The Contemporary Chinese Historical Drama

FOUR STUDIES / Rudolf G. Wagner
China’s “Great Leap Forward” of 1958–1961 was a time of official rejoicing over the achievements of Communism, but it was also a time of human-generated famine and immense suffering. Growing dissent among intellectuals stimulated creativity as writers sought to express both their hope for the success of the revolution and their dissatisfaction with the Party’s leadership and policies.

But the uneasy political climate and the state’s control over literature prevented writers from directly addressing the compelling problems of the time. Rather, writers resorted to a variety of sophisticated and time-honored forms for airing their grievances, including the historical drama. In this important new book, Rudolf Wagner examines three historical dramas written and performed between 1958 and 1963 in an effort to decode their hidden political and cultural meanings. He pursues dark allusions and double entendres as he situates the plays in the context of the historical materials they used and the contemporary political, legal, and social issues they indirectly addressed. He concludes with a broad survey of the politics of the historical drama in China during the last fifty years, suggesting further avenues of inquiry into the relationship between literature and the state.

The resulting analysis provides a fascinating reading of the plays themselves. It also offers a new
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Four Studies

Rudolf G. Wagner
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Monkey King Subdues the White-Bone Demon: A Study in PRC Mythology

Among the popular novels of earlier times informing the fantasy of the Chinese public, both literate and illiterate, the Xiyou ji, or Journey to the West, occupies a prominent place. Since the late sixteenth century it has been available in many editions. Not a few of its episodes have been adapted into the various types of Chinese operas and puppet plays, contributing to the public’s familiarity with both plot and characters. It thus became part of the rich background texture of Chinese thought, speech, and behavior; it is to the present day an inexhaustible archive for role modeling, argumentative wit, and political innuendo.

One element, however, differentiates the Xiyou ji from other popular novels such as the Shuihu zhuang (Water Margin), the Sanguo zhi yanyi (Three Kingdoms), or the Fengshen yanyi (Investiture of the Gods): it shows an arduous quest for an ultimate goal. Tang Seng sets out with his disciples Sun Wukong (the Monkey King or “Monkey”), Zhu Bajie (“Pigsy”), and Sha Heshang (“Monk Sha”), for the Western Heaven, where the Buddha resides, to find Him and the teachings of the Mahâyâna, the Great Vehicle, which is great enough to carry all living beings across the sea of suffering. The basic metaphor is thus the same as in John Bunyan’s The Pilgrim’s Progress, in which the hero, Christian, battles with a multitude of demonic temptations and dangers on his way to the Heavenly City. Tang Seng’s inner faculties—his mind, will, sensual nature, and the like—are transformed allegorically into real characters, with the Monkey King acting as his mind, Pigsy as his
visceral nature, his horse as his will, and so forth. The Journey to the West thus becomes an allegory for the way of the Buddhist adept to enlightenment and deliverance from suffering, and the author takes pains to keep the reader mindful of this second level of the narrative.

The basic model of history as salvation history was absorbed into the Marxist world view from European Christian sources: in Marxism it was secularized into a theory of revolution leading to the eventual establishment, after a period of transition, of eternal communist bliss. After the victory of the Chinese Communist revolution, the Xiyou ji offered one of the few autochthonous and familiar plot structures able to meaningfully resonate—to use Benjamin Schwartz's term—with the revolutionary transformation.

Two parts of the plot were especially suited for this purpose—Sun Wukong's creating an uproar in Heaven and the battles between the heroes and various demons on the way to the West. The former became the image of revolution, the latter an image of the problems to be encountered in the transition period from capitalism to communism—in other words, in socialism. The focus of this study is on the latter element, but we will first deal briefly with the former, as it is of importance in making identifications between the story's characters and contemporary figures and issues.

GREAT UPROAR IN HEAVEN

To suit present-day needs, changes were made in the plots of the operas dealing with Monkey's uproar in Heaven. In the original version of the Xiyou ji, Monkey is subdued after many battles and incarcerated under a mountain. This ending did not fit the victory of the Revolution, and thus it was changed in the first PRC edition in 1953.¹ In that version


Another play from the Sun Wukong group, Sun Wukong xiangyao fumo (Sun Wukong Subdues Demons), which was popular in 1954 in the Northeast, was staged in Shanghai in 1959. It was based on the episode of the demon turning the forest into a fire wall to block the advance of the pilgrims. Evidently the episode was seen as a metaphor for the war with Japan and the KMT, so the ending was changed. Instead of the lands being left scorched, "the great earth
Monkey, steeled and tempered from battle, comes out victorious. During the mid-fifties, the most skilled of Chinese animated-film artists, Wan Laiming, started work on his own version of the story, Danao tiangong (Great Uproar in Heaven), by far the most successful and original use of this new medium in postrevolutionary China. The film was first shown, it seems, in 1961. In tune with the revised opera versions, it developed the first seven chapters of the Xiyou ji into a powerful image of the triumphant Chinese revolution. As the film was shown widely to audiences down to the village level and was the piece with the greatest influence on popular fantasy, I will use it here. Without further ado, I will proceed in this short summary to the identification of characters and events, the proof for the identifications coming with the consistency of the match between the two levels.

The opening scenes of the film relate how for hundreds of years, cosmic forces have interacted to imbue an egg-shaped stone on a mountaintop with life. From this stone springs Monkey, a being of magical powers. Joining up with other simians, he becomes their leader and they find a haven secure from their enemies on Flower-Fruit Mountain. There, Monkey trains his kin in the martial arts. Social harmony prevails on their mountain, and they lead a modest but happy life under his enlightened guidance. However, Monkey lacks a weapon suited to his powers. The heaviest halberds just break in his hands. He travels to the bottom of the Eastern Sea, where the Dragon King points to a giant yardstick used by Great Yu of old to determine the depth of the rivers and oceans. Monkey contemplates this huge pillar, which is now without luster and encrusted with shells like an old ship. From his mind rays emanate; the crusts peel off, revealing a shining golden rod. As the earth trembles Monkey wrenches the pillar free, and with his magic powers he transforms the unwieldy monster into a fighting rod whose size he can reduce at will to the length of needle, which can be stored in his ear when it is not needed.

These scenes offer a fine parable on the early stages of the Chinese revolution, as seen from the perspective of the late fifties. This was a time when the Mao cult reached its first heights, and the Central Party...
School decided to make Mao into the greatest living Marxist-Leninist. The magical birth of the chairman in China was described in a song that was much publicized at the time. "The East is red, the Great Sun rises, China has brought forth Mao Zedong," it began. "The East is Red" replaced the national anthem during the Cultural Revolution. The song's political and magical imagery is repeated in the first scenes of the film, which show the birth of Monkey; indeed Mao and the Monkey King were seen to mirror each other in the following decades. Flower-Fruit Mountain was an easy allegory for the "liberated areas" in the inaccessible regions of China's Northwest, and the search for the proper weapon echoed the Chairman's search for the ideological instrument with which to beat down all enemies. Like Monkey, Mao is confronted with an old, encrusted, unwieldy, and rusty thing—orthodox Marxism. Using his brain (the rays emanating from his head), he clears it of rust and debris and transforms it into an invincible handy fighting rod, which is stored where Mao Zedong Thought is stored, in his head. His weapon is thus a mental, an ideological weapon.

In another scene in the movie, the assembled heavenly authorities conspire to win Monkey over, or subdue him. He is put in charge of the heavenly stables, but when he sees horses standing, short-tethered, in their mud, he sets them free. Taken to task for this crime, he wrecks the stables and leaves in a huff. The authorities make him another offer, this time to be in charge of the garden where the peaches of immortality grow. But he discovers that his rank on the heavenly hierarchy is so low that he is not even invited to the Peach Banquet of the Queen Mother. After eating all the peaches, he leaves on another rampage and brings the peaches of immortality to his little people. The authorities in the heavenly superstructure now decide to subdue him with violence. They come with the most modern arms and much bragging, but Monkey and his witty and well-trained simian army use guerrilla methods to beat back these attacks. Eventually, Monkey is caught by magic and put into Laozi's cauldron, where the old sage normally manufactures his immortality pills. Unexpectedly, however—in a completely new element in the story—Monkey is not pulverized but emerges steeled and tempered.

The scenes I have just described offer a parable for the war years. The main confrontation is the one between Monkey and his simian kin, on the one hand, and the authorities in the superstructure of state and ideology, on the other. The Marxist notion of the superstructure finds a lively counterpart in the "Heaven" of the Xiyou ji. The change in the ending allows for a pun on the present: the emergence of a victorious
Mao. Other elements that lacked an echo in the present were changed, too. In older versions Monkey refines his powers early in his career by studying under the Buddhist Patriarch Subodhi. The motive for these studies is his fear of ending in Yama’s realm, death. This episode was cut as well.

The identification of the Monkey King Sun Wukong with Mao Zedong is no flat innuendo. The figure of Sun is fully developed in the film and not just a stand-in for Mao Zedong. The implied argument is, rather, that Mao Zedong embodies in the present world all the characteristics that made a popular hero of Sun Wukong, who, as is asserted time and again, represents the most lively and progressive elements of the Chinese people.

SUN WUKONG DEFEATS THE WHITE-BONE DEMON

Wan Laiming’s film was a paean to the Chinese revolution and Mao Zedong. In the meantime, however, China had in its own terms become a socialist state on its way to Communism, with new and complex problems. Happily, the Xiyou ji provided further illustration for these problems, and even the contemporary counterparts for Sun and the magic rod could remain the same. The Great Leap Forward had ended in human suffering on a massive scale. The many disastrous decisions made then showed that the leadership had a severely distorted picture of the country. Mao Zedong himself was strongly identified with the Great Leap, and thus he was in for criticism, especially during the renewed frenzy subsequent to the Lushan Plenum in late 1959. The focus of scholarship and polemics has been on literary works and essays containing this criticism, such as the Peking opera Hai Rui baguan (Hai Rui Dismissed from Office), but no attention has been paid heretofore to the fact that both sides, supporters as well as critics of Mao, were using the pen and the stage for their purposes. The publication of the fourth volume of Mao’s Selected Works in 1961 was clearly intended as a reminder that Mao had been mostly right in his judgments during the crucial phase between 1945 and 1949 and that most of his present critics had been wrong. But this era also produced other, literary, works.

In the spring of 1960, leaders from the Cultural Bureau of Zhejiang Province spotted a plot traditionally played by the Shaoxing Opera

3. See chapter 4 for details and bibliography.
4. The point is made by Joffe, Between Two Plenums, pp. 22ff.
Troupe of that province. The cultural leaders felt the play had “great educational meaning” for contemporary affairs. Tao Junqi directs us to the original play. The original title was Huangbao gui (The Monster with the Yellow Robe), var. Baoxiang guo and Qing mei Houwang; the plot had been rewritten by Li Shaochun into Zhiji mei Houwang (Arousing Monkey King with Wit), var. Guloushan Houwang ji humo (On Skull Mountain the Monkey King Attacks the Specter Demon), which then had been made into a Shaoxing opera entitled Da baigujing (Beating the White-Bone Demon). The only edition available to me is Zhiji mei Houwang, which was published in Beijing in 1958. The core elements of the later plot are already assembled here. In the play, Tang Seng, Sun Wukong, and the others are going through the wastelands on their journey to the West to find the holy scriptures. On the way lurks the Yellow Robe Monster. To trap the pilgrims, the monster transforms itself into a young woman bringing food to her father in the fields and offers the food to Tang Seng. Sun Wukong arrives in time to kill the monster and throw the food on the ground, where it is transformed into demonic refuse. The monster then transforms itself into the mother of the young woman, only to be killed by Sun. What is left is again demonic refuse. Although this proof materializes where the body should have been, Zhu Bajie and Tang Seng are outraged, and the latter dismisses the Monkey King. Led by Zhu Bajie, the pilgrims end up in the trap and Tang Seng is caught by the monster. In a valiant attempt, Zhu Bajie and Monk Sha try to free their master, but Sha is caught and Zhu barely escapes. He hastens to Sun Wukong’s Flower-Fruit Mountain to ask Sun for help. Sun Wukong remembers Zhu Bajie’s earlier words, which led to his being dismissed by the master, and prepares to have Zhu tortured. In a desperate attempt to convince Sun, Zhu finally charges that Sun Wukong is afraid of the Yellow Robe Monster and if he dared to show up in front of the monster, the latter would ridicule him as a “red-assed monkey.” Incensed at this suggestion, Sun is, as the title announces, “aroused through [Zhu’s] wit,” and he joins in the battle to free the master. The battle ends in success after a lot of fighting in the dark on stage, and the pilgrims’ journey can continue.

The Zhejiang “cultural leaders” were not entirely without orientation when seeing this play. Not only had the film Great Uproar in Heaven already made the story of the Monkey King into a familiar

5. Tao Junqi, Jingju jumu chutan, p. 162.
image for the revolution, the *Journey to the West* itself had also received its contemporary interpretation.

In a talk given in March 1958, Mao had given his interpretation of the contemporary meaning of the *Journey to the West*. There, he said:

Pilgrim Sun respects neither law nor Heaven, why don’t [you] all learn from him? He is against dogmatism; he dares to act and dares to do things. Zhu Bajie is liberalism, but with some revisionism; he always thinks about getting demobilized. Of course that Party was no good. It was the Second International [of 1889], and Tang Seng corresponds to [Edward] Bernstein.7

Mao thus implies a link between the enterprise itself, the *Journey to the West*, and the revolutionary endeavor, the achievement of communism. This point is implied, because it was already familiar. As evidence of its familiarity, two earlier references in popular material may be adduced.

In late 1956, Song Tan wrote a satire in the journal *Xin guancha* entitled “Xiyou ji xinbian” (A New Chapter of the *Xiyou ji*).8 In it, the pilgrims arrive at bangzi ling, the Peak of Clubs (that is, sticks). The local monster has stolen a judge’s vermilion pencil and specializes in making hats with which it catches its victims. It catches Tang Seng with a hat that is inscribed “adventurist” (because he left Chang’an and roamed about), Zhu Bajie’s is inscribed “degenerate in thinking” (because he longed for a wife), while Sha is guilty of “being nice to everyone around” (haoren zhuyi), and the horse, of having a “slave mentality.” This bureaucratic monster now goes after Sun with a hat inscribed “lack of organization and discipline.” Even Sun is no match for these devices, and the Bodhisattva Guanyin herself has to intervene. Surprisingly, the monster turns out to be a Buddhist monk of heavenly descent. It is not killed, but is brought before the heavenly disciplinary commission. After all, since the bureaucrats are “Buddhist” monsters, it would be inadvisable to deal too severely with them even in a satire. Zhu Bajie kicks the hats around in a fury, and when the pilgrims collect them, 112 are missing; obviously they have found their way into the realm of men. The story orders its readers to bring them to the editorial board of *Xin guancha* to be returned to the original owner. The story

does not differentiate very clearly between the various pilgrims, but it is
clear that they together stand for the Party, led by Mao, which is ob-
structed on the way to communism by people of "good background"
who have turned into bureaucrats.

Some months later, the vice-head of a village, in a story published in
Renmin wenxue, casually referred to the parallel between the Xiyou ji
and the Communist endeavor. "Our work here is pretty much like Tang
Seng's quest for the scriptures. One has to go through nine times nine
[i.e., eighty-one] difficulties, and then success will come all by itself." 9
Neither author saw a need to elucidate the metaphor any further.

In his talk, Mao Zedong identifies the entire pilgrim group as "the
Party," albeit in the old sense of the Communist International, which in
theory was organized as one single Party with national "branches." Tang
Seng represents the political spirit pervading that Party—
Bernsteinian "revisionism." He is qualitatively different from the other
pilgrims, serving as the frame of mind of the whole. Zhu Bajie and Sun
Wukong represent different currents within the Party, Sun the revolu-
tionary "anti-dogmatic" option, Zhu a "liberal-revisionist" option.
Mao does not specify who the monster represents, but there is only one
slot left, "imperialism." In the original version of his "On the Correct
Handling of Contradictions" (1957), which has recently become avail-
able from an unofficially printed 1967 edition of Xuexi wenxuan, Mao
referred to Stalin's Soviet Union half satirically as the "Western Para-
dise" whence the Chinese cadres get their "true scriptures." 10

Mao Zedong took a moderate line when he identified Tang Seng as
Eduard Bernstein. Tang is part of the enterprise, and although he makes
many mistakes, he is never dismissed in the Xiyou ji. Revisionism at the
time is defined as a deviant current within the movement. Mao certainly
was not dealing with history in an academic manner but was talking
about the immediate present, in which he was taking Sun's role—that
is, that of Lenin in the Bernstein case. The identification of Tang Seng
with Bernstein contains a subtle hint about possible further develop-
ments. Eventually, it will be recalled, Lenin did set up the Third Interna-
tional and denounced Bernstein's Second for capitulating before im-

9. Bai Wei, "Bei weikun de nongzhuang zhuxi," here quoted from Chong-
fang de xianhua, p. 306.
10. Mao Zedong, "Guanyu zhengque chuli renmin neibu maodun de
wenti," p. 196. I am indebted to Roderick MacFarquhar for giving me access to
this source.
perialism. There is thus a latent contradiction between Mao’s historical allusion to Bernstein and the fixed plot of the *Xiyou ji*, in which no such development is envisaged.

Seeing that *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing* could aptly illustrate Mao’s current assessment of revisionism, imperialism, and himself, the Zhejiang Bureau set up a “small group” to revise the play. The group was under the direct “guidance of the leading comrades concerned,” the group’s head wrote in 1962.11 As revised, the plot put strong emphasis on the growing conflict between Tang Seng and Sun Wukong, reflecting the growing differences with the Soviet leadership, which were more and more openly expressed.12 Late in 1960, the Zhejiang Provincial Opera troupe was invited to Shanghai, and there the play received a dramatic boost. It was not only adapted to the Huai and Peking opera styles but made into a children’s dance drama. Furthermore, a film version was begun. It was to be a color film for national distribution, the highest category of films.13 These activities surely involved a high-level decision from cultural and political leaders in Shanghai. The mayor, Ke Qingshi, was very close to Mao at the time, and he had been instrumental in pushing many of the Great Leap policies. One of the City Committee members was Chang Chunqiao, who took care of many cultural activities. The details of the rapid promotion of the opera are not known, however.

A year later, in early October 1961, the troupe made it one step higher, being invited to Beijing, where it gave six public performances of the *Sun Wukong* play.14 One of those who saw it was Guo Moruo, the “national poet” and president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

12. Evidence is the review by Bao Shiyuan and Gong Yijiang, “Kan Shaoju *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing*,” p. 21, where they talk about a “step-by-step deepening of the conflict between Tang Seng and Sun Wukong.” The article, written in late 1960, deals with the first revision. Furthermore, see Guo Moruo, “Yuyou chengqing wanli ai,” col. 1. Guo there maintains that when he saw the play in 1961, “the figure of Tang Seng on stage made people really hate him.”
13. See Bao and Gong, “Kan Shaoju.” That it was a color film is inferred from the advertisements for it in *Beijing ribao* Oct. 16, 1961, where this is mentioned.
14. See the advertisements in *Renmin ribao* on Oct. 6 and in *Beijing ribao* on Oct. 16 and 19.
He had by then written two plays, Cai Wenji and Wu Zetian, to defend Mao and to counter what Guo saw as the ill winds blowing in the field of “new historical drama.”

Guo quickly discerned what he assumed to be the “educational meaning for contemporary affairs” in the play, given the high pitch of polemics against Soviet “revisionism” in the newspapers at the time. He saw the play on October 18, and, asked by members of the Zhejiang troupe to give his critical advice (yijian), wrote them a poem on the twenty-fifth. There had been no review of the play in the Beijing papers—they might have disagreed with the political line of the piece—but Guo got his poem and a summary of the play published in Renmin ribao on November 1.

Wu Han’s Hai Rui baguan was just being staged in Peking, Zhou Xinfang’s Hai Rui shangshu had guest performances in the capital, Tian Han’s and Meng Chao’s plays Xie Yaohuan and Li Huiniang had just been published. All of these were more or less critical of the Chairman and the Great Leap, all the greater reason for Guo to advertise the Sun Wukong play and its lessons. Guo’s poem, entitled “Seeing ‘Sun Wukong Three Times Beats the White-Bone Demon,’” ran as follows:

Humans and demons he confounds, right and wrong he confuses;
toward enemies he is merciful, toward the friend he is mean.
His incantation of the “Golden Hoop [Contracting] Spell” was heard ten thousand times,
while a demonic escape of the White-Bone Demon he let happen three times in a row.
A thousand knives should cut Tang Seng’s flesh to pieces,
One pluck—how would it diminish the Great Sage’s hair,
This timely teaching may be highly praised,
even Zhu Bajie’s insight surpassed that of the fools.15

The first four lines are unambiguous. Guo attacks Tang Seng for his ideological muddleheadedness and for showing Buddhist mercy to his enemies, the various transformations of the Demon, while being mean to Sun Wukong, who helps him. Tang recites the spell that makes the band around Sun’s head contract, causing unbearable pain, and thereby contributes to the Demon’s escape. Eventually he even dismisses Sun. For this he deserves to be cut to pieces. The next line, however, is more intricate, as there are, and quite intentionally so, two readings. It runs

yiba hekui dasheng mao. Word for word this means: One pluck (or "one dismissal")—how would it be a loss to the Great Sage Mao (or, as Mao's name means "hair," to the Great Sage's hair).

With this fairly tortuous grammatical construction, Guo, who has been among the most unabashed panegyrists for Mao, manages to slip in the expression dasheng mao, the Great Sage Mao, equating Mao Zedong with Sun Wukong, whose grand title is Qitian dasheng, Great Sage Equal to Heaven. Other scholars also have noted this point. If Sun is Mao, who are the other pilgrims? Amazingly, the poem hardly refers to the White-Bone Demon, instead focusing its attack on Tang Seng.

Tang Seng capitulates to the Demon; he also suppresses Monkey. In a later article, Guo Moruo explains that Tang Seng corresponds to Nikita Khrushchev. The "modern revisionists" under Khrushchev, Chinese polemicists charged at the time, had capitulated to imperialism. When Guo wrote the poem, the Soviet Party just held its Twenty-second Congress. Khrushchev proclaimed "peaceful transition" to Communism to be the goal, and "peaceful coexistence with (U.S.) imperialism" to be the base line of Soviet foreign policy. He said that the country was now entering the first stage of Communism after having achieved the socialist transition. The Soviet Union would rapidly leave behind the Western economies, and then the attraction of its social system would be irresistible; therefore, "peaceful transition" to socialism could replace revolution in the other states.

In Guo's view of the world, the problem was not imperialism, the White-Bone Demon. That was a familiar monster. The group of pilgrims represented the international Communist movement. Tang Seng/Khrushchev was suppressing the "revolutionary" forces who were out to "kill" the Demon and were best embodied in Mao Zedong himself, the great Chairman "equal to Heaven." For this Tang Seng deserved death. Guo even tried to read the term sanda, the beating down of the three transformations of the Demon, as a reference to the experience of the international Communist movement. Finally, who corresponds to Zhu Bajie? Zhang Xiangtian has suggested that in another poem by Guo (given below), Guo refers to himself in this image.  

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17. See Guo, "'Yuyou.'"
18. Ibid.
gestion seems valid for this poem, too. It is modest self-reference. Even he, the muddleheaded Guo Moruo, eventually proves to be more intelligent than the "stupids," which as Mao's reply to the poem suggests would refer to Tang. Zhang suggests that Zhu may correspond to those fooled by Khrushchev, that is, the European Communist leaders, but there is nothing in the poem to substantiate this.\textsuperscript{20} I tend to support the Chairman's view in this matter. In the play Zhu Bajie realizes the true nature of the imperialist Demon when the Demon shows its true face and catches the pilgrims. Zhu fights his way out of the Demon's grotto to implore Sun Wukong, whom he had earlier repressed, to come back, save them from disaster, and take the lead again. One might read this as a self-critical reference to Guo's role as a member of the Soviet-dominated World Peace Council. Within the poem, Guo pledges his allegiance to the \textit{dasheng Mao}, the Great Sage Mao.

His proposal for action against Tang Seng is contained in the line "one pluck—how would it be a loss to the Great Sage Mao [or 'the Great Sage's hair']." Tang Seng "should" be cut to pieces. Short of this, he should be "plucked out" and dismissed. To do so would also include a purge of his followers in China (as in the campaign against "right opportunism" then going on). Given the sage's millions of hairs, all of which can be transformed into miniature editions of himself, one pluck would hardly detract from his furry appearance.

Sadly, Guo Moruo, who had been quick to identify the "educational meaning" of the play and had done all he could to make it more widely known, had completely missed the point. True, the play had suggested this interpretation, and he had truthfully expressed this alignment in his poem, but he had failed to notice that the political situation had evolved. What the Chairman had indicated by talking in 1958 about the Second International—that a split would develop, that Eduard Bernstein would capitulate to imperialism and try to get at the revolutionary forces, and that eventually Lenin would "have to" set up his own International—had now happened again. Historical development had exploded the historical screen which he had used in 1958, and which had been the basis for the play and Guo's interpretation. Guo, who evidently was familiar with the passage in the 1958 talk, had tried to be obedient and follow the Chairman's directives verbatim. But the Chairman was no Maoist; he could change his assessments more easily. After Guo's poem was published on November 1, his interpretation became a

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., p. 122.
matter of public record on an extremely sensitive political issue. The Chairman was to take interpretive matters into his own hands.

Premier Zhou Enlai returned to Beijing on October 24, 1961, from Moscow’s Party Congress. There had been bitter exchanges, both political and personal, between him and Khrushchev. Mao personally went to the airport with flowers to congratulate Zhou for his antirevisionist stance. Zhou must have spent a substantial part of the time before he left for Moscow reviewing the Sun Wukong play. The actor who played the part of Monkey recalls that the Premier went “four times” and then recommended it to the Chairman.

There had been six public performances, on October 8 and 9 in the Beijing Workers Club, on the eighteenth and the nineteenth in the National Palace (Minzu gong), and in the People’s Theater (Renmin juchang) on the twenty-first and second. If Zhou had seen it four times before he left for Moscow on the sixteenth, there must have been internal performances for the leaders. No review appeared in the Renmin ribao, the Guangming ribao, or the Beijing ribao. The Chairman went, congratulated the actors, and, after Guo’s poem had appeared, he spelled out on November 17 the new, true, and only interpretation in a poem, “Reply to Comrade Guo Moruo.” One day before, Khrushchev had pronounced the program of his recent Congress the “true Communist Manifesto of our times.” Mao’s poem ran as follows:

Once when from the great earth a thunderstorm arises there also will be a demonic coming to life of white-bone heaps. The Monk[s] is [are] stupid and ignorant, but nevertheless can be instructed. The Demon is treacherous and malicious, and by necessity will wreak disaster. The Golden Monkey impetuously raises his thousand-jun rod, and the jadelike firmament is cleared of dust for ten thousand miles. When today Sun the Great Sage is acclaimed, this is only because demonic vapors are on the rise again.

This is a serious rebuttal of Guo Moruo’s poem. Mao sets the plot into a larger perspective. The acceleration of life’s intensity, once the thunderstorm of revolution arises on the great earth, is such that even the dead and decayed white-bone heaps of the rotten ideas of the old ruling classes are momentarily revived. This time, however, they are in the very heart of the thunderstorm of revolution. Incidentally, the

22. Liuling Tong, p. 77.
23. Zhang Xiangtian, Mao, p. 100.
White-Bone Demon is but such a heap of white bones. Within the Marxist and Maoist perception of the world, such a “revival” occurred after every revolution before and since the emergence of Marxism; in his notes on this poem, Guo Moruo referred to the struggles confronting Marx with Bukharin, Engels with Ferdinand Lassalle and others, Lenin with the Mensheviks, and now Mao with “modern revisionism.” Guo pointed out later that he himself had identified the White-Bone Demon as “imperialism,” while Mao in his poem correctly identified it as “opportunists who capitulate to imperialism,” which had been the standard charge against the “revisionist” currents mentioned above.  

Mao thus operates a fundamental change in the interpretation of the play. Khrushchev’s revisionism is not embodied in Tang Seng, but in the White-Bone Demon himself. In analytical terms, this indeed fits the substance of the play. The White-Bone Demon comes in all sorts of disguises, all of which are “Buddhist” (Marxist), but in fact it is only out to “eat” Tang Seng’s flesh. The notion of “modern revisionism” fits the image of the White-Bone Demon much better than the traditional notion of saber-rattling imperialism.

In the play, there are two kinds of contradictions, those between “us and the enemy” and those “among ourselves.” Mao had written much about the difference between the two. He saw his theory of the two kinds of contradictions as one of his main contributions to revolutionary doctrine. The White-Bone Demon is in essence “treacherous and malicious” regardless of outward appearance, and therefore will “by necessity” try to wreak disaster. Between the Demon and Tang Seng’s group the contradiction is defined as “antagonistic,” whereas Tang Seng, although he was stupid and dull-witted, “can be instructed.” He remains “one of us.” The general tone goes on with the following line. The Golden Monkey clears the air fouled by the Demon, using his magic cudgel. Historically, this would refer to Marx/Engels and Lenin excluding their ideological opponents. Guo Moruo assumed later that now the “third” beating down was to come. The last line in Mao’s poem brings history up to the present. “Demonic vapors are on the rise again,” he writes. They are “demonic” because they don’t appear openly, hiding their essence in a disguise. When Mao’s poem was published together with a commentary and another poem by Guo in January 1964, the Wenyibao editorialist wrote about these vapors:

25. Guo, “‘Yuyou.’”
It is not at all surprising that within the world communist movement reactionary currents should rise. "Demonic vapors" will time and again recur and the jadelike firmament will eventually have to be cleansed. The main link is to hold up the banner of revolution, develop the spirit of struggle, and make clear the differences between ourselves and the enemy, and then in the end the people’s victory will be certain.26

Vapors rise “within the world communist movement” and, of course, this refers to “Soviet revisionism.” The contemporary incarnation of the Demon is thus Khrushchev. (Red Guards would later also read it as a reference to the “right opportunism” of Peng Dehuai, the inner-Chinese “revisionist” current.)27

Less than a month before Mao wrote his poem, Zhou Enlai was still maintaining in Moscow that the differences between the Chinese and Soviet parties were those among “fraternal parties or fraternal countries,” which “should be resolved patiently in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.”28 The very congress, however, witnessed Khrushchev’s transmutation, and the Xiyou ji was to bear the consequences.

Wan Laiming’s film, the many Monkey plays, the Shaoxing opera, and Guo’s poem all had come out with paeans for Sun the Great Sage. Mao does not repeat the flattering identification of himself as being the modern incarnation of Sun Wukong, but nothing indicates that he rejected it. The sudden rise in fervor toward him that he sees in some circles in 1961, he modestly adds, is due not to any personal attachment, but to the fact that the “demonic” and threatening vapors of Soviet revisionism are rising. That is the time when he is most needed.

Who then is Tang Seng? In the Xiyou ji, Tang Seng has chujia, left his family, to join the community of Buddhist believers. He is characterized as a man devoted to and specializing in “religion.” He is the only monk to appear, and his features are bland and generalized, as is the name by which he is called in the story and the opera: Tang Seng, “the Monk from Tang” (China).

It is my hypothesis that Tang must now be read as a pun on dang, the (Chinese Communist) Party. Here I will only adduce some formal proofs; in the analysis of the play itself, there will be further discussion. This identification precludes any open discussion of this issue, but, needless to say, proofs ex absentia contrarii are not admissible either.

27. Beijing shi, “Jiekai.”
In a letter to Guo Moruo about Guo’s poem, Mao spelled out his new identification of Tang: “‘Thousand knives should cut Tang Seng’s flesh to pieces’ is not right. Toward the middle-of-the-roaders [zhong-jian pai] it would be better to pursue a united front policy.” Mao defines Tang Seng as a middle-of-the-roader. In his commentary to Mao’s poem, Guo volunteers the explanation that they “stand between the White-Bone Demon and Sun Wukong, and have been deceived by the White-Bone Demon. Of such people there are relatively many.”

Any attempt, however, to put Tang Seng and his companions on par does damage to the structure of both the opera and the Xiyou ji. In Tang Seng the ultimate purpose of the journey is invested, and to him belongs Sun’s ultimate loyalty. Only the Party fits this image. Mao’s statement about middle-of-the-roaders thus has to be read as a description of the Party’s state of mind. The majority of the Party, that is, the majority of the leadership of it, belongs to the middle-of-the-road faction, but it can and should be saved. The “educational meaning” of the play (or the potential educational meaning, because the 1958 line was still being forced on a plot better suited to Mao’s new line) was to give a scenario of what would happen to members of the Party if they were to go on failing to see the rightness of Sun Wukong’s definition of the deadly nature of revisionism.

The name Tang Seng opened the way for the wordplay on dang. There would have been a wide variety of options for referring to the pilgrim; he could have been called by his “real” name, Xuan Zang or Sanzang (Tripitaka). In the historical drama of the time, the Tang dynasty, in which the Xiyou ji is set, provided a fairly common historical screen for the present, first because of the Tang/dang pun, second because the Tang had been a great period in Chinese history. Guo Moruo used it in this way in his Wu Zetian in 1960, and so did Tian Han in his reply to Guo, Xie Yaohuan. The identification between Tang and dang seems so strong that in contemporary short stories (xiaoshuo), people rarely have the family name Tang if they are not supposed to represent the Party. In Wang Meng’s “Loyal Heart,” Tang Jiuyuan is the Party leader, for instance.

There is thus some foundation for the Tang/dang hypothesis. It will be recalled that already in Mao’s 1958 talk, Tang Seng as Bernstein represented the current “state of mind” of the Party. Mao’s criticism

was not lost on Guo Moruo. Mao’s poem was not published at the time, but like everything that had to do with our opera, it was dealt with at the Politburo level. As Guo wrote in his commentary, Politburo member Kang Sheng “showed” Mao’s poem to him (he did not “give” it to him) on January 6, 1962, in Guangzhou, whereupon Guo experienced “henda de qifa,” supreme enlightenment. As detailed elsewhere in this book, Kang Sheng was instrumental in moving the battle of the factions from the stage to the prisons. Though he had come out strongly against the historical plays that were critical of the Chairman like those by Zhou Xinfang, Tian Han, Wu Han, and others, he seems to have supported the Sun Wukong play because of its political line.

Kang Sheng’s gesture called for a speedy reaction. Guo instantly wrote a new poem to convey his updated insights to the Chairman.

Due to the thunder rolling through the sky
   [we] should not let the white bones gather in a pile.
The Nine Heavens and Four Seas are cleared of blinding vapors,
   nine times nine disasters will be overcome.
The Monk suffered torment and learned bitter remorse,
   the Pig in time got up to contribute its trifle.
The golden pupil [eye] and the fiery glance will give no pardon,
   why fear the monster even if it comes a hundred million times!31

Let us examine the poem line by line. Mao had spoken out on the essence of revisionism, and with his poem had again elucidated the fundamental difference between the two types of contradictions. Based on this thunderous teaching, we should try to isolate the monster, instead of driving people into its ranks and helping it to let its white bones “gather in a pile” and become lively and strong. Now that the line is clear, the eighty-one disasters caused by various incarnations of the demon described in the Xiyou ji can all be overcome. The Monk made mistakes, it is true, but is essentially good; he has suffered and repented. He does not represent Khrushchev anymore, and therefore no longer should be cut to “a thousand pieces.” As in the earlier poem, the “Pig” is “in time” with its change of line, and Guo still feels that he contributed his “trifle” to restoring Sun to his righteous leadership long before the Monk(s) saw his (their) mistake. The monkey, with his special faculties of the golden pupil and the fiery eye, can discern all revisionist monsters, even if they come, as Guo modestly states, “a hundred million times.” They will be given no quarter.

31. Guo, “‘Yuyou.’”
Mao acknowledged that Guo was now on the right path. "[Your]
responding poem was all right." 32 When Mao’s poem was officially
published in early 1964, Guo contributed his trifle by writing a short
analysis of the controversy, and included his reply poem.

However, if even the president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences
was unable to understand the play’s “real” and “new” meaning at first
sight, it evidently would have to be rewritten to make the points clear.
Based on Mao’s redefinition of the play’s key protagonists and the
proper handling of contradictions, the little group from the Zhejiang
ministry again went to work and in the summer of 1962 the final ver-

tion was finished. It properly emphasized the two different kinds of
contradictions. In the meantime, however, the struggle within the Party
had become even fiercer, especially on stage. Thus not as much had to
be changed; the play’s “educational meaning” was not directed toward
the Demon, which was essentially evil, but toward the class represented
by Tang Seng (and Zhu Bajie) as well as toward the public, which was
to observe their behavior in the real world. The film version was
adapted to fit the new and slightly changed emphasis. A videotape ver-

tion was available to me. The opera text was published, but neither the
original edition of this text nor the first revision was available to me. In
1979, the Zhejiang People’s Press published another edition, which
according to the Postface slightly differs from the edition(s) of the six-
ties. The new editors state there that they “time and again systemati-
cally studied Comrade Mao Zedong’s writings about the matter, in par-
ticular his ‘Reply to Guo Moruo.’ Taking guidance from Comrade Mao
Zedong’s literary thought we made some small changes in a few places
while keeping to the principle of not greatly altering the original
opera.” In this version, Mao’s poem is projected on a screen on the
stage before the start of the opera; the difference between the various
disguises of the White-Bone Demon is also stressed. 33 Apart from the
videotape, we do have an earlier printed version of it, however. In 1962,
a picture book based on the opera and the film was released for mass
distribution; 34 it was widely used by the schools for its “educational

32. Ibid.

33. I have only this revised edition of 1979 in my hands, Zhejiang sheng
wenhuaju Sun Wukong sanda baigujing zhengli xiaozu, (Shaoju) Sun Wukong
sanda baigujing.

34. Wang Xingbei, text, Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai, graphics, Sun
Wukong sanda baigujing. The English version, Monkey Subdues the White-
Bone Demon, was published by the Foreign Languages Press in 1964. There
meaning.\textsuperscript{35} Its illustrations were directly taken from the opera performance and they closely follow the costumes, gestures, and staging. The captions are based on the opera but are not necessarily the same word for word. They were simplified in order to drive home the story’s "educational" points. While the overall plot is retained, the action is streamlined, cutting, for instance, the slow beginning of the opera, in which Zhu Bajie is sent ahead to explore and promptly falls asleep under a tree, only to be discovered there by Monkey. However, for our purposes the picture book has a triple advantage. First, together with the videotape it is the oldest available version; second, it is the most widely distributed version; third, with its exceedingly skillful illustrations it presents us for this study with easily reproducible material. I will therefore use it as the primary source, and I will on occasion juxtapose passages from the opera text with captions from the picture book to enable the reader to independently assess the relationship between the two texts. The film was released for mass viewing even in obscure corners of the country. The high artistic quality of the opera, the picture book, and the film certainly contributed as much to public acceptance as the familiarity of the basic plot elements. By 1979, a newspaper would still refer to the film as "known to everyone.\textsuperscript{36}

The picture book, which like the opera is entitled \textit{Sun Wukong sanda baigujing}, was reprinted throughout the Cultural Revolution. The Foreign Languages Press translated it into various languages, and these editions, too, were available all during this period, a rarity of some political significance.

As the above documentation suggests, the play has received close attention from the country's top political and intellectual leaders. Its general political purport evidently was different from that of the historical dramas of the kind of \textit{Hai Rui baguan}. In 1966, He Qifang singled it out as one of the few "historical" pieces that he deemed "correct," as opposed to the plays of Tian Han, Wu Han, Meng Chao, and others.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{35} Unger, \textit{Education under Mao}, p. 269, n. 9.

\textsuperscript{36} Shi Gandang, "Tang Seng he minzhu." The videotape is commercially available from Solid Video Ltd, Hongkong.

\textsuperscript{37} He Qifang, "Ping Xie Yaohuan," p. 23.
Nevertheless, it has received little scholarly attention despite the picture book's familiarity. The interaction of the Xiyou ji elements and the character of a picture book, which in our culture belongs to the trivial genre handed to children, probably discouraged a closer reading. Even a scholar as aware of the social and political implications of PRC opera as Zhao Cong has stated that Sun Wukong sanda baigujing was "nearly without propagandistic content." Maybe he enjoyed the piece and concluded that therefore it could not be propaganda. However, as a side effect of our investigation of the background of our opera text, we have found that the politics of this obscure literary text were considered of highest institutional and political prominence, and that its implications were in fact handled by the Chairman himself (and enacted by his supporter Kang Sheng).

THE PICTURE BOOK SUN WUKONG SANDA BAIGUJING

THE SITUATION

We will now proceed to a close reading of the entire picture book. A considerable number of changes were made in the plot of the opera from the original novel. Such changes were politically loaded, as they were made with evident intention.

In both novel and picture book, the purpose of Tang Seng and his disciples is to “journey to the West to get holy scriptures.” In the novel, the West or Western Heaven is the place where the Buddha resides, and the novel describes the gradual purification of Tang and his entourage until they arrive in (attain) this realm (state) of eternal bliss. In the picture book text, however, the meaning of “West” and “scriptures” is not further defined. The area through which the pilgrims have to pass before arriving “there” is inhospitable and lacks food and comfort; “there,” however, the most felicitous circumstances prevail. The “scriptures” mark this destination as the realm of orthodoxy consummated. The combination of material plenitude and orthodoxy would give the image of full Communism, with the implication that it is from the West that both Marxism and technical modernism reached China. After Monkey’s great and now-successful revolutionary uproar in the superstructure, Tang Seng and his group now traverse the dangerous and uncharted area of transition between the Revolution and the glorious state of final Communism.

38. Zhao Cong, Zhongguo dalu de xiju gaige, p. 185.
Indeed, the Marxist classics gave little guidance for this area, and the Soviet example was no longer in good standing in China when the opera was produced. In 1962 Mao Zedong still spoke of the "unkown realm of socialist economy."39 Thus, in the first picture (fig. 1) there is no well-trodden way on which the pilgrims can walk; instead, they venture through uncharted lands.

The text reads: "Sun Wukong of Great Uproar in Heaven fame together with Zhu Bajie and Monk Sha protect Tang Seng on his way to the Western Paradise to get the scriptures. With Wukong taking the lead and exploring the way, all four together, master and disciples, cross mountains and wade through streams, all the time hastening toward the West."

We will return to the pilgrims' personalities later on. Here, our interest is in defining the situation, the framework of time. The journey being a metaphor for the time axis, we might be able to define the time of the reader. At what point of the narrative is the reader? Did the event being described occur in the distant past? Have all the troubles of this difficult journey already been mastered? Or are these troubles ahead, impending "now," in the reader's present?

In figure 1, the pilgrims are coming toward us out of the metaphorical past of the revolution achieved. After winning his battles against the old superstructure, the Monkey King is now leading the group through this difficult transitional period. The time is the very present of the reader; the problems confronting the pilgrims are those immediately at hand.

From the first picture on, the journey to the West is arrested. Only on one occasion do Tang and his disciples take further steps. But they do so only after Tang Seng has dismissed Monkey, and thus there is no progress in these steps; they go sidewise into a trap set up by the demon. Thus, as long as the problem presented in the text is not solved, no further progress is possible. Only at the very end can the pilgrims advance further on their way, as shown in the final picture (see figure 16). Here, Sun Wukong again takes the lead, guiding the pilgrims away from us into the future. Both he and Zhu Bajie invite the reader to join in the further advance.

The story thus offers a predictive and educative scenario of the immediately impending obstacles to further progress in the transition to communism, projecting events onto the historical screen of the

Fig. 1. The Pilgrims Set Off. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 1.
**Xiyou ji.** Its purpose is to educate the reader to understand the situation properly and take the correct side in the coming battles. Having defined the situation, let us move now to characterize the protagonists.

**THE PROTAGONISTS**

In the context of the *Xiyou ji*, Tang Seng alone is given a human biography. His fellow pilgrims are explicitly identified with his various faculties and urges, Sun Wukong being his mind, Zhu Bajie (Pigsy) his visceral nature and lust, Sha his stubborn endeavor, and Tang Seng's horse his will. Tang Seng is on occasion explicitly defined as the *Dao*, the Way—that is, the human quest for enlightenment. Tang's fellow pilgrims thus are his own faculties. Monkey, fast and nervous like the mind, is able to move through space at the speed of thought, unimpeded by obstacles. His weapon can be reduced to the mere physical nothingness of a thought, and it can be stored, appropriately, in his head, where thoughts and ideas are to be found; his rod can be reduced to miniature size and stuck into his ear. The battles he fights are with the demons of heterodoxy and temptation, spiritual battles at that. Zhu Bajie is already a hog, attesting to the low value given to bodily urges in Buddhist doctrine; he carries a muck-rake with nine prongs, so he can strike the nine (male) openings of the body of any fiend and metaphorically subdue him by visceral temptation. And so on. The entire group of pilgrims represents one single human being, with Tang Seng giving the idea of the whole, and each of his companions embodying one of his key features. The inner conflicts that arise during the hard quest for ultimate truth and bliss are presented here as the conflicts between his companions and also between the companions and Tang himself. His conflicts being externalized, Tang himself is portrayed as rather bland. This basic constellation of the *Xiyou ji* has been kept in the opera *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing*. This does not mean that Tang Seng is a secondary character. The entire enterprise of the journey to the West is for his benefit, he alone is riding a horse, and he is called “master.” However, neither in the *Xiyou ji* nor in opera text and picture book is Tang idealized; rather the opposite is true. But without Tang, there would be no journey to the West. As I have suggested earlier, Tang Seng represents “the Party,” exalted and bland, making mistakes but being the Party nevertheless. The image is quite compelling. Time and again the Party has come under criticism from its members and leaders in China, but its ultimate function has always been upheld, and “obedi-
ence to the Party” has been stressed. Tang Seng has left his family to become a monk in pursuit of the absolute truth of Buddhism, in the same way that Party members have to “leave” their families and enter into new bonds of allegiance prescribed within the Party, devoting themselves, according to the rules, to the rapid achievement of complete communism, with Marxism replacing Buddhism as the guiding light.

What the various disciples of Tang Seng represent, thus, is the inner composition of the Party. Both in the novel and in our texts, a hierarchy exists among the disciples, with Sun Wukong ranking highest, followed by Zhu Bajie and then Sha. In the Xiyou ji and the earlier opera version, the horse is also counted as a pilgrim, representing the will. In the picture book it has been eliminated from that role, evidently because no present-day social counterpart could be found in the scenario that the story was to illustrate.

The exalted status of the entire group when seen as the Party necessitated some changes. In the Xiyou ji, the pilgrims live by begging for offerings of vegetarian food from lay people. Tang Seng constantly sends off his disciples to beg for food and shelter. But, as Buddhist mendicants are described as social parasites in PRC books about Buddhism, this feature was felt to be inappropriate as a depiction of the Party’s relationship with the lay “masses”; thus the begging has been eliminated.

Although Sun Wukong is the mind and leader of the enterprise, he is also in the service of Tang/dang, that is, under Tang Seng’s firm control. He wears a band around his head that contracts, causing him unbearable pain, when Tang Seng recites the Tight-Fillet-Spell. The Party is thus able to give the Chairman a considerable headache, and it makes use of this device. It will be remembered that in the novel the headband was put around Sun Wukong’s head by the Bodhisattva Guanyin in order to give to Tang Seng some control over a monkey that had even dared to wreak havoc in Heaven. When the evaluation of the revolution changed in the PRC, the rationale for the headband disappeared. Now the headband is just there, denoting the structural relationship between the Chairman and the Party. Even when unjustly tormented by the Party, the Chairman will serve it. The dull-wit image of Tang/dang in both opera and picture book corresponds well with the image of the Party as the bookish and bedridden Tang emperor in Guo Moruo’s Wu Zetian; the structural relationship in that play between the emperor and Wu Zetian finds its replica here in the one between Tang Seng and Sun Wukong.

As Sun Wukong was to act as proxy for Mao Zedong, obviously the
simian nature of the Monkey King had to be changed. In the opera, Monkey never scratches himself, nor does he search for fleas, and his disrespectful remarks to Tang Seng have been cut. In the process, the necessity for Tang Seng to have some device to control him also disappeared. Liu Litong, the actor who played the Monkey role, related that he did not adopt the traditional technique, “human behaving like a monkey” (ren xue hou), but invented a new technique of “monkey behaving like a human” (hou xue ren) to bring out this new aspect of the Monkey King, 40 which was necessitated by the exalted status of Monkey’s real-life counterpart. We have already seen how in Guo Moruo’s and Tian Han’s plays Wu Zetian had to part with her proverbial sexual appetite for the same reason.

There remains thus a link at the institutional level between Tang and Sun. Sun leads, but he serves Tang and is subject to Tang’s disciplinary measures, even if they are ill-advised.

Below Sun, the chairman, we have Zhu Bajie (Pigsy) in the middle level of the hierarchy. In the novel, it is Tang Seng who constantly clamors for food, even more so than the visceral Pigsy. But in the opera this aspect of Tang’s nature is entirely vested in Zhu Bajie. Zhu’s devotion to the demands of his stomach is not extraneous to his politics but leads to mistaken political judgments, and even to opposing Sun Wukong’s leadership. Zhu’s strong bent for the good life and his abhorrence of struggle make him an easy caricature for middle- and upper-level Communist cadres. Zhu’s antics notwithstanding, the Xiyou ji never makes him into an “enemy” of the pilgrims’ progress. He never turns into a demon or the like. This conciliatory note is retained in the opera and the picture book.

Finally, there is Monk Sha. In the Xiyou ji, both he and Zhu Bajie carry the luggage. In the opera and the picture book, Sha alone does the hard work, an indication of his low rank and modest role. Sha is utterly devoted to Tang Seng, but in case of conflict he sides with Sun Wukong, and he constantly urges the others to follow Sun’s directives. Iconographically, he is depicted with the facial features and body posture characteristic of the “working class” or “poor and lower-middle peasants.” In the novel Sha was originally a river monster, and he wears the skulls of his former victims as a necklace. This detail did not befit the base-level Party members and cadres on whom this character is to play, and thus the necklace is not mentioned and is eliminated from the

40. Liuling Tong, p. 78. This has also been noted by reviewers; see Bao Shiyan and Gong Yijiang, “Kan Shaoju,” p. 21.
film. Sha lacks education and sharp wit, all his devotion and loyalty notwithstanding. A line said by Sun Wukong gives a surprisingly cutting characterization of this figure: “Monk Sha, you really are loyal and devoted; it is a pity that you lack qualification [kexi meiyou benling].” In the opera edition of 1979, this passage has been cut. It was obviously seen as a slander of the proletariat.

In the Xiyou ji, all three disciples engage in battles with demons, but in the opera and the picture book, it is Sun alone who recognizes the demons and battles them to the very end. Only very late do the two others become enlightened enough to join in the struggle.

Each of Tang Seng’s subcharacters has his own peculiar traits, and there is considerable contradiction among them. True to Maoist teaching about the Party, they form a unity of opposites.

This, however, is not true for the “enemy.” A powerful and cunning monster, the White-Bone Demon obstructs the pilgrims’ progress. This demon specializes in transforming itself and appears in four or five different guises, each with its own specific “line.” Nevertheless, all are essentially the same. The fundamental difference between Tang Seng and his disciples, on the one hand, and the White-Bone Demon and its various manifestations, on the other, was stressed by Mao in his poem and indeed is encoded into the very plot of the opera.

The White-Bone Demon is the enemy, and the literary and pictorial tradition for this type of presentation of the enemy can be found in PRC depictions of “Japanese aggressors,” “U.S. imperialists,” and “landlords and bourgeoisie.” All of these characterizations operate under the assumption that despite their seeming variety, the essential and primary urges of these monsters are the same, namely, to “eat men.” The White-Bone Demon’s primary interest is also to “eat men”—more particularly, to “eat the flesh of Tang Seng.” In the Xiyou ji, the monsters living on the way to the West are looking forward to Tang Seng’s arrival, because his rarefied body will give eternal life to whoever eats him. The picture book dispenses with this idea altogether. What remains is the formula “eating men,” which in this century has been filled with a new meaning. In “The Diary of a Madman” (1918), Lu Xun characterized the “old society” as a “man-eating” society. The “man-eating” formula has become a standard description of imperialism. For example, the well-known Hongqi editorial of April 16, 1960, entitled “Long Live Leninism,” which opened the bitter ideological dispute with “modern revisionism,” says: “At a time when the imperialists in the imperialist countries are armed to the teeth as never before in order to protect their
savage, man-eating system, can it be said that imperialism has become very 'peaceable' towards the proletariat and the people at home and the oppressed nations, as the modern revisionists claim... The charge here is that revisionists underestimate the dangers of imperialism. However, there was little echo between the *Xiyou ji* and the traditional notion of imperialism. The White-Bone Demon begins, it is true, with a frontal attack on the pilgrims, but they are immune to such crass devices. All the Demon's further transformations are erstwhile devout Buddhists who pretend to share the same beliefs as the pilgrims. "We all are no match for Monkey," the White-Bone Demon says to her underlings. "In this matter only cunning will bring success; it is impossible to counter him with strength." This is the form in which "revisionism," in its new "social imperialist" variant, was to appear in later Chinese polemics. Mao had already alluded to the revisionist threat in his poem about this opera. Revisionism thus comes on stage as a more dangerous variant of the "man-eating" system of imperialism itself, not as a Marxist current characterized by underestimating imperialism. In symbolic form, the opera and the picture book anticipate what was to become the Maoist line on revisionism years later. The most highly prized meal of this demon is the rarefied body of the Chinese Communist Party.

**THE PROBLEM**

At the very outset of the opera, Tang Seng depicts the pilgrims' sorry situation.

Ravines ten thousand feet deep, heart and gall cold [with fear], [we] don't give up seeking the scriptures [but] the journey is hard, the four directions all hazy, nowhere [is there] smoke from a human [dwelling].

This depiction does not define the problem. But Sun Wukong and Zhu Bajie now proceed to present two radically different assessments.

Sun Wukong defines their main problem:

Calm now, master. (Stops the horse.) Your disciple thinks in these mountains ahead the cliffs are steep and the slopes abrupt, they are thick with demonic vapors, definitely demons are in and out there.

This text is from the opera, but the picture book concurs: Sun: "Master and disciples, watch out. There are monsters around here. I am afraid."

No demon is in sight, but from the general characterization of the situa-

tion, Sun Wukong has already defined the main problem and threat. It is the contradiction between "ourselves" and "the demons," the same insight that Mao expressed in the first two lines of his poem. It is a general rule that in such a situation, demons abound. Sun then promises to devote himself to handling such monsters, assuring the frightened Tang Seng: "Master, don't be afraid as long as old Sun is around. I will chop off the roots and cut off the path of whatever demon [might come]." Sure enough, Sun soon smells a monster, and "instantly leaps up into the air to investigate," as the picture book says (fig. 2).

For Sun Wukong, the main problem is to avoid being eaten by the demons. But Zhu Bajie just sneers at this assessment. "Master, if you believe in the idle babble of Monkey you'll die of fright and fear, if not of cold and hunger, and you'll neither make it up to the Western Heaven nor ever see the Bodhisattva." Instead of going after imagined demons, Zhu Bajie suggests looking for food. Simplifying the longer dialogue in the opera, the picture book has Zhu Bajie pouting and sniggering: "Senior brother, you really are too cowardly with your suspicions about clouds and vapors." Patting his belly, he says: "Let's be on our way quickly to find what is essential—something to eat." In the opera text, Tang Seng asks Sun, "How are we going to make it through these mountains?" and Zhu Bajie interjects, "[Our] bellies are dying of hunger." For Zhu Bajie, the main task is not to avoid being eaten, but to find something to eat.

The controversy takes place in the play's "now", that is, in terms of the audience, in 1961. To illustrate it let us turn to a completely different set of graphics. By 1961, after years of slow but regular progress in agriculture, the country's attempt to overcome once and for all the latent threat and crisis by means of a Great Leap Forward had landed wide areas in famine. From recently published population data, we can reconstruct the demographic consequences of this disaster.

Table 1 shows the development of grain intake per capita for the period under review. Figure 3 shows the development of mortality rates, and table 2 shows how the birth rate changed in the period.

The total human cost of the Great Leap amounted to 30 million additional deaths, 33 million non-occuring births, and stunted growth among a large portion of those who were infants at the time. As a consequence, a substantial number of Chinese leaders who had initially supported Great Leap policies asked for a readjustment in order to

Fig. 2. Food or Demons. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 4.
TABLE 1. Annual Per Capita Grain Supply and Average Daily Nutrient Availability, 1953–64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Per Capita Grain Supply (kg/yr)</th>
<th>Daily Food Energy (Kcal)</th>
<th>Daily Food Protein (gm)</th>
<th>Daily Food Fat (gm)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>283.2</td>
<td>2018.1</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>280.5</td>
<td>2024.2</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>298.9</td>
<td>2130.5</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>306.6</td>
<td>2175.6</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>304.7</td>
<td>2167.0</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>25.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>304.9</td>
<td>2169.6</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>27.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>253.8</td>
<td>1820.2</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>216.4</td>
<td>1534.8</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>235.0</td>
<td>1650.5</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>250.7</td>
<td>1761.2</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>17.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>257.5</td>
<td>1863.7</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>19.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>276.1</td>
<td>2026.1</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


TABLE 2. Year-End Population and Birth Rate, China, 1955–64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Year-End Population (millions)</th>
<th>Birth Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>614.7</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>628.3</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>646.5</td>
<td>34.0</td>
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<td>1958</td>
<td>659.9</td>
<td>29.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>672.1</td>
<td>24.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1960</td>
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<td>20.9</td>
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<td>1961</td>
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<tr>
<td>1962</td>
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<td>37.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>691.7</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>705.0</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


secure the basic livelihood of the starving population. Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Zhen, Tao Zhu, and others pressed for a partial restoration of family-based agricultural production and a semblance of legal order. At the same time, important developments were also taking place in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev had declared since 1958 that owing to the rapid advancement of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp was growing ever stronger and the possibility was emerging that the “oppressed peoples” would be able to make it into socialism without a bloody revolution. The key link in the acceleration of this shift was the economic
development of the Soviet Union itself. Instead of focusing on fomenting revolution abroad, the Soviet Union would make all efforts to out-produce the imperialist industrial nations in the shortest possible time, making socialism’s attractions irresistible in the process. The assessments of the group of Chinese leaders mentioned above and of Khrushchev coincided in one important point: both focused on the improvement of the material well-being (or simply the survival) of the populace.

Mao Zedong conceded that he had made some mistakes and reluctantly approved the measures to restore the economy. However, in 1959 prior to the Lushan Plenum, many voices in the leadership had advocated that Great Leap policies be abandoned in the face of already widespread famine. When Mao Zedong himself was imputed to be responsible for the mistakes by Peng Dehuai and others at the Plenum, he decided that a “right-opportunist” deviation (i.e., an ideological demon, not famine) was the main danger. In consequence, the country plunged into a second and more devastating frenzy after the Plenum, with the Anti-Right-Opportunist movement effectively preventing any realistic assessment of the situation. In other words, the battle between two different sets of priorities had already gone through a first round. In 1962, the immediately pressing problems of the famine slowly receded,
and Mao Zedong returned to his original set of priorities. Having kept the issue alive by criticizing Soviet revisionism, he came back in full force at the plenum in September 1962 with the slogan “Never forget class struggle,” thus upgrading the language of denunciation of the Soviet Union. In his answering poem to Guo Moruo, he claimed that his political return (Sun’s recently growing acclaim) was due to a “demonic vapor” hovering on the horizon. And in another poem of the time, he ridiculed Khrushchev’s penchant for petty “goulash communism” when the times called for grand global schemes and visions.\textsuperscript{43} The debate with the Soviet Union was substantially for domestic consumption, a warning to the Chinese leaders not to fall into the demon’s trap. Thus, even in the midst of famine’s barren lands, the main task was not to find food, but to avoid being eaten.

For Chinese audiences of the time, the resonance of the controversy on stage with the rumblings in their bellies and the ruminations of their minds must have been deafening. Not only was the message played before small crowds in Shanghai and Beijing, but vast audiences were exposed to it by means of the film and the picture book in the villages and schools. From the high status assigned to this production, they knew that some great educative purpose was bound up with the piece.

In Guo Moruo’s \textit{Wu Zetian}, which also advocates the Chairman’s line, critics of the Chair’s policies are denounced as privilege-hunting landed families. Their charges against Wu Zetian have no factual basis, the storage bins are overflowing, the populace is at ease and rest. This polemical negation of the hard fact of the country’s famine is not repeated here. \textit{Sun Wukong sanda baigujing} is more sophisticated and goes one step further. The members of the Tang Seng, the Chinese Party, advocating a shift of emphasis to food production, appear in the garb of a fat, gluttonous hog, Zhu Bajie. They are allowed to make their criticism of the Chair, Sun Wukong, and Zhu ridicules Sun’s obsession with ideological demons. Amazingly, Sun Wukong does not deny in the least that this transitional period is a desolate stretch with hardly a thing to eat. He answers Zhu Bajie: “Hereabouts is just a row of barren mountains; for some hundred miles around, there is neither human being nor smoke from a hearth; let [me] first go ahead to scout the mountain in search of a path, and in passing collect some fresh fruit to allay [your] hunger” (caption 6). The transition society is a barren land. To find a way through it and ward off the demons is the

\textsuperscript{43} Mao Zedong, “Nian nu jiao.” The poem is dated fall 1965.
main task. The economy has low priority, as we see from the words “in
passing collect some fresh fruit to allay [your] hunger.” The apprehen-
sions of the public in the midst of famine are taken up, but then they
are denounced by being articulated through Zhu Bajie. The opera and
picture book indeed take up the most pressing political issue of the time.
The controversy between the two assessments—avoiding being eaten
versus finding something to eat—dominates the entire plot. Let us now
turn to the drama.

**THE DRAMA**

Sun now goes off to search for the demon that by necessity lurks in this
barren region. But first, with his magic rod he makes a circle around
Tang Seng, Zhu Bajie, and Monk Sha, “admonishing them several times
to sit within the circle and wait for his return” (fig. 4). There is no
precedent for this circle in the relevant chapter of the *Xiyou ji*, but it
appears in a different place, in chapter 50, where it is used (unsucces-
fully) to protect Tang Seng against another demon. The transfer is thus
fraught with intention.

As the picture book shows (fig. 5), this demon is not alone but com-
mands vast demonic armies and lives in splendor and high fashion.
Being informed about the pilgrims’ long-expected arrival, the White-
Bone Demon, in the shape of a beautiful lady, ponders ways to get at
Tang Seng’s flesh. In the opera, she gives up the strategy of open attack
after a meek attempt. In the picture book, however, she attacks
openly, “imperialist style.” Noticing Sun Wukong’s absence, she tries to
grab the pilgrims (fig. 6). Her later, more cunning attempts essentially
have the same intention.

Her attempt fails, as the circle drawn by Sun Wukong’s rod repels
her. Against the direct and open man-eating attacks of imperialistic
demons, Mao Zedong Thought effectively protects the Party. The
iconographic element of the radiant circle of Mao Zedong Thought
comes from the image of Mao Zedong’s head as the sun. This image is
evoked in many panegyric earlier “folk songs,” and it finds its ultim-
ate expression in illustrations, posters, and lapel pins of the Cultural
Revolution period in which sunbeams radiate from Mao’s head.

Unable to catch the pilgrims using a direct attack, the demon now
proceeds to “cunning,” in the words of the opera text quoted above. In
her first incarnation, the demon appears as a young woman with a bas-
ket full of dumplings, “her mouth invoking the Buddha’s name” (fig. 7).
Fig. 4. The Magic Circle. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 7.
Fig. 5. The Demon’s Retinue. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), Sun Wukong sanda baigujing (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 11.
Fig. 6. Direct Attack Thwarted. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 13.
Fig. 7. The First Temptation. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), Sun Wukong sanda baigujing (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 16.
With his sharp wit, Sun Wukong has anticipated that a demon would most probably try to capitalize on the pilgrims’ greatest distress, hunger. Therefore he warned them when he left, “When you meet someone, don’t answer. When you see food, do not eat it.” Sure enough, the demon comes with the dumplings of economism and lures Zhu Bajie out of the circle, away from the enclosure of Mao Zedong Thought. “Smelling the fragrance of the dumplings,” Zue Bajie “could not but rejoice in his heart.”

The demon comes like a true revisionist, with “Buddha’s name,” orthodox Marxist phrases, on her lips and the lure of a policy that stresses only food, as Khrushchev did in Mao Zedong’s eyes. She is not a Communist pilgrim committing a “mistake.” The opposite is true: she is a demon, using the temporary troubles of the pilgrims to lure them onto her banquet plate. Zhu Bajie, however, now commits another mistake. In his frenzy, he also pulls Tang Seng out of the circle to follow the young woman to her revisionist shrine and temple (fig. 8).

What was earlier a slight difference of opinion between Sun and Zhu as to the relative importance of demon-fighting and food, has now become a matter of life and death for the pilgrims. Monk Sha is as unaware of the true nature of the young woman as the others, but his obedience to Sun’s commands persists even if he does not understand their meaning. Helplessly he runs after the others, loudly asking the woman who she is and being scolded for his lack of politeness by Tang Seng. Lin Biao was later to formulate this principle quite explicitly: “So I have always said that Mao Zedong Thought must be implemented both when we understand it and when we may temporarily not understand it.”44 But Sha is the only one familiar with this principle. For the others, the young woman both shares their faith and brings much-needed nutrition. When Sun arrives on the scene, without further investigation or analysis, he smashes the woman’s head with his rod of Mao Zedong Thought.

The rapidity with which he acts leads to the second controversy, one about “revolutionary” and “counterrevolutionary” violence. Tang Seng exclaims: “Killing living beings, hurting life—an offense! an offense!” Zhu Bajie also “grumbles against Wukong,” while Sha, true to his principles, says, “Wukong is good at recognizing demons and will absolutely not kill a good person by mistake.” At this moment, in the

Fig. 8. Dragging Tang Seng Off. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 21.
picture book, "it was altogether unclear to Tang Seng whether [the young woman] was a human or a demon." In the original novel, immediately after killing the young woman, Sun points to substantial proof: the food in the basket has changed into maggots, frogs, and toads—in short, to traditional and unquestionably demoniacal refuse. The opera, film, and picture book eliminate this proof. Indeed, there is nothing to help Tang Seng and the fellow disciples of Sun discover the demoniacal nature of the young woman, if not the blind belief that Sun will do the right thing, whether it can be understood at the time or not.

In the polemical exchange with the Soviet leaders, the second controversy after economism had to do with the communist commitment to "revolutionary violence" as a necessary instrument of revolution, on the one hand, and the communist devotion to peace, humanism, and compassion for mankind's suffering, on the other. In 1960, an editorial entitled "Long Live Leninism" charged that Yugoslavian revisionists "deny the inherent class nature of violence and thereby obliterate the fundamental difference between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary violence."45 In October 1963, Zhou Yang further elaborated on the relationship between Communist ideology and humanism: "They [i.e., the revisionists] say: 'Communist ideology is the most humane ideology.' They talk of humanism as the 'highest embodiment of Communism,' and they assert that 'humanism in the broad sense of the word means the triumph of humaneness.' They harp such slogans as 'everything for the sake of man and for the benefit of man,' 'man is to man a friend, comrade, and brother,' and 'long live the fraternity of all peoples and all men on earth.' They brag about 'peaceful coexistence' as the 'most humane, the proletarian method of class struggle in the international arena' and about the plan for universal and complete disarmament as the 'highest expression of humanism... which in effect is 'fraternity' between the oppressor and the oppressed classes.'46

The Xiyou ji has many elements that operate well as a foil for this debate. The demon next changes into the young woman's mother and charges Tang Seng with wanton killing, moving the beads of the rosary with her hands to show that she, too, is a good Marxist.

The Buddhist doctrine of compassion, of not taking human life, matches the "humanism" mentioned by Zhou Yang as being part of the

revisionist arsenal. When Tang Seng repudiates Sun in front of the old woman for the killing of the girl, she applauds him, saying, “This old gentleman really is compassionate,” and tries to lure him away to get a coffin. Monkey returns, however, and with great laughter finishes her off with one blow of his anti-revisionist rod.

Again, in the Xiyou ji Sun had some proof. The old woman was “at least eighty,” while the “daughter” was eighteen at most, a mistake in the age relationship that suggested demonic blunder. In the picture book Tang Seng, who is always drawn in close proximity to Bajie, since he is under Bajie’s influence, asks Sun: “You . . . have you gone mad?” This is a strong accusation, which was also used by Khrushchev against the Chinese leadership at the time.\(^\text{47}\) Sun answers lamely: “Master, you have been deceived. They were not mother and daughter, but transformations of one and the same demon.” Sun adds that there could hardly be any humans in such a desolate area. While Tang Seng was unsure whether dumpling communism was human or demonic, he now makes up his mind that there is no difference between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary violence. Led by Zhu Bajie, who lifts up the old woman’s prayer beads and says, “Senior Brother is wrong; evidently this is a human,” Tang Seng quotes the Buddhist śīla rule that forbids killing, and he intones the Tight-Fillet Spell to discipline and punish Monkey.

Only Sha’s intervention stops Tang Seng from painfully transforming Monkey’s head into a long gourd. “If Senior Brother had not eliminated the demons on the way without regard for his own life, Master would have long since been gobbled up by the monsters,” Sha says, and offers to take the punishment upon himself. This support from the “base level” prevents Tang Seng from dismissing Monkey altogether.

The policy differences between the Party and the being that leads it on its way, Sun Wukong, have thus exacerbated. Tang Seng is coming ever more under the influence of Zhu Bajie, and behind the scenes the cunning demon gloats as he observes the widening rift.

The demon now changes into its third, and decisive, transformation. It now appears as the father and husband respectively of the two females. He is called the laoweng or (in the opera text) the laozhang, the “senior gentleman” in the family. As he is old and male, he is the highest manifestation of the demon. This old man brings neither bread nor

tears. The soft ways of revisionism, represented by the two females, have split the group of pilgrims. The "old man" is armed and fights Monkey, whom he "does not fear."

Both Chinese commentators on the story and imitators have always emphasized the qualitative difference between the female manifestations and the male, a difference that marks the transition from an ideological to a political struggle. To further exacerbate contradictions between Tang Seng and Monkey, the old man asks for Tang Seng's protection. Then in utter desperation, he throws himself toward Monkey and demands to be killed and thus to share the fate of his unfortunate daughter and wife.

Humanitarian postures and concerns, the reader is warned through this scene, are but the most devious of the many ruses of the man-eating demon of revisionism. The figure of the old man seems to point toward the senior male leaders. When Liu Shaoqi had mutated from an erring communist to an essentially revisionist demon during the Cultural Revolution, he was cast into this "old man" role, as we shall later see.

Without further investigation, Sun Wukong proceeds to kill the old man, yelling: "You may make a thousand changes and ten thousand transformations, but a demon still is a demon, and you are not going to dupe me!" Monkey is stopped by Tang Seng, who makes a key statement: "Disciples of Buddha take mercy as the root. Even if this should be a demon, one should encourage him to change his mind and mend his ways, but it is not permitted to hurt him!" To which Sun answers: "Master, you save him, but he will not let you go." In the more elaborate language of the opera, Tang Seng says: "Even if he were a demon, he still should be encouraged to mend his ways, [since] evidently our Buddha's compassion does save all sentient beings." Says Sun Wukong: "Even when saving all sentient beings one should not fail to be clear about right and wrong, nor should one blur the difference between humans and demons." But after some more heated exchanges, Tang Seng still insists, "Even if he were a demon, you should not beat him down."

During the polemics about the general line of the international communist movement of the years 1960 through 1963, the Soviet leadership accused Mao Zedong of being bellicose, a war fanatic and even a war provocateur, instead of concentrating on economic issues and peaceful coexistence. The old man in our opera voices this very view: "All you people talk about is killing. What good do you ever do, and what holy scripture do you say you are getting?" In the Xiyou ji, Sun
kills the old man, and then the Tight-Fillet Spell is again intoned and Sun is sent away. Here, the order is inverted. Tang Seng first intones the spell, causing Monkey to roll on the ground in unbearable pain. But driven by the ardent desire to save the Tang/dang from being consumed, Sun Wukong, in a scene of tragic dimensions, lifts his staff (fig. 9) and kills the old man (see fig. 20). It is a strong image of the Chairman’s devotion to the cause of the Party even after having been wrongly chastised by that very body.

In the Xiyou ji, this scene marks the end of the episode. Nothing but a heap of white bones remains after the last blow, proving that Monkey’s assessment of the true nature of this fiend was correct. Nevertheless, Zhu convinces Tang that this heap of bones was only made up by Monkey to convince Tang Seng. Tang Seng then in effect dismisses Monkey, who goes back to his cave at Flower-Fruit Mountain. Leaderless, Tang and his remaining associates are caught by the Yellow Robe Monster, which lives in a building mistakenly regarded by Tang Seng as a Buddhist pagoda. Zhu Bajie manages to escape and is sent by the horse to get Monkey back. After several battles, Monkey finally kills the monster. In the opera and the picture book the scenario has been radically changed. First, the proof of the demon’s nature has been eliminated. This also serves a dramatic purpose, because in the opera the pilgrims (Sun excluded) continue to be fooled by the demon, which would have been unconvincing had a proof materialized. The demon now exerts complete ideological control over Tang Seng, who has even saved the monster’s life. Second, the Yellow Robe Monster, originally a different demon, now is made into the White-Bone Demon’s fourth manifestation. It appears in the form of a piece of yellow cloth fluttering down from the sky. This is a fozhi, a “directive from the Buddha” himself. Its inscription reads:

The Core of Buddhism Is Mercy; It Absolutely
Prohibits the Killing of Life.
If [Sun] Wukong Stays With You, You Will Have
Trouble Getting the True Scriptures.

For Tang Seng, this is a message from the Buddha. He therefore dismisses Sun, sending him home to his Flower-Fruit Mountain. Sun leaves without a harsh word for Tang, enjoining both Zhu and Sha to take good care of their master. His loyalty is unbroken, and so is his commitment to the ultimate goal of the journey. For the time being, he has lost the struggle with the White-Bone Demon for the mind of
Fig. 9. Painfully Monkey Does His Duty. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), Sun Wukong sanda baigujing (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 55.
Tang Seng. We will now learn what happens if one does not blindly believe Sun Wukong. But before following the pilgrims further on their journey, we have to deal with the issue of Sun's "dismissal."

Much has been written about the dismissal of Marshal Peng Dehuai at the Lushan Plenum and the question of whether Wu Han's play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* alluded to this event and came out in the defense of the Marshal. Indeed, the idea of a dismissal of the hero, or the threat of a dismissal, is not restricted to the plays of the Hai Rui group. In the plays of this group, the hero is a junior official in whom the truth is invested, and in whom rest the people's aspirations. He or she is dismissed, imprisoned, and either tortured to death or beheaded outright for saying the truth, advocating improvements of the people's lives, and opposing villains in high places.

The opposing faction responded in kind. In Guo Moruo's *Wu Zetian*, the empress is in danger of being dismissed from her throne through a planned coup of her ministers. In *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing*, Sun Wukong is in fact temporarily dismissed. In these pieces, the Chairman (Wu Zetian or Sun Wukong) is the hero embodying all aspirations. If these heroes do not kill or dismiss those who try to get them out of the way (the White-Bone Demon, or the landed gentry in *Wu Zetian*), the entire dynasty will change color, the Tang/dang will collapse, and their journey will come to an abrupt end. The Sun Wukong opera was brought into the limelight from the relative obscurity of a local performance of the Shaoxing Opera Troupe in Zhejiang because of its implied polemic with the plays of the Hai Rui group. It found support from Guo Moruo and Mao Zedong (and Zhou Enlai) because it could be made into a public message countering the influence of the Hai Rui plays.

Within the group of texts to which our opera belongs, there remain differences. Sun is dismissed upon the instigation of the White-Bone Demon, an agent foreign to his group, whereas the coup against Wu Zetian is engineered by the founding fathers of the Tang dynasty, who have gone back on the ideals of their youth. They are now "class enemies," whereas in our opera even Zhu Bajie never changes into a demon—a conciliatory note that was also stressed in Mao's rebuttal of Guo's poem.

In the opera, the "directive" to dismiss Sun comes from the Buddha "himself." Indeed, in 1959 Khrushchev had "hinted that Mao should be classified as a heretic," as Roderick MacFarquhar writes, \(^48\) and at the

\(^{48}\) See ibid., p. 265.
banquet of the Warsaw Pact session on February 4, 1960, Khrushchev called Mao “an elderly, crotchety person, rather like an old shoe, which is just good enough to put in a corner to be admired.” Both the Chinese and the Albanian parties accused the Soviet leadership of uttering “directives” to the other parties, thus interfering in their internal affairs.

The historical record seems to indicate that in 1958 Mao himself had proposed his retreat from day-to-day political management into the “second line,” and that he himself had proposed in 1959 to emulate the “spirit of Hai Rui.” He had also voiced sharp criticisms of Great Leap policies and supported the new agricultural policies enacted since 1961. As is well known, he maintained in later statements that he had opposed these developments, that “revisionism” had made inroads into the Party and thus led to his “dismissal” in the early sixties when his star was lowest. The Sun Wukong opera shows a keen sense of the actual “dismissal” of the leader in the “present” of the plot. The dismissal is engineered by the White-Bone Demon masquerading as the highest Buddhist authority, but the ruse is only successful because Zhu Bajie is susceptible to the lure of “revisionism” and gets control over the orientation of the weak-willed and muddle-headed Party. Thus even by 1961 or 1962 it was being charged that Mao was brought down by a collusion of Muscovite directives and Chinese Party officials devoutly following their guidance.

When Sun leaves, he admonishes Tang to “distinguish clearly between good and evil,” but demonic forces already extend their tentacles to Tang Seng, as the vivid illustration shows (fig. 10). Until now, the group has neither advanced nor retreated. With the dismissal of Sun, it resumes its march. As was to be expected, Zhu Bajie is now “leading the way.” In terms of time, it is a predictive scenario: What will happen if Sun Wukong is “dismissed?” In the illustration (fig. 11), the pilgrims are not getting “ahead.” They move away from the “progressive” way, which would bring them nearer to their goal, and move sidewise.

The political climate then takes a dramatic turn for the worse. The picture book says: “The sky darkened and the mountain wind blew, chilling the bone. . . .” They end right in front of the temple of the “Buddha” himself.

49. Ibid., p. 268.
50. Ibid., p. 265.
Fig. 10. Monkey Dismissed from Office. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), Sun Wukong sanda baigujing (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 62.
Fig. 11. Leaving the Right Path. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 63.
Monkey King Subdues the White-Bone Demon

In a grand and triumphant gesture Zhu Bajie invites them to enter, the temple promising both orthodoxy and food. We now witness what happens to Tang Seng and his adherents once they reject Sun’s assumption that the main danger is being eaten by the demons and accept Zhu’s definition that the main problem is getting food (fig. 12).

In the Xiyou ji, the building simply “resembles” a pagoda enough to lure Tang Seng into entering it. The authors of the opera and the picture book have drawn on an entirely different episode in chapter 65 for this scene. There, Tang Seng and his disciples suddenly arrive at what seems to them to be their final goal, Thunderclap Monastery. It is but a trap set up by a mighty local demon who has installed himself on the Buddha’s throne to fool the pilgrims. When they (with the exception of Sun) bow to him, he and his underlings suddenly show their true faces and take them prisoner, with the wholesome purpose of having them for dinner. Here in the opera the various demons of the Xiyou ji are all merged and become but manifestations of the one single man-eating White-Bone Demon, the revenant of bleached ideologies from history’s garbage dump in the guise of Marxism.

We have one interesting addition here. The wall surrounding the monastery is “red,” though it was not red in the Xiyou ji. Red, to be sure, is the color of the walls around Buddhist monasteries; red is also the color of the hongqiang, the wall surrounding the government quarters in the Forbidden City in Peking, the Zhongnanhai. Most important, however, the wall surrounding the Kremlin in Moscow is red. Zhu invites his fellow pilgrims to enter. We have arrived at the Holy See of the faith, and inside we can expect to find the Buddha himself, surrounded by his Arhats and Bodhisattvas, the same Buddha who sent the directive to dismiss Sun (fig. 13). The picture forcefully (and ironically) captures the Maoist perspective of the role of the Soviet Party at the time, even down to details of physiognomy of both the Buddha and his disciples. From the seat of teaching, surrounded by the fragrances of devotion, the Buddha presides over his monks as Khrushchev did, according to the Chinese criticisms, over the meeting in October 1961 in Moscow where the first open clash occurred. Arrogating the seat at the center of the world revolution is the supreme stunt of “revisionism,” and it is no wonder that many are fooled. But now, with the pilgrims disarmed and their protector dismissed, the demon shows its true face (fig. 14).

Mao was quoted in a Hongqi editorial in 1967 as saying, “‘Imperialism is very vicious.’ That is to say its fundamental nature cannot be changed. Till their doom, the imperialist elements will never lay down
Fig. 12. The Buddha’s Temple. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 65.
Fig. 13. His Holy Retinue. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 66.
Fig. 14. The Essential Demon. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), Sun Wukong sanda baigujing (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 67.
their butcher knives, nor will they ever become [real] Buddhas.” They can only dress up as Buddhas. The pilgrims are now in the demon’s hands. Their quest is ended, and their flesh will spice the demon’s meal. That is where Zhu Bajie’s way—the “economism” of the agricultural reforms of the early sixties—ends, we are told. He who in this time of famine concentrates on getting food will end up being eaten by the revisionist demon. The pilgrims’ only hope lies in finding Sun, asking him to help them out of the trap, and imploring him to take over the leadership again. In the Xiyou ji, it is this very Zhu Bajie who had been instrumental in having Sun dismissed, who now courageously fights his way out of the demon’s den in order to fetch Monkey. Given the liberties the authors of the opera have taken with the original text, it would have been possible to make a change here and have Sha, for example, accomplish this service. Instead, in tune with the conciliatory line toward Zhu Bajie and his real-life counterparts expressed in Mao’s poem, the original setting is maintained.

The allegorical nature of the narrative allows the authors some delightful depictions of Zhu’s efforts to lure Sun back from his enforced “retirement” to help Tang escape from the revisionist demon (fig. 15).

Sun refuses to go with Zhu, remarking that the demon will not fail to be impressed by Tang Seng’s compassion and set him free. It should be remembered that at the time Mao had indeed left Peking and retired to the countryside. The novel depicts Sun as thoroughly enjoying himself, although on occasion some thoughts about his master cross his mind; when Zhu arrives, Sun has him severely beaten. But in the opera, the small monkeys inform Zhu when he arrives that the “Great Sage has just been thinking about you with concern,” emphasizing Sun’s continuing loyalty to Tang. Zhu has to leave alone, however, heroically announcing his willingness to die for his master (a further conciliatory element not contained in the original).

The episode that follows in the picture book is not a part of the original plot, nor was it in the first version of the opera. The White-Bone Demon’s underlings arrest Zhu Bajie on his way back to save his master. Without Zhu’s knowledge, Sun Wukong also hurries to the demon’s cave. On the way, he discovers the demon’s mother, who is on her way to join her daughter to eat the pilgrims. Sun kills the mother and transforms himself into her shape. He then enters the cave and induces his “daughter” to show the stunned pilgrims the various trans-

51. Quoted in Wakeman, History and Will, p. 16.
Fig. 15. Zhu Bajie Learns His Lesson. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), Sun Wukong soda baigujing (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 77.
formations that have fooled them. This element, which serves the purpose of their “education,” is taken from chapter 34 of the novel Xiyou ji, and was an element in another opera, Pingding shan (var. Lianhuadong).\(^{52}\) There Sun kills the mother of two monsters who have caught Tang Seng and enters their den disguised as the lady. As these monsters are quite independent of the White-Bone Demon, there is no precedent for Sun Wukong’s didactics.

In Guo Moruo’s Wu Zetian, however, there is one parallel that might help in the analysis of this episode. There, Wu Zetian is reluctant to condemn the leader of the coup against her and have him executed secretly. Instead, she tries to lure him into spelling out his plans and goals in public, in front of all the courtiers, so that the evidence against him is there for all to see; otherwise, the educational purpose will not be served and suspicions will remain. With some tricks she sets up a trap worthy of a Judge Di to get him to speak out. Here, Sun uses a similar technique, inducing the White-Bone Demon to show her ruses right in front of Tang Seng and his companions. This seems to tie in with Maoist thinking at the time. Mao’s “Examples of Dialectics,” which may date from 1959, was published by Red Guards in Mao Zedong sixiang wansui in 1967. In point 12 of that work, Mao observes: “There are two kinds of established opposites. One kind has originally existed in society. For example, the rightists. Whether we let them loose or not is a question of policy. When we decided to organize a frank airing of views, we let them out to serve as opposites and mobilized the laboring people to debate with them, oppose them, and knock them down. . . . We have let them loose so as to educate the people and enable the people to analyze them.” And in point 13, he directly states, “It is very important to establish opposites.”\(^{53}\) At a later stage of my analysis, this point will be taken up again. At this time and level, Sun’s ruse seems to allude to the renewed “airing of views,” both in terms of the publication in China of the Soviet arguments in the polemics about revisionism, and in terms of the many essays and historical dramas that take a critical view of the chairman. “Airings of views,” in the context of both Guo’s play and the Sun Wukong opera, is explained as a didactic device for the benefit of the public rather than a murky political maneuver to weed out critics by first encouraging them to speak out.

\(^{52}\) Lianhuadong, pp. 271ff. Cf. Tao Junqi, Jingji jumu chutan, p. 162.
In our opera, Sun even dons the cloak of a demon himself to spell out what the demons themselves are unable to discover, that is, their own essence. Zhu Bajie later comments admiringly: “You have used the method applied by the demon to deceive us for the purpose of annihilating the demon; that is really sublime!” Even at this stage of the action, Tang Seng and his companions are too “stupid”; Tang still cannot understand why the demon should make efforts to deceive him and even asks for his release, pointing out that he has made three efforts to save the life of the demon. And Sun Wukong, in the disguise of the demon’s mother, drives home the point: “You are talking about mercy; we are talking about eating men. If you think about encouraging demons to do good, you are truly dreaming.” Only then does Tang Seng sigh, “Wukong, I should not have sent you away,” and the old mother resumes the shape of Wukong, and quickly ends the demon’s life. Tang Seng does not criticize Sun anymore for killing the demon and her mother. On his knees, Sun receives the master’s welcome, an action that strongly emphasizes Sun’s willingness to obediently serve Tang Seng (see fig. 26). The text attempts to show that Mao, with all his superior skills in recognizing demons and fighting them, still remains a truly loyal servant of the Party, devoted to its ultimate goal. Sun Wukong again assumes the leadership of the group, and the pilgrims move toward their ultimate goal with Zhu Bajie inviting the reader/spectator to join them (fig. 16).

Within the story, a didactic purpose is served: The monk (Tang Seng) is instructed—showing, as Mao said, that he “can be instructed” and is not, in essence, a criminal or a demon. This instruction, however, is not in the art of discovering demons and dealing with them. The three transformations of the demon appear in the opera and the picture book at their face value, without any hint as to their essence. Surprisingly, the proofs that supported Monkey’s claim in the novel have all been eliminated. The transformations of the demon are so cunning and devious that no eye but the special one of Sun Wukong could ever recognize their demonic core. They seem to be different in appeal, sex, and age; only Monkey is able to discover the true nature of their family link, namely that they are all transformations of the same “revisionist” principle.

What, then, does the picture book teach? First, that only complete reliance and blind belief in Sun Wukong (and his modern counterpart) enables one to discover the demons; second, that the more appealing a proposal or theory may seem, the greater the probability that it is a
Fig. 16. Walking into the Future. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), *Sun Wukong sanda baiguijing* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 110.
demonic device. The art of dealing with the demons is reduced to the single weapon that proves effective against demons: the thousand-jun cudgel of Sun Wukong—in other words, Marxism-Leninism–Mao Zedong Thought.

Both in the picture book and in the opera/film, the best attitude is shown by Monk Sha. Although he fails to recognize the demonic nature of the persons meeting them, he has faith in Sun Wukong and defends him when his master wants to use the Tight-Fillet Spell or send him away. It is with Sha that the reader is to identify.

SUN WUKONG AND THE WHITE-BONE DEMON IN CULTURAL REVOLUTION ICONOGRAPHY

The above analysis, which began as an exercise in interpretation, has already entered the bloody maelstrom of historical action. As it stands, the story is not just a rather amusing little piece of historical symbolism for political purposes. Instead, it provides a powerful image of the period the People’s Republic was traversing according to one—the Maoist—interpretation. With the personalities and plot of the Xiyou ji widely known among the Chinese public, there was a strong historical resonance with earlier attempts to describe the way to the Western Paradise, and the text provided ample additional material to play on, if times changed.

The forlorn pilgrims accompanying Tang Seng, with their common aspiration to reach the Western Paradise but their varying weaknesses and levels of insight, traverse the uncharted land of transitional society. It is a period of exertion, suffering, and superhuman efforts to reach the goal. No wealthy villages give shelter to the pilgrims. And on the way, apart from hunger, cold, and fatigue, the pilgrims are beset by demons, who cunningly play on their problems. The demons’ one and only goal is to eat the flesh of the holy monks, thereby eliminating all hope that anyone will reach the Western Paradise and making the man-eating system all-pervading and eternal. It is only because of the Great Sage Equal to Heaven, Sun Wukong—or, in Guo Moruo’s language, the Great Sage Mao—with his magic eye to identify demons and his magic rod to kill them, that there is any chance for the group to make headway toward its distant goal. The opera reduces the demon to a mere concept. Beating down the demon is a spiritual act; no blood flows. This conceptualization of the political opponent as the embodiment of a reactionary ideology was designed to and in fact did remove
feelings of fear, ambiguity, and guilt in the political struggles of the succeeding period, when the targets of the Cultural Revolution activists were often rather pitiful elderly people. It was the activists' responsibility and holy duty to beat them down to prevent untold disasters. Toward critics of this procedure, the opera engages in satire and polemics. Those holding the view that in the crisis of the Great Leap one had to focus on the economy and food production and not on ideological and class struggles against revisionism find their lively image in the fat hog Zhu Bajie, who has nothing in mind but banquets and xiu xi, rest. In a predictive scenario they are confronted with what the Maoists assumed to be the probable result of the policies of their opponents—entrapment by the revisionist demon. The pinnacle of their ignorance is seen in Tang Seng's claim that even demons can be educated and encouraged to better themselves, that by no means should they be killed at random. As this meant in fact protecting "counterrevolutionaries," the targets of this polemical depiction tried to counter it. There first was the surprising fact that such a highly praised performance did not get a single review in either the Renmin ribao or the Guangming ribao. After the exchange of poems between Guo and Mao, only the Xijubao published an article in December 1961, taking exception to the charge that Tang Seng "protected demons." Like Emperor Gaozong in Guo Moruo's Wu Zetian, Tang Seng in our opera is muddleheaded, unable to make out the difference between humans and demons, and likely to listen to Zhu Bajie's ill-advised entreaties—certainly anything but a flattering assessment of the political acumen of the Party at the time. A critic of the Sun Wukong play conceded, on purely historical grounds, that Gaozong and Tang Seng had problems, but he vehemently rejected the charge that Tang Seng protected counterrevolutionary demons. "The criticism of this person [Tang Seng] (a person who is not without his weaknesses) should be based on facts," the critic added. In the opera, however, only Sun's comeback and renewed assumption of leadership could then save the pilgrims, and it was the very Zhu Bajie who had engineered his dismissal who asked him back.

Another historical "text" that strongly resonated with the political situation in China during the mid-sixties was the Taiping rebellion.  

55. The Taipings' progress through endless battles with the "demons" to their New Jerusalem in Nanjing provided some precedent along the lines of the Xiyou ji. Poems would refer to revolutionary youths as tian bing, "heavenly soldiers," the official name of the Taiping military; cf. "Nahan," in Tiananmen
However, although the Taiping rebellion had been included in the national revolutionary pedigree, the resonance with it was not as strong as the one with the lively and familiar imagery of the *Xiyou ji*, which in fact provided many of the terms, images, and precedents for behavior and analysis—in short, much of the “iconography”—of the Cultural Revolution.

My primary concern here is the interpretation of texts; I therefore will not present a detailed account of the actual political and psychological role played by the text under observation. However, history is not alien to the inner structure and the meaning of the text. The text provides a lively metaphor defining the situation, the protagonists, the problem, and the probable historical development. But the reader was not arrested in his perception in the year 1962 or 1963. As long as opera, film, and text with their strong political load were reshown and reprinted, they were read and reread against the changing political realities.

History itself would have to explore the possible interpretations and identify more closely the various elements of character and plot. On the other hand, the text raised the possibility and even the probability that certain things would happen. We will now loosen the brakes on the reader’s historical experience that we have artificially fixed at the date of the picture book’s publication and try to see what happens to the text when confronting a history for which it had given a predictive scenario. The various applications of the text for the understanding and interpretation of history will also serve as a check of whether my interpretation is the mere brainchild of a scholar or the actual way in which the text was handled where it was most relevant, in China during the years following its publication.

Mao’s poem was published in January 1964. Its content and political direction had probably been known and communicated to the authors

geming shichao, p. 138, no. 7. They would routinely refer to the beheading of “demons” when describing the struggles; even the anti-demonic jian sword of Marxism-Leninism was occasionally alluded to, recalling the sword given to Hong Xiuquan for his battles; cf. “Baitong huawei hantianli,” in *Tiananmen shiwenji, xubian*, p. 167, no. 3. The Taipings’ internal conflicts were also seen to repeat themselves with Party cadres arrested by the KMT eventually taking the role of Li Xiucheng, a Taiping leader said to have recanted after being captured; cf. *Jinggangshan*, Apr. 20, 1967. About the Taiping vision, see my *Reenacting the Heavenly Vision.*
of the revision before that date. The battle for the orientation of the political leadership had in the meantime heated up. The publication of the text was a part of it. The lines “when today Sun the Great Sage is acclaimed / this is only because demonic vapors are on the rise again” have to be read as a public statement about a development that had already been anticipated by Mao in 1961, as the date of the poem indicates.

The controversy about the agricultural policies that were introduced in 1961, which were seen as a reflection of Khrushchevian goulash communism, was by then in the open, and could be found in the passage of the story about the rural girl with her dumpling. The discussion about the different forms of violence and about humanism had been publicly started by Mao’s followers and could be found in the appeal of the old woman for Buddhist compassion. And it would not take long before the male head of this demonic family, who even dared to offer an “armed” challenge to Monkey, would be identified.

The language and fantasy of the Cultural Revolution were strongly influenced by the Xīyou ji; enemies were routinely referred to as monsters, demons, or underlings of the White-Bone Demon such as wolves, jackals, tigers, and panthers. The battle was on. The editorial in Hóngqì quoted above, which in early 1967 welcomed the “January Revolution” in Shanghai, might serve as an example:

**PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES, UNITE!**

*The Golden Monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel and the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust.*

Guided by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao Zedong, the glorious Shanghai working class has formed a million-strong, mighty army of revolutionary rebels. In alliance with other revolutionary organizations, they have been meeting head-on new counterattacks by the bourgeois reactionary line, seizing power from a handful of party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, and establishing the new order of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. With an irresistible, sweeping force, they are following this victory and brushing aside the rubbish that stands in the way of the wheel of history.

The Golden Monkey of the poem quoted here refers to Mao, whose “proletarian revolutionary line” is the anti-capitalist and anti-revisionist capacity of his cudgel, which is “massive” because it moves and guides the “million-strong, mighty army of revolutionary rebels” who do the actual fighting against the “bourgeois power-holders.”

Nie Yuanzu’s poster of May 25, 1966, declared, “Destroy all mon-
sters and all revisionist elements like Khrushchev,”56 and the Renmin ribao published a clarion call for the Cultural Revolution under the title “Sweep Away All Monsters.”57 Another image familiar from the Xiyou ji is the “demon-finding mirror” of Mao’s thought,58 the equivalent of the Monkey’s eye. The conciliatory text of the opera had located the danger outside of the country, the demon residing in the Soviet Union; in the opera no member of the pilgrim group changes into a demon. With the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, however, revisionist demons were sought in the Party leadership itself, and the Red Guard papers started to redefine the opera and its surrounding texts. Denouncing Wu Han’s Hai Rui baguan, the Red Guard Opera Battle Paper (Xiju zhanbao) wrote on June 7, 1967, that this play appeared “exactly at the juncture when dark clouds were rising,” referring not to the clouds of Soviet revisionism but to Peng Dehuai’s “right-opportunist” criticism of the Great Leap.59 In the same vein, a cartoon in jinggangshan, the paper of the Jinggangshan faction at Qinghua University, adapted the opera to the situation prevailing in early 1967 (fig. 17). The name of the cartoon’s collective author can be translated as the “Fighting Brigade ‘Not Afraid of Monsters’” and its title as “Sun Wukong Four Times Beats the White-Bone Demon.”60 In terms of the artistic quality of the drawings and the sophistication of the text, this cartoon certainly is a far cry from the picture book, but we will nonetheless reproduce some drawings for the purpose of documentation. The cartoon appeared under Mao Zedong’s “Reply to Comrade Guo Moruo.”

The text accompanying the first panel points to one of the few political “weaknesses” of the opera and the Xiyou ji, namely, that the journey was to be to the “West,” which in 1967 was not a good address, as it was the home of only capitalists and revisionists. It begins: “The tale tells how Tang Seng and his disciples, altogether four people, went to

57. Ibid., p. 378.
58. See “Revolutionary Big Character Posters Are ‘Magic Mirrors’ That Show Up All Monsters,” in Peking Review, June 24, 1966, which says on p. 18 “The [Yanan] talks are a ‘magic mirror’ to detect demons.” Hongqi 6, 1966, speaks of the “demon-unmasking mirror of Mao Zedong thought” that discovered the demonic essence of Wu Han.
Fig. 17. The Demon Redefined as Liu Shaoqi. The first two and the last two rows of illustrations in the Jinggangshan faction’s “Sun Wukong Four Times Beats the White-Bone Demon.” Bupagui zhandoudui, “Sun Wukong sida baigujing,” Jinggangshan, Feb. 1, 1967.
the East [sic] to get the true scriptures; all along their way they subdued monsters and quelled demons, . . . and had to endure many difficulties and troubles. . . .” One day, it continues, they came to a mountain where there was a “White-Bone Demon,” which had “cultivated itself for many years.” The term “cultivate” (xiuyang) refers to Liu Shaoqi’s book How to Cultivate Oneself to Become a Communist, but here the xiu is read to mean “revisionism” (xiuzhengzhuyi), and the compound xiuyang to mean “revisionist nurture.”

This demon has mastered the art of “transforming itself.” It can command the wind and rain and “is very perceptive.” Gathering all its under-goblins, it hears that Sun Wukong has cleared all ox-spirits and snake-demons out of his way. In response it changes, in the second panel, into a beautiful woman riding a bicycle and carrying a basket of food. The woman introduces herself as Mrs. Wang, the wife of “Mr. Liu Goodman” (Liu Shanren)—a reference to Wang Guangmei, the wife of Liu Shaoqi. Indicating that her husband is doing good all the time and has specialized in “revisionist nurture,” she tells them he has sent her to help them stay there—that is, to stop their trip. Zhu Bajie, who wears an official hat and black clothes, is quickly taken in by her because she gives him special rations. He wants to make her his “model,” saying, “With leaders like you, China certainly has a future.” He definitely wants to stay and not go to the East for the scriptures. When Sun strikes at her, she pleads, “Slowly now, it will have to be investigated [first] whether I am revolutionary or not.” Thus, the cartoon denounces the demand for an investigation as a demonic device. Sun kills her, saying that she specializes in leading wanderers astray. A discussion about her essence follows. Zhu believes she is good, and even if she has faults, she is just an old revolutionary confronted with new problems. And even the working-class Sha states that it has not been established that she is a demon. In its next transformation the demon is middle-aged and male, a high functionary from the Liu mansion. He charges that Sun is in fact a small ox-spirit and snake-demon—in short, a “Trotskyite element that must be severely punished.” It will be recalled that one of the charges Khrushchev made against Mao was “Trotskyism,” and it was also one of Liu Shaoqi’s charges against the first Red Guards. (Since 1978, Hu Yaobang has publicly expressed the opinion that Kang Sheng, the “adviser” to the Cultural Revolution Group and a close associate of Mao Zedong, was a lifelong Trotskyist agent.)

61. See “Problems Concerning the Purge of Kang Sheng.”
Helpless, Tang Seng restrains Sun Wukong by reciting the Tight-Fillet Spell: “Revolution is a crime; to rebel is unjustified.” His pain notwithstanding, Sun Wukong kills the demon’s second incarnation, which represents the early inspection teams sent by Liu Shaoqi to the universities.

Zhu Bajie now shows his real nature. He chastises Sun and proudly refers to his own high birth: “I am a revolutionary from birth; you are just a groom.” Thus Zhu is made to represent the group of children from high-ranking cadre families in the elite schools who set up Red Guard groups in the early phase of the Cultural Revolution, and our identification of Zhu as the gluttonous middle- and high-level functionary is confirmed.

Sun now instructs Sha about the true nature of the demon, and together they write a big-character poster, which they paste to the mountain where Liu resides, that is, his headquarters. Another gentleman is then sent by Liu, Wang Guiwai. The pun in his personal name indicates that he “worships things foreign.” He is even higher up in Liu’s hierarchy, and is a reference to Wang Renzhong, who was accused of having disbanded the early Red Guard groups. Wang demands the punishment of Sun. Sun’s headband is again painfully tightened by Tang Seng, while Zhu Bajie openly gloats and tears down the poster, saying “Only I, old Pig, am allowed to rebel.” Monkey now tries to engage Wang in debate, but Wang only utters “false and devious words,” so Monkey kills him, too. Next Liu Shaoqi himself, armed with a sword to attack Sun, comes along. Monk Sha, who has heretofore been ambivalent, now sides with Sun to defend him and his “revolutionary headquarters,” while Tang Seng, upon seeing the white hair of this senior cadre, mumbles “Amida Buddha” (emituòfo) in shock. Sun strikes Liu, and all that remains is a heap of white bones, with xiù, revisionist, inscribed on the spine. Zhu, who has gone away to get reinforcements against Sun, comes back and accuses Sun of being in form “left” but in fact an adherent of a “rightist bourgeois counterrevolutionary line.” The monster uses this opportunity to regain his strength and make a last attempt to kill Sun. Sun, however, is warned by Sha and kills the monster. Zhu’s quibbling thus detracts from the “main contradiction” and objectively serves the enemy. However, Zhu does not change in nature. True to the original opera and picture book, he stays with Tang Seng after being thoroughly lectured by Sha to reform himself. On they go toward the “East,” to seek the true scriptures.

Sun Wukong is not a simple play on Mao Zedong. In the resonance between the two, each retains a certain independence of action. Sun
Wukong has the skill to multiply himself into identical replicas by chewing on his own hairs. It was no sacrilege for young Mao enthusiasts to assume the role of those small replicas. At Peking University there was a powerful group of rebel teachers called “Massive Cudgel,” an allusion to Mao’s poem, and at Qinghua University there was a “Sun Wukong” contingent in late 1966. As early as February 28, 1966, the Chairman had called for such local Sun Wukongs. In a conversation with Kang Sheng, he said: “I have always advocated that whenever the Central organs do something wrong, it is necessary to call upon the local authorities to rebel and attack the Central government. The local areas must produce several more Sun Wukongs to vigorously create a disturbance at the Palace of the King of Heaven.”

The story in this version tells the experience of the Jinggangshan faction with the work team during the early phase of the Cultural Revolution. The work team was followed by the Preparatory Committee, which pursued the same course; after it came Wang RENZHONG, at the time the “adviser” to the first Cultural Revolution Group. As is well known, Mao eventually charged this group with sabotaging the Cultural Revolution. In the cartoon, the young Maoists defeat their opponents. The various manifestations of the White-Bone Demon are now all Chinese and identified with Liu Shaoqi and his adherents. The Buddha transformation does not appear, but since Liu was branded the Chinese Khrushchev, this was not necessary.

Tang Seng and Zhu have familiar meanings, but Sha is still a problem; from this text, it seems that he stands for the “working class” or working-class Party members. The methods of dealing with the demonic enemy that were portrayed in the picture book are also closely followed in this version. Only when the White-Bone Demon is dead does the sign “revisionist” reveal itself on her bones, and only Monkey is able to see through the disguise beforehand. He can expect to be punished by the Party with the new Tight-Fillet Spell, but all suppression notwithstanding he has to kill the demon in the very interest of the Party.

It is well known that in times of turmoil and upheaval old role models lose their power, and rebels must engage in an often-agonizing search for new authenticated forms of behavior. The Red Guards, who

62. See Yue and Wakeman, To the Storm, p. 200.
63. Hinton, Hundred Day War, p. 76.
had been taught by Chinese schools to be docile and to expect unending disaster if they opposed the "leaders" on any issue, were in desperate need of new codes for their language and clothing, gestures and values. They had to overcome great inhibitions in order to engage in "class struggle" against the very elders to whom they had been taught a few months before to submit in all matters. The depiction of these leaders in the Sun Wukong sida baigujing as monsters and avatars of the White-Bone Demon was a radical reversal of their original high standing on the social scale; the brutality of that reversal still bears witness to the fright instilled by the act. Most of the victims of the Cultural Revolution, at least during the early phase, were elderly men, experienced and often knowledgeable, who could easily match any youngster in a public debate. Here opera, film, and picture book came into their own. They eliminated the need for proofs for the demonic nature of the White-Bone Demon and made it clear that only Mao's magic eye could discover the demon's essence. And with vivid illustration and high authority they introduced the appropriate way to deal with the now-Chinese White-Bone Demon; with neither previous investigation nor subsequent vindication, Sun beats down the demon's manifestations with his "thousand-jin cudgel of Mao Zedong Thought" (figs. 18–21).

In the minds of children, the fine difference between the big stick of Mao's thought and an actual big stick became easily blurred; beating down the demon of revisionism turned into subjecting the "revisionists" to this very treatment—and beating them all the more severely the more they professed to be good Buddhists. In the iconography of the Cultural Revolution, Monkey's cudgel thus becomes the legitimation for the da gunzi, the big stick. After Mao's death, the big stick came to represent all that was evil during the Cultural Revolution. Yao Wenyuan himself was depicted as the "golden cudgel," a direct reference to Sun Wukong's cudgel (fig. 22). The inscription on the club reads "Golden Cudgel"; the smaller characters to the left, "Inscription written by Jiang Qing," make it clear who gave this honorary title to Yao Wenyuan.65

In a story written by Wang Meng in 1979, "Youyou cuncao xin" (The Loyal Heart, sometimes translated The Barber's Tale), the big stick appears among the debris in the barber's literary salon left behind by the Cultural Revolution (fig. 23).66 Charges of "using the big stick"

65. "Yao Wenpi yingji" (Photo Album of Yao the Literary Ruffian), in Erling and v. Graeve, Tigermaske und Knochenspenst, p. 81, illus. 93.
66. Wang Meng, "Youyou cuncao xin."
were leveled by writers against leaders who tried to silence critical voices, a charge that implied that these leaders were using Cultural Revolution methods.

We will now turn to the next stage of the battle, which required a rereading of the story—in the year 1976. Now, it was Jiang Qing who was identified as the White-Bone Demon. The poems that were deposited at the Heroes’ Monument on Tiananmen on April 5, 1976, retain the basic imagery of the Sun Wukong play but propose this new identification. Monster language is used consistently to describe the “enemy,” and there are frequent references to Monkey and the White-Bone Demon, the latter obliging here by being in “essence” a female demon, the “White-Bone Lady”; the other members of her group are sometimes depicted as her animal underlings. Here are some examples:
The Premier died and left a hero’s name, [but] still there are maggots detracting from his rich merits.

To reject him and uplift themselves a dark wind they raise, the ghost of Empress Lü [i.e., Jiang Qing] acts out her lewd designs. The demons want to gobble up humans and exude stultifying vapors, The pestilential chicken dares shake the majestic roc. Prepare to lift the thousand-jun cudgel of Marxism-Leninism to utterly beat down the White-Bone Chameleon.67

The “thousand-jun cudgel,” of course, is Sun Wukong’s weapon. Another poem reads:

The Premier’s last will had not even been acted upon when the national traitors’ wild ambitions already rose.

67. Tiananmen geming shichao, p. 188.
Fig. 20. Killing the Old Man. Killing the armed male head of the household. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), Sun Wukong sanda baigujing (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 56.

Where the demonic wind of the treacherous and malicious rises
the golden cudgel of the Great Sage should not be stored away... 68

The third line quotes the words “treacherous and malicious” from Mao’s poem. The golden cudgel has become the property of everyone who has mastered Mao Zedong Thought. The full arsenal of antidemonic imagery is present in the following paean to Zhou Enlai:

Who says you have already closed your eyes?
No, you always keep open this sharp eye of yours.
It emits the brilliant rays of Marxism-Leninism
and notices the White-Bone Demon in its devious changes;
Like a flying knife, it cut apart Liu Shaoqi’s disguise,

68. Ibid., p. 135.
and preserved the luminous demon-mirror of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, striking terror in how many demons’ hearts!

Alas! White-Bone Demon:
Don’t get beside yourself with glee,
Don’t get excited.

Yesterday you found no good end in the Gobi Desert [referring to Lin Biao]
Don’t hope that today you might borrow another body to return to life!

You don’t believe? Please turn your head and look:
The people have already lifted up
the thousand-jun cudgel of Mao Zedong Thought.69

69. Ibid., p. 82; cf., in the same volume, pp. 45, 53, 125, 156, 270, 330; and in Tiananmen shiwen ji, pp. 297, 302, 26, 234, 156, 165, 182, 207, 240, 248, etc.
It will be recalled that within traditional Marxist-Leninist doctrine, all deviations are "rightist," even if they are leftist in form. Thus there was no contradiction in attacking Lin Biao and the group around Jiang Qing in the same vein as Liu Shaoqi and Khrushchev. Had not Lin Biao tried to flee to the Soviet Union? After the events of September 1976, the "Gang of Four" was criticized as "revisionist" and "rightist" while the criticism campaign against Deng Xiaoping went on in the same terms. Jiang Qing and her associates were then accused of wanting to restore private farming and capitalism in China.

How was the role of Mao Zedong to be explained under these circumstances? Mao had installed Hua Guofeng, and he was therefore credited with having been instrumental in the demise of the "Gang of Four," a term Mao himself is said to have created for them. One episode within the opera/picture book text thus assumed a richer meaning, namely, when Sun changes into the mother of the demon and acts as part of the demonic family for the purpose of educating Tang Seng and his companions. In the first revised version (1962) the public in the

70. See the fine caricatures on this theme collected by Erling and v. Graeve, p. 105.
opera house and the reader of the picture book did not know until the end that the demon’s mother was indeed Sun in disguise. With an ironic smile, the old lady asked her “daughter” to show her various disguises to the pilgrims until they learned their lesson. A new version of the picture book published in 1977, in which we see Sun killing the old woman and assuming her guise, eliminates the dramatic moment for the benefit of the educational meaning.\textsuperscript{71}

With the identification of Jiang Qing as the White-Bone Demon it is suggested that Mao Zedong went much further in the “setting up of opposites” than originally described in this chapter. History contributed its own interpretive share so that the control gained by the demon over Tang Seng and his two disciples becomes the image for the Cultural Revolution itself, with Jiang Qing and others gaining control. The Chairman lets them act out the tricks by which they managed to lure Tang Seng and Zhu Bajie into the trap, and he eventually beats the demon down without opposition from a now-instructed Tang Seng. This amounts to the quite surprising explanation of the Cultural Revolution as a “setting up of opposites” for the purposes of ultimate ideological instruction. The yellow cloth wafting down from the sky with the \textit{fozhi}, the “Buddha’s directive,” also changes its meaning under the new circumstances. The campaigns of the Cultural Revolution were always based on a “directive” from the Chairman. The implication is now that the demon used these “directives” to force the Party to submit and, furthermore, that the Party in fact blindly obeyed, an obedience that only showed how much it was in need of instruction. The thunderstorm in Mao’s poem is also enriched by a new layer of meaning. Originally it referred to earlier revolutions; now it becomes a comment on the Cultural Revolution, which “by necessity” will revive the White-Bone Demon, that is, people like Jiang Qing. Post-1976 caricatures routinely depict Jiang as a transformation of the White-Bone Demon (figs. 24 and 25). This characterization is what prompted Ross Terrill to entitle his biography of the Chairman’s widow \textit{The White-Boned Demon}.\textsuperscript{72}


\textsuperscript{72} Terrill, \textit{The White-Boned Demon}. Surprisingly, Hua Junwu drew a caricature in late 1976 that depicts Jiang Qing as the Monkey stealing the fruits of Mao’s thoughts in literature and the arts. The episode, based on Monkey’s stealing the peaches from the Heavenly gardens, was an inversion of the traditional identification of Monkey, and was probably designed to encourage the public to form its own second thoughts. The illustration is reproduced in Erling and v. Graeve, p. 94.

A flattering reference was also made in the same period to Hua Guofeng as the new Monkey King who beat down the White-Bone Demon, but it was not developed into the full imagery.

The new historical situation after 1976 accordingly necessitated a revision of the original picture book, and the 1977 revision was published with changes in about a third of the pictures and text. First, Monkey's status is raised; he is now called "The Great Sage, Equal to Heaven." Second, some efforts are now made to show that Monkey

73. *Tiananmen shiwen ji*, p. 297: "Guofeng inherited the Party's mandate and struck down the White-Bone Demon. . . ."

74. Wang Xingbei, *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing*. 
Fig. 25. Sun Wukong Beats Down Jiang Qing. The battle between the Monkey King and the White-Bone Demon, in reverse order. In the top panel, the demon assumes the form of an old man; when beaten down, she turns out to have only dunce caps inscribed “Confucian,” “Capitalist Roader,” and “Warlord” in her big bag. In the second transformation, she comes with a Buddhist rosary, chanting *emitofo* and promoting herself as a true disciple of the Chairman, but her prayer beads are really handcuffs. Finally, she takes the form of a young woman with a book, and it turns out that she wants to become empress. The inscriptions of the fringe, the book, and the paper on the floor are indecipherable in my copy. The sequence purports to show the historical development of Jiang Qing, who first slanders the people, then handcuffs them, and finally sets herself up on the throne. Gao Made, “Sanda baigujing xinbian,” in *Lishi de shenpan—jiepi “Sirenbang” manhua xuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1979).
does indeed do some investigation of the demons. Whereas in the 1962 version he instantly executes the young woman, yelling "impudent demon," the new text says: "With a yell he blocked her way. He sniffed, and noticed demonic vapor; then he looked at this girl with a concentrated gaze, and in the golden pupils of his fire eyes the original form of the White-Bone Demon became visible." He uses a similar technique to investigate the other transformations; the text evidently reflects a reaction to criticisms against unfounded charges made during the Cultural Revolution. Third, after the Chairman's death it seemed possible to eliminate one of the charges against Tang Seng, that of his liberal use of the Tight-Fillet Spell. The pictures of Sun rolling on the ground with a Party-induced headache have all been eliminated. And the status relations between Tang Seng and Sun have been changed too. In order to kill the old man, Sun now has to "push Tang Seng away," an action rich in symbolic meaning; when the demon is finally subdued, Sun no longer falls on his knees to accept the master's thanks and welcome, but stands proudly (figs. 26 and 27).

Fourth, after Tang Seng and Zhu Bajie have criticized themselves for failing to differentiate between men and demons, Sun "warns everybody that on this way to the West there are many more monsters, and one has to watch out." This statement is an indication that even further on, "class struggle" will be the "key link." This political line was not changed until the Third Plenum in December 1978. Fifth, and most important, no longer is it Sun Wukong alone who kills the White-Bone Demon. Sun uses his familiar technique of pulling out some hairs and having them change into smaller replicas of himself. It might be an accident that the number of additional Monkeys thus produced is four. But will be recalled that by 1979, attacks were being made against the "small Gang of Four," meaning Mao's protégés who were instrumental in arresting Jiang Qing and the others but remained anathema for Deng Xiaoping and his group, that is, Hua Guofeng, Wang Dongxing, Wu De, and Ji Denggui. This group might have been behind the change in the picture, which gives credit for beating down the Gang of Four jointly to Mao and four Maoists (fig. 28; cf. fig. 21).

The final credit, however, goes to Sun. The text says: "Out of his mouth, Wukong spat a magical fire, which burned the demon so that its original shape was revealed." This seems to be a reference to Mao's criticisms, including his use of the term "Gang of Four," which were greatly publicized after the group's arrest. In addition, Sun's hard criticism of Sha, that he is loyal all right, but "lacks qualification," was also
Fig. 26. Reaccepted Among the Pilgrims (Old Version): Monkey Bends His Knee and Is Reinstated. Wang Xingbei (text), Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai (illus.), *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1962), p. 108.
Fig. 27. Reaccepted Among the Pilgrims (New Version): Sun Stands Up and Is Reinstated. Wang Xingbei, Sun Wukong sanda baigujing (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 1977). By permission of the Harvard College Library.
eliminated. The addition of pictures showing how Sun assumes the shape of the demon's mother has already been mentioned.

By the time that this revised version appeared, the forces against whom the original version seems to have been directed had made substantial headway. This group pointed to the experience of the Cultural Revolution as proof of the correctness of their own policies. Thus, the anti-demonic language and imagery largely disappeared from public, or perhaps only from publicized, language and fantasy. However, the identifications between the story's characters and their counterparts in contemporary politics were, it seems, so firmly established in the public mind by that time that the changes in their evaluation had also to be expressed in terms of the characters and events of the *Xiyou ji*.

**SUN WUKONG AFTER**
**THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION: THE TRUE AND THE FAKE MONKEY**

Wu Han's *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* might have originally addressed much broader issues than the dismissal of Peng Dehuai at the Lushan Plenum in 1959. After Mao had made the link between Hai Rui and Peng, however, the resonance between the two characters became so strong in the public mind that Peng's posthumous rehabilitation had indeed to be preceded by that of Hai Rui and the play about his deeds. There was an official proclamation in 1979 that *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* had been falsely charged with being a *pièce à clef*, and that in truth it had been pure literature about an upright historical figure. This only added an ironic touch to the affair, because any experienced China-watcher could predict from the rehabilitation of Hai Rui that Peng Dehuai's name would be restored soon.

A similar phenomenon occurred in our case, with regard to both Zhu Bajie and Sun Wukong. In 1962, the editions of the opera, the picture book, and the film all contained a lively image of the weaknesses of Zhu Bajie and the disastrous political results they were supposed to have. There were also efforts to counter this attack, presumably by the faction that saw itself attacked in the not-too-flattering picture of Pigsy. The identification of banquet-loving, rest-prone leading cadres with Zhu Bajie, however, was already so firmly rooted that any restoration of these cadres' standing had to entail a rewriting of Zhu's character.

Thus, in 1962, a book had appeared under the title *Zhu Bajie xinzhuàn* (New Biography of Zhu Bajie). The anecdotes and stories it con-
tained were not in the *Xiyou ji*; they were seemingly invented for the above-stated purpose of enhancing Zhu’s standing.\(^75\) The author also collaborated on an opera written for the same purpose, *Zhu Bajie xue benling* (Zhu Bajie Acquires a Qualification), which showed Zhu as someone with a solid professional education.\(^76\) The *New Biography of Zhu Bajie* was duly reprinted in 1978, along with articles explaining that the Gang of Four had greatly slandered Zhu Bajie, who in fact was greatly loved by the Chinese people. By 1978 the leaders who might have felt themselves attacked by the opera in 1961 were making their comeback.

More important, however, was the question of Sun Wukong. The political leadership in its new composition decided to introduce a leftist deviation without quotation marks in order to account for the Cultural Revolution and the Great Leap Forward. This made it possible to separate the issues of Liu Shaoqi and others like him from the case of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. It was now possible to say that the attacks against the former were only a product of the ultra-leftist deviation of the latter. This, however, resulted in the breakdown of the unified field of the interpretation of our story. Sun Wukong’s role now had to be reinterpreted, and the same was true for the thunderstorm that had arrived on earth, the Cultural Revolution.

In about 1980, a new opera was staged in China, which again took up the Sun Wukong theme, *Liangxin dou* (The Struggle between Two Minds) or *Zhenjia Sun Wukong* (The True and the Fake Monkey). A traditional Peking opera, it is based on chapters 56 through 58 of the *Xiyou ji*, which it adheres to very closely. In due time a picture book also came out, and again we will use the picture book as the basis of our analysis.\(^77\) The change in the *Xiyou ji* reference argued, in short, that the Cultural Revolution happened in a different chapter of the *Xiyou ji* than was assumed in the *Sanda baigujing*.

I will first briefly summarize the plot. Zhu, who is hungry, complains that Tang’s horse is too slow. Monkey waves his rod and the horse dashes forward—only to land Tang in the midst of robbers who want to deprive him of his last farthing. Monkey tries to solve the problem by killing the robbers, but this enrages Tang, who intones the spell and

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75. Bao Lei, *Zhu Bajie xinzhuo*.
77. I have only the English translation in hand: Zhang Cheng, ed., *The Real and the Fake Monkey*. A videotape of the opera performance of the Fujian Province Peking Opera Troupe is available from Zhongguo dianshi, Peking.
sends Monkey away. Monkey goes to complain to the compassionate protectress of the group, the Bodhisattva Guanyin. Meanwhile, “another” Monkey beats up Tang and steals his travel documents. When Sha goes to the Flower-Fruit Mountain to get the documents back, he sees the other Monkey there reading them. This Monkey has set up his own pilgrim group with transformed monkeys acting as Tang, Zhu, Sha, and even the horse, “entirely indistinguishable from the real ones” (fig. 29). Sha goes to complain to Guanyin, but finds Monkey has been there with her for the last four days, so he realizes that there must be two. Both Sha and this Monkey go back to Flower-Fruit Mountain, and a wild battle ensues between the two identical Monkeys, who also
say the same things (fig. 30). Both Monkeys tour the worlds to get a judgment as to who is the true Monkey, but neither the heavenly guardians nor the Jade Emperor nor Bodhisattva Guanyin nor the lord of the netherworld can tell them apart. When they are finally brought before the Demon-reflecting Mirror, where their difference should show up, the assembled heavenly worthies of the Party leadership discover that the two still appear to be exactly alike (fig. 31). Finally, the matter is referred to the Buddha himself, who reveals that one of the two is the true Monkey while the other is a “six-eared macaque” with special abilities. He says: “When Tripitaka and his disciples weren’t paying attention, he started playing his dirty tricks.” The true Monkey then kills his impostor alter ego. Guanyin accompanies him back to his master, who accepts him again. Guanyin exhorts him: “Take Monkey back, for the evil influences along the road to India have not been entirely dispersed. Let Monkey protect you, for only in that way will you be able to obtain the scriptures from the Magic Mountain.” Pigsy meanwhile returns
with the travel documents. The last page reads: “So Tripitaka once again accepted Monkey as his disciple. Having learned a rather painful lesson, the master and his disciples continued on their journey to the West with a renewed sense of purpose.” An additional lesson is provided by the book’s Publisher’s Note, which ends: “Finally Tathagata reminds Monkey that the only way to prevent similar diabolic manifestations from occurring is to maintain a harmonious relationship with his master, Tripitaka.”

We turn now to the analysis. Monkey is appalled at being dismissed for killing the “robbers” (fig. 32). The robbers might be read as the “right opportunists” who opposed the Great Leap. True, by the time
that this text appeared, Peng Dehuai had been rehabilitated, but there had been no official denunciation of either the Anti-Rightist campaign of 1957-58 or the Anti-Right-Opportunist campaign that followed the Lushan Plenum. Tang Seng sees Monkey’s treatment of the robbers as overly harsh, and he sends Monkey away, reflecting Mao’s loss of power in the early sixties. From now on, Monkey’s inner ambiguity is externalized by having two all-too-similar personalities challenging each other’s authenticity. One of them beats the Party unconscious and makes off with the documents (fig. 33).

This Monkey, “true” or “fake,” sets up a new “Party,” which is not only indistinguishable from the real thing but even has all the credentials. In allegorical form we find here the violent elimination of the old
Party organization during the Cultural Revolution and the setting up of a "new" Party recruited from among the "rebels," a process described in many works (e.g., Liu Binyan's "Renyao zhi jian") after the Third Plenum, that is, after early 1979. This indeed was the "official" Party; it was led by Mao and had all the proper credentials. In the opera Liangxin dou, which has been widely staged since 1980, this "real Party" of the Cultural Revolution is a six-eared macaque that has acquired some political tricks. One of the two stays loyal to Guanyin and the "real" Tang Seng, however, while the other sets up a fake organization, with the real credentials. The battle between the two is a battle between two mutually opposed tendencies of the "mind," or Sun.

The story thus attempts to analyze Mao Zedong and his attitude
during the Cultural Revolution. Sun/Mao is angry at the Party. The problem started with his forcing Tang/dang into a kind of Great Leap Forward by means of his magic rod, to enable them to reach a place where there would be enough food sooner. In the Xiyou ji, Tang Seng races “on level ground,” but in Liangxin dou the stampede is downhill, a comment on the direction the Great Leap Forward took (fig. 34).

The other side of Sun/Mao in this interpretation is his ongoing loyalty to Tang/dang even when they are having trouble with each other, and especially his loyalty to Tang’s ultimate goal, the Western Heaven. The Monkeys do desperate battle with each other, and there are passages in which neither of them seems to know which in fact is the real Monkey
and which is the fake. To solve this quandary is beyond everyone else’s
capacity as well; therefore, no one is really to blame for failing to recog-
nize the true and the false at the time. The Cultural Revolution is thus
the battle within Mao himself; there is no outside demonic enemy. The
differences between true and fake Maoism are hard to fathom. Only the
Tathagata himself is capable in the end of bringing out the essential
difference. He is sitting in the very Western Paradise to which Tang
Seng and his party are journeying, and he is thus intimately familiar
with the ultimate goal of the pilgrims (which is now defined as the
achievement of the Four Modernizations). From this perspective, the
Buddha is able to distinguish the true Monkey from the six-eared ma-
caque, the pseudo-Party of the Cultural Revolution. Well in tune with the
Resolution of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Com-
munist Party of China in December 1978, the Buddha decides that the
true Monkey is to protect Tang Seng during the further stages of the
journey. It will be recalled that the Party to this day has not dissociated
itself from Mao; indeed, some public criticism of his policies especially
during the Cultural Revolution notwithstanding, the Party has even
made a point of stressing his great contributions. Within Liangxin dou,
it is none other than the true Monkey who beats down his alter ego.
Guanyin recommends Monkey as a specialist in anti-demonic class
struggle, saying “the evil influences along the road to India have not
been entirely dispersed. Let Monkey protect you, for only in that way
will you be able to obtain the scriptures from the Magic Mountain.” In
this, Guanyin toes the line of the Third Plenum, according to which the
emphasis was now to shift from “class struggle” to “production.” It
maintained, however, that even in the future class enemies might pop
up.78

After the “painful lesson” of the Cultural Revolution and the elim-
ination of the pseudo-Mao macaque, the “master and his disciples
continued on their journey to the West with a renewed sense of pur-
pose,” as stressed by the new leadership under Deng, which, ironically
in the person of Zhu Bajie, brings the legitimizing documents back into
the proper hands.

78. “Communique of the Third Plenum,” p. 11: “There is still in our coun-
try today a small handful of counter-revolutionary elements and criminals
who hate our socialist modernization and try to undermine it. We must not relax our
class struggle against them, nor can we relax the dictatorship of the proletar-
iat.” This phrase comes after an assurance that the main emphasis in now on
production, and should have been so since the early fifties.
It certainly has to be kept in mind that the above represents just one, and a highly authoritative, use of the Sun Wukong image. Using the same metaphor, entire groups could link themselves to the spirit of Sun, just as he could replicate himself by chewing on his hairs. The members of the Li-Yi-Zhe group, who in 1974 came out with big-character posters opposing the “Lin Biao system” and advocating legal guarantees for the citizens, freely called on the Sun Wukong image in referring to themselves as (at the time they saw themselves in this way) Mao’s loyal disciples. They charged Lin Biao and his group with “chanting the ‘Tight Fillet’ incantation” around the heads of the “slaves” and emphasized the rebellious spirit of Sun. A short article in 1979 in the Tianjin ribao even made direct reference to the Sun of Sun Wukong sanda baigujing to emphasize that “Tang Seng” (that is, many of the Party leaders) were “undemocratic” and in their stubbornness got themselves and the country into one mess after the other. The article argued that if “Sun Wukong” (that is, innovative, daring young people) were not given democratic leeway, the Four Modernizations could not be achieved. In 1979, a caricature by Ding Cong followed a similar train of thought (fig. 35).

In the cartoon Jiang Qing as the White-Bone Demon ties the feet of Tang Seng’s horse with the fetters of “ultra-leftist thinking.” The Party is dressed in cape that looks like a brick wall and engaged in benben zhuyi, doing everything according to the prescriptions of the Marxist classics. Zhu Bajie is again in the garb of a glutton, unconcerned with the pilgrims’ progress. Sha, who wears glasses, has thus been changed into an intellectual—representing the teachers, doctors, and engineers who, according to many stories of this year, were in fact carrying the heavy burden of the country’s modernization. Sun Wukong now is a critic, his cudgel changed into a bamboo writing brush, and is helpless against this combination of circumstances.

A year later, in 1980, an article by Gu Ertan entitled “Thoughts Evoked by the Xiyou ji” argued that “Tang Seng’s journey to the West to get the scriptures evokes our New Long March. His going to the West for the scriptures is endowed with a new meaning, namely, to go to search for truth in a direction that has already been determined. . . . The way lying ahead of us is, I am afraid, not as smooth as the one traversed by Tang Seng and his disciples, and we are very much in need

80. Shi Gandang, “Tang Seng he minzhu.”
of courageous and steadfast Sun Wukongs with a high level of skills in the military arts.” Gu adds that Tang Seng, however, is not exactly even-handed in the treatment of his disciples. Although Sun defends Tang and leads him, and “never hits his own people [zijiaren],” Tang invokes the Tight-Fillet Spell against him. On the other hand, there is Zhu Bajie, who “quite apart from his devotion to food and his laziness wants to store bits of silver in his ears in order to get some private treasure, and even fools around with women.” Zhu also constantly bad-mouths Sun and reports on him to Tang, but for this he is never punished. Having described the general situation of the Party’s attitude toward the more daring, innovative, and “fearless” Sun Wukongs and the gluttonous, lazy, corrupt Zhu Bajies with their little reports (xiao baogao) to the higher-ups, the author applies these lessons to literature, where daring, truth-seeking authors and texts slip into Sun’s role, while “some comrades” block and bad-mouth them. He adds: “Some directives from the leaders in the Center concerning literature and the arts, even the social effects proposal, are supposed to create in our ranks a great number of Sun Wukongs with real knowledge and deep insight, high artistic standards and great outspokenness.” These comrades,
however, "mistake [these directives] for Tight-Fillet Spells and secretely gloat," as Zhu did when Sun suffered from Tang's invoking the spell.\(^8\) The "social effects proposal" refers to an article by Feng Mu in the \textit{Wenyi bao} of January 1980 enjoining writers to keep the possible negative social effects of their writings in mind. Feng Mu had otherwise come out in support of critical texts, but this article was used to silence many others.

Since the Third Plenum, Monkey has also resumed on occasion another role that he had played in 1956–57: with his irreverent attitude, his daring, and his wit as well as his great feats he is a symbol for the best that China can muster on its long way to the West—that is, toward technical modernization. In illustrations in science fiction, he is sometimes shown as the Chinese spirit of technical innovation and progress.

In the more politically minded parts of the press, however, a different member of the group of pilgrims—Zhu Bajie—assumed the role of the technical innovator. Even in the early sixties, attempts were made to elevate his stature by assigning professional skills to him. In a recent picture book, Zhu Bajie is portrayed as the real hero of the new political line. Monkey not only totally fails to understand them, but even refuses to take them seriously, an implied criticism of Mao's attitude toward modern technology. Zhu Bajie then enters the stage, a bulging, contented farmer who manages a pig farm with the most modern methods, consummating the triumph of Zhu's point of view that food, and animal protein at that, deserves highest priority (fig. 36). The future belongs to Zhu, we are told. Sun Wukong finally submits to the spirit of modern technology, the robot (fig. 37); he gives up his traditional arrogance toward technology, and a new laser-type instrument is used to fill his head with modern knowledge.

CONCLUSIONS

a. The various media through which \textit{Sun Wukong sanda baiguijing} has appeared before the public since 1961 have contributed to a body of literary attempts to present what might be called the Maoist vision of the role of the Party and its segments, and the interaction between

\(^8\) Gu Ertan, "Cong Xiyou ji suo xiangqide," pp. 23f.
Fig. 36. Pigsy, the Stalwart of the Scientific Technical Revolution. Zhu Bajie, master of modern scientific farming. Chai Liyang and Li Ganxing (text), Han Wu and Jiang Xiangnian (illus.), *Sun Wukong xinlixian ji* (Changsha: Hunan renmin Press, 1982). From the private collection of David Plaks.

Fig. 37. Monkey’s Arrogance Overcome by the Robot. Sun Wukong submits to the spirit of the Four Modernizations. Chai Liyang and Li Ganxing (text), Han Wu and Jiang Xiangnian (illus.), *Sun Wukong xinlixian ji* (Changsha: Hunan renmin Press, 1982). From the private collection of David Plaks.
"foreign" revisionists and the inter-Party struggle. Guo Moruo’s *Wu Zetian*, the fourth volume of Mao’s works, and the polemic with the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia belong to the same group. Guo’s play and the Sun Wukong opera set out to counter the strongly critical statements made in texts of what might be called the Hai Rui group and present their definition of the problem, the avenues for their solution, and the hero who was to bring about this solution. Both groups engaged in open polemics with each other through their texts. Tian Han puts the Maoist “class struggle” approach into the mouths of his two chief villains, who use this set of definitions only for the purpose of protecting their own privileges. The Sun Wukong opera puts the “economy” definition into the mouth of Zhu Bajie and shows to what dire results it would lead if it were followed. Both sides play on the theme of their hero’s dismissal.

b. Both factions made use of the form of the historical play or opera extensively to discuss, by implication, actual political problems and to propagate their own views. Each was keenly aware of the importance of literary works for the formation of the public mind and public opinion. At the time, the dissension between the two factions was not in the open; therefore, this instrument was used to lead a public debate about a topic that officially did not exist. Later, shortly before and during the Cultural Revolution, many of the texts were “translated” into direct discourse; this is true for both *Hai Rui baguan* and the Sun Wukong theme, in the latter case through the Jinggangshan adaptation.

Although such translation occurred, although it can be assumed that the more sophisticated readers and operagoers would get the message, and although my own analysis has tried to isolate the translatable elements and to show how far the text sustains such translation, it must be pointed out that the historical drama can fulfill its contemporary political role only when and insofar as the historical screen retains its own logic and integrity. The identification of Mao with Sun operates through a third medium; the traditional characteristics of Sun—his irreverence, daring, and acute analytical powers—have to correspond in the public mind to some key characteristics of Mao to make the identification credible and prevent it from becoming trite propaganda. And Sun has to be a credible character within the context of the story itself to become a powerful image of the Chairman. The same is true for the other characters and for the plot. *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing*—as an opera, as a puppet play, as a film, and as a picture book—retains a high degree of artistic integrity and simple quality, resulting in enjoy-
able performances that “work” whether the political innuendo is fully understood or not.

c. Sun Wukong sanda baigujing contains propositions not explicitly made in other contemporary published materials. These include polemics about eating or being eaten; Khrushchevian revisionism as a man-eating demon beleaguering the pilgrims on their way toward Communism; the transition society as a barren land to be traversed through constant struggle; the Party as a muddleheaded body, unable to recognize the danger to it and willing to follow Zhu Bajie instead of Mao; and Sun Wukong, the tragic, misunderstood hero who protects the Party from deadly dangers but is dismissed from his leadership function, until through the “setting up of opposites” he is finally able to “instruct” Tang Seng and can again lead the Party. These elements together form, in symbolical guise, a coherent body of doctrine that surfaced in explicit political language only years later. When we compare the propositions of this text with those from the Hai Rui group, and also with others hailing from the same political orientation such as Wu Zetian, we discover that a lively and bitter polemic was raging at this critical juncture. The leadership was divided between those who saw the country threatened from within by a devastating famine, and those who saw it threatened from without by Soviet revisionism. Both sides in these underground polemics on the stage gave no quarter. The demons are as routinely killed in Sun Wukong sanda baigujing as the villains are assassinated or executed in Guan Hangqing, Hai Rui baguan, and Xie Yaohuan. The harsh language of enemies and friends is contrasted in the Sun Wukong opera by a conciliatory treatment of Tang Seng and, especially, Zhu Bajie, which corresponded to the “mild” language of Mao’s poem. With the sharpening of contradictions and the redefinition of the conflict in terms of intra-Chinese struggle, the White-Bone Demon was eventually reidentified. Traces of the old definition still showed on the explicit level in the description of Liu Shaoqi as China’s Khrushchev and the basically conciliatory treatment, even in its sharp accusation, of Zhu Bajie.

d. The link between the Xiyou ji theme and transition society had been so firmly established that any change in the doctrine about the latter had to be prefigured, accompanied, or expressed through a change in the former. This process is evident not only in the various versions of the Sun Wukong text itself but also in the various adaptations of the theme to contemporary reality, in the efforts to rehabilitate Zhu Bajie, and finally in the explanation of the Cultural Revolution in terms of the
ambivalence of Mao’s attitude toward the Party. All of the different adaptations and applications, however, agreed in accepting the *Xiyou ji* as a valid paradigm for PRC history.

e. The dense texture of characters and plot and explicit and silent argument that characterizes the opera *Sun Wukong sanda baigujing* makes it a fairly concrete and specific statement and analysis, more vivacious, richer, and infinitely more effective in terms of feeding and instructing the public fantasy than any of the existing explicitly political texts. The opera reveals its deeper layers when we reconstruct the horizon within which the reader or spectator perceived the work at the time. The elements of that horizon would seem to consist of the *Xiyou ji*, the earlier applications of this text to PRC reality, other historical dramas following the same line of argument, other historical dramas against which the opera engages in a polemic, attempts to influence or “correct” the depiction of protagonists of the plot, the social reality of the time, and political battles both in the center and internationally. The horizon of perception changes with a change in any one of these elements, and the perception of the text may be appropriately adjusted.

f. It seems that any movement about to make a radical change needs a prospective scenario to envisage how things will develop. This scenario will define the problems for the participants in the movement, identify their role and promise, as well as offer a picture of their eventual success: the Western Paradise, the Heavenly City, Jerusalem. To a substantial degree, the success of a movement in capturing the public mind and in convincing its activists to contribute their lives and fates to the cause depends on the authority, analytical capacity, and concreteness of this scenario. Marxism-Leninism does provide such a scenario for the revolution, but not for the period of socialist transition. It is one of the strengths of Mao as a political leader to have time and again provided such grand vistas and general models. The story of the Foolish Old Man Who Moves the Mountain, studied elsewhere, is one such myth, spelled out on the eve of the victory over Japan. It has permeated the language and fantasy of Party members and common people in China, providing a prospect of future development. The *Sun Wukong* theme is another. Focusing on the “necessity” for ongoing “class struggle” in China, it caught the imagination particularly of educated youths in the cities and became the quarry from which materials for the verbal

82. See my “Rewriting the PRC’s Foundation Myth: Gao Xiaosheng’s ‘Li Shunda Builds the House,’” in Wagner, *Inside the Service Trade*. 
edifices of the Cultural Revolution were taken. It provided legitimacy, precedent, depth, and grandeur for the enterprise, as well as behavioral models down to such details as the fearsome big stick of anti-demonic criticism. Certainly one of the weaknesses of the opposing faction was that its more pedestrian and "realistic" goals were hard put to match this more radical scenario of Mao at the level of political imagination. Thus the opposing faction resigned itself to either stating its case within the framework set up by its opponent or trivializing weighty political matter to become stories for small children.
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Ahmad 阿合馬
Alihaiya 阿里海牙

badou 巴豆
Baishé 白蛇
baixíng 百姓
bangziling 棒子嶺
Bao (Judge) 包
bao 暴
Bao Gong’an 包公安
Baoxiang guo 寶象國
batuo 巴豆
Bei 貝
beidou 北斗
Beijing Renmin Yishu Juyuan 北京人民藝術劇院
benben zhuyi 本本主義
Bo Yan 伯顏
Bozhou 博州
Buffalo 藤州

cai (to guess) 猜
cai (talent) 才
Cai Meibiao 蔡美彪
Cai Shaobing 蔡少炳
Cai Wenji 蔡文姬
Cai Xitao 蔡希陶

Cambaluc 大都
Cao Cao 曹操
Cao E 曹娥
Cao Pei 曹丕
Chang’an 長安
chao 朝
chaonong huang 嘲弄皇帝
chaoting 朝廷
Chen Kehan 陳克寒
Chen Suzhen 陳素貞
Chen Yi 陳毅
Cheng Jiaojin 程皎金
Cheng Yangqiu 程碩秋
chengxiang 丞相
chiren 吃人
chongchen 龍臣
chou 丑
Chu 楚
chuba 除霸
chuihua 出家
Chun’an 淳安
ci 詞

da 打
da gunzi 大棍子
da huang (trouncing the emperor) 打皇

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Dade 大德
dahuang (a medicinal herb, laxative) 大黃
Dai Bufan 戴不凡
Danao tiangong 大闕天宮
dang 黨
danwei 單位
danxiao 膽小
dao 道
dasheng Mao 大聖毛
dayuejin 大躍進
de 德
decai 德才
Deng Tuo 鄧拓
Deng Xiaoping 鄧小平
Deng Youmei 鄧友梅
Di Renjie 狄仁杰
Di Xinshi 狄辛禕
dianpei liuli 顛沛流離
Dong Zhuo 董卓
Donghai 東海
Dou E 変娥
duoshi 多事
erguang 耳光
Fa Hai 法海
fahuan tian 發還田
fan 反
fan Cao Cao 翻曹操
fanshang 反上
Feng Mu 馮牧
Fengshen yanyi 封神演義
fennu tuoma 憤怒唾罵
fennu zema 憤怒責罵
fozhi 佛旨
fushou tie'er 俯首帖耳
gancao 甘草
gang 剛
ganzuo ganwei 敢作敢為
Gao 高
Gao Gang 高崗
Gao Ge 高戈
Gao Xiaosheng 高曉聲
gaomi 告密
Gaozong 高宗
Ge Biao 葛彪
Gou Jian 勾践
Guan Hanqing 闞漢卿
Guan Yu 關羽
guanchi 關係
gui dongxi 鬼東西
guilian 鬼臉
Guloushan Houwangji
shimo 驥驄山猿王擊屍魔
Guo Moruo 郭沫若
guogong 國公
Guomindang 國民黨
Hai Rui 海瑞
Hai Rui baguan 海瑞罷官
Hai Rui chuxun 海瑞出巡
Hai Rui ma huangdi 海瑞居皇帝
Hai Rui shangshu 海瑞上疏
Han 漢
Hangzhou 杭州
haoduo haoduode 好多好多的
haqiang 豪強
haoren zhuyi 好人主義
He 何
He Long 賀龍
He Yishang 何以尚
He Zongbing 賀總兵
hen 恨
henda de qifa 很大的啓發
Hong Xianzi 紅綾女
Honglou meng 紅樓夢
Hongmei 紅梅
hongnong renshi 弘農人氏
hongqiang 紅牆
Hongwu 洪武
Horikhoson 和禮霍森
Hou Wailu 侯外盧
hou xue ren 猴學人
Hu Qiaomu 胡喬木
Hu Yaobang 胡耀邦
hua 花
Hua Guofeng 華國峰
huadan 花旦
huagu 花鼓
Huai (king) 懷
huaiju 淮劇
huaju 話劇
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huan tian 邃田
Huang Boxian 黄伯贤
Huang Junyao 黄俊耀
Huang Yide 黄義德
Huangbao guai 黄袍怪
huanglian 黃連
huiqi 晦氣
Hujia shiba pai 胡笳十八排

Ji Dengkui 纪登奎
Jia Sidao 賈似道
Jiajing 嘉靖
Jiajing Jiajing, jiajia huhu, gangan jingjing 嘉靖嘉靖, 家家户戶, 干干淨淨
jian 劍
Jian Bozan 剪伯贊
Jiang Qing 江青
Jiangnan 江南
jianzei 奸賊
Jiao Juyin 焦菊隱
Jiaru woshi zhende 假如我是真的
Jie 楞
jigang zhengdun 纪綱整頓
Jinggangshan 井岡山
Jinlun shengshen huangdi 金輪聖神皇帝
jiyu 寄寓
juben huang 劇本荒
jun 鈞
juntian 均田

kai yanlu 開言路
Kang Sheng 康生
Ke Qingshi 柯慶施
kexi meiyou benling 可惜沒有本領
Koshin 忽辛
Kuhan ting 苦寒廳
kunqu 昆曲

Lai Junchen 來俊臣
laitou 來頭
Lan Tianye 藍天野
Lao Ah 老阿
Lao Can 老殘
Lao Can youji 老殘遊記
lao jiu 老九

Lao She 老舍
Lao Wu 老無
lao wuhao zi 老五號字
laoweng 老翁
laozhang 老長
Laozi 老子
Li 李
Li (Donkey) 李
Li Chao 李超
Li Decai 李得才
Li Duokui 李多奎
Li Fanggui 李芳桂
Li Huiniang 李慧娘
Li Kui 李逵
Li Shimin 李世民
Li Yan 黎彥
Li Yizhe 李義哲
Li Yufang 李織芳
Li Zhiyan 黎之彥
Liang Cai 梁材
Liang Jinzi 梁進之
liangjia 良家
Liangshanbo 梁山泊
Liangxin dou 兩心斗
Liao Chengzhi 廖承志
Liao Mosha 廖沫沙
Lin Biao 林彪
Lin Xiling 林希翎
lishi gushi 歷史故事
lishi ju 歷史劇
Liu (Long-life) 劉
Liu (Mrs.) 劉氏
Liu Binyan 劉賓雁
Liu E 劉鶚
Liu Mingzhu 劉明珠
Liu Shanren 劉善人
Liu Shaoqi 劉少奇
Liu Shaotang 劉紹棠
Liu Zhidan 劉志丹
Liu Zhiming 劉芝明
Lü 呂
Lu Dingyi 郭定一
Lu Xun 魯迅
Lu Zhailang 魯齊郎
Lü Zhenyu 呂振羽
luanguo 亂國
Lugou 庐溝
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Luo Binwang 駱賓王
Luo Tong 羅通
Lushan 龙山

ma 馬
mahuang 馬皇
Ma Lianliang 馬連良
Ma Shaobo 馬少波
Ma Shiceng 馬師曾
mama 馬馬
mantou 饅頭
Mao Dun 矛盾
Mao Zedong 毛澤東
Mei Lanfang 梅蘭芳
Meng Yundi 孟雲棣
mian you cai 蛋有菜色
Mingshi 明史
Mingtang 明堂
Minzu gong 民族宮
mu 維

nanxun 南巡
neibu 內部
neihang 內行
ni cai de dui 你猜得對
Nie Yuanzu 偽元祖
Niu Rongliang 妹榮亮
Nü xun'an 女巡按
nüèdài 虐待

Ouyang Shanzun 歐陽山尊
Ouyang Yuqing 歐陽豫倩

panhuan 盤桓
pazhan 霸佔
Pei Shunqing 貔舜卿
Pei Yan 貔嚴
Peng Dehuai 彭德懷
Peng Zhen 彭真
Pingding shan 平頂山
pingju 評劇
pola 潑辣

Qi Yannming 齊燕銘
Qian Junru 錢俊瑞
Qianlong 乾隆
qiaomiao 巧妙

Qin 秦
Qin Gui 秦檜
Qin Xiangliang 秦香蓮
qing 清
Qing mei Houwang 請美猴王
qingsuan 清官
qitian 齊天
Qitian dasheng 齊天大聖
Qi Shengrong 喬盛戎
qu 曲
Qu Yuan 屈原

Rao Shushi 蹶漱石
ren xue hou 人學候
Renmin juchang 人民劇場
Renmin yishuyuan 人民藝術院
Renyao zhi jian 人妖之間
ru 儒
Ruan Hua 阮華
ruanhua 軟化

Sa 薩
Sai Lianxiu 賽廉秀
sanda 三打
Sanda baigujing 三打白骨精
Sanguo 三國
Sanguo zhi yanyi 三國志演義
Sanjia cun 三家村
Sanyang 三陽
Sanzang 三藏
seiji shosetsu 政治小說
Semu 色目
Seng Zhao 僧肇
Sha 沙
Shaanxi 陝西
shan yu ren 善于人
Shangguan Wan'er 上官婉兒
Shangguan Yi 上官儀
Shao Quanlin 邵荃麟
Shaoxing 紹興
shehui diaocha 社會調查
Shen Li 沈理
shiyan 失言
Shizong 世宗
shou 壽
Shouan 壽安
Shu Xiuwen 舒绣文
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Shuihu zhuan 水浒傳
Song 宋
Song Kanfu 宋侃夫
Su Dingfang 蘇定方
Sun An 孫安
Sun Bao 孫保
Sun Cunli 孫存立
Sun Tianbao 孫天豹
Sun Wukong 孫悟空
Sun Wukong xiangyao fumo 孫悟空降妖伏魔
Sun Yangsheng 孫陽生
Sun Yat-sen 孫中山

Wei Guoqing 韋國清
Wei Zheng 魏徵
weifeng shaqi 威風殺氣
wen 文
Wen Tianxiang 文天祥
wenlian 文聯
Wenxue yichan 文學遺產
wenyan 文言
wo shule 我輸了
Wu (military) 武
Wu (a state) 吳
Wu Chen 吳琛
Wu De 武德
Wu Feng 吳楓
Wu Fengzhao 吳鳳招
Wu Han 吳晗
Wu Hong 武宏
Wu Sansi 武三思
Wu Xiaoling 吳曉鈴
Wu Xun 武訓
Wu Yiguo 吳藝國
Wu Zetian 武則天
Wu Zixu 伍子胥
Wu Zuguang 吳組光
Wutong 楕桐
wuxin zhengfa 無心正法

Xia Yan 夏衍
xian 縣
xiandaijiu 現代劇
xiang dangdang 響當當
xiangguan 鄉官
xiangjiu 湘劇
Xiangyang 襄陽
xiangyuan 鄉願
xiao baogao 小報告
xiao shuo 小說
Xie 謝
Xie Yaohuan 謝瑶環
xiejian chanxiao 肩肩谄笑
xiezi 植子
Xin 新
Xin Yuanshi 新元史
xinbian lishiju 新編歷史劇
xinggong 行宮
Xingtai 興泰
xiqu 戲曲
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xiucai 秀才
xuixi 休息
xiuyang 修养
xiuzhengzhui 修正主義
xiuzou 差走
Xiyou ji 西遊記
Xu Nie 徐階
Xu Jingye 徐敬業
Xu Long 徐龍
Xu Tongjian gangmu 縱通鑿冑目
Xu Ying 徐瑛
Xu Yougong 徐有功
Xuan Zang 玄奘
xue 血
xueyi 雪意
xun'an 巡按
xunyou 巡游

Yan Song 嚴嵩
Yang (Lord) 楊
Yang Xianzhi 楊顯之
Yang Zui 楊罷
Yanshan yehua 燕山夜話
Yao Wenyan 姚文元
yaohuan 要還
Ye Hefu 葉和甫
yi ba hekui dasheng mao 一拔何虧大聖毛

yi gu yu jin 以古喻今
yijian 意見
Yinyuetang 音樂堂
Yiyang 益陽
Yong Wenshou 雍文濤
yongyetian 永業田
yongyue 踐躍

you chengxiang 右丞相
youdao 有道
Yu 禹
Yu Xun 魚訊
Yuan 元
yuan 冤
Yuan Hua 袁華
Yuan Leshan 袁樂山
Yuan Xingjian 袁行健
yuanhua qijiao 圓滑機巧
Yuanshi 元史
Yue 越

Yue Fei 岳飛
yueju 粵劇
yuju 豫劇

zaju 雜劇
zaofan 選反
zawen 雜文
zetian 則天
Zetian Huangdi 則天皇帝
Zhang Biao 張彪
Zhang Chunqiao 張春橋
Zhang Cong 張從
Zhang Jianzhi 張柬之
Zhang Pinghui 張平化
Zhang Zhibo 張志伯
Zhangguo 戰國
zhangyi zhi yan 仗義執言
Zhao 趙
Zheng Zhanduo 鄭振鐸
zhengchi jijing 整飾紀綱
zhengdan 正旦
zhengdun gangwei 整頓網維
Zhengqi ge 正氣歌
zhengzhi xiaoshuo 政治小說
Zhengzhou 鄭州
Zhenjiang 鎮江
zhi 旨
zhiqu 知趣
zhishi fenzi 知識分子
zhishi renren 志士仁人
zhongdian jumu 重點劇目
zhongjian pai 中間派
Zhongjiu 仲舉
zhongjiu 衆舉
Zhongzong 中宗
Zhou (an emperor's name) 紹
Zhou (a state) 周
Zhou Enlai 周恩來
Zhou Hetong 周和桐
Zhou Xinfang 周信芳
Zhou Xing 周興
Zhou Yang 周揚
Zhou Yibai 周贻白
Zhouyi 周易
Zhu Bajie 猪八戒
Zhu Lianxiu 朱廉秀
Zhu Xiaolan 朱小蘭
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Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元章
zhuanheng 專橫
zhuanshuo 傳說

zhuanzhi wangguo 專制王國
zijiaren 自家人
zuizuibaode jun 最最暴的君
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method of literary and political analysis, one that could be fruitfully applied, not only to other literary genres, but to the study of the historiography, political documents, and forms of political contention in closed societies as well.

Rudolf G. Wagner is Professor of Sinology and Director of the Institute for Chinese Studies at the University of Heidelberg.

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