

Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China

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Mao's Remains

Frederic Wakeman, Jr.

PROLOGUE

While in Peking in 1984, I requested a visit to Mao's Chi-nien t'ang (Memorial Hall). Although the monument was not then open to the public at large, the Chinese Association of Science and Technology arranged for the small delegation I headed to see the hall early on a cold January morning. One of those sharp, bitter winds so common in the dead of a Peking winter was whipping across T'ien-an men, snapping flags and ruddying the cheeks of the Military Police standing guard, when our cars drew up beside the group of huge statuary figures at the northeastern corner of the shrine. In between these titanic representations of socialist heroes past and present, dwarfed by comparison, were silently attentive groups of real men and women, many dressed in uniforms of the People's Liberation Army, waiting for their units to be admitted to the hall. The northerly wind carried down upon us strains of a military band, playing what I later learned was the Sudanese national anthem, as an African general in full battle dress laid a wreath at the foot of the Revolutionary Heroes' Cenotaph in the distance, toward the Forbidden City.

I got out of my car, pulling my overcoat around me, and had time to take just one photograph of the scene across the great square before the atten-

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dants behind the ropes that delineated the approach to the mausoleum sharply reproved me. Moments later we were sandwiched in between two of the waiting groups and rushed, nearly at a trot, down the rope-lined avenue, up the steps, and into the outer room where sits Mao Tse-tung's statue, three meters high and carved in white marble. Lights were low, the mood hushed, and I realized that this was not to be a tour of the entire hall but rather a visit to pay respects to the remains of Chairman Mao. I let the group behind me shuffle on through the carved hardwood doors into the refrigerated room at the heart of the shrine where Mao's remains lie. As I lingered in the anteroom (which one Chinese friend has told me was inspired by the Lincoln Memorial), the lights suddenly brightened to camera-ready brilliance and a television crew appeared from the side to film the Sudanese general and his entourage now climbing up the steps of the hall. Attendants quickly spotted me, however, and motioned me on to the much darker and colder room where Mao lay in state under a trapezoidal crystal upon a black catafalque of granite from Mount T'ai, inscribed with gold national, party, and army emblems, as well as his own dates (1893-1976). The catafalque, surrounded by mountain flowers and a low crystal balustrade, was only a meter high, so that—passing by on the right—one looked down upon the sallow, wrinkled face of the late Chairman, bathed in yellow light. There was too little time to feel any emotion, be it awe or impatience, though my eye was caught by the phrase inscribed in the green marble on the southern wall to the memory of "our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung: forever eternal without corrupting" (*yung ch'ui pu hsin*).¹ Just as the irony of that phrasing (rumors were rife in 1980 that the embalmed corpse was decomposing) sank in, I found myself with my fellow delegation members walking rapidly down the southern steps that face the Chi-nien-men where our cars were waiting to take us on to the day of negotiations ahead.²

Before getting into the limousine and out of the wind, I turned to look back at the imposing structure behind me. On either side were groups of statues showing the people of China carrying out Mao's final commands, and around these fluttered thirty red flags representing the peoples of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions of China. Stationed along the steps, as frozen as the statues, were fur-hatted guards standing in silent vigil. I suddenly, impiously, remembered a joke making the rounds among particularly defiant Peking intellectuals in the summer of 1977. A

1. For the importance of calligraphic symbols to Hua's succession, see Helmut Martin, *Cult and Canon: The Origins and Development of State Maoism* (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1982), p. 54.

2. For the rumors about embalming difficulties, see Jay and Linda Matthews, *One Billion: A China Chronicle* (New York: Random House, 1983), p. 327.

i'u-pao-tzu (bumpkin) from the countryside visits his city cousin, who takes him to see Mao's tomb. "Ai-ya," the bumpkin says. "It's so big! Chairman Mao always wanted to be just like one of us. He never wanted to distance himself from the masses. How could you build him such a big and imposing *ling-mu* (mausoleum)?" "Oh," answers the city cousin, "just to prove that he's really dead."

REVOLUTIONARY SAINTS

The term *ling-mu* (or, in some cases, even *ling-ch'in*, once used to describe the tomb of a member of the imperial family) suggests some of the problematic awkwardness surrounding the physical remains of a modern secular political leader like Mao Tse-tung. A simple grave (*mu-tsang*) was traditionally the normal resting place of common corpses. Royal remains might merit mausolea that were both monuments and tombs, but revolutionary saints—while deserving of public worship—were usually buried apart from their historical monuments.

The impulse behind this separation was egalitarian: to create a public mausoleum was tantamount to creating a public shrine, and thus a public cult singling out one among many leaders of the revolutionary movement. As Teng Hsiao-p'ing candidly explained:

In the fifties, Chairman Mao had said that at their death, all the leading comrades in China should be cremated and only their ashes maintained. No grave site for the leaders, no mausoleums. The proposal had been caused by the lesson learned after the death of Stalin and had been materialized in the form of a document. Chairman Mao had been the first to put his name on it, and many other high-ranking officials had their names on it too, including myself. In fact, that Chou En-lai was cremated makes you know that document still exists.³

Though the party's cremation policy was ostensibly directed against the formation of a cult of personality like Stalin's, such worship originated with Lenin himself, whose faith "holds that a legendary past will deliver a utopian future."⁴ Indeed, it was precisely the embalming and public display of Lenin's corpse in the USSR that inspired the initial practice in Republican China of creating a *ling-mu*—a conjoined tomb and shrine—for the greatest of early revolutionary saints, Sun Yat-sen himself.

3. Oriana Fallaci, "Deng: Cleaning up Mao's 'Feudal Mistakes,'" *Washington Post Outlook*, August 31, 1980, p. 4.

4. Nina Tumarkin, "The Remains of Lenin," *New York Times* (April 30, 1983), p. 23. For Stalin's use of the Lenin cult to entrench himself in the leadership, and for the origination of the tradition later adopted in Vietnam and China of interring the leader in a mausoleum, see Martin, *Cult and Canon*, p. 145.

THE BURIAL OF SUN YAT-SEN

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's funeral rites in 1925 aroused intense conflict between his Christian relatives and the left wing of the Kuomintang. Leaders of the Kuomintang, and especially the head of its political bureau, Eugene Chen, brought great pressure to bear upon Madame Sun (Soong Ch'ing-ling), Sun Fo, and the Soongs to refuse a Christian ceremony altogether.⁵ When Sun Yat-sen's family insisted on a Christian service in the privacy of the Peking Union Medical College's chapel, members of the party's left wing announced that they would have no part in it. As the glass coffin ordered by the Kuomintang had not yet arrived, a massive Chinese hardwood casket stood beneath a large framed photograph of Dr. Sun, banked with white flowers, on the chapel's altar. When the service was over, the coffin was brought out, borne by twenty-four pallbearers to the street, and a procession of party members was formed to take Sun's body to Central Park, where it was to lie in state for two weeks. As planes circled overhead the funeral cortege moved with great solemnity through the streets, its progress marked by military salutes fired at five-minute intervals. Eventually, the coffin was placed in the Central Park's great pavilion upon a flaming red bier, the gift of Ambassador Karakhan. Then, to bring an end to the civil ceremony, Sun's will was read aloud to the multitude.⁶

After the Nationalists' Northern Expedition reached the capital and Chiang Kai-shek paid a dramatic visit to Pi-yun su (Temple of the Azure Clouds) where Sun Yat-sen's silver casket lay, the physical remains of the late *tsung-ti* (director) were moved to Nanking and placed in the imposing memorial built on Purple Mountain east of the Nationalist capital. The mausoleum became "the national shrine of modern China," and—unlike imperial tombs—a place of public pilgrimage.⁷ Just as Sun Yat-sen had repeatedly sought to legitimate his own revolutionary movement by conducting ceremonies at the Ming tombs, so did his successors enshroud their government in the aura of Sun's mausoleum. Even before the shrine was built,

5. Edna Lee Booker, *News Is My Job: A Correspondent in War-Torn China* (New York: Macmillan, 1940), pp. 185–186. There was also a putative ideological conflict between Sun's conservative Confucian supporters and the left wing, cited in Mary Clabaugh Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-Chih Restoration, 1862–1874* (New York: Atheneum, 1966), p. 304.

6. Leon Wieger, ed., *Chine moderne*, vol. 6 (Sienhsien, 1925), pp. 170–171. See also the account preserved in L. Carrington Goodrich's diary and quoted in C. Martin Wilbur, *Sun Yat-sen: Frustrated Patriot* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 280. There are many photographs of these scenes in the Sidney Gamble Collection, Princeton University.

7. M. L. Rosholt, "Magnificence, Grandeur of New Nanking Makes Deep Impression on Foreign Traveller Revisiting Nation's Capital," *China Press Double Tenth Supplement* (October 1935), p. 56.

the new Nationalist government sought to use the anniversary celebrations of Sun's death to enhance its own authority by holding "elaborate ceremonies" on March 12, 1928, in Nanking where it was decreed that thenceforth the "planting ceremony" of Chinese arbor day would be held on the anniversary of the death of the "father of the country."⁸ The funeral rites on June 1, 1929, when Sun Yat-sen was reinterred on Purple Mountain, provided the occasion for all of the regime's leaders to ritualize their rule by accompanying the *tsung-ii's* coffin as it was solemnly carried up the stone steps for burial in the mausoleum above.⁹ Afterwards, the ceremonial climax of any official visit to the Nationalist government at Nanking was a trip to Dr. Sun's memorial, and more than any other single object—including the presidential offices in the capital—the tomb represented the Kuomintang government.¹⁰ The mausoleum constituted a new sacred center for the Republican state: a sign of revolutionary authority that had to be acknowledged by all succeeding rulers. When Wang Ching-wei and Chou Fo-hai inaugurated their puppet government in Nanking in 1940, for example, the first place they visited was the tomb, where Wang read Dr. Sun's will and cried aloud, tears running down his face. Similarly, when the Nationalist government formally reestablished its capital in Nanking on May 5, 1946, Chiang Kai-shek celebrated the occasion by "personally leading his civil and military officials in conducting a great victory ceremony before the tomb of the father of the country (*kwo-fu ling*)."¹¹ And, less than three years later, when the Generalissimo resigned as president, the very last act he performed was to pay a final call of respect at Sun's tomb.¹²

Even today the Nationalist regime on Taiwan ceremonially addresses the tomb on important state occasions. After a new Kuomintang government was sworn in on January 20, 1984, President Chiang Ching-kuo and Vice-President Li Teng-hui held a special ceremony in the Great Hall of the Pres-

8. "Summary of Events and Conditions in the Nanking Consular District, March, 1928," *Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of China*, 1910-1929, 893.00, volume 68. Left-wing Kuomintang members of the Peiping branch attempted to use the ceremonies commemorating the fourth anniversary of Sun's death and held in the T'ai-ho Palace courtyard in the Forbidden City on March 14, 1929, to protest Chiang Kai-shek's "packing" of the Third Party Congress. "Memorial Services for Kuomintang Founder Held Despite Severe Dust Storm," *North China Standard*, March 14, 1929.

9. For photographs of the reinterment ceremonies, see *A Pictorial History of the Republic of China: Its Founding and Development* (Taipei: Modern China Press, 1981), pp. 252-255.

10. For the use of the tomb as a symbol of the regime, see *Ten Years of Nationalist China. The China Press Weekly Supplement* 3, no. 16 (1937): 1-80.

11. Gerald E. Bunker, *The Peace Conspiracy: Wang Ching-wei and the China War, 1937-1941* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 226; *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung yi-shun yü hsun-yeh* 總統蔣公遺訓與黨業 [President Mr. Chiang's bequeathed instructions and meritorious honors] (Taipei, 1975), pp. 226, 261 (quote from p. 226).

idential Palace in Taipei. While solemn music was played, Chiang "made offerings at a distance" to the "tomb of the father of the country," burning incense and tendering flowers in the direction of Nanking before leading the participants to bow three times to the portrait of Sun Yat-sen hanging in the Palace's Great Hall.¹²

CREMATION VERSUS PRESERVATION

There were thus two conflicting impulses within the revolutionary tradition that the Kuomintang and Kungch'antang inherited from Sun's United Front years. One, evinced in the Communists' signed promise to accept cremation, both turns one's physical remains into ashes and enforces a certain egalitarianism among the "older generation" of party leaders. The second, coming from Lenin through Sun, is the tradition of the single dominant leader of the party (the *tsung-ii*, *tsung-ts'ai*, or *chu-hsi*) having his remains preserved as an object of civil religious devotion.¹³

The decision to preserve the remains brings many problems, including the persistent trope of physical corruption. It was said in the case of Sun Yat-sen that the famous crystal sarcophagus from Russia was not airtight and that (as rumors later attested about Mao's remains) the dead leader's body was decaying.¹⁴ Even if the person's corpse were perfectly preserved, there remained the risk of later physical defilement—a practice far from uncommon in Chinese imperial history or in the Republican period. Certainly the dismemberment of Ch'ien-lung's and Tz'u-hsi's remains by Sun grave robbers.¹⁵ Leaders who feared posthumous political reversals during the civil war between the Communists and Nationalists were also concerned lest their bodies be disinterred and defiled.¹⁶

12. *Shih-chieh jih-pao* 世界日報 [World Journal] (February 22, 1984), p. 1. The ceremony was held on January 21.

13. The remains include, of course, ideological remnants, often embodied in a last testament or in the "living thought" of the dead leader. As Ambassador Karakhan said at the February 1924 commemoration for Lenin in Peking: "The brilliant star that guided us has been extinguished by death. But the thought of Lenin survives. It will continue to shine throughout the world." "Fou Lenin, 93," in Leon Wieger, ed., *Chine moderne*, vol. 5, 2d ed. (Stenhsien, 1934), p. 207.

14. Percy Finch, *Shanghai and Beyond* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 67.

15. Henry McAlvey, *A Dream of Tartary: The Origins and Misfortunes of Henry P'u Yi* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1963), pp. 185-189.

16. When Tai Li was buried by his followers in 1946, for example, the tomb in Nanking was so heavily encased in concrete that his former Bureau of Investigation and Statistics lieutenant was unable to unearth his body to take it to Taiwan three years later. Shen Tsui 沈醉, "Wo suo chih-tao te Tai Li," 我所知道的戴笠 [The Tai Li I knew], in Shen Tsui 文 戴笠其人 [Tai Li the man] (Peking, 1980), p. 172.

Nor did the danger of defilement end with the civil war. During the Cultural Revolution Red Guards smashed open the grave of former Party Chairman Ch'ü Ch'ü-pai—whom Mao had indirectly accused of betraying the revolution while in a Kuomintang prison—and scattered his remains.¹⁷ Remembering this as he lay dying of cancer in January 1976, Premier Chou En-lai insisted that his body be cremated and his ashes scattered.¹⁸ After Chou's death word spread that his corpse was to be sent to the crematorium; only the intervention of Chou's widow prevented popular resistance to the cremation.¹⁹ The agitation then, and later during the tumultuous outpouring of grief in the April 4 demonstration on grave-sweeping day before the Revolutionary Heroes Monument in T'ien-an men Square, reflected complex political concerns.²⁰ But these public demonstrations over the disposition of Chou's remains and the commemoration of his spirit also represented a kind of psychological displacement. For, especially during the Cultural Revolution, one of the most intense anxieties experienced by survivors of the dead was their inability to attend properly to the traditional rituals of death and dying.²¹ Even individualized access to the crematoria—where bodies lay about unattended, awaiting anonymous mass disposal unless it could be proved in writing by one's unit that the person was not a "black gang" member and had not died as a result of being beaten or having committed suicide—was restricted; and elaborate back-door procedures were required to obtain illicit burial grounds in the Fragrant Hills west of the capital.²² The handling of Chou En-lai's remains, therefore, must have touched many who were unable openly to mourn loved ones who had died while under political attack.²³

17. Mao had insinuated that Ch'ü had lost his revolutionary integrity when he wrote *Superfluous Words*. Xu Guomin, "The Tragedy within China's Communist Palace: the Wu Hao Incident and Relations between Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou," M.A. thesis, San Jose State University, April 1983, p. 105. For the controversy surrounding *Superfluous Words*, see also Tsai-an Hsia, *The Gate of Darkness: Studies on the Leftist Literary Movement in China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), pp. 45–54, and Paul G. Pickowicz, *Marxist Literary Thought in China: The Influence of Ch'ü Ch'ü-pai* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 210–221.

18. Xu Guomin, "Tragedy," p. 104; David S. Zweig, "The Peita Debate on Education and the Fall of Teng Hsiao-p'ing," *China Quarterly* 73 (1978): 149–150.

19. *New York Times*, January 8, 1977, p. 1. See also Roger Garside, *Coming Alive: China after Mao* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), pp. 7–9. For photographs of the procession, see *Jen-min te tao-nien* 人民的悼念 [The grief of the people] (Peking, 1979), pp. 14–15.

20. The intense emotionality attending Chou's death, as well as the passionate demonstrations at T'ienanmen on April 4 and 5, are well described in two important eyewitness accounts: Garside, *Coming Alive*, pp. 7–11, 128–132; and Zweig, "The Peita Debate on Education," pp. 146–147, 154–157.

21. Anne F. Thurston, "The Cultural Revolution in Retrospect: Voices of the Victims," unpublished paper, pp. 22–24.

22. Personal testimony by a Chinese informant.

23. One is reminded of a Chinese aphorism: "Borrow the mourning hall to cry out one's sorrows."

THE DEATH OF MAO TSE-TUNG

Mao Tse-tung's death in the early hours of September 9, 1976, at the age of eighty-two was another matter.²⁴ People felt more "at a loss" (*ming-jian*) than grief stricken. In meetings some people cried openly, and there was public weeping over his corpse, but most people in Peking seemed mainly concerned about who was going to take over the country in the succession struggle certain to break out now that the Chairman was gone.²⁵ The government—that is, the Central Committee and the Military Commission of the Chinese Communist Party, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and the State Council—issued two announcements on September 9, 1976, in order to coordinate public mourning for the dead leader and to reiterate the policies then being carried out by the coalition later vilified as the "Gang of Four," who were uneasily allied with Mao's successor, Hua Kuo-feng, against a "right deviationist" wing represented by Teng Hsiao-p'ing.²⁶

Characteristically, the policy statement came first. After brief remarks extolling Chairman Mao's role as founder of the Communist Party of China, the announcement praised him for his leadership during the various "line" struggles against "opportunists" and against "counter-revolutionary revisionists." As a Marxist, Mao was singled out for having been the first to point out that "there are still classes and class struggle after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production," and for having reached the "scientific conclusion" that the bourgeoisie was "right of the Communist Party."²⁷ His historical accomplishments had earned him the love and respect of the Chinese people as well as of revolutionaries throughout the entire world, and even though "the radiance of Mao Tse-tung thought will forever illuminate the road of advance of the Chinese people," his death was "bound to evoke immense grief" among them.²⁸ Nevertheless, the Chinese were enjoined to carry on the cause he had left behind by "taking class struggle as the key link," in order to rally around the party, to

24. Mao died at ten minutes past midnight, probably of advanced Parkinson's disease or cerebral arteriosclerosis. Andres D. Onate, "Hua Kuo-feng and the Arrest of the Gang of Four," *China Quarterly* 75 (1978): 540.

25. Edoarda Masi, *China Winter: Workers, Mandarins and the Purge of the Gang of Four*, trans. Adrienne Foule (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1982), p. 88. My impressions are based on conversations with Chinese friends—nearly all intellectuals—living in Peking at that time. See also Garside, *Coming Alive*, pp. 139–140, 149.

26. The "Gang of Four" was present at the discussions drafting these messages, but its members were reported to have said nothing. Onate, "Arrest," pp. 542–543.

27. "Message to the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the People of All Nationalities Throughout the Country," NCNA-English (Peking, September 9, 1976), CMP-SPRC-76-37, pp. 250–251. Mao's statement about the "bourgeoisie" being in the CCP can be found in *Peking Review* 19, no. 1 (March 12, 1976): 4. See also Richard Curt Kraus, *Class Conflict in Chinese Socialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 17, 97.

28. "Message," pp. 251–252.

deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the "right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts," to strengthen the building of the army and militia, to continue the struggle to liberate Taiwan, to adhere to proletarian internationalism and struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, and to go on studying Marxism-Leninism—Mao Tse-tung thought.²⁹

The second announcement declared that mourning services would be held in the Great Hall of the People during the seven days from September 11 to September 17, culminating in a memorial rally in T'ien-an men Square on September 18 at 3:00 P.M.³⁰ The government also announced that it had decided not to invite "foreign governments, fraternal parties or friendly personsages to send delegations or representatives to take part in the mourning in China."³¹

Party organizations at all levels responded to the radio broadcast of the first announcement by sending messages of condolence that essentially affirmed the statement of policy itself. In the first of many identical rituals held throughout China, a Peking Garrison guard unit gathered before the huge, black-draped portrait of Mao on the red wall of T'ien-an men to take "a solemn vow" to "discharge our duty well, defend the Party Central Committee, defend T'ien-an men and keep the five-star red flag hoisted by Chairman Mao in its place over T'ien-an men Square forever."³²

MOURNING MAO

The mourning services that commenced on September 11 placed Mao's corpse on public view and established the roster of the new government. While 50,000 inhabitants of the capital prepared to file through the Great Hall of the People on that single day, party and state leaders in hierarchical order (Hua Kuo-feng, Wang Hung-wen, Yeh Chien-ying, Chang Ch'iao, Soong Ch'ing-ling, Chiang Ch'ing, Yao Wen-yuan, and so on down to Chiang Hua, President of the Supreme People's Court) gathered at 10:00 A.M. to pay silent tribute before Mao's bier while a PLA band struck up solemn funeral music. As the "Varshavyanka" march played on, group after

group of mourners—selected from key units by the funeral committee in order to symbolically confirm the policies then in effect—filed through the hall. Most stopped for a moment in respectful silence in front of the bier, through some cried out: "Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao, you'll always live in our memory!"³³

The hall contained the many funeral wreaths presented by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council, and other state and party units, plus a group of "patriotic compatriots from Taiwan province."³⁴ The order of precedence of the official roster, which completely displaced Mao's family, was in this single respect shifted to accommodate the special status of Mao's private dependants. A wreath from the family was placed just before his coffin and given special attention in the accounts of the ceremony, but there was nothing else, apart from those flowers, to signal the family's position as mourners.³⁵ The chief mourners remained the carefully listed state and party leaders, and more important than Mao's relatives were the representatives sent to the services from areas where Mao had "undertaken great revolutionary activities": Shao-shan, the An-yuan Colliery, Jui-chin county, and so on.³⁶ Mao as a person, with family and friends, was displaced by Mao as a transcendent revolutionary leader without a private domain of his own.

Elsewhere in China, at specially designated places, similar public observances were held—the mourning ceremonies continuing in this fashion for seven days.³⁷ Increasingly stressed, as time went by, was the commitment of carefully chosen units to the cause bequeathed them by the dead leader. Pledges to carry on the cause—the policies initiated during 1976 against Teng Hsiao-p'ing—were repeatedly voiced. Official accounts of the mourning services emphasized again and again the magnitude of the numbers of people who paid their respects to Mao. During the seven days, more than 300,000 cadres, workers, peasants, soldiers, and people in the capital "with

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 252–254.

30. "Announcement," NCNA-English (Peking, September 9, 1976), CMP-SPRCR-76-37, p. 256.

31. *Ibid.* The only foreigner to participate in the mourning services was Ieng Sary, Deputy Prime Minister of Kampuchea. "Chairman Mao's Magnificent Achievements Will Always Shine, Over 300,000 People in Capital Deeply Mourn Chairman Mao and Pay Last Respects to His Remains," NCNA-English (Peking, September 17, 1976), CMP-SPRCR-76-39, p. 186.

32. "Whole Party, Whole Army and People of Whole Country Mourn Passing Away of Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao," NCNA-English (Peking, September 10, 1976), CMP-SPRCR-76-38, p. 26.

33. "Solemn Mourning Services Begin in Chinese Capital—Party, State Leaders, 50,000 People Mourn Great Leader Chairman Mao with Profound Grief," NCNA-English (Peking, September 11, 1976), CMP-SPRCR-76-38, pp. 86. The mourners included Red Guards from the Ching-kang Mountains, Long March survivors, Eighth Route Army veterans, young Red Guards "who fought in the van of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," and so forth.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 85. Of the forty condolence messages published in *People's Daily* between September 10 and September 12, only six provinces and five military regions specifically offered their condolences to Chiang Ch'ing, and none of the eleven devoted more than a single sentence to her. Chiang Ch'ing failed to appear in the receiving lines during the memorial services. Onate, "Arrest," p. 545. See also Ross Terrell, *The White-Boned Demon: A Biography of Madame Mao Zedong* (New York: William Morrow, 1984), p. 368.

36. "Solemn Mourning Services Begin," p. 89.

37. This was in marked contrast to the mourning for Chou En-tai, which was declared at an end once the funeral ceremony had been held. Garside, *Coming Alive*, p. 12.

grief and esteem and love, came to the mourning hall in the Great Hall of the People to pay last respects to the remains of Chairman Mao."³⁸ The choreography of each group's visit—the assembling by column in assigned spots on T'ien-an men, the quick responses to the attendants' orders to come forward, the reverential shuffling past the bier with its honor guard, and then the march down the steps of the Great Hall to return to the vast square below—was analogous to a work of art: "an abstract, livid performance of a funeral in which everyone played a prearranged role, a moment that exists outside time and becomes forever fixed in images."³⁹

MOURNING CHIANG

In some ways equally impressive, if only because it appeared to be so spontaneous, was the public mourning for Chairman Mao's archenemy, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who had died seventeen months earlier, on April 5, 1975, at the age of eighty-seven. Chiang Kai-shek had been in retirement since July 1972.⁴⁰ The day that he died, April 5, was the lunar gravesweeping festival, traditionally considered an especially dangerous time for the ill because the forces of death are then so strong. His demise shortly before midnight coincided with an ominous thunderstorm.

As midnight approached, the clear starlit night was suddenly darkened with clouds. Rain fell, and many people in Taipei were awakened by the peals of thunder and flashes of lightning. It was as if Heaven itself was pouring out its anguish and grief. Those who had been awakened wondered at the sudden change in weather. None knew that at 11:20 the president was stricken with a heart attack. Emergency treatment was administered to no avail; by 11:50 Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Republic of China for half a century and the last of World War II's "Big Four," was dead.⁴¹

The ministers who learned of Chiang Kai-shek's demise in the early hours of April 6 reached his residence at Shih-lin at about 2:00 A.M., to find the dead man "resting serenely" on his bed while his son, Premier Chiang Ching-kuo, knelt beside him.⁴² The last written instruction given to his eldest son was a couplet: "Take up the responsibility for the rise and fall of the nation first. Place your own life and death beyond consideration."⁴³

38. "Chairman Mao's Magnificent Achievements Will Always Shine," p. 186.

39. Maai, *China Winter*, p. 99.

40. *Vista*, 1975, no. 3, *A Nation Mourns*, p. 3.

41. *A Nation Mourns*, p. 3.

42. Chiang Wei-kuo was in southern Taiwan at the time of his father's death.

43. Chung-yang jih-pao 中央日報, eds., *Ling-hsin ching-shen wan-ku ch'ang-hsin: Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung ai-szu shih-lu* 領袖精神萬古常新: 總統蔣公哀思實錄 [The spirit of the leader will be constantly renewed through the ages: Veritable record of the grief over General Chiang Kung] (Taipei, 1975), *Chung-yang jih-pao*, p. 2; *Vista*, pp. 3, 42.

Reports in Taiwanese sources stressed the overwhelming sense of shock when the news of Chiang Kai-shek's death hit the streets of Taipei at 10:30 A.M. on that same morning. While Chiang's corpse was being taken to Veterans General Hospital, crowds began to appear before his residence in Shih-lin, bringing gifts as tribute. And on April 9, when Chiang's bronze casket was moved from the hospital to the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, hundreds of thousands of people lined the sidewalks, even though the streets were swept with rain. When the cortege finally appeared, the sun suddenly came out, like a counter-omen to the thunderstorm four days earlier.⁴⁴ The contrast between these individual groups of mourners, some of them businessmen who had closed their shops for the day, holding up white wreaths or joss sticks, as Chiang's cortege paraded by, and the serried ranks on T'ien-an men, could not be sharper.

Yet, once Chiang's body was installed in the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, there were certain points of similarity between the last rites of the two leaders. Chiang Kai-shek's coffin was placed on a stage decked with flowers and evergreen trees, under a giant portrait of the former president.⁴⁵ Around the funeral bier, which was flanked by an honor guard of soldiers, were eighty-eight white candles—one for each *shui* of Chiang's life. An arrangement of white flowers from Madame Chiang Kai-shek stood directly in front of the casket itself, which was covered with a transparent glass top. Once the hall was opened the following day, lines of mourners began to file by the casket, wearing black armbands. Attendants in military-style uniforms helped those who were infirm or stricken in the sweltering heat.⁴⁶

The appearance of similarity (the leader's openly displayed corpse, the evergreen plants and white flowers, the family flower arrangement, the honor guard, the many mourners viewing the corpse) was barely superficial; there were telling differences between Mao's and Chiang's mourning services, even in these visible details. The honor guards flanking the Nationalist leader's coffin and cortege were dressed in chrome G. I. helmets and American-style military uniforms.⁴⁷ The white flower arrangement presented by Madame Chiang Kai-shek was in the form of a cross, symbolizing the Christian resurrection. And whereas state and party clearly took precedence over family in the services for Mao, Chiang Kai-shek's dynastic family—Madame Chiang Kai-shek with Chiang Ching-kuo and Chiang Wei-kuo on either side, dressed in traditional Chinese robes—occupied center stage throughout the funeral ceremonies.⁴⁸

44. *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, pp. 44–45, 61; *Vista*, p. 10.

45. *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, p. 49.

46. *Vista*, pp. 8–10.

47. *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, p. 43.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67; *Vista*, p. 15.

Even the arrangements made by the funeral committee were quite different. Mao's funeral preparations required mobilizing units around the capital, assigning times for their representatives to appear at the Great Hall of the People, and then moving them in an orderly fashion through the hall. The presidential funeral committee formed in Taiwan had to deal with a quite different problem: unanticipated numbers of seemingly spontaneous visitors. Though the committee eventually decided to keep the hall open twenty-four hours a day, a huge crowd remained when the building was finally closed at midnight on April 14 to make preparations for the public funeral service on April 16. By then, two and a half million mourners had passed through the memorial hall: one-sixth of the island's entire population.⁴⁹

Giving due weight to the propaganda bias of the official accounts that lent textual permanency to the occasion, one still cannot mistake the sincerity of the grief among the Taipei mourners—a grief that could find no customary channel in established public ritual. Although the atmosphere inside the hall was described as dignified and serene, befitting an elite funeral dominated by the Generalissimo's aristocratic widow, “sobs, cries and sometimes even uncontrollable wails occasionally echoed through the huge auditorium.”⁵⁰ The public outpouring of sentiment is illustrated in photograph after photograph, as Chiang's funeral cortege passed through streets lined with altars laden with fruits, candles, and offerings.⁵¹

In contrast to the detailed reports of individuals and groups in Peking speaking before Mao's bier of the causes for their sorrow, the accounts of Chiang Kai-shek's death seldom gave specific reasons for the public's grief, although anxiety about the future of Taiwan itself must have been an important stimulus.⁵² The older generation of native Taiwanese allegedly felt they had lost a father, because Chiang had freed them from Japanese occupation in 1945 and had later liberated them from the ruinous rents on the lands that they tilled. The Generalissimo was mainly extolled for his dynamic economic leadership as well as his historical stature: his closeness to Sun Yat-sen during the exile of the *kuo-fu*, his command of the Northern Expedition, his leadership against the Japanese, and his firm stance against the Communists. His international prominence, including his status as one

49. *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, pp. 62–63, 65; *Vista*, p. 10.

50. *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, pp. 27, 30–33, 37, 52–57; *Vista*, p. 9. “The only incident that occurred was when an unfortunate foreign journalist . . . asked someone waiting in line outside the memorial hall how much he was being paid by the government to queue up. The newsman was beaten” (*Vista*, p. 10).

51. *Vista*, p. 17.

52. American observers reported that the authorities, who were concerned about hostile Taiwanese reactions at this time (just as the U.S. was withdrawing from South Vietnam), temporarily stationed tanks in culverts about the capital.

of the Big Four, was especially underscored to account for Chiang Kai-shek's importance to his countrymen.⁵³

The Nationalist government tried to use the public's grief over Chiang's death to rededicate the regime to its anticommunist crusade, to recovery of the mainland, and to economic development. Almost paradoxically, the major corporations on Taiwan extended condolences to the family of the late President while simultaneously pledging themselves to ongoing economic growth. Typically, businesses like Clinton Taiwan Corporation or Texas Instruments would take out a half or full page in the special *Vista* edition commemorating Chiang's death, and feature a photograph of the Generalissimo with brief comments below. The Industrial Development and Investment Center simply placed the following reassuring fiscal solicitation in a black-ringed box:

Based on the policies laid down by our late President Chiang Kai-shek, economic decisions in Taiwan, the Republic of China, are designed to foster price stability, business prosperity, and social welfare. Despite world economic disruptions, Taiwan offers numerous lucrative investment opportunities.⁵⁴

These capitalist appeals for investment were one way of carrying out the injunction of the Kuomintang leadership “to transform grief into strength” (*hua pei-shang wei li-liang*), a motto that was widely proclaimed in Taiwan just after Chiang Kai-shek's death.⁵⁵

TRANSFORM GRIEF INTO STRENGTH

Curiously enough, exactly the same formulaic language appeared in major propaganda media in the People's Republic of China just after Mao's death; it was quickly adopted as a slogan uttered automatically by mourners at all levels the first few days after the Chairman passed away. By September 16, the next-to-last day of the Peking mourning services, the phrase had become part of the litany of pledge-taking before Mao's remains: “We will turn our grief into strength, live up to your consistent teachings and always advance valiantly along the revolutionary path you blazed.”⁵⁶

While the transformation of grief into strength on Taiwan elicited promises of more capital investment and better managed economic development,

53. *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, pp. 7, 74, 105–112; *Vista*, pp. 4, 6, 42; *Free China Weekly*, Supplement B (April 6, 1975).

54. *Vista*, p. 20.

55. *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, pp. 98, 116–117.

56. “Mourning Services,” NCNA-English (Peking, September 16, 1976), CMP-SPRC-76-39, p. 101. It also became closely associated with the left-wing repetition of the phrase “Act according to the principles laid down.” One of the most militant articles in support of that adjuration appeared in *People's Daily* on September 30, entitled “Turn Grief into Strength.” Onate, “Arrest,” p. 552.

on the mainland it inspired spurts of labor productivity reminiscent of Great Leap Forward mobilization efforts. At the Shanghai Number One Steel Plant, the death of Chairman Mao prompted the workers to step up their pace by turning out record heats of steel on each shift.⁵⁷ And at the Fu-shun Mining Administration in Liaoning province coal miners went in groups to the areas visited by Chairman Mao in 1958 and topped production quotas by 17 percent in six days.⁵⁸

The most intense expressions of grief over Mao Tse-tung's death appeared to come from older people, for whom Mao was a great emancipator, and from the very young, whom he had metaphorically fathered and nurtured. A group of poor and lower-middle peasants from Ping-ku county traveled more than 100 kilometers into Peking to see his body, bringing their village customs of unabashed public mourning with them.

These peasants, who were emancipated by Chairman Mao from the oppression and humiliation imposed on them in the old society, burst into tears when they stepped into the Great Hall of the People and saw the kindly and serene face of Chairman Mao. The mourning hall was filled with the sound of loud weeping and crying. They bowed at every step and said with profound emotion: "Chairman Mao had all the labouring people at heart. Chairman Mao was always one with us poor and lower-middle peasants. But for Chairman Mao, we poor and lower-middle peasants would not have been what we are today."⁵⁹

Similar feelings of bereavement were expressed by the five T'ang-shan coal miners who were rescued at Mao's behest after being trapped underground for fifteen days as a result of the 1976 earthquake; by aged proletarians like the woman textile worker from Shanghai who had had her teeth knocked out and had been stabbed by reactionaries before liberation; and by young Red Guards from Peking and Tsing-hua Universities, who recalled the hectic months of the Cultural Revolution when they were supported by the Great Helmsman, and who cried out tearfully now, "Oh, Chairman Mao, we miss you so much!"⁶⁰ Chairman Mao, whose benevolence was "higher than the

57. "Chairman Mao Lives in the Hearts of Chinese People," NCNA-English (Peking, September 13, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-38, p. 250.

58. "Whole Party, Whole Army and People of All Nationalities Throughout China Mourn Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao with Concrete Action," NCNA-English (Peking, September 17, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-39, p. 182.

59. "Mourning of Mao Tse-tung," NCNA-English (Peking, September 16, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-39, pp. 102-103.

60. "Peking People Continue Solemn Mourning Over Death of Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao, Pay Last Respects to His Remains," NCNA-English (Peking, September 15, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-40, p. 108; "People in Shanghai Mourn Chairman Mao at Revolutionary Site," NCNA-English (Shanghai, September 16, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-40, p. 115-116; quote from "Mourning of Mao Tse-tung," September 16, p. 104.

mountains and deeper than the sea" (*shan-kao, hai-shen*—language once reserved for the Son of Heaven), had become a kind of cosmic savior, no man or god greater than he.⁶¹

As these waves of public grief washed out from Peking to the provinces, and thence to the minority peoples who proclaimed Mao their liberator, a kind of symbolic national constituency was created. The constituency was repeatedly linked together with locations Mao had visited, worked in, or touched during his revolutionary activities—places like Jui-chin and Yen-an where, in effect, his sainthood had been realized.⁶² The cult of Mao had been best symbolized at its apogee by the famous mangoes the Chairman sent around in 1968 in an effort to bring unity to the warring factions of the Cultural Revolution. Mourners at Tsing-hua University now recalled the moment on August 5, 1968, when their propaganda team had received the "precious gift" of mangoes from the Chairman, and activists at Peking University, who passed "the most grievous moments of their lives" when news reached them of Mao's death, recalled that same boon and vowed to transform their grief into strength through the study of Mao's writings.⁶³ Units throughout China consequently decided that after the seven days of mourning services were over they would renew the daily study of the Chairman's *Selected Works*.⁶⁴

MAO'S MEMORIAL RALLY

The mourning services came to an end on September 17. The following day a mass memorial rally, involving one million people, was held on T'ien-an men Square. The square was dominated by a high red ochre platform arrayed with decorations that included a new wreath made by Chiang Ch'ing from sunflowers, corn, ears of wheat, rice, and millet—"five grains" (*wu ku*) like the life-renewing offerings once made to Heaven itself at the Altar of the Soil and Grain (She chi) in the old Ch'ing palace nearby. The rostrum above the platform was accentuated by a huge black memorial

61. See, for example, "Mourning of Mao Tse-tung in Peking University," *Jen-min jih-pao* (Peking, September 18, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-39, p. 249.

62. For the minority nationalities, see: "Minority Nationalities in China Deeply Mourn Passing of Great Liberator Chairman Mao," NCNA-English (Peking, September 15, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-40, p. 109; "Miao Nationality Centennial Deeply Mourns Chairman Mao," NCNA-English (Peking, September 16, 1976), pp. 121-122; "Peking Papers Continue to Mourn Death of Chairman Mao," NCNA-English (Peking, September 16, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-40, p. 124; "People in Yen-an Deeply Mourn Chairman Mao," NCNA-English (Sian, September 16, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-39, p. 117.

63. "Mourning of Mao Tse-tung in Peking University," *Jen-min jih-pao* (Peking, September 18, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-39, p. 252.

64. See, for example, "Whole Party, Whole Army and People of All Nationalities," p. 183.

streamer that ran below the portrait of Chairman Mao mounted on T'ien-an men Gate, where "27 years ago . . . the great leader Chairman Mao himself hoisted the first five-star red flag,"⁶⁵ proclaiming the founding of the People's Republic of China.

At precisely 3:00 p.m. Wang Hung-wen declared the memorial rally open and the mourners observed a three-minute silence. All across the country people stood in respectful attention, at their radios, while sirens sounded in mourning.⁶⁶ After the national anthem and the "Internationale" were played, Hua Kuo-feng delivered the memorial speech.⁶⁷

Hua's eulogy described the nation's sorrow and recapitulated Chairman Mao's accomplishments. Calling Mao "the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era," Hua laid the greatest stress upon Mao's point that "there are still classes and class struggle after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production." Yet though he emphasized the Chairman's admonition never to forget class struggle, he did not once mention the phrase favored by Chiang Ch'ing (who stood enshrouded in a large black shawl) and the ultra-left: "Act according to the principles laid down."⁶⁸ Rather, before calling for the liberation of Taiwan, he pointedly enjoined his listeners to support the "Three Dots and Three Don'ts" of Chairman Mao: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."⁶⁹ These were the same words Mao had used on May 3, 1975, to reprimand the Shanghai "Gang of Four" for factional maneuvering, and when Hua uttered them now—at the culmination of the late Chairman's memorial ceremony—the point was obviously made, especially to those who were watching the rally on television and who saw Wang Hung-wen arch his eyebrows and pointedly peer over Hua's shoulder at the text of the speech itself.⁷⁰

Hua Kuo-feng concluded his speech with an appeal to accept the leadership of the Party Central Committee in order to carry through to the end the proletarian revolution that Chairman Mao had pioneered. The strains of "The East is Red" rose above T'ien-an men Square:

The east is red,
The sun rises.

65. "Mass Memorial Rally for Mao Tse-tung," NCNA-English (Peking, September 18, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-39, pp. 261, 263.

66. Masi, *China Winter*, p. 98 (n. 25 above).

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 263–264.

68. Garside, *Coming Alive*, p. 148 (n. 19 above).

69. "Memorial Speech by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, First Vice Chairman of Central Committee of Communist Party of China and Premier of State Council, at Mass Memorial Meeting for Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung," NCNA-English (Peking, September 18, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-39, pp. 273–279. Quote from p. 278.

70. Garside, *Coming Alive*, p. 148–149; Masi, *China Winter*, p. 99; Terrill, *White-Boned Demon*, p. 370 (n. 35 above).

China has brought forth a Mao Tse-tung.
He works for the people's happiness,
He is the people's great savior.

The rally ended at 3:30 p.m.⁷¹

In spite of the assurances that the thought of Mao Tse-tung was invincible and would live forever, the tone of Hua Kuo-feng's exhortation—the adjuring quality of his appeals to grasp the key link of class struggle—suggested less than total confidence in future outcomes. One senses, both in his speech and in those reported from the mass memorial meetings held throughout China just as soon as the T'ien-an men rally was over, that those factions of the Party momentarily successful in attacking Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his "right deviationist line" were far from certain that they would continue to prevail over their opposition.⁷² In each of the subsequent memorial meetings (usually held in front of a portrait of Chairman Mao decorated with evergreen boughs and flanked with wreaths presented by local units) the speakers pledged to "turn grief into strength" by "acting according to the principles laid down" and by deepening the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Always there were the raised fists and fervent oaths before Mao's picture, but the vows of determination sounded shrill and belabored.⁷³

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S FUNERAL SERVICES

The situation more than a year earlier in Taiwan, after Chiang Kai-shek's death, was quite the opposite. There was no succession crisis to speak of at all. Premier Chiang Ching-kuo first tendered his resignation, "in keeping with the ancient Chinese tradition that calls for the withdrawal from government service after the death of a parent."⁷⁴ The Central Standing Committee of the Kuomintang, however, refused to accept the premier's resignation. Vowing to carry out Chiang's last instructions, to "persevere in the face of adversity and redouble [their] efforts to fulfill the responsibility of the National Revolution without fail," the Central Standing Committee endorsed the succession of Vice-President Yen. At 10:00 a.m. on April 6, in accordance with Article 49 of the Constitution of the Republic of China, C. K. Yen, facing a portrait of Sun Yat-sen, was sworn in as president in Taipei.⁷⁵

The first major ceremonial duty of the new president was to lead the funeral services for Chiang Kai-shek at the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall,

71. "Mass Memorial Rally," pp. 268–269.

72. Masi, *China Winter*, p. 98.

73. "Mass Memorial Rallies Mourning Mao Tse-tung," NCNA-English (Peking, September 19, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-39, pp. 329–334; Masi, *China Winter*, p. 96.

74. *Vista*, p. 6.

75. *Vista*, pp. 3, 6–7. See also *Ling-hsiu ching-shen*, p. 1; *Free China Weekly*, supplement A, April 6, 1975.

where Premier Chiang Ching-kuo had appeared daily before the bier.⁷⁶ The elder son's filial piety represented his personal claims to the Generalissimo's remains, as well as his public commitment to the traditional values of his father's regime.⁷⁷ The contrast between his stepmother's Christian devotion and Chiang-kuo's Confucian attachment may have created a certain private dissonance, but their joint piety served to mediate between family rituals and government ceremonies. The funeral rites for Sun Yat-sen had been completely dichotomized between family and state—the remains, so to speak, being split between private and public spheres; but the memorial services for Chiang Kai-shek eclectically combined familial and state interests, appropriate to the man himself.

The services began at 8:00 A.M. on April 16 with a eulogy by President Yen Chia-kan. After he presented a wreath, the immediate members of the late president's family gathered around the open coffin and looked on while three of Chiang's most highly prized medals were placed in the casket along with the four books "which had guided him through life": Sun Yat-sen's *Three Principles*, the Christian Bible, an anthology of T'ang poetry, and *Huang-mo kan-ch'üan* (Streams in the desert), a Christian inspirational work by Mrs. Charles E. Cowman.⁷⁸ After the coffin was closed, the audience—which included notable foreign dignitaries—bowed three times and observed a minute of silence. The state ceremonies were concluded after a Kuomintang flag was laid on top of the coffin and then a national flag draped beside that. The Christian service, conducted by the Reverend Chou Lien-hua, ended with the singing of Chiang Kai-shek's favorite hymn, "Lead, Kindly Light," by the Hua Hsing Taipei Children's Choir.⁷⁹

The ceremonial process that followed essentially rendered Chiang's remains private once more. This was possible because as yet there was no final resting place on Taiwan for the Generalissimo, given his perennial mission to return to the mainland as its leader. Whereas Sun Yat-sen's family lost control over his remains, Chiang Kai-shek's family recovered and retained them—until such time as they could be moved on to their final resting place on the Chinese mainland.⁸⁰

The site selected for the temporary resting place was President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek's tile-roofed villa at Tz'u-hu.⁸¹ As the couple's

76. *Vista*, p. 8.

77. For Chiang Ching-kuo's own account of his filial devotion, see "Shou fu ling i yueh chi" 守父靈一月紀 [Record of one month of watching over my father's soul], reprinted in *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, pp. 123–151.

78. *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, pp. 66–67; *Ling-hsiu ching-shen*, pp. 14–17. See Kao-man fu-jen 高曼夫人 (Mrs. Cowman), *Huang-mo kan-ch'üan* 荒漠甘泉 [Streams in the desert], trans. Wang Chia-yü 王家斌, 2 vols. (Taipei, 1970).

79. *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, pp. 70–71; *Vista*, p. 14.

80. *Vista*, p. 19.

81. *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, p. 89.

former country house, Tz'u-hu symbolically represented filiality, inner family life, and retirement to the mainland itself. Now, the president's remains were solemnly carried out of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall by twelve of Chiang's former aides and placed upon a flower-covered hearse decorated with a Christian cross on the top and a Kuomintang star in the front. While family members held on to tassels at the back, the members of the state funeral committee grasped long white streamers that came along both sides of the hearse. Behind them slowly walked the foreign dignitaries past a crowd that was estimated to number a million and a half all along the route from the hall to Tz'u-hu. As the funeral cortege passed, many of the onlookers dressed in mourning knelt or kowtowed in reverence.⁸²

The cortege stopped at the intersection of Jen-ai and Kuang-fu roads, where Madame Chiang—still the primary trustee—bowed her thanks to all those who attended the funeral. At Tz'u-hu the casket was carried into the main hall of the house. There, on a white marble floor, stood a black granite catafalque built by the Retired Servicemen's Engineering Agency (Jung-min kung-ch'eng shih-yeh kuan-li ch'u), the construction company formed by Chiang Kai-shek to give jobs to ex-servicemen.⁸³

The remains were still at this juncture shared between family and state, but a final ceremony now privatized them, with the ultimate trusteeship being conferred directly upon the elder son. After the casket was sealed inside the catafalque, President C. K. Yen led the members of the funeral committee in three final bows. Then he and his entourage walked slowly around the granite monument. While his stepmother watched, Chiang Ching-kuo bowed deeply to each of the official mourners in turn. The official entourage then walked back out the front of the small building, leaving the presidential corpse behind.⁸⁴

State and party retained the right to recover Chiang's corpse whenever their own mission to resume control of the mainland was realized. Though the fragility of this conceit was obvious if unspoken, reunion with the mainland might eventually occur in unforeseen ways, and in that event, the final disposition of Chiang's remains would have enormous symbolic significance. For the moment, however, they were more safely disposed of in the family's hands, resting in their temporary private grave, with public veneration reserved for less personal monuments in the state's domain.⁸⁵

82. *Ling-hsiu ching-shen*, pp. 19, 28–29; *Vista*, pp. 13–16; *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, pp. 76–77.

83. "The workers had done the job in less than ten days, working on the catafalque night and day in shifts—many with tears running down their faces as they cut, polished and put the granite slabs together" (*Vista*, p. 17).

84. *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, p. 88.

85. Important visitors to Taiwan, who would have been taken out to Tz'u-hu in 1976, were brought instead to Chiang's memorial hall after it was opened in 1980.

MAO'S PERSON AND THOUGHT

Chiang Kai-shek's personal remains could be entrusted to his family because state and party were in the hands of his natural heir. Mao's corpse could not be so easily disposed of, because his political heir, Hua Kuo-feng, could not afford to let the late Chairman's family claim possession of the body—a body whose very corporeality continued to radiate the charisma of Mao Tse-tung's personal power.⁸⁶ As Mao's anointed successor, Hua must have seen it to be in his own interest to keep the remains intact, especially since he was doing all that he could to highlight the physical resemblance between himself and the late Chairman.⁸⁷ The problem, therefore, was to preserve the body without losing control of it. In this respect, the disposition of Mao's person was analogous to the treatment of his thought.

Though Mao's voice was stilled, his thought survived both as ideas and as written texts.⁸⁸ As ideas, "invincible Mao Tse-tung thought" was said to represent the Chairman's eternal legacy. The constitution of Mao Tse-tung thought, however, could be defined in many different ways.⁸⁹ In its most recent guise, it tended to accord with the policies of those who had risen during the Cultural Revolution and who wanted to use it as a weapon against the "right deviationists" represented by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. To the latter, on the other hand, Mao's ideology represented an indispensable form of legitimation. Consequently, a compromise had to be worked out at the highest levels of the party and state in order to try to come to an agreement upon a common exegesis of Mao Tse-tung thought. The result was no compromise at all and the ensuing arrests of the "Gang of Four."

Hua Kuo-feng, because of the way power was handed down to him by Mao, favored the six-character formula that celebrated the moment the Chairman had selected his successor: *Ni pan-shih, wo fang-hsin* (With you in charge, I'm at ease).⁹⁰ He also liked to refer to the "Three Dots and Three

86. Evidently, Chiang Ch'ing planned to have Mao's ashes placed in a plot at Pa-pao-shan, which would eventually be her grave as well. Yet when the Politburo asked her to take responsibility for disposing of Mao's remains, she refused. Hua Kuo-feng insisted that there had to be an immediate autopsy so as to prevent deterioration. He agreed to assume complete responsibility for the handling of Mao's corpse. Chiang Ch'ing suggested that he make this decision public, but Hua refused to do so on the grounds that the memorial service had not yet been scheduled. Later it was charged that Chiang Ch'ing had been trying to prepare the ground for a future attack upon Hua for having disregarded Chairman Mao's land usage policy. Onate, "Arrest," p. 542; Terrill, *White-Boned Demon*, p. 373.

87. Martin notes that Hua had himself photographed working in a train, in emulation of a famous photo of Mao, and in addition changed his hairstyle and calligraphy to better match Mao's. Martin, *Cult and Canon*, pp. 53–54 (n. 1 above).

88. "Even during Mao's lifetime the texts often functioned almost independently of him" (Martin, *Cult and Canon*, p. 4).

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 46–49.

90. Mao's statement was probably made with reference to Hua Kuo-feng's handling of the campaign against Teng Hsiao-p'ing during April 1976, but Hua and his supporters sought

Don'ts" to remind Chiang Ch'ing and her allies that the former Chairman had been deeply opposed to their factional intrigues. Nevertheless, Hua Kuo-feng initially favored yet another oracular pronouncement by Mao Tse-tung, which simply enjoined: "Act according to past principles." The original Chinese version of this statement was loosely vernacular: *Chao kuo-ch'ü fang-chen pan*. But after the T'ang-shan earthquake, Chiang Ch'ing allegedly had taken the original document out of the Party General Office and altered the sentence to read: *An chi-ting fang-chen pan* (Act according to the principles laid down). The term, *chi-ting*, which means "already decided" or "laid down," made Mao's exhortation sound much more definitive and authoritative, and that was entirely consonant with the wishes of the left wing of the party to continue to follow the policies associated with the Chiang Ch'ing faction and to prevent "revisionist chieftains" from tampering with the late Chairman's radical programs.⁹¹

In the weeks following Mao's death, the growing struggle between Hua Kuo-feng and the Chiang Ch'ing faction came to center upon which of the available slogans was most readily used in the descriptions and commemorations of the Chairman's funeral rites. Generally speaking, the propagandists in favor of using "act according to the principles laid down" prevailed.⁹² Yet Mao's thought was not so easily prescribed. It remained a set of manifold ideas that people carried within themselves and that were susceptible to private interpretations. As unwritten texts, these ideas were much more open to individual exegesis (especially for those who had taken Mao at his word in believing that *tsao-fan yu-li*, "to rebel is justified") than the standard editions of Mao's printed works already being readied for distribution throughout the country.⁹³ Since only some four volumes of Mao's collected works had appeared and a fifth was due to be published, and since there would soon have to be a newly compiled edition of the Chairman's *Selected Works*, the opportunity to set a much more permanent imprint upon the

to extend it to a mandate for their succession. Onate, "Arrest," pp. 549–551. See also Martin, *Cult and Canon*, pp. 52–53.

91. There is a careful and detailed discussion of these textual questions in Onate, "Arrest," pp. 548–549, 553–554. See also Martin, *Cult and Canon*, pp. 52, 169. Bonavia reports, however, that, according to the official charges at the time of the trial of the "Gang of Four," it was Yao Wen-yuan who made the alterations. David Bonavia, *Verdict in Peking: The Trial of the Gang of Four* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1984), p. 109.

92. As the competition between Chiang Ch'ing and Hua Kuo-feng accelerated within the Central Committee, the "principles" slogan appeared forty-two times in *People's Daily* and *Kuang-ming Daily*, while the Three Dots and Don'ts were featured only eleven times. One of the acts that appear to have triggered the arrest of the "Gang of Four" was a militant article by the Liang Hsiao group on the importance of making the "principles" notion "known to the broad revolutionary masses" lest a Teng Hsiao-p'ing spread revisionism among the people. The article appeared in *Kuang-ming Daily* on October 4, 1976. Onate, "Arrest," pp. 553–554.

93. "The Imposing Revolutionary Writings Will Be Passed on from Generation to Generation," *Jen-min jih-pao* (Peking, September 22, 1976), CMP-SPRC-76-40, p. 3.

content of Mao Tse-tung thought than merely arriving at brief, oracular formulas was obviously at hand.⁹⁴ Hua Kuo-feng therefore sought to arm himself with the authority to issue those texts under his editorial imprimatur, in this way both bringing Maoist fundamentalism under control and establishing himself as the leading doctrinal disciple of his predecessor, the Chairman.⁹⁵

Hua Kuo-feng's claim to be the editor of the Chairman's works depended on his gaining and maintaining control over Mao's ideological remains: the texts themselves. That was why the issue that actually provoked Hua's arrest of the "Gang of Four" was the question of archival access. It was when Hua learned from Wang Tung-hsing, the head of Mao's "8341" palace guard, that Chiang Ch'ing was taking documents out of Mao's archives and altering them for her own use that he swiftly moved to seize her and her three chief accomplices and to purge their closest henchmen.⁹⁶

Just as the Mao archives were a source of textual authority, so did Mao's physical remains symbolize a source of charismatic authority. Mao's person and his persona were still linked in people's minds. Wanting to tap into that charismatic relationship, Hua Kuo-feng favored enshrining Mao's remains in a public monument in order to immerse Mao's person directly under his own aegis. In the long term, routine visits to such a memorial would take the place of spontaneous demonstrations of devotion like the April 1976 T'ien-an men gatherings in Chou En-lai's memory. And in the short term, the erection of a monument to Mao would help close national ranks after the arrest of the "Gang of Four" on October 6, 1976.⁹⁷ At that time, though some leading party members argued that the tomb should be kept apart from the monument, Hua Kuo-feng persuaded the Central Committee to support his plan to establish a memorial hall.⁹⁸ The plan for a memorial hall, announced on October 8,⁹⁹ went hand in hand with the project to issue a new selection of Mao's works. In subsequent reports the building of the memorial hall and the publication of Mao's works were closely identified with Hua Kuo-feng and his victory over the "Gang of Four."¹⁰⁰ The "Gang of Four" was accused of resorting to "underhand manoeuvres to criminally

interfere with and sabotage the preservation of Chairman Mao's remains" in order to usurp party and state power, and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was praised for "representing the wishes of hundreds of millions of people throughout the country" by having "smashed the plot of the 'Gang of Four'" and by having properly arranged for Chairman Mao's remains to be preserved.¹⁰¹ "What Chairman Hua did," the Field Headquarters for Building the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall announced, "was what we desired"; and the hall was later to be described as the crystallization (*chieh-ching*) of the "aspirations of hundreds of millions of people."¹⁰²

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MAO'S MEMORIAL HALL

During the debate within the party over the memorial hall several different locations were suggested as building sites. Hua Kuo-feng proposed that the single building be placed in T'ien-an men Square itself between the Revolutionary History Museum and the Great Hall of the People, a site of considerable symbolic significance.¹⁰³ After his view prevailed, Chairman Hua personally initiated the construction work on Mao's shrine on November 24, 1976, before a huge color portrait of Chairman Mao and with earth movers and cranes standing by.¹⁰⁴ The announced purpose of building the memorial hall was "to perpetuate the memory of Chairman Mao Tse-tung" so that "people for generations to come will be able to pay their respects here to Chairman Mao's remains, recall his magnificent contributions, review his teachings, and be personally touched by the education and inspiration that Chairman Mao gave."¹⁰⁵ The monument was not meant to be a

that same month, 28 million copies of the volume had been distributed. Martin, *Cult and Canon*, p. 68.

94. On the editing process before Mao's death, see Martin, *Cult and Canon*, pp. 44, 56.
95. Hua's appropriation of the role of official interpreter of Mao Tse-tung thought occurred abruptly on October 8. Martin, *Cult and Canon*, pp. 55, 62-63.
96. Onate, "Arrest," pp. 547-548.
97. Ibid., p. 540.
98. Personal communication from a Chinese informant. The decision to establish a memorial hall was made on October 7, only hours after the "Gang of Four" was put under arrest. Onate, "Arrest," p. 542.

99. "Decision on Establishment of Memorial Hall for Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung," NCNA-English (Peking, October 8, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-42, p. 64.
100. "Chinese Capital Celebrates Publication of Volume Five of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," NCNA-English (Peking, April 16, 1977), CMP-SPRCP-77-17, p. 184. By the end of

101. "What Chairman Hua did," the Field Headquarters for Building the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall announced, "was what we desired"; and the hall was later to be described as the crystallization (*chieh-ching*) of the "aspirations of hundreds of millions of people."¹⁰²

102. "Deeply Cherish the Memory of Chairman Mao, Offer Our Red Hearts in Building the Memorial Hall," *Hung-ch'i*, no. 9, September 4, 1977, CMP-SPRCP-77-31, p. 61; caption under photograph of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall on the front page of *Jen-min jih-pao*, NCNA-English (Peking, May 25, 1977) CMP-SPRCP-77-23, p. 15.

103. Private communication from a Chinese informant.

104. "Project for Future Generations," p. 34; "Solemn Ceremony of Laying Cornerstone for Memorial Hall for Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung Held in Peking," NCNA-English (Peking, November 24, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-48, pp. 218, 220.

105. "Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's Speech," NCNA-English (Peking, November 24, 1976), CMP-SPRCP-76-48, p. 222.

sealed tomb, or *ling-mu*, which was traditionally reserved for the ruling class and set apart from the people.¹⁰⁶ Rather, it was designed to be a memorial hall, or *chi-nien t'ang*, that would preserve Mao's remains in order to objectify the memory of Mao, until then carried within the hearts and minds of the Chinese people.¹⁰⁷ This reification was also intended to lay the former Chairman to rest "amid pines and fresh flowers," as though his serene repose would somehow ensure social peace and tranquility.¹⁰⁸ The construction site itself, covered with fluttering red flags, became a symbolic arena where the speed and intensity of the work were interpreted as signs of devotion to Mao, Hua, and the people of China.¹⁰⁹ The style of work was that of the Great Leap Forward, charged with images of militant political struggle, devoted to the daily reading and discussion of Chairman Mao's new *Selected Works*, guided by model worker-heroes, and inspired by the revolutionary spirit of the Long March.¹¹⁰ Devising a number of their own technical innovations "simply by thinking of Chairman Mao," the workers had by March 22, 1977, completed the construction of the 34-meter-high edifice for the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall.¹¹¹ The accomplishment in less than six months of this "unprecedented feat in the history of Chinese architecture," involving the labor of more than 700,000 people from all over China, represented "the crystallization of the will power and strength of the 800 million people of various nationalities."¹¹²

106. The architects at first drew up plans for a tomb with a blockhouse-like structure on the surface and with the remains preserved entirely or partly underground. After they were reminded that they had "to be sure to draw a clear line between [Mao's memorial] and a *ling-mu* of the ruling class" in which the building was intended to demonstrate the distance between the rulers and the people, the architects resolved to design a memorial hall instead of a tomb. "Mao chu-hsi chi-nien t'ang kuei-hua she-chi" 毛主席紀念堂規劃設計 [The planning and design of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall], *Chien-chu hseih-pao* 建築學報 [Journal of architecture] 4, no. 13, (1977): 32-33.

107. "Mao chu-hsi chi-nien t'ang," p. 33. The "permanent preservation of Chairman Mao's body" by a medical team drawn together from all over the country took ten months, as did the design and manufacture of a spotless crystal coffin. "Chairman Mao Memorial Hall Completed," NCNA-English (Peking, August 29, 1977), CMP-SPRC-77-36, p. 179.

108. "Deeply Cherish the Memory of Chairman Mao, Offer Our Red Hearts in Building the Memorial Hall," *Hung-ch'i*, no. 9, September 4, 1977, CMP-SPRC-77-31, p. 61. "The memorial hall is a place where Chairman Mao rests peacefully forever. This great project is of profound political significance, extremely solemn in nature and broadly meaningful to the masses" (ibid., p. 63).

109. "Conference Representatives," p. 164.

110. "Construction of Edifice for Chairman Mao Memorial Hall Completed Ahead of Schedule," NCNA-English (Peking, March 26, 1977), CMP-SPRC-77-13, p. 164; "Deeply Cherish the Memory," pp. 62, 63; "Builders of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall," NCNA-English (Peking, March 28, 1977), CMP-SPRC-77-14, p. 45.

111. "Deeply Cherish the Memory," p. 64; "Construction of Edifice," p. 164. NCNA also gives May 24 as the date of completion of the edifice. "Construction of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall Completed," NCNA-English (Peking, May 26, 1977), CMP-SPRC-77-25, p. 65.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S MEMORIAL HALL

Three years later surprisingly similar language was used to describe the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall (*Chung-cheng chi-nien t'ang*): "This stately, elegant, huge construction is the crystallization (*chieh-ching*) of the blood and sweat of its building engineers, and it has drawn together in an ever more concentrated way the deepest veneration of the Chinese people, at home and abroad, in commemoration of revered Mr. Chiang."¹¹³ In contrast to the Peking project, however, it was the engineers (*kung-ch'eng jen-yuan*) whose energies were vaunted in building Taipei's monument; and it was an individual designer and foreign technology that enabled the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall to be constructed over three years' time, slowly growing "like a pupa" in its scaffold, by the Retired Servicemen's Engineering Agency.¹¹⁴ Monetary donations from the public covered most of the U.S. \$70,000,000 needed to finish the hall.¹¹⁵

Although the planners of the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall wanted to use the most modern engineering and construction methods available throughout the world, they also wanted the building to "express the spirit of Chinese culture."¹¹⁶ In the end they decided upon a classical Chinese palace

112. "Construction of Edifice," p. 164; "Construction of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall Completed," pp. 66, 179. For other references to the "unprecedented" nature of this "landmark" accomplishment, see: "Builders of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall," p. 45; "Worksite of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall on Eve of May Day," NCNA-English (Peking, April 28, 1977), CMP-SPRC-77-19, p. 91; "Construction of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall Completed," p. 65.

113. Wang Ch'i-jung 王琦榕, "Hao-jan chih ch'i, ta-chung chih cheng: chü-yü to-chung yi-yi ti Chung-cheng chi-nien t'ang lo-ch'eng ch'i-yung" 浩然之氣, 大中之正: 具有多重意義的中正紀念堂落成啓用 [Spirit of magnanimity, great mean and extreme rectitude: the completion and public opening of the profoundly significant Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall], *Kuang-hua* 光華 [Sinorama], vol. 5, no. 5 (May 1980), pp. 2-13, quote from p. 3.

114. Wang Ch'i-jung, "Hao-jan chih ch'i," pp. 3, 5, 13. Ground-breaking took place on October 31, 1976, the 90th birthday anniversary of the late President. Yü Kuo-hua 嚴國華, "Chung-cheng chi-nien t'ang chih ch'ou-chien" 中正紀念堂之籌建 [Planning the construction of the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall], *Chung-yung yueh-k'an* 中央月刊 [Central Monthly], 12, no. 6 (1982): 29-34.

115. Wang Ch'i-jung, "Hao-jan chih ch'i," p. 3; "Chung-cheng chi-nien t'ang lo-ch'eng k'ai-fang" 中正紀念堂落成開放 [Completion and opening of the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall], *T'ai-wan hua-k'an tsa-chih* 臺灣畫刊雜誌 [Taiwan Illustrated Magazine], May 1980, p. 3.

116. Yü Kuo-hua, "Chung-cheng chi-nien t'ang," p. 31; Wang Ch'i-jung, "Hao-jan chih ch'i," p. 7. This was in keeping with the spirit of the construction of Sun Yat-sen's tomb, for which "everything was set up according to a scientific method." Lü Yen-chih 呂彥直, "Sun Chung-shan hsien-sheng ling-mu chieh-chu t'u-an shuo-ming" 孫中山先生陵墓建築圖案說明 [An explanation of the architectural plans for Mr. Sun Chung-shan's mausoleum], *Liang yü* 良友 [Young companion] 2 (March 1926): 13.

style copied from the T'ien t'an (Altar of Heaven) in Peking.¹¹⁷ The building, 70 meters high, was to be approached by a 215-meter processional boulevard through high white marble gates inscribed with the characters *Ta-chung chih cheng*, which included Chiang Kai-shek's name, Chung-cheng.¹¹⁸ In finished form, the building's colors and shapes were intended to syncretize cherished values.

The square (*cheng*) shape of the building represents the spirit of the mean and of rectitude (*chung-cheng*, which is also Chiang Kai-shek's name); the three-tiered staircase symbolizes the Three Principles of the People; the two-tiered eight-cornered roof eaves, built in the shape of the character *jen* (man) and coming together at the *pao-t'ing* (summit) converge with the sky (*i't'ien*), symbolizing revered Mr. Chiang's belief that "Heaven and Man are One" (*T'ien jen ho i*).¹¹⁹

The main colors used in the building—blue and white—were those of the flag of the Nationalist regime, where they symbolized liberty and equality, while the color of the *pao-t'ing* suggested the Golden Mean.¹²⁰ The memorial hall was therefore intended to represent "the pure sincerity of our Leader that will be forever remembered by his fellow countrymen throughout the entire nation."¹²¹

It was thus the ethical stature and moral eminence of Chiang Kai-shek that were most heavily stressed in the intended design of the memorial hall. Less a monument to a historical giant or a shrine to a revolutionary demiurge, it was to be a tribute to a moral paragon, a glorification of the Generalissimo's lifelong devotion to public duty and his ethical commitment to self-cultivation.

On entering the main hall, the visitor first sees a bronze statue of the late President . . . standing 9.8 meters high. The statue is so lifelike that one almost expects a kindly word or a gesture of benediction from the late President. His will is inscribed on the base of the statue, and six big characters, *lin-li* (ethics), *min-chu* (democracy) and *k'o-hsueh* (science) are inscribed on the marble statue. The late President's famous saying "To live is to seek a better life for all mankind; the meaning of life lies in the creation of a life beyond life" is engraved on the two sides of the main hall.¹²²

The bronze statue of Chiang, dressed in traditional scholar's gown and seated squarely in a massive chair looking out and down upon the viewer, was meant to be looked up to, to be revered. Distant in death as in life, the

117. Wang Ch'i-jung, "Hao-jan chih ch'i," p. 4.

118. The phrase is taken from Wang Yang-ming's *Ch'uan-hsi lu*.

119. Wang Ch'i-jung, "Hao-jan chih ch'i," p. 4.

120. Ibid., p. 7. Yü Kuo-hua wrote that the color of gold represented "ascendant China in splendid brilliance"—*sheng hua kuang-hui*. Yü Kuo-hua, "Chung-cheng chi-nien t'ang," p. 32.

121. Yü Kuo-hua, "Chung-cheng chi-nien t'ang," p. 29.

122. Wang Ch'i-jung, "Hao-jan chih ch'i," pp. 7, 9.

leader's persona was to be approached respectfully in a spirit of remote devotion rather than one of intimate worship.

MAO'S MONUMENT

The marble statue of Mao Tse-tung, on the other hand, was designed to present the late Chairman in a much more accessible pose. One-third the size of Chiang's likeness, the statue of Mao portrayed the Chairman with book in hand, legs casually crossed, head slightly askew, and a kindly smile upon his face as if he were about to receive a visitor.¹²³ The effigy was meant to be approached at eye level, directly and forthrightly; and if this was not in fact the way viewers usually drew nigh, it was not because of the statue itself. Rather, it was the very hall in which the statue sat that imposed inhibitions upon the visitors to the monument.

The Mao Tse-tung Memorial Hall was intended to be "a magnificent and imposing structure in national style."¹²⁴ It was deliberately designed not for visitors but for "homagers."¹²⁵ The building's materials and accoutrements were a synthesis of all things Chinese, beginning with the workers themselves, who were drawn together from many different parts of the country.¹²⁶ Visitors from Yenan brought soil from the cave where Chairman Mao had lived, and Hunanese lumbermen cut the best fir they could find to be sent as timber to the capital.¹²⁷ Building stone came from all over China: granite, white marble, and terrazzo from Fukien, Shantung, Kiangsu, Szechwan, Chekiang, Liaoning, Sinkiang, Kwangtung, and Hupei.¹²⁸ And placed alongside the foundation stone were rocks brought from the summit of Mount Joimo Lungma (Everest), while the mortar for building the base was prepared with water from the Taiwan Straits.¹²⁹ In the same fashion, the landscaping of the Memorial Hall was done with as many different regional plants as possible, and paintings within the Memorial Hall depicted scenes from the revolutionary past drawn from places all around China.¹³⁰

123. "Chairman Mao Memorial Hall Completed in Peking," NCNA-English (Peking, September 1, 1977), CMP-SPRC-77-37, p. 76. The original plan called for him to sit with legs apart and with a red halo painted imposingly on the wall behind him. This was deemed too formal. "Mao chu-hsi chi-nien t'ang," pp. 36, 45.

124. "Solemn Ceremony of Laying Cornerstone," p. 219.

125. "Worksite of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall," p. 92; "Mao chu-hsi chi-nien t'ang," p. 36.

126. "Worksite of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall," p. 93.

127. "Conference Representatives Take Part," pp. 307-308.

128. "Wide Support in Building Chairman Mao Memorial Hall," NCNA-English (Peking, June 10, 1977), CMP-SPRC-77-25, p. 89; "Mao chu-hsi chi-nien t'ang," p. 37.

129. "Chairman Mao Memorial Hall Completed in Peking," p. 76.

130. "Wide Support in Building Chairman Mao Memorial Hall," p. 88. See also "Construction of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall Completed," pp. 65, 76.

The architects who designed the hall were keenly conscious of spatial relationships within T'ien-an men Square, the surface of which was now expanded by several hectares of roadways around the monument.¹³¹ The human capacity of the square—which was now 500 meters wide and 800 meters deep—grew from 400,000 to 600,000 people: no small consideration, since the memorial hall was explicitly intended to overlook mass rallies yet to come.¹³² The latter expectation also dictated the precise location of the *chi-nien t'ang*. The designers decided to put the hall directly in between the cenotaph and the gate and consciously broke with "tradition" (*ch'uan-t'ung*) by making the northern side of the hall its entrance.¹³³ In this way, they hoped to use Mao's Memorial Hall to draw together and complete all of the other structures facing onto the square: the Revolutionary Museum to the east, the Great Hall of the People to the west, and T'ien-an men itself to the north.¹³⁴

For many people the actual effect was otherwise. The vista from T'ien-an men Gate down to the Cheng-yang Gate was now blocked by the shrine. Mao himself sat on the northern side of his monument, facing the Forbidden City. Whereas an emperor in life and death always faced south, overlooking the vast *t'ien-hsia* beyond Ch'ien-men, the Chairman's effigy reversed the direction, looking up at the old imperial palaces, bringing the openness of the square to a close. Visually, the anticipated sweep of space—the accepted scope of charismatic political authority, so to speak—was abutted by this placement. The architects had designed the memorial hall to represent the permanence of Chairman Mao's revolution, but the unintended effect was quite the opposite. The building interrupted the continuities of the square. Symbolically, the unending flow of temporal change—Mao's own vision of permanent revolution—was blocked and then truncated. The mausoleum seemed to seal off history rather than to enlarge it.

THE CHIANG CULTURAL CENTER

Whereas Mao's Memorial Hall interrupted what had been open space, Chiang Kai-shek's monument enclosed what had been 250,000 square meters of crowded urban residential areas in the southeastern part of Taipei.¹³⁵ The buildings there were razed to make room for the memorial hall itself, plus a vast park designed by one of the most experienced horticulturalists in Taiwan for recreational use by the public.¹³⁶ Eventually, a national opera house and a concert hall will be built on either side of the approach to the memorial hall, while—most telling of all—land under the complex will be excavated to make room for a 600-vehicle parking lot.¹³⁷ The result will be to reinforce even more the secular qualities of the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial as a civic center, which is already spoken of as only one of many similar architectural structures around the world.¹³⁸

The Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall was opened by President Chiang Ching-kuo on grave-sweeping day (April 4), 1980, in a special dedication ceremony to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Generalissimo's death. The main room of the exhibition hall on the first floor was dominated by an enormous oil painting of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek together on the eve of the Northern Expedition. In the display cases themselves were exhibited over three hundred memorabilia of the late president, uniforms and medals, and more than a hundred historical photographs. In a separate theater within the memorial hall documentary movies were shown depicting important moments in Chiang's career. Throughout, the Generalissimo's piety, studiousness, and benevolence were strongly emphasized.¹³⁹ The inauguration of the memorial hall was meant to laud the dead leader's personal virtues and historical accomplishments while setting them firmly in the past.¹⁴⁰ The commemorants who met that day to observe the anniversary of Chiang's death did not celebrate his immortal presence in their midst. Instead, they "reflected back upon (*chui-nien*) the former president's moral accomplishments (*te-ye*) and gracious benevolence (*en-tse*)."¹⁴¹

THE OPENING OF MAO'S HALL

A quite different tone pervaded the ceremonies during the grand rally in Peking held on September 9, 1977, marking the first anniversary of the death of Chairman Mao and the opening of his memorial hall. In contrast to

136. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 9.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 13; "Chung-cheng chi-nien t'ang lo-ch'eng k'ai-fang," p. 3.

138. "The monument will undoubtedly take its place beside the Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln memorials in Washington and even the Taj Mahal in India." Wang Ch'i-jung, "Hao-jan chih ch'i," p. 5.

139. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 5; "Chung-cheng chi-nien t'ang lo-ch'eng k'ai-fang," pp. 4, 9; Ho Ying-ch'iu 何應欽, "P'ei-yü tao tse min shu shih te li-shih wei-jen" 配義於道澤民淑世的歷史偉人 [A great historical figure, dutiful to the Way, bountiful to the people, beneficent to the world], *Chung-yang yueh-k'an* 12, no. 6 (April 16, 1982): 19–22.

140. The historicization began the moment official mourning ended. The closing of his casket, which marked Chiang Kai-shek's separation from the Chinese people, was "a historically significant moment" (*li-shih hsing te shih-k'o*). *Tsung-t'ung Chiang kung*, p. 3.

141. "Chiang kung shih-shih wu chou-nien" 蔣公逝世五週年 [Fifth anniversary of revered Mr. Chiang's death], *Mei-tsai Chung-hua* 美哉中華 [Beautiful China!], May 1980, p. 4.

131. "Deeply Cherish the Memory of Chairman Mao," pp. 65–66.

132. "Mao chu-hsi chi-nien t'ang," p. 4.

133. Precedent for this could be found in Mao's earlier decision to have the Revolutionary Heroes Monument face north, as a way of focusing political rallies between the cenotaph and the rostrum at T'ienanmen. *Ibid.*

134. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 13.

135. Wang Ch'i-jung, "Hao-jan chih ch'i," p. 5.

the Kuomintang ceremony, Chairman Mao's rally was meant to celebrate a force still alive in people's hearts and minds. In his speech to the homagers, Hua Kuo-feng said: "Chairman Mao will always be with us; he will always be in the hearts of each comrade and friend among us; he will always live in the hearts of the Chinese people and of revolutionary people the world over."¹⁴²

Yet even though the slogan "Chairman Mao lives in our hearts forever" was heard across China, there was a certain tiredness in its repetition; and the fact that it was most widely spread in the form of an eight-fen postage stamp suggests how phantasmal that living presence was becoming.¹⁴³ Hua Kuo-feng might well insist in his rally speech that "all attempts by class enemies at home and abroad to make our party change its Marxist-Leninist line, which was formulated by Chairman Mao, are no more than reactionary daydreaming."¹⁴⁴ But Teng Hsiao-p'ing now sat smiling in the front row of the audience, and time was running out for Chairman Hua.

As Hua Kuo-feng's position in the leadership began to slip and then drastically slide, the memorial hall that he had ordered built began to become something of an embarrassment. After the Third Plenum in December 1978 set China on an entirely new political and economic course, visitors from abroad who asked to visit the mausoleum were politely discouraged.¹⁴⁵ Rumors began to spread that the embalming of Mao's corpse had been a failure, and that his remains were decomposing. In January 1979 there were even demonstrations alongside the Memorial Hall calling for a monument to be built for Chou En-lai in between the Chairman's mausoleum and the Revolutionary Heroes Monument.¹⁴⁶ As other Communist leaders were honored by special posthumous rehabilitation ceremonies, Mao's spiritual hegemony was challenged. By 1980 it was an open secret in Peking that

142. "Hua chu-hsi tsai lung-chung chin-nien wei-ta te ling-hsiu ho tao-shih Mao chu-hsi shih-shih i chou-nien chi Mao chu-hsi chi-nien t'ang lo-ch'eng tien-li ta-hui shang te ching-hua" 華主席在隆重紀念偉大的領袖和導師毛主席逝世一週年及毛主席紀念堂落成典禮大會上的講話 [Chairman Hua's speech at the ceremonies solemnly marking the first anniversary of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's death and the inauguration of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall], *Chien-chu hsueh-pao* 建築學報 [Journal of Architecture] 4, no. 2 (1977). See also "Chairman Hua's Speech at Grand Rally Marking First Anniversary of Death of Chairman Mao and Opening of Memorial Hall," NCNA-English (Peking, September 9, 1977), CMP-SPRCP-77-39, p. 105.

143. "Peking Papers Carry Articles and Photos Marking Anniversary of Chairman Mao's Death," NCNA-English (Peking, September 7, 1977), CMP-SPRCP-77-39, p. 49; "Commemorative Stamps on Anniversary of Chairman Mao's Death," NCNA-English (Peking, September 8, 1977), CMP-SPRCP-77-39, pp. 104-105.

144. "Chairman Hua's Speech at Grand Rally," p. 108.

145. Mathews, *One Billion*, p. 327 (n. 2 above); Fox Butterfield, *China: Alive in the Bitter Sea* (New York: Times Books, 1982), p. 302; and Martin, *Cult and Canon*, p. 111 (n. 1 above).

146. Martin, *Cult and Canon*, pp. 111-112.

some party leaders actually wanted to tear down the Chairman's Memorial Hall. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, now firmly in power, told Oriana Fallaci: "Regarding the mausoleum, I can tell you that I do not agree in changing things. Now it is there, and it is not appropriate to take it away. It was not appropriate to build it, it would not be appropriate to take it off. Should we demolish it many people would be hurt and there would be a lot of rumors. Yes, many people are speculating on the subject, but we don't have such an idea."¹⁴⁷ The result was a compromise: the memorial hall would be kept, but Mao would have to share it with other important party leaders as a historical monument.

THE HISTORIFICATION OF MAO

During 1979-1980, both at the highest levels of the party and among the populace itself, there was a fundamental reevaluation of Mao Tse-tung's historical role.¹⁴⁸ By 1982—when preparations commenced for the nineteenth anniversary of Mao's birth—leaders' opinions began to move toward a more balanced view of the late Chairman's historical accomplishments.¹⁴⁹ Public opinion quickly followed suit, and as a spate of movies about Mao, including an eighty-minute documentary of his life which played to packed audiences in Peking theaters during December 1983, were released to coincide with the birthday celebrations, the media began to praise Mao once more with enthusiasm—albeit tacitly qualified by the observation that Mao was only one among a number of meritorious Communist Chinese leaders. At the same time the official press denied that there had ever been an intent to denigrate the late Chairman, despite the fact that his economic policies had been utterly changed.¹⁵⁰

The rehabilitation of Mao Tse-tung was safely accomplished in several different ways. The first was simply historiographical. It was claimed that, in a longer perspective, Mao's positive contributions to the revolution over-

147. Mathews, *One Billion*, p. 326; Fallaci, "Deng: Cleaning up Mao's 'Feudal Mistakes,'" p. D-6 (n. 3 above).

148. Martin, *Cult and Canon*, pp. 116, 129, 138. The phrase *fei-Mao-hua* (de-Maoization) began to appear in the Chinese press in March 1979. My conception of historicization owes much to Joseph Levenson's notion of the "(merely) historically significant" (Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*, volume 3, "The Problem of Historical Significance" (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p. 114.

149. This is based on the author's conversations with party historians in China. The official document that eventually summed up the compromise accepted by the top party leadership was the resolution adopted by the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee in June 1981: *Kuan-yü chien-kuo yü-tai tang te jo-kan li-shih wen-i te chueh-i* 關於建國以來黨的若干歷史問題的決議 [Resolution of certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China] (Hong Kong, 1981).

150. *New York Times*, December 27, 1983, p. A-3.

shadowed his many errors after liberation. Second was the notion that Mao Tse-tung thought was not the creation of Chairman Mao alone; it was the summation of the party's collective experience in applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese revolutionary moment. Naturally, the greatest individual contribution—the "principal element"—was Mao's union of Marxist theory with Chinese practice; but taken altogether, Mao Tse-tung thought "was the crystallization of our party's collective wisdom," the distillation of the recent history of the Chinese people.¹⁵¹ What had begun as one man's theory of universal class struggle ended by becoming an ideology of national consciousness, a "spiritual mainstay" of the Chinese people, somewhat like Sun Yat-sen's *San-min chu-i*.¹⁵²

Third, Mao was given a particular niche in modern Chinese history—a history that had produced him during turbulent times long passed by. As Chairman Hu Yao-pang put it on the nineteenth anniversary of Mao's birth: "Periods of great struggle necessarily produce outstanding personages. Conversely, outstanding personages at the same time push history forward. Comrade Mao Tse-tung was precisely the greatest and most outstanding figure during those hundred years or more."¹⁵³ Party propagandist Lu Ting-yi extended this historicism by positing a two-stage theory of the Chinese revolution. He argued that each of these stages (the revolutionary phase before 1949 and the stage of socialist construction after liberation) had in turn distinct periods of youth and maturity. Many failed to realize that even though the party had reached maturity in its revolutionary phase, it was still in its infancy in the stage of socialist construction. Lu thus implied that while Mao's revolutionary praxis had perfectly met the needs of the revolutionary era, it was not well suited to an age when the greatest priority was to build a "wealthy and strong China" (*fu-ch'iang te Chung-kuo*).¹⁵⁴

Fourth, Mao was turned into an object of history rather than its subject and master. This transformation accompanied the appearance, at the time of his nineteenth-birthday celebration, of a collection of 372 of Mao's letters, dating from 1920 to 1965. The letters were represented as an entirely new category of Mao's writing which would be of important use to "theoretical,

151. "Mao Tse-tung ssu-hsiang yung yang kuang-mang" 毛澤東思想永放光芒 [Mao Tse-tung thought will shine forever], *Jen-min jih-pao* 人民日報, December 26, 1983, p. 1.

152. As Dr. Weigelin-Schwiedrzik suggests, this "relativization" of Mao's role in the history of the party implies both a less individualistic theoretical contribution and a more collective political role. Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, "Parteigeschichtsschreibung in der VR China—Typen, Methoden, Themen und Funktionen." Inaugural doctoral dissertation, Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 1982, pp. 69–70.

153. Hu Yao-pang 胡耀邦, "T'sui hao te chi-nien" 最好的紀念 [The best memory], *Jen-min jih-pao*, December 26, 1983, p. 1. One instantly thinks of Plekhanov's historiography.

154. Lu Ting-yi 陸定一, "Yung Mao Tse-tung ssu-hsiang tso-hao chang tang kung-tso" 用毛澤東思想作好黨的工作 [Use Mao Tse-tung thought to carry out the work of rectifying the party], *Jen-min jih-pao*, December 24, 1983, p. 3.

intellectual and cultural workers for the study and research of Mao Tse-tung thought and for the study and research of our Party's history."¹⁵⁵

The final way of confronting the late Chairman's persona without either destroying or succumbing to it was to place Mao among a pantheon of party elders. As the nineteenth anniversary of his birth drew near, Mao was increasingly identified as one of an "older generation of proletarian revolutionaries" who were founders of the Chinese Communist Party, the People's Liberation Army, and the People's Republic of China.¹⁵⁶ Finally, on December 23, it was formally announced that Mao's mausoleum would be "enriched" with a new exhibit containing mementos honoring Mao, Liu Shao-ch'ih, Chou En-lai, and Chu Te.¹⁵⁷ The four "commemorative rooms" were devoted to the historical activities of these revolutionary figures. Upstairs, a movie theater ran fifteen-minute showings of a documentary called "Brilliance Forever Lasting" (*Kuang-hui yung ts'ui un*) about these leaders, while a gift shop sold thermometers, chopsticks, and other souvenirs inscribed with the name "Chairman Mao Memorial Hall."¹⁵⁸

Clearly, Chairman Mao was meant to be receding, like his comrades, into the collective memory of the Chinese people. Their "meritorious service (*hsun-ye*) survives forever"—*People's Daily* said—"illuminating one thousand autumns."¹⁵⁹ Yet the museum had not altogether ceased being a mausoleum, which—after all—had always been its dominant architectural function. China's top leaders did visit the memorial rooms (*shih*), but they also felt obliged to "pay their respects to the remains of Comrade Mao Tse-tung" in the larger hall (*t'ang*) where his body still lay in the crystal covered sarcophagus.¹⁶⁰ One cannot simply go and gaze at the historical exhibits detachedly, like paying a call on the Museum of Revolutionary History on the eastern side of T'ien-an men, just across that great square. One must approach *t'ang* and *shih* together, with due reverence and awe for

155. Editorial, *Jen-min jih-pao*, December 25, 1983, p. 1. It was just such a group of historians who gathered at Ch'ang-sha on the anniversary of Mao's birth and who were told by Wang Chen, director of the Central Party School, that "the formation and development of Mao Tse-tung thought is a glorious chapter in our party's history." *Jen-min jih-pao*, December 27, 1983, p. 4.

156. *Jen-min jih-pao*, December 24, 1983, p. 1. Earlier in 1983, Mao's long overshadowed patron, Li T'ao-chao, had been celebrated in a special ceremony at his gravestone in Wan-an Cemetery in Peking's western suburbs. *China Daily*, October 31, 1983, p. 1.

157. Associated Press Release, *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 23, 1983, p. 18. See also Lowell Dittmer, "Death and Transfiguration: Liu Shaoqi's Rehabilitation and Contemporary Chinese Politics," *Journal of Asian Studies* 40, no. 3 (May 1981): 479.

158. *Jen-min jih-pao*, December 24, 1983; *New York Times*, December 27, 1983, p. A-3; Michael Browning, "Chinese Officially Remember Mao: All His Flowers, Violins and Smiles," *Miami Herald*, December 20, 1983, p. A-14.

159. *Jen-min jih-pao*, December 27, 1983, p. 1.
160. *Ibid.*

the body still housed there.¹⁶¹ In that sense, the monument remains a *ling-mu*. The boundary between person and persona, between thinking and thought, is indistinct. The central tomb and the axial rooms awkwardly contain both parts of Mao, so that the personal shrine and the public memorial are mutually denatured. Like Chiang Kai-shek's corpse, which is said to be only halfway home to its final resting place, Mao's body is preserved in a kind of limbo, uneasily caught midway between individual transcendence and collective immortality. Sun Yet-sen's corpse was more definitively entombed, immured in the side of Purple Mountain. And the ashes of Chou En-lai, after all, were finally returned to the ancestral dust of China. Chairman Mao's remains, in the end, survive, uncomfortably, vulnerable to public view.¹⁶²

161. Mathews, *One Billion*, pp. 327–328.

162. According to rumor, a deranged woman who claimed that Mao Tse-tung had killed her entire family made an attempt to destroy his corpse during the summer of 1984.

TWELVE

Death in the People's Republic of China

Martin K. Whyte

If this movement [for cremation] really gains headway, it will mark one of the sharpest breaks with tradition since the philosopher Mo Tzu vainly fulminated against the Confucianists for encouraging lavish funerals [in the fifth century B.C.].—Derk Bodde, Peking Diary (1949)

If there is any feng-shui at all, the Communist Party and the cooperatives will be enough feng-shui.—Chinese peasant slogan (1958)

The struggle between the old and the new does take place not only on the barricades, not only in the economic and political field, but also in the resting places of the dead.—Soviet ritual specialist (1970)

Communist revolutions are something out of the ordinary because they attempt a thorough transformation, not only of political and economic structures, but of the very way people live—their family lives, rituals and customs, and values. Even the way people deal with death and funerals becomes a political issue, as the final opening quotation indicates.¹ Our fascination with the Communist revolution in China, a country with such ancient traditions and deeply honored rituals, comes in part from curiosity about what happens in this sort of situation where “irresistible force meets an immovable object.” Funeral reform efforts have been initiated by the Chinese Communists since before 1949, and in this chapter I attempt to assess those efforts. In particular, I am concerned here with why and how the Chinese Communist Party (hereafter CCP) has attempted to change “the Chinese way of death,” how successful these efforts have been, and what the meaning and implications of the current set of funeral practices are.

The evidence for many of the generalizations about changes in funeral customs that I will present is admittedly less solid and systematic than would be ideal. For the most part I will be piecing together information from scattered press reports and observations by visitors to China. One

1. Opening quotations are from Derk Bodde, *Peking Diary* (1950; reprint edition New York: Fawcett, 1967), p. 196; Albert Ravenholt, “The Gods Must Go!” *American Universities Field Staff Reports, East Asian Series*, Nov. 22, 1958, p. 5; and G. Gerodoluk, cited in Christel Lane, *The Rites of Rulers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 83.