Traditional Music and Composition
For György Ligeti on his 80th Birthday

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pitch similar to Kyai Kanjeng in order to play lagu-lagu nasional (nationalistic songs). This gamelan was named Gentono. Unfortunately, this endeavour did not seem to have the popular support that Kyai Kanjeng enjoys.

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Simatupang, Gabriel Roosmargo Lono Lastoro

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Yampolski, Philip

Cultural Revolution Model Works and the Politics of Modernization in China: An Analysis of Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy

Barbara Mittler

Abstract

The so-called model works (yangbanxie), ten operas, four ballets, two symphonies and two piano pieces monopolized China’s theatrical and musical stages for a decade. No matter whether one follows the now orthodox political interpretation conceding that they were products of the ultra-leftist mind of Mao’s wife Jiang Qing or whether one considers them worthy pieces of art, they are an element in Chinese cultural history that cannot be—but (for ideological reasons) often is—overlooked. Repercussions of the model works can be traced in China’s recent rock music, in light popular music as well as in her serious music. Contrary to the common assumption that the model works were characteristic products of Cultural Revolution ideology, this paper contends that they were anything but the product of an iconoclastic and xenophobic era, as the Cultural Revolution is so often described. Instead, they are manifestations of a hybrid taste which calls for the transformation of Chinese tradition according to foreign standards, a taste which for more than a century has determined compositional practice in China. The paper takes one of the earliest and most well-known model works, the revolutionary Beijing opera Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy, as an example. It examines the use of traditional Chinese as well as European musico-dramatic elements in this piece to illustrate that the particular forms musical modernization took during the Cultural Revolution were in no way the exception but more of the rule for compositional practice in modern China—except for the degree of semantic overdetermination to be found in the model works.

1. Music and the Cultural Revolution (1966-76)

If one assumes—and this is an accepted manner of speech in both official and unofficial writings about China—that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, launched by Mao Zedong in 1966 and supposed to have ended with his death in 1976, was nothing but a “period of chaos and destruction” (Beijing Rundschau 1981:21), then one may also agree with the common view that in the field of culture, the Cul-
ultural Revolution was indeed an “exceptional period of stagnation” (Fokkema 1991:594). Accordingly, it should not surprise us that veteran composer Du Mingxin (b. 1928), in a Dutch documentary dealing with contemporary Chinese music, says of the Cultural Revolution that it was a period with “no music.” However, at the very same time, one can see him, with a happy smile, conducting the music of Red Detachment of Women (Hongse niangzi jun), a ballet which attained the status of a model and was played incessantly during the Cultural Revolution and which Du Mingxin is proud to have helped compose (Fipsee 1995).  

What does this mean? Of course, the Cultural Revolution was accompanied by music, of course there were “sounds amidst the fury,” but Du Mingxin’s point, in accordance with officially prescribed amnesia about all cultural production during the Cultural Revolution is in fact that music, just like all other artistic production, was subject to extreme political regimentation, that only certain correct colours, forms — and sounds, too — were officially acceptable: Beethoven, Schubert and Brahms were condemned due to their “bourgeois” background or upbringing, Schoenberg and Debussy were considered “formalists,” Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninoff were said to be (pre-)representatives of the “revisionist” Soviet regime and thus could not be performed. Sounds of the Chinese zither guqin were unacceptable as they were associated with the “aristocratic” literati of “feudal” China, and traditional Chinese operas were said to bring too many “emperors and ladies,” too few “workers, peasants and soldiers” onto the stage. And this list could be continued almost endlessly.  

Thus, the musical repertoire in the Cultural Revolution period was highly regulated. The great (and exclusive) models for all musical production were the so-called “model works,” yangbanshi, eight in number at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, eighteen by the time it is said to have officially ended. These model works, including ten operas, four ballets, two symphonies and two piano pieces, tell stories from China’s recent past: mostly episodes from the anti-Japanese war and the civil war period, but also from the Korean war and the early sixties. The model works depict the Chinese people’s determined struggle against outer and inner enemies, they glorify the close cooperation between the People’s Liberation Army and the common people, and they emphasize the decisive role of Mao Zedong and his thought for the final victory of socialism in China. Musically, these model works adapt a style which can be described with the term “pentatonic romanticism” (Mittler 1997:33). Elements and quotations from Chinese folk music are fitted into a framework of functional harmony reminiscent of the musical idioms of Western romantic music.  

The model works were everpresent during the Cultural Revolution: they were performed in schools, in factories and on the fields; even during lunch breaks, groups of people would stand together and recite an aria or two (Judd 1991:274). Instrumental teaching was based almost entirely on variations of revolutionary songs or melodies from the model works. They were adapted into different local dialects and styles (Yung 1984), and blasted from street-corner loudspeakers. One could buy them on cheap LPs, as comic books, and look at the heroes on posters, post-cards, calendars or even cups and saucers. Every revised version of the model works was a national event, promulgated with great pomp on the first page of the People’s Daily (Renmin ribao). The entire text-books of the model works were printed in the Party’s highest theoretical organ, the magazine Hongqi (Red Flag). In 1970, a new step was taken to further popularize the model works: after numerous revisions, the finalized versions were filmed and then distributed yet again, nationwide, reaching even the most remote corners of the country.  

All musical production and performance — and this was a political dictate that could not be debated — had to follow the framework set by the model works, be it in terms of theory, form, content or even performance practice. Cultural Revolution art was meant to be a monoculture. Cultural politics during the Cultural Revolution were the gigantic and in many ways destructive attempt to establish one and only one acceptable artistic taste for all and everyone. The result was, of course, as Du Mingxin pointed out, that apart from variations on the theme of the model works, there was indeed “no music.”  

For an entire decade, the model works monopolized China’s theatrical and musical stage. During the height of the Cultural Revolution, each one of them would have been watched by every Chinese man, woman and child more than twice a year on average (statistics are given in Clark 1987:145). Yet when post-Cultural Revolution politics wanted the works forgotten, ironically it replicated Cultural Revolution practice. Colin Mackerras (1988:170) points out that “when the Gang of Four was in control, nobody said anything positive about the theater creations of the years 1949–1966... Now, however, the line has changed to the other extreme. It is difficult to find serious criticism or something other than praise for theatrical work of the pre-Cultural Revolution period; it is the decade of the Gang of Four that produced nothing worthwhile. Models worth emulation come unfailingly from before 1966, negative examples from the black years 1966–76.”  

It is undeniable, however, as Bell Yung points out, that the model works have “influenced the musical taste both of musicians and, more importantly, of the masses in the period since the Cultural Revolution” (Yung 1984:163). Since the mid-1980s a veritable revival of the model works has taken place, which took on an even larger scale in the 1990s, while the government turned a blind eye — at least most of the time. Model works were performed again (in sell-out events receiving extremely enthusiastic audiences responses, Chen 2002:143 and Li 1997:1), or sold as tapes, CDs and VCDs on the open market (Barmé 1999:231). Notwithstanding our aesthetic or political judgment, then, the model works are an element in Chinese cultural history that is often — but should not be — overlooked. Repercussions of the model works can be found almost everywhere in contemporary Chinese culture, from the fine arts to spoken theatre, and also music. The model works have put their mark on China’s recent pop and rock music, and they have obviously influenced China’s serious music, as in Zhu Jian’er’s (b. 1922) First Symphony (1977–86), in Tan Dun’s Red Forecast: Orchestral Theater III (1996) or in Bright Sheng’s new opera on Madame Mao (2002–03).
2. the Cultural Revolution destroyed Chinese traditional music; and
3. the music from the Cultural Revolution forms a special category unlike that created before or after.

In showing the indebtedness of model works such as Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy to the forms and rhetorics of foreign musical style and composition, the paper will argue that Western music was in fact heard and played all throughout the Cultural Revolution in the form of these model works. Secondly, the indebtedness of model works like Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy to the forms and rhetorics of traditional musical genres such as Beijing opera show that traditional music was in fact redeveloped rather than destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Finally, in describing the nature of the synthesis between Western and Chinese musical heritage as found in the model works, the paper will suggest that they are yet again manifestations of the attempt to create a New Music for China, a music with national style (minzu xing). Experiments of this sort had been going on since the late nineteenth century.

Thus, to talk about Cultural Revolution music is not to talk about a singular decade, but to deal with the continuous perpetuation of certain musical trends through the twentieth and into the twenty-first century. Accordingly, discussion begins with a very short thumbnail history of the making of the first and most famous set of eight model works (see note 2). Then follows a section analyzing different levels of (musical) meaning in the early model revolutionary opera Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy and some of its predecessors.

2. (Re-)Inventing the Model Works

From 1949 to 1955, the Chinese government set up bureaus, committees and agencies in Beijing and other centres throughout the country to oversee the “reform” of Chinese opera (Yung 1984:146; Chen 2002: 102). Many a traditional opera was transformed, according to the slogan “To weed through the old to create the new and through the Western to create a Chinese national art” (Gu wei jin yong, Yang wei Zhong yong). Traditional works were revised, mainly in plot, and new operas with contemporary, revolutionary themes were written (Yung 1984:146). Western instruments were now included in the operatic “orchestra”, there were more props on the stage and a curtain now hid the scene changes. None of these operatic reforms was ever a matter of course, whether in terms of contents or style, as the recurring critiques of traditional ghost pieces (Michel 1982:59-72) and the continued discussion on the use of Chinese or Western singing techniques shows (van Leeuwen 2000:passim). Attempting to promote new operas, theatre artists and officials also had to depend on reviving traditional repertories for audience appeal—and they could do so by official fiat, too (Chen 2002:104). At the same time, insecurities as to the concrete contents of “healthy theatre” led to a situation in which only very few
new works were created, while many traditional works were revived only to be temporarily discarded again.

This situation changed slightly during the Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s when opera production quotas were introduced: quite a number of the revolutionary model operas among the model works are indeed based on operas produced during this time. In July 1958, at a special conference devoted to the reform of traditional opera, Zhou Yang from the ministry of culture, called for “a second revolution in theatre reform” and demanded that Chinese opera should portray new characters and life in socialist China. Nevertheless, the officially prescribed (but never uncontested) goal of achieving a ratio of 20-50% of operas on modern themes to be performed within three years was never reached. Up until 1963 the percentage of modern operas was never more than 1-5% of the production (Michel 1982:96. His study provides ample evidence for the many controversies and difficulties over defining clear goals in the opera reform movement).

It was during the time of the Great Leap Forward, too, that Mao gave out a directive to adhere to “revolutionary realism and romanticism,” to present life realistically but model-like, and “on a higher plane” (Clark 1987:137 and Yang 1996), a demand that can be traced back to Stalinist directives from the 1930s (Judd 1987:99). And even the term yangban was first used during the Great Leap Forward: for the model fields introduced at this time. Obviously, by the time of the model works, yangban “styles of entertainment, no less than agriculture” were expected to “fit a mold but change with the demands of revolutionary leaders and their times” (Witke 1977:391-92).

Still unhappy with artistic developments (or rather, the lack of them), Mao complained again, in the early 1960s that the common people were still not on centre stage. He demanded once more, as he had in the Yan’an Talks (McDougall 1980:66), that Chinese art, opera included, must create proletarian heroic models who would “serve the (proletarian) masses” (wei renmin fuwai). That was to be the “basic task” (genben renwu) of all literature and art, a term first used in 1964 (Judd 1991:267; she offers an excellent discussion of the theoretical issues at hand). Mao now demanded a more rigid policy of destruction of the old in order to construct a new, revolutionary and national art. Hence, his wife Jiang Qing began her crusade to achieve domination of the artistic world in China.

She took to overseeing the creation of a number of Beijing operas on contemporary themes, the first two being The Red Lantern (Hong dengji) and Shajiaibang Village (Shajiaibang) in 1963. The story of The Red Lantern had earlier been cast into a number of different forms: as a 1962 film, and following that, a Kunqu opera, a Shanghai opera and a spoken drama (Dai 1995:42). Jiang Qing’s model work, which would soon be hailed as a “model for operatic revolution” was based on the Shanghai opera (ibid.:23-5). Shajiaibang, too, was based on a Shanghai opera Spark in the Marshland (Ludang huochong) produced in 1960 (Chen 2002:106). Jiang’s third project was Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy, based on Qu Bo’s novel Tracks in the Snowy Forest (Linhai xueyuan) of 1957. Parts of the plot of this novel had been adapted into three Beijing operas, one based on chapters 1-8 of the book and created in 1957, and two from chapters 10-21, written in 1957 and 1958 respectively. Jiang Qing based her model work on the opera of 1958 (Michel 1982:148). Jiang’s fourth model work, Raid on the White Tiger Regiment (Qixi baishitan) goes back to a modern opera first performed and created in the late 1950s (different sources give either 1957 or 1958) by the Chinese People’s Volunteer Army in Korea (see Chen 2002:364; Michel 1982:158).

These four works were performed at the National Modern Beijing Opera Festival (Quanguo jingju xiandaixi guanmu yunsu dahuai) in Beijing on 5 June - 31 July 1964. Apparently, they were already called “model works” or yangban by some then. This indeed led to angry remarks by Peng Zhen, the head of a Group of Five responsible for the coordination of cultural affairs, set up in the early 1964. He is said to have complained: “What the hell are these models? I’m the head of the arts in this place, and I know nothing of models” (Michel 1982:105; Terrill 1984:249). He continued, comparing Jiang Qing’s model works to “pure boiled water,” an accusation she readily retorted to, saying: “Only when you have pure boiled water can you make tea and wine. No one can live without pure boiled water” (Terrill 1984:105, 246).

At a forum of theatrical workers participating in the Festival, Jiang Qing gave her first influential speeches on the revolution of Beijing opera (Jiang 1967). Originally, Harbour (Haigang), her fifth project, based on a Huai opera Morning at the Harbour (Haigang zi zaochen) which Jiang Qing had discovered in Shanghai in April 1964, was supposed to be introduced to a wider public at this festival, too, but it could not be ready for production in time. But during the festival she discovered a number of new operas to her liking, which she began revising in 1964-65, her next project, the ballet Red Detachment of Women (Hongse niangzi jun) among them. Predecessors for this piece are a 1960 film by Xie Jin itself based on a book by Liang Xin which had been reworked into a Beijing Opera for the 1964 Festival. In 1965, Jiang Qing initiated the reworking of Shajiaibang Village into a symphony, the result of which was “hailing as a celebration of people’s war, that filled the concert hall with an uncustomed ‘smell of gunpowder’” (Kraus 1989:139). And in 1966, Jiang Qing yet again turned to ballet. The White-haired Girl (Baimaoqin), her eighth project, has perhaps the longest history and most predecessors of all the model works: it can be traced back to an adapted yangge (a traditional song and dance form) composed in 1944 by Ma Ke (1918-76) and others. In 1945 this yangge was made into an opera, there were revisions in 1947 and 1949, and a film based on the story was shot in 1950 and even received the Stalin Prize in 1951. In 1958 a Beijing opera version was made, and all of these served as foils for the model ballet produced in 1966 (see Michel 1982, Holm 1991, van Leeuwen 2000).

In 1966 Jiang Qing was also invited by Lin Biao to reside over a Forum on Literature and Art for the Armed Forces, a meeting which would acquire the importance almost of the Yan’an Forum and which “provided Jiang Qing with a national platform for advocating her favored model works” (Kraus 1989:134). Thus, by the end of 1966, cultural affairs were no longer even nominally under the direction of the
Group of Five under Peng Zhen, Jiang Qing’s arch-enemy. They were taken over by a group including Chen Boda, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Kang Sheng and Jiang Qing herself. By the time the Cultural Revolution started, then, it was in some ways already completed. Jiang Qing had overturned the institutional basis of cultural production; Mao had assembled for her a set of theoretical directives; and she had successfully sponsored the creation of the works of art to exemplify them, and had styled a name for them, too, one that would later epitomize cultural restriction during the Cultural Revolution (in spite of the fact that their number continued to grow): they were to be the “eight model works” or bage yangbanxi.

3. Understanding the Model Works

What did it take to qualify as a model work? In an investigation of Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy I will attempt to excavate how, on the artistic level, a model work was intended to convey meaning. It is my contention that the semantics of the model work were influenced or even purposefully created by contrasts or repercussions with earlier versions of the same work and, accordingly, the cultural knowledge to be expected from the audience.

3.1. “Models of Models”: Model Works and the Tradition of Revision

As a first step I will compare the model of the models—the 1970 film—with elements from the 1957 book by Qu Bo, the 1960 feature-film, as well as the text of two earlier model-versions published in Hongqi in 1967 and 1969 respectively. The model opera covers chapters 10-21 of Qu Bo’s book. It is set in Manchuria in 1946, where a group of PLA soldiers is fighting against a group of bandits who follow the Guomindang (Nationalist Party). The bandits have abducted and killed a number of villagers, among them Li Yongqi’s (“Courageous Li”) wife and baby, as well as Chang Bao’s (“Constant Treasure”) mother and grandmother. Yang Zirong (literally, “Master of the Glory”), a clever PLA scout platoon leader, is sent by Shao Jianbo (“Shao Sword-Wave”), the regimental chief of staff, to enter the bandits’ lair and find the most favourable time and place of an attack against the bandit chief, Guo Shandiao (“Vulture with a mountain throne”), and his gang.

The plot of this model work is a reduction of a much longer literary text. This, incidentally, is a first parallel with traditional operatic practice (for example, operas were taken from episodes of the classical novels Journey to the West or The Water Margin). In both cases, the audience is supposed to know and relate the performed part to the whole, but in the model works, certain elements are deliberately stressed or eliminated and the audience is expected to learn certain political lessons from these changes. One example of this practice is the scene in which Yang Zirong kills a tiger on his ride up to Tiger Mountain. In Qu Bo’s book, Yang’s horse is attacked by the tiger; Yang shoots but his pistol fails him. The tiger becomes angrier and angrier and only after repeated shots with his pistol does Yang manage to kill the beast. Yang inspects the animal and begins to shiver with fear. The same scene is depicted rather differently in the model opera. Yang kills the animal with a single shot and instead of shivering with fear, as his horse does, he is completely calm throughout the scene. The very fact that the audience will have the earlier depictions of him in mind makes Yang the unquestioned hero in the model work (and there is an even earlier prototype for this scene, also well-known to the Chinese audience, Wu Song’s fight with the tiger in the novel-turned-opera The Water Margin, see Hegel 1987): it is by contrast that he rises all the higher, that he becomes the model hero of a model work.

This is true for a number of other changes made in the final and filmed model opera version, too. There, Yang no longer sings “obscene ditties” or flirts with Vulture’s daughter (who has in fact disappeared completely). These actions, which are elaborately described both in the 1960 feature film and in Qu Bo’s book, “turned Yang...into a filthy-mouthed desperado and a reckless muddle-headed adventurer reeking with bandit odour from top to toe,” according to one exegesis (Anon. 1970c). A proletarian hero could not be like this in the model works. Apart from Vulture’s daughter, a number of other protagonists in the book and film versions no longer appear in the revised version of the model opera. Yet others—and even Shao Jianbo, who becomes merely “regimental chief of staff”—are renamed or simply included under categories such as soldiers, bandits and medics. The result of such changes is self-evident: by reducing the numbers—especially of the negative characters but also of less significant positive characters—more space, time and emphasis can be given to the proletarian heroes, among them, most importantly, the main hero, Yang Zirong.

This accentuation has visual and textual repercussions, too: Vulture’s throne, which, in the 1960 film, is situated in the centre of the stage, is moved further and further backwards and to the (right!) margins of the stage. Between 1967 and 1969 stage directions are changed from “The interior of the hall on Tiger Mountain, brightly lit” to “a gloomy cave lit by several lamps.” Moreover, some of the bandits’ murdering scenes, quite vividly depicted in both book and feature-film, are left out in the filmed model opera version. Instead, a scene in which the soldiers ask Chang Bao and her father about their sufferings, is added (Scene 3, see Anon. 1970c). And if Vulture still had a number of arias in earlier versions, his singing part in the final version is reduced to three croaking lines (Scene 6, 207-8). Thus the negative characters are moved further and further into the background while the positive characters become ever more prominent. They have positive names, appear in the centre of the stage, in proper light, they talk and sing much more than the negative characters, and they are friends of the masses. Yang’s closeness to the masses is further underlined by the inclusion, in 1969, of his proletarian class background, which is not mentioned in any of the earlier versions.

Quite deliberately, then, the model work is created with the fact in mind that it is always viewed as a revision, a practice rather characteristic for Chinese cultural pro-
ductions throughout the twentieth century. Indeed, the constant revision and reformulation of the same pieces and contents is one of the most telling indicators of the continuities and the changes in China's cultural policies. By deletion and addition, the model work (yet not just the model work, after all) rises above and contrasts with its well-known predecessors. Yang’s closeness to the masses is emphasized because it is the “basic task” (genben renwu) of the model operas to create proletarian heroes. If traditional opera focused on one or two main protagonists to the detriment of the description of secondary characters, in the model works this practice becomes much more rigid. Negative characters disappear more and more into the dark, according to the principle of the “three prominences” (san tuchu). It holds that positive characters have to be given prominence over the rest of the characters, heroic characters have to be given prominence over the positive ones and among the heroic figures, prominence is to be given to the main hero (for this theory and its origins, see Tan santuchu 1974; King 1984). Finally, Yang Zirong’s battle with the tiger is styled into a climactic moment according to the premises of revolutionary realism and romanticism, thus presenting life model-like (yangban), “on a higher plane.” Whether a piece would qualify as a model work or not depended on the proper adherence to all of these principles. At the same time, to confront the audience with ever new, and ever more orthodox variants of already well-known pieces was to make use of a type of semantic overdetermination (Mittler 1998), which would make it impossible not to understand these underlying premises: what was a model work was determined and highlighted by contrast with what it was not.

3.2. Operatic Traditions in Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy

Semantic overdetermination in the model works is further multiplied in the selection and use of elements from traditional Chinese opera and from the Western musical tradition. Each was chosen to fulfill a function in the model works according to the directive of “To weed through the old to create the new and through the Western to create a Chinese national art.” Thus, in the second part of this analysis, I will compare the 1970 model work with two of its “predecessors.” Again, this comparison mirrors the receptive frame in which the audience would have found itself, watching the filmed version of the yangbanxi in 1970, for example, always aware of the changes and similarities between earlier “originals” and the present adaptation.

The fact that the model works furnish moral and role models to their audiences should not have been all too surprising. Many a traditional opera had didactic purposes. Certain facial make-up, costumes, movements, language and musical accompaniment would indicate negative and positive characters in traditional operas. By close adherence to some of these traditional symbols in the model works, even hidden enemies could be recognized from their first appearance: red colours still stood for the good and loyal, and green faces for the devilish, emphasized by lighting-effects. Chang Bao, for example, wears a red tie in her hair. Some of the photos of a 1964 production apparently still show bandits with red bands (Denton 1987:125). In later versions, however, the colour is reserved exclusively for the positive characters. Indeed, the modern costumes used in the model operas keep to certain traditional conventions, too, blue and green are the clothes of the virtuous and good, Chang Bao wears a blue dress, the soldiers green uniforms and the friendly old woman (Li Yongqi’s mother) wears pale blue just as she would in a traditional setting (see Zung 1962, chpt. 2, Latsch 1980:26-30, Halsen 1982:19-43, Wegner 1996:passim).

Another of these methods of marking good and bad taken from the traditional operatic repertoire is the use of a restricted role canon and of stock characters (Judd 1991:272; see also Denton 1987:127). While Communist theatre no longer finds a place for the smooth and delicate gaimendan and qingyi, or the flirtatious huadan (dan is the general term for female characters in Chinese opera), the kind elderly woman, similar to some of the laodan (old woman character) in traditional opera reappears (as Li Yongqi’s mother, for example). The young women to be met in the model revolutionary operas are eager to join the battle: Chang Bao in Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy is reminiscent of some of the strong and forceful woman characters from Beijing Opera, such as the military generals (daomadan) or the female acrobats (wudan). The only marked difference between traditional and modern practice here is the fact that Chang Bao’s bravery is emphasized even more by having her sing in the style of the xiaosheng (sheng is the general term for male characters in tra-
ditional opera: laosheng is the old man, xiaosheng the young man, wusheng the acrobatic/military man). The young courageous Party hero in this model opera, Yang Zirong, is a modern xiaosheng, of course, supported by a great many wusheng from the Communist army forces. And there is, as usual, an old rascal, here appropriately called "Vulture" and typically bent over, and hunched, like the comic chou in traditional Chinese opera.

Pregnant with meaning, too, are some of the declamatory practices (nian) taken over from Beijing opera. Close to twenty different types of laughter have been inherited from that tradition: there is friendly laughter, wicked laughter, happy laughter, intelligent laughter etc. In Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy, there is a stunning difference between the friendly laughter of Yang and Shao practicing Yang’s entering the bandits’ cave (Scene 4) and the bandits’ wicked laughter when they see Luu Ping, the bandit who was captured by the Communists but escaped, struck down on the ground (Scene 10), a laughter which sends shivers down one’s spine.

In the use of China’s musical heritage, the semantics of traditional operas are employed once more for the purpose of conveying the one and only proper meaning in the model works. Traditional operatic percussion (Chinese drum, clappers, large and small gong, and cymbals) not only accompanies every kind of stage movement, from long battle scenes to the roll of an eye, it also reflects the actors’ thoughts and emotions, introduces sung passages and occasionally imitates the sounds of swords or nonexistent stage props such as a boat rocking in the water (Wichmann 1991:255-62). Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy makes frequent use of these traditional semantic functions of operatic percussion. The battle scene at the end is accompanied by typical “war percussion.” Luu Ping’s fear when he has to face Yang Zirong for the first time in Scene 4, the sudden shocks and shivers of fright he feels during the conversation, are depicted in dramatic percussion punctuations. And similarly, the scene, when Yang and Shao have decided on the plan of Yang’s going up to Tiger Mountain in disguise, ends with Yang’s words “This is a well-considered plan, it is decided.”—after a short pause, these words are followed by a percussion beat: well-considered and decided.

Another musically semantic element taken from the repertoire of Beijing opera is the employment of certain aria-types. Beijing opera features, in the main, two families of arias, erhuang and xipi, both of which can appear in different metres (ban) and in different melodic styles according to the role of character portrayed. Erhuang is often used to mark reflective and reminiscing moments. Fan erhuang in particular is used to relate tragic happenings. Chang Bao’s song of bitterness in Scene 3 is one such example. Apart from marking her song as one of truthful tragedy by the use of the aria-type (bar 41), it also carries a second message, as already mentioned above: it is sung in the particular nasal high falsetto, typical of the singing style of a traditional xiaosheng, i.e. the brave and witty young man (ibid.:217-8). This becomes an effective aural sign of Chang Bao’s courage and firmness (see Anon. 1970a). It is further underlined by the fact that another of her arias, in Scene 9 (esp. bar 327ff), is accompanied by the Chinese oboe suona. The instrument appears, in traditional Chinese opera, as accompaniment for military scenes and the arrival of great generals and their entourage (ibid.:237). Thus, youthful Chang Bao, so eager to join the righteous battle against Vulture, is elevated, through musical semantics, to be part of high-level military action (Denton 1987:132).

Erhuang can also be used to introduce an important person in the so-called erhuang daoban which begins with a line sung offstage, This aria-form is employed twice in Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy to introduce Yang Zirong (in Scene 5, when he rides up the mountain, and in Scene 8, when he deposits the message to the other fighters). The choice of aria-type in these instances thus becomes a sign to the audience, here marking the fact that Yang is of course the main hero, the most important person in the opera.

Xipi, the second family of arias regularly employed in Beijing-Opera, is thought of as faster and more exciting than erhuang and hence used for scenes of tension and anger. Xipi arias occur frequently throughout Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy: Yang’s excitement when he enters the bandits’ cave is marked in such an aria (Scene 6), and his pretended fury at Luu Ping (Scene 10), his scolding tirade, is also effectively placed in xipi. To preserve the traditional symbolism of certain aria types was a clever and effective method, thus employing their suggestive powers to convey the new opera’s particular message.

Yet it is not the semantic powers of traditional opera alone which are put to service in the creation of the model works: Yang Zirong’s soliloquy at the beginning of Scene 8, for instance, is a good example of how Western instruments and Western-style revolutionary songs are incorporated into the structure of a traditional erhuang aria. The entire piece is accompanied by an orchestra dominated by strings and brass. Still in the off, Yang sings the first lines and enters with a short quotation in the horn from the revolutionary song “The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention” (San da jilu, ba xiang zuyi, bar 280). He is immediately reminded of his comrades and in deliberating the happy hopes of the impending battle, his feelings rise up in a long melisma (bar 282). In antiphony with the woodwinds, an instrumental group often used to mark idyllic situations in both Western and Chinese musical iconography, he sings of the Party which “warms his heart and gives him hope.” He swears never to forget his courage, and to be cautious all the time, at which point there is a “vigilant pause.”

The strings then twice strike a pizzicato chord, indicating the precarious situation in which Yang finds himself, voluntarily trapped in the cave of the bandits (bar 292). After a long melisma on the phrase “Mao Zedong’s thoughts will shine forever” (Mao Zedong sixin luoyi guangmang) supported again by rising wind passages, our hero relates that he is about to send off his message to his comrades about the opportune moment for battle. Suddenly, for one bar, the musical scene changes drastically. The strings are silent, and only the low winds (trombone, horns and bassoons as well as the sheng mouth organ) play the chromatic leitmotif of the bandits, which is characterized by its augmented and diminished intervals, frequently among them the augmented fourth, the interval also called the “devil in music” (bar 309). Yang,
woodwinds or transcendent xylophones. This particular use of orchestral language in the yangbanxi is heavily indebted to Western romanticism. Thus, meaning generated by contrast to earlier versions of the story or by confirmation of traditional symbolisms from Chinese opera, is here multiplied by the use of an “international” language, the Western musical tradition. In servicing the ideals of “To weed through the old to create the new and through the Western to create a Chinese national art,” the meaning and the message of the model works is lifted up to the level of a socialist Internationale (which, incidentally, is perhaps the most frequently quoted melody next to “The East is Red” in the yangbanxi and Cultural Revolution music at large, see Mittler (forthc. a, ch. 2).

Fig. 2. Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy, Scene 8, Citation of “The East is Red.”

aware of the danger around him, now decides to send his message off immediately in order not to “let the people and Party down.” On the word “Party,” the top-note of the aria, he sings a long melisma before he continues that “standing in the cold and melting the ice and snow, I’ve the morning sun in my heart.” Into the long sustained note on “sun,” the orchestra cites the line “China has brought forth a Mao Zedong” from “The East is Red” (Dongfang hong; Fig. 2), arguably the most famous hymn on Mao Zedong and the “National Anthem” of the Cultural Revolution (bars 309-10). The phrase culminates into a rising glissando in strings and winds concluding with the ascending, more and more transcendent sounds of the glockenspiel. Mao’s apotheosis in musical terms is further underlined by Yang’s wide-open shining eyes and the reddening of the sky in the background.

The musical tradition of Beijing opera is here adjusted by the addition of Western instruments to the Chinese “orchestra,” which usually consists of jinghu, jing-erhu, yueqin and percussion. Its semantic functions are expanded by the application of certain European musico-iconographic concepts such as the augmented fourth, idyllic

Fig. 3. Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy, Music from Scene 5, in erhuang (left) and xipi (right).
Another striking example of this practice is Yang’s aria in Scene 5, which begins with a typical operatic percussion interlude. Then, the orchestra takes over and by use of regular eighth-note movements and tremolos, it depicts—in musical iconography—Yang’s galloping with his horse (bars 132, 134-45). As Yang climbs the mountain, these eighth- and tremolo-movements soar higher and higher. A distinctive horn melody creates an atmosphere which a listener versed in the Western romanticist tradition will immediately associate with woods and forests (bars 136-39). Erhuang is used in the first deliberating part of the aria to convey the hero’s profound emotion in singing “let the red flag fly all over the world” (yuan hongqi wuhou sihai qi zhaowan, bars 156-57). His hopeful thoughts and ardent words of yearning for a utopian future are accompanied by the higher-pitched woodwinds (flute and oboe), typically used to mark idyllic situations. The beautiful picture drawn out in words is echoed in the music and rises to a climax again with an ascending arpeggio chord in the glockenspiel (bar 160). After a short interlude, Yang shows his sudden excitement at being able to “wipe out the bandits.” Changing to a drastically different musical mode, he does not simply change the metre but also the aria form. He continues to sing in xipi now (bar 164; see Fig. 3). The ancient rule that erhuang and xipi are not to be used in the same aria is thus broken in order to better reveal and display the inner emotions and the psychological development of the heroic character (see also Anon. 1970a).

Time and again in the yangbanxi, as in this scene, the semantics of the traditional musical setting are multiplied and enhanced by the use of elements from Western romanticism, rather well-known to certain Chinese audiences through Soviet influence. Such modifications, undertaken under the banner of modernization, served to multiply the same messages again and again on ever new levels of understanding for ever new potential audiences. These were not just applied to the music, however, but also to some of the other aspects of traditional operatic heritage preserved and yet reinvented in the model works. One example is the use of gestures from the tradition of Beijing opera (zuo). We have observed that the bandits in Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy walk in the manner of ridiculous or negative characters in Beijing opera: they sway and totter about in an irregular gait (Luan Ping in Scene 4) or they appear hunched (Vulture throughout)—quite in contrast with the positive characters such as Yang Zirong who regularly straightens himself up, opening his coat in a particular type of dramatic pose also adapted from traditional opera. While Yang enters the stage proudly and ceremoniously, with his arms raised and palms out, displaying his “good face” directly to his audience, Vulture and Luan Ping are always stooped, their ashen or blackened faces avoiding the audience (see Fig. 4). Denton (1987:127) mentions the interesting symbolic play with yin and yang analogies here, which opens up yet another level of signification: water, standing for yin, the negative, the weak and dark, moves downward and thus the negative persons are cringing, downwards; fire, on the other hand, the positive, strong and bright, the force of yang is directed upwards just like the positive characters in their gestures.

When Yang rides up to Tiger Mountain, his horse is invisible, as in Beijing opera (see Fig. 5). In this traditional pantomime, the protagonist fulfills a double-role; he has to depict movements of both the horse and himself. The whip not only indicates the colour of the horse but also certain movements: a straight whip stands for normal riding; with the whip on the ground, the rider is getting off; a whip perpendicular to the stage indicates binding the horse; and the horizontal whip shows that the horse is eating. Yang’s dignified presence is here emphasized by the fact that he sits straight on his horse even when—and this is very different from traditional opera—the animal audibly takes fright at the tiger and neighs.

Many of the typical stylized hand movements indicating certain moods and actions are thus kept in the model revolutionary operas, if sometimes modified according to the demands of “revolutionary realism and romanticism.” For this purpose, a number of new gestures are introduced, too. The raised fist, for example, indicating courage and revolutionary strength, now becomes the most important and most expressive of them. In the use of stage props, a similar strategy was followed. Although employing more realistic props than usual in traditional opera, the model works are still characterized by stylization typical of traditional opera. The naiveness of much of the painted scenery in the model works is reminiscent of the traditional restriction of means, even if those means have been expanded. Now, for instance, painted scenery serves as a mountain, not a chair, and a house has real, not imaginary, doors and
intelligent and unintelligent (for respectively endowed characters) fighting strategies by use of conventional movements. Another instance of the use of these traditional acrobatics, one of the most beautiful scenes of the entire work, shows the soldiers of the Communist Army during their ascent to Tiger Mountain on cross-country skis (Scene 9; see Fig. 6). In accordance with the prop-less tradition of Beijing Opera, the actors for the final filmed version relate: “For the skiing dance we opposed the use of ski poles or any other naturalistic props which would impede the movements of the dancers.” And yet, this scene was adapted to the life-on-a-higher-plane-realism prescribed by Mao, too. The actors remember: “We also firmly ruled out any of the traditional somersaults and leaps before the skis were removed, for this would be a formalistic departure from reality” (Anon. 1970c:63).

The use of traditional elements taken from Beijing opera had several purposes. First of all it was chosen to “serve the masses:” Beijing opera was an immensely popular form of art. Secondly, however, the use of traditional elements served to convey and to confirm certain well-known messages. The adaptation of tradition under the precepts of revolutionary realism and romanticism and the inclusion of elements from the Western musical tradition, on the other hand, served to multiply these messages on a more global—socialist—level while at the same time addressing other (presumably smaller, urbanized) parts of the Chinese national audience, those more accustomed and adjusted to the sounds of the Western romantic tradition. Both those
appreciative of traditional Chinese music and those more enamoured with the Western musical tradition could find something in these works that appealed to their particular tastes. Chinese and Western elements are redeveloped and brought into play here for no other purpose than to serve politics. Yet the semantic overdetermination resulting from this synthesis is packaged masterfully. As Elizabeth Wichmann puts it (1988:194-95), the "enormous range of theatrical forms and techniques in contemporary China, coupled with the variety of Western dramatic and theatrical elements becoming increasingly familiar in China, present a rich field for creative borrowing and assimilation. A literally innumerable array of music, acting, movement and dance, and staging possibilities present themselves." She concludes that "the most ambitious and far-reaching example of this sort of creative development to date remains the (model works or) yangbanxi." Whatever our political judgement of them, the model works, and especially the filmed versions of the 1970s are indeed everyone of them a Gesamtkunstwerk, the artistic perfection of which accords not only with certain political but also aesthetic standards.

4. Against Exceptions: The Model Works and Modern Chinese History

Through a reading of compositional practice in one of the earliest model works, this paper addressed some of the more obstinate myths about Cultural Revolution music, namely: no Western music could be heard and played during the Cultural Revolution; the Cultural Revolution destroyed Chinese traditional music; and the music from the Cultural Revolution forms a special category unlike that created before or after.

While it is true that only very few pieces of the Western musical repertoire were officially deemed "correct sounds" during the Cultural Revolution, many music-lovers had the experience that they could in fact listen to quite a few of their classical records (if they had not been smashed by the Red Guards) and even play Mozart and Beethoven in a string quartet, if nobody who knew this music and could therefore identify it as "bourgeois" was around (cf. interviews reported in Mittler 2002). Even more important is the fact, however, that, arguably, "Western music" was heard and played all throughout the Cultural Revolution in the form of those works that epitomize Cultural Revolution Music: the model works. My analysis of Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy has illustrated its use of the idiom of "pantonic romanticism." Functional harmonies and Western musical conventions, both in terms of melodic conception and in terms of instrumentation, are added to the outlines of Chinese melody, not just in the model operas but also in the model ballets and symphonic and instrumental works among the yangbanxi, thus "sanitizing" (Jones 1995:63) the idiosyncrasies and peculiarities of Chinese musical style according to foreign standards. Pantonic romanticism prevalent in all of the model works is a style which is quintessentially "Western."

On the other hand, Chen Xiaomei argues rightly that "the emergence and popularity of model theater had deep roots in the traditional culture" (Chen 2002:107). While it is true that many Chinese instruments associated with the literati tradition could not be played during the Cultural Revolution, it must also be considered a time when, even according to Rulian Chao Pian, more people than ever before were exposed to the music of Beijing Opera, precisely because of the prevalence of modified Beijing operas (10) among the model works (Pian 1984). Never before (and perhaps never since) in Chinese history had the efforts of bringing music directly to the people been so forceful and thorough as during the Cultural Revolution and with the model works. My analysis of Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy has illustrated that the model operas were also recompositions of traditional Chinese opera (for a close musicological analysis, see van Leeuwen 2000 and forthec.). Thus, they served to perpetuate and to spread some of the symbolic and musical intricacies of this traditional Chinese musical art form to a greater public than ever before. The recent popularity and successful commercialization of the model works illustrates that the Cultural Revolution may indeed have "saved the folk tradition" precisely by politicizing and modernizing it.

Speaking from an artistic point of view, then, it is apparent that the model works are anything but the product of an iconoclastic and xenophobic era, as the Cultural Revolution is so often described. Contrary to the common assumption that the Cultural Revolution dealt a death blow to both traditional and to Western music, the particular music associated with the Cultural Revolution, especially in the form of the model works, is based in part on traditional Chinese as well as Western musico-dramatic heritage. The model works are manifestations of a hybrid taste which calls for the transformation of Chinese tradition according to Western standards, a taste which for a century has led to the creation of a Chinese music of Western imprint. They are just another attempt to create a modern but Chinese music for China, a music in national style (minzuquing). Obviously, the translation of the slogan "To weed through the old to create the new and through the Western to create a Chinese national art" into musical terms is not an invention of the Cultural Revolution. It has been political and musical practice throughout the twentieth century (and continues into the 21st). Chinese melodies and vocal styles, Chinese instrumental techniques and Chinese philosophical concepts continue to influence Chinese composers to the present day in their search for a music that is both Chinese and modern at the same time (Mittler 1997: esp. chapter 4 and Utz 2002). The model works, be they operas, ballets or instrumental compositions, have their rightful place in a long series of attempted syntheses of foreign and Chinese heritage, ranging from the opera reforms of Mei Lanfang, to "People’s Composer" Xian Xinghai’s Yellow River Cantata, from He Zhanhao and Chen Gang’s Butterfly Lovers Violin Concerto to the activities of Taiwan’s modern ballet Cloud Gate Theatre, and from Liu Suola’s Beijing operatic pop to Tan Dun’s opera Tea.

The discourse on the direction of indigenous musical traditions and their modernization has a long history in China and one that is characterized by dissent, controver-
sy and political interpretation. The discussion of different versions of the model works and their predecessors was intended to show that not just in style, but also in subject matter, the music of the Cultural Revolution is closely linked to musical developments predating 1966 (and, it still finds repercussions to the present day: Mittler forthc. a.). Therefore, the third myth about Cultural Revolution music, its uniqueness, must be undone. Cultural Revolution music is not so much an exception but the rule in the production of new Chinese music throughout the twentieth century, where “pentatonic romanticism” is only one answer to the question of how to write politically correct national-style music. The Maoist experiment, manifested in the model works, of re-inventing a new, revolutionary Chinese culture was neither all that new nor truly revolutionary.

Yet, I would argue that the incessant revisions of the model works (somewhat replicating the Maoist call for continuous revolution) played an important role in their reception. Discord or harmony, the gap between “original” and “revision,” served as a none-too-subtle hint as to the meaning of these pieces. In order to reach all and everyone among the masses, this meaning was repeated over and over again, on all possible levels of the work: in music, text, gestures, scenery, make-up, costumes, and lighting. The model works are unique in their univalence on all of these levels. Thus, they are rather different from performative art elsewhere or in China before and after the Cultural Revolution in one very crucial aspect: they do not allow for freedom of interpretation, they deny the idea of the instability of the text, they prescribe to their “interpretive community” in every detail and only one interpretation. This semantic overdetermination — further aided by the fact that the model works were ever-present, in local performances and daily radio emissions, as films, posters, short stories, comic books, records, picture collections, piano adaptations and cut-out figures — becomes blatantly evident in “How-to-guides” to the performances of the model works, which prescribe exactly how much wattage the lighting has to have, how to apply the make-up for actors, where they have to stand and how they have to move (Zhongguo jingju shu jian 1970). This semantic overdetermination led, ironically, to the “McDonaldization” of Chinese art, by which I mean that it ensured that one saw, or ate, the same products wherever one went. And this semantic overdetermination was to assert and to reflect the total control over the content, purpose and mechanisms of cultural production exerted by the self-sanctioned makers of culture under Jiang Qing.

Notes

1 Even as late as 1998 an authoritative bibliography to the Cultural Revolution subsumes cultural production under the reductive heading “eight model works” (Wu 1998:263). There is a growing body of scholarship, however, which attempts to revise this politically motivated interpretation of Cultural Revolution Culture in particular and the effects of the Cultural Revolution on the development of Chinese culture in general. In the field of ethnomusicology and theatre studies, this revisionist view can be found in works by authors such as Chen Xiaomei, Li Cuizhi, Colin Mackerras, Sue Tuohy, Elizabeth Wichmann, Wang Renyuan, Bell Yung and Daniel Yung.

2 I use the term “model works” rather than the commonly used “model operas” precisely because of the variety in genre within the eighteen yangbaxi. The eight original yangbaxi include the ballets Boimono (The White-haired Girl) and Hongse niangzi jin (Red Detachment of Women), the symphony Shajiang (Shajiang Village), and the operas Shajiangdong, Heng dengji (The Red Lantern), Zhiqiu weishan (Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy), Hagem (Harbour) and Qish baxi (Raid on the White Tiger Regiment). The eighteen yangbaxi listed in the newspaper Guangming ribao on 9 March 1976 contain the above eight items and the ballets Yunsong (Ode to Mount Yi) and Cuoxin er (Children of the Steppes), the symphony Zhiqiu weishan, the Yellow River Piano Concerto, the piano music Heng dengji and the operas Hongse niangzi jin, Pingyuan zaochen (Fighting on the Plain), Longjiang song (Ode to the Dragon River), Dachuan (Ataxia Mountain), and Fanshiwan (Fanshi Bay).

3 Yung continues: “Musical and theatrical experiments...tried in the model operas have their off-spring today in many genres of Chinese music and drama and such experimentation will, undoubtedly, continue for many years to come.” As late as 1977 the official New Year’s Celebrations contained performances of the yangbaxi (Chu and Cheng 1978:83).

4 Zhu’a First Symphony uses a Beijing opera guomen (musical interlude) and compares it to the golden hoop Xuanzang uses to control Sun Wukong in the famous novel Journey to the West. The repetition and rigidity of its use become a simile for the “rigid control over the arts by use of the yangbaxi” (Zhu 1987:49). Zhu also quotes a phrase taken from one of the so-called Yulage (Songs on quotations of Mao), in vogue during the Cultural Revolution. This phrase is taken from a song called Zongfu yu li (It is Reasonable to Rebel). It was set to music by Li Jiefa, one of the most important writers of political songs in the early years of the People’s Republic of China. Another song Zhu uses, the Hongshebing zhuo (Battle Song of the Red Guards), emphasizes the Red Guards’ blind following of Chairman Mao. For a more detailed description of this composition, see Mittler 1997:100-104 and Mittler forthc. b.

5 For these pieces see Mittler forthc. b. I argue elsewhere that the Cultural Revolution had other repercussions in the field of music, too, that were not directly related to the model works as such. Many of the young composers rising to great international fame after the Cultural Revolution were deeply influenced by their experiences in the countryside or in revolutionary music ensembles and write a music steeped in their own folk and traditional musical practice thus transcending the orthodox vocabulary of the modern avant-garde. See further Mittler 1997, 1999, 2002.

6 Yangge, a traditional song-and-dance-form, was the first genre deemed worthy of adaptation (Holm 1991). The spread of yangge was limited due to political factors, on the one hand, as the Communists were still working underground, and due to its particular regional elements, on the other hand, which made it less acceptable as a national form than Beijing Opera (Michel 1982:91). The use of Beijing Opera as vehicle for China’s musical modernization also has roots in the 1940s. The foundation of the Yan’ an pingju yanjuyuan in 1942 was an important factor in the promotion of modern and ideologically sound, “healthy” operas. For the development of reformed and new opera, see van Leeruwen 2000.

7 Yung 1984, Mittler 1997:82-96 and Wang 1999:passim emphasize the musical aspects of the yangbaxi. The first comprehensive study of the performative aspects of the model operas is Denton 1987 (see also Denton 1983). Filmic aspects are studied in Volland forthcoming.
Important contributions to this discussion from a number of different perspectives have been made recently by Stephen Jones, Erich Lai, Frederick Lau, Nancy Rao, Jonathan Stock and Larry Witzeleben amongst others.

The earlier versions of this model work were published in Hongqi no. 8 (1967) and Hongqi no. 11 (1969), and translated in Chinese Literature no. 8 (1967) and Chinese Literature no. 1 (1970).

The extreme darkness in the depiction of the negative characters may have the adverse effect, as Lois Wheeler-Snow reports: she was drawn even more to those characters because she really had to work to see them (Wheeler-Snow 1973:52).

All unreferenced numbers refer to the page numbers in the consulted 1971 score: Zhiqu weihashan zonggu, Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1971.

Compare a similar situation in film as described in Leyda (1972:301-2): “In studying Chinese films a European or American observer has to be prepared for a situation not so evident outside China: that most Chinese films, especially those of particular importance, are based on works already developed in literature or the theatre. Few films there are born as film ideas, directly.”

An exegesis of the model work Shajiaobang Village illustrates the extreme attention Jiang Qing paid to realistic detail. In Shajiaobang, “political instructor Kuo Chien-kuang (Guo Jian-guang)...had the lines: ‘White the reed flowers, yellow the paddy and green the rows of willows.’ Suspecting that these three colours could not be seen in the same season, Comrade Chiang Ching made a special trip to consult an old poor peasant in that district. He confirmed that the text was untrue to life. For paddy turns yellow in the autumn when willows are no longer a fresh green, and willows are green in spring when young paddy shoots have just been planted. After careful consideration, these lines were changed to: ‘The reeds are in flower, the paddy is fragrant, and willows line the banks’” (Huo 1967:14).

According to Fish (1980:306), interpretation is the function of publically established standards which are usually not to be found inside the text but are in fact external to it, to be found in an “interpretive community.” The model works, however, are intended to do exactly the opposite.

The idea to interpret Cultural Revolution Culture in terms of popular (commercial) culture, as also practiced and exemplified in Mittler forthc. a and b, stems from discussions with Thomas A. Schmitz.

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Anon. (The Cultural Revolution stressed collective works and authorship, emphasizing the participation in cultural activities of the masses and their ownership of the fruits of cultural production.)


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Zhu Jian'er

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**Glossary of Chinese Titles, Names and Terms**

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<td>革命现代戏曲 “The Modern Revolutionary Opera”</td>
<td>“The Red Lantern”</td>
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<td>黄河大合唱</td>
<td>Grand Choral of the Yellow River</td>
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<td>玉门关</td>
<td>Jade Gate Pass</td>
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<td>葡萄美酒夜光杯</td>
<td>Wine and Nightingales of the Jade Cup</td>
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<td>Dream</td>
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xipi 西皮
xiyao 西调
xiaosheng 小生
yangzhuang 桑下装
yanghuanzi 陽環子
yangge 仰歌
yao Wenyuan 姚文元
yinyu 聲禹
yueling 聂耳
zaolin you shilun zhaopian 齊林幼史論電影
zheng Cheongfei 鄭作緯
zhiqu weishusan 革命現代戲曲
zhongguang xijue gaijin weijsuan hui 中國戲劇改革委員會
zhu Jian'er 朱劍爾
zuo Shunlian 周公燕