between power and knowledge in order to study the discourses articulated through displays.

Varutti’s case studies on aesthetics and narratives of national museums in China demonstrate in what way theories can be applied for analysing the way objects represent culture. In order to study the aesthetics of objects which are historically and culturally specific, it is suggested

⁸³ McLean, F. (1998).

⁸⁴ McLean, F. (1998). 246-247.

⁸⁵ McLean, F. (1998). 248.

⁸⁶ Foucault, M. (2001). *The order of things*. London: Routledge.

that the systems of representation and viewing that exploit aesthetics should be examined. These systems are aimed at creating meaning and deploy it within narrative. Besides, the aesthetics of museums is not to arise “from the intrinsic properties of objects”, but “from institutional discourse”. Museums, in this way, are supposed to “manufacture belief” through exhibition acts.⁸⁷ The logic of the aesthetic encounter is that the object must be framed within an institutional context which itself is encoded - in a way to allow an unconscious presupposition of the identity and meaning of the object. The sustained contemplation of the objecthood of ordinary objects can thus take place.⁸⁸

As an illustrative example, the “Imperial Treasures from China” exhibition in China Millennium Monument in 2004 to promote the 2008 Olympic games is analysed in such a way:

“...bronzes from the Shang Dynasty (1500-1050 BC) were displayed next to calligraphy from the Qing Dynasty (AD 1644-1911). Aesthetic display creates a sense of coherence and continuity out of the heterogeneous and fragmentary. In the national museum this interlinking and conflation of time produces an abstract sense of antiquity, beauty and craftsmanship which projects a nation defined by longevity, refinement and ingenuity. By this particular means of objectification, an equation is established between museum object, culture, and nation.”⁸⁹

Apart from this, Varutti also examines the changing values attributed to the objects and to aesthetic appreciation in a historical and political context, from the aesthetics of objects in traditional Chinese cultural system (Shang and Zhou Dynasties: 1500-1050BC, 1050BC-AD475), to that under communist rule, in the mid-1990s, and finally, that in the recent times, i.e. in the recently built and rebuilt national museums. The analysis for the latter two periods can be useful for this paper. In the mid-1990s cases, cultural nationalism is under consideration. It is suggested that China’s cultural richness became “a source of political legitimisation and the museum a new political tool”, that the ancient China was considered important for “supplying Chinese civilisation with its roots”, and that the re-evaluation of Chinese his-

⁸⁷ Varutti, Marzia. (2011). 303-304.

⁸⁸ Vickery, J. (2007). Organizing art: Constructing aesthetic value. In: Knell, S. (ed.) *Museum in the Material World*, London: Taylor & Francis, 221.

⁸⁹ Varutti, Marzia. (2011). 303-304.

tory and heritage provided a platform for the so-called “culture craze” or “culture fever” (wenhua re, 文化热)⁹⁰ - the revival of traditional Chinese aesthetics. Accompanying such transition to aesthetic displays is a shift of exhibiting approaches - from chronological to thematic; also, the museum becomes more customer-oriented and focus more on individual needs. Visitors can thus be more involved in enjoying the beauty of exhibits than being ideologically educated. More recent cases of the national museums show that the focus on aesthetics is reflected by museum architecture and artistic design of the exhibitions. Moreover, information devices including explanatory panels, photographs, charts and video screens are physically separated from the object, and it seems that this is to avoid interrupting the visual flow of objects. In other cases, the ritual, historical, political and social meanings of objects are not much introduced except for some objects with more functions. Varutti considers that this increasing aesthetic focus is partly resulted from the imported idea of connoisseurship from the western countries, where Chinese material culture is labelled as “Asian Art”, “Oriental Arts”, or “Far-East Asian Antiquities” - all of which are “High Art”. Furthermore, it is also considered to “dehistoricize” the objects to escape from “the nightmare of history”. In a word, Varutti suggests that the myth of an universal entity - the nation - is constructed through grand narratives such as “over 5000 years of history” with no sensitive narratives on objects that may not coordinate with authoritative narratives, for example, those on the unity of the nation.⁹¹

In terms of the phase of *production* - the processes of producing the artefact being represented, the culture of the organisation itself is of great importance. The distinctive characteristics of the museum’s own culture is suggested to be analysed, where the organisation’s identity (i.e. the corporate identity) serve as a crucial indicator in identity construction in a museum. Secondly, the cultural intermediaries - those who “produce meanings by encoding artefacts with a symbolic form”, including museum architecture designers, exhibition designers, museum marketers, should also be examined, so that the way museums embody and discuss so-

⁹⁰ Song, Xianlin. (2003). Reconstructing the Confucian Ideal in 1980s China: The “Culture Craze” and New Confucianism. In: Makeham, John (ed.) *New Confucianism: A critical examination*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 81-104. “In the 1980s, China underwent a period of drastic change. One of the most discussed phenomenon on the cultural front was the “culture craze” (wenhua re 文化热). Fuelled with ammunition from a range of imported “isms”, participants in the cultural debates attempted to map out national and Western cultural territories. Many intellectuals attempted to redefine what is meant by Chinese culture and to rediscover the “national essence” through their study of New Confucianism.”

⁹¹ Varutti, Marzia. (2011). 306-310.

cial relations to nurture and renegotiate identities can be understood. Thirdly, a local-global nexus is supposed to be taken into account. As is identified by Lofgren, there are three levels of national-cultural formation: the international, national and dialect levels. National culture, in this model, is represented as “continually imagined, invented, contested, and transformed by the agencies of individual persons, the state and global flows of commodities”. Museums relate objects through display, interpretations, and juxtaposition to the personal, the national and international context, and meaning is endowed in such way.⁹²

Specifically, Vickery paves a theoretical foundation for the study of the relation between “art” (as “a form of organised production”) and art organisation in which management systems are involved - managing materials, arts funding distribution, managing knowledge, etc. Vickery suggests that the study of organisation is the most crucial to study the nature of aesthetic value in contemporary art.⁹³ The value needs to be examined in both the socio-cultural and political contexts, categorised as the contexts of production and the contexts of reception. The latter category changes over time, and the kind of value we can identify is *cultural significance* - “the way in which the modes of meaning and experience generated by the work of art extend beyond the confines of the physical object, its immediate location and its specialist audience”.⁹⁴ Vickery suggests that a general sociology of the art’s “cultural significance” might be organised around a kind of typology which allows us to consider “value” at its most extensive. This typology includes the following aspects; besides, each of these categories of value might also have sub-categories:

“(a) *intellectual* significance (the function of the object for analysis, history writing, intellectual enlightenment, object of philosophical contemplation, etc.); (b) *historical* significance (art maintains continuity with historical development of a national culture and plays a role in the formation of national identity; promotes knowledge and concern for heritage and historical property; artistic influence; public impact or acclaim; popularity); (c) *social* significance (its impact on society, on a person’s character or behaviour; art as collective interaction); and (d) *political* significance (art as socially demonstrative use of personal freedom; extending arenas of socially accept-

⁹² McLean, F. (1998). 248-249.

⁹³ Vickery, J. (2007). 214.

⁹⁴ Vickery, J. (2007). 218.

able individual expression, extending the powers of the individual to represent or challenge the norms of the collective; art as political education or propaganda).”

In the realm of institutional context where the art objects lies, it is important to understand the theories of aesthetic value appeals to contexts in general, known as “the institutional theory of art” or “the art world theory of art”. As a social “institution”, art extends to the broad socio-cultural dissemination of art-knowledge and experience, in form of a set of “visual references, cognitive reflexes and general knowledge learned in the domestic environment, school and social interaction generally”. This institution is primarily (though not exclusively) national, and the structure of which is understood most accurately in terms of the way sensibility has been used as a mode of socialisation and aspiration for economic classes, according to sociologists like Bourdieu. The art world, on the other hand, is a “concrete network of professionals, public and private organisations and commercial businesses”, and can be defined in terms of institutions that “create and exhibit art” or “facilitate that activity and disseminate both objects and exhibitions”.⁹⁵ Scholars like Danto attempt to articulate a non-arbitrary relation between intrinsic and extrinsic spheres of value (art object and art world), for instance, through analysis of the visual specificity and semantic content of the art object. Danto defines the art world in the 1990s as “the discourse of reasons”, and states such discourse is “the art world construed institutionally”. It is also suggested that the art world is “dissolved in the discursive character of art as an institution”, and that “art has no identity or value apart from discourse”. The object, as is believed, has no “certifiable specificity apart from its discursive function”, a function (what discourse does to an object) that “constitutes aesthetic experience”.⁹⁶

Following this approach, Vickery argues based on an empirical observation that “only *certain* sectors of the art world have the power to participate in ‘discourse’ in a way that has any implication whatever for the concept of art - and discourse is not merely criticism or theoretical speculation, but frameworks of endorsement, legitimisation and expectation, which themselves are inseparable from the function of organisational structures. Only certain works of art, and certain ideas or theories, construct the discursive framework that is called ‘the art world’ at any given time and place.” Vickery criticises that Danto, while referring to “the

⁹⁵ Vickery, J. (2007). 223.

⁹⁶ Vickery, J. (2007). 225.

discourse of reasons” as art’s conditions of possibility, does not assume that discourse, as he conceives it, has institutional conditions of possibility which is related to a social network of organisations and their actors.⁹⁷ Vickery suggests that an organisational examination for aesthetic value analysis would “observe the institutional determinations that converge to facilitate a coherent ‘discourse of reasons’, a discourse that “acts to repress, censor, prohibit and stall as much as reveal and promote current movements of creative production”.⁹⁸

3. Research Methods

This paper will apply the method of case study mainly focus on three particular exhibitions among all exhibitions throughout the time span of 1990 to 2006. Methods applied in the fourth chapter are both quantitative and qualitative. The latter consists mainly of case study and discourse analysis. In this chapter, methodology, advantages and disadvantages of methods as well as the practical approaches will be introduced.

3.1 Methodology

Epistemologically, there are mainly two positions: positivism and interpretivism. The latter prefers the use of quantitative methods in studying mass phenomena, represented by Durkheim; while the latter favours qualitative methods in order to address the character of human life, represented by Weber. Apart from these two exist also two other epistemological positions - realism and poststructuralism. Positivists believe it is possible to achieve an objective description of the world, and apply often the quantitative techniques (e.g. collecting large amount of data).⁹⁹ Proponents of positivism of ethnography include Martyn Hammersley (1991) who suggests that “all studies should be judged by a set of scientific criteria” including reliability and representativeness (a criteria also used in quantitative research), and it has been influential in the field of symbolic interactionism.¹⁰⁰ Interpretivists, on the other hand, focus more on how the members of society understand their behaviours, including the

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Travers, Max. (2001). *Qualitative Research Through Case Studies*. London: Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage, 9-10.

¹⁰⁰ Travers, Max. (2001). 10.

issue of representativeness. Realism, assumed as the most popular position in the social sciences, emphasises interpretations of people's words. While all the three approaches above assume that "it is possible to obtain valid knowledge about the world" and that social reality can be represented by studies, poststructuralists attempt to pose a challenge by questioning whether it is possible to represent the world through texts - this has been very influential in the human sciences in the 1990s, mainly at a theoretical level. It is often called "postmodern ethnography".¹⁰¹

This paper applies the method of discourse analysis, more specifically, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), that has its roots in realism. Realists share Durkheim's belief that sociology should be focusing on the study of large-scale macro-phenomena, and that it is possible to obtain a scientific understanding of society and history. The characteristics of a critical theory (which is also seen as an epistemology), involves the conception of freeing people from false ideas by informing people of the social institutions that have led them to think in this way - once successful, this will lead to "emancipatory action" as Geuss suggests.¹⁰² Unlike interpretivists who are opposed of quantitative methods owing to their opposing epistemological standpoints, critical theorists suggest, under the influence of Marxist tradition, that "quantitative and qualitative methods are complementary, and can be combined or used separately in doing critical research".¹⁰³

3.2 Case Study

Qualitative research methods are capable of providing a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena in the society by illustrating the actors involved in the social system, as well as their feelings and interactions. Case study enables the observation and analysis of the phenomenon as a "single, integrated whole".¹⁰⁴ Some scholars consider case study the best suit-

¹⁰¹ Travers, Max. (2001). 12.

¹⁰² Travers, Max. (2001). 115.

¹⁰³ Travers, Max. (2001). 115.

¹⁰⁴ Gagnon, Y. (2010). *The Case Study As Research Method: A Practical Handbook*, 1. Québec [Que.]: Les Presses de l'Université du Québec. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://ubdata.univie.ac.at/AC12866462>.

able for theory building due to its in-depth investigation of the phenomena, while others, including those proposing the grounded theory, regard the method as proper means to validate a theory. In addition, some also suggest that the development of a research design with both theory building and verification is possible - case study can both contribute to generating a new theory, and can be validated by measurable constructs and falsifiable hypotheses. The case study methods, more specifically, are beneficial for “describing, explaining, predicting or controlling processes associated with a variety of phenomena at the individual, group and organisational levels”.¹⁰⁵ Describing refers to exploring the questions of who, what, when and how; explaining means to answer “why”-questions; predicting equals making short- and long-term predictions of future psychological states, actions or events; and lastly, controlling refers to influencing cognition, attitudes and behaviours in an individual case. It is also possible to combine the four functions at the same time.¹⁰⁶

Case research has the advantage of producing in-depth analysis of phenomena in context, supporting the development of historical perspectives while guaranteeing high internal validity (meaning that observed phenomena are authentic representations of reality). In another word, it is both adaptable to the context and the researcher. However, it also has its shortcomings: time-consuming, with problematic external validity (it is hard for other researchers to redo the same case study), and difficulty with generalising the results or the theory. Thus, it is to be admitted that the result of a case study is more likely to be an idiosyncratic theory and applies more to a particular phenomenon or a specific process. It is yet to be noted that the last weakness can be overcome by complementing the case study method with quantitative study, that is to say, the results of the case study can be used for developing quantitative data collection methods, which can further be applied to a sample with representative statistics. All in all, it is crucial that the case study method be governed by the scientific standards, and that case studies be made with at least as much carefulness as the studies using quantitative research.¹⁰⁷

In Gagnon’s case study handbook, it is suggested that eight stages need to be included in the research process. Among the eight stages, the process of collecting, analysing and interpret-

¹⁰⁵ Gagnon, Y. (2010). 2.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Gagnon, Y. (2010). 2-4.

ing data will be illustrated more in detail, as a complement to the sections of 3.3 and 3.4. In terms of data collection, three principles need to be emphasised: firstly, multiple sources should be used for analysis so that constructed validity can be strengthened; secondly, a formal database should be established to directly review the evidence and verify the conclusions; thirdly, a chain of evidence should be kept to demonstrate the reliability of the data. The researcher being involved in the data gathering process has several benefits, among which the most important is that convergent observations increase largely the confidence in the collected data; meanwhile, more resources are guaranteed for the creativity in developing the required analytical tools. Data can be obtained mainly through two ways: one is participant observation and the other is non-participant or direct observation, including interviews, documentation (including letters, press releases, media publications and other written materials), archives (including memos, personal notes, cards or lists of names), and physical artefacts (technical procedures, tools, instruments, works of art, etc.).

A database with qualitative data should be built in the data collection stage. This is then followed by the processing of this database, usually consisting of three concurrent activities: purging, coding and analysing the data. In the first stage, the format of the data should be ensured to be compatible with the planned coding strategy and tools. In the second phase, data needs to be coded in a way that it is organised and classified. Thus, a developed coding system needs to be created to systematise this critical and highly delicate process. The data coding and classification process consists in identifying and coding passages in the texts which include description of or content related to categories or concepts connected to the phenomenon of interest. Then the data is to be classified and items are to be grouped into different categories. The texts should be broken down into units of information, and a code needs to be assigned in each unit. These units should be the smallest items that can be assigned to one category or another - be it a word, a sentence, a general idea or a full passage describing the experience related to the phenomenon of interest. The categories into which the information units are organised may be defined using one of two methods: top-down approach where the researchers start from a set of principles, laws and concepts, then move on to establish the categories on the basis of the pre-existing notions; or the bottom-up approach that is used widely in the ethnographic studies, where investigators start from the information units in the texts to develop a system of categories that can contribute to describing or explaining the phenomenon under study. Under the latter circumstance, the investigators need to be even more systematic than in the former one, so that no categories would be omit-

ted during this process. In this paper, a mixed way of both approaches is applied for the analysis (mainly for the analysis of the catalogues).

Lastly, in the seventh stage of data interpretation, the researcher's creativity plays an important role. The phenomenon of interest needs to be explained in a way that the evidence is reviewed at a higher level of abstraction, and that the meanings - which were deduced from the characteristics and patterns identified in the data analysis stage - are extracted through interpretation of the data. An important distinction should be pointed out between the stage of analysing data and the stage of interpreting data: in the previous stage, coding, classification and analysis techniques are applied to the content of the texts; in the latter stage, the theoretical approaches to reality are applied. One needs to be aware of the fact that the interpretive process can never fully reveal the reality although it aims to pursue the reality. Nevertheless, it is capable of mining knowledge that is potentially transferable into action, and it can also draw analogies with a view to producing tested theoretical explanations (that are developed gradually through a complex effort of idea generation, comparison and verification) of the phenomenon being studied. To generate the ideas, concepts, hypotheses or theoretical proposals that have the potential to explain the phenomenon under investigation, there are mainly two approaches available: the first is to go back to the definition of the research problem at the very initial stage and reread the conclusions drawn then, or turn for inspiration to the original explanatory assumptions; the other (and maybe the most important) approach, especially if the study purpose is theory-building, is to start from the description of each case and turn to thinking about the deeper meaning of the cases, reconsidering the collected data and patterns from a more conceptual perspective. The researchers need to develop the impressions of these points, conduct summarisation, and write an overview of such findings. During this particular process, the researchers are prompted to look for the evidence for new meanings and ideas, and thus acquire a better understanding of the perception, actions or situation which lead to a thorough explanation of the phenomenon of interest.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Gagnon, Y. (2010). 55-91.

3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as is introduced in numerous texts as a subfield of linguistics, manifests a great interest of the theorists - such as Cameron et al., Chouliaraki and Fairclough, Hodge and Kress, van Dijk - in the “relationship between language and ideology (ideas which benefit economically dominant groups in society)”.¹⁰⁹ It provides theories and methods for the empirical research on the relations between discourse and social and cultural developments.¹¹⁰ One of the central arguments of CDA theorists is that “language has to be studied from a political perspective”.¹¹¹ Compared to conversation analysis and other interpretive traditions, a very different understanding of “context” can be seen in the CDA: it is “conceptualised as the workings of society as a whole”; and the aim of the analysis is to demonstrate “how the actions and beliefs of people in particular situations are shaped by wider Durkheimian social structures, which exist separately from individuals”.¹¹²

The most often analysed texts for Critical Discourse Analysis are those that communicate political message, for instance, the speeches (of politicians), advertisements, news reports, etc. More generally, however, introductions to CDA suggest that “any piece of text or talk can be used to advance a political argument”¹¹³, such as daily conversations. In terms of the concrete methods to analyse discourse, Fairclough’s “six-stage method” in *Language and Power* may be inspiring. Specifically, the way language is used is firstly described (evaluative terms or metaphors), followed by the stage of “interpretation” where the “‘discourse type(s)’ used by participants” is (are) examined - e.g. “rules, systems or principles of phonology, grammar, sentence construction, vocabulary, semantics and pragmatics” and the “schemata, frames and scripts”. The last stage of “explanation”, as the most important part, aims to “explicate the relations of power and domination, and the ideologies which are built

¹⁰⁹ Travers, Max. (2001). 122.

¹¹⁰ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd., 60. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.rasaneh.org/Images/News/AttachFile/27-3-1391/FILE634754469767402343.pdf>.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Travers, Max. (2001). 123.

¹¹³ Ibid.

into these assumptions” through “developing a sociological analysis of the wider structural context using theoretical resources from the critical tradition”.¹¹⁴

To understand discourse analysis, it is important to first know the definition of “*discourse*”. The preliminary definition of a discourse is proposed by some researchers as “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)”¹¹⁵. Three approaches are involved in social constructionist discourse analysis - Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Moufée’s discourse theory, critical discourse analysis and discursive psychology. This paper, focusing partly on the discursive construction of national identity, will apply the CDA as research method. Among all the approaches, five features in common can be found: the character of social and cultural processes and structures is partly linguistic-discursive; discourse (as a social practice) is both constitutive (constitutes the social world) and constituted (by other social practices); language use should be empirically analysed within the social context; discourse functions ideologically; and finally, critical discourse analysis, is not politically neutral as is understood by itself.¹¹⁶ The approach of Norman Fairclough will be presented, which is considered as the most developed theory and method.

The framework for the analysis of discourse as social practice invented by Fairclough consists of concepts that are interconnected in a three-dimensional model. It should be noted that the meanings of these concepts are slightly different in his different works, from *Discourse and Social Change* to *Media Discourse* - in another word, the framework is continuously developed. One important difference between the critical discourse analysis theory by Fairclough and poststructuralist discourse theory lies in that Fairclough considers discourse to be both constitutive and constitutive. More specifically, discourse both produces and changes knowledge, identities and social relations (power-relations included), meanwhile also being shaped by other social practices and structures. Here, the concept of “*social structure*” needs to be explained: it refers to “social relations both in society as a whole and in specific institutions...consisting of both *discursive* and non-discursive elements”. Obvious examples of “being discursive” include practices like journalism and public relations. Moreover, Fairclough also claims that discursive practices goes beyond reproducing already existing dis-

¹¹⁴ Travers, Max. (2001). 124.

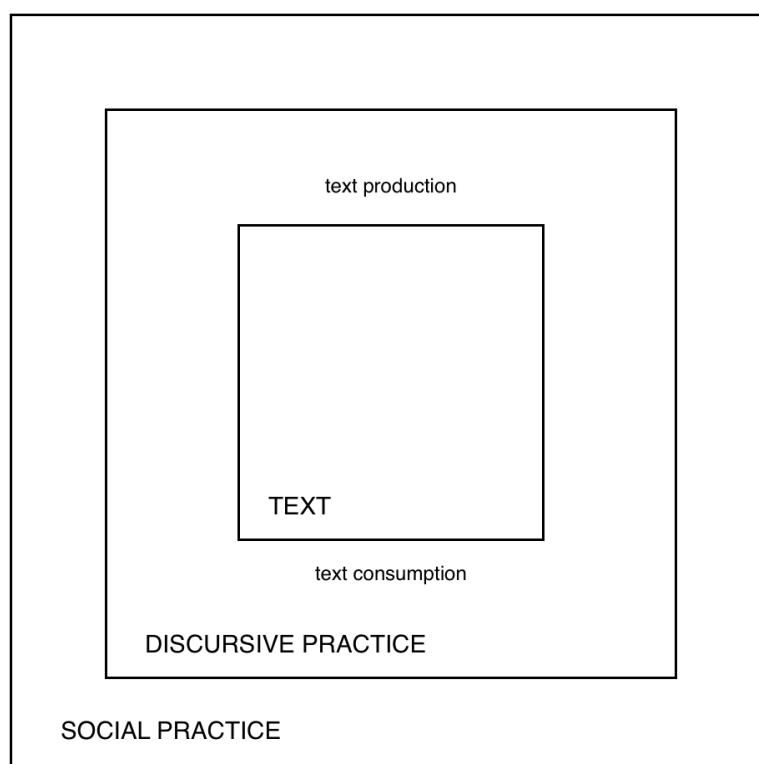
¹¹⁵ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 1.

¹¹⁶ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 61-64.

cursive structure to challenging the structure - “by using words to denote what may lie outside the structure”.¹¹⁷

As is believed by Fairclough, *discourse* contributes to the construction of the following three subjects: social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and meaning; and thus it has three functions - identity function, “relational” function and “ideational” function. Two dimensions of discourse are thus important points to be studied, one is “*the communicative event*” (language use such as news report, films, interviews or political speeches), the other is “*the order of discourse*” which refers to “configuration of all the discourse types (discourses and *genres*) that are used within a social institution or a social field.” A *genre* is a particular way of using the language that is involved in part of a particular social practice (e.g. an interview genre, a news genre, etc.). Examples of the *order of discourse* include the order of discourse of the media, the health service, etc. Within the *order of discourse* are the specific discursive practices - “through which text and talk are produced and consumed or interpret-

Figure 1: Fairclough’s three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis



¹¹⁷ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 65.

ed.”¹¹⁸ In Fairclough’s understanding, the relationship between the two is dialectical. he discourse order is a system that is not in a structuralist sense - put in another way, communicative events not only reproduce orders of discourse, but can also change them through creative language use.¹¹⁹

As is shown in Figure 1¹²⁰, in the three-dimensional analytical framework for empirical research on communication and society, Fairclough suggests that every single instance of language use is a communicative event that consists of three dimensions: *text* of all sorts (visual image and combination of words and image), *discursive practice* (where the production and consumption of texts are involved) and lastly, *social practice*.¹²¹ To explain this in another way, the analysis should focus on the following three aspects:

“(1) the linguistic features of the text (text), (2) processes related to the production and consumption of the text (discursive practice); and (3) the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs (social practice).”¹²²

It should be noted that the examination of the first two aspects inevitably intertwines. However, text and discursive practice are representations of two different dimensions in Fairclough’s model, and it is suggested that they should thus be separated analytically. The analysis of the first aspect focuses on the formal linguistic features (as is mentioned earlier in this section, grammar, syntax, sentence coherence, vocabulary, etc.) from which discourses and genres are linguistically realised; the second aspect emphasises “how authors of texts draw on already existing discourses and genres to create a text, and on how receivers of texts also apply available discourses and genres in the consumption and interpretation of the texts”.¹²³ The other thing worth mentioning is that discourse analysis cannot contribute to analysing the social practice which includes both discursive and non-discursive elements. In addition to discourse analysis, social and cultural theory is also needed. To sum up, the three-

¹¹⁸ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 67.

¹¹⁹ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 71.

¹²⁰ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 68.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 69.

dimensional model is based on, meanwhile also promotes, the principle that “texts can never be understood or analysed in isolation - they can only be understood in relation to webs of other texts and in relation to the social context”.¹²⁴

In terms of the relationship between the order of discourse and its social context, it is suggested by Chouliaraki and Fairclough, largely influenced by Bourdieu, that the concept of “order of discourse” is in close relation to “field” - as Bourdieu suggests, fields governed by “field of power” and interconnected in a complex network of relations, constitute society. However, they also criticise Bourdieu for undertheorising the role of discourse and consider discourse analysis as a necessary supplement to his theory. Despite the critique, Bourdieu’s theory brings critical discourse analysis much insight for exploring the discourse relations within and between different fields. Highly related to this theoretical interconnectedness are the terms of interdiscursivity (varying discourses and genres being articulated in a communicative event) and intertextuality (referring to “the condition whereby all communicative events draw on earlier events”; of which interdiscursivity is a form).¹²⁵ Fairclough regards the two concepts as stability and instability - with both continuity and change. Meanwhile, there are unequal power-relations between the discourses, although the fact is no single dominant discourse is controlling over the society.¹²⁶

This is directly linked to the concepts of ideology and hegemony, the former being “meaning in the service of power”, more specifically, “constructions of meaning that contribute to the production, reproduction and transformation of relations of domination”;¹²⁷ and the latter as the means for analysing “how discursive practice is part of a larger social practice involving power relations”.¹²⁸ Important arguments are made that discourse can be ideological, in a way that it can contribute to maintaining and transforming the power relations; that texts have several meaning potentials (which may be contradictory) and are open to several interpretations - the meaning of texts is partly created in the processes of interpretation; that hegemony is more than dominance and can act as a process of negotiation from which a con-

¹²⁴ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 70.

¹²⁵ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 73.

¹²⁶ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 74.

¹²⁷ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 75.

¹²⁸ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 76

sensus regarding meaning can be created; and finally, that the means for analysing ‘how discursive practice is part of a larger social practice involving power relations’ is provided by the concept of hegemony. Discursive change, as is suggested, occur when “discursive elements are articulated in new ways”.¹²⁹

The practical discourse analytical tools applied in this paper is mainly inspired by the research by Elfrinkhof, Maks and Kaal in 2014 on the Austrian nation and identity¹³⁰. In this study, discursive construction of (national) sameness is of focus, which differentiate the study from others focusing on the discursive construction of difference. The ways of constructing national identities in discourse, along with the *topics, discursive strategies and linguistic devices* for the construction of national sameness and uniqueness as well as differences to other national collectives are under research. The three-dimensional model mentioned earlier is applied in the research as analytical tools, including contents/topics, strategies and linguistic means and forms of realisation. In terms of contents, five semantic macro-areas related to the discursive construction of Austrian nation and identity is distinguished, among which the narrative of collective political history, the discursive construction of a common culture, of a collective present and future as well as of the “national” body are the most inspiring ones. Strategies refer to “plans of actions with varying degrees of elaborateness, the realisation of which can range from automatic to conscious, and which are located at different levels of our mental organisation”.¹³¹ Four types of macro-strategies are listed in line with the definitions of discourse as social practice: constructive strategies, perpetuation, and justification strategies, transformation strategies and dismantling or destructive strategies. More specifically, the constructive strategies refer to the linguistic acts serving for building a particular national identities (for instance, the use of “we”); the perpetuation and justification strategies are used for maintaining, supporting and reproducing national identities; the perpetuation strategies are to emphasise the need to support continuity (the metaphor of being in the same boat is commonly seen in this context), and justification of which legitimisation strategies are specific types; transformation strategies for transforming the meaning of an aspect national identity into another; and lastly, dismantling or destructive

¹²⁹ Jørgensen, M. and Philips, L. (2002). 75-76.

¹³⁰ Elfrinkhof A, Maks I, Kaal B. (ed.) (2014). *From Text To Political Positions : Text Analysis Across Disciplines*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://ubdata.univie.ac.at/AC12968818>.

¹³¹ Elfrinkhof A, Maks I, Kaal B. (ed.) (2014). 160.

strategies for de-mythologising or demolishing existing national identities or their elements. Finally, regarding the linguistic means and forms of realisation, the lexical units, argumentation schemes and syntactical means expressing unity, sameness, difference, singularity, continuity, change, autonomy etc. are studied. The most representative example of linguistic means used for constructing the national identities include is the use of the personal pronoun “we”.

4. Case Study of Three Exhibitions

4.1 Overview

As is introduced in the first chapter, among all the twenty China exhibitions in German museums from 1990 to 2016, this paper focuses on the following three exhibitions as case studies: “The Forbidden City - The life of the last emperors of China” in the *Reiss-Museum Mannheim (Mannheim)*, “Golden Dragon, White Eagle: Art for the service of power in the imperial yard in China and the Saxon-Polish court (1644-1795)” in *State Art Collection Dresden (Dresden)* and “Gloss of the Emperors of China: Art and life in the Forbidden City” in the *Museum for East Asian Art Cologne (Cologne)*.¹³² The reasons why the particular three cases mentioned above are chosen are as follows: Firstly, these exhibitions all focus on the imperial life in the Forbidden City (more specifically, Qing Emperors), outnumbering other exhibitions with other focuses; secondly, they are under cooperation between the Palace Museum in Beijing, China and a politically and culturally high-level museum in Germany. In short, they are representative in terms of theme, number, as well as both political and cultural significance - which is beneficial for the research purpose of this paper. For the clarity of this paper, the exhibitions will be abbreviated to the Mannheim, Dresden and Cologne exhibition in this chapter.

The analysis in this chapter is mainly based on the very first parts of the three catalogues where the greeting (Grußwort), prefatory notes/foreword (Geleitwort/Vorwort) is normally

¹³² The original German names of the respective exhibitions, museums and cities are as follows: “Die Verbotene Stadt - Aus dem Leben der letzten Kaiser von China”, *Reiss-Museum Mannheim (Mannheim)*; “Goldener Drache, Weißer Adler: Kunst im Dienst der Macht am Kaiserhof von China und am sächsisch-polnischen Hof (1644-1795)”, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Dresden)*; “Glanz der Kaiser von China: Kunst und Leben in der Verbotenen Stadt”, *Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst Köln, (Köln)*.

included. More specifically, the Mannheim exhibition catalogue consists of greeting (Grußwort), prefatory notes (Geleitwort) and preface for the Mannheim exhibition (Vorwort zur Ausstellung in Mannheim)¹³³; the Dresden exhibition consists of greeting (Grußwort) from German and Chinese sides and two foreword (Vorwort) from both sides¹³⁴; and finally, in the Cologne exhibition catalogue, greeting (Grußwort) from both sides, along with a short introduction of the conception of the exhibition from the German side can be found.¹³⁵

The Mannheim exhibition (held from September 30th, 1997 to February 22nd, 1998) is the first official China exhibition in Germany (in cooperation with the Palace Museum) since 1990.¹³⁶ It was held under the title “The Forbidden City - The life of the last emperors of China” and the 157 exhibited objects come mainly from Palace Museum (Qing-collection). It is a response of the Palace Museum to the invitation from Reiss-Museum Mannheim.¹³⁷ The exhibition was originally held in Paris (Petit Palais Paris) in Winter 1996/97, and thus the 1997/98 exhibition in Mannheim was much supported by the Paris team in terms of inquiry on objects loan and exhibition catalogue. Through the exhibition, the grandeur of the emperor and the daily routine, religious belief, hunting activities and cultural/spiritual life is

¹³³ The Mannheim exhibition greeting (Grußwort) is made by Klaus Kinkel, federal minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) (1992-1998) in Bonn, September 1997; the foreword (Geleitwort) by Huanlu Pei, deputy director of the Palace Museum in Beijing (1991-2002), 12. September 1997; and the foreword for the Mannheim exhibition (Vorwort zur Ausstellung in Mannheim) by Karin von Welck, deputy director of the Reiss-Museum Mannheim (1990-1998).

¹³⁴ The Dresden exhibition greeting (Grußwort) is made by Xinmiao Zheng (director of the Palace Museum Beijing and deputy minister of Ministry of Culture, People’s Republic of China, 2002-2012) and Martin Roth (general director of the State Art Collection Dresden, 2001-2011); the foreword by Cordula Bischoff and Anne Hennings, both of whom are exhibition curators from the State Art Collection Dresden. The other foreword is from Wenhua Luo, curator of the Palace Museum Beijing - who is currently the director of the Tibetan Buddhist Treasures Research Department, Palace Museum.

¹³⁵ For the Cologne exhibition, the first greeting (Grußwort) is from Jixiang Shan, director of the Palace Museum Beijing (2012-present); the second greeting is made by Jürgen Roters, former mayor of the city of Cologne (2009-2015). Following the greetings, the conception of the exhibition is introduced in a 7-page essay entitled “On the conception of the exhibition” (Zur Konzeption der Ausstellung) written by Adele Schlombs (director of Museum of East Asian Art in Cologne, 1991-present) and Petra Rösch (deputy director of MEAAC) - in which the theme and focus of the exhibition, the art collection of the Qing emperor and the official courtyard ritual (Hofritual) and importance of religion is presented.

¹³⁶ Naquin, S. (2004).

¹³⁷ “Auf Einladung des Reiss-Museums präsentiert das Palastmuseum Peking die Ausstellung in Mannheim.” Cat. Mannheim, IX. Foreword by Pei Huanlu, deputy director of the Palace Museum in Beijing (1991-2002), 12. September 1997.

to be shown to the German audience, according to Huanlu Pei, deputy director of Palace Museum (1991-2002).

Almost a decade later, another exhibition was held in Dresden (from October 11th, 2008 to January 11th, 2009) - “Golden Dragon, White Eagle: Art for the service of power in the imperial court in China and the Saxon-Polish court (1644-1795)”. The Dresden exhibition is a cooperation between the Palace Museum and State Art Collection Dresden. Through the exhibition, a vivid introduction of the Saxon-Polish palace and imperial palace in Qing-Dynasty, as well as Chinese culture in Dresden and European culture in China, are to be represented, according to Xinmiao Zheng, director of Palace Museum (2002-2012) and deputy minister of Culture of the People’s Republic of China, and Martin Roth, general director of State Art Collection Dresden (2001-2011).¹³⁸ More than twice as much exhibits were shown to the public compared to the Mannheim exhibition - in total 357 objects, 133 of which from Palace Museum and 224 objects from the German side.

The most recent exhibition, “Gloss of the Emperors of China: Art and life in the Forbidden City”, was held at the *Museum for East Asian Art Cologne* in Cologne from October 19th, 2012 to January 20th, 2013. The exhibition was held in 2012, the 40 anniversary of China-Germany diplomatic relationship and the 25 anniversary of Beijing-Cologne city partnership.¹³⁹ It aims to reflect the material wealth and the spiritual world of the Qing-Dynasty emperor with the 90 object groups (190 single objects) by presenting the history of Qing-Dynasty and the Qing art and culture. Many of the exhibited objects were made by Chinese artists who made innovation based on influences from Europe, and several objects were even directly made by European artists.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Cat. Dresden, 6-7. Greeting by Xinmiao Zheng and Martin Roth.

¹³⁹ Cat. Cologne, 7. Greeting by Jixiang Shan.

¹⁴⁰ Cat. Cologne, 6. Greeting by Jixiang Shan.

4.2 Comparison between Exhibitions

4.2.1 Analysis of Catalogues

4.2.1.1 Context

Along the fifteen years between 1997 and 2012, there has been a tendency that the exhibition cooperation between museums is broadening from national-level to regional-level, even urban-level. The Mannheim exhibition opened on September 28th, 1997¹⁴¹ is a high-level cultural event in that it was “under the patronage of Dr. Klaus Kinkel (Federal Minister of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Federal Republic of Germany) and Liu Zhongde (Minister of Ministry of Culture, People’s Republic of China).”¹⁴² Similarly, the Dresden exhibition is also politically significant, even more than the previous exhibition as it was “under the patronage of Federal President (of Federal Republic of Germany), Horst Köhler, and president of People’s Republic China, Hu Jintao.”¹⁴³ Remarkably, the 2012/13 Cologne exhibition, like the 2009 Munich exhibition which was opened partly for marking the 22-year political relationship between Bavaria and Shandong province, also has its political importance - both at national and regional level - the year of 2012 is both the 40 anniversary of China-Germany diplomatic relationship and the 25 anniversary of Beijing-Cologne city partnership.¹⁴⁴

The content of the very first parts of the three catalogues is increasingly rich in terms of the introduction of the exhibition conception: in the Mannheim catalogue, the conception is introduced mainly in the 2-page foreword for the Mannheim exhibition (Vorwort zur Ausstellung in Mannheim) by Karin von Welck, director of the Reiss-Museum Mannheim (1990-1998). The Dresden exhibition conception is almost with the same length, but written by both cooperative institutions - one foreword by Cordula Bischoff and Anne Hennings, both of whom are exhibition curators from the State Art Collection Dresden, and the other foreword by Luo Wenhua, curator of the Palace Museum Beijing and the director of the Tibetan Buddhist Treasures Research Department of the Palace Museum. The Cologne exhibi-

¹⁴¹ Cat. Mannheim, VII. Greeting by Klaus Kinkel.

¹⁴² Cat. Mannheim, VI.

¹⁴³ Cat. Dresden, 7.

¹⁴⁴ Cat. Cologne, 7.

tion exceed its pioneers with a 7-page essay entitled “On the conception of the exhibition” (Zur Konzeption der Ausstellung) written by Adele Schlombs (director of Museum of East Asian Art in Cologne) and Petra Rösch (post doctorate at the University of Heidelberg), in which the theme and focus of the exhibition, the art collection of the Qing emperor and the official court ritual (Hofritual) and importance of religion is presented. One commonality is yet noteworthy: in this part of all three catalogues, the history and work of missionaries are mentioned.

More specifically, the exhibition conceptions vary slightly in time while keeping the basic idea. The Mannheim exhibition mainly emphasises three themes: the emperor, the cultural exchange (China-trend in Europe and Europe-trend in China), and the missionaries.¹⁴⁵ The Dresden exhibition, apart from a focus on the above mentioned themes, also emphasises differences and similarities of the two cultures presented in a contrasting juxtaposition (Gegenüberausstellung) with treasures from both the Palace Museum Beijing and the State Art Collection Dresden. Meanwhile, the importance of art and ceremony was also mentioned:

“Art had been taken in service by all powers - the representation of the ruling power was visualised through nothing more meaningful than the glory of court in the form of festivals, garments, art collection, architecture and furniture. All of these highlighted in turn the strict ceremony which defined the hierarchy of people and things. Art and ceremony were determining factors of the early modern courtyard, not only in Asia, but also in Europe.”¹⁴⁶

The thematic categories of the Dresden exhibition were introduced briefly in the foreword by two German curators: this includes lord, festival culture, court, stately architecture, court art

¹⁴⁵ Cat. Mannheim, X-XI.

¹⁴⁶ Cat. Dresden, 7. Original German text: “Kunst ist von allen Mächtigen in Dienst genommen worden - durch nichts ließ sich die Repräsentation von Herrschermacht sinnfälliger vor Augen führen als durch höfische Pracht in Form von Festen, Kleidung, Kunstsammlungen, Architektur und Ausstattung. All dies wiederum unterlag einem strengen Zeremoniell, das die Hierarchie von Personen und Dingen definierte. Kunst und Zeremoniell waren bestimmende Faktoren des frühneuzeitlichen Hofes, sowohl in Asien also auch in Europa.”

and science, politic and diplomacy, as well as “A view of the Others”.¹⁴⁷ The conception of the comparative treatment (of the objects) is reflected in the main body of the catalogue - the concept of the court culture (Hofkultur) is twofold, illustrated both from European and Chinese perspectives. Besides, it is also commented that the Dresden exhibition has prominent comparative and cooperative characteristics.¹⁴⁸ This can also be seen in the other foreword where the “joint conception” of the two museums is emphasised.¹⁴⁹ Apart from the “beauty and visual attraction” of the exhibits, the exhibition was also supposed to bring the western audience closer to the “political drive and artistry of the Chinese emperor”.¹⁵⁰

In terms of the most recent exhibition in Cologne, the objects were aimed to reflect the material and spiritual wealth in which the emperors of the Qing dynasty lived through the illustration of sacrificial ceremonies (Opferzeremonien), ancestor worship (Ahnenkult), archery (Bogenschießen), hunt throne (Jagdthron), etc.¹⁵¹ Meanwhile, the openness of the Qing emperors was reflected through the taoistic and shamanistic places of worship.¹⁵² What also noteworthy is that the life of the emperor was presented to “show the emperor is a man with flesh and blood”.¹⁵³ Shan also points out the influence of the European art on Chinese art and the fact that some art work were even made by European artists. Most importantly, the art value of the objects is firstly under great focus apart from their cultural value:

¹⁴⁷ Cat. Dresden, 9. Foreword by Cordula Bischoff and Anne Hennings, both of whom are exhibition curators from the State Art Collection Dresden. Original German text: “...Herrschaft, Festkultur, Hofstaat, Herrschaftliche Architektur, Hofkünste und Wissenschaften, Politik und Diplomatie sowie “Der Blick auf den Anderen”.

¹⁴⁸ Cat. Dresden, 9. Original German text: “In vorliegendem Katalog spiegelt sich dieses Konzept der vergleichenden Betrachtung der Hofkultur zweifach, aus europäischer und aus chinesischer Sicht, erläutert. Der Katalog erhält damit einen über die Ausstellung hinausreichenden Handbuch-Charakter. Zugleich ist dieser Ansatz Ausdruck der gemeinsamen Arbeit europäischer und chinesischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler, die sich in ihren unterschiedlichen Herangehensweisen ergänzen.”

¹⁴⁹ Cat. Dresden, 11. Foreword by Luo Wenhua, curator of the Palace Museum Beijing and the director of the Tibetan Buddhist Treasures Research Department, Palace Museum. Original German text: “Die Ausstellung ... entstand in gemeinsamer Konzeption des Palastmuseums Peking und der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden.”

¹⁵⁰ Cat. Dresden, 11. Original German text: “Neben Schönheit und Augenreiz der präsentierten Objekte aus vielerlei Bereichen möchte die Ausstellung dem westlichen Publikum darüber hinaus den politischen Impetus und den Kunstsinn der chinesischen Kaiser nahebringen.”

¹⁵¹ Cat. Cologne, 7.

¹⁵² Cat. Cologne, 7.

¹⁵³ Cat. Cologne, 7. Original German text: “Aus diesen Facetten ihres täglichen Lebens wird erkennbar, dass sie aufrichtige und gewissenhafte Menschen aus Fleisch und Blut waren.”

“However, the objects in this exhibition reflect not only the history of the Qing-Dynasty, but also the key work of the Qing art and culture. Every single object has the quality of an art work that displays individual originality and beauty of the technical skills.”¹⁵⁴

The major of the city of Cologne, on the other hand, views the exhibition more from the political perspective than the cultural perspective. Apart from an introduction of the city partnership between Cologne and Beijing, two striking topics are also mentioned. One is the rising role of China and great challenge for Europe to newly define its role in the global community¹⁵⁵. More related to this paper is the construction of Chinese national identity through the exhibition and its significance for China:

“This weightily cultural heritage provides an opportunity for (national) pride and self-consciousness. Meanwhile, every generation is challenged again and again to establish a vision of future based on the tradition of a modern identity.”¹⁵⁶

4.2.1.2 Typology and (Un)exhibited Objects

In this section, both quantitative and qualitative methods are applied to analyse the different exhibiting strategies in terms of typology of the three exhibitions.

¹⁵⁴ Cat. Cologne, 7. Original German text: “Die Objekte der Ausstellung spiegeln aber nicht nur die Geschichte der Qing-Dynastie, sondern es handelt sich um Schlüsselwerke Qing-zeitlicher Kunst und Kultur. Jedes einzelne Objekt hat die Qualität eines Kunstwerkes, das von individueller Originalität und der Schönheit technischen Könnens zeugt.”

¹⁵⁵ Cat. Cologne, 8. Greeting by Jürgen Roters, major of the city of Cologne. General translation of the original text is as follows: To deal with the challenge (of newly defining Europe’s role in a more complicated world), curiosity, respect, the willingness to learn and openness is required. Original German text: “China spielt heute eine andere weltpolitische Rolle als noch vor zehn Jahren und wir Europäer stehen vor der nicht ganz einfachen Aufgabe, unsere Rolle in einer viel komplexeren Welt neu zu definieren. Um dieser Herausforderung gerecht zu werden, sind Neugier, Respekt Lernbereitschaft und Offenheit gefragt.”

¹⁵⁶ Cat. Cologne, 8. Original German text: “Dieses gewichtige kulturelle Erbe gibt Anlass zu Stolz und Selbstbewusstsein. Zugleich fordert es jede Generation erneut dazu heraus, auf der Basis der Tradition eine moderne Identität und eine Zukunftsvision aufzubauen.”

Quantitative Analysis

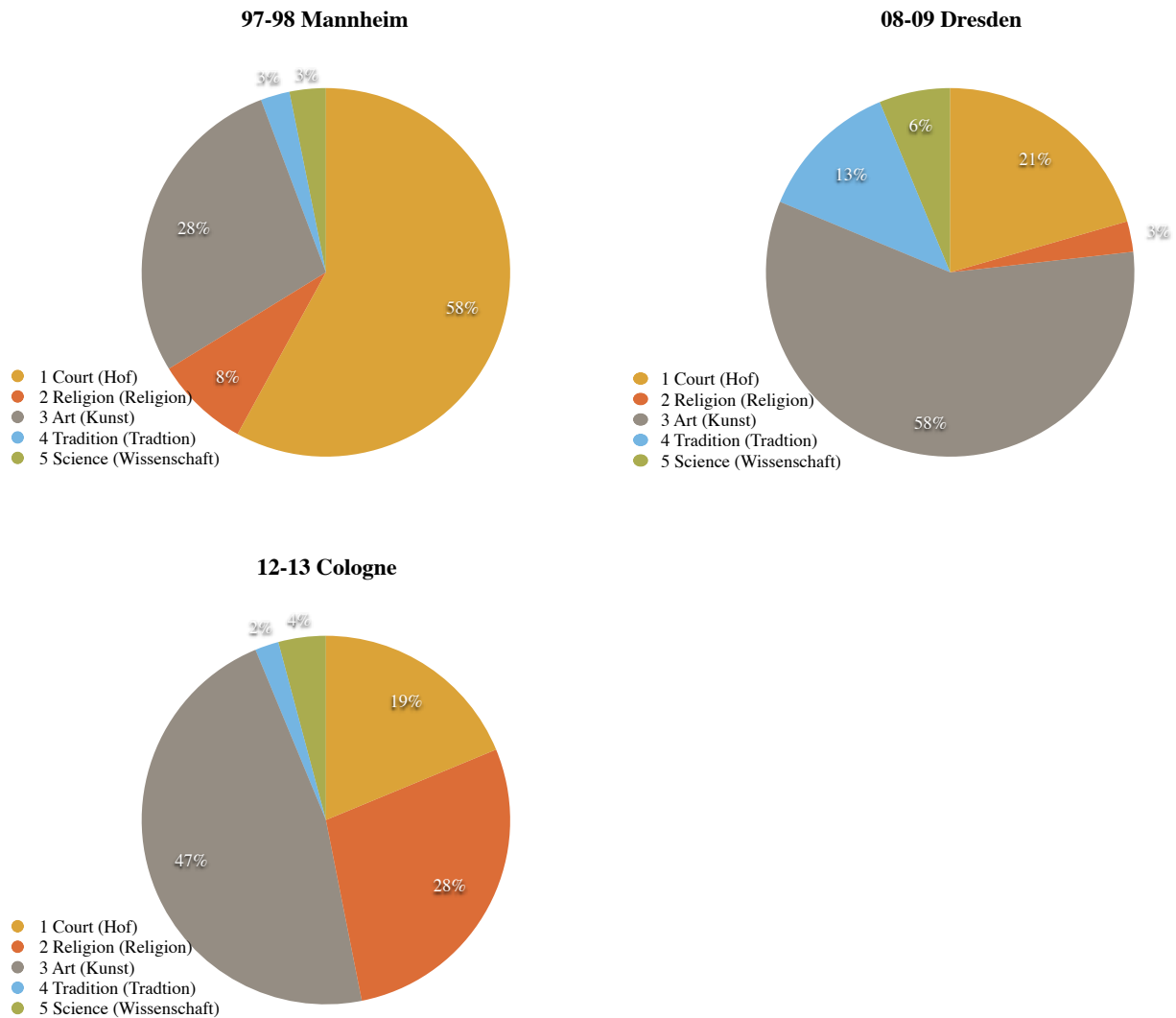
In terms of the amount of exhibited objects, as is shown in Table 4 (Appendix), the Mannheim exhibition outrages the other two exhibition in total number of exhibits from the Palace Museum Beijing, and the amount has declined during the last years from 157 (97/98 Mannheim) to 115 (08/09 Dresden) and finally to 90 (12/13 Cologne). The table also provides detailed information about the amount of objects in each sub-category. Chart 1 below further demonstrates the quota of the five major categories (themes) in respective exhibitions.

Generally, in the aspect of typology, it can be seen from Chart 1 that in the 97/98 Mannheim exhibition, the theme in display the most is “Court” (58%), followed by “Art” (28%) and “Religion” (8%). This has changed a decade later with the 08/09 Dresden exhibition, where “Art” (58%) is mostly exhibited, while “Court” is much less exhibited (21%) and the quota of “Tradition” rose (13%). The 12/13 Cologne exhibition keeps the strategy of the Dresden exhibition to demonstrate “Art” as the most important theme with slightly less percentage (47%), and that of the Mannheim exhibition to show “Religion” as the second important with more quota (28%). “Tradition”, however, is left out in the Cologne exhibition, whereas “Court” (19%) is back to one of the three most exhibited themes.

More specific changes in typology in terms of sub-categories are shown in Table 4 (Appendix). It should be firstly noted that the exhibits of the first two exhibitions, as is shown in the catalogues of 97/98 Mannheim exhibition and 08/09 Dresden exhibition, are already categorised by the cultural institutions. The former contains eleven categories (in Table 4 they are shown as sub-categories from 1.1 to 5.1), while the latter consists of 86 categories, among which 43 are listed and reorganised in Table 4 as sub-categories. The original title of the categories for the first two exhibitions are those listed in Table 4, except for the bold words (3.4 Others, 1.4 Others, 3.3 Paintings, 3.4 Others and 3.5 Architecture¹⁵⁷). The five major-categories (Court, Religion, Art, Tradition, Science) are newly set in this paper for the purpose of study. As an exception, all the exhibits in the 12/13 Cologne exhibition have not

¹⁵⁷ Category titles in German: 3.4 Andere, 1.4 Andere, 3.3 Gemälde, 3.4 Andere and 3.5 Architektur.

Chart 1: Percentage of exhibited objects by five major-categories (themes)



been grouped in the original catalogue, and they only appear as individual objects. Under such condition are they categorised by the researcher of this paper based on the already existing major- and sub- categories for the first two exhibitions. There are in total 20 sub-categories for the 12/13 Cologne exhibition, all manually created by the researcher - as a result, the actual curating strategy should be analysed separately, where the objects are not categorised. In sum, it can be concluded from Table 4 that the sub-categories in the 08/09 Dresden exhibition are more detailed and diversified than its previous exhibition (97/98 Mannheim), especially in terms of the first and third theme (“Court” and “Art”).

Apart from grouping the displayed objects under subject categories, it will also be investigated which of these objects were on display only once and which of these objects were pre-

sented more than once. As is shown in Table 5 (Appendix), thirteen objects were exhibited more than once along the years. These objects, along with the above-mentioned sub-categories, will be analysed in detail in the following section.

Qualitative Analysis

The theory basis for the qualitative analysis in this section is to be explained again at the beginning of this section. As is illustrated in Chapter 2.2, identity is constructed in a way that the exhibited objects are endowed with meaning by the members of a culture - and this process is *representation*. As Lidchi suggested, meaning is produced through “classification and display”, and the meaning of objects varies with time, being dependent on the classification system. Most importantly, it is suggested that the texts that are used for interpreting objects in the museums should be analysed besides the historical trajectory.¹⁵⁸ It should be noted that apart from texts, objects, context of display and visual representations are also active actors in articulating meanings and representing culture; however, this paper mainly focuses on the first three aspects and emphasises less the visual representation.

A more specific theoretical basis for the purpose of study stems from Vickery’s writing about the value of art objects (Chapter 2.2). As Vickery suggests, the value needs to be examined in both the socio-cultural and political contexts, categorised as the contexts of production and the contexts of reception. The latter category contains the cultural significance - “the way in which the modes of meaning and experience generated by the work of art extend beyond the confines of the physical object, its immediate location and its specialist audience”.¹⁵⁹ Vickery suggests that a general sociology of the art’s “cultural significance” might be organised around a kind of typology which allows us to consider “value” at its most extensive. This typology includes the following aspects: intellectual significance, historical significance, social significance and political significance. Each of these categories of value might also have sub-categories.

¹⁵⁸ McLean, F. (1998).

¹⁵⁹ Vickery, J. (2007). 218.

The source of analysis comes from the catalogues of the three exhibitions (cases); more specifically, the texts under examination are those introducing the sub-categories and the thirteen objects displayed more than once in the exhibitions (Table 5). The parallel texts which are illustrations of the same objects are analysed based on the methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In this way, the different curating strategies of the exhibitions can be analysed in terms of 1) how Chinese identity is constructed through classification (sub-categories), 2) how Chinese identity is constructed through display (mainly verbal representation).

In terms of the first research question, the analysis below will be seen as complement to the findings in the section of quantitative analysis. It concerns the way Chinese identity is constructed through classification, and this can be examined by firstly looking into the changing classification strategies throughout the years. Table 5 in the Appendix shows the thirteen objects exhibited more than once in the three exhibitions. More specifically, it can be explored how the same objects are classified differently, or in the same way, in the three exhibitions. Table 5 provides the categories in the three exhibitions. It should yet be noted that the Cologne exhibition is a special case because objects are not categorised officially but manually by the author of this paper for the purpose of quantitative analysis, as is stated in the previous section. Therefore, the study on classification strategy of the exhibitions in this section will only focus on that of the Mannheim and Dresden exhibitions, and five objects repetitively exhibited in both Mannheim and Dresden exhibitions (numbered as 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 in Table 5) will be examined in detail.

Table 6 shows detailed information of the five objects. It can be seen that the G(u)207860 (Nr.1 in Table 6) - an arm chair made of deer antler (Hirschgeweih) hunted by Kangxi and wood (*huanghuali*, 黄花梨木) [rosewood], made in the era of Qianlong (1736-1795), was under category 1.2 “Official and unofficial garment at the imperial court of the Qing dynasty” (Offizielle und inoffizielle Kleidung am Kaiserlichen Hof der Qing-Dynastie) in the Mannheim exhibition, then shifting to category 3.4.2 “Furniture” (Mobiliar) in the Dresden exhibition. The same change also applies to G(u)180529 and G(u)173714 (Nr. 4 and Nr. 5 in Table 6) - a cosmetic case made in Qing dynasty and a case with combs and make-up accessories in late Qing, being classified first under 1.2 (same as the armchair), then changed

to 3.4.1 (“Lacquer art”, Lackkunst) and 3.4.8 (“Ivory”, Elfenbein) respectively. Besides, the two paintings being exhibited twice - G(u)8769 (Nr. 3 in Table 6), portrait of an important empress and G(u)6458 (Nr. 6 in Table 6), painting of concubines of the Emperor Yongzheng - were categorised firstly under 3.1 “Imperial Portrait” (Kaiserliche Porträts) and 3.3 “The imperial painting collection in the Qing dynasty” (Die kaiserliche Gemäldesammlung der Qing) in the Mannheim exhibition. In the Dresden exhibition, however, the names of sub-categories shifted to “Portraiture” (Porträtmalerei) and “Interior decoration” (Interieur).

Table 6: Five Objects for Qualitative Analysis (Classification Strategy)

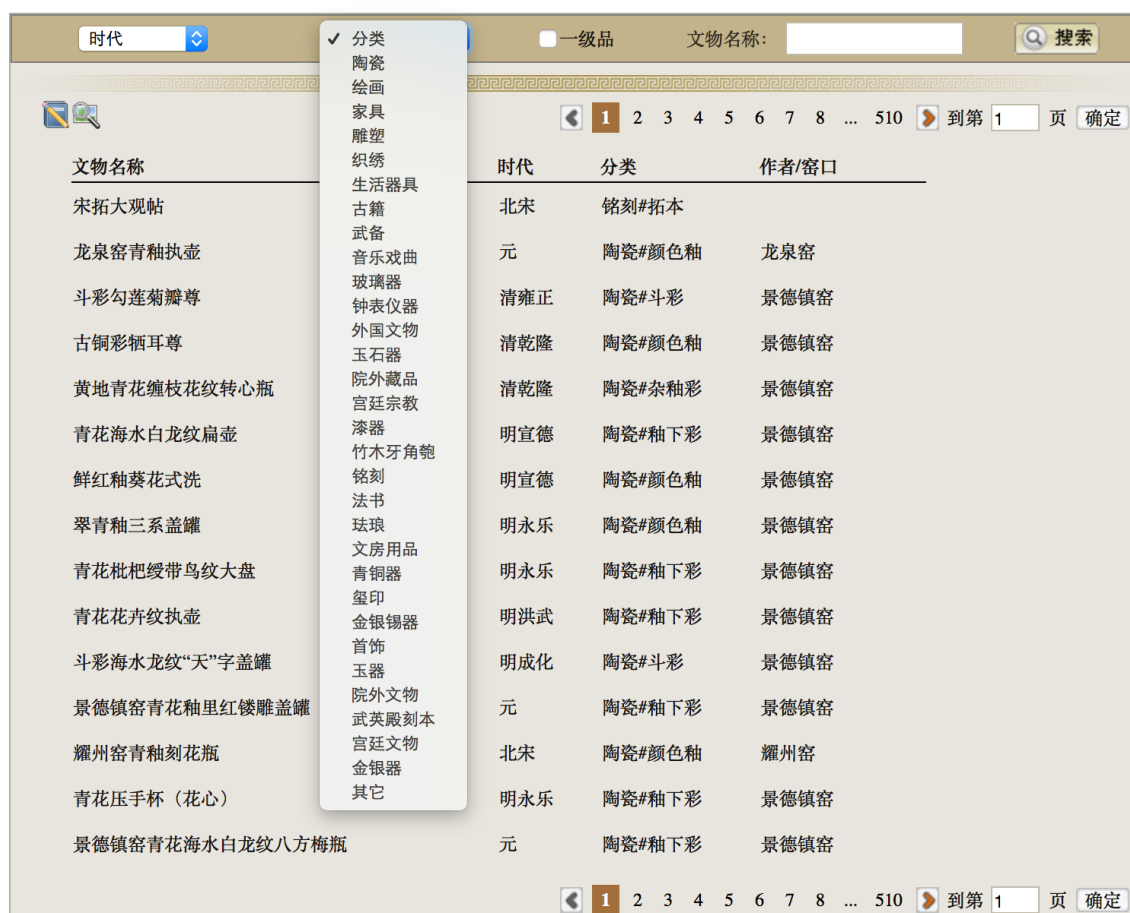
Nr.	Exhibition Nr./Object Nr.	German Names in the catalogues (with general English translation at bottom)	Category	Inv.
1	Cat.M.109. Cat.D.224. <i>Cat C.28.</i>	Sessel; Stuhl aus Hirschgeweih; Thronsessel mit Fußbank [armchair made of deer antler]	1.2; 3.4.2; 3.4.2	G(u)207860
3	Cat.M.25. Cat.D.261.	Porträt der Kaiserin Xiaoxian; Kaiserin Xiaoxian in Staatsrobe [portrait of Empress Xiaoxian]	3.1; 3.1	G(u)8769
4	Cat.M.77. Cat.D.197.	Schminkkasten; Kosmetikschrankchen [cosmetics case]	1.2; 3.4.1	G(u)180529
5	Cat.M.79. Cat.D.50.	Kasten mit Kämmen und Schminkzubehör; Kammsatz mit Goldverzierungen [comb-set case]	1.2; 3.4.8	G(u)173714
6	Cat.M.123. Cat.D.114a-b.	Konkubine von Kaiser Yongzheng; Alltagsszenen der Hofdamen des Kaisers Yongzheng [painting of concubines of Emperor Yongzheng]	3.3; 3.5.1	G(u)6458

Changes with G(u)207860, G(u)180529, G(u)173714 and G(u)6458 (numbered as 1, 4, 5 and 6 in Table 6) in terms of classification are in accordance with the thematic change analysed quantitatively in the previous section, i.e. a more than doubled amount of objects being categorised under the third major category “Art” (Kunst), and over 50% less ratio of those under the first major category “Court” (Hof) in the Dresden exhibition, in comparison with the Mannheim exhibition. In the case of G(u)8769, although the classification stays the same under the major category “Art”, change of the sub-category from “Imperial Portrait” to “Portraiture” confirms that it has a heavier focus on the painting itself (and its type) than the

“imperial” characteristics which is more of a “Court” matter. As such, it can be seen that findings based on both qualitative and quantitative studies mutually corroborate each other.

This can also be confirmed partly by the changing of the object names. For instance, G(u)207860, the royal armchair, was described firstly as “armchair” (Sessel) in the 97-98 exhibition, then as “chair made from deer antler” (Stuhl aus Hirschgeweih) in the 08-09 exhibition, whereby the material was given more emphasis, going beyond a simple description of the (original) function of the object. This can also be seen in the example of the comb case (G(u)173714) which was changed from “case with combs and make-up accessories” (Kasten mit Kämmen und Schminkzubehör) to “comb-set with gold trimming” (Kammsatz mit Goldverzierungen). Although this is less obvious with the titles of the two paintings (Nr. 3 and Nr. 6 in Table 6), especially with Nr.3 - the portrait of the empress; it still needs to be noted that in the Dresden exhibition, the portrait is entitled with a key word “state robe” (or “robe of state”) (Staatsrobe) which may be seen as a symbol of the emphasis on national identity. In the case of object Nr.6, the focus of the painting has changed, as can be seen from the titles, from the concubines (Konkubine) of the emperor to the daily life of the emperor’s “court ladies” (Hofdamen) - grammatically, the subject of the first title is “concubines” and that of the second is “daily scenes”. Despite the fact that no concrete conclusion can be drawn through this analysis, this may show implications for further study on the second research question, in terms of the focus of the same painting shown by titles and detailed descriptions in form of texts.

For the second research question, this paper mainly focuses on the content of the parallel introductory texts and the analysis is targeted at sorting out descriptions concerning the cultural significance of the objects, from the following aspects based on Vickery’s theory: intellectual significance (referring to the original function of the object in the cases of this paper), historical significance, social significance and political significance. Meanwhile, the values attributed to the aesthetic appreciation will also be under study. It would thus be less effective to apply the more quantity-oriented content analysis where the units of analysis are normally words and phrases. Here, discourse analysis will be applied where texts will be under research as a whole and be divided into several parts based on its content, to obtain a more accurate and complete examination of the descriptive texts.



Palace Museum Object Database homepage. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.dpm.org.cn/search/shuziziliaoguan/cangpin/common/search.html>.

Before the actual analysis, another important source apart from the catalogues needs to be introduced as both a standard sample of the genre and content of the introductory texts in the museology catalogue of the Palace Museum exhibition, and an important source for analysing the different classification strategies for inland and overseas exhibitions of the museum. It is the object database accessible via the website of the Palace Museum Beijing.¹⁶⁰ There are two filters for the database searching engine, one is named “era” while the other is “category”. The objects of the Mannheim and Dresden exhibitions, as is already stated in Chapter 4.2.1.2, are grouped into eleven and forty-three (those from the Palace Museum) categories respectively, whereas in the Palace Museum Object Database, into thirty-one categories.

¹⁶⁰ The link of the Palace Museum Object Database homepage is as follows: <http://www.dpm.org.cn/search/shuziziliaoguan/cangpin/common/search.html>.

The typology of the Dresden exhibition is quite similar to the typology shown on the database website, as can be seen from the eleven categories in common: porcelain (Porzellan, 陶瓷), painting (Gemälde, 绘画), furniture (Mobiliar, 家具), weapon (Waffen, 武备), music and drama (Musik, 音乐戏曲), clocks and instruments (Uhren, 钟表仪器), jade (Jade, 玉器), court and religion (Religion (Buddhismus), 宫廷宗教), lacquer (Lackkunst, 漆器), bronze (Bronze, 青铜器), and seal (Siegel, 玺印). The Mannheim exhibition, on the other hand, shares five same categories with the database, including porcelain (Porzellan, 陶瓷) and glass (Glas, 玻璃器), painting, weapon, and finally, music and drama. This, along with analysis of the catalogues in the following paragraphs, especially the fact that Palace Museum is the main content producer for the exhibits from the Chinese side, may be proof of the Palace Museum's important role in determining the exhibition strategy in the Dresden exhibition. Nineteen categories such as embroidery (织绣), sculpture (雕塑), wood, horn and gourds (竹木牙角匏), inscription (铭刻), enamel (珐琅), etc. only appear in the Palace Museum Object Database. Table 7 below shows details of this source (including links, object names and authors). It should yet be noted that the texts on three objects (G(u)6452, G(u)180529 and G(u)6458) cannot be found in this database. These texts were all written or revised for the database in or after December 2009 - that is to say, after the Dresden exhibition had been held (11.10.2008-11.01.2009).

In addition, detailed information of the major source (catalogues of the three exhibitions) can also be found in Table 7. It can be seen that among the thirteen objects, twelve have been exhibited in the Dresden exhibition, and all the introductory texts in the Dresden catalogue were provided by Palace Museum Beijing - thus the content under analysis may be seen as official as the content published on the object database of the museum. In fact, the length and content of the texts originated from these two sources is highly similar, and this is even more the case when compared to the other two sources (Mannheim and Cologne catalogues). That these particular texts were also written almost around the same time (with maximum a three-year gap), makes these texts highly comparative for the analysis of the different overseas and inland exhibiting strategies of the Palace Museum, especially for the quantitative-oriented content analysis, despite they are written in two different languages (German/Chinese). More specifically, Mannheim and Cologne exhibitions share similar length of texts, while Dresden

catalogue contains the shortest texts. The former two catalogues are thus richer in content compared to the Dresden catalogue, with more detailed, less generalised descriptions of the aesthetic attributes of the exhibited objects and paintings, including material, pattern and alike. Cultural significance, especially the inner meaning of the patterns of exhibits, are also of greater focus than that can be seen in the Cologne texts.

Research on background of the authors may provide some insights for the genre and content of the texts and particularly, the reference to “Manchu-“ and “Manchurian” in the texts. Antoine Gournay and Klaus Brandt were responsible for the text-writing work for the Mannheim exhibition, while Petra Rösch, Adele Schlombs, Jienna Huo and Claudia von Collani were in charge of writing for the Cologne exhibition. In terms of the Dresden exhibition, it is hard to distinguish the exact individuals who did the writing, as all introductory texts were under the name of “PM” (Abbreviation for Palace Museum) in the catalogue, which can be seen as a collective work - however, it should be noted that the object database texts are all with the specific names of the authors.

Antoine Gournay, French art historian who obtained the Doctorate in 1998 and currently teaching at University Paris-Sorbonne (Art and Archeology), was in charge of the writing for exhibits Nr. 1-3 and Nr. 6 (furniture and imperial paintings). Dr. Klaus Brandt at the Linden-Museum Stuttgart was responsible for the two cases Nr. 4 and Nr. 5 (cosmetics case and comb-case). The focus of their texts are mainly on historical significance, political significance and aesthetics (more of a materialistic perspective) of the exhibits. In terms of the Cologne catalogue, Petra Rösch, research associate and postdoc of the East Asian Art History Department at the University of Heidelberg was taken care of the most texts among the selected cases (texts for Nr. 1, 2, 9, 10 and 13). Her research focus is on material culture of the Chinese Buddhist rituals of confession, collection history of the buddhist sculptures, Ming-era Buddhism etc. Adele Schlombs who studied Sinology, East Asian art history, European art history and comparative religious studies at Cologne and Heidelberg Universities, and took over the directorship of the Museum of East Asian Art in Cologne, wrote for the objects Nr. 7 and Nr. 8, in the texts of which she referred to European-Chinese joint work (Cat.C.71) and introduced in detail the twelve paintings regarding twelve months (Cat.C.70). Claudia von Collani, a catholic missiologist with focus on the Far Eastern mission period of ca. 1550-1800, has great interest in mission history, the Chinese Rites Controversy, cultural exchange between Europe and China, etc. In charge of the introduction for object Nr. 12

(sundial), she carefully described the structure and usage of the equipment and its cultural meaning, meanwhile referred to the import history of the sundial from Europe to China. No further information about Jienna Huo, who wrote for object Nr. 11 (imperial stamp), could be found online.

Table 7: Repetitive Exhibits in Exhibitions

Abbreviation of the author names:

(Cat.M.) A.G.= Antoine Gournay; K.B.= Klaus Brandt;

(Cat.D.) PM= Palastmuseum Peking

(Cat.C.) PR= Petra Rösch; AS= Adele Schlombs; JNH= Jienna Huo; CVC= Claudia von Collani

N r.	Inv.	Object Nr.	Name (Chinese names listed at the bottom line of each box)	Category	Link (Official Website of Palace Museum Beijing)	Author/Time (Month.Year)
1	G(u)207860	Cat.M.109; Cat.D.224; Cat.C.28	Sessel; Stuhl aus Hirschgeweih; Thronsessel mit Fußbank; 鹿角椅	1.2; 3.4.2; 3.4.2	http://www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/117/@/5810.html	(Cat.M.) A.G. (Cat.D.) PM (Cat.C.) PR Hu, Desheng. 12.2009
2	G(u)6452	Cat.M.23; Cat.C.5	Porträt der Kaiserinwitwe Xiaosheng; Kaiserinwitwe Xiaoshengxian (1691-1777)	3.1; 3.1	Not found.	(Cat.M.) A.G. (Cat.C.) PR -
3	G(u)8769	Cat.M.25; Cat.D.261	Porträt der Kaiserin Xiaoxian; Kaiserin Xiaoxian in Staatsrobe 《孝贤纯皇后 朝福像》轴	3.1; 3.1	http://www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/117/@/118398.html	(Cat.M.) A.G. (Cat.D.) PM Li, Shi. 02.2012
4	G(u)180529	Cat.M.77; Cat.D.197	Schminkkasten; Kosmetikschrank chen	1.2; 3.4.1	Not found.	(Cat.M.) K.B. (Cat.D.) PM -

Table 7: Repetitive Exhibits in Exhibitions

5	G(u)173714	Cat.M.79; Cat.D.50	Kasten mit Kämmen und Schminkzubehö r; Kammsatz mit Goldverzierung en 象牙描金带彩 什锦梳具	1.2; 3.4.8	http://www.dpm.org.cn/ shtml/117/@/7279.html	(Cat.M.) K.B. (Cat.D.) PM Liu, Baojian. 12.2009
6	G(u)6458	Cat.M.123; Cat.D.114a- b	Konkubine von Kaiser Yongzheng; Alltagsszenen der Hofdamen des Kaisers Yongzheng	3.3; 3.5.1	Not found.	(Cat.M.) A.G. (Cat.D.) PM -
7	G(u)13904	Cat.D.60; Cat.C.71	Neujahrsvergnü gen des Kaisers Qianlong; Kaiser Qianlong an Neujahr 郎世宁等《乾 隆帝岁朝行乐 图》轴	1.4.6; 3.3	http://www.dpm.org.cn/ shtml/117/@/ 117906.html	(Cat.D.) PM (Cat.C.) AS Li, Shi. 10.2011
8	Gu6441 5/12 Gu6441	Cat.D.69; Cat.C.70	Kaiser Yongzhengs Vergnügungen der 12 Monate; Kaiser Yongzheng bei Vergnügungen in den zwölf Lunarmonaten 《雍正十二月 行乐图》轴	1.2; 3.3	http://www.dpm.org.cn/ shtml/117/@/5897.html	(Cat.D.) PM (Cat.C.) AS Fu, Dongguang. 12.2009
9	Gu6485	Cat.D. 280; Cat.C.47	Kaiser Qianlong in buddhistischem Mönchsgewand ; Kaiser Qianlong als Bodhisattva Manjusri 《乾隆皇帝佛 装像唐卡》	2.1; 2.1	http://www.dpm.org.cn/ shtml/117/@/5746.html	(Cat.D.) PM (Cat.C.) PR Wang, Jiapeng. 12.2009

Table 7: Repetitive Exhibits in Exhibitions						
10	Xin146672	Cat.D.289; Cat.C.1	Ansicht der Hauptstadt in Vogelperspektiv e; Beijing nach den Frühlingsgedich ten des Kaisers Hongli 徐杨《京师生 春诗意图》轴	1.4.8; 3.3	http://www.dpm.org.cn/ shtml/117/@/7988.html	(Cat.D.) PM (Cat.C.) PR Fu, Dongguang. 12.2009
11	Gu167062	Cat.D.300; Cat.C.19	Siegel des all- seitigen Glücks; “Siegel Uner- messlicher Weite” (Guang- yun Zhi Bao)) “二十五宝玺”	3.4.3; 3.4.3	http://www.dpm.org.cn/ shtml/117/@/4771.html	(Cat.D.) Stamp (Stiegel) Introduction: Guo, Fuxiang. (Cat.D.) PM (Cat.C.) JNH Guo, Fuxiang. 01.2012
12	Gu141968	Cat.D.352; Cat.C.88	Horizontalson- nenuhr nach neuer Methode; Sonnenuhr 新法地平日晷	5.1; 5.4	http://www.dpm.org.cn/ shtml/117/@/5676.html	(Cat.D.) PM (Cat.C.) CVC Liu, Baojian. 12.2009
13	Gu169500/ 1-16	Cat.D.355; Cat.C.18	Bronzeglocken- spiel; Glockenspiel (Bianzhong) 金编钟	4.5; 4.1	http://www.dpm.org.cn/ shtml/117/@/ 113483.html	(Cat.D.) Ceremonies (Zeremonien) Introduction: Liang, Ke. (Cat.D.) PM (Cat.C.) PR Li, Yongxing. 04.2010

Table 8 in the Appendix is a summary of the twenty-seven catalogue texts as well as the ten object database texts in terms of the focus of content. More specifically, the content is analysed based on the four aspects of cultural significance it presents through words, i.e. intellectual significance, historical significance, social significance and political significance, what Vickery suggest in his work (Chapter 2.2.2, p.23). Meanwhile, descriptions concerning material used for production of the objects, patterns on the objects or on garment of the portrayed royal members are also noted down as part of the representation of aesthetics appreciation. This is analysed to testify Varutti's observation (Chapter 2.2.2, p.21) that there is an increasing aesthetic focus in the museum exhibitions in China at contemporary time. However, it should be noted that the analysis is limited to only verbal representation, and thus the

result may not fully and truly reflect the reality; yet some inspiration may be gained for further research from non-verbal perspectives in the future.

The analysis in this section is approached in the following way: Firstly, commonality of the thirteen repetitively objects is summarised from the texts from the catalogues and online object database to find out the characteristics of the mostly shown exhibits in three exhibitions in Germany. Following this is the summary of similarities and differences between Dresden texts and Palace Museum Object Database texts (ten groups of texts) to see the representation strategies of the Palace Museum for inland- and overseas exhibitions.

Firstly, features of the thirteen objects will be examined along with the discursive construction of national identity. Among the thirteen objects, paintings portraying important imperial figures or imperial life contribute to the largest proportion (seven in number; Nr. 2, 3, 6-10 in Table 7). Among these are three paintings in which female imperial members are in the centre - Nr. 2, portrait of empress Xiaosheng (xian); Nr. 3, portrait of empress Xiaoxian and Nr. 6, concubines of the emperor Yongzheng. Two focus on the emperor and his imperial life outside the court - Nr. 7, New Year amusement of emperor Qianlong and Nr. 8, Twelve Months amusement of emperor Yongzheng. Apart from these paintings mentioned above, there is also one portrait of the emperor in relation to religion (Nr. 9, emperor Qianlong as Bodhisattva Manjusri). The last painting among the thirteen (Nr. 10) with twenty "Beijing after the spring poems" written by emperor Qianlong focuses on the view of Beijing as capital city. Among the other six objects, two are of great political significance as can be seen from the object itself and the corresponding introductions: Nr. 1 armchair (with foot-bank) and Nr. 11 imperial stamp of "Guangyun Zhi Bao". Cosmetics case (Nr. 4) and comb-case (Nr. 5) are also under display, whose aesthetic characteristics and historical significance is emphasised in the texts. Lastly, sundial and carillon (bell instrument) are shown twice in Dresden and Cologne exhibitions, with focus mainly on historical significance and aesthetics appreciation. However, it needs to be noted that the thirteen objects appeared not in every exhibition (except for Nr. 1 the armchair). Four exhibits were shown in Mannheim and Dresden exhibitions (Nr. 3-6), one in Mannheim and Cologne exhibitions (Nr. 2 portrait of empress Xiaoshengxian) and seven in both Dresden and Cologne exhibitions (Nr. 7-13).

The discursive construction of national identity manifested by the introductory texts in the exhibitions are analysed in relation to Meissner's theory on Chinese cultural and national

identity (p.18). Meissner regards the following aspects as part of the identity: the long history of China, identity of Han people, continuity of the idea of a Chinese Empire, Chinese language, tradition of religion and philosophy (or Chinese thought), forms of arts like literature, poetry, paintings, ceramics, music etc.. Besides, important technological inventions and everyday culture are also parts of the identity. This can be partly seen from the verbal representation in the texts. Taken exhibit Nr. 1 (armchair) as a most crucial example, it can be seen that the three texts all particularly explain the poem written by emperor Qianlong that shows his memory on the “predecessor” (Cat.M.109), on “emperor Kangxi” (Cat.D.224) or on “Manchurian origins of the dynasty” (Cat.C.28), and the identity is constructed in this way of demonstrating both the continuity of the Chinese Empire and long history of China.

In fact, the history of China (especially the Manchurian origin) is one of the mostly represented topics throughout almost all texts, as can be seen from introductions focusing on historical significance of the exhibit, for example, the origin of court-armchair with deer antler which is “a Manchurian tradition” (Cat.C.28), and introductions of concubines’ garment in Yongzheng era and its difference between Manchurian robes (Cat.M.123). Besides, tradition of religion and philosophy is also mentioned and a particular case is Nr. 9 (painting entitled “Emperor Qianlong as Bodhisattva Manjusri”). The relationship between Qianlong and Buddhism is introduced in the following way that Qianlong is the “pure carnation of Bodhisattvas Manjushri and God of the earthly world” (Cat.D.280) and a “wise Buddhist ruler” (Cat.C.47).¹⁶¹ It is also noteworthy that ethnicity diversity and harmony is demonstrated by the descriptions of this painting in the Dresden and Cologne texts of “...perhaps a work by a Tibetan painter at imperial court” (Cat.D.280) and “the Thang-ka is a cooperation between many painter from the Tibetan-Mongolian and Chinese painting schools.” (Cat.C.47).¹⁶² Yet it should be noted as well that in the Dresden catalogue, the relationship between religion and politics is shown through “all Qing-emperors ascribe great significance to the Tibetan Buddhism because they could strengthen the control over Tibet and Mongolia through Bud-

¹⁶¹ Original German texts: “Die unter seinem Sitz angebrachte tibetische Schrift bezeichnet Qianlong als Reinkarnation des Bodhisattvas Manjushri und Gott der irdischen Welt.” (Cat.D.280); “...sonder porträtiert ihn als weisen, buddhistischen Herrscher...” (Cat.C.47).

¹⁶² Original German texts: “Das Bild in Stil der Thangka-Malerei ist wohl das Werk eines tibetischen Malers am Kaiserhof.” (Cat.D.280); “Das Thangka ist eine Zusammenarbet mehrerer Maler der tibeto-mongolischen und chinesischen Malschulen...” (Cat.C.47).

dhism”.¹⁶³ This is yet not stated in the official online database text of Palace Museum, where only the respect for and belief in Buddhism of the emperor Qianlong portrayed as Manjushri can be found.¹⁶⁴

Apart from this, the imperial seal is also used for constructing Chinese national and cultural identity in a way that the history of the emperor making twenty-five stamps as “imperial stamps” (kaiserliche Siegel) and that of the changing locations of the stamps are introduced. More importantly, the importance of the stamps as political “decision-making” symbol is also mentioned in the opening text of the “Stamp” (Siegel) section. (Cat.D.300) Similarly, the Cologne text provides with the opening sentence the great significance of imperial stamps, in that they were the symbol of the “highest authority and legitimation” and were regarded as “important ritual objects”.¹⁶⁵ The administrative regulations and state control over using the stamps is also demonstrated in the last paragraph. (Cat.C.19) These discourses with great focus on the political significance of the exhibited object contribute to constructing the identity by making visible the “Chinese Empire” symbolised through the imperial stamp with highest authority. The two objects (Nr. 12 and 13), “Horizontal sundial based by new method” and “bronze carillon” are examples of constructing identity by demonstrating technological invention and musical instrument. In the Cologne text, this is shown with reference to Europe-Asia technology transfer by introducing the history of the import of solar calendar to China, (Cat.C.88) whereas in the Dresden catalogue only the name of the producer is listed, without further explanation on the historical background. This will be analysed further with other examples when comparing the Dresden and Palace Museum Object Database texts.

Another aspect worth mentioning is the demonstration of everyday culture where festivals and traditions play a very important role. This can mainly be seen from texts on objects Nr. 7 and Nr. 8 (paintings entitled “New Year amusement of emperor Qianlong” and “Twelve

¹⁶³ Original German text: “Alle Qing-Kaiser maßen dem tibetischen Buddhismus große Bedeutung bei, da sie durch ihn die Kontrolle über Tibet und die Mongolei verstärken konnten.” (Cat.D.280)

¹⁶⁴ Wang, Jiapeng (2009). Palace Museum Object Database, Introduction of Gu6485. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/117/@/5746.html>. Original Chinese text: “这幅画着力把乾隆皇帝刻画成莲花围绕、众神簇拥的文殊菩萨的化身，身着喇嘛服饰以表明他对藏传佛教的尊崇。”

¹⁶⁵ Original German text: “Kaiserliche Siegel waren Zeichen höchster Autorität und Legitimation und galten als wichtige Ritualgegenstände...” (Cat.C.19)

Months Amusement of emperor Yongzheng”). Cultural assets and traditions are explained in words and sentences, for instance, the “hope towards good harvest”, “all-encompassing peace”, “Three Friends of Winter”¹⁶⁶ (suihansanyou, “岁寒三友”), paper stripes with New Year wishes and lanterns.¹⁶⁷ “Dragon boat festival” (Drachenbootfest; “端午节”) is introduced in relation to the content of the painting (Nr. 8) where emperor Yongzheng was watching the dragon boat regatta.¹⁶⁸ Object database texts of objects Nr. 7 and Nr. 8 (both of which are paintings) also refer to traditional Chinese festivals of “Han ethnicity” (hanzu, 汉族), such as New Year (Neujahr, Xinnian/Yuandan, “新年/元旦”), Lantern Festival (Laternenfest, Yuanxiaojie/Shangyuanjie, “元宵节/上元节”), Qixi Festival (Nacht der Sieben, Qixijie, “七夕节”), Mid-Autumn Festival (Mitherbst-Fest, Zhongqiuie, “中秋节”), Double Yang Festival (Fest des Doppelten Yang, Chongyangjie, “重阳节”) and so on. The object Nr. 13 (bronze carillon; jinbianzhong, 金编钟) introduced as an example in the previous paragraph is also represented in relation to the ritual ceremony. It is supposed to be “very important for conducting the national ritual ceremony”¹⁶⁹, as is stated in the Dresden text. (Cat.D.355)

As is mentioned earlier, what may also be noteworthy is the appearance of “Manchurian (origin)” in the introductory texts in the three catalogues. Examples are Mannheim exhibition texts for objects¹⁷⁰ Nr.1 (Cat.M.109), Nr. 2 (Car.M.23) and Nr. 6 (Cat.M.123) written by Antoine Gournay, and the Cologne exhibition texts for objects Nr. 1 (Cat.C.28) and Nr. 2 (Cat.C.5) written by Petra Rösch, and for object Nr. 11 (Cat.C.19) by Jienna Huo. With the

¹⁶⁶ Creation Station: Three Friends of Winter. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://asiasociety.org/texas/events/creation-station-three-friends-winter>. “Bamboo, pine, and cherry blossoms appear throughout Asian art as symbols of perseverance and resilience. As a group, they are known as the Three Friends of Winter because they flourish in the cold, unlike other plants and flowers that wither until spring. They are also associated with the beginning of the New Year and are seen on cards or other decorations. Participants in this Creation Station will see examples of this motif in a variety of Asian art and create their own craft projects inspired by these three durable plants.”

¹⁶⁷ “Hoffnung auf gute Ernte” (“wugu fengdeng”), “allumfassenden Frieden” (“taiping you yu”) (Cat.D.60); “drei Freunde des Winter” (Kiefern, Bambus und Kirschblüte), “Papierstreifen (duilian) mit Neujahrswünschen” and “Laternen” (Cat.C.71).

¹⁶⁸ Original German text: “Dieses Bild zeigt eine Szene beim Drachenbootfest, das nach dem Mondkalender am 5. Tag des 5. Monats begangen wurde. Im alten Sommerpalast (*Yuanmingyuan*) am Fu-hai See beobachtet Kaiser Yongzheng die Drachenbootregatta.” (Cat.D.69)

¹⁶⁹ Original German text: “... war von großer Bedeutung für die Durchführung von Staatsritualen.” (Cat.D.355)

¹⁷⁰ The following object numbers are according to Table 7.

Dresden exhibition, only the texts for objects Nr. 3 (Cat.D.261) and Nr. 11 (Cat.D.300) refer to this key word as follows:

“...Manchurian ‘bordered yellow banner’”.¹⁷¹ (Cat.D.261)

and “These ten seals were kept in Shengjing (now the city of Shenyang), the cradle of the Manchu state.”¹⁷² (Cat.D.300)

The fact that there is a stronger presence of the reference to Manchurian origin may be partly resulted to the learning of Manchurian language as an auxiliary language for studying texts written in Chinese among the majority of western sinologists. As Stephan Durrant has mentioned in “A Personal Note on Manchu Studies”, the Manchurian language have been essential for those who study Chinese (culture), and the language has been used for understanding the Chinese texts as there firstly were many valuable book in Chinese translated to Manchurian under the order of the “successive emperors of the Manchu dynasty”, secondly, as the Manchu language brings with it benefits such as possession of grammar (which Chinese lacked), and thirdly, it is probably the most proper language to study, or at least rethink Qing history - just as Elliott notes, “to paint a more complex picture that squares better with what Manchu-language documents tell us about Manchu history...”.¹⁷³ Whether and to what degree one should link the “Manchurian” characteristics and origins with “Chinese” culture in both Europe and China, both within and outside the academia, may be beyond the scope of research of this paper. Yet it will be something worth investigating in the future studies.

After a general overview of the thirteen objects and approaches of discursive construction of the Chinese national and cultural identity, analysis on texts from the Dresden catalogue and the Palace Museum Object Database (ten groups of texts for objects Nr. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8-13 in Table 8) will be conducted, so that the differences and similarities can be found regarding strategies of the Palace Museum for inland- and overseas exhibitions. The Dresden texts are

¹⁷¹ Original German text (full sentence):“(Kaiserin Xiaoxian trug ursprünglich den Familiennamen Fucha und gehörte dem mandschurischen ‘gelb umsäumten Banner’ an.” (Cat.D.261)

¹⁷² Original German text: “Diese zehn Siegel wurden in Shengjing (heute Shenyang), der Wiege des mandschurischen Staates, aufbewahrt.” (Cat.D.300)

¹⁷³ Durrant, Stephan. (2003). A Personal Note on Manchu Studies. In: Stephan A. Wadley, Carsten Naehrer and Keith Dede (ed.) *Proceedings of the First North American Conference on Manchu Studies (Portland, OR, May 9-10, 2003): Volume 1: Studies in Manchu Literature and History*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 9-11.

in general very short, with an average word count of 100. The focus of content is mainly on intellectual, historical, social or political significance of the objects, and the emphasis on aesthetic appreciation (introduction of the material, pattern and artistic skills) is relatively of less weight. The object database texts, on the other hand, provides richer and more detailed information of the exhibits in terms of aesthetics. This can be most clearly seen from the two cases of Nr. 1 (armchair) and Nr. 5 (comb-set with gold trimming).

In terms of the paintings, it can be seen that in the Dresden texts, there is more reference to the European contribution to the work, especially that of the missionaries such as Guiseppe Castiglione, as can be seen from cases of Nr. 7 (where both the European and Chinese painters are introduced) and Nr. 9 (“...the face of the emperor alone is drawn with European technic and may be originated from Giuseppe Castiglione.”¹⁷⁴). Despite the fact that the Dresden catalogue and Palace Museum Object Database is under examination, it has to be pointed out that it is also the case with the Mannheim texts in terms of presence of the “European credits”, as is demonstrated by the case of Nr. 3 (the portrait of empress Xiaoxian which “...follows precisely the rules of European central perspective.”¹⁷⁵). Refocusing on the cases stated above - of paintings Nr.7 and Nr.9 - it can also be concluded that similarly, the verbal representation in the Cologne catalogue focuses on “European-Chinese cooperation” as well as “European credits”, with the following texts as proofs:

“The work counts to the type of New Year paintings, and like other European-Chinese cooperated work, it is conducted in a fine and realistic way.”¹⁷⁶ (Cat.C.71)
also: “...while the realistic face of the ruler may be painted by missionary painter Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) or a painter working in the western tradition.”¹⁷⁷ (Cat.C.47)

¹⁷⁴ Original German text:“...Lediglich das Gesicht des Kaisers ist in europäischer Technik gemalt und stammt möglicherweise von Guiseppe Castiglione.” (Cat.D.280)

¹⁷⁵ Original German text:“...befolgt präzise die Gesetze der europäischen Zentralperspektive.” (Cat.M.25)

¹⁷⁶ Original German text:“Das Werk zählt zur Gattung der Neujahrsbilder und ist wie andere europäisch-chinesische Gemeinschaftsarbeiten in einem feinteiligen, realistischen Stil ausgeführt.” (Cat.C.71)

¹⁷⁷ Original German text:“...während das realistische Gesicht des Herrschers wahrscheinlich von dem Jesuitenmaler Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) oder einem in der westlichen Tradition arbeitenden Maler ausgeführt wurde.” (Cat.C.47)

In contrast, there is a slight difference in terms of the object database strategy. In the case of object Nr. 7, the painting is also regarded as “a successful piece” with the collaboration between both Chinese and Western painting arts, yet it is achieved “under the imperial power”.¹⁷⁸ When it comes to the case of object Nr. 9, it is introduced as “a representative Thang-ka work of the 18th century mainland China painters”¹⁷⁹ without any credits to the Tibetan painters, nor to the European-Chinese cooperation. The same applies also to the case of overview painting of the city of Beijing (Nr. 10), where the object database text emphasises on the innovation and recreation of Chinese painters who are supposed to be “flexible” when combining the Chinese painting skills and western perspectival skills.¹⁸⁰ An exceptional case may be that of Nr. 12 where the “new method” for making the sundial is introduced as “not a traditional Chinese equatorial installation”, but “applied the European theory in the 17th century”. Meanwhile, Johann Adam Schall Von Bell is also mentioned, not as a producer but as an individual who sent the “tribute to the emperor Shunzhi and regent Dorgon on purpose in the year of 1644” which “promoted the mastery of ‘earth-horizontal’ principle and producing skills of the installation by Chinese in Qing dynasty” .¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Li, Shi. (2011). Palace Museum Object Database, Introduction of G(u)13904. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/117/@/117906.html>. Original Chinese text:“这件中西方绘画艺术在皇权之下有机交融的成功之作，不仅渲染出了皇家岁朝喜庆祥和的热烈气氛，同时展示出了乾隆帝与诸皇子之间融融的亲情。”

¹⁷⁹ Wang, Jiapeng. (2009). Palace Museum Object Database, Introduction of Gu6485. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/117/@/5746.html>. Original Chinese text:“此为18世纪内地创作的唐卡代表作。”

¹⁸⁰ Fu, Dongguang. (2009). Palace Museum Object Database, Introduction of Xin146672. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/117/@/7988.html. Original Chinese text:“徐扬是清代宫廷中受西洋绘画影响的画家之一，但中国宫廷画家们对西洋画法的学习并不是简单的复制与机械的翻版，而是以中国传统楼阁画为根基。一方面，他们的作品受到传统审美观的限制，西洋绘画中的一些效果在一定程度上有所淡化，另一方面，在具体的艺术实践中，焦点透视技法虽然更适合表现建筑的个体，但在表现建筑群落与大山大水相结合的全景上很难起到中国审美观所能接受的艺术效果，因此，中国画家在运用焦点透视和散点透视法描绘建筑时比较灵活……从这幅作品中，我们看到了中国宫廷画家在借鉴西法过程中的艺术再创造……”

¹⁸¹ Liu, Baojian. (2009). Palace Museum Object Database, Introduction of Gu141968. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/117/@/5676.html>. Original Chinese text:“晷面上镌刻‘新法地平日晷’之‘新法’，意指这件日晷不是中国传统的赤道式装置，而是采用了17世纪欧洲仍盛行的地平式装置原理…这是汤若望（Johann Adam Schall Von Bell）于顺治元年（1644年）七月九日特别向摄政王多尔袞和顺治皇帝敬献的贡品。此仪进入朝廷后，对清代中国人掌握地平式日晷的原理及制晷技术，起到了促进作用。”

4.2.2 Analysis of Media Discourse

In this section, in order to achieve a more comprehensive analysis of the discursive construction of Chinese national identity, online reports about the exhibitions from the following media platforms will be put under analysis: websites of very important news institutions such as *Die Zeit*, *Tagesspiegel*, *Die Welt*, *Deutschlandfunk* and “art - Das Kunstmagazin”; Chinese-language German media (*Deutsche Welle*) based in Germany; and finally, Chinese online media based in China (163.com, xinhua.net). It is important to see how the three exhibitions are portrayed and how Chinese identity exhibited in the museums as well as how the exhibitions themselves are interpreted by different actors mentioned above.

In the case of 1997-1998 Mannheim exhibition “The Forbidden City - The life of the last emperors of China” in the *Reiss-Museum Mannheim (Mannheim)*,¹⁸² reports on Chinese media or Chinese-language German media are missing. The only piece of news on the opening of the exhibition can be found on website of *Die Zeit* (zeit.de), under the “Zeit Online” “Travel” (Reisen) section. The news report entitled “The last Emperor in Mannheim”(Der letzte Kaiser in Mannheim)¹⁸³ with 103 words briefly introduced the theme, opening period/time and entrance fee of the Mannheim exhibition. Chinese identity can be understood to have been interpreted through verbal expressions of “metal weapon, lacquer and silk” (Metall, Lack und Seide) in the mainstream German media, which was in line with the museum exhibition.

In comparison to the absence of media attention on the Mannheim exhibition, more reports can be found over the 2008-2009 exhibition “Golden Dragon, White Eagle: Art for the service of power in the court in China and the Saxon-Polish court (1644-1795) in *State Art Col-*

¹⁸² Original German name: “Die Verbotene Stadt - Aus dem Leben der letzten Kaiser von China”, *Reiss-Museum Mannheim (Mannheim)*.

¹⁸³ (1997, December 12). Der letzter Kaiser in Mannheim. *Die Zeit*. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from http://www.zeit.de/1997/51/Der_letzte_Kaiser_in_Mannheim. Original full text in German: “Prunkrüstungen aus Metall, Lack und Seide demonstrierten bei den Paraden in der Verbotenen Stadt die Macht der chinesischen Kaiser aus der Quing-Dynastie, die von der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts an bis zum Ende der Monarchie im Jahre 1911 das Land regierte. Kostbarkeiten aus diesen drei Jahrhunderten zeigt das Mannheimer Reiss-Museum bis zum 22. Februar in der Ausstellung "Die Verbotene Stadt: Aus dem Leben der letzten Kaiser von China". Sie ist täglich außer montags von 10 bis 17 Uhr geöffnet, sonn- und feiertags bis 19 Uhr, mittwochs bis 21 Uhr. Der Eintritt kostet 13 Mark (ermäßigt 9 Mark), der Katalog 50 Mark.”

lection Dresden (Dresden).¹⁸⁴ German media (including both German- and Chinese- language media) will be under analysis. *Tagesspiegel*, a classical liberal German daily newspaper founded in 1945 and based in Berlin, reported in detail the exhibition theme in the context of cultural and political cooperation between China and Germany, with a approximately 900-word news piece “King is the one who collects arts” (König ist, wer Künste sammelt) at its website.¹⁸⁵ With the subtitle “China and Sachsen in the baroque era: a gorgeous exhibition in the Dresden Palace”,¹⁸⁶ just as has been seen in the Dresden catalogue, the article has a strong and objective emphasis on the intercultural and similarity-sharing characteristics of Europe-China culture history:

“Lack of knowledge and misunderstanding have influenced the interactive image of China and the Occident (Europe) for more than centuries. Even when the exchange of luxuries in the 17th and 18th century radically increased, the knowledge of both sides about each other remained rather limited. But works from the foreign country gained high reputation; porcelain and silk here, clocks and mechanical device there. The European Rococo China-fashion (Chinamode) is famous, the European influence on Chinese courts is also exactly like this. The courts in Europe and the imperial court of China, however, in basic forms of their self-portrayal, splendour display and demonstration of power, almost equates each other - and in previous times this has never been seen in a comparison of culture history.”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Original German name: “Goldener Drache, Weißer Adler: Kunst im Dienst der Macht am Kaiserhof von China und am sächsisch-polnischen Hof (1644-1795)”, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Dresden)*.

¹⁸⁵ Schulz, Bernhard. (2008, October 14). “Goldener Drache - Weißer Adler”: König ist, wer Künste sammelt. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/ausstellungen/goldener-drache-weisser-adler-koenig-ist-wer-kuenste-sammelt/1346204.html>.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. Original German title: “China und Sachsen in der Zeit des Barock: eine prachtvolle Ausstellung im Dresdener Schloss.”

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. Original German text: “Unkenntnis und Missverständnisse prägen das wechselseitige Bild von China und dem Abendland über Jahrhunderte hinweg. Auch als der Austausch von Luxusgütern im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert spürbar zunahm, blieb das Wissen voneinander gering. Doch Erzeugnisse aus der Fremde genossen hohes Ansehen; Porzellane und Seide hier, Uhren und mechanische Geräte dort. Die europäische Chinamode des Rokoko ist bekannt, der europäische Einfluss am chinesischen Hofe durchaus ebenso. Dass sich die Höfe Europas und der Kaiserhof von China allerdings in wesentlichen Formen ihrer Selbstdarstellung, Prachtentfaltung und Machtdemonstration geradezu gleichen, war zuvor noch nie im kulturgeschichtlichen Vergleich zu sehen.”

Apart from focus on the intercultural comparison, it is also worth mentioning that the throne of Qianlong which has been exhibited in all the three exhibitions was under particular description in the article, being portrayed as “chair of the son-of-the-heaven” (Sitz des Himmelssohnes), and this can be seen as a very crucial symbol of the authority exhibited in the Dresden exhibition.¹⁸⁸ Just as the author wrote in the article, “it is not the person of ruling that countered each other, but the authority as such”.¹⁸⁹ Of equal importance is the explanation of certain types of objects being exhibited in the political and cultural context, in which the “form and function” is believed to be “flying into each other”.¹⁹⁰ Schulz considers the “complete beauty of the ‘furniture of authority’” as being “covered with demand for absolute power”, meanwhile, he also suggests that in the Dresden exhibition, there is a repetitive presence of “an idea of the sensation which once evoked these objects” and “an idea of the strict logic of the authority subdued by the symbolics”,¹⁹¹ as can be seen through the imperial portrait of August III and that of Emperor Qianlong. The share of “a climax of the sino-german collective project in the olympic year”¹⁹² further demonstrates the political significance of the Dresden exhibition. Besides, Schultz has also noted in his article the Manchurian attributes and ethnicity diversity found in the catalogues - “the balance between Manchurian tradition and adapted Chinese culture has added the heritage of the tributary

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. Original German text: “Der chinesische Thron Qianlongs (reg. 1736-1795), aus indischem Sandelholz geschnitzt, ist durch den dahinter stehenden Wandschirm mit dem kaiserlichen Drachensmotiv als Sitz des Himmelssohnes gekennzeichnet. Weihrauch spendende Fabeltiere, die nach der Überlieferung Wahrheit von Lüge zu unterscheiden vermögen, flankieren den Sitz.”

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. Original German text: “Nicht die Person des Herrschers trat ihm entgegen, sondern die Herrschaft als solche.”

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. Original German text: “Form und Funktion fließen ineinander.”

¹⁹¹ Ibid. Original German text: “... Die vollendete Schönheit der herrscherlichen Möbel deckt sich mit dem Anspruch auf absolute Macht, die ihrerseits im strengen Regelwerk der überlieferten Vorstellungen vom guten Regiment eingehegt ist. Die Ehrerbietung, die dem Fürsten zusteht, überträgt sich auf sein Mobiliar. Wiederholt gibt die Dresdner Ausstellung eine Ahnung von den Empfindungen, die solche Objekte einst hervorgerufen haben, und von der strengen Logik der im Symbolischen gebändigten Herrschaft. So bei den Staatsportraits: August III. (reg. 1733-1763), der sorgsam auf sein Amt vorbereitete Sohn Augusts des Starken lässt sich und seine Gemahlin, eine Tochter des Habsburgerkaisers Joseph I., von Louis de Silvestre bald nach der Krönung in traditioneller Ikonografie malen. So auch Kaiser Qianlong in den späten Jahren seiner fast 60-jährigen Regentschaft – nur mit dem Unterschied, dass keinem gewöhnlichen Sterblichen der Blick auf ein solches Bildnis je erlaubt war, das in der weitläufigen Verbotenen Stadt bewahrt wurde.”

¹⁹² Ibid. Original German text: “Von diesem Reichtum zehrt die ebenso durchdachte wie sinnliche Ausstellung, der großartige Höhepunkt der deutsch-chinesischen Gemeinschaftsvorhaben im olympischen Jahr.”

carefully to the nation-joining bounded Tibet, and has therefore contributed to an admirable cultural blossom.”¹⁹³

art - *Das Kunstmagazin*, a monthly art newspaper and the biggest art magazine in Europe¹⁹⁴, named the Dresden exhibition as “an exciting rendezvous between ‘Golden Dragons’ and ‘White Eagles’” and “climax of the exhibition series ‘Dresden in China’ in Pillnitz Castle with treasures from the Palace Museum in Beijing”.¹⁹⁵ Just the same as the *Tagesspiegel* report, this article written by Susanne Altmann focuses also on the Sino-German cultural connection as can be seen from the first three paragraphs, where Emperor Qianlong is introduced as an emperor who “let himself be portrayed in the same painting with horses” just “like a western ruler”, whose Summer Palace was “built in European style” and who had “a French court painter”.¹⁹⁶ Besides, the armchair of Emperor Qianlong made of deer antler is again given particular credits, being introduced under the sub-title of “bizarre antler throne of Qianlong” (Bizarrer Geweihthron von Qianlong). This armchair from the Palace Museum suggested to be an armchair that demonstrates how the empire highly values the authorial hunting, along with the goldenly trimmed deer antler possessed by August dem Starken (1670-1733) in the contrasting juxtaposition (Gegenüberausstellung).¹⁹⁷

Both reports from German media in Germany on the Dresden exhibition regard the typology strategy as an important part of the exhibition. Schultz wrote in *Tagesspiegel* that the Dres-

¹⁹³ Ibid. Original German text: “Die Balance zwischen Mandschu-Tradition und adaptierter chinesischer Kultur, bereichert um das Erbe des tributpflichtigen, sorgsam ins Staatsgefüge eingebundenen Tibet, hatte eine bewundernswerte kulturelle Blüte zur Folge.”

¹⁹⁴ Gujmedia: Profil of art. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.gujmedia.de/print/portfolio/art/profil/>.

¹⁹⁵ Altmann, Susanne. (2008, November 07). Ein spannendes Rendezvous. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.art-magazin.de/kunst/8518-rtkl-goldener-drache-weisser-adler-dresden-ein-spannendes-rendezvous>. Original German text: “Höhepunkt der Ausstellungsserie ‘Dresden in China’ im Schloss Pillnitz – mit Schätzen aus dem Palastmuseum in Peking...In diesem Sinne vollzieht sich in den einstigen Paraderäumen des Dresdner Schlosses das spannende Rendezvous zwischen ‘Goldenem Drachen’ und ‘Weißem Adler’ – natürlich im Zusammenhang mit der seit Monaten laufenden Ausstellungsserie ‘Dresden in China’.”

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. Original German text: “Er ließ sich wie ein westlicher Herrscher zu Pferde porträtieren, sein Sommerpalast Yuanming Yuan wurde im europäischen Stil errichtet, und er hielt sich einen französischen Hofmaler: Kaiser Qianlong (1711 bis 1799) steht exemplarisch für die Öffnung Chinas für westliche Einflüsse im 18. Jahrhundert.”

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. Original German text: “So trifft ein vergoldetes Hirschgeweih aus dem Besitz von August dem Starken (1670 bis 1733) auf einen bizarren Geweihthron von Qianlong und demonstriert, welcher hohen Stellenwert die herrschaftliche Jagd in beiden Reichen einnahm.”



Der Glanz der Kaiser von China

Eine Ausstellung im Ostasiatischen Museum Köln

Fast 500 Jahre lang war Peking der Regierungssitz der Kaiser von China. Weltanschauung, Geschmack und internationale Kontakte sind an ihnen abzulesen. Diese konfuzianische Welt zeigt das Ostasiatische Museum in Köln – den universellen Herrschaftsanspruch der Kaiser, das traditionelle Ideal eines harmonisch geordneten Staatswesens aus Sicht des Hofes.

Von Simone Hamm



Das Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst Köln (Rainer Görtner)

Heading, sub-heading, introduction and photo in the article on “Radio of Germany” (Deutschlandfunk) website. Hamm, Simone. (2012, October 23). Der Glanz der Kaiser von China: Eine Ausstellung im Ostasiatischen Museum Köln. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from http://www.deutschlandfunk.de/der-glanz-der-kaiser-von-china.691.de.html?dram:article_id=225284.

den exhibition catalogue shows more types of exhibits than its (original) motive. The exhibition is believed to be of “comprehensive topics” regarding the most crucial aspects of the court culture, including court nation, festivals, hunting, architecture, etc.¹⁹⁸ Whereas in the art magazine article by Altmann, “forms of court representation in both the East and the

¹⁹⁸ Schulz, Bernhard. (2008, October 14). “Anders als das alphabetisch geordnete und darum weit über seinen Anlass hinaus wertvolle Kataloghandbuch folgt die Ausstellung übergreifenden Themen, die mit den wichtigsten Aspekten der Hofkultur vertraut machen. Hofstaat, Festlichkeiten, Jagd, prachtvolle Architektur prägen das Leben des Fürsten und seiner Umgebung.”

West” are considered to be put “directly in the face of each other”, grouped into the the topics of “festival culture, ceremony, architecture, art and politics”.¹⁹⁹

Now come the reports on 2012-2013 Cologne exhibition “Gloss of the Emperors of China: Art and life in the Forbidden City” in the *Museum for East Asian Art Cologne*²⁰⁰ - one from welt.de, the website of *Die Welt*, a renowned German Nationalist-conservative middle-class daily newspaper; and the other from deutschlandfunk.de, website of *Deutschlandfunk* (DLF), a national radio program of the Deutschlandradio established in Cologne in 1962. Both reports use the exhibition name as titles - *Die Welt* with ““Splendour of the Emperors of China’ in Cologne”²⁰¹ and *Deutschlandfunk* simply “The Splendour of the Emperors of China: an exhibition in Cologne East Asian Museum”²⁰². While *Die Welt* focuses on the Emperor of Qianlong and the imperial portrait of the Emperor as the most crucial part of the exhibition, *Deutschlandfunk* puts the Forbidden City, splendour of court culture and Euro-Sino cultural exchange, especially the history of missionaries, and also the Emperor (Kangxi) in centre - notably, it may not be a coincidence that the portrait of Emperor Qianlong made in 1735/36 by the missionary Giuseppe Castiglione was given emphasis in this local Cologne report as well.²⁰³

The *Deutschlandfunk* piece, meanwhile, also mention the Sino-Tibetan relationship and the religious representation in the Cologne exhibition, along with the attempts of the emperor to integrate other religions and religious godhoods that demonstrates the large-heartedness and

¹⁹⁹ Altmann, Susanne. (2008, November 07). “Die Ausstellung "Goldener Drache – Weißer Adler" stellt erstmals die Formen höfischer Repräsentation in Ost und West unmittelbar gegenüber: Festkultur, Zeremoniell, Architektur, Kunst und Politik gehören zu den Themen.”

²⁰⁰ Original German name: “Glanz der Kaiser von China: Kunst und Leben in der Verbotenen Stadt”, *Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst Köln, (Köln)*.

²⁰¹ (2012, October 19). “Glanz der Kaiser von China” in Köln. *Die Welt*. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from https://www.welt.de/newsticker/dpa_nt/infoline_nt/boulevard_nt/article110046937/Glanz-der-Kaiser-von-China-in-Koeln.html.

²⁰² Hamm, Simone. (2012, October 23). Der Glanz der Kaiser von China: Eine Ausstellung im Ostasiatischen Museum Köln. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from http://www.deutschlandfunk.de/der-glanz-der-kaiser-von-china-691.de.html?dram:article_id=225284.

²⁰³ Ibid. Original German text: “Giuseppe Castiglione beeinflusste die chinesischen Hofmaler. Er schuf 1735/36 das offizielle Porträt des jungen Kaisers Qianlong für die Ahnengalerie. Ein junger ernster Mann in einem seidenen, golddurchwirkten gelben Gewand auf einem goldenen, mit Drachen verzierten Thron.”

power of the emperor - which is missing in the *Die Welt* report.²⁰⁴ Another thing to note is that the exhibited objects as power symbol, yet not the portrait of emperor, also appear in the report of “Radio of Germany”: a throne armchair made of Zitan wood (zitanmu, 紫檀木, [red sandal-wood]) with a folding screen behind, with which the emperor makes a “scholarly, wise ruler in distance (with the ordinary people)”.²⁰⁵ Other objects such as robes, splendour sabre, arrow and arc, pearl necklace, lacquer cases, vases and boots of the Emperor Kangxi, along with the art work including poems and paintings made by Emperor Kangxi, is also shortly mentioned in the article.²⁰⁶ That the photo of East Asian Museum in Cologne was used as cover photo of the reportage, is also worth noting, as it is the first time that photo appears in the reports particularly over the three exhibitions, complementary to texts.

Significance of the Cologne exhibition, on the other hand, is revealed more by *Die Welt*: according to the exhibition curator Adele Schlombs, is firstly “a real rarity” as “marriage of the art objects”, then a chance to see the historical root of China for “those who want to understand contemporary China”, and finally, as has been mentioned in the exhibition context section in Chapter 4.2.1.1, a special cultural event on the occasion of the 25th anniversary year of city partner-shaft between Beijing and Cologne and the 40th anniversary year of the diplomatic relationship between China and Germany.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ Ibid. Original German text: “Im ostasiatischen Museum werden auch sino - tibetische Plastiken gezeigt; neun bronzene Buddhas. Manche sitzen ganz nach innen gekehrt im Lotossitz, andere beugen die Knie, rollen mit den Augen. Sie stammen aus dem Palast der barmherzigen Ruhe. Jeden Morgen und jeden Abend fanden im Palast der irdischen Ruhe Rituale für schamanische Gottheiten statt. Und so sind die schamanischen Puppen in Köln zu sehen... Im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert war das chinesische Reich groß wie nie. Und die Kaiser versuchten, die anderen Religionen, die anderen Gottheiten zu integrieren. So demonstrierten sie gleichzeitig Großherzigkeit und Macht.”

²⁰⁵ Ibid. Original German text: “Auch ein Thronsemble ist von Peking nach Deutschland gekommen: ein breiter, über und über mit Schnitzereien bedeckter Thronsessel aus Zitan-Holz, ein hölzerner, türkisblauer Wandschirm dahinter, der das Böse abwenden soll. Weihrauchgefäße in Form von Kranichen, emaillierte Bronzevögel. Der Herrscher saß in einem Nebel von Rauch und Duftwolken - und wahrte so Distanz. Die Kaiser schufen ein Bild von sich, das sie als gelehrte, weise, ferne Herrscher zeigte.”

²⁰⁶ Ibid. Original German text: “Gewänder und Roben sind ausgestellt, Prunksäbel, Sättel, Pfeil und Bogen, Perlenketten, Lackkästen, kupferrote Vasen und die Stiefel des Kaisers Kangxi aus dunkelblauem Seidensatin mit Brokatbordüre. Kaiser Kangxi schrieb über 700.000 Gedichte. Und er malte: den großen Berg Pan, auf dem ganz klein der Pavillon zu sehen ist, in dem der Kaiser sich aufhielt, wenn er dorthin residierte, fast versteckt von Hunderten von Fichten.”

²⁰⁷ (2012, October 19). “Glanz der Kaiser von China” in Köln. “Diese Vermählung der Kunstobjekte ist eine echte Rarität... ‘Wer das heutige China verstehen will, kann hier sehen, woher es kommt’, sagt Schlombs... Anlass für die Ausstellung ist das 25-jährige Jubiläum der Städtepartnerschaft zwischen Köln und Peking sowie das 40-jährige Jubiläum der diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen China und Deutschland.”

Another report²⁰⁸ worth investigating is that on the *Deutsche Welle* (DW) Chinese website targeting mainly the Chinese-speaking readers. The Internet news site of DW offers coverage in eight languages including Arabic, Chinese, English, German etc.. Entitled “Treasures of the Forbidden City show in Cologne” (Zijincheng zhenbao liangxiang Kelong, 紫禁城珍宝亮相科隆) with the subtitle mentioning in particular the “Palace Museum in Beijing” (Beijing Gugong, 北京故宫) and “imperial treasures” (huangjia zhenpin, 皇家珍品), the report takes the photo of one audience watching the portrait of the Emperor Qianlong as cover photo for the text. Along with the cover photo are the photos of deputy director of East Asian Art Museum, Dr. Petra Hildegard Rösch, who has told the correspondent that “it is the first time we exhibit treasures from the Palace Museum in Beijing, and every art object has been carefully selected...what we have chosen are mainly those from 17th and 18th century, i.e. the era of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong, a period of great prosperity.”²⁰⁹ Besides, a photo of the golden clock made by a Chinese craftsman (gongjiang, 工匠) and that of Emperor Yongzheng’s 18th-Century Ceremonial Eastern Pearl Court Necklace (Chao Zhu) (yuyong dongzhu chaozhu, 御用东珠朝珠) are also presented in the report. This demonstrates a tendency that the reports on German media over imperial art collection exhibitions are increasingly rich in content, including both verbal and visual representations, throughout the years.

In this report from *Deutsche Welle*, “court life and art in Qing-dynasty” (Qingdai gongting shenghuo yishu zhan, 清代宫廷生活艺术展), along with “taste of the emperors” (diwang pinwei, 帝王品位), “with outstanding characteristics of the Chinese culture” (ji fu Zhongguo wenhua tezheng, 极富中国文化特征) and “traditional oriental culture” (chuantong de dongfang wenhua, 传统的东方文化) are mentioned as key words, in relation to the Chinese identity which is under study in this paper. Art objects, including porcelain, jade, garment and accessories, and stationery accessories, are introduced briefly as objects being exhibited in

²⁰⁸ Wan, Fang. (2012, November 03). 紫禁城珍宝亮相科隆. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.dw.com/zh/紫禁城珍宝亮相科隆/a-16336234>.

²⁰⁹ Wan, Fang. (2012, November 03). Original Chinese text: “这是我们第一次展出北京故宫珍品，每一件艺术品都经过了精挑细选’，博物馆的副馆长慧施博士（Dr. Petra Hildegard Rösch）回忆起挑选故宫珍品的经历。’故宫的珍品太多了，我们不可能将几十万件全部运来科隆。我们挑选的展品集中在十七、十八世纪，也就是康熙、雍正和乾隆年间，这是中国历史上的一段鼎盛时代。”

文化经纬

紫禁城珍宝亮相科隆

"金昭玉粹：清代宫廷生活艺术展"，来自北京故宫的皇家珍品在科隆东亚艺术博物馆内熠熠生辉。



清代宫廷生活艺术展

Cover photo of the report on "German Wave" website (Deutsche Welle): Portrait of the Emperor Qianlong. Wan, Fang. (2012, November 03). 紫禁城珍宝亮相科隆. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://www.dw.com/zh/紫禁城珍宝亮相科隆/a-16336234>.

the museum; the golden double-tower like clock made by Chinese craftsman, as is mentioned above, is portrayed as "eye-catching" (duo ren yanqiu, 夺人眼球). Credits being given to the Italian missionary Matteo Ricci (Li Madou, 利玛窦) who brought the clocks (zhongbiao, 钟表) to the Palace in Ming-dynasty, from which again the intercultural focus embedded in the reports can be found. In this article, it is also suggested that popularity of clocks among Qing-emperors rose greatly; Emperor Qianlong is, on the other hand, written as "a well-known western clock collector" who may have contributed to founding the "De-

partment of Clock Producing” (zhongbiao zhizao ju, 钟表制造局).²¹⁰ The significance of the exhibition is, as is seen in the *Die Welt* report, again introduced - through the broader context of the political relationship between China and Germany as well as Beijing and Cologne, but also, more importantly, through the feedbacks of audience in Germany who are “ancient Chinese culture lovers”²¹¹ and who for a long time, hold high expectation for the exhibition. Here, the case of a language teacher from Cologne was used as example to show the enthusiasm German audience have for Chinese culture: a direct quote from this culture-lover, who “likes the exhibition very much” and “plans to visit China and visit the Palace Museum in Beijing in the near future”, is stated in the article, which provides a very interesting perspective of a German audience to the potential Chinese readers in Germany (or elsewhere), which may be understood as constructing the Chinese identity by constructing the image of “The Other”. To be noted is that this is not seen in any of the other reports in German media analysed above:

“With the fast development of the Chinese economy, the politics and economics of China has gained increasing attention. However, the ancient Chinese philosophy and art are always being ignored, which is a great pity...I hope that China can keep its precious traditional culture while developing at a high speed socially and economically.”²¹²

On the other hand, unlike reports from German media, those from the Chinese media based in China, have a rather different writing genre and varying focus of content - two reports from xinhua.net, under the national press agency Xinhua News Agency, and one from

²¹⁰ Wan, Fang. (2012, November 03). Original Chinese text:“博物馆展出的艺术品包括瓷器、玉器、衣冠服饰和文房用品等，主题是中国古代帝王的宫廷生活和艺术品味。展品中，一座闪耀着金光的、双塔形的钟表格外夺人眼球。钟表在明朝时由意大利传教士利玛窦带入宫廷，而清朝的皇帝们对其格外喜爱，乾隆皇帝更是出了名的西洋钟收藏家。钟表制造局也因此应运而生。这座极富中国文化特征的双塔型的金钟正是出自中国工匠之手。”

²¹¹ Wan, Fang. (2012, November 03). Original Chinese text:“对于参观者而言，这个展览是传统的东方文化的一部分。来自科隆的语言教师布海姆女士（Gabriele Buchheim）驻足于一件清代的宫廷首饰前.....布海姆女士在接受采访时表示，她自己和丈夫都是古中国文化的爱好者，他们对于这次展览期待已久。”

²¹² Wan, Fang. (2012, November 03). Original Chinese text:“随着中国经济的快速发展，中国的政治、经济得到了越来越多的关注。然而非常有研究价值的中国古代哲学、艺术，却往往被忽视了，这很遗憾。’布海姆女士非常喜欢这次展览，并计划在不久的将来去中国旅游，参观北京故宫。她一再提到自己对于古老的艺术、文化的热爱，’我希望中国在社会经济迅速发展的同时，不要丢掉宝贵的传统文化。’”

[163.com](http://www.163.com) - a well-known online media platform that produces its own news reports, but also publishes “second-hand news” also from national agency, or official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (as can be seen with both reports on the Cologne exhibition).²¹³ Headings of both reports emphasises the treasures from the Palace Museum in Beijing has a “debut” in Dresden in Germany (or “arrived Dresden for the first time”). This special attention on the “first show” can only be seen in the report by Schultz on *Tagesspiegel*, yet expressed in a different way, as is mentioned earlier: “the exhibition ‘Golden Dragons, White Eagle’, for the first time, puts the forms of court representation in both the East and the West directly in the face of each other.”²¹⁴ Therefore, the focus in the German report is not “first show” (i.e. debut) but the fact that Eastern and Western court culture are simultaneously and equally presented in the same exhibition.

However, the focus of the Chinese reports on the website of the official national press agency - which are of great similarity in the content and even expression - was not presented from the culture history perspective, but more from a political perspective, in that the following narratives can be seen in the texts: for instance, “Sino-German court collection exhibition jointly held by Palace Museum in China and Dresden State Art Gallery in Germany”, “the exhibition has demonstrated the relationship between art and the upper-class at the Palace, who possess power or wealth”, “both sides of China and Germany have had great interest in each other (the nation) and the art of each other in the 17th and the 18th century”, etc..²¹⁵ The two palaces in the ancient time are simplified as “Saxon Palace” (Sakesen wanggong, 萨克森王宫) and “Chinese Palace” (Zhongguo wanggong, 中国王宫), the art in the Palace Museum as “Chinese art” (Zhongguo yishu, 中国艺术) and objects collected by the

²¹³ Two reports from xinhua.net on the Dresden exhibition:

Hu, Xiaobing. (2008, October 11). 中国故宫艺术珍品首次在德国德累斯顿展出. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from http://news.xinhuanet.com/overseas/2008-10/11/content_10180670.htm.

Hu, Xiaobing. (2008, October 13). 中德联展宫廷藏品 故宫文物首至德累斯顿. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from http://news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2008-10/13/content_10184643.htm.

One report from 163.com on the Cologne exhibition: (2012, October 25). 驻德国大使史明德出席故宫艺术展科隆开幕活动. Retrieved 20.01.2017, from <http://news.163.com/12/1026/10/8EO3NGEK00014JB5.html>.

²¹⁴ Schulz, Bernhard. (2008, October 14). Original German text: “Die Ausstellung "Goldener Drache – Weißer Adler" stellt erstmals die Formen höfischer Repräsentation in Ost und West unmittelbar gegenüber.”

²¹⁵ Hu, Xiaobing. (2008, October 11). Original Chinese text: “中国故宫博物院和德国德累斯顿国家艺术馆联合举办的中德宫廷藏品展 10 日在德国东部城市德累斯顿王宫开展，故宫一批艺术精品首次以德累斯顿亮相。……展览从多个侧面展示了当时的宫廷权贵与艺术之间的关系，也反映出中德双方在 17、18 世纪对对方国家及其艺术的浓厚兴趣。”

Saxon Palace are named as “Chinese artisan craftwork” (Zhongguo gongyipin, 中国工艺品). Meanwhile, the “China Year” (Zhongguonian, 中国年) cultural event in Dresden is also mentioned as the broader context of the exhibition, also the exhibition is entitled as “overseas exhibition” (haiwaizhan, 海外展) - all of these show a strong representation and construction of the Chinese identity - in another word, an strong attempt to unify and equalise the Chinese cultural identity and Chinese political identity in a way that the old Empire is equalised with the contemporary nation and the cultural essence is equalised as that of the nation.

While these reports more or less provide crucial and exhibition-relative information to the readers, the report about the Cologne exhibition published on 163.com, which is directly “borrowed” from the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, is more a piece of official statement than news report in nature. The focus is again on the “China Year” event in 2012 in face of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relationship between the two nations, meanwhile also on the cooperation between China and Germany and between Palace Museum Beijing and East Asian Art Museum in Cologne. Important officials attending the opening ceremony were introduced briefly at the very beginning, and the greeting by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, former foreign minister and vice chancellor of Germany is emphasised in particular, about the great contribution culture has to the world peace.²¹⁶

4.3 Summary

Through the analysis of three cases based mainly on catalogues and online media - the 1997/98 “The Forbidden City - The life of the last emperors of China” in the *Reiss-Museum Mannheim (Mannheim)*, 2008/09 “Golden Dragon, White Eagle: Art for the service of power in the imperial yard in China and the Saxon-Polish court (1644-1795)” in *State Art Collection Dresden (Dresden)* and 2012/13 “Gloss of the Emperors of China: Art and life in the

²¹⁶ (2012, October 25). Original Chinese text: “根舍前副总理兼外长在致辞中强调了文化对促进世界和平所起到的作用。他说，文化比任何机制都有力量。他呼吁父母与老师应该教育下一代在尊重自己文化的同时，也要尊重其他民族的文化。”

Forbidden City” in the *Museum for East Asian Art Cologne (Cologne)*,²¹⁷ abbreviated as Mannheim exhibition, Dresden exhibition and Cologne exhibition - the representative artistic strategy of exhibiting Chinese identity under the influence of China’s cultural policy is demonstrated.

Specifically, from the foreword (Vorwort), greeting (Grußwort) and prefatory notes (Geleitwort) in the catalogues, it can be seen that the political significance of cooperation between China and Germany in the field of imperial exhibitions has risen from merely national level to both regional and city-to-city level, which symbolises the increasingly intensified cultural cooperation between the two countries. The core ideas of the three exhibitions stay the same throughout the years with very slight changes influenced by the changing China’s cultural policy and Sino-German diplomatic relationship. In the case of the earliest exhibition in Mannheim, the curating concept is manifested through the key words as follows: the emperor(s), bilateral Sino-European cultural exchange and the missionaries. In comparison, the Dresden exhibition has more cooperative and comparative characteristics, as is shown by the contrasting juxtaposition of objects both from Dresden and Beijing arranged under the same sub-categories. As is with the case of the Cologne exhibition, the emphasis on the mutual influence of Chinese and European art on each other can be found, with a stronger focus on the openness of the Qing emperors and illustration of the emperors as real persons “with flesh and blood”.²¹⁸ Most importantly, the aspect of aesthetics has been under increasing emphasis and display along the years, as can be seen from both the greeting section and introductory texts in the catalogues. In terms of typology, it can be seen from the catalogues that in the 97/98 Mannheim exhibition, “Court”, “Art” and “Religion” are the three categories with the most exhibits (58%, 28% and 8%); whereas in the 08/09 Dresden exhibition, “Art” (58%) is mostly exhibited, followed by “Court” (21%) and “Tradition” (13%), with the descending quota of “Religion” (3%); in the 12/13 Cologne exhibition, according to the manual categorisation of exhibits in the Cologne exhibition by the researcher, the presence of “Art” (47%) stays the same while “Religion” (28%) and “Court” (19%) are the second

²¹⁷ As mentioned previously, original German names of the respective exhibitions, museums and cities are as follows: “Die Verbotene Stadt - Aus dem Leben der letzten Kaiser von China”, *Reiss-Museum Mannheim (Mannheim)*; “Goldener Drache, Weißer Adler: Kunst im Dienst der Macht am Kaiserhof von China und am sächsisch-polnischen Hof (1644-1795)”, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Dresden)*; “Glanz der Kaiser von China: Kunst und Leben in der Verbotenen Stadt”, *Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst Köln, (Köln)*.

²¹⁸ Original German text: “Aus diesen Facetten ihres täglichen Lebens wird erkennbar, dass sie aufrichtige und gewissenhafte Menschen aus Fleisch und Blut waren.” Cat. Cologne, 7.

and the third heavily exhibited themes. This proves again the increasing focus on the art value of the Chinese imperial collections from a quantitative perspective.

More specific analysis of the thirteen repetitively exhibited objects in the three exhibitions based on the introductory texts in the catalogues and on the online database of the Palace Museum (as standard sample for comparison) is conducted through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) introduced in Chapter 3, based on the theoretical foundation of the value of exhibited objects in museums and the concept of Chinese identity illustrated in Chapter 2. The following research questions are investigated: 1) how Chinese identity is constructed through classification (sub-categories) and 2) how Chinese identity is constructed through display (mainly verbal representation). Analysis on the classification strategy, object-naming strategy and object-introducing strategy of the three exhibitions further proves the rising attention on art value and aesthetics appreciation of the objects, as has already been confirmed in the quantitative analysis section. Meanwhile, features of the thirteen sample objects, as well as discursive construction of Chinese identity through these objects, are also examined. It can be seen from the analysis that paintings focusing on the imperial figures or imperial life are exhibited the mostly, followed by objects signifying political power, those used by concubines and those of daily or ceremonial use. Detailed analysis of the discursive construction of Chinese identity further show the approaches by which the identity is constructed through the introductory texts of exhibited objects, including the demonstration of the continuity of the Chinese Empire and the long history of China (especially the Manchurian origin) and tradition of religion and philosophy (where Buddhism is mentioned the most often). The “Chinese Empire” is, additionally, made visible by symbolic objects manifesting imperial power and authority (with the example of imperial stamp). Besides, technological invention and musical instrument, as well as aspects of everyday culture (mainly traditions and festivals) are also exhibited to construct Chinese identity.

In addition to the comparison between introductory texts in the three catalogues, comparison is also made between ten groups of texts for ten objects, from both the Dresden catalogue and the Palace Museum Object Database. From the analysis it can be concluded that the object database provides richer information about the aesthetics value of the objects than the Dresden catalogue, and that it possesses a strong narrative of describing the work as Chinese innovation or creation with little reference to European credits, whereas the Dresden catalogue refers more to the European contribution to the collections, especially that of the Eu-

ropean missionaries - the same can also be found in both Mannheim and Cologne catalogues. What also noteworthy is the different quota of presence of “Manchurian” in the Mannheim/Cologne and Dresden catalogues - the percentage is higher in the former two than the Dresden catalogue. This may be resulted from the academic tradition of studying Manchurian among Western Sinologists.

On the other hand, apart from the discursive construction of Chinese identity in the catalogues (and Palace Museum online database), online media discourse over the exhibitions is also analysed complementarily. These include reports from German online media (Die Zeit, Tagesspiegel, Die Welt, Deutschlandfunk, art-Das Kunstmagazin, Deutsche Welle (Chinese version)) and Chinese online media such as 163.com and xinhua.net. There is increasing media attention over the China exhibitions in Germany, as is seen through the cases of the three exhibitions. Reports from the German media tend to emphasise more on the intercultural perspective with reference to Sino-European cultural history; besides, important exhibits are introduced in detail, for instance, the imperial armchair exhibited three times, or the portrait of emperors - through these narratives, Chinese identity is constructed in the media. Typology which has been discussed in this chapter is also mentioned in the reports and can be seen as another approach of identity construction on the media. It can be seen that these online media narratives are of great similarity to Chinese identity construction through exhibition catalogues. One last thing needs to be noted is that in addition to verbal representations, visual representations like photos of the exhibits, exhibiting halls or museums also gradually appear in German media, providing a more comprehensive picture of the exhibition and contributing to a more detailed and visible construction of Chinese identity through imperial collections.

In comparison, reports from Chinese online media have a more diplomatic tune, largely differing from the journalistic reports in terms of genre and content. It is yet noteworthy that reports originated from both German and Chinese media emphasise the political significance of the exhibitions in frame of the diplomatic relationship between the two nations, some even of the world politics - which can be seen in one of the Chinese reports referring to the contribution of cultural exchange to world peace. One thing needs to be noted is that in the reports from German media, Chinese identity is constructed not only through reference to “Chinese” culture, but also through narratives like “imperial” (huangia, 皇家), “Eastern”

(dongfang, 东方) etc., whereas in reports from Chinese media it is mostly written as “Chinese/... of China” (Zhongguo, 中国). This may be seen as the sign of a more active, strong and non-collective construction of “Chinese” identity through verbal representations in Chinese media.

5. Conclusion

The *poetics and politics* are two crucial issues of exhibiting Chinese identity - both national identity and cultural identity - through imperial collections of the Palace Museum shown in German museums. As is introduced at the very beginning, the former concept refers to the strategy of constructing meanings of the “Chinese identity” through cultural representations created by the exhibitions. The latter concept equalises the role of museums in this knowledge production process. However, it is also very important to examine the concept of “politics” as the “politics of exhibiting strategy” under great influence of the foreign policy and culture policy of China, as well as the national history and diplomatic history of the modern China. The reasons are as follows: firstly, Chinese national identity is largely resulted from the foreign policy of China, as is illustrated in detail in Chapter 2.1.1 (Table 3 in particular); secondly, Chinese cultural identity stems originally from the traditional philosophical thinking and historical development of China, as is argued in Chapter 2.1.2.

The Palace Museum, as a special case with great significance in the Chinese context and the global context, may be directly seen as a symbol of “Chinese identity” itself, due to its historical importance in Chinese history. Apart from acting as a political symbol within the nation, the Palace Museum is also endowed with great significance in a global context in some studies. That the political significance Palace Museum carries with itself in terms of legitimising authority in the local and global context can be a factual foundation for the analysis of Chinese identity, in particular (official) national identity, exhibited through its collections. Three joint overseas exhibitions by the Palace Museum and German museums in Mannheim, Dresden and Cologne within the period of 1990-2016 were under study. Primary sources of both exhibition catalogues and online media reports were analysed quantitatively and qualitatively, mainly through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In this way, the poetics and politics of exhibiting Chinese identity in German museums throughout the years of 1990-2016

is partly examined through verbal representations. Chinese identity, as is analysed in this paper, has been exhibited mainly through themes of the emperor(s) on the one hand, and of the Sino-European cultural exchange and missionaries on the other. This has been classified into five major categories: Court, Religion, Art, Tradition and Science. Throughout the years, the presence of the category of “Art” gradually rises to top while “Court” slightly drops, “Religion” thrives again and “Tradition” is left out. This typology tendency is proved to be in accordance with the exhibiting strategy of the three exhibitions, which is analysed based on the catalogues. The discourse analysis also demonstrates a heavier focus on art value of objects and the aesthetic appreciation of these objects. Detailed analysis of the discursive construction of Chinese identity further shows the precise approaches, for example, demonstration of the continuity of the Chinese Empire and the long history of China (especially the Manchurian origin) and tradition of religion and philosophy (where Buddhism is mentioned the most often). The “Chinese Empire” is also made visible by symbolic objects manifesting imperial power and authority, as in the example of imperial seal. Additionally, technological invention and musical instruments, as well as aspects of everyday culture (mainly traditions and festivals) are also used for identity construction. Similar patterns can also be found in the way both German and Chinese media constructs Chinese identity through reports about the exhibitions.

These findings of this study may provide insights for future study of the construction of Chinese identity through imperial collections of Palace Museum. The twenty-first century witnesses an increasingly open foreign policy and culture policy of China, and a promising cooperation in the long term between China and Europe, especially China and Germany, in all aspects. Particularly, in the realm of cultural events, where museum and art exhibitions are one of the most dominant kinds, it will be of even greater importance to study the concept of Chinese identity and the construction of Chinese identity through varying cultural products. This should be examined within the framework of foreign policy, culture policy and diplomatic history of China. In addition, the research approach of this study also aims to be applied in a broader context, to other research on national and cultural identity construction through museums or other platforms around the globe.

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Appendix

Table 1: China Exhibitions in German Museums (1990-2016)

Table 1: China Exhibitions in German Museums (1990-2016)			
Time	Theme	Place	Website
1990	Tonarmee-Ausstellung	Das Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte in Dortmund	Archive only available since 1998. http://www.dortmund.de/de/freizeit_und_kultur/museen/mkk/ausstellungen_1/ausstellungsarchiv_1/19982000/index.html
1990	Schätze Chinas aus den Museen der DDR Stadtgeschichtliche Sammlung im KAH	Das Römer- und Pelizäus-Museum Hildesheim	http://www.rpmuseum.de/de/ausstellungen/archiv.html
1991	Dinosaurier aus China (Fossilien aus China)	Das Hessische Landesmuseum Darmstadt	http://www.hlmd.de/de/museum/neuerwerbungen-und-schenkungen/naturgeschichte/fossilien-aus-china.html
1994	China – eine Wiege der Weltkultur. 5000 Jahre Erfindungen und Entdeckungen im Alten China	Das Römer- und Pelizäus-Museum Hildesheim	http://www.rpmuseum.de/de/ausstellungen/archiv.html
02.06. 1995 - 05.11. 1995	Das alte China – Menschen und Götter im Reich der Mitte	Die Kulturstiftung Ruhr, Essen	http://www.villahuegel.de/china.htm
1997	Chinesische Heilkunde	Das Übersee-Museum Bremen	No archive records online.
1997/1998	Das Leben der Kaiser der Qing-Dynastie (1644-1911).	Das Reiss-Museum Mannheim in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Palast-Museum in Beijing	https://www.stadtarchiv.mannheim.de/sites/default/files/JB99.pdf (detailed info not found but there is a report for the year)
27. 03. 1998 - 19. 07. 1998	TSINGTAU – EIN KAPITEL DEUTSCHER KOLONIALGESCHICHTE IN CHINA. 1897–1914	Das Deutsche Historische Museum in Berlin	https://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/archiv/1998.html

Table 1: China Exhibitions in German Museums (1990-2016)

Time	Theme	Place	Website
09.11.1998 - 11.01.1999	Faszination Hongkong Bilder von Jan Siefke in der Ga- lerie FiF - Foto im Fenster	Das Hessische Lan- desmuseum Darmstadt	http://www.dortmund.de/de/freizeit_und_kultur/museen/mkk/ausstellungen_1/ausstellungsarchiv_1/19982000/index.html
04.05.2002 - 14.07.2002	Von Amts wegen prachtvoll	Das Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte in Dortmund	http://www.dortmund.de/de/freizeit_und_kultur/museen/mkk/ausstellungen_1/ausstellungsarchiv_1/20012003/index.html
17.09. 2003 - 06.01. 2004	Jenseits der großen Mauer: Antike Bronzen der asiatischen Steppenvölker aus der Arthur M. Sackler Founda- tion, New York	Das Römer- und Pelizäus-Museum Hildesheim	http://www.rpmuseum.de/de/ausstellungen/archiv.html
11.10. 2008 - 11.01. 2009	Goldener Drache – Weißer Adler	Residenzschloss Dres- den	No archive records online.
27.03.2009 - 26.06.2009	Die Wittelsbacher und das Reich der Mitte: 400 Jahre China und Bayern	Bayerisches National Museum, München	http://www.bayerisches-nationalmuseum.de/index.php?id=299&no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=112&cHash=31e193d42e3d3d4ffb67fba465616af
20.10. 2012 - 20.01. 2013	Glanz der Kaiser von China	Museum für Ostasiatis- che Kunst, Köln	http://www.museum-fuer-ostasiatische-kunst.de/pages/136.aspx?s=136
17.05. 2014- 07.09. 2014	VON ISTANBUL BIS YOKO- HAMA: DIE REISE DER KAMERA NACH ASIEN 1839–1900	Museum für Ostasiatis- che Kunst, Köln	http://www.museum-fuer-ostasiatische-kunst.de/pages/44.aspx?s=44
17.05. 2014 - 01.02. 2015	MITLEID UND MEDITATION: DER BUD- DHISMUS DES „GROSSEN FAHRZEUGS“ IN OSTASIEN	Museum für Ostasiatis- che Kunst, Köln	http://www.museum-fuer-ostasiatische-kunst.de/pages/37.aspx?s=37

Table 1: China Exhibitions in German Museums (1990-2016)

Time	Theme	Place	Website
11.10. 2014 - 05.04. 2015	China unter Mao	Das Übersee-Museum Bremen (In Kooperation mit dem Weltmuseum Wien)	http://www.uebersee-museum.de/ausstellungen/sonderausstellungen/rueckblick/ Ansprechpartnerin: Dr. Renate Noda, Leiterin der Abteilung Völkerkunde, Sachgebietsleitung Asien, r.noda@uebersee-museum.de , Tel. 0421 160 38-121
09.05. 2015 - 13.09. 2015	WEISSES GOLD Porzellan aus China: 1400 bis 1900	Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln	http://www.museum-fuer-ostasiatische-kunst.de/pages/608.aspx?s=608
26.09. 2015- 28.02. 2016	ALL ABOUT GIRLS AND TIGERS	Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln	http://www.museum-fuer-ostasiatische-kunst.de/pages/688.aspx?s=688
23.04. 2016- 17.07. 2016	MAGIE DER ZEICHEN 3000 Jahre chinesische Schriftkunst	Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln	http://www.museum-fuer-ostasiatische-kunst.de/pages/835.aspx?s=835

Table 2: Joint exhibitions by Palace Museum Beijing and German Museums (1990-2016)

Table 2: Joint exhibitions by Palace Museum Beijing and German Museums (1990-2016)				
Time	Theme	Curator/Director	Place	Website
30.09.1997-22.02.1998	Die Verbotene Stadt - Aus dem Leben der letzten Kaiser von China 紫禁城——中国末代皇帝生活展	裴焕禄 时任故宫博物院副院长 Karin von Welck Reiss Museum Mannheim 卡琳·冯·韦尔克博士 时任曼海姆博物馆馆长	Das Reiss-Museum Mannheim, Mannheim	http://www.zeit.de/1997/51/Der_letzte_Kaiser_in_Mannheim
11.10.2008-11.01.2009	Goldener Drache, Weißer Adler: Kunst im Dienst der Macht am Kaiserhof von China und am sächsisch-polnischen Hof (1644-1795) 金龙银鹰 1644-1795 —— 故宫博物院 / 德累斯顿艺术收藏馆文物联展	故宫博物院藏传佛教文物研究所所长罗文华 (策展人) Cordula Bischoff/Anne Hennings: Kuratorin/Assistentin Martin Roth Generaldirektor der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden	Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Dresden	http://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/ausstellungen-alt/goldener-drache-weisser-adler-koenig-ist-wer-kuenste-sammelt/1346204.html http://news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2008-10/13/content_10184643.htm
20.10.2012-20.01.2013	Glanz der Kaiser von China: Kunst und Leben in der Verbotenen Stadt “金昭玉粹：清代宫廷生活艺术展”	单霁翔 故宫博物院院长 Jürgen Roters 科隆市市长	Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst Köln, Köln	http://www.museum-fuer-ostasiatische-kunst.de/pages/136.aspx?s=136 http://frankfurt.china-consulate.org/chn/sbwl/t983839.htm

Table 4: General categories of the three exhibitions as cases

Table 4: General categories of the three exhibitions as cases			
Category/Exhibition	1997-1998, Mannheim, Die Verbotene Stadt - Aus dem Leben der Letzten Kaiser von China	2008-2009, Dresden, Goldener Drache, Weißer Adler: Kunst im Dienst der Macht am Kaiserhof von China und am sächsisch-polnischen Hof (1644-1795)	2012-2013, Cologne, Glanz der Kaiser von China: Kunst und Leben in der Verbotenen Stadt
Objects	157	115	90
1. Court (Hof)	1.1 Waffen und Rüstungen (1-21) 1.2 Offizielle und inoffizielle Kleidung am Kaiserlichen Hof der Qing-Dynastie (63-116) 1.3 Thronsaal (30-45)	1.1 Waffen (340-344) 1.2 Kleidung (166-172) 1.3 Thron (317-320) 1.4 Andere: 1.4.1 Gesandtschaftswesen (86-Protokoll,87-Gemälde) 1.4.2 Geschenke (90,91): Schriftband und Fächer 1.4.3 China aus der Sicht Europas (27) 1.4.4 Herrschaftssymbolik (100-102): Deckeldose, Vase und Kopfputz der Kaiserin 1.4.5 Konkubine (173-180) 1.4.6 Familie (60) - <i>Gemälde</i> 1.4.7 Fest (69) - <i>Bildrolle</i> 1.4.8 Residenz (289- <i>Gemälde</i>) 1.4.9 Jagd (129-130) 1.4.10 Kaiserin (136-137)	1.1 Waffen (30-34) 1.2 Kleidung (6-10) 1.3 Thron (11-17,28-Thronessel)
2. Religion (Religion)	2.1 Der Buddhismus in der Verbotenen Stadt (50-62)	2.1 Buddhismus(280, 282, 283)	2.1 Buddhismus (35-50, Gemälde inklusive 46-50) 2.2 Daoismus (51-53) 2.3 Schamanismus (54-56)

Table 4: General categories of the three exhibitions as cases

3. Art (Kunst)	3.1 Kaiserliche Porträts (22-29) 3.2 Porzellane (140-146) und Chinesisches Glas (147-149) 3.3 Die kaiserliche Gemäldesammlung der Qing (117-123) 3.4 Andere: 3.4.5 Giuseppe Castiglione mit chinesischem Namen "Lang Shining" (1688-1766) (124-139) 3.4.6 Die Penjing (150-152)	3.1 Portätmalerei (259-261) 3.2 Porzellan (270) 3.3 Gemälde: 3.3.1 Landschaftsmalerei (207-209) 3.3.2 Literatenmalerei (210) 3.4 Andere: 3.4.1 Lackkunst (195-198) 3.4.2 Mobiliar (222-224) 3.4.3 Siegel (300-304) 3.4.4 Uhren (336-337) 3.4.5 Castiglione (26) 3.4.7 Bronze (23-25) 3.4.8 Elfenbein (50) 3.4.9 Jade (121-122) 3.4.10 Kalligraphie (138-144) 3.4.11 Kunstsammlung (184-190) 3.4.12 Oper und Theater (241-243) 3.4.13 Schnupftabak (297-299) 3.4.14 Tiere (323-325) 3.4.15 Antike (4) (Möbelstück) 3.5 Architektur: 3.5.1 Interieur (114) 3.5.2 <u>Jagdschloss</u> Lustschloss (211-212)	3.1 Porträt der Kaiser (2-5, 57,59,60) 3.2 Porzellan: Vasen (78-79, 82-85) Schale 81 Flasche 86 3.3 Gemälde (1,22-27,58, 61-63,70-77) 3.4 Andere: 3.4.1 Lackkunst (67-68) 3.4.2 Möbel (28, Thronsessel) 3.4.3 Siegel (19-20) 3.4.4 Uhren (90, Standuhr) 3.4.16 Schreibwaren (64-66, 80) 3.4.17 Zeremonialpeitsche (21)
4. Tradition (Tradition)	4.1 Musik und Universum (46-49)	4.1 Musik (231-234) 4.2 Pferd und Reiter (252-253) 4.3 Fest (70-72) 4.4 Tod (330-331) 4.5 Zeremonien (355-357)	4.1 Musik (18) 4.2 Pferd und Reiter (29)
5. Science (Wissenschaft)	5.1 Europäische Wissenschaft und Technik am Hofe der Kaiser von China (153-157)	5.1 Wissenschaften (351-354) 5.2 Aufklärung (6-7) 5.3 Drucktechniken (46)	5.3 Bücher (69, <i>Auf Kaiserlichen Auftrag Kompiliertes Supplement zur "Schatzsammlung des Steingrabens" des Perlenwalds der Geheimen Halle</i>) 5.4 Uhren: Astrolabium Nocturnum, oder Nocturlabium (87), Sonnenuhre (88) 5.5 Kleine Armillarsphäre (89)

Table 5: Objects repetitively exhibited in the three exhibitions

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Nr.	Exhibition Nr./ Object Nr.	Name	Category	Inv.
1	1(109); 2(224) 3(28)	Sessel; Stuhl aus Hirschgeweih; Thronsessel mit Fußbank	1.2; 3.4.2; 3.4.2	G(u)207860
2	1(23); 3(5)	Porträt der Kaiserinwitwe Xiaosheng; Kaiserinwitwe Xiaoshengxian (1691-1777)	3.1; 3.1	G(u)6452
3	1(25); 2(261)	Porträt der Kaiserin Xiaoxian; Kaiserin Xiaoxian in Staatsrobe	3.1; 3.1	G(u)8769
4	1(77) 2(197)	Schminkkasten; Kosmetikschrankchen	1.2; 3.4.1	G(u)180529
5	1(79); 2(50)	Kasten mit Kämmen und Schminkzubehör; Kammsatz mit Goldverzierungen	1.2; 3.4.8	G(u)173714
6	1(123); 2(114a-b)	Konkubine von Kaiser Yongzheng; Alltagsszenen der Hofdamen des Kaisers Yongzheng	3.3; 3.5.1	G(u)6458
7	2(60); 3(71)	Neujahrsvergnügen des Kaisers Qianlong; Kaiser Qianlong an Neujahr	1.4.6; 3.3	G(u)13904
8	2(69); 3(70)	Kaiser Yongzhengs Vergnügen der 12 Monate; Kaiser Yongzheng bei Vergnügen in den zwölf Lunarmonaten	1.2; 3.3	Gu6441 5/12 Gu6441
9	2(280); 3(47)	Kaiser Qianlong in buddhistischem Mönchsgewand; Kaiser Qianlong als Bodhisattva Manjusri	2.1; 2.1	Gu6485
10	2(289); 3(1)	Ansicht der Hauptstadt in Vogelperspek- tive; Beijing nach den Frühlingsgedichten des Kaisers Hongli	1.4.8; 3.3	Xin146672
11	2(300) 3(19)	Siegel des allseitigen Glücks; Staatssiegel ("Siegel des Kaisers" (Huang- di Zhi Bao)	3.4.3; 3.4.3	Gu167062
12	2(352); 3(88)	Horizontalsonnenuhr nach neuer Methode; Sonnenuhr	5.1; 5.4	Gu141968
13	2(355); 3(18)	Bronzeglockenspiel; Glockenspiel (Bianzhong)	4.5; 4.1	Gu169500/1 -16
		Note: 9224 is not a repetitive exhibit num- ber. So is 6524.		

Table 8: Source for Critical Discourse Analysis

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N r.	Inv.	Object Nr.	Title of texts/object names (Chinese names listed at the bottom line of each box)	Focus of content (key words and types of significance) Abbreviation: IS (intellectual significance); HS (historical significance); SS (social significance); PS (political significance); AA (aesthetics appreciation) MA(material)
1	G(u)207860	Cat.M.109	Sessel	Hirsch/Herstellung von Sesseln aus Hirschgeweih(deer/ the production of armchairs made of deer antler)/HS, Gedicht vom Kaiser Qianlong (poet by emperor Qianlong), Erinnerung an Vorgänger (memory on predecessor)/PS; Luxushölze (luxury wood) (zitan oder huanghuali)/MA. NB: In the picture, the foot-bank is excluded, whereas in the other two catalogues it is included.
		Cat.D.224	Stuhl aus Hirschgeweih	Gedicht vom Kaiser Qianlong (poem by emperor Qianlong), Erinnerung an Kaiser Kangxi (memory on emperor Kangxi)/PS; Elfenbein (ivory), Rosenholz (rosewood), indisches Sandelholz (indian sandel-wood)/ MA.
		Cat.C.28	Thronsessel mit Fußbank	Ursprung von Thronsesseln mit Hirschgeweih: "eine mandschurische Tradition" (Origin of the court-armchair with deer antler: "a Manchurian tradition"/HS; Hirschfleisch/Geweih (deer meat/ antler): SS. "...mit goldener Tusche Assoziationen des Kaisers beim Anblick des Throns notiert." instead of introducing the "poem", Erinnerung an "mandschurischen Ursprüngen seiner Dynastie" (Manchurian origins of the dynasty)/ PS. huanghuali-Holz (huanghuali), Elfenbein (ivory), stilist clouds (stilisierte Wölke) and other patterns: MA/AA.
			鹿角椅	Poem by emperor Qianlong (only the original poem without explanation); huanghuali, ivory, clouds, deer antler, footbank, "...this demonstrates the innovation and high artistic skills of the producer", "a special kind of furniture in Qing-dynasty": MA/AA.

Table 8: Source for Critical Discourse Analysis

2	G(u)6452	Cat.M.23	Porträt der Kaiserinwitwe Xiaosheng	“Die Teppichmotive sowie die Begrenzungslinien des Thrones werden hier eindeutig zur Perspektivischen Wiedergabe eingesetzt, was im Vergleich mit der traditionellen Technik eine Neuerung bedeutet.”/ HS Description of the empress’ accessories: “Schmuckstücken in Phönix-Form” (accessories in form of phoenix), “Korallenperlen” (coral pearls): AA (but focus on MA). Gestures (hand-gestures in particular) of the empress: “Hände und Füße sind jedoch unter der Kleidung versteckt.”
		Cat.C.5	Kaiserinwitwe Xiaoshengxian (1691-1777)	"Die perspektivische Darstellung des Teppichs und des geschnitzten Drachenthrons zeugt vom Einfluss der unter Qianlong beliebten westlichen Malweise.”/ HS Description of the empress’ accessories: “... mit kostbaren Perlen und Phönixen verziert ist.”: AA (also focus on MA). Gestures (hand-gestures in particular) of the empress: “Wie bei Darstellungen weiblicher Mitglieder des Kaiserhauses üblich, sind die Hände verdeckt, allerdings greift die Kaiserinwitwe mit der rechten Hand an ihre kette, eine Geste, die sonst nur bei Kaiserporträts und dem Porträt der früh verstorbenen, geliebten Gemahlin Qianlongs Xiaoxian (1712-1748) zu beobachten hat.”
3	G(u)8769	Cat.M.25	Porträt der Kaiserin Xiaoxian	Introduction of the empress, and “...befolgt präzise die Gesetze der europäischen Zentralperspektive”/HS Patterns in the painting (of the empress’ robe): Drachen, Felsen, Wolken, Blumenmuster.../ AA
		Cat.D.261	Kaiserin Xiaoxian in Staatsrobe	Introduction of the empress/HS “Kaiserin Xiaoxian war neben ihrer Schwiegermutter die einzige Frau, die - wie dieses Ahnenporträt zeigt - anstelle mit beiden Händen im Schoß mit erhobener Hand und auf einem Drachenthron dargestellt wurde.”/PS

Table 8: Source for Critical Discourse Analysis

			《孝贤纯皇后朝福像》轴	Detailed introduction of the empress about her private life and marriage (well-educated in an historically official family, modest and simple life, caring each other (with emperor Qianlong)) /HS
4	G(u)180529	Cat.M.77	Schminkkasten	IS. AA,HS (very detailed information on patterns and the cultural meanings). Other key words: “Sorgfalt” (careness), “Feinheit” (finess)
		Cat.D.197	Kosmetikschrankchen	IS. AA>HS (no detailed introduction of the meaning of patterns on the cosmetics box)
5	G(u)173714	Cat.M.79	Kasten mit Kämmen und Schminkzubehör	“Ein solches Ensemble wurde im Qing-Palast von den kaiserlichen Konkubinen zum Schminken und für die Frisur als unerlässlich betrachtet” (not detailed on function, but detailed on types of combs inside the box)/IS “Goldlack, Elfenbein, Schildpatt, Kunststoff”/AA
		Cat.D.50	Kammsatz mit Goldverzierungen	“Die kaiserlichen Konkubinen benutzen diese für die tägliche Haarpflege und zum Schminken.”/IS Very little information on the material except for “feine Schuppenkämme aus Bambus”. (Lack of AA) But the object is under the sub-category of “Elfenbein” (ivory) with a 1-page long introduction on the skills and its development.
			象牙描金带彩什锦梳具	Very detailed information on the function and combs. /IS, MA, AA The functions of combs and the historical origins (beauty standard included). /HS A one-sentence summary of how delicate and multifunction the comb-box is and its relation to history.

Table 8: Source for Critical Discourse Analysis

6	G(u)6458	Cat.M.123	Konkubine von Kaiser Yongzheng	Focus on AA: “Der eher stereotype Aspekt dieser Schönheiten läßt vermuten, daß wir es hier eher mit einer Kollektion von dekorativen Gemälden zu tun haben, die das Auge erfreuen und wohl eher auf das geheime Privatleben der Konkubinen im Palast anspielen als individuelle Porträts sein wollen.” (summary sentence at the very end) Furniture and Porzellan are introduced in detail as part of the painting content with the conclusion that “Kostbare Details und der Reichtum der Farben vermitteln einen Eindruck von Luxus und Raffinesse.” Focus on HS: History of the painting, the royal garden, the entertainment and garment of the concubines and emperor portrayed in the painting, etc. “Die Frauen sind zwanglos in lange, weite, auf der Vorderseite offene Gewänder mit Stehkragen gekleidet; diese Kleidung unterscheidet sich von den mandschurischen Roben, die bei offiziellen Anlässen getragen wurden.” ... Möbel und Porzellan (furniture and Porzellan) are also introduced.
		Cat.D. 114a-b	Alltagsszenen der Hofdamen des Kaisers Yongzheng	A balanced focus on AA and HS: “Neben der lebensnahen Darstellung von Hofdamen im Palast liefern sie seltenes Anschauungsmaterial zu Möbeln der Perioden Kangxi und Yongzheng sowie zu Kleidung und Schmuck der Palastdamen... wiedergegeben in der feinen Pinselführung der traditionellen chinesischen Malerei.”
7	G(u)13904	Cat.D.60	Neujahrsvergnügen des Kaisers Qianlong	Introduction of the painters (“Jesuitenmissionar” Giuseppe Castiglione and Chinese painter Ding Guanpeng);/ IS? Introduction of the painting content (emperor Qianlong not in the centre, but the atmosphere of the Chinese New Year; also traditional Chinese culture is demonstrated partly through words like “Hofnung auf gute Ernte”(“wugu fengdeng”) and “allumfassenden Frieden” (“taiping you yu”).)/ HS, SS

Table 8: Source for Critical Discourse Analysis

		Cat.C.71	Kaiser Qianlong an Neujahr	PS/SS/AA: “Das Werk zählt zur Gattung der Neujahrsbilder und ist wie andere europäisch-chinesische Gemeinschaftsarbeiten in einem feintelligen, realistischen Stil ausgeführt.” HS,SS: Die “drei Freunde des Winter” (Kiefern, Bambus und Kirschblüte); description and deduction of the content and identity of the characters in the painting; Papierstreifen (duilian) mit Neujahrswünschen (Duilian with New Year Wishes) and “Laternen” (lanterns) were also introduced as part of the painting. “Eine fiktive Konstruktion” (fictive construction) is the painting, as is deduced.
			郎世宁等 《乾隆帝岁朝行乐图》 轴	PS/HS/SS: Information on painters and stamps (without much detailed introduction); Particular credits for Chinese and western painters (referring the work as a “successful piece” with the collaboration between Chinese and Western painting arts under the imperial power. “Festive atmosphere and family relationship between emperor Qianlong and his sons” is shown through the painting, as is introduced. Meanwhile, the festivals of “Han ethnicity” like New Year, Qingming, Mid-autumn festivals are also mentioned with the ceremonial events at the palace ordered by emperor Qianlong. Emperor’s care and love for family and his role as an ordinary “father” - what is different from his role of “emperor” - is also introduced in particular.
8	Gu6441 5/12 Gu6441	Cat.D.69	Kaiser Yongzhengs Vergnügungen der 12 Monate	A short paragraph of very brief introduction of the painting (content of the work including time/scene/events being described). Particular introduction of the “Drachenbootfest” (“dragon boat festival”) in close relation to the content of the painting (emperor Yongzheng watching the dragon boat regatta).
		Cat.C.70	Kaiser Yongzheng bei Vergnügungen in den zwölf Lunarmonaten	A 5-page-long text introducing all the twelve paintings describing the twelve months in detail.

Table 8: Source for Critical Discourse Analysis

			《雍正十二月行乐图》轴	A relatively longer text compared to the Dresden exhibition, but still a brief one. Titles of the respective twelve paintings of twelve months are introduced. The Summer Palace is also introduced (the architecture in the garden, its name, and what emperor Yongzheng often did in the Summer Palace (he worked as he did in the Palace)).
9	Gu6485	Cat.D.280	Kaiser Qianlong in buddhistischem Mönchsgewand	PS: “Alle Qing-Kaiser maßen dem tibetischen Buddhismus große Bedeutung bei, da sie durch ihn die Kontrolle über Tibet und die Mongolei verstärken konnten.” HS: Qianlong and Buddhism: “Die unter seinem Sitz angebrachte tibetische Schrift bezeichnet Qianlong als Reinkarnation des Bodhisattvas Manjushri und Gott der irdischen Welt. Die Buddhafiguren über ihm stellen die Abstammungslinie vom Gründungsvater des Buddhismus Shakyamuni bis zu Qianlong dar: links und rechts im Bild stehen die Bodhisattvas Samantabhadra und Ksitigarbha.” PS/HS/AA: “Das Bild in Stil der Thangka-Malerei ist wohl das Werk eines tibetischen Malers am Kaiserhof. Lediglich das Gesicht des Kaisers ist in europäischer Technik gemalt und stammt möglicherweise von Guiseppe Castiglione.”
		Cat.C.47	Kaiser Qianlong als Bodhisattva Manjusri	HS: Qianlong and Buddhism: “Das Thangka stellt ihn (Kaiser Qianlong) nicht nur als Reinkarnation Manjusris innerhalb der Gelugpa-Schule dar, sondern porträtiert ihn als weisen, buddhistischen Herrscher, mit der linken Hand den ‘Gestus des Lehrens’ formend, mit der rechten das Rad der Lehre drehend.” PS: “Das Thangka ist eine Zusammenarbeit mehrerer Maler der tibeto-mongolischen und chinesischen Malschulen, während das realistische Gesicht des Herrschers wahrscheinlich von dem Jesuitenmaler Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) oder einem in der westlichen Tradition arbeitenden Maler ausgeführt wurde.”

Table 8: Source for Critical Discourse Analysis

			《乾隆皇帝佛装像唐卡》	Focus on HS/AA - the content of the painting (Thang-ka) and the summary sentence explains the painting as a demonstration of the respect for and belief in Buddhism of the emperor (Qianlong) as “Wen-Shu” Buddha . It is “a representative Thang-ka work of the 18th century mainland China painters” as is introduced.
10	Xin146672	Cat.D.289	Ansicht der Hauptstadt in Vogelperspektive	IS/HS: The 63-word paragraph is the shortest among all the introductory texts for this painting. Half of the content focuses on the painter (Xu Yang), while the other half explains content of the painting (mainly concerning the “bird-perspective”, “geometrical layout of the city” and a very brief introduction of twenty poems of Qianlong.
		Cat.C.1	Beijing nach den Frühlingsgedichten des Kaisers Hongli	The content of the texts in Cologne catalogue and official website of Palace Museum is of great similarity: starting with an introduction of the emperor’s poems (Cat.C.) or the painter’s signature (PM website), followed then by the painting style of Xu Yang (who combined both traditional Chinese painting skills (散点透视画法) and western/european perspectival skills). The only difference may be that the Cologne catalogue also introduces the Forbidden City portrayed in the work and the traditional Chinese “Grenzlinienmalerei” (jiehua); and that in the PM official text, an emphasis on the innovation and recreation of Chinese painters can be seen. Chinese painters are supposed to be flexible when combining the two approaches.
			徐杨 《京师生春诗意图》轴	Refer to above.
11	Gu167062	Cat.D.300	Siegel des allseitigen Glücks	IS/MA: Introduction of the stamp (form of dragon pairs, golden silk string (goldfarbene Seidenkordel) and especially the Chinese characters at the bottom) PS/HS: How the emperor has made the 25 stamps as “imperial stamps” (kaiserliche Siegel) and the history of the stamp’s changing restoring location. The importance of the stamps as political decision-making tool is also introduced in opening text of the “Stamp” (Siegel) section.

Table 8: Source for Critical Discourse Analysis

		Cat.C.19	“Siegel Unermesslicher Weite” (Guangyun Zhi Bao))	PS: The opening sentence of the introductory text points out that imperial stamps were symbol of the highest authority and legitimation and were regarded as important ritual objects. (“Kaiserliche Siegel waren Zeichen höchster Autorität und Legitimation und galten als wichtige Ritualgegenstände.”) HS: The introduction of Guangyun Zhi Bao (which has two translations in German in the Dresden and Cologne exhibitions - “Seigel Unermesslicher Weite” and “Siegel des allseitigen Glücks”) with focus on the regulations of the usage of the stamp under imperial/administrative control.
			二十五宝玺（广运之宝另有简短小窗词条）	PS/SS: A very important symbol of the imperial power in Qing-dynasty with very high historical value. PS/HS: Except for “Huangdi Zhi Bao” written in Manchurian, all other stamps ordered in 1746 were written in both Manchurian and Chinese (Zhuan Shu). MA/AA (with focus on HS as well) is also mentioned.
12	Gu141968	Cat.D.352	Horizontalsonnenuhr nach neuer Methode	Very brief introduction of the structure, the name and the producer (western missionary Johann Adam Schall von Bell from Rheinland).
		Cat.C.88	Sonnenuhr	A 4-paragraph introduction of the sundial with detailed descriptions of the structure and usage. HS/SS: Cultural meaning of the clock; an introduction of the history of the import of solar calendar into China.
			新法地平日晷	Very similar length and focus as the Cologne text. HS: It is mentioned that the appearance of this particular sundial to the palace has contributed to the mastery of such “earth-horizontal” principle and producing skills of the installation by Chinese in Qing-dynasty.

Table 8: Source for Critical Discourse Analysis

13	Gu169500/ 1-16	Cat.D.355	Bronzeglockenspiel	Very brief introduction of the structure. AA: “gilding dragon and clouds decoration” (“...mit vergoldeten Drachen und Wolkendekoren verziert”) HS: “very important for conducting the national ritual ceremony” (“...war von großer Bedeutung für die Durchführung von Staatsritualen.”)
		Cat.C.18	Glockenspiel (Bianzhong)	AA/HS: More detailed descriptions (dragon, pearl, clouds, phoenix etc.) of the artistry of the carillon (bell instrument) is written. HS/SS: Other musical instrument like Lithophonen (bianqing) and Klangstein (teqing) are also introduced, along with the ceremonial traditions/rituals. (The object is categorised under “Ceremonies” (Zeremonien) section, to be noticed.)
			金编钟	Relatively more detailed introduction compared to the Dresden catalogue, with information of the names of respective single clocks (from low tune to high tune). The producing year (1790) and the weight of the gold used for production (about 13600 Liang, 513.9kg).

Abstract

Research on museum and identity has increased vastly since the early 21st century, yet most studies focus on European or American cases while those of East Asia, or more specifically, of China, are underrepresented. As one of the world's most important economy at the present time, China, along with Chinese identity and the representation of Chinese identity through museum exhibitions, is of rising importance.

The paper focuses particularly on the construction of Chinese identity in German museums. It aims at unveiling the poetics and politics of exhibiting Chinese identity in German museums throughout the years of 1990-2016, by exploring the following research questions: 1) how is Chinese identity constructed through classification and 2) how is Chinese identity constructed through display, mainly verbal representation. Three overseas exhibitions cooperated by Palace Museum (Beijing) and German museums in Mannheim, Dresden and Cologne within the period of 1990-2016 are analysed. The study is mainly based on primary source of exhibition catalogues and online media reports, which are examined qualitatively and quantitatively through the method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Specifically, an analysis on classification strategy, object-naming strategy and object-introducing strategy of the three exhibitions is carried out. These analyses demonstrate an increasing emphasis on the art value of the exhibited objects.

Inhaltsangabe

Im frühen 21. Jahrhundert fand das Thema Museum und Identität verstärkt Eingang in die Forschung. Dabei lag der Schwerpunkt auf europäischen und amerikanischen Museen, während Ostasien in diesem Zusammenhang bisher kaum untersucht wurde.

Der Fokus der Arbeit liegt auf der Konstruktion chinesischer Identität am Beispiel von drei China-Ausstellungen in deutschen Museen, die seit den 1990er Jahren gezeigt wurden. Folgende Fragen werden untersucht: 1) wie wird die chinesische Identität durch die inhaltlichen Schwerpunkte (Objekte) der Ausstellungen konstruiert, 2) welche Diskurse werden in den Ausstellungskatalogen und in der Medienberichterstattung (Texte) über die Ausstellungen verwendet. Die Analyse konzentriert sich auf drei Ausstellungen, die aus einer Zusammenarbeit des Palastmuseums Beijing und Museen in Mannheim, Dresden und Köln entstanden sind. Ausstellungskataloge und Medienberichte werden diskursanalytisch untersucht, wobei Benennung, Beschreibung und Klassifikation der Objekte im Zentrum der Analyse stehen. Die Analyse zeigt, dass der kunstgeschichtliche/künstlerische Wert der ausgestellten Objekte für die Gestalter der Ausstellungen zunehmend im Mittelpunkt steht.