「尋存與啟迪」

香港早期聲影遺珍

EARLY CINEMATIC TREASURES REDISCOVERED

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尋存與啟迪
——香港早期聲影遺珍
Early Cinematic Treasures Rediscovered

傅慧儀 香港電影資料館節目策劃
Winnie Fu Programmer, Hong Kong Film Archive

極度珍貴的一批三、四十年代香港電影，已於2012年順利由美國三藩市搜羅返港。經過第一階段的掃描、試片和整理的工程，由顧問及研究者共同選取了盧敦導演的《天上人間》（1941）作2K的數碼修復。

在要求反思歷史和尋求年代使命的一刻，從光影紀錄中去領略三、四十年代香港經歷的水深火熱，各式民間的焦慮、抗戰的謀動、家國與愛情的角力，似乎又有另一重誘發深思的價值。

選映的八部作品，除了《女性之光》（1937）和《太平洋上的風雲》（1938）在2014年頭的「早期香港電影遊蹤」公映過之外，其餘六部《續白金龍》（1937）、《血肉長城》（1938）、《天上人間》（1941）、《苦鳳鶯憐》（1941年拍攝）、《蓬門碧玉》（1942）、《南島相思曲》（1947）都是過去數十年來從未曝光之作。

這八部瑰寶，補充了很多過去香港影史的空白，不論是導技的水平和電影美學上的成就，又或是影片所反映的時代關懷、人文景觀、跨國開拓，甚至是片種和劇本結構的考慮，都看到傳承的脈絡。侯曜的兩部「國防片」《太平洋上的風雲》和《血肉長城》壯志激昂，充滿保家衛國情操；高梨痕和薛覺先合導的《續白金龍》和楊工良的《苦鳳鶯憐》則是兩位省港澳伶人薛覺先和馬師曾早期的兩棲嘗試，都不約而同的西片中用，把粵劇唱段套入文藝和偵探橋段；至於盧敦的《天上人間》和洪叔雲的《蓬門碧玉》，則分別把抗戰期間的香港各階層生活風貌，以地道寫實和浪漫悲情兩種方法去作劇情處理。

香港電影後來建立的很多講故事的技巧、場景的處理和電影類型的發展，都或多或少受到這批早期創作的啟發。

這批老電影多方面紀錄了香港影業進程和三、四十年代的回憶，為了深化大眾對這些電影的認識和理解，節目安排上特別為公映的電影找來專責研究學人，除帶動研討方向，主導專題座談會外，更各別選取了可和這批老電影產生化學作用的參考作品。研究學人包括羅卡、黃愛玲、何思穎、黃淑嫻、游靜、吳君玉和劉嶔。（座談題目及特約講者詳見第163頁列表。）

特別鳴謝捐贈這批影片的方創傑先生，這批珍貴的硝酸片乃七十年代他創辦的華宮戲院結業後留落在唐人街的物資，能重見天日，亦有幸他多年來重視保存。

In 2012, the Film Archive acquired from San Francisco some immensely precious 1930s and 40s Hong Kong motion pictures, which subsequently went through digital scanning, test screenings and preservation work. Among them, director Lo Duen's *Follow Your Dream* (1941) has been selected for 2K digital restoration. These vintage films, which bear witness to all the trials and tribulations Hong Kong society had been through in the 1930s and 40s, offer lots of insights to look back on the past for a better future. Of the eight titles we are presenting, apart from *The Light of Women* (1937) and *Incident in the Pacific* (1938) which were released last this year in "Transcending Space and Time – Early Cinematic Experience of Hong Kong" programme, the remaining titles are all new discoveries that have yet to see the light.

These eight titles have filled many of the voids in Hong Kong cinematic history. Be it directorial knowhow, aesthetic achievement, humanistic value, scope of production, or significance in terms of genre and screenplay, these works show clear traces of the legacy passed down by their predecessors. *Incident in the Pacific* and *Fortress of Flesh and Blood* (1938), two "national defence" films by Hou Yao, are exemplars of one's resolution to protect the country against foreign aggression. Ko Lei-hen's *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two* (1937) and Yeung Kung-leong's *Bitter Phoenix*, *Sorrowful Oriole* (1947), early film works by Cantonese opera greats Sit Kok-sin and Ma Si-tsang, are both attempts to integrate Chinese operatic art with the melodrama and detective thriller in Western motion picture. Lo Duen's *Follow Your Dream* and Hung Suk-wan's *The Rich House* (1941) are realistic and romantic portrayals respectively of social realities in wartime Hong Kong.

These precious titles are valuable memorabilia of an era long gone, and tell a lot about the film industry in the 1930s to 40s. In order to deepen the public's awareness and understanding of these films, we have consolidated the analytical efforts of a number of renowned and experienced scholars, who will not only conduct serious research on the film, write an in-depth essay on their point of views, but also host post-screening seminars and select a reference film for comparison purpose. The Film Archive would like to express our utmost gratitude to Law Kar, Wong Ain-ling, Sam Ho, Mary Wong, Yau Ching, May Ng and Lau Yam for their efforts in dissecting and analysing the cultural and historical contents of these newly discovered moving images. (Please refer to seminar themes listed on p163.)

We owe our special thanks to Mr Jack Lee Fong, owner of the Palace Theatre in San Francisco which had been home to these nitrate films until the theatre closed its doors in the 1970s. If not for his tireless efforts over the decades as a guardian, these gems would not have survived to this day.

現代（女）性之蜀道難

// 游靜

自1931年中國第一部有聲電影面世，[1] 在1931至1935年間，中國電影由默片逐漸轉型為有聲電影。根據不少歷史資料顯示，三十年代是粵語片的盛產期，以致國民政府感到國語片受威脅而需要在1937年頒令禁拍粵片。[2] 但由於日佔時期日軍在港以菲林作燃料，[3] 導致今天要研究二十到四十年代那（至少）幾百部港產電影，只能透過圖文（如劇本、文宣等）想像。

目前在香港看到最早的粵語片是《女性之光》（1937）。在《女》片得以從三藩市戲院商房子地庫發現並運回港前，[4] 偶而在深宵電視台播的《南國姊妹花》（1939），就是我們最久遠的粵片憑記。兩部剛好都是以女性角色主導的電影。這是剛好、偶然嗎？

康有為《大同書》：「興學選才，設科選秀，惟能是與，豈在形骸」，倡議女性有考科舉和選士（參政）權。早於1912年，留日回國、「中國同盟會」第一位女會員唐群英就上書孫中山，要求國家憲法説明女子有選舉權及被選舉權。1912年，蔡元培任民國南京臨時政府教育總長期間，實行小學男女同校。1914年共有10名女生官費赴美留學；1920年北京大學已有女學生入學。

五四期間，開始有半工半讀的婦女，組織女子工讀互助團及婦女補習學校，1919年在北京、上海、廣東、天津都有類似組織。同年，天津女界愛國同志會組織免學費的「平民女校」；1922年中華婦女聯合會在上海開辦的「平民女校」，一方面設學科如英文、數學、國文、經濟學、社會學等，另方面學生從事製衣，以資助學校伙食。同時期也提倡女子接受職業專科教育（女子職業學校加設醫學、農業、工業、商科等），甚至透

《新女性》中阮玲玉飾作家韋明，代表時尚摩登的三十年代女性，卻因感情失敗及生活困苦、走上服毒自殺的不歸路，遭媒體扭曲、消費，成「浪漫女子的殷鑑」。
In *New Women*, Ruan Lingyu plays the writer Wai Ming, who represents the modern woman of the 30s. Dumped by a man and plagued by poverty, she commits suicide by taking poison. This is twisted by the press as a "warning to romantic women".

過「勤工儉學」出國留學。當時婦女團體除辦學也參政，如女子尚武會、天津女界愛國同志會、北京女子參政協進會、廣東婦女解放協會、湖南女子留法勤工儉學會等等。女權運動同盟會更倡議推翻維護男權的憲法；打破男丁壟斷財產繼承權，要求制定「男女平等」的婚姻法、反納妾、反娼、反蓄婢、反纏足等。1919年赴法留學、1922年加入中國共產黨的向警予，1923年在上海創辦三十間絲廠女工夜校，1924年組織十四間絲廠共一萬多名女工罷工，可見二十年代是中國婦女解放、平權運動風起雲湧的時代。與社會政治脈絡相比起來，在早期中國電影中，卻甚少見有女性推動社會及國家改革、參政，或作為組織者、教育倡議者的角色。

中國三十年代電影倒是女性角色、女性題材的天下，其中流傳甚廣的包括阮玲玉主演的《三個摩登女性》（1933）、《小玩意》（1933）、《神女》（1934）及《新女性》（1935），呈現女工、農村婦女、妓女、作家、教師等不同的女性角色塑造。這時期的電影對女性題材的投注，與其說是表現影人對女性解放平權或性別議題特別關心，不如說「女

《新女性》中女工阿英是進步女性典範，卻非男性的欲望對象。
In *New Women*, the female worker Aying is a model of the progressive woman, but not an object of desire for men.

性」這場域，提供給知識份子對現代性——即「文明」、「民主」、「自由」這些觀念最便於思考、構築、爭議、投射及消費的空間，並顯現社會需要透過電影這普及媒體，消化及舒緩中國精英男性主導的國家機器與意識型態，在急劇現代化過程中，受到挑戰所經歷的焦慮及不安。這些構築、投射及消費相當複雜，並不是三言兩語能概括。如《新女性》看似是肯定勞動女性的團結、獨立自強，但片中女性參與各種公共領域——從寫作、教學至性工作，都被呈現成是凶多吉少。片中一方面強調韋明（阮玲玉飾）的摩登時髦、受高等教育；片首韋明更大言不慚地說：「結婚！結婚能給我甚麼呢？」，把「終生的伴侶」翻譯成「終生的奴隸」，彷彿是道出封建家庭及婚姻制度對女性的壓迫，但劇情不久就把這位「獨身主義者」（舞場中追求者語）寫成是被男人拋棄、無力照顧女兒及自身、「淪

《女性之光》慕貞不甘受兄擺佈，下嫁三妻四妾的工場老闆
In *The Light of Women*, Mo-jing refuses to enter the marriage with a factory owner with several concubines arranged by her elder brother.

慕貞（李綺年）毅然逃婚，到鄰邑入讀女子義學
Mo-jing (Lee Yi-nin) runs away from marriage and enrolls in a free girls' school in the neighbouring county.

慕貞嚮往自由戀愛，情訂富家少爺吳尚志（鄺山笑）
Yearning for free love, Mo-jing falls in love with a rich young master (Kwong Shan-siu).

慕貞不滿情郎懦弱無能，退卻婚事，決斷帶同養女秀華（梁添添）回到義學
Fed up with her lover's cowardice and helplessness, Mo-jing breaks off her engagement and goes with her adopted daughter (Leong Tim-tim) back to the charity school.

兩度逃婚，慕貞寧拋嫁衣，自力更生，梳起接管女校終身投入教育事業。
After running away from marriage twice, Mo-jing decides to remain single and takes over the girls' school, dedicating herself to education.

落風塵」又自殺而死的失敗者。但同時，電影的凝視、設計及場面調度把韋明塑造成唯一可欲的女性，展現男性文人藉女性角色來投射自身一方面抗拒強權，對革命與（被）解放的渴求，但同時也充滿對舊生活、華麗陰性的依戀。雖然片中有女工代表阿英作為「進步」典範，但觀眾對阮玲玉的感情投注則仍然（輕易）被轉化成對「新女性」的反諷。阿英是政治正確，但在片中並不可欲。阿英的站起來與韋明的倒下來正是民國新人類認同與欲望的一體兩面。

《女性之光》跟《新女性》有相似的面向，也是把改革社會、構築中國現代性的欲望投射在女性身上，男性都成了封建社會的代言。片中唯一較有「平等」、「自強」氣息的「疑似現代」男性、穿西裝打領帶、鄺山笑飾的富家少爺，原來也充滿封建羈絆，不足以滿足慕貞對他的現代要求：「你對以前的夫人手續完全辦妥了嗎？」即使他如何跟母親辯論：「現在沒有皇帝了！」，以凸顯他的現代性，但他跟前妻及她的外家鄉里的情感人倫糾葛，及他的「冇骨氣、冇主見」（前妻語），與他講求門當戶對的母親等，都成了慕貞在追求作為獨立自主新女性過程中的牽絆。與慕貞分手一場中，他希望自己的女兒秀華能作為慕貞的「妹仔」，與女主角陸慕貞（李綺年飾）要養育秀華作為一個「有用的人」，兩者之間存在龐大差異，正彰顯了封建與現代的矛盾，及電影要製造的認同與欲望。在慕貞追求現代性的過程中，周圍窺視慕貞的「姑太」們成了她的同行者，一方面協助她衝破婚姻的虛妄，也教育、庇蔭她「為社會做點事」（姑太言）。「自梳」傳統，成為了電影想像及企圖繼承與開拓的早期華南現代性。

自梳女開辦女子義學，當中設紡織課。
Set up by self-combed women, the charity school offers weaving classes.

「自梳」究竟是一種怎樣的文化？現代抑或傳統？肯定、鞏固宗族還是挑戰婚姻霸權？對這習俗詮釋話語權的爭奪也展現了現代國家權力及文人欲望的變遷。「自梳」究竟始於何時至今無定論，早於明萬曆十三年《順德縣誌》，就已有女子終身不嫁的記載。番禺一地女子不嫁，於清乾隆年間（約1774年），已蔚然成風。在光緒、宣統年間（1908年前後），在人口多達數千人的番禺南村，一年之中，女子出嫁者不過數人，至1909年，甚至無人出嫁。「自梳女是珠三角洲歷史上一種特殊的社會現象。十八世紀起，因受桑基魚塘和繅絲業發展等因素的影響，珠江三角洲產生了一群相約不嫁的自梳女子，以後此風逐漸興盛，直至二十世紀中期，自梳女經過特定儀式，自行易辮梳髻，誓言獨身終老，並衍生出一系列特殊習俗」，如「契相知」、「金蘭契」等。[5]「這種風氣，只盛行於珠江三角洲一帶，其他地區殊罕見。珠江三角洲經濟作物繁富，手工業發達，婦女謀生門徑較多。順德蠶絲業隆盛時，繅絲女特多，『自梳』與『不落家』之風亦特熾。」[6]文史學者鄔慶時就說他兩個胞妹都是「自梳」。「二妹亦在廣州自設永華織襪廠，織生數百人，無一非同鄉的『自梳女』；三妹在鄉開設瑞初私塾，學生也有數百人，其在年稍長者，後來皆『自梳』，其職業，一如她們的先輩。」[7]番禺、中山的「自梳」及「不落家」婦女，多以織布、織毛巾、刺繡等為生，而順德、南海等大都在絲廠及蠶絲業中工作。至二十年代末，順德生絲在國際市場

秀華步養母後塵，爭取自主獨立逃婚，兩母女乘船出走，漂泊天涯前途未卜。
Following in her foster mother's footsteps, Sau-wah also wants to be independent and runs away from marriage. As mother and daughter escape by boat, their destiny is uncertain.

上敵不過日本的人造絲，於是轉投各種針織業，也有不少跑到廣州、香港等城市轉型作「媽姐」。

「自梳女」作為自十八世紀以來華南地區特有的獨身女性集體傳統，對儒家倫理、家族、異性戀婚姻，當然常被視為一種不倫，甚至「革命」，如道光五至八年在廣東官任學政的翁心存《勸戒二十四條》中：「粵東地方，地處邊隅，尤失交道。其男子以奸邪相誘，至有添弟會之名；其女子以生死相要，亦有十姊妹之拜。維爾生童，固不容有此敗類。」金蘭姊妹結拜，被視為能與反清復明、搞革命的天地（「添弟」）會類比，等同「奸邪」、「敗類」，更鞏固粵文化作為難以管治的「邊隅」地區概念。道咸年間的彭昌祚直斥金蘭姊妹同性間的「情濃意密」為「淫亂」，還深表憤慨：「吾聞廉恥之喪，莫甚於淫亂。自古桑間濮上及龍陽董賢之屬，縱乖於正，猶在人情之中。今之為桑間濮上、龍陽董賢者，吾不謂無獨粵東以女悅女，稱為拜相知。竟有處女相守不嫁，其情濃意密倍於夫婦床第之穢褻者，不更可大異乎！」[8]

由於二戰前華南電影拷貝倖存者稀，我們無法看見大部分早期電影——如1937年公映的《自梳女》（與《女性之光》同為李綺年主演）——對「自梳」的詮釋。難得《女性之光》中有不少對「自梳」文化的側寫，比如看到「不落家」風氣與自

「自梳」文化的側寫：鼓勵婦女獨立，脫離家庭枷鎖。
Allusions to the "self-combing culture" – encouraging women to be independent and to throw off the shackles of the family.

梳女開辦女子學校、織造廠之間等的淵源（「織生」），也看到「姑婆屋」各「師太」及女學生、紡織廠之間很親密的距離（「姑婆屋」為自梳女共同出資，或由年長有錢的自梳女捐資興建，也有的是宗族出資修建），可見自梳文化透過教育，推動女性獨立自主，傳承知識及技能，製造屬於自身的傳統，我想對於三十年代的觀眾，大概一看就會明白。片末兩代的被迫出走，也可見這傳統的被迫轉型及衰落。

但《女性之光》對「自梳」文化的挪用也有相當值得斟酌的地方。它刻意抹掉女子間的親密（年輕的慕貞拋棄了跟女友的情誼才能離家）、不呈現自梳的各種儀式與誓言（容易被看成「過於傳統」、不夠現代？），又把自梳女一般對原生家庭部落、宗族的「孝義」觀念淡化，並改寫成（片中一再強調）努力奮鬥耐勞以報效「社會」，最後服務國家的民族主義。片末兩母女倉卒的乘船出走，是延續自梳歷史中常見的出洋（到香港、新加坡等地）打工，還是響應抗日戰爭爆發的當下國家召喚，向一閃而過的青天白日旗邁進？結尾的含糊性正好體現了這一代文人在現代性及民族主義之間進退維谷的心理糾結。

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注釋

1 第一部公映的中國有聲電影為明星影片公司於1931年3月公映的蠟盤發音有聲片《歌女紅牡丹》。參考程季華、李少白、邢祖文編：《中國電影發展史》，第一卷，北京，中國電影出版社，1981（1963年初版），頁61-163。

2 何思穎：〈慕貞——一窺三十年代香港電影中的女性意識〉，《通訊》，第66期，香港，香港電影資料館，2013年11月，頁6。

3 “One of the most destructive actions by the Japanese against the Hong Kong film industry was to melt down a large number of the pre-war films to use the silver nitrate for military purposes.” David Carter, *East Asian Cinema*, Harpenden, UK: Kamera/ Oldcastle Books, 2010 (Kindle Edition).

4 陳彩玉：〈方創傑先生與他的時間囊〉，《通訊》，第66期，香港，香港電影資料館，2013年11月，頁4-6。

5 郭盛暉：〈珠江三角洲的自梳女習俗及其演化與成因〉，《神州民俗》，廣州，2009年6月，頁31-33。

6 陳遹曾、黎思復、鄔慶時：〈「自梳女」與「不落家」〉，《文史春秋》，廣西南寧，1994年3月，頁41。

7 同上，頁44。

8 彭昌祚：《恐自逸軒瑣錄》卷三《粵東三異》，清咸豐三年（1853年）刻本。

The Difficulty of Imagining Southern Women/China in Modernity

// Yau Ching

The first Chinese sound movie was born in 1931[1]. From 1931 to 1935, Chinese cinema gradually evolved from silent films to the talkies. Many historical data show that the 30s were a heyday of Cantonese films, so much so that the Nationalist government felt that Mandarin cinema was threatened and had to ban the making of Cantonese films in 1937.[2] However, due to the melting down of films for silver nitrate by Japanese troops during the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong,[3] we can only study the (at least) several hundred Hong Kong films made from the 20s to the 40s through photos and texts (such as scripts and publicity materials) today.

The earliest Hong Kong Cantonese film that we can now see is *The Light of Women* (1937). Prior to the discovery of its print in the basement of a cinema owner's house in San Francisco and its shipment back to Hong Kong,[4] our only impression of old Cantonese movies came from *Twin Sisters of the South* (1939) sparingly aired on late night TV. Both films are dominated by female characters. Is this a coincidence?

In his work *Da Tong Shu*, Kang Youwei wrote, "When we enrol students and hold examinations to pick talent, the only criterion should be ability rather than appearance." He advocated that women should be allowed to sit for imperial examinations and participate in politics. In 1912, Tang Qunying, the first female member of the United League

("Tongmenghui") to return to China after studying in Japan, petitioned Dr. Sun Yat-sen to give women the right to vote and be nominated for election in the nation's constitution. In the same year, while serving as education secretary of the Provisional Nationalist Government in Nanjing, Cai Yuanpei introduced co-ed primary schools. In 1914, ten female students went to study in the US on government scholarships. By 1920, the Beijing University had enrolled female students.

During the May Fourth Movement, part-time female students started organising working women's mutual-help study groups and set up tutorial schools for women. In 1919, these organisations sprang up in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong and Tianjin. In the same year, the Tianjin Patriotic Women Comrades' Association set up a Common People's Girls' School with free tuition. In 1922, the Common People's Girls' School set up by the Chinese Women's Federation in Shanghai offered subjects including English, Mathematics, Chinese, Economics and Sociology. Its students also manufactured clothes to pay for board. During the same period, women were also encouraged to receive vocational education (women's vocational schools offered additional subjects such as Medicine, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce), or even study abroad under the work-study scheme. Women's organisations, such as the Women's Martial Arts Society, the Tianjin Patriotic Women Comrades' Association, the Beijing Society for Women

in Politics, the Guangdong Women's Liberation Society, the Hunan Women's Work-Study Society for Studying in France, among others, actively engaged in politics on top of education. The Women's Rights Movement League advocated abolishing the constitution that protected men's rights, especially men's monopoly on inheritance. They demanded "gender equality" leg including marriage laws, laws banning concubinage, prostitution, mui-tsai and foot-binding. Xiang Jingyu, who went to study in France in 1919 and joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1922, set up 30 evening schools for silk factory female workers in Shanghai in 1923. In 1924, she organised a strike by some ten thousand female workers from 14 silk factories. The 1920s were a momentous period for women's liberation and the advocacy of equal rights for women in China. But in contrast to the social and political contexts, few early Chinese films had depicted women advocating for social and political changes, as political or educational activists.

Nevertheless, Chinese films in the 30s abound in women as protagonists and as subject matter. Popular movies included *Three Modern Women* (1933), *Little Toys* (1933), *The Goddess* (1934) and *New Women* (1935) starring Ruan Lingyu, who played various roles such as factory laborer, peasant woman, sex worker, writer and teacher. Women as subject in films of this period provided intellectuals a convenient venue for the reflection, construction, debate, projection and consumption of Western/modern concepts such as "civility", "democracy" and "freedom". The mass medium of film, amongst the male-dominated state and ideological apparatuses, served to alleviate male anxiety

while it was being challenged in the process of rapid modernisation. These complex processes of construction, projection and consumption are often full of contradictions. While the solidarity and independence of working women in *New Women* for example, is apparently portrayed in positive lights, the heroine participating in various public spheres, from writing, teaching to sex work, was not particularly satisfied in any. As a modern, educated woman, Weiming (Ruan Lingyu) says contemptuously in one of the opening scenes, “Marriage! What good is marriage to me?” Her translation of “lifelong companion” into “lifelong slave” expresses her critique of women's oppression within the institutions of marriage and the fedual family. But as the plot unfolds, this “celibate” is shown as a loser, first abandoned by a man, then incapable of taking care of her daughter or herself, and finally, attempts to kill herself after being "fallen". However, the *mise-en-scène* of the film directs the audience' gaze on Weiming as the only object of desire. The male elite literati projects his own desire for revolution against and liberation from old powers onto the "New Woman" as he clings onto consuming and/or identifying with the glamorous femininity from old life. In contrast to Aying the female factory worker as an epitome of "progressiveness", the representation of Weiming in the film swings between sympathy and mockery. Aying signals politically correctness but she is not desirable. Aying’s rising and Weiming’s fallenness speaks to the contradictory identifications and desires of new people in the Republic.

Not unlike *New Women*, *The Light of Women* projects the desire for social reform and constructing Chinese

modernity onto women, while men become the spokesmen of feudal society. Even the “seemingly modern” man who shares ideas of “equality” and “self-empowerment” with the female protagonist, the rich young master wearing a Western suit and a tie played by Kwong Shan-siu, turns out to be bound by premodern ties, failing to meet Mo-jing’s modern requirement: “Have you completed the divorce formalities with your ex-wife?” Even though he remonstrates with his mother, saying, “There are no emperors now!”, to emphasize his modern thinking, his entanglement with his ex-wife and her family, his “lack of spine and indecisiveness” (ex-wife’s words), and his mother who wants him to marry someone of his own status, render him not up to standard for Mo-jing climbing up the ladder of becoming an independent new woman. In the breakup scene with Mo-jing, he expresses hope that his daughter Sau-wah could become her “mui-tsai”, contrasting with her wish to bring Sau-wah up to be a “useful person”. This conflict between the two characters highlights the contradiction between feudalism and modernity, and how the film seeks to build identification with and desire the modern. In Mo-jing’s journey to modernity, the elder maiden ladies become her role models and advisers, and at times, plot commentators for the audience. They help to dispel the illusions of marriage, and teach her to “do good for society”. The representation of the “self-combing” (*zishu*) tradition serves to signify here early modern South Chineseness that the film tries to inherit and explore.

What was “self-combing" like? Could it be modern or traditional? Did it serve to reaffirm the institutions of family clans or rather, facilitate women's escape from the tyranny

of marriage? The scramble to interpret this custom also reflects the changes in modern state power and intellectual desires. When the "self-combing" tradition began is still a matter of contention. *The Chronicles of Shunde County* during the Ming Dynasty in 1585 already contain records of women who remained single all their lives. In Panyu, many women chose not to marry during the reign of Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty (circa 1774). During the reign of Guangxu and Xuantong (before and after 1908), in the south village of Panyu with a population of a few thousand, only a handful of women got married in a year. In the year 1909, there was no record of any woman marrying. "Self-combed women (zishunü) were a unique social phenomenon in the history of the Pearl River Delta. From the 18th century, due to factors such as the development of mulberry fish ponds and the silk industry, a group of self-combed women emerged in the Pearl River Delta who made a pact not to marry. This practice gradually spread. By the mid-20th century, women went through a ritual to put up their hair and tie it into a bun, making a vow to remain single. This spawned a series of special customs...", such as "lesbian relationships" and "sworn sisters".[5] "This custom was only widespread in the Pearl River Delta, and was rare in other regions. The Pearl River Delta was rich in cash crops and had a thriving handicraft industry, so that women had more opportunities to make a living. During the boom of the silk industry in Shunde, there was a host of female silk workers. The 'self-combing' and 'delayed marriage' (*buluojia*) practice was especially rife."[6] Historian Wu Qingshi said that both his younger sisters were "self-combed" women: "My second sister set up the Wing Wah Silk Sock Knitting Factory in

Guangzhou. The few hundred knitters were all 'self-combed women' from the same village. My third sister set up a private school in the country with a few hundred students. The older ones all became 'self-combed' women later, and entered the same professions as their predecessors."[7] The "self-combed" women and married women who moved back with their parents (*buluojia*) mostly worked as cotton cloth or towel knitters or embroiderers. Those in Shunde and Nanhai worked mainly in the silk factories and silk industry. By the late 20s, raw silk from Shunde could not compete with Japanese artificial silk on the international market. As a result, they switched to other knitting industries, while some moved to Guangzhou and Hong Kong to become "amahs".

As a collective tradition of celibate women peculiar to South China since the 18th century, "self-combing" was often formulated (by scholars) as indecent and even "rebellious" vis-a-vis Confucian ethics, family values and heterosexual marriage. In his *Twenty-four Admonitions*, Weng Xincun, an educational supervisor in Guangdong between 1825 and 1828 during the Qing Dynasty, wrote: "The eastern part of Guangdong, being near the border area, is especially out of track. Its men are seduced with evil thoughts, giving rise to the fraternal organisation known as Tiandihui; its women become sworn sisters, such as the Sisterhood of the Ten. Such degenerates are certainly not allowed among our upcoming generations". In order to condemn it as "evil" and "degenerating," the convention of sworn sisters here was categorically analogised to the revolutionary Tiandihui which aimed at overthrowing the Qing Dynasty and restoring the Ming Dynasty, and both reinforced the idea of Guangdong

as an ungovernable "border" region. During the Daoguang and Xianfeng era, Peng Changzuo condemned the "intimacy" between sworn sisters as "lustful", and expressed his outrage: "As I understand, nothing is more corrupting than lust. In ancient times, profligate and homosexual behavior, indecent as it might be, was still within the bounds of human nature. Today, no profligate and homosexual behavior exceeds that demonstrated by the relationships between women in east Guangdong, known as *baixiangzhi*. Even worse, there are virgins who make mutual vows not to marry. Their intimacy is more lascivious than the intercourse between husband and wife!" [8]

Since extant copies of South Chinese films before World War II are hard to come by, we have no way of knowing how "self-combing" is interpreted in most early films – such as in *Women of Independent Means* (like *The Light of Women*, it starred Lee Yi-nin). *The Light of Women* makes rare references to the popular convention, showing for example, the ways in which self-combed women set up live-in vocational knitting schools for young women. We also see the close ties between the "maiden ladies" from the "maiden lady house", the female students and the knitting factory ("maiden lady houses" were financed by self-combed women, or sponsored by elderly and rich self-combed women. Some were built with funds from the clans). It establishes how the self-combing culture promoted women's independence through education and the transmission of skills, creating a tradition of its own. All of these would probably be self-evident to viewers in the 30s. When the mother and daughter are forced to run away at the end of

the film, it also suggests the waning of this tradition.

However, the representation of "self-combing" culture in *The Light of Women* is also curious in some respects. It deliberately glosses over the intimacy between women (the young Mo-jing has to sever her friendship with a girlfriend before leaving home). It chooses to skip all the rituals and vows of "self-combing"---because these might be seen as "too traditional" and not modern enough. It also downplays the loyalty of self-combed woman to their natural families and clans (without mentioning any collaborative efforts or support of the clan communities), replacing it with diligence in order to repay "society" and nationalistic ideas of serving the country. As for the hasty departure of mother and daughter on a boat at the end, was it an echo of the expatriation of many self-combed women (to Hong Kong or Singapore) for work, or a response to the calling of the nation at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, as they approached the briefly glimpsed national flag? The ambiguity of this ending aptly captures the dilemma of that generation of intellectuals caught between modernity and nationalism.

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[Translated by Christine Chan]

Notes

1 The first Chinese talkie released was the sound movie *Song Girl Red Peony* by Mingxing Film Company released in March 1931. See Cheng Jihua, Li Shaobai and Xing Zuwen (eds.), *A History of the Development of Chinese Cinema*, Vol. 1, Beijing: China Film Press, 1981, pp61-163 (Chinese only).

2 Sam Ho, "Beyond Virginity: A Precious Glimpse of Women Sensibilities in 1930s Hong Kong Cinema", *Newsletter*, Hong Kong Film Archive, Issue 66, Nov 2013, p.8.

3 "One of the most destructive actions by the Japanese against the Hong Kong film industry was to melt down a large number of the pre-war films to use the silver nitrate for military purposes." David Carter, *East Asian Cinema*, Harpenden, UK: Kamera/Oldcastle Books, 2010 (Kindle Edition).

4 Priscilla Chan, "Mr Jack Lee Fong and His Time Capsule", *Newsletter*, Hong Kong Film Archive, Issue 66, Nov 2013, pp.4-6.

5 Guo Shenghui, "The Custom of Self-combed Women in the Pearl River Delta and Its Evolution and Origins", *Folk Custom in China*, Guangzhou, Jun 2009, pp.31-33 (Chinese only).

6 Chen Yuzeng, Li Sifu and Wu Qingshi, "'Self-Combed Women' and 'Delayed Marriage'", *Literature and History*, Nanning, Guangxi Province, Mar 1994, p.41 (Chinese only).

7 Ibid., p.44.

8 Peng Changzuo, *Miscellaneous Notes, Vol. III, Three Eccentric Customs of East Guangdong*, 1853, block-printed edition (Chinese only).

延伸閱讀

「南國影后」李綺年

// 盛安琪

在《女性之光》（1937）一片中，李綺年飾演無父無母的陸慕貞，她先為貪財霸道的兄長所逼，要其下嫁工廠老闆當妾侍；後遇上有情郎，又發現此君原來懦弱無能，致毅然退婚；繼而經過二十年艱苦歲月，算是把養女秀華作育成材，並成功興辦職業學校；但天意弄人，有富商藉資助學校為名，擬納秀華為妾；在學校前途與秀華終生幸福這兩難之間，慕貞選擇放棄義學，跟秀華離開再覓新生。在命運的種種折磨，在生活的諸般壓迫下，故事的主角都能以積極的態度面對。可是，在現實世界裏，李綺年面對命運的擺弄，卻選擇走上另一條路。

現在有關李綺年入行前的資料留下來的並不多，只知道她原名李楚卿，從前在澳門生活，家境清貧，很早已經輟學。至於她是如何加入電影界，則有不同說法。一說她先參加聯華三廠，當一個小演員，而後結識趙樹燊等人，並獲對方邀請簽訂一年合約；[1] 另一說指大觀聲片有限公司於1934年登廣告招請演員，時報齡二十二的李綺年前來應考，被認為可造之材，跟趙樹燊簽訂一紙三年期的合約。[2] 由於目前找到有關李綺年的從影紀錄，並不見聯華三廠的部分，同時她跟大觀的合作關係一直到1936年才結束；所以普遍研究者多取後者的說法，並視1912年為她的出生年份。

而李綺年跟大觀簽約後，正式展開其銀色旅程，翌年先完成銀幕處女作《昨日之歌》（1935），並一炮而紅，為觀眾受落。接着，再拍《殘歌》（1935）、《摩登新娘》（1935）、《生命線》（1935）、《人言可畏》（1936）等多部影片。其中，《生命線》這部與吳楚帆合演，寫年輕工程師為抗日救國，克服重重困難，築成關乎國防和民生底鐵路的愛國電影，更為二人贏得愛國影帝和影后之譽。此後，她又跟南洋、南粵等不同的影片公司合作，拍成《女性之光》、《自梳女》（1937）、《女戰士》（1938）、《叱吒風雲》（1938）、《夜光杯》（1939）、《千金一笑》（1940）等片。從1935到1940年這五年間，可說是「南國影后」李綺年從影的黃金期。

八一三事變，上海淪為孤島，很多演員離滬，一時明星短缺，有「影戲大王」之稱的張善琨遂來港邀請陳雲裳赴上海拍片，後憑《木蘭從軍》（1939）讓她聲名大噪。時藝華影業公司見此情勢，也不惜重金禮聘李綺年赴滬拍歷史片《梁紅玉》（1940）。可是，影片出來的成績平平，其後再拍的五部片，包括《女皇帝》（1940）、《現代青年》（1941）等也未能告捷。未幾，國內戰火蔓延，李綺年宣告結婚息影，銷聲匿跡了好一段時日。後戰事結束，她曾一度重返香江影壇，拍成《花香襯馬蹄》（1948）、《風流女賊》（1948）、《賣肉救家姑》（1949）等片，可是票房成績已今非昔比，大不如前。1950年，李綺年又嘗試組織「綺光」旅行劇團往海防演出，惟一樣無法叫座。面對經營失敗，欠債纍纍的困局下，李綺年於同年11月4日在越南步其偶像阮玲玉的後塵，[3] 服安眠藥了結其短暫芳華。一代紅星，就此殞落。

現資料館獲三藩市戲院商方創傑先生捐贈的這批早期電影拷貝中，有兩部是由她主演的，對研究者而言，正好彌補了其作品早已散佚不存的遺憾。在另一部電影《太平洋上的風雲》（1938）中，李綺年飾演的角色，又與慕貞大相逕庭，顯示出她充沛的演藝才華。

注釋

1 見李綺年：〈九年來的話　向熱誠的朋友們告別〉，《藝林》半月刊，第72期，1940年4月16日。

2 見關文清：《中國銀壇外史》，香港，廣角鏡，1976，頁191-192。

3 李綺年曾多次撰文及向報刊記者表示，她十分崇拜上海影星阮玲玉，凡有她演出的電影總會看上幾遍，年少時便憧憬有天能如她一樣置身水銀燈下。同註1；另見〈南國影后李綺年〉，《大眾影訊》，第1卷第12期，1940年9月28日，轉載自http://memoire.digilib.sh.cn/SHNH/star/text.jsp?textId=042005&starId=042&starName=%C0%EE%E7%B2%C4%EA，2015年3月1日瀏覽。

Extended Reading

Lee Yi-nin, the Southern Screen Goddess

// Angel Shing

In the 1937 production of *The Light of Women*, Lee Yi-nin played the role of a tragic orphan, Luk Mo-jing. After losing her parents at an early age, Luk is left in the care of her greedy brother. She runs away when he tries to marry her off as a concubine to a factory owner. Later, she falls in love but discovers that her lover is a coward and a failure. Breaking off the engagement, she strikes out on her own. After twenty years of struggle, Luk manages to raise her adopted child Sau-wah into a fine young woman and open a non-profit vocational school. But as fate would have it, the new patron of the school, a rich merchant, has designs on her daughter Sau-wah, and wants to make her his concubine. With the fate of the school and her daughter at stake, Luk decides to give up the school to seek a new life with her daughter. Despite the many setbacks and obstacles that life throws in her path, the film's protagonist maintains a positive attitude in the face of adversity. However, in real life, the actress followed a very different path.

Little information is known about Lee Yi-nin's life prior to her acting days. We know that her real name was Lee Cho-hing. She lived in Macao and left school because her family was poor. As to how she entered the film industry, there are two conflicting versions. The first version claims that she joined Lianhua Studio No. 3 as a supporting player and was later offered a one-year contract after she met Joseph Sunn Chiu and his associates.[1] The second version claims that she attended an open audition at the Grandview Film

Company in 1934. At the audition, the reportedly 22-year-old Lee was deemed star material and subsequently signed a three-year contract with Joseph Sunn Jue.[2] According to available records of Lee's film credits, there is no mention of Lianhua Studio No. 3. However, the actress did continue to work for Grandview up until 1936. Hence most researchers take the latter view, and there is a consensus that she was born in 1912.

After signing with Grandview, Lee officially embarked on her acting career. The following year, she made her debut in *Yesterday's Song* (1935) that instantly launched her into stardom. She was subsequently cast in *Song of Sadness* (1935), *The Modern Bride* (1935), *Lifeline* (1935), *Killing Gossip* (1936) and several other Grandview productions. *Lifeline*, starring Lee Yi-nin and Ng Cho-fan, tells the patriotic story of a young engineer who overcomes great obstacles to build a railway during the Japanese invasion. Lee and Ng became acclaimed patriotic actors. After this period, Lee began collaborating with other film companies, such as Nanyang and Nanyue, in productions such as *The Light of Women*, *Women of Independent Means* (1937), *The Woman Warrior* (1938), *Shaking Heaven and Earth* (1938), *The Luminescent Cup* (1939), *The Smile of a Woman* (1940), etc. You could say that the five years between 1935 and 1940 represent Lee Yi-nin's golden era as the Southern Screen Goddess.

When Shanghai was under siege during the 1937 Battle of Shanghai, many actors fled the city. In response to the shortage of performers, famed producer Zhang Shan-kun traveled to Hong Kong and recruited actress Nancy Chan Wan-seung back to Shanghai. Their first collaboration, *Hua Mu-lan* (1939) was an instant hit and propelled Nancy Chan to superstardom. Inspired by Zhang's success, Yi Hwa Film Company spent a fortune to bring Lee Yi-nin to Shanghai to play the lead in the period war drama *Liang Hongyu* (1940). Unfortunately, the film only achieved modest results. She subsequently starred in five Yi Hwa productions, including *The Empress* (1940) and *Modern Youth* (1941) but they all failed at the box office. Soon afterwards, as war spread across the country, Lee announced her retirement along with her marriage plans. She disappeared from public view for a long period of time. After the war was over, she returned to the Hong Kong film industry, performing in such films as *Perfect Matching* (1948), *The Lusty Thief Girl* (1948) and *A Moral Hooker* (1949). But her draw at the box office was now a far cry from her former glory. In 1950, Lee formed the touring theatre troupe "Yi Guang" and performed in Haiphong. It turned out to be another commercial failure. Faced with career setbacks and riddled with debt, she decided to follow in the footsteps of her idol, Ruan Lingyu[3] on November 4, 1950, Lee Yi-nin committed suicide with sleeping pills in Vietnam. The former superstar met her tragic end.

Among the collection of early films donated to the Archive by San Francisco theatre operator, Mr Jack Lee Fong, two of the films feature Lee Yi-nin. For researchers,

the rediscovered films come as a relief since all of the Lee's films were previously thought to be lost. When we compare the two polar opposite roles that Lee played in *The Light of Women*, and *Incident in the Pacific* (1938) they reveal her range and versatility as an actress.

Notes

1 See Lee Yi-nin, "Nine Years of Words; A Farewell to My Devoted Fans", in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 72, Apr 16, 1940 (Chinese only).

2 See Kwan, Moon (aka Kwan, Man-ching), *The Unofficial History of Chinese Cinema*, Hong Kong: Wide Angle Press, 1976, pp.191-192 (Chinese only).

3 Lee Yi-nin expressed her admiration for Shanghai actress Ruan Lingyu on many occasions, either in writing or during interviews. She talks about how she watched Ruan's films many times during their released and describes how she has dreamed about following in Ruan's footsteps and becoming an actress since she was young. See [1] and also "Southern Screen Goddess Lee Yi-nin", *Populace Movie News*, Vol. 1, Issue 12, Sep 28, 1940. Available from: <http://memoire.digilib.sh.cn/SHNH/star/text.jsp?textId=042005&starId=042&starName=%C0%EE%E7%B2%C4%EA > Accessed on Mar 1, 2015 (Chinese only).

《續白金龍》的情場、商場、洋場

// 吳君玉

挾着一代名伶薛覺先（1904-1956）戲寶《白金龍》電影續集之威名，《續白金龍》（1937）無疑一直是影迷、戲迷，以及研究者十分期待看到的電影。一部戲，一個虛構故事人物，如何由戲台到銀幕，從粵港「移植」至上海，再漂洋過海遠赴星洲而歷演不衰，[1] 這本身已是一頁饒有趣味的東南亞戲影互動史。

上海天一影片公司出品的《白金龍》（1933）是最早面世的粵語片之一。由於電影散佚多年，人們只能憑藉1947年重拍的《新白金龍》（同樣由薛覺先主演，但女主角由唐雪卿換上鄭孟霞），以及現存的文獻資料，去推敲原版本的模樣。相比下，《續白金龍》留存下來的資料更加匱乏，只有零碎的戲院本事和電影報章廣告。如今電影拷貝的重新發現，確是令人振奮，對解讀「白金龍傳奇」，大有幫助。

《續白金龍》作為現存薛覺先最早期銀幕作品，在展示名伶魅力上絕不教戲迷失望。薛覺先塑造的貴公子，風度翩翩，舉手投足都流露溫文俊雅氣質，的確「官仔骨骨」、「生成靚溜」（《白金龍》名曲〈花園相罵〉曲詞）。而與他演對手戲的三位女角亦各具風韻：出身上海影壇的唐雪卿再演張玉娘，風華正茂，不負「南國名姝」美名；三十年代初已踏足影壇、橫跨默片和聲片時代的黃曼梨飾矜持少婦玉蟬，演得細緻，令人驚喜；林妹妹演吳瑪麗，儘管角色身份在名媛和交際花之間踏了空，發揮有限，但仍可見其演繹風塵女子形象的最早雛型。

作為南洋公司的早期作品，《續白金龍》最可貴之處，是讓人一窺早期香港電影如何效法上海向荷里活取經的取向，而且南洋影片公司前身就是上海天一影片公司香港分廠，其出品的海派風格可說其來有自。電影由天一的老臣子高梨痕與薛覺先合導，編劇則是影壇後進湯德培，新舊影人合作，造就一部不失時代趣味的愛情喜劇，而這種種，得從片頭公司標誌中的一艘輪船說起。

薛覺先演白金龍，舉手投足流露貴公子氣質。
As Pak Kam-lung (White Gold Dragon) Sit Kok-sin has the air of an elegant rich gentleman.

早期南洋影片公司出品的時裝片中，恐怕沒有哪部比《續白》，內容上能與片頭那個公司標誌動畫片更融合無間。那是一艘航行中的輪船，頂煙囪還冒着煙，在東南亞的航海圖上，從畫面右側划向左面，寓意不難理解：這輪船好比上海發跡、移至香港、星洲，以至東南亞其他地區發展，銳意向西方進發的邵氏兄弟機構。有趣的是，這圖像不止寄寓了邵氏家族的電影夢，還幾乎可解讀成片中第一個鏡頭，男主角白金龍彷彿就是乘此從滬抵星，展開一段南遊之旅。

在介紹《續白》故事之前，在此先縷述粵劇下集的故事。《白金龍》下集，基本上是上集的變奏，講述白金龍和張玉娘已婚，在上集欲謀奪張的名貴胸針的惡棍重施故技，再次擄走張，白為救嬌妻，勇闖賊巢，不料後來誤入苗界，遇上與自己貌似、欲逃離苗界的女人，白不惜與對方互調身份，深入苗界救妻……戲台上借題發揮，上演白與苗人以杜撰苗語對答的滑稽鬧劇（頗有「劉鎮偉式」的筆觸！），賣弄薛覺先男扮女裝和扮老乞丐騙歹徒橋段的綽頭，中間加插幻術（即魔術），製造連場笑料和異色奇觀。[2]

電影《續白》故事與上述情節關係不大，而是承續上集電影的結尾，自行發展。《續白》敘述白金龍已陪同未婚妻張玉娘赴星

唐雪卿享「南國名姝」美名，演白金龍的未婚妻張玉娘，氣質匹配。
Known as a "southern beauty", Tong Suet-hing is perfectly cast as Pak's fiancée Cheung Yuk-neong.

黃曼梨飾慧黠少婦玉蟬，窈窕動人。
Wong Man-lei is slim and charming as the resourceful young married woman Yuk-sim.

洲，為討好玉娘，白在未來岳丈張晉華（梁若呆飾）名下經營橡膠生意的光華廠賣力工作，但一次因言語間發生齟齬，白與張晉華鬧翻，白自此對在光華廠工作感意興闌珊，同行的三杜樹膠公司欲拉攏白加盟他們的陣營，三杜其中一位股東之妹吳瑪麗（林妹妹飾）毛遂自薦，要用美人計誘白入局。玉娘察覺白與吳交往，傷心不已，其已婚的堂姊玉蟬（黃曼梨飾）便獻計，要用美色從吳手中奪回白，並令他對玉娘回心轉意。

電影版由1933年改編粵劇，到1937年編演新戲，反映片商對掌握電影市場脈搏較前主動，不再局限於遷就粵劇觀眾的審美趣味。畢竟粵劇《白金龍》下集是一九三〇年代初的作品，在1937年照樣搬演未必符合觀眾口味。《續白》亦不如上集那樣倚重薛覺先的個人魅力，當然歌唱片的重要元素「名曲五支」仍是宣傳重點之一，但「情節更離奇，三個美人同戀一檀郎」[3] 的戲劇衝突顯然是較大亮點，表示市場取向的變化。

電影開場便展現與粵劇戲台有別的景觀視野。第一組鏡頭是一組實地外景拍攝鏡頭，讓觀眾看着白金龍偕同未婚妻張玉娘，乘坐名貴房車到橡膠園視察業務，「橡膠園」，這個原先是無數華人海外淘金夢的符號（甚至在粵劇《白金龍》劇本中，一位惡棍便騙人說「我三叔響南洋吉隆坡開樹膠廠，叫咗我幾回過去做經理」[4]），透過銀幕影像，成為觀眾經歷趨近真實的經驗。接下來，編導進一步試圖將圍繞橡膠業的勾心鬥角故事，層層剝開，呈現一幕幕商場艷諜鬥法奇觀。

接續的第二組鏡頭，攝影機帶領觀眾的視線游弋於商場如戰場

吳瑪麗（林妹妹）風姿綽約，使盡渾身解數引誘白金龍。
The ravishing Ng Ma-li (Lam Mui-mui) tries her best to seduce Pak.

白金龍周旋於三位美女之間，享盡風流，不亦樂乎。
Pak enjoys the attention of three beautiful women.

的其中一個場域——辦公室。一組辦公室內的橫移、穿牆入室的推軌鏡頭，鋪陳白金龍奮力工作的情景，描寫他的魄力和意欲成為實業家的抱負。以細心經營的鏡頭來刻畫辦公室場景，預示電影展示的奇觀，在於商場鬥爭而非情場較技。後來，這幕辦公室情景再先後得到對照，一幕是白金龍撇下光華廠事務不管後，員工散漫工作的情況，另一幕則是玉娘從玉蟬手中取得白金龍的支票後，坐鎮公司打理業務，公司回復昔日朝氣勃勃的模樣。而類似的細緻調度並未見於處理片中的舞場或閨房場景。

重商場而輕情場，可說是南洋公司避重就輕的明智策略。畢竟成本有限，堆砌華衣美服尚不難達標，但營造金碧輝煌的場面則顯乏力。事實上觸目所見，片中的舞場景觀，主要是以舞廳台上的爵士樂隊和舞池內的賓客充撐場面，整體上都只能用「寒傖」二字形容，場面調度貧乏、佈景難言華麗，實難與荷里活電影爭輝。影片容或有意模仿西片中上流社會衣香鬢影的社交禮儀場面，都是靠演員的演技和微妙的身體語言「搭夠」：薛覺先的紳士風度不在話下，黃曼梨初遇薛，故意用手套套在薛手臂上以避免肌膚之親的舉措，以及黃、林在類似星洲盛行的遊藝場相遇一場，二女呷醋爭風的氣場，都有可觀趣味。

《續白》亦非全新創作，翻看同期荷里活電影，可發現影片有若干細節與1932年曾在港上映的荷里活默片《新女性》（*Our Modern Maidens*, 1929）有雷同地方（1933年上海聯華影業公司出品的《三個摩登女性》，片名可能取於此）。《新女性》講述鍾歌羅馥（Joan Crawford）飾演的女主角Billie Brown為了幫未婚夫謀取外交機關高職，不惜親近有財有勢的社交界名人Glenn Abbott，結果

以細緻調度描繪辦公室這重要場域，讓觀眾領略白金龍在商場的運籌帷幄。
The key location of the office is depicted with careful *mise-en-scène*, so that audiences can get a sense of Pak's strategic business planning.

假戲真做，二人產生微妙的感情。一場涉及感情背叛的道德危機最終因女主角發現其好友竟然懷有未婚夫的骨肉，獲得抒解：女主角毅然讓愛，而新戀情亦得以發展。

《續白金龍》有好幾個小節可見此片的痕跡，如吳瑪麗擬用美人計來拉攏白金龍，動機就和Billie近似，而Billie在火車上借故走進Glenn Abbott的車廂以結識Glenn，邀約他參加派對一段，又似被挪用於玉蟬在俱樂部電話間借故認識白金龍的設計中。《新女性》結尾，女主角在婚禮中向賓客宣告要過一個「沒有新郎的蜜月」，是全片高潮；《續白》結尾亦出現極富戲劇性的婚禮場面：玉蟬告知白金龍真相，陣前換上玉娘作新娘，當年電影宣傳亦將之視為宣傳重點：「故事更曲折，居然新婦原來是嬌妻！」。[5]

西片《新女性》中不少於三次有對白提過「現代」（摩登）這字眼，篇幅關係，現不一一細表。尾段用上此語時是講述女主角宣告她要獨自去渡蜜月，並自我調侃說自己開創「摩登」潮流，喜與她抬槓的女友人卻語帶雙關地嘲諷：「這是摩登情操（摩登德行），抑或一次不道德的摩登（行為）？」(is this a modern moral... or just another immoral modern?)，由於這場因「現代」而起的道德危機，早前已藉情節的鋪排得到排解，女主角至此可以四兩撥千斤：「你可知道分別在哪？」(Do you think you'd know the difference, darling?)。與之相類似有關「現代」對女性角色如何帶來衝擊的探討，在相對保守的《續白》中付之闕如，女性的特質並非關乎現代／非現代，而仍是受制傳統價值觀念下的二分：放蕩／非放蕩（黃曼梨用以貶損林妹妹的責難之詞）。

置於影史上回顧，《續白金龍》無疑可被視為早期電影探索題材的一個冒進嘗試，亦是在其後幾年「國防電影」大行其道之前，渲染怪力亂神的鬼怪片亦未泛濫，片商和創作人試圖描摹荷里活三十年代歌舞片並加入本土及南洋元素的一次過渡性嘗試。此影片

黃曼梨精心設計，於舞場「邂逅」白金龍。
Wong Man-lei arranges to "run into" Pak at the dance hall.

當年的電影宣傳：「居然新婦原來是嬌妻！」白金龍最終「情歸何處」？匪夷所思，引人入勝。
The film publicity at the time used the slogan: "The bride turns out to be his own wife!" Who will White Gold Dragon "end up with"? The unthinkable scenario was used as a selling point.

具有開拓歌唱片及愛情喜劇片種以外，尋求觀眾有共鳴和興趣之題材的視野。玉蟬一角的塑造，在鋪陳她得知三杜的陰謀之後，編劇筆鋒一轉，將她由想協助堂妹挽救愛情的閨密，化成為維護華僑商界利益的女僑領，而由於劇情交代華僑可被引導成為振興國內工業發展的推動力，對白金龍曉以大義的玉蟬便又升格為救國扶難的民族女英雄。玉蟬這角色，置於中國處於內憂外患，海內外華人同仇敵愾的關口，彷若表達了普羅大眾對實業家階層的欲望投射：「情場裏：發展工藝！歌曲中：提倡實業！」，[6] 一部愛情喜劇，到底還是立足於關乎家國存亡題旨的大敘事。

結尾白金龍在會議上陳詞，鼓勵股東們「努力向外集資，增大股本，便能做更大的生意」，以便更有條件為國家和同胞謀福祉（劇情大意），毫不掩飾宣揚本大利厚的經濟法則之利。片中對資本主義的歌頌，彷如戰火瀰漫前響起的最後一支舞曲，之後，派對便完了。

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注釋

1 有關此劇的誕生和移植至銀幕的概況，請參看拙文〈薛覺先戲影經典《白金龍》〉，見本書，頁 44-45。

2 《白金龍》下集劇情，撮自盧有容、梁華、何金堂合作：〈白金龍（下）〉，盧任楷編：《東莞城步步高盧氏家族遺事遺文》，莞城步步高盧氏，缺年份，頁 244-263。

3 《續白金龍》廣告，《華僑日報》，香港，1937 年 9 月 13 日。

4 盧有容、梁華、何金堂合作：〈白金龍（上）〉，盧任楷編：《東莞城步步高盧氏家族遺事遺文》，同註 2，頁 232。

5 同註 3。

6 《續白金龍》廣告，《中山日報》，廣州，1937 年 6 月 15 日。

The Love Battlefield, Business World and Foreign Influence in *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two*

// May Ng

As the film sequel to *The White Gold Dragon*, an opera classic of Cantonese opera maestro Sit Kok-sin (1904-1956), *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two* was undoubtedly much anticipated by film fans, opera fans and researchers. How one story and one fictional character moved from stage to screen, and got "transplanted" from Guangdong and Hong Kong to Shanghai and Singapore with undiminished popularity,[1] is a fascinating example of the interaction between stage and film in Southeast Asia.

Produced by Shanghai's Unique Film Company, *The White Gold Dragon* (1933) is one of the earliest Cantonese films. But since the print had long been lost, we can only imagine the original version based on the remake *New White Golden Dragon* in 1947 (also starring Sit Kok-sin, but with Cheang Mang-ha replacing Tong Suet-hing as the leading lady) as well as existing documentation. There was even less information left on *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two*, except for fragmentary copies of theatre synopsis and newspaper advertisements. The rediscovery of the film print is incredibly exciting and a great aid to the analysis of the legendary "White Gold Dragon" series.

As the earliest extant film work of Sit Kok-sin, *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two* does not disappoint in showcasing the charms of the Cantonese opera star. The dashing rich gentleman he plays is certainly the very image of elegance and gentility, while the three female stars each

have a different style: Tong Suet-hing, an actress from Shanghai and a "famed southern beauty", reprises the role of Cheung Yuk-neong; Wong Man-lei, who started out in the early 30s and transitioned from the silent to the sound movie era, plays the reserved young married woman Yuk-sim with great subtlety; Lam Mui-mui plays Ng Ma-li, who is a rather ambiguous character somewhere between a socialite and a courtesan. It is not her best role, but the earliest prototype of her roles as fallen women.

The greatest value of *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two*, an early work of Nanyang Film Company, lies in showing how early Hong Kong cinema followed the example of Shanghai in drawing inspiration from Hollywood. Since Nanyang Film Company was previously the Hong Kong branch of Shanghai's Unique Film Company, its Shanghainese style is understandable. The film was jointly directed by Ko Lei-hen, a veteran of Unique Film Company, and Sit Kok-sin, while the screenwriter was newcomer Tong Tak-pui. The collaboration between old and new filmmakers produced a romantic comedy that also reflected the times. To understand this, we have to start from the ship featured in the company's logo in the opening credits of the film.

Among contemporary films produced by Nanyang Film Company, possibly no other work echoes the animated company logo in terms of content as much as *The White Gold Dragon*, *Part Two*. It is a ship navigating with smoke

issuing from its chimney. On a nautical chart of Southeast Asia, it sails from the right to the left. This metaphor is not hard to understand. It seems to evoke Shaw Brothers, which had its beginnings in Shanghai and later moved to Hong Kong and Singapore, expanding into other areas of Southeast Asia and with sights set on the West. Interestingly, this image not only embodied the Shaw family's film ambitions, it could almost be seen as the first shot of the film. It may be the ship on which Pak Kam-lung (White Gold Dragon), the male protagonist, sails from Shanghai to Singapore for a trip in the south.

Before introducing the story of *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two*, let me briefly outline the story of the sequel of the Cantonese opera. *The White Gold Dragon, the Sequel* is basically a variation of part one. Pak Kam-lung and Cheung Yuk-neong are now married. The villain in part one who tried to steal Cheung's expensive brooch abducts her again. In order to rescue her, Pak heads for the bandits' nest, but stumbles onto the Miao territory. After meeting a woman escaping from the Miao territory who looks like him, he swaps identity with her and goes deep into the Miao territory to save his wife... The opera features a comic scene in which Pak carries on a conversation with the Miao people in made-up Miao dialect (a very Jeff Lau touch!), and shows Sit Kok-sin dressed as a woman and posing as an old beggar to fool the bandits. Magic tricks are added to provoke laughter and create exotic effects.[2]

The story of the film *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two* has little to do with the above plot. Instead, it

continues from the ending of part one of the film. In it, Pak accompanies his fiancé Cheung Yuk-neong to Singapore. To please her, Pak works hard at the Guanghua rubber factory of his father-in-law Cheung Chun-wah (Leung Yeuk-ngoi). But after having a quarrel with the latter, he is disillusioned with his work at the factory. A competitor Sandu Rubber Company tries to win him over to their camp. Ng Ma-li (Lam Mui-mui), the younger sister of one of the shareholders of Sandu, volunteers to seduce Pak into joining them. Yuk-neong is devastated to find out that Pak and Ng are seeing each other. Her married cousin Yuk-sim (Wong Man-lei) offers to use her looks to snatch Pak from Ng, and make him return to Yuk-neong.

The film version was adapted from the Cantonese opera in 1933 and a sequel to the film, with a plot rarely related to the original Cantonese opera, was made in 1937. This shows that producers were now more responsive to the film market and no longer tried to suit the taste of Cantonese opera audiences. After all, the Cantonese opera *The White Gold Dragon, the Sequel* was from the early 30s. It might not suit audiences' taste to adapt it into a film in 1937. *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two* also relied less on the personal charisma of Sit Kok-sin. While the "five great tunes", an important element of musicals, were still a focus of the publicity, the dramatic conflict of "three beauties in love with one man and more plot twists"[3] were obviously the greater draw and reflected the changes in market orientations.

The film opens with a landscape view completely

different from the Cantonese opera stage. Shot on location, the first sequence shows Pak and his fiancé Cheung Yuk-neong riding a luxury car to inspect a rubber plantation. "Rubber plantations" stood for the dream of numerous Chinese to make it big overseas (even in the script of the Cantonese opera *The White Gold Dragon*, a villain lied and said: "My Third Uncle runs a gum factory in Kuala Lumpur. He asks me several times to go there and be its manager."[4]) The screen images allowed audiences to come close to the real experience. Afterwards, the director proceeds to unfold the intrigue around the rubber industry and the plot of industrial espionage complete with beautiful spies.

In the second sequence, the camera takes us into an office – one of the sites of fierce business competition. The tracking shots move across the office and penetrate the walls, highlighting Pak's diligence and his ambition to become an entrepreneur. The use of meticulous camera shots of office scenes is an indication that the film is more about rivalry in business rather than in love. Later, this office sequence is echoed by two scenes. One scene shows the lack of discipline among staff after Pak neglects the business of Guanghua Factory. In another scene, the office is back to its former liveliness after Yuk-neong takes the cheque issued by Pak from Yuk-sim and takes charge of business. The same careful mise-en-scčne is missing from the dance hall or bedroom scenes of the film.

Putting the focus on business rather than love may have been a wise tactic of Nanyang Film Company. After

all, they had a limited budget. While it wasn't hard to come up with lavish costumes, creating grand sets was another matter. As we can see, the dance scenes only feature a jazz band on stage and some guests on the dance floor. They can only described as "shabby", with little mise-en-scčne and unspectacular sets, which can hardly rival those in Hollywood movies. While the film may be deliberately emulating the glittering social gatherings of high society in western films, this is only evoked by the acting or subtle body language of the actors: apart from Sit Kok-sin's gentlemanly manners, the way Wong Man-lei puts her gloves on Sit's arm when they first meet to avoid physical contact, and the jealousy between Wong and Lam Mui-Mui during their encounter at a fairground similar to those popular in Singapore are amusing details to watch.

The film *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two* was not an original production either. If we look at Hollywood films of the same period, we can see certain parallels between the film and the Hollywood silent film *Our Modern Maidens* (1929) shown in Hong Kong in 1932 (The film title of *Three Modern Women* produced by Shanghai's United Photoplay Service may have been derived from this film). In *Our Modern Maidens*, Joan Crawford plays Billie Brown, who befriends the rich and powerful Glenn Abbott to secure a high diplomatic position for her fiancé. As it turns out, they develop subtle feelings for each other. The moral crisis involving betrayal in love is resolved when the heroine finds out that her good friend is pregnant with her fiancé's child. She gives him up and starts a new romance with the other.

A few details in *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two* contain echoes of this movie. For example, Ng Ma-li's plan to seduce Pak to win him over is similar to Billie's motive. The part where Billie walks into Glenn Abbott's carriage on a train on some pretext to invite him to join a party seems to be echoed by Yuk-sim using an excuse to talk to Pak in the telephone room of a club. At the end of *Our Modern Maidens*, the film reaches the climax when the female protagonist declares to the guests that she will "spend the honeymoon without the groom". *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two* also ends with a dramatic wedding scene: Yuk-sim tells Pak the truth and Yuk-neong turns up as the bride. This was used as a publicity gimmick at the time: "The story has more twists than before, with the bride turning out to be his own wife!" [5]

The term "modern" is discussed in the western film *Our Modern Maidens* on at least three occasions, though they would not be described one by one here. At the end of the film, when the female protagonist declares that she will be spending her honeymoon by herself and that she is setting a "modern" trend, her girlfriend retorts ironically with a pun, "Is this a modern moral... or just another immoral modern?" Since the moral crisis that arose due to her "modern" behavior has already been resolved, the heroine is able to answer back by saying, "Do you think you'd know the difference, darling?" However, there is no such exploration of the impact of the "modern" on women in the comparatively conservative *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two*. The women are not defined by whether they are modern or not, but by the traditional ideas of chaste/

unchaste (the term with which Wong Man-lei reproaches Lam Mui-mui).

In the context of film history, *The White Gold Dragon*, *Part Two* can undoubtedly be seen as a bold attempt in terms of subject matter in early films. Before the "national defence films" came into vogue a few years later, and before the appearance of a spate of fantasy monster films, it was a transitional experiment in which the producers and filmmakers attempted to emulate Hollywood musicals of the 30s by incorporating local and Southeast Asian elements. Apart from opening up the musical and romantic comedy genre, this film sought to explore themes that appealed to the audience. This is evident in the treatment of the character Yuk-sim. After she learns of Sandu's plot, the screenwriter turns her from someone trying to help her cousin win back her husband to a female leader defending the business interests of overseas Chinese. Since the film suggests that overseas Chinese can become a driving force for industrial development in mainland China, Yuk-sim who persuades Pak to do the right thing becomes a patriotic national hero. At a time when China was faced with internal and external troubles and overseas Chinese were bound by a common hatred for the enemy, the character Yuk-sim seems to incorporate the public's wishful thinking about entrepreneurs: "Let's develop the technologies while in love! Let's promote the industries through songs!"[6] In the end, the romantic comedy is framed by the grand narrative about the survival of the nation.

At the end of the film, Pak speaks at a meeting and

encourages the shareholders to “raise funds from outside and increase the capital stock in order to expand the business”, so that they can benefit the nation and their compatriots. He is embracing the economic principle that big capital brings big profits. The celebration of capitalism in the film was like the last dance before the country was engulfed by war. After that, the party was over.

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[Translated by Christine Chan]

Notes

1 About the genesis of this opera and its adaptation to the screen, please see my article, "Sit Kok-sin's Classic Opera and Film *The White Gold Dragon*", pp.46-49 in this book.

2 The synopsis of *The White Gold Dragon, the Sequel* is summarised from *The White Gold Dragon, the Sequel*, jointly written by Lu Yourong, Liang Hua and He Jintang, in Lu Renjie (ed.), *Past Deeds and Writings of the Lu Family in Bubugao of Dongguan City*, Dongguan: The Los of Bubugao, pp.244-263 (Chinese only).

3 Advertisement of *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two* in *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, Hong Kong, Sep 13, 1937 (Chinese only).

4 "*The White Gold Dragon, Part One*", jointly written by Lu Yourong, Liang Hua and He Jintang, in *Past Deeds and Writings of the Lu Family at Bubugao of Dongguan City*, op. cit., p.232.

5 See [3].

6 Advertisement of *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two*, in *Zhongshan Daily*, Guangzhou, Jun 15, 1937 (Chinese only).

延伸閱讀

薛覺先戲影經典《白金龍》

// 吳君玉

1929年，薛覺先（1904-1956）自組覺先聲劇團，其時廣州一家煙草商為宣傳其將推出的一款名為「白金龍」的香煙，特地聘請覺先聲劇團編演一台以此為名的新戲。編劇梁金堂遂取材美國默片《郡主與侍者》（*The Grand Duchess and the Waiter*, 1926），改編成西裝粵劇《白金龍》，1929年12月28日於廣州市海珠大戲院首演。薛覺先飾演男主角白金龍，女主角張玉娘則由乾旦嫦娥英飾演。[1]

《白金龍》為覺先聲首屆演出劇目之一，故事講述某城富家子白金龍為追求從別國來的張玉娘，在他旗下經營、玉娘下榻的酒店假扮侍者，以圖親近玉人，然誤會叢生，白金龍未能博取芳心。惡棍余日池、何伯樂為謀奪玉娘的名貴胸針，將她擄走，白金龍不惜男扮女裝，到賊窟將她救出，終贏得美人歸。[2]《白金龍》推出後大受歡迎，成為薛覺先的首本劇目之一，劇中〈花園相罵〉唱段更是家喻戶曉的曲目。覺先聲更於翌屆推出《白金龍》下集。1930年，覺先聲再推出由德裔名導演劉別謙（Ernst Lubitsch）的荷里活名片《璇宮艷史》（*The Love Parade*, 1929）改編而成的同名西裝粵劇，亦成為薛覺先戲寶。

薛覺先早於二十年代已涉足影壇，1926年他已與黃桂辰在上海合組非非影片公司，開拍默片《浪蝶》，薛自導自演，女主角是後來成為其妻子的唐雪卿。1933年，他組織了南方影片公司與上海邵醉翁的天一影片公司合作將《白金龍》搬上銀幕，成為粵語片界的先驅作品之一。《白金龍》由湯曉丹執導，[3] 薛覺先編劇，薛覺先與唐雪卿主演，面世後引起轟動，更下啟粵語歌唱片數十載盛世的帷幕。翌年，薛覺先為上海天一公司自編自導自演了另一部粵語時裝歌唱片《歌台艷史》，同樣由薛、唐二人主演。

根據現存的戲院本事和送檢劇本所見，電影《白金龍》對原劇的人物背景和情節有不少改動，例如張玉娘與父張晉華是由星洲來滬，與粵劇隱去地名的處理不同，而父女倆離國的情由與原劇亦不相同。粵劇中後段「英雄救美」一幕不見於電影資料中，代替的結局是白金龍出資助張晉華經營之橡皮廠解財困，得以博取美人歡心。

1937年，薛覺先再領銜主演了南洋影片公司出品的《續白金龍》，並由他與高梨痕聯合導演，湯德培編劇。戰後，邵邨人是股東之一的大中華電影企業有限公司重拍《白金龍》，拍成《新白金龍》（楊工良導演，薛覺先、鄭孟霞主演，1947）一片，片中包括1933年版本所無的「英雄救美」一段。

由二十至五十年代，薛覺先先後在滬港兩地拍了三十幾部電影，大部分現已散佚。現除了《續白金龍》倖存於世，尚有影像留下的還有前述的《新白金龍》、同時期他和紅線女主演的《冤枉相思》（1947），以及1950年華南電影工作者聯合會出品的《人海萬花筒》中的〈陳圓圓之歌〉一節。

注釋

1 參考「薛覺先逝世五十周年紀念專輯」，《香港戲曲通訊》，第 14 及 15 期（合訂本），香港中文大學戲曲資料中心出版，2006 年 5 月 31 日。

2 《白金龍》劇情，撮自盧有容、梁華、何金堂合作：〈白金龍（上）〉，盧任楷編：《東莞城步步高盧氏家族遺事遺文》，莞城步步高盧氏，缺年份，頁 230-243。

3 據資料館新近從美國搜羅得來的送檢《白金龍》電影劇本，導演為邵醉翁，湯曉丹擔任「分幕置景」，與後來的記載有異，可能是湯曉丹後來轉任導演所致。

Extended Reading

Sit Kok-sin's Classic Opera and Film *The White Gold Dragon*

// May Ng

In 1929, Sit Kok-sin (1904-1956) founded the "Kok Sin Sing" troupe. At the time, a tobacco company was planning to launch the new cigarette brand, Golden Dragon Cigarettes. To promote the new cigarette, the company commissioned the "Kok Sin Sing" troupe to create a Cantonese opera under the same name. Playwright Leong Kam-tong based his adaptation of the modern Cantonese opera *The White Gold Dragon* on the American silent film, *The Grand Duchess and the Waiter* (1926). The opera premiered on December 28, 1929 at the Haizhu Grand Theatre in Guangzhou. Sit played the title character "Pak Kam-lung", and Sheung Ngo-ying the Qian Dan (i.e. male actor trained to play female roles) played the female lead, Cheung Yuk-neong.[1]

One of the productions staged by the "Kok Sin Sing" troupe in its debut season, *The White Gold Dragon* chronicles the romance between Pak, a rich heir in an unnamed city, and Cheung, a visiting aristocrat from an unnamed foreign country. When the beautiful aristocrat arrives at Pak's hotel, Pak pretends to be a bellhop in order to approach her. But his ruse soon backfires, resulting in a series of misunderstandings. Meanwhile, Yu and Ho, a pair of thieves, have their eyes set on Cheung. They try to steal Cheung's precious brooch and end up abducting her. In order to rescue Cheung, Pak disguises himself as a woman to sneak into their lair. In the end, he successfully saves Cheung and wins her heart.[2] *The White Gold Dragon* was

an instant sensation and went on to become one of the most beloved works in Sit's repertoire. The opera's most famous song, "The Garden Argument", could be heard in every household. Due to its popularity, the troupe staged *The White Gold Dragon, the Sequel* the next season. In 1930, the "Kok Sin Sing" troupe staged yet another modern opera, *The Love Parade*, adapted from the 1929 Hollywood picture of the same name, directed by acclaimed director Ernst Lubitsch. The opera went on to become another classic gem in Sit's repertoire.

Sit was also involved in filmmaking as early as in the 1920s. In 1926, he partnered with Huang Gui-chen to found the Fei Fei Film Company in Shanghai and produced the silent film, *The Shameless Girl*. Sit both directed and starred in the film. He later married the lead actress, Tong Suet-hing. In 1933, Sit formed the Nam Fong Film Company and produced a film adaptation of *The White Gold Dragon* in collaboration with Shanghai's Unique Film Company (owned by Runje Shaw). It is considered a pioneering production in Cantonese cinema. Directed by Tang Xiaodan,[3] written by Sit Kok-sin and starring Sit and Tong Suet-hing, *The White Gold Dragon* (1933) was released to acclaim and became a box office success in the Cantonese-speaking world, paving the way for the golden era of Cantonese musicals that endured for four decades. The following year, Sit revisited the modern Cantonese musical genre, serving as writer-director-actor

for *Romance on the Stage* (1934). Sit and Tong again headlined the film.

According to a surviving brochure and the copy of the original script submitted to the censor board, *The White Gold Dragon* differs from the opera in many ways, in terms of plot and background details of the characters. For example, unlike the opera that omits the origins of the characters, Cheung and her father are identified as visiting Shanghai from Singapore. The original purpose of their trip was also altered. The original ending in which the "hero saves the girl" was missing in the film version. According to the surviving archival material, the film ends with Pak providing the much-needed financial relief to Cheung's father's rubber factory and he thereby wins the girl's heart.

In 1937, Sit starred in the film sequel, *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two* (aka *The Platinum Dragon, Part Two*), produced by Nanyang Film Company, co-directed by Sit and Ko Lei-hen and written by Tong Tak-pui. After the war, the Great China Film Company, co-owned by Runde Shaw, shot a remake of *The White Gold Dragon* and named it *New White Golden Dragon* (1947). Directed by Yeung Kung-leong and starring Sit and Cheang Man-ha, this 1947 version includes the "hero rescues the girl" ending that was missing in the 1933 version.

Between the 1920s and 1950s, Sit performed in close to 40 motion pictures from Hong Kong and Shanghai. Unfortunately, most of these films have been lost. Apart from *The White Gold Dragon, Part Two*, Sit's only surviving

films include *New White Golden Dragon*, *Love with No Result* (1947; starring Sit and Hung Sin Nui) and the segment "The song of Chan Yuen-yuen" featured in the omnibus movie *Kaleidoscope* (1950) that was produced by the South China Film Industry Workers' Union.

Notes

1 See "Special Edition in Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of Sit Kok-sin's Death", *Hong Kong Xiqu Newsletter*. Hong Kong: Chinese Opera Information Centre, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Issue 14 & 15 (combined issue), May 31, 2006 (Chinese only).

2 The plot summary here was drawn from: Lu You rong, Liang Hua and He Jintang, "*The White Gold Dragon, Part One*", in Lu Renjie (ed.), *Past Deeds and Writings of the Lu Family in Bubugao of Dongguan City*, Dongguan: The Los of Bubugao, pp.230-243 (Chinese only).

3 Contrary to later records, the script copy submitted for censorship that the Archive recently obtained from the US, credited Runje Shaw as the film's director and Tang Xiaodan as metteur en scène. The discrepancy could be attributed to the fact that it was only later that Tang assumed the director role.

景框開發
——侯曜戰前香港電影的美學啟示

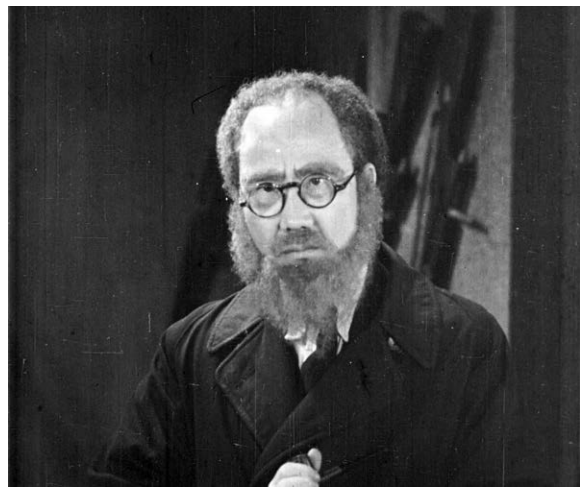
// 劉嶽

從1937年5月公映的《沙漠之花》至1940年1月公映的《中國野人王》，侯曜（1903？-1942）在香港個人執導並公映的電影十一部，擔任總導演和合導約九部，數目可觀，[1] 且全部是粵語聲片，侯曜在香港踏進他的有聲電影階段。三藩市華僑方創傑先生捐贈的《太平洋上的風雲》（1938）和《血肉長城》（1938），是侯氏香港時期現今可見的倖存之作。

《太》片和《血》片的拷貝即使偶見毀缺，仍然接近足本。阮曾三擔任兩片的攝影師，侯曜親自編劇，前者根據其在《工商晚報》撰寫的同名連載小說所編。他也參演兩片，《太》片中是位民國都市文人形象的義勇軍參謀「二桿先生」，「二桿」即筆桿和鎗桿。《血》片中飾演主要人物「魯陽戈教授」。「魯陽戈」典出《淮南子．覽冥訓》，[2] 傳說楚國魯陽公與韓激戰，太陽西沉之時，魯陽公舞戈令太陽退卻，力挽頹勢。後有「魯陽揮戈」的成語。魯陽戈的造型和表演可能參考荷里活電影《左拉光榮傳》（*The Life of Emile Zola*, 1937）中的左拉。[3] 兩片屬1937年、1938年香港頗多攝製的「國防電影」，以抗敵（諱日本）救國為主題。[4]《太》片描繪東北青年加入義勇軍，潛入敵方探取情報，宣揚中國須奮力收復失地，避免太平洋之戰發生，救國家亦救世界。《血》片描繪知識份子撤離城市，到鄉村組織打游擊戰，中國人用盡一鎗一彈，便以血肉築成長城。兩片竭力營造勇猛而悲壯的英雄傳奇，頗見激勵尚得苟安，卻心繫國運的許多香港人的用意。[5]

本文分析侯曜如何利用鏡頭創造他的電影敘事空間（narrative space）。如筆者在2014年論侯曜作品的文章中表示，現仍不足以總結侯曜整體電影的風格，[6] 但思考能夠觀看的作品，包括同時代他人執導的作品，便是理解侯曜作品、中國及香港電影的實務。方法是電影風格分析，這是電影研究、電影史論的精粹要旨。

面對《太》片、《血》片等戰前香港電影的首個問題，其時的導演和攝影師如何將劇本和構思開展為電影敘事空間。電影景



《血肉長城》中魯陽戈教授（侯曜）的造型
Character design of Professor Lo Yeung-guo in *Fortress of Flesh and Blood*

框（frame）帶來影像、對白、音樂及聲響，最直接的是影像，攝影機面對怎樣的佈景和人物活動，鏡頭怎樣參與構圖和調度（staging）。當時有聲片比較發達的美國電影，1928年至1931年是新舊技藝、新舊問題解決融合的過渡期，工作是保存、發展默片建立起來的敘事宗旨，其精粹即「連戲風格」（continuity style）。幾年調整，聲影逐漸水乳交融，增加電影情境的真實的幻覺、感染力和觀者的投入，正式進入「古典荷里活敘事電影」（classical Hollywood cinema）的階段。[7] 有聲片發展較晚的香港攝製《太》片和《血》片，不容易使現在的觀眾產生觀看三十年代歐美日等電影發達文化地域的出品的感覺。從兩片佈景粗糙、開鎗無子彈煙火，可見缺乏完備的攝製條件。可能只用一部攝影機拍攝，收音的環境不佳，製作期緊迫，於是未見細密的分鏡及隨之而來的轉換影機位置、修正佈景、佈光、表演，當然也不無人為的缺失。[8]

我們發現在從事與美國電影相近的敘事方法時，《太》片和《血》片俱反映香港電影的現實，包括條件、取捨及有着補償意味的創作。兩片很少實景，應在南洋影片公司的片場搭景，多場單一室內佈景，鏡頭可覆蓋的範圍約180度。攝影機基本保持水平鏡頭（straight-on angle），以免暴露佈景的不足，妄論「掉轉鎗頭」，直接拍攝「攝影機後面」的景況。以每場的定場鏡頭（establishing shot）來論，往往用全景（long shot）、中全景（medium long

shot）、中景（medium shot）的固定景框定場，特別是《血》片歌頌抗戰群體，不乏開場便多人圍桌談話，一個固定景框全部容納。三十年代有聲片處理多人對話鏡頭，傾向人物橫向錯落排列的格式，看着身邊人説話時，身體保持四分之三部分向着攝影機。《太》片和《血》片這樣説話的定場鏡頭比較長，有達一分鐘的固定景框。

根據俗例，定場鏡頭後，攝影機帶觀者走進故事場景，用其他角度和景別的鏡頭，剪接交代情節。發展於默片時期的正反拍鏡頭（shot/reverse-shot）和／或視線連戲（eyeline match）及三十年代普及的過肩鏡頭（over the shoulder shot），都見於兩片。同時期歐美電影採用，常隨對白內容、感情變化，來往超過一組，甚至調整景框，逐漸深化再跳出。《太》片和《血》片中的正反拍鏡頭明顯較少，也不依隨規範辦事，有時僅拍一方一個過肩鏡頭，下一鏡是對方不過肩的單人鏡頭。亦有插入單人鏡頭或過肩鏡後，接着跳回定場鏡頭或相近位置的鏡頭。加上對話的定場鏡頭，兩片交代情節和人物大體上直截了當，罕見意義曖昧的鋪設或空鏡頭。這或與製作條件和時限有關，事實上，侯曜在塑造其電影人物時，相對「典型化」，陳天縱飾馬如龍氣魄豪邁，侯曜二角具備仁智勇的學者風度，李綺年的風情，陳雲裳的英氣，劉克宣醜態畢露，呼之欲出，出場即表現抗戰時代的不同面相。兩片並且注重對白的信息功效，譬如常有二桿和魯陽戈分析戰略、宣揚抗戰的獨白，於是，呈現人物面譜和傳遞對白的需要，加長人物説話鏡頭。

在某些敘事常規方面，《太平洋上的風雲》和《血肉長城》表現「不足」或和歐美的作法「有異」，但兩片的一些電影方法，卻顯示着力經營的工夫，令人驚嘆。《太》和《血》於「銀幕空間」（screen space）的表現非常突出。兩部都是國防電影，侯曜卻營造出各自的格調。《太》片含間諜片偽裝潛伏的元素，頗見用搖鏡

圖 Figs.1.1-1.4

圖 Figs.2.1-2.3

（pan shot）和推拉鏡頭（dolly shot）。這兩種鏡頭，均必然開發銀幕空間。馬如龍在城外看佈告，與田慕荊（廖夢覺飾）說話，夏青霜（羅品超飾）策馬從城內穿過城門，下馬，與馬如龍談話，兩人離開。一鏡全長1分8秒，由左橫搖向右再搖回左，頭尾約停頓四次。後在義勇軍軍營一幕，一個搖鏡來往於二桿先生、馬如龍、馬碧珠（李綺年飾）及背景的衛兵，跟隨人物的動作重新取鏡（reframing），長1分18秒，停頓約六次，每次基本容納兩人對話（見圖1.1-1.4）。前者不用搭建城內佈景，已呈現城內外人物的來去，後者一個平面的橫搖，呈現各人因為夏青霜被誘捕的反應，侯曜、阮曾三掌握得非常準確，不必分鏡頭。《太》片的搖鏡，開拓景框的新邊界時，沒有一個景框覆蓋瀏覽的所有場景，但會藉「搖」在其中往返。而推拉鏡頭，有時可以看到全貌。夏青霜在軍營會議訓話，鏡頭從他站在檯子後的中景向後拉開，最後夏青霜沒有離開景框，還可看到背景是成直角的兩幅牆和掛着的孫中山像，夏青霜前面有張長檯，旁邊坐滿軍官。又舉何勁草（劉克宣飾）辦公室一場，從他坐在檯子後的中景後拉，辦公室的面貌逐漸顯現，搖左見門口，馬碧珠入，鏡頭隨二人坐下推進，重新定鏡為中景至完結。這兩個鏡頭，構圖都從小變大，逐漸看到本來看不到的，「銀幕外空間」（off-screen space）[9] 成為銀幕空間，何勁草辦公室再變小，部分銀幕空間變回「銀幕外空間」。

上文提及的搖鏡多提示左右兩方的銀幕外空間，推拉鏡頭則多提醒攝影機後面的空間。《太》、《血》兩片在電影風格方面最為筆者注目的是在固定景框中開創銀幕外空間，設計簡潔的可舉敵軍押夏青霜母親步向刑場，她一邊喊着口號，一邊走向鏡頭（見圖2.1-2.3），除提示攝影機後面的空間——刑場，又呼應此場審訊戲

大量人物面對鏡頭、向觀者表現抗戰激情的意念。另外何勁草率兵捉夏青霜的家人，鏡頭在廳堂內向外拍，景框左方是開向院子的一半屋門，右方是內室的完整門口，六個家人縛手以繩相連，魚貫而行，從內室進入廳堂，經過廳堂，走出屋門，即從右銀幕外空間經過銀幕空間，走進左銀幕外空間，而內室門口因是斜角向着鏡頭，也構成少些場景後空間，這又是一鏡完成的。另一場先是一鏡，繼而再深化。馬碧珠坐在客廳沙發上，攝影機用全景正面拍攝，有年輕女傭從攝影機後右方走進景框，她走到馬前面斟茶時，馬身後左方窗簾後一中年女傭橫向走出澆花，年輕女傭從其入鏡處離開，中年女傭側身望向景框右方外面，何勁草很快從她望的方向、即馬身後右方窗簾後走出來，再轉身向左走向馬身後，澆花女傭則隱身於他入鏡前的位置。這和夏青霜家一樣是一個鏡頭，至此已牽引出攝影機後面、場景後面及左右銀幕外空間。待何勁草走後，馬衝向女傭剛才澆花處，全景鏡頭中她背向我們，輕微低首，下個鏡頭突如其來，俯瞰鏡中一架房車，從左景框外穿過佔據整個銀幕的柏油路面，駛出右景框，再接馬碧珠側身低首中鏡（見圖3.1-3.8）。這場戲憑一個房車的俯瞰鏡頭，[10] 和它前後各一共三個鏡頭，讓我們明白剛才女傭澆花處是陽臺，客廳原來位於樓房上，更讓我們明白下方景框外尚有空間，現在看到一部分——柏油路，[11] 有些不會看到（客廳下面一層的情況）。侯曜在此沒有設計影機動作，而是分鏡頭、用「看不見的」視線連戲剪接。

圖 Figs.4.1-4.4

圖 Figs.3.1-3.8

《血肉長城》群戲多，常有魯陽戈教授在眾人中演說指揮，注重銀幕內空間的凝聚力，但影片同樣有許多銀幕內外空間的巧妙活動。華超（蔣君超飾）遭敵軍當作人肉盾牌，縛在司令部門口，游擊隊決定從高處攻下來。全景鏡頭水平拍攝被縛的華超在拱門內的背影，接着景框上方外有兩條繩子拋下，垂直掛在景框中，馬上剪接華超的正面特寫，再接回背影全景，兩名游擊隊員從上方外游繩滑下（見圖4.1-4.4），銀幕上方外空間彰彰明甚。河道逃亡時僅見魯陽戈和華超在船的首尾划船，兩人之間的部分蓋滿禾稈草，後來禾稈草突掀開，學生一一冒出頭來。回溯起來，蓋着禾稈草時，下面是一個場景後面的銀幕外空間。之前曾有一個魯庸（劉克宣飾）單人從禾稈草中伸出頭來的鏡頭，其實是在給我們線索。影片初段有另一個結構極複雜的例子。敵軍攻擊學校，魯陽戈和學生，緊忙摘下課室黑板。牆上有門，後面有階梯通向地牢，這便揭示了原本存在於佈景後的空間和下方景框外的空間。之後，鏡頭主要留在地牢，地牢裏的景框看不到上方的課室，本來出現過的課室成為銀幕上方外的空間。而把情況再推進一步的是地牢中有個木箱，魯庸藏進去，敵軍從上面衝下來，我們間隔看到景框中木箱蓋子推開，魯庸從中探身出來（見頁28-29，圖5.1-5.7）。地牢裏的木箱本來可以是景框中沒有特殊功能的擺設，木箱裏無疑是另一個場景後的空間。地牢這個藏身之所中又有一個「藏身之所」，木箱與地牢、課室、課室外走廊（課室鏡頭有拍到）、天空（課室鏡頭中聽到隆隆的敵機聲音），藉景框和剪接，展示空間互換、衍生的活動，合成生命共同體。

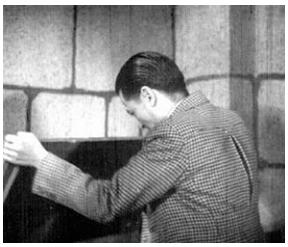
此前十年，侯曜《海角詩人》（1927）的燈塔，便使其內部和外部等同銀幕內外空間，內部又提示景框上方外空間，《血肉長城》的碉樓可說是視界更立體的發展。《西廂記》（1927）更見真實的內外景，利用自然光和人工光源，編排深景空間。進入有聲片，根據《太平洋上的風雲》和《血肉長城》而論，侯曜創作景框構圖並沒有鬆懈。製作條件似乎不如往日，不能大事鋪展深景空

圖 Figs.5.1-5.7

間，但不代表深景調度（depth staging）要減少減弱。侯曜和製作伙伴的辦法是開發銀幕外空間，即筆者上述的「補償意味的創作」。銀幕內外空間在侯曜的鏡頭裏，層出不窮，尤其是「場景後面」，別有洞天。這是延續其二十年代的風格，實也是二十年代電影講究精緻構圖的流風遺澤。這批戰前和戰時電影中，《天上人間》（1941）和《蓬門碧玉》（1942）呈現寫實線條的生活場景，《續白金龍》（1937）和《苦鳳鶯憐》（1941年拍攝、1947年首映）模仿荷里活浮華架勢，即使《太平洋上的風雲》和《血肉長城》是名符其實描繪抗戰的國防電影，景框裝飾營造的氣息有過之而無不及。侯曜依然想像、建造故事的場景，在平視的鏡頭中，佈景、景框、燈光、影機運動和演員調度，擺設出縱深感，包圍以凝重墨黑的氣氛。侯曜在當時藝術愈來愈追求真實、寫實、矛盾的年代，他似乎仍視電影為光影的美藝。兩片臨近尾聲，他用浪漫、詩意、哀憐的西方音樂悼念烈士，之後才交給奮勇的抗戰歌聲和紀錄影像。

此外，《血肉長城》課室中敵機飛近的聲音，火車站準備刺殺時的火車行駛聲，魯陽戈殺子後步下樓梯1分4秒長度的鏡頭運動，背景一直傳來魯蘭（陳雲裳飾）抽啜之聲，在在提醒須注意侯曜於銀幕內外聲音的考量。侯曜和三十年代香港電影工作者在有聲片初期如何調理聲與畫，包括國粵語抗戰歌曲，在文章篇幅和時間限制下，有待另文論述。這次「出土」、公開的戰前電影，其價值和影響毋庸置疑。闡釋偉大的發現，傳承電影的文化歷史意義，繫於電影本體的研析和理論。

劉嶔　電影研究者，從事電影歷史研究、教學、編輯書籍等。對香港粵語國語電影和中國電影史特有研究興趣，曾任職香港電影資料館研究員。研究和／或編輯項目包括《香港影片大全》、《香港影人口述歷史叢書：龍剛》、《文藝任務 新聯求索》、《乘風變化——嘉禾電影研究》、《主善為師——黃飛鴻電影研究》、《美與狂——邱剛健的戲劇．詩．電影》等，2014年客席策劃香港電影資料館專題節目《【編+導】回顧系列二：岳楓》。



注釋

1 侯曜電影片目見劉嶔編訂：〈侯曜電影作品〉，傅慧儀編：《香港早期電影遊蹤 第二冊 電影先驅侯曜》（電子刊物），香港，香港電影資料館，2014，頁144-151。筆者文中數目不包括片目中1933年的《呆佬拜壽》、1938年的《戰地小天使》及《濟公活佛》，尚未見足夠資料證實三片開拍和完成上映。

2 《淮南子．覽冥訓》：「魯陽公與韓構難，戰酣日暮，援戈而撝之，日為之反三舍。」

3 著名演員保羅茂尼（Paul Muni）飾演左拉，從德國轉戰荷里活的威林德提路（William Dieterle）導演。《左拉光榮傳》前半部描寫左拉艱苦寫作成名，後半部是他晚年控訴法國軍方迫害猶太裔軍官德雷福士（Alfred Dreyfus）的義行，獲1938年奧斯卡最佳電影獎。影片在荷里活電影史，如工業演變、傳記類型、歐洲移民電影人社群、反納粹反法西斯活動等俱有意義。《血肉長城》開場魯陽戈教授說這是最後一課，也有法國作家阿爾封斯都德（Alphonse Daudet）的短篇小說《最後一課》（*La Dernière Classe*）的影子。

4 香港國防電影之發展介紹，可參考周承人、李以莊：《早期香港電影史（1897-1945）》，香港，三聯書店（香港）有限公司，頁221-244、頁256-262。韓燕麗：〈從國防片的製作看早期粵語電影和中國大陸的關係〉，黃愛玲編：《粵港電影因緣》，香港，香港電影資料館，2005，頁56-67。

5 其時推廣商品娛樂，也與香港面對國難和戰爭發生關係。《左拉光榮傳》1938年2月4日農曆新年期間在港舉行首映會，宣傳特刊中的介紹：「在這連聲恭喜的時候，我們應要立下決心，度一個有意識的新年——一個為正義而抗戰到底的新年！……介紹給僑胞們一部提倡『為正義而戰』的有意識巨片『左拉光榮傳』。」侯曜吸收人物代表的抗爭元素，有跡可循。引文見諤諤：〈一個有意識的新年〉，《左拉光榮傳》特刊，香港，皇后戲院，1938，頁3。

6 劉嶔：〈管窺侯曜作品——二十年代中國電影形式的初步觀察〉，同註1，頁68-69。

7 荷里活敘事傳統至三十年代的嬗變和鞏固，參閱David Bordwell, Janet Staiger 及 Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960*, London: Routledge, 1985, 頁194-230 及頁298-308. David Bordwell 及 Kristin Thompson,'Technological Change and Classical Film Style', in Tino Balio (ed.), *Grand Design: Hollywood as a Modern Business Enterprise, 1930-1939,* Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1995, 頁109-141.

8 如《太》片二桿先生和《血》片華超（蔣君超飾）各有一個中特寫鏡頭（medium close-up），背景沒有設立與同場其他鏡頭配合的燈光，一片黑暗，另有鏡頭沒有剪去演員停止表演後嬉笑的部分。

9 「銀幕外空間」約分為六部分，景框四邊外是四面連續的時空／世界（是虛幻的，不一定是物質的），景框內的「場景後面」、我們的「攝影機後面」，我們看不見，那是兩塊神秘的天地。另外，四個角落也可以發生活動，譬如人物從景框下方兩個角落出入。銀幕內外空間，互相誘引，電影很大程度是由景框內外的影聲和沒有顯現的想像構成。Noël Burch藉*Nana*（Jean Renoir, 1926）等影片闡釋銀幕內外空間、寄懷創作的名篇仍具啟發價值，見Noël Burch, *Theory of Film Practice*, trans. Helen R. Lane, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981, 頁17-31。

10 可以是馬碧珠的主觀鏡頭，可以不是。

11 柏油路是外景拍攝，與客廳、陽臺的廠景佈光明顯有別，但不妨礙觀者排列、理解。

Exploitation of the Frame – The Aesthetic Lessons of Hou Yao's Pre-war Hong Kong Films

// Lau Yam

Between *The Desert Flower* released in May 1937 and *The Chinese Tarzan* released in January 1940, Hou Yao (1903?-1942) directed as many as eleven films in Hong Kong which were released, and served as main director or co-director of nine films.[1] They were all Cantonese sound films. Hou ventured into his sound film period in Hong Kong. Among his sound films, *Incident in the Pacific* (1938) and *Fortress of Flesh and Blood* (1938) were the only extant works of Hou's Hong Kong period.

Hou Yao wrote and starred in both films. In *Incident in the Pacific*, he is Mr Yi-Gong, the staff officer of the volunteer corps with the image of an early Republican urban intellectual, with "Yi-Gong" referring to the pen and the pistol. In *Fortress of Flesh and Blood*, he plays Professor Lo Yeung-guo. His look and style of acting may have been based on the character Zola in the Hollywood film *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937).[2] Both films were "national defence" films, a number of which were shot in Hong Kong in 1937 and 1938. With the theme of resistance and defending the nation against foreign (Japanese) invasion, they were intended to inspire the patriotism of Hong Kong people who lived in peace but were concerned about the fate of their motherland.

This article will attempt to show how Hou Yao created narrative film space through film style analysis, which forms the core of film studies and film historiography.

The first question concerning pre-war Hong Kong films such as *Incident in the Pacific* and *Fortress of Flesh and Blood* is the sets and

movement of characters in the frame, and how the camera is used in composing and staging the film. In terms of American sound films whose development was more advanced, the period from 1928 to 1931 was a transitional period in which new and old technologies were merged to provide solutions. The task was to maintain and develop the narrative principles of silent cinema, as embodied by the "continuity style". After a few years of adjustment, American films officially entered into the era of "classical Hollywood cinema".[3] In Hong Kong, sound cinema had a later start. Hence, the two Hong Kong films *Incident in the Pacific* and *Fortress of Flesh and Blood* can hardly compare with productions of countries with an advanced film industry in the 1930s, such as Europe, the US and Japan. While adopting a narrative style similar to that of American cinema, both films reflected the realities of Hong Kong cinema, such as the production conditions, the choices made, as well as the creative strategies of a compensatory nature.

Both films have rather crude sets. There is no flash when shots are fired. They may have been shot with one camera. The sound recording is poor and there is no meticulous shot breakdown, showing that the production conditions were poor. Both films have little location shooting, and feature multiple scenes with a few interior sets, and a camera angle of about 180 degrees. Basically, they are straight-on angles, in order to disguise the inadequate sets. In terms of the establishing shot of each scene, it is mostly a choice between long shot, medium long shot and medium shot. Glorifying the crowds that participated in the war of resistance, *Incident in the Pacific* opens with shots of people talking around a table, which may be as long as

one minute. According to convention, after the establishing shot, the camera will move into the setting of the story and use other angles and shots to unfold the plot. In terms of the shot/reverse shot and/or eyeline matching that originated from the silent film era, and the over-the-shoulder shot popular in the 1930s, there are much fewer of them in these two films than in European and American films. The camerawork does not always follow conventions. Sometimes, one over-the-shoulder shot is followed by a not over-the-shoulder one-shot of the other person. The camera may also jump back to an establishing shot after a one-shot or over-the-shoulder shot.

In terms of the use of certain narrative conventions, *Incident in the Pacific* and *Fortress of Flesh and Blood* are not very skilful or they deviate from the methods of European and American films. However, they show a remarkable ability in exploiting "screen space". While both are "national defence films", Hou Yao managed to give each film a distinctive style. *Incident in the Pacific* makes frequent use of pan shots and dolly shots, which help to suggest "screen space". In the scene at the camp of the volunteer corps, the camera pans to and fro between Mr Yi-Gong, Ma Yu-long (Chan Tin-tsung), Ma Bik-chu (Lee Yi-nin) and a guard in the background. Reframing following the characters' movements, it pauses about six times, allowing a conversation between two people every time (see figs.1.1-1.4). It shows the reactions of the characters after learning that Ha Ching-seung (Lo Ban-chiu) has been captured without any shot breakdown. An example of the dolly shot is the scene in the office of Ho King-cho (Lau Hark-suen). After he sits down behind the desk, the camera dollies back from the medium shot to gradually reveal the rest of the office. It pans left when Ma Bik-chu enters. After both of them sit down, the camera dollies in to a medium shot until the end. The composition of this shot shifts from small to large, so that we

gradually see what could not be seen before. The "off-screen space"[4] becomes on-screen space. Afterwards, the composition shrinks, and some on-screen space becomes "off-screen space" again.

While pan shots suggest the "off-screen space" on the left and right, dollies mostly remind us of the areas behind the camera. In terms of film style, the most remarkable thing about *Incident in the Pacific* and *Fortress of Flesh and Blood* is the exploitation of off-screen space in the establishing shot. An example of a concise design is the scene in which Ha Ching-seung's mother is taken to the place of execution by enemy troops. She walks towards the camera shouting slogans (figs. 2.1-2.3). Apart from suggesting the areas behind the camera – the execution ground, this shot echoes the trial scene with its many shots of the characters showing their patriotic fervor facing the camera. In the scene where Ho King-cho goes to arrest Ha Ching-seung's family with his soldiers, the left side of the frame is half a door that opens onto the courtyard, while the right side shows the whole door of an interior. Tied together by a rope, six of his family members go from an inner room into the hall, through the hall and out of the door. That is, they emerge from the off-screen space on the right, pass through the on-screen space and disappear into the off-screen space on the left. The whole process is filmed in one shot. Another scene starts with a single shot. Ma Bik-chu is seen sitting on a sofa in the living room. A maid dressed in white enters the frame from the right from behind the camera and walks up to Ma to pour tea. Behind Ma on her left, another maid dressed in black emerges from behind the curtains and crosses the set to water the flowers. The maid in white leaves from where she appears. Ho King-cho emerges from behind the curtains on the right hand side of Ma and walks towards her. This shot already suggests the space behind the camera and behind the set and the off-screen space on the right

and left. After Ho leaves, Ma rushes towards the spot where the maid was watering the flowers. In the long shot, her back is turned towards us and her head is slightly bowed. In the next shot, we are suddenly looking down on a car appearing from the left frame. It passes through the asphalt road that occupies the whole screen and disappears from the right frame. Cut to a medium shot of Ma Bik-chu in profile with her head lowered (figs 3.1-3.8). Through the bird's eye view shot of a car,[5] as well as one shot before and one shot after, this scene shows us that the place where the maid was watering flowers is a balcony, that the living room is upstairs, and there is off-screen space in the lower part of the frame. Instead of camera movement, Hou Yao uses shot breakdown and "off-camera" eyelines in continuity editing.

In *Fortress of Flesh and Blood*, there are also many intriguing actions in the on-screen and off-screen space. In one long shot, we see the back of Wah-chiu (Jiang Junchao) tied up inside an arch. Two ropes are thrown down from beyond the top of the frame. Cut to a frontal close-up of Wah-chiu's face and back to the long shot of his back. Two guerilla fighters rappel down from outside the top of the frame (figs. 4.1-4.4), thus drawing special attention to the off-screen space at the top of the screen. In the escape scene on the river, we only see Lo Yeung-guo and Wah-chiu rowing at the front and end of the boat, with the space between them filled by a stack of straws. Suddenly the straws are pushed aside and a bunch of students emerge. Actually, when the straws were there, we could glimpse the off-screen space behind the set below. There is also an example at the start of the film with an extremely complex structure. When the enemy troops attack the school, Lo Yeung-guo and the students hastily remove the classroom blackboard. There is a door on the wall, with a staircase behind leading to the basement. This indicates the space behind the set and beyond the bottom of the frame. Later, the

camera mainly stays in the basement. The classroom that appeared before now becomes the space beyond the top of the screen. There is a wooden box in the basement, in which Lo Yung (Lau Hark-suen) hides. We see him climbing out of it (see Figs. 5.1-5.7). There is undoubtedly another space behind the set inside the box, i.e., another place of hiding inside the basement. Through framing and editing, the film shifts between different spaces, from the wooden box to the basement, the classroom, the corridor outside the classroom and the sky (the rumbling sounds of enemy planes can be heard over the classroom shots), connecting them and showing the different actions taking place.

In Hou Yao's *A Poet from the Sea* (1927), the interior and exterior of the lighthouse can be equated with on-screen space and off-screen space respectively. In *Way Down West* (1927), the exterior and interior sets are more authentic, and natural light and artificial lighting are used to create depth. After entering into the sound era, judging from *Incident in the Pacific* and *Fortress of Flesh and Blood*, Hou Yao continued to emphasize the frame and its embellishment. Even though the production conditions seemed less favourable and he could not spend as much in building sets to enhance depth, it did not mean that depth staging had to be scaled back. The method adopted by Hou Yao and his production partners was to exploit the off-screen space, which is what I meant by "creative strategies of a compensatory nature". Off-screen space is featured in Hou Yao's films all the time, especially space "behind the sets". This is a continuation of his style in the 1920s, and a legacy of the meticulous compositions of the films in the 10s and 20s. Hou Yao continued to imagine and create the sets of the story. In eye-level shots, the sets, frame, lighting, camera movement and staging of characters all contribute to a sense of depth, with a solemn and dark atmosphere hanging over

the space. At a time when artists were going after style of realism and themes of conflicts, Hou Yao still saw film as the fine art of light and shadow. At the end of the two films, he used romantic, poetic and sorrowful music to mourn the martyrs, before moving on to rousing war songs and documentary footage.

The sounds of enemy war planes and trains running, the sobbing of Lo Lan (Nancy Chan) in the background when Lo Yeung-guo walks down the stairs after killing his son – all these remind us to pay attention to Hou Yao's use of sounds on-screen and off-screen. How Hou Yao and Hong Kong filmmakers dealt with sound and picture in the early days of sound films needs to be discussed in another article. The significance of the discovery of these pre-war films and the lessons they teach us are unmistakable. In order to interpret great discoveries and pass on the cultural and historical legacy, it is necessary to conduct a thorough analysis of Hong Kong cinema's modes of narration and aesthetics. For It has been delayed for a long time.

Lau Yam Film scholar, engaged in film history research, teaching and editing of film publications, with particular interest in Hong Kong Cantonese and Mandarin cinema, and the history of Chinese cinema. A former researcher at the Hong Kong Film Archive, he has done research for and/or edited the following publications: *Hong Kong Filmography Series*, *Oral History Series (6): Director Lung Kong*, *The Mission: Sun Luen Films*, *Golden Harvest: Leading Change in Changing Times*, *Mastering Virtue: The Cinematic Legend of a Martial Artist*, and *Chiu Kang-chien: Theatre, Poetry, Film*. In 2014, he was guest curator of the programme *"The Writer/Director in Focus II: Griffin Yueh Feng"* of the Hong Kong Film Archive.

[Abridged version translated by Diane To]

Notes

1 For Hou Yao's filmography, see Lau Yam (ed.), "Filmography of Hou Yao", in: Winnie Fu (ed.), *Transcending Space and Time – Early Cinematic Experience of Hong Kong, Book II: Pioneer Filmmaker Hou Yao* (electronic publication: http://www.lcsd.gov.hk/CE/CulturalService/HKFA/documents/2005525/2007294/ebrochure_02.pdf), Hong Kong Film Archive, 2014, pp.144-151.

2 Starring Paul Muni as Zola and directed by William Dieterle, who moved from Germany to Hollywood. The first half of *The Life of Emile Zola* portrays Zola's struggle to become a famous writer. The second half is about his campaign on behalf of Jewish officer Alfred Dreyfus whom he accused the French army of persecuting. This film won the Oscar for Best Picture in 1938. The film is valuable for the study of Hollywood film history in terms of themes such as the industrial evolution, the biographical genre, European immigrant filmmakers, as well as anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist activities in Hollywood. In the beginning of *Fortress of Flesh and Blood*, Professor Lo Yeung-guo announces that it will be the last lesson. This is reminiscent of the short story *La Dernière Classe* by French writer Alphonse Daudet.

3 For the evolution and consolidation of the Hollywood narrative tradition up to the 1930s, see David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960*, London: Routledge, 1985, pp.194-230 and pp.298-308. David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, "Technological Change and Classical Film Style", in Tino Balio (ed.), *Grand Design: Hollywood as a Modern Business Enterprise, 1930-1939*, Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 1995, pp.109-141.

4 The on-screen space and off-screen space interact with each other. Films are composed of the images and sounds inside and outside the frame, as well as the imagination of things that are not shown. Noël Burch interprets the space on- and off-screen by analyzing films such as *Nana* (Jean Renoir, 1926). His writings continue to be inspiring. See Noël Burch, *Theory of Film Practice*, trans. Helen R. Lane, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981, pp.17-31.

5 This may or may not be Ma Bik-chu's point of view.

延伸閱讀

侯曜生平概略

// 劉嶔

侯曜（1903？-1942），中國第一代電影工作者，大學時期編導不少話劇，自1924至1932年間導演、合導約十一部無聲電影。[1] 先後為北美歸僑梅雪儔、李澤源等創辦的長城畫片公司、[2] 香港電影先驅黎民偉北上經營的上海民新影片股份有限公司服務，[3] 前者標榜社會人生主題、製作精良，後者追求類型豐富、規模宏大，侯氏都是創作骨幹人物。三十年代初他轉向新聞、教育和政黨事業，參與東北義勇軍的抗日活動，也曾短暫管理聯華影業公司北平廠，並為香港振業公司執導《呆佬拜壽》（1933）。[4] 似乎在意興闌珊的情緒下，1934年再度來港。[5] 侯曜是粵人，在粵成長，早年曾造訪香港，有記錄的包括《工商日報》總編輯黎工伉回憶，侯氏於「五四運動」時期由廣州來港，二人結識，侯氏滔滔不絕痛談日本是中國的大患，黎有「聽其言，觀其行，覺得他是一個奇人」的印象，[6] 1926年底又在港執導上海民新公司出品的影片《海角詩人》（1927）和《復活的玫瑰》（1927）。[7] 1934年這次，卻由本來「只得忍淚吞聲的暫寄萍蹤於香江」[8] 長居至1940年。六年間初期在報刊撰寫小說時論，主持學院教課，隨着香港電影業發展，他重作馮婦，在香港個人執導的公映電影十一部，擔任總導演和合導約九部。1940年4月接受邵氏兄弟公司聘請，與尹海靈、繆康義等香港電影人赴新加坡，為邵氏馬來亞製片廠拍攝多部馬來語片。1942年日軍侵入新加坡，他躲藏一段時間後往取良民證，一去不返。後列入華僑殉難名錄。

注釋

1 侯曜電影片目見劉嶔編訂：〈侯曜電影作品〉，傅慧儀編：《香港早期電影遊蹤 第二冊 電影先驅侯曜》（電子刊物），香港，香港電影資料館，2014，頁144-151。

2 長城畫片公司歷史詳見程季華、李少白、邢祖文編：《中國電影發展史》（初稿）第一卷，北京，中國電影出版社，1981（1963年初版），頁90-97。酈蘇元、胡菊彬：《中國無聲電影史》，北京，中國電影出版社，1996，頁90-92、頁141-145、頁169-174、頁240-241。陳墨、蕭知緯：〈跨海的「長城」：從建立到坍塌——長城畫片公司歷史初探〉，《當代電影》，北京，當代電影雜誌社，2004年第3期，頁36-44。

3 上海民新公司歷史詳見程季華、李少白、邢祖文編：《中國電影發展史》（初稿）第一卷，同註2，頁103-111。羅卡、黎錫編：《黎民偉：人．時代．電影》，香港，明窗出版社有限公司，1999年3月，頁49-65。

4 《呆佬拜壽》一片未見詳細的製作資料，亦未見公映日期，疑為局部有聲影片。可參考黃淑嫻編：《香港影片大全第一卷（1913-1941）》，香港，香港電影資料館，1997年4月，頁22。余慕雲：《香港電影史話（卷二）——三十年代》，香港，次文化有限公司，1997年12月，頁45-46、頁94-96。羅卡：〈侯曜傳奇的審視和重構〉，同註1，頁18-22。

5 見侯曜：〈自序〉，《太平洋上的風雲》，工商日報叢書之二，香港，工商日報，1935年8月。原書序言部分不列頁碼。

6 此語見黎工傚：〈序四〉，同註5。原書序言部分不列頁碼。

7 見黎錫編訂：《黎民偉日記》，香港，香港電影資料館，2003，頁13。

8 同註5。原書序言部分不列頁碼。

Extended Reading

Hou Yao: Brief Biography

// Lau Yam

Hou Yao (1903? – 1942), a first-generation Chinese filmmaker, wrote and directed many theatre plays while at university. Between 1924 and 1932, Hou purportedly directed or co-directed 11 silent films.[1] Along with his cohorts Mei Xuechou and C. Y. Lee (aka Li Zeyuan) who just returned from the US, he helped found the Great Wall Film Company and later worked for the China Sun Motion Picture Co Ltd after Lai Man-wai, one of the pioneers of Hong Kong Cinema, moved the company to Shanghai. Hou was a central figure in the creative stables of the two very different studios; one focused on well-crafted social dramas while the other pursued large-scale genre productions. During the early thirties, Hou branched out into journalism, education and politics and was involved in the resistance movement during the Japanese invasion of the Northeastern region. He also managed the United Photoplay (aka Lianhua Film company) studio facilities in Beijing for a brief period, and directed the Hong Kong production, *The Fool Pays Respects* (1933) for Jan Yip Company. He returned to Hong Kong in 1934, possibly due to frustration.[2] Hou was born and raised in Guangdong. There is evidence that Hou visited Hong Kong much earlier on. Lai Kung-tsi, the Editor-in-chief of Kung Sheung Daily News, described how they met when Hou left Guangzhou for Hong Kong during the May Fourth Movement. Lai recalled how Hou denounced Japan as a threat to China and how "his words and deeds marked him as a true eccentric."[3] Hou traveled to Hong Kong again in 1926 to direct *A Poet From the Sea* (1927) and *A Reviving Rose*

(1927) for China Sun Motion Picture Co Ltd. Hou initially returned to Hong Kong in 1934 "in search of a temporary refuge amidst grieving tears[4]" but stayed until 1940. At the start of this 6-year period, Hou wrote serials and editorials for newspapers and also taught in schools. But as the local film industry boomed, he soon returned to the fold. Hou directed a total of 11 Hong Kong films that were released, and also co-directed nine other films, serving as the director-in-chief. In April, 1940, the Shaw Brothers offered Hou a contract, along with such Hong Kong filmmakers as Wan Hoi-ling and Miu Hong-nee, to produce Malay-language films at Shaw Brothers' Malay Film Production Limited in Singapore. In 1942, Japan invaded Singapore. Hou remained in hiding until he went to apply for a Certificate of Clearance. He was never seen again and was eventually included in the list of Chinese Expatriates war victims.

Notes

1 For Hou Yao's filmography, see Lau Yam (ed.), "Filmography of Hou Yao", in: Winnie Fu (ed.), *Transcending Space and Time – Early Cinematic Experience of Hong Kong, Book II: Pioneer Filmmaker Hou Yao* (electronic publication: http://www.lcsd.gov.hk/CE/CulturalService/HKFA/documents/2005525/2007294/ebrochure_02.pdf), Hong Kong Film Archive, 2014, pp.144-151.

2 Hou Yao, "Author's Preface", in *Incident in the Pacific*, Kung Sheung Daily News Book Series Book 2, Hong Kong: *Kung Sheung Daily News*, Aug 1935 (Chinese only).

3 Ibid. Lai Kung-tsi, "Foreword 4".

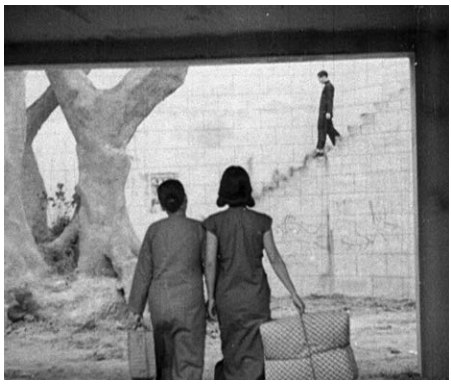
4 See [2].

天上人間的好男好女

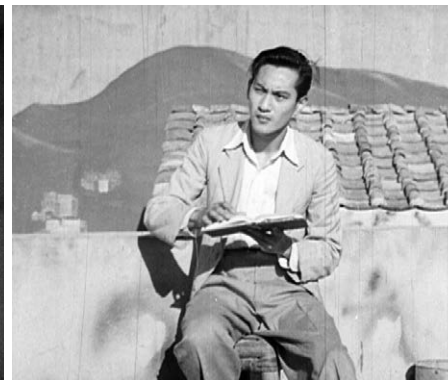
// 黃愛玲

《天上人間》（1941）開始時，密雲滿天，焦土遍地。緊接着的鏡頭，已換作另一番風景，那裏懸掛着各式各樣的商業招牌，有中也有英，三兩個簡潔的鏡頭，把我們帶到了華洋雜處的東方之珠。那是尖沙咀火車站，我們父母輩不少乘坐火車從大陸前來，在此站下車，然後開始在這座城市的生活，也就從此寄居在這片昔日的英國殖民地上。在《天》片中，一對衣着素雅的母女，提着簡便行李，一個小皮箱，一卷棉被，緩緩步上長長的石梯，走進一條典型的港島小街，樓梯底下左右兩根柱子，分別大咧咧地掃上「豉味雙蒸酒」和「天津五加皮」。兩人吃力地爬上四層高的唐樓，木門裏隱隱傳出粵調，門開了，走出幾個奇形怪狀的「豆泥友」。點點滴滴，香江風味盡露。

1938年末，廣州淪陷，很多人逃難南來香港，不少還用「紅券」（當時廣州流通的貨幣），如片中的大部分房客——包租公包租婆本來在廣州有點家業，因羊城淪陷治安混亂，暫避香江；朱子清是知識青年，空有滿腹報國的抱負，但上有老母，下有幼妹，只能在報館賣文為生；高佬勝昔日是粵劇伶人，自誇當年一踏出虎度門就顛倒眾生；大牛標是大力士，本來在廣州的大新天



張潔玲（微風）母女提着簡便行裝，由省城南下逃難香江。
Cheung Kit-ling (played by Mei Fung) and mother, carrying their minimal luggage, head south amidst war time to reside in Hong Kong.



上有老母，下有幼妹，朱子清（張瑛）生活困頓，報國大志難伸。
Chu Tse-ching (played by Cheung Ying), a frustrated scholar with dreams unfulfilled, lives under poor conditions with mother and younger sister.

台遊樂場行走江湖；大笨象原是軍人，他說是因病退役，人家卻笑他是逃兵。張潔玲母女倆也是從「省城」逃難出來的，跟一眾住客一樣，天涯淪落，大家有緣相聚，緬懷羊城美食風貌，暢談報國遠大理想。還有風塵女子珍妮和歌伶飄零女，影片沒交待她倆是否土生土長，但一個語通中西，一個歌壇賣藝，都可說代表了香港獨特文化的一體兩面。包租婆以空氣流通好向準房客推銷尾房：「西人最講究㗎啦，所以有錢佬都住山頂」，好一副「挾洋自重」的得意模樣。還有馮應湘飾演的華僑子弟Johnny，西裝革履，滿口美式英語，輕佻好色，戰爭對他似乎沒甚影響，倒讓他的生活更添色彩——「多了川菜餐館和Shanghainese dancing girls」。當年報章上的電影廣告強調《天上人間》的香港色彩——「一部香港本地風光實錄」[1]、「辛辣諷刺之戰時香港風光百怪錄」[2]。歷史使然，香港就像一條百川匯成的江河。

有趣的是，大中華與小香港的關係從來都愛恨交纏、矛盾不斷。1937年，國民政府頒下命令，禁止拍攝方言電影，針對的其實就是香港粵語片。生死攸關，華南電影界自然想方設法盡力拖延與爭取，就像抗戰一樣，以空間換取時間——一方面在拍攝

一屋豆泥友： 高佬勝、大牛標、大笨象，聯同包租公（吳回），把包租婆（李月清）氣得七竅生煙。
A bunch of "good-for-nothings": Shing, Bill the Bull, Elephant and landlord (played by Ng Wui), join hands in infuriating the landlady (played by Lee Yuet-ching).

歌伶飄零女（胡美倫）一曲〈花飄零〉，娓娓傾訴戰亂流離之苦。
'Fallen Petals' sung by the itinerant songstress (played by Wu Mei-lun) bespeaks the hardships of war.

同是天涯淪落人，分別在即，今朝有酒今朝醉。
Having experienced hard times under one roof, the gang meet for the last time on the rooftop to bid farewell with each other.

風塵女子珍妮（林妹妹）俠骨柔心，仗義襄助落泊閨秀張潔玲。
The richly-educated damsel Cheung Kit-ling (played by Mei Fung) becomes bosom friends with Jenny (Lam Mui-mui), an upright, chivalrous courtesan.

富家子弟Johnny（馮應湘）結識因戰亂南來的各省美女。
An overseas Chinese returnee Johnny (played by Fung Ying-seong), busy courting young ladies that resided in the city.

和放映粵語電影時加入國語短片，另一方面逐漸增加國語片的數量；結果，該法令推遲至1940年6月30日才施行。[3] 從這次看到的幾部同期影片看來，這條法令根本上沒有怎樣得到執行，如《天上人間》就是百分百的粵語片，只在片頭片末加插兩首國語歌曲，敷衍了事。片裏的幾個天台浪客，每天總會相聚在「聚義堂」牌匾之下，下面掛着蔣介石的肖像。蔣其時是國民政府國防最高委員會委員長，照片兩旁的對聯——「人無分男女老幼　地無分南北東西」，是蔣的抗戰名言；王家衛的《一代宗師》（2013）裏也有一句——「拳有分南北，國有分南北嗎？」兩部作品相隔超過七十年，卻遙相呼應，歷史長廊裏迴盪着時代的聲音。

然而，家國懷抱，個人情操，不是男兒所獨有，《天上人間》裏的幾位女性，都巾幗不讓鬚眉，各自各精彩。男兒志在四方，張瑛飾演的朱子清，書架上放着《西行漫記》和《魯迅全集》一類書籍，端的是一名有進步思想的知識份子，卻因家累而坐困愁城，鬱悶度日，缺乏開朗的氣象，倒是微風飾演的紅顏知己張潔玲，同樣身處逆境，卻能放下大家閨秀的身段，賣身而不賣心，落落大方，深明大義，還鼓勵男友振作積極。胡美倫演繹歌伶飄零女，誰道商女不知亡國恨？她敦請知書識墨的張潔玲為她作

詞，一曲〈花飄零〉娓娓傾訴戰亂之苦，唱來卻紋風不動，大有千帆過盡的從容。還有住頭房的珍妮，不談國家大事，卻獨力撐起一家子十多人的生活，雖墮落風塵而能坦然自處，看透世情而又俠骨柔心，林妹妹演來風騷自然，那股獨特的氣質，讓人想起法國同時期的女演員雅樂蒂（Arletty）。片中幾場女兒家知遇知心的戲，都讓人動容——飄零女動身去南洋賣藝的前夕，在天台感激張潔玲為她作詞；珍妮義助張潔玲解困，說出一番過來人的真心話。三名女子氣質各異，因緣際會，共處同一屋簷下，平常不好大言卻相知相交，胸襟廣闊。

這次將幾部同期的香港電影並排觀看，《天上人間》無論從戲劇結構、人物塑造和節奏掌握，都顯得比較成熟完善。在片裏，張潔玲是串連全片的主線人物，影片以漫天密雲的鏡頭開始，她和母親初來埗到，吃力地爬上石梯；片末，她和朱子清決定回國服務，精神抖擻地並肩走上同一排長梯，鏡頭上搖至白雲飄飄的天空，首尾呼應。故事基本上是一個群戲，片中人物眾多，每一個角色出場，都安排得井然有序，如一串珍珠，粒粒相連。飄零女和珍妮兩個女角的登場，更見不落俗套，別具匠心——大牛標在天台裝胸作勢扮花旦唱子喉，鏡頭下移，卻原來歌者另有其人，只見飄零女在樓下一個窗戶內練曲，輕歌妙唱似幽咽泉流，氣度大體中見風情，觀眾未見其人先聞其聲；珍妮呢，她是包租婆口中的富貴新房客，人未踏進屋門，倒先見一件又一件搬進來的傢具行頭，接着「咯咯咯」的高跟鞋聲，然後傳來狐媚的嚦嚦鶯聲，一如戲曲舞台上正旦亮相前的排場，先聲奪人。

影片的故事來自導演盧敦，分幕和對白則是李晨風和盧敦。盧、李在廣州時是中學同班同學，皆醉心電影和戲劇，少年時曾一齊在廣東電影學院學習，後來更進入歐陽予倩主理的廣東戲劇研究所，學藝三年，期間積極參與話劇活動，1938年7月更組成

編導盧敦塑造的角色有情有義，鮮明活潑，不囿於一般國防電影的框架。
Characters designed by Lo Duen are lively, witty, complex and refined, unbound by the straitjacket of political ideologies.

「時代劇團」，[4]其他的核心團員還包括吳回、李月清、王鏗、張瑛、吳楚帆等，其中吳回、李月清和張瑛都參與了《天上人間》的演出。這個組合後來更成為了中聯和新聯這個系統的基石。對於早期中國電影，文明戲的影響很大，但對香港電影來說，影響至深的卻是粵劇，幾乎無片不歌，演員也多來自粵劇舞台。相對而言，年輕時的盧敦、李晨風這一伙，看荷里活文藝片《賴婚》（*Way Down East*, 1920）、《雷夢娜》（*Ramona*, 1936）、《七重天》（*Seventh Heaven*, 1927）、《日出》（*Sunrise*, 1937）等，學歐美的戲劇理論和蘇聯的「史坦尼」（史坦尼斯拉夫斯基）表演體系，[5]基本上走寫實路線。舞台上累積的經驗，為他們日後從事電影工作打下了深厚的根基，相對其他粵語片，他們的劇本顯得比較紮實，演出也生活化。

此外，上海電影對盧敦的影響也不可忽視，特別是聯華的出品如孫瑜編導的《故都春夢》（1930）、《野草閒花》（1930）和《大路》（1934）、田漢編劇的《三個摩登女性》（1933）等。[6]三十年代中期，盧敦在上海工作生活過兩年，曾想在那裏發展，因此跟滬上的電影戲劇界有往來。那段時期，國家危難當頭，文化界提出以「國防文學」、「國防戲劇」、「國防電影」等直接回應時代，其時其地的左翼電影與文化生態，對本來已有進步思想的盧敦，肯定起了相當的影響。他於1936年返回香港後，影劇雙線發展，主要就是循着這個方向。1940年，他去重慶參演司徒慧敏導演的國防電影《白雲故鄉》，逗留期間，深感祖國需要大量年輕人回國服務，開始構思《天上人間》的故事，鼓勵香港青年回國服務，而不要在殖民地苟安，[7] 回港後就投入拍攝，同年還拍了另一部國防電影——改編自陳白塵舞台劇《魔窟》的《烽火故鄉》（1941）。翻看資料，《烽火故鄉》當年的評論很好，《天上人間》留下的痕跡倒很少。歷史的塵埃沉澱下來，現在回看，很多國防電影都顯得乾巴巴，主題先行，《天上人間》卻能在因陋就簡的製作局限裏，做到生動活潑，亦莊亦諧，充滿生活實感，也拍出了人的複雜性。

從十九世紀後半葉至二十年代前半葉，中西、新舊交匯的上海建立了以里弄類建築為基礎的社區文化，地少人多的香港也發展出早期唐樓一樓多伙同住的城市生態。在這些唐樓裏，住的多是普羅大眾，這種獨特的群居生活空間，成為了五、六十年代香港電影裏常見的人文風景。左翼思想強調低下階層群眾的力量，這種集體聚居的人倫網絡，更提供了豐富濃郁的戲劇元素，五十年代龍馬的《一板之隔》（朱石麟，1952）和《水火之間》（朱石麟，1955）、中聯的《危樓春曉》（李鐵，1953）、新聯的《再生花》（李晨風，1953）和《十號風波》（盧敦，1959）等，都是在這種背景下攝製的經典之作。放在這條脈絡裏來思考，《天上人間》在香港電影史上的意義，更值得深探；難能可貴的是，它有進步的一面，卻沒有落入意識形態的窠臼，有理想主義色彩，而又保持着一份清醒與世故。

原載《通訊》，第68期，香港，香港電影資料館，2014年5月，頁18-20，2015年1月29日增訂。

黃愛玲 電影文化工作者，曾任香港國際電影節節目策劃和香港電影資料館研究主任，現為自由人。著有文集《戲緣》、《夢餘說夢》及編有《詩人導演費穆》等電影專著多部。

注釋

1 見《天上人間》廣告，《華僑日報》，香港，1941年11月4日。

2 見《天上人間》廣告，《華僑日報》，香港，1941年11月11日。

3 李培德：〈禁與反禁——一九三〇年代處於滬港夾縫中的粵語電影〉，黃愛玲編：《粵港電影因緣》，香港，香港電影資料館，2005，頁24-41。

4 關於盧敦與時代劇團，可參看盛安琪：〈《天上人間》跟「時代」的呼應〉，見本書，頁38-39；以及下列資料：（1）〈時代劇團〉，原載於《藝林》半月刊，第50期，1939年3月15日，轉錄自羅卡、法蘭賓、鄺耀輝編著：《從戲台到講台——早期香港戲劇及演藝活動一九零零–一九四一》，香港：國際演藝評論家協會（香港分會），1999，頁63；（2）盧敦：《瘋子生涯半世紀》，香港，香江出版，1992。

5 參看郭靜寧撰錄：〈盧敦：我那時代的影戲〉，郭靜寧編：《南來香港》（香港影人口述歷史叢書之1），香港，香港電影資料館，2000，頁123；盧敦：《瘋子生涯半世紀》，同上，頁29、41。

6 盧敦：《瘋子生涯半世紀》，同註4，頁29。

7 〈盧敦編導《天上人間》〉，《藝林》半月刊，第87期，1940年12月1日。

People of Paradise

// Wong Ain-ling

Follow Your Dream (1941) begins with scenes of a gloomy sky and the scorched earth, which transition, in two simple shots, to a view of signboards written in both Chinese and English, a common sight in Hong Kong where East meets West. That was the old Tsim Sha Tsui train station, the destination of many of our elders who arrived from the Mainland and started living in this one-time British colony.

In the film, a mother and her daughter, plainly but tastefully dressed, are making their way up a flight of stone steps, a small leather suitcase and a roll of blanket in hand. They turn into an alleyway typical of those on the Hong Kong Island. Prominently displayed on the pillars flanking the bottom of a staircase are the words 'Double-Distilled Rice Liquor with Fermented Bean Flavour' and 'Ng Ka Py Wine from Tianjin'. The two of them laboriously climb up four flights of stairs of an old building. Snatches of Cantonese operatic tunes come out from behind a door. When it opens, they are greeted by some odd-looking grassroots tenants. The Cantonese aura of yonder days is thus invoked by these little touches.

At the end of 1938, Guangzhou fell into the hands of the Japanese, and many people, like most of the tenants in the film, escaped to Hong Kong. Many of them were still using the 'Red Bonds', the currency then in circulation across Guangzhou. The landlord and the landlady own property in Guangzhou but choose to move south to run away from the chaos there. Chu Tse-ching is an educated young man who aspires to save the country; and yet having a mother and a younger sister to provide for, he barely makes ends meet by writing for a newspaper. Shing is an over-the-hill Cantonese opera actor, who brags about his mesmerising charm on stage. Bill the Bull is a circus strongman, who

used to ply his trade in the rooftop fairground. Elephant is demobilised from the army for health reasons, but the other tenants joke about his 'desertion'. Cheung Kit-ling and her mother also come from Guangzhou, the provincial seat. Like the other rooftop squatters, they have been dislocated from their homes. Fate has brought these people together, where they spend their time reliving memories of the sumptuous food of Guangzhou and declaring their wishes to serve their country in some ways.

Also among the dwellers are courtesan Jenny and a songstress named Wandering Girl. While it is not sure if they were born and bred in Hong Kong, the courtesan speaks both Chinese and English and the songstress makes a living on stage, quite a measure of the distinct culture of this city. The landlady persuades her prospective tenant to take up the innermost room down the corridor, advertising its great air flow: 'Westerners are picky about this, and that's why rich people all live high up on the Peak.' She is apparently playing up the Westerners' ways with things. There is as well an overseas Chinese returnee Johnny (played by Fung Ying-seong), well-clad in suit and flaunting his American English. This boastful, lustful man looks unaffected by the war, which ironically seems to have made life even rosier for him. 'Now we have more Sichuan restaurants and Shanghainese dancing girls!' he adds.

Advertisements of the day emphasized the Hong Kong flavour of *Follow Your Dream*, describing it as 'a veritable record of the local scene'[1] and 'a biting satire of the strange phenomena of wartime Hong Kong'.[2] In retrospect, these refugees come together like streams of water to become a river, giving our city the enduring life force that makes Hong

Kong what it is today.

Interestingly, Hong Kong and the Greater China have had a love–hate relationship that is strewn with contradictions. In 1937, the Nationalist government issued a ban on dialect films, the main target of which were the Cantonese productions of Hong Kong. Naturally, in the face of this threat of survival, the local film circles did their best to stall and resist. Similar to the national war effort against the Japanese, they adopted the strategy of 'trading space for time'. On the one hand, they incorporated short Mandarin films into their productions and screenings; on the other, they gradually increased the production of feature-length Mandarin films. In the end, the ban did not come to effect until 30 June 1940.[3]

Looking at the several films from that period, one can see that the ban was hardly ever enforced. *Follow Your Dream*, for example, is a Cantonese film through and through, with only two Mandarin songs added in the beginning and at the end. The few rooftop dwellers in the film get together every day under the placard 'Hall of Heroes'. On the wall behind them is the portrait of Chiang Kai-shek, the Highest Commissioner of Defence of the Nationalist government at the time. On the two sides of his portrait is a couplet quoting his famous words: 'All are equal, men, women, the old and the young; the Country is one, the north, the south, the east and the west.' In 2003, one of the characters in Wong Kar-wai's *The Grandmaster* intones, 'Boxing styles may be divided between the north and the south, but the country is not.' The two films are separated by 70 years, but one hears the echoes down the long corridor of history.

Yet, national pride and noble personal sentiments are not the monopolies of men alone. Each in their own way, the female characters in *Follow Your Dream* measure up to their male counterparts. It has been said that men should set their sights far and wide. With progressive

books such as *Red Star Over China* by Edgar Snow and *The Complete Works of Lu Xun* on his shelf, Chu Tse-ching (played by Cheung Ying) is no doubt a left-wing intellectual. Yet, crushed by the burdens of life, he spends his depressing days confined to his home, lacking the broad outlook expected of someone like him. On the other hand, Chu's bosom friend, Cheung Kit-ling (played by Mei Fung), readily puts her wealthy past behind her, selling her body but not her heart. With her deep understanding of things, she urges Chu to pull himself together. Then, there is the itinerant songstress (played by Wu Mei-lun), who is by no means unconcerned with the fate of the country. Her song, 'Fallen Petals', with lyrics penned by the educated Cheung Kit-ling, bespeaks the pain of separation in war. Yet, she sings it with the repose of someone who has seen through life's many vagaries. Similarly, another tenant Jenny (played by Lam Mui-mui), who earns a living as a courtesan, may not have much to say about national matters, but she supports a whole family of more than ten. At ease with her lowly profession, the chivalrous woman is always ready to help others out. The young Lam, so alluring yet so uniquely natural, reminds one of the French actress Arletty of the same time.

It is touching to see these women befriend each other. The day before the songstress sets off to Nanyang, she thanks Cheung for the lyrics; after helping Cheung out, Jenny speaks her heart as one who's been through the same hardship. By a twist of fate, the three distinctly different women are brought under the same roof; they engage in no empty talk but share a profound understanding of life.

Compared with other works from the same period I watched this time, *Follow Your Dream* is more mature and complete in terms of structure, characterisation and rhythm. Cheung Kit-ling is the central character that puts the different parts of the narrative together. The film

starts with a shot of a cloudy sky, when she and her mother first arrive in town and toil up the staircase. At the film's end, she and Chu Tse-ching decide to return home to serve the country, walking up the same staircase side by side in great spirits. The concluding shot tilts up to a clear bright sky, forming a contrast with the opening.

Follow Your Dream is an ensemble piece with a wide array of characters. Each of them comes on screen in an orderly fashion, just like a pearl necklace with every piece being part of an organic whole. The way Wandering Girl and Jenny come on the scene is well thought out: Bill the Bull on the rooftop lip-synchs the female sound in Cantonese opera. As the camera pans down, one realises that the singer is actually someone else, as Wandering Girl is seen through the windows practising downstairs. Heard before she herself appears, her voice lilts and flows like a river, exuding an allure beneath a mood of propriety. Jenny, in the landlady's words, is the well-off new tenant. Prior to her appearance is a parade of her own possessions and furniture, followed by the click-clack of her high-heels and then her sensuous, high-pitched voice. Which brings to mind the lead-in for the *dan* (female lead) in Chinese opera before she graces the stage.

The plot of *Follow Your Dream* was created by its director Lo Duen, whereas the treatment and dialogue were co-written by Lo and Lee Sun-fung. Lo and Lee were high-school friends in Guangzhou and they shared a passion for film and drama. They studied together at the Guangdong Film Academy and apprenticed under Ouyang Yuqian at the Guangdong Drama Research Centre for three years, when they were actively involved in stage dramas. In July 1938, they formed The Times Troupe,[4] with the likes of Ng Wui, Lee Yuet-ching, Wong Hang, Cheung Ying, Ng Cho-fan as core members. Among them, Ng, Lee and Cheung starred in *Follow Your Dream*. This group of veterans would later evolve

into the creative mainstay of The Union and Sun Luen film studios.

The effect of *wen ming xi* (civilised plays) on early Chinese cinema was enormous. And yet it was Cantonese opera that influenced Hong Kong cinema the most, as singing was almost like a must in Cantonese films and most actors hailed from the stage. Lo Duen and Lee Sun-fung, as opposed to their peers, watched Hollywood movies such as *Way Down East*, *Ramona*, *Seventh Heaven* and *Sunrise*, and studied Western theatre and the ideology of Stanislavski.[5] Their works were basically marked by a realist aesthetics. The experience they accumulated on stage would lay the groundwork for their film career. Compared with Cantonese films of the day, theirs were more fleshed out and their acting closer to real life.

Likewise, the impact of Shanghai cinema on Lo Duen cannot be overlooked. The most notable examples were United Photoplay productions such as *Spring Dream in the Old Capital* (1930), *Flowers in the Wild* (1930) and *Big Road* (1934) directed and written by Sun Yu; and *Three Modern Women* (1933) scripted by Tian Han.[6] During the mid-1930s, Lo Duen lived in Shanghai for two years and wished to further his career there, so he made an effort to mingle with both the theatre and film people. That was a critical time when the nation was in crisis. The cultural sector championed 'national defence literature/drama/film' to answer the need of the day. The left-wing cinema and culture circles certainly had a bearing on Lo Duen who had harboured progressive thoughts. After his return to Hong Kong in 1936, Lo advanced his career in both film and theatre along similar lines. In 1940, he acted in the national defence film *Homeland under White Cloud* directed by Situ Huimin in Chongqing, where he felt the dire need for young people in nation-building. He thus began to conceive the plot for *Follow Your Dream*, with which he sought to encourage the younger generations to serve the homeland

and not to succumb to the comfort of colonial life in Hong Kong.[7] Filming started once he returned to Hong Kong, and in that same year Lo made another national defence film – *The Homeland in Turbulence* (1941), an adaptation of Chen Baichen's stage play, *The Devil's Hideout*. Research indicates that *Turbulence* gained critical acclaim while little had been written about *Follow Your Dream*. Today when I view these national defence works, they come across as dry and insipid as they tend to put the theme above all else. Regardless, *Follow Your Dream* breaks free from such confines and contains elements both serious and humorous. It is a vivid, realistic portrayal of life and the complexities of human psyche.

From the second half of the 19th century to the early 1920s, a community culture that took root in alleyways evolved in Shanghai, where old met new and East met West. The densely populated Hong Kong also witnessed an urban culture that involved multiple households – mostly everyday folks – living in the same compound in old tenement buildings. This unique pattern of communal existence became a common sight in 1950s and 60s Hong Kong cinema. Leftist ideology emphasised the collective strength of the working class. The aforesaid human and ethical network also lent itself to dramatic expression. The Dragon-Horse productions from the 1950s such as *The Dividing Wall* (Zhu Shilin, 1952) and *Between Fire and Water* (Zhu Shilin, 1955), The Union's *In the Face of Demolition* (1953), Sun Luen's *A Flowers Reborn* (Lee Sun-fung, 1953) and *Typhoon Signal No.10* (Lo Duen, 1959) are some all-time classics made against such a social backdrop. Considered in this context, the significance of *Follow Your Dream* in Hong Kong cinema history is definitely worth pondering. The film is a gem in that it isn't bound by the trappings of political ideology despite its progressive premise; it has shades of idealism and yet retains a clear understanding of the ways of the world.

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[Translated by Elbe Lau]

Notes

1 *Follow Your Dream* advertisement, *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, Hong Kong, Nov 4 1941 (Chinese only).

2 *Follow Your Dream* advertisement, *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, Hong Kong, Nov 11 1941 (Chinese only).

3 Lee Pui-tak, "To Ban and Counter Ban: Cantonese Cinema Caught Between Shanghai and Hong Kong in the 1930s", in Wong Ain-ling (ed.), *The Hong Kong–Guangdong Film Connection*, Hong Kong Film Archive, 2005, pp.30–49.

4 For more about Lo Duen and The Times Troupe, see Angel Shing, "Follow Your Dream: A Response to the Times", pp.86-89 in this book. Also refer to "The Times Troupe", first published in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 50, Mar 15, 1939, quoted in Law Kar and Frank Bren, *From Artform to Platform – Hong Kong Plays and Peformances 1900-1941,* Hong Kong: IATC, 1999, pp.66-68; Lo Duen, *Half a Century as a Lunatic*, Hong Kong: Xiangjiang Publishing, 1992 (Chinese only).

5 See Kwok Ching-ling, "Lo Dun: The Films of My Era", in Kwok Ching-ling (ed.), *Hong Kong Here I Come* (Oral History Series 1), Hong Kong Film Archive, 2000, p.123; Lo Duen, *Half a Century as a Lunatic*, op. cit., pp.29, 41.

6 Lo Duen, *Half a Century as a Lunatic*, op. cit., p.29.

7 "Lo Duen Directed and Wrote *Follow Your Dream*", in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 87, Dec 1, 1940 (Chinese only).

延伸閱讀

《天上人間》跟「時代」的呼應

// 盛安琪

在香港某街角，一幢四層高的唐樓中，住着來自五湖四海的一群人，當中有因廣州戰亂暫避香江的包租公包租婆，有扶老攜幼在報館賣文為生的窮知青，有靠賣藝來糊口的各式藝人，有為養家而淪落風塵的舞小姐，有攜母逃難來港尋兄的年輕女教師，他們的故事反映着戰時香港社會各階層的生活面貌；同時間，亦承載着一群電影工作者對祖國的關心和對時代的呼應。

《天上人間》（1941）的編導盧敦、製片駱克、寫分幕對白的李晨風，還有幕前演出的一眾演員如張瑛、吳回、李月清等，他們統統處身於紛亂的時代洪流中。從新文化運動的出現開始，舊文化舊思想受到衝擊，加上西方文藝思潮的引入，令年青的一代對新文藝尤其嚮往。像盧敦、李晨風和吳回等，早在1927年已報讀「廣東電影學院」，接受以西洋戲劇藝術理論為主的訓練。結業後，他們先與學院認識的同學組織一個名「呼喚劇團」的業餘話劇團，實踐其所學；接着，於1929年考進由著名戲劇家歐陽予倩創辦的「廣東戲劇研究所」。在學三年間，他們在唐槐秋、胡春冰、歐陽予倩等名家的指導下，於校內附設的小劇場演出不同的海內外劇作。1931年，廣東戲劇研究所在政治因素下停辦，但盧敦、李晨風等一班畢業學員仍繼續從事業餘話劇活動，並組織「近代演員團」，到學校去輔導演出，為推動廣東劇運而努力。

此後，這班熱衷於戲劇藝術的知識青年先後移居香港，並一邊參與香港的戲劇活動，一邊投身電影界發展。1937年，蘆溝橋事變，中國抗日戰爭全面爆發，盧敦、李晨風、吳回、區愛、王鏗等一班廣東戲劇研究所的留港同學隨即組織起「華南戲劇研究社」作救亡演出，宣傳抗日。1938年，華南改組為「時代劇團」，正如他們成立時所作的宣言：「我們沒有忘記：『時代劇團』是產生於這關係着整個民族存亡與抗戰中，因此我們沒有忘掉我們底使命，更沒有忘掉了我們肩頭上負擔的任務的重

大！」，[1] 劇團在港澳兩地時有公演，以戲劇去喚起時代的怒潮。而在片商的支持下，「時代影片公司」於1940年成立，並先後拍成《斬龍遇仙記》（盧敦首次執導影片，1940）和《阮氏三雄》（吳回和李晨風首次執導影片，1941）兩部在神怪和民間題材中滲進愛國意識的影片。曾有報導，《天上人間》將繼《阮氏三雄》開拍，為「時代」的第三部出品；[2] 後來雖不知何故變成中國聯業影片公司的出品，但台前幕後的工作人員基本上仍不離「時代劇團」的班底，內容上亦依舊關心社會，與時代並進。

隨着戰事的蔓延，香港淪陷，「時代」的一群職演員大多逃難到廣州灣的法租界赤坎，並以「明星話劇團」的名義，在廣州灣演戲。其後，眾人又輾轉逃亡到越南西貢、河內、金邊、星馬等地演出。[3] 及至日軍投降，二戰結束，各人才陸續回港，重回影圈。在百廢待興的情況下，盧敦率先在1949年成立「華南電影工作者聯合會」，繼而以兄弟班的方式，於1952年組成「新聯影業公司」。同年，吳楚帆等共21位影人又本着「人人為我，我為人人」的精神，組織「中聯電影企業有限公司」，凡此種種均為這群粵語電影工作者對社會、對時代關懷的一份延續。

注釋

1 見〈時代劇團　定期性的公演〉，《藝林》半月刊，第35期，1938年8月1日。

2 見〈時代第三片天上人間　盧敦任編導〉，《藝林》半月刊，第84期，1940年10月16日。

3 關於盧敦、李晨風等一班電影工作者參與話劇活動和戰時的經歷，可參閱：（1）盧敦：《瘋子生涯半世紀》，香港，香江出版，1992；（2）郭靜寧撰錄：〈盧敦：我那時代的影戲〉，郭靜寧編：《南來香港》（香港影人口述歷史叢書之1），香港，香港電影資料館，2000，頁119-133；（3）黃愛玲編，《李晨風：評論・導演筆記》，香港，香港電影資料館，2004；及（4）羅卡，〈影劇的互動——由盧敦說起〉，《信報》，2000年5月31日。

Extended Reading

Follow Your Dream: A Response to the Times

// Angel Shing

Somewhere in Hong Kong, there is a 4-storey tenement building inhabited by residents from all walks of life. There is the landlord and his wife who fled Guangzhou to escape the war, the impoverished writer with many mouths to feed, the nightclub hostess who sells herself to support her family, and the young schoolteacher who fled south and looked for her brother. Representing every strata of society, their stories reveal the true face of life in Hong Kong during wartime. At the same time, the film is a genuine response to the times by a group of filmmakers expressing their love for the motherland.

The writer-director, Lo Duen, the production manager, Lok Hark, the writer responsible for dialogue, Lee Sun-fung, and the actors such as Cheung Ying, Ng Wui, Lee Yuet-ching etc. – everyone involved in making *Follow Your Dream* (1941) lived through the turbulent period. Since the emergence of the New Culture Movement (1910 to 1920), traditional culture and values had been constantly challenged. The influx of western art and culture spawned a new generation inspired to create a new art movement. As early as 1927, future Hong Kong filmmakers Lo Duen, Lee Sun-fung and Ng Wui enrolled in the Guangdong Film Academy, for training based on western dramatic arts theory. After completing the course, along with fellow graduates, they formed the amateur theatre group, Calling Troupe to put their training into practice. In 1929, they were accepted to the Guangdong Research Institute for Dramatic

Arts founded by acclaimed dramatist, Ouyang Yu-qian. Over the next three years, they studied under such famed mentors as Ouyang, Tang Huai-qiu and Hu Chun-bing, and performed numerous plays, both domestic and foreign in the institute-run theatre. In 1931, the institute was shut down for political reasons. However, Lo Duen, Lee Sun-fung and their peers continued to be active in amateur theatre productions and founded the Contemporary Actors Group, dedicated to promoting Cantonese drama education in schools.

These young, educated dramatic arts enthusiasts later migrated to Hong Kong. They continued to be active in the local theatre scene even as they entered the world of the Hong Kong film industry. In 1937, the Macro Polo Bridge Incident sparked a full-scale conflict between China and Japan. In response, Lo Duen, Lee Sun-fung, Ng Wui, Au Oi and Wong Hang, former alumni now in residing in Hong Kong, formed the South China Drama Research Agency, performing for free in solidarity and patriotic support of the war effort. In 1938, the agency was reformed and was renamed The Times Troupe. As the troupe's founding manifesto stated, "We'll never forget that The Times Troupe was born in war with the fate of the nation at stake. We will not forget our mission or the weight of our responsibility!"[1] The troupe toured extensively in Macau and Hong Kong, hoping to capture the wartime zeitgeist and awaken patriotic fervor through theatre. The troupe went on to

found *Shidai Film Company* in 1940 with support from film distributors, and subsequently produced *Encounter with the Gods* (1940, Lo Duen's directorial debut) and *Three Heroes* (1941, Lee Sun-fung's and Ng Wui's directorial debut) – two folklore-based fantasy films infused with patriotic sentiments. After *Three Heroes*, Shidai Film Company was purportedly planning its third production, *Follow Your Dream*.[2] For reasons unknown, the film was produced under Zhongguo Lianye Film Company. However, as with the two previous Shidai pictures, the cast and crew were culled from the Times Troupe stable. Content-wise, *Follow Your Dream* was also infused with social consciousness, in step with the times.

With advent of war and the fall of Hong Kong, most of the Times Troupers fled to the French Concession in the Chikan district near Guangzhouwan. They continued to perform in the Guangzhouwan area under the new name, Stars Troupe. Later, the troupe continued to escape the war by touring in Saigon, Hanoi, Phnom Penh, Singapore and Malaysia.[3] When the Japanese surrender brought an end to WWII, the exiled filmmakers gradually returned to Hong Kong and rejoined the film industry. In 1949, with the city in ruins, Lo Duen was instrumental in founding the South China Film Industry Workers' Union. In 1952, he co-founded the Sun Luen Film Company, a non-hierarchical studio that prioritized the collective over the individual. In the same year, Ng Cho-fan and 20 other members of the film industry founded the Union Film Enterprise, a company that adopted the motto, "one for all, all for one." These efforts were an extension of the patriotism and social

consciousness of a generation of Cantonese film workers whose work reflected the times in which they lived.

Notes

1 "Regular Shows of the Times Troupe" *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 35, Aug 1, 1938 (Chinese only).

2 "Lo Duen Is to Write-and-Direct Shidai's 3rd Picture *Follow Your Dream*", in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 84, Oct 16, 1940 (Chinese only).

3 For more details about the wartime experience and touring efforts of Lo Duen, Lee Sun-fung and other film workers, please refer to: Lo Duen, *Half a Century as a Lunatic*, Hong Kong: Xiangjiang Publishing, 1992 (Chinese only); Kwok Ching-ling, "Lo Dun: The Films of My Era" in Kwok Ching-ling (ed.), *Hong Kong Here I Come* (Oral History Series 1), Hong Kong Film Archive, 2000, pp.134-140; Wong Ain-ling (ed.), *The Cinema of Lee Sun-fung*, Hong Kong Film Archive, 2004; Law Kar, "On Dramatic Interaction – Starting with Lo Duen", *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, May 31, 2000 (Chinese only).

越界築路：侶倫和圍繞《蓬門碧玉》的幾個故事

// 黃淑嫻

初次看《蓬門碧玉》（1942）有讓人難以定位的感覺。一方面是張活游浪漫激情的表演，實在令人措手不及。對於一般熟悉五、六〇年代粵語電影的觀眾，真的不能一下子調整過來，好像純情女孩子穿上性感的衣裳。更重要的一點是，現在我們能夠看到的三、四〇年代香港電影的機會太少了，腦海中沒有足夠的影像資料檔案幫助我們理解，所以一切都是新鮮的。我們忍不住一邊看一邊竊竊私語，咀嚼當中的細節，「嘩！你看！原來三〇年代的香港人已經吃罐裝克力架餅乾！」《蓬門碧玉》所散發的陌生感，既真實又遙遠，這正是它的吸引力所在。

《蓬門碧玉》是南洋影片公司出品，電影編劇和故事原作者侶倫曾寫道，電影在太平洋戰爭爆發前已拍攝完成，[1] 即1941年12月之前，現在香港電影資料館列出的放映日期為 1942年12月24日，電影是在香港淪陷期間正式公映。[2] 電影講述年輕美麗的黑麗拉（路明飾），家境窮困，在咖啡廳工作獨力支持家計，不時依靠咖啡廳股東之子嘉年奴的幫助，兩人關係曖昧。其後，作家于凡（張活游飾）與黑麗拉相愛，但于凡妒嫉心重，經常懷疑黑麗拉與嘉年奴的關係。于凡後來回內地發展，希望為二人的生活打好基礎，怎知在于凡離開之後，嘉年奴使計令黑麗拉失業，剛巧她又急需為鬧事被捕的弟弟籌措一筆賠償金，不得不去舞廳當舞女。于凡從內地回港，誤會她貪慕虛榮，兩人在誤解中分開。不久黑麗拉肺病加重命危，于凡在她臨終前趕到醫院，兩人冰釋前嫌。最後黑麗拉溘然離世，于凡感到無限的內疚。

這是一個愛情悲劇，一個風塵女子的悲慘故事，我們可以在三〇年代的上海電影找到類近題材的電影。老實說，如果單看故事的愛情主線，我們看不出電影的特點和可愛之處，其實《蓬門碧玉》不光是一個悲劇，它同時是一個非常有趣的喜劇。它是一男一女的愛情的電影，但亦是藝術家生活的寫照，這方面其實篇幅不少。它是一齣香港電影，但處處滲透着外國文化的痕跡。編導在處理這些不同的元素時，分寸拿捏得宜。相對於同時期的電影

張活游飾演浪漫多情的作家于凡
Cheung Wood-yau plays the romantic and passionate writer Yu Fan

舞女黑麗拉（路明）的角色原型來自小仲馬的《茶花女》
The prototype of the character of the taxi dancer Clara (Lo Ming) comes from *La Dame Aux Camélias* by Alexandre Dumas, fils

如《女性之光》（1937）和《南國姊妹花》（1939）等，《蓬門碧玉》更可以看到香港電影在文化混雜語境中的精彩嘗試。

侶倫的〈黑麗拉〉與〈迷霧〉

《蓬門碧玉》有這樣的特點，我們絕對有原因把功勞追溯到電影編劇及原作者侶倫（1911-1988）身上。侶倫是香港土生土長作家，在九龍出生，原名李觀林。我們現在比較關注他在五〇年代的長篇小說《窮巷》（1952），事實上，他1926年已經開始寫詩，[3] 三〇年代創作的小說非常好看，而且流行。有一封1948年的「讀者來信」，寫到戰前侶倫的小說在香港有「龐大的讀者」，更是「中上家庭不可缺少的讀物，獲得一般住在香港相當時候的青年男女的愛好」。[4] 藉此推測，當時喜歡侶倫的讀者都是較有知識水平的年輕香港人。不少評論者曾指出，侶倫的小說充滿異國情調，我們可以在《黑麗拉》小說集中清晰看到。[5]《黑麗拉》[6] 有七篇小說，包括〈黑麗拉〉（1937）、〈迷霧〉（1936）、〈絨線衫〉（1935）、〈鬼火〉（1937）、〈西班牙小姐〉（1936）、〈永久之歌〉（1937）和〈母親說的故事〉，當中有着濃濃的外國情調，例如〈西班牙小姐〉寫香港男子與居港西班牙姑娘的愛情故事；〈永久之歌〉寫德國男女的三角戀，但又連結起中國

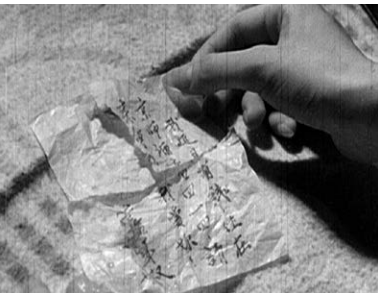
的背景。侶倫又擅於寫都市生活，寫中產家庭故事尤其出色，我認為〈絨線衫〉是結集中最精彩的作品，探討中產家庭夫婦的心理，互相猜疑，不敢外露。結構簡約，敘事一層一層的把人物複雜的心理揭露出來。

侶倫是第一代香港文學與電影互通的作家，他謙稱自己不是甚麼電影界的人，成功與否，不太上心。他寫道：「我在電影界裏工作，襲用一句當時的口頭語是『越界築路』。」[7] 這句說話，真有開天闢地的範兒。據香港電影資料館的資料，侶倫參與了10部電影的編劇工作。侶倫亦曾在南洋影片公司擔任宣傳部的工作。[8] 後來回想，他認為《蓬門碧玉》是他較滿意的電影作品，[9] 他在一文中寫到《蓬門碧玉》是從小說〈黑麗拉〉改編。無疑，電影主要的情節是由〈黑麗拉〉而來，但小說集的另一篇小說〈迷霧〉亦為電影提供了重要的情節。我們不妨視《蓬門碧玉》是從侶倫這兩篇小說一同改編而成。

小說〈黑麗拉〉是以男主角的第一稱敘事，因此小說多寫他對黑麗拉的感受。男主角細緻地說出他對黑麗拉的觀察，例如在雨中相遇一場，他脫下大衣給打顫的黑麗拉，小說是這樣寫道：「她嬌小的身子便裹在我的大衣裏面；觸着她只有半截衣袖的手臂，我好像摸到冰塊一樣。」[10] 電影也有這一場，但男主角敏感的性格改變了，換來是較年少衝動的個性。我們從另一個例子，可以更清晰的看到這個改變。電影到了最後，于凡從內地回來找不到黑麗拉，但竟然在舞廳重逢，他們的誤會推到高點，然後是兩人的永別。小說中的男主角是較有分析能力的，他從外地回港後，聽到別人中傷黑麗拉，說她是小娼婦等，他完全沒有相信，認為這只是嘉年奴的陰謀而已。反而，電影的男主角的性格是熱血但硬幫幫的，這樣的改動，無論是人物和情節都更富戲劇性。

因為是第一人稱敘事，小說〈黑麗拉〉只站在男主角的位置看事情，如果按照這樣改編，轉化為電影，會顯得局限。電影加

黑麗拉獨力負擔一家生計，墮入咖啡廳少東不道德的誘惑。
Supporting her family by herself, Clara succumbs to the temptation of the son of the café owner.



入了黑麗拉的角度，觀眾知道她的躊躇，而于凡不知。侶倫把〈迷霧〉的情節拉進來，為電影的女性角度提供了材料。《蓬門碧玉》有一場戲講到黑麗拉的內心掙扎，她回家看到嘉年奴靜靜放在她口袋內的字條，約會她到酒店，當然是引誘她作不道德的交易。本來黑麗拉是不屑一顧的，但想到家人急需金錢，她還是把撕碎的字條再拼合，呈現了她內心的矛盾。這一場戲在原著小說〈黑麗拉〉是沒有的，但正正是〈迷霧〉的刻心情節。〈迷霧〉以第三人稱敘事走進女主角正枝的內心，故事很簡單，交際花正枝晚上回家後，回憶自己在舞場上拒絕了有錢老闆而惹出的風波。其後，她在身上找到老闆約會她到酒店的字條，她撕掉後又拼回，因為想到藝術家男朋友正急需金錢治病。整個小說就是一個片段，最後完結在黎明時份，彷彿讓讀者感到她將會為男朋友而犧牲。侶倫巧手地把兩個小說結合，讓男女主角有充足的篇幅。有趣的是，〈迷霧〉比〈黑麗拉〉早出版約一年，論小說的藝術成就，〈迷霧〉是比〈黑麗拉〉高呢。[11]

在整本小說集中，老實說，〈黑麗拉〉的藝術水準不及其他作品高，但有趣的是，〈黑麗拉〉是絕對最適合改編為商業電影的。其他的作品都較偏重心理書寫，改編起來會較困難，缺乏追看性。小說〈黑麗拉〉分13節，我們可以看到基本上每一節就是一個電影場景，細節如下：

畫家及模特兒夫妻方華、莎莉跳脫開朗，為于凡的死黨。
The lively and cheerful painter and model couple Fong Wah and Sally are Yu Fan's buddies.

第1節：男主角在孔雀咖啡室遇見黑麗拉
第2節：二人在尖沙咀雨中相遇
第3節：男主角在ABC 咖啡店重遇調職的黑麗拉
第4節：黑麗拉在咖啡店向男主角傾訴身世
第5節：在ABC 咖啡店，男主角表示希望可以幫忙黑麗拉的生活
第6節：兩人看《茶花女》，感情大進
第7節：黑麗拉到男主角家，兩人互表愛意
第8節：二人在家中生活的情景
第9節：黑麗拉失蹤數天，男主角聽到謠言，心情大壞
第10節：二人在家爭吵，女的受傷。其後，二人和解，發生關係
第11節：二人美好的生活，但黑麗拉的病情惡化
第12節：男主角離開香港，二人在尖沙咀波士頓餐廳吃最後的晚餐
第13節：男主角回香港，黑麗拉已經在醫院奄奄一息

電影緊貼着小說的情節，可見原著小說在改編時的重要性。然而，正如前言所指出，《蓬門碧玉》不光是愛情悲劇，它同時是一個喜劇。侶倫的劇本忠於自己的小說外，還在主要的敘事中，穿插了藝術家生活的故事，令全片更吸引，沉重中有輕鬆的調子。此片有畫家、文學家和音樂家，讓觀眾看到當時藝術家們窮風流的生活。我特別喜歡他們一起進食的場景，喝咖啡、吃克力架餅乾，及買整條麵包回來一起高高興興的吃，這些生活細節強調了窮風流的藝術家不一樣的生活形態，寫實與否，可能不是最重要的了。

藝術家的窮風流—上舞廳「蓬恰恰」去，享西式茶點，開懷暢聚。
The Bohemian life of artists – dancing at the dance hall, enjoying western afternoon tea and having parties.

香港茶花女

〈黑麗拉〉的故事有着《茶花女》（*La Dame aux Camélias*, 1848）影子，這一點不難看到，不少看過的讀者亦曾提出這點。小仲馬（1824-1895）的作品非常流行，而且侶倫在〈黑麗拉〉內亦正面提到這個原型。《茶花女》在一九三〇年代之前曾經多次改編為默片，到了1937年，嘉寶（Greta Garbo, 1905-1990）主演的《茶花女》（*Camille*, 1936）應該是最為人津津樂道的了。相信電影對侶倫的小說和《蓬門碧玉》都有影響。

侶倫的〈黑麗拉〉那種男性懺悔式的敘事聲音，明顯是回應了《茶花女》男主角阿爾芒。但因為在不同的語境下創作，法國的文本與香港的文本有很多不同之處，其中一個重要的分別是，法國版二人分開的原因，主要是來自男主角的父親，因為階層問題父親私下勸阻茶花女離開，放棄這段感情。香港的文本，無論是小說和電影，男女主角分開的原因都是因為黑麗拉家貧而無可奈何地當舞女，于凡性格多疑而因此引來重重的誤會，再加上她身體虛弱之故，強勢父親的形象並沒有出現，就算連有錢人嘉年奴都不是太過父權式的人物。黑麗拉的命運，始終與茶花女不一樣。

侶倫的焦點是男女愛情，在他的筆下，男女主角的社會地位較平等，階層問題不是他們分開的原因。看結集中其他的小說，

于凡羡妒衝動，不理解黑麗拉的苦衷。
Jealous and impetuous, Yu Fan fails to understand Clara's difficulties.

例如〈西班牙小姐〉、〈永久之歌〉和〈母親說的故事〉，我們都可以感受到侶倫浪漫感性的風格，男女之間的愛情是一生一世的，哪怕最後是因戰亂或死亡而分開。他在《黑麗拉》小說集中的幾個小說都是發表於1935-1937年之間，而集子出版是在1941年，正是他所說是「在烽火連天的時候，這本小書的出現是很不和諧的」，[12] 他的小說選擇把愛情放在前景，好像張愛玲的〈傾城之戀〉一樣。在大時代中，在個人與社會之間，他還是選擇了個人。

侶倫的〈黑麗拉〉當然會同時受到中國小說的影響，但以《茶花女》為線索，我們可以看到以下的關連。小仲馬的《茶花女》是受到法國小說《瑪儂．萊斯科》（*Manon Lescaut*, 1731）的影響而寫成，《茶花女》的男女主角的愛情故事就是由這本書揭開。而法國的《茶花女》影響了香港的侶倫創作他的〈黑麗拉〉，小說的暢銷及美國電影的改編，引來香港電影的關注，《蓬門碧玉》就在這層層疊疊的故事下衍生出來。

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注釋

1 侶倫：〈我的劇本和影片——《我與電影界》續完〉，《向水屋筆語》，香港，三聯書店，1985，頁172。

2 侶倫在上註中所述的文中提到，《蓬門碧玉》聞說在淪陷期間曾放映，這項資料需要進一步考證。

3 侶倫的文學創作年表，可參考許定銘：〈侶倫著述史料編年〉，《侶倫卷》，香港，天地圖書，2014，頁390-400。此年表根據溫燦昌的〈侶倫創作年表簡編〉修訂編成，見《八方文藝叢刊》，第9輯，1988年6月號，頁66-81。

4 華嘉：〈侶倫的小說——冬夜書簡〉，黃仲鳴編：《侶倫作品評論集》，香港，香港文學評論出版社，2010年，頁57。原刊於《文匯報．文藝週刊》第15期，1948年12月26日。

5 例如見盧瑋鑾：〈侶倫早期小說初探〉，黃仲鳴編：《侶倫作品評論集》，香港，香港文學評論出版社，2010，頁66-80。原刊於《八方文藝叢刊》，第9輯，1988年6月號。

6 侶倫：《黑麗拉》，上海及香港，中國圖書出版公司，1941。

7 侶倫有三篇文章直接寫到他的電影工作，請參看侶倫：〈我與電影界〉、〈在電影圈裏——《我與電影界》續話〉、〈我的劇本和影片——《我與電影界》續完〉，《向水屋筆語》，香港，三聯書店，1985，頁164-174。引文見〈我與電影界〉，頁164。

8 侶倫表示他一共寫了十多個電影劇本，有三兩個劇本沒有拍出來，見〈我的劇本和影片——《我與電影界》續完〉，頁171。

9 其餘侶倫較滿意的兩部是《弦斷曲終》（1943）和《大地兒女》（1945），見〈我的劇本和影片——《我與電影界》續完〉，頁172-173。

10 侶倫：〈黑麗拉〉，《黑麗拉》，上海及香港，中國圖書出版公司，1941，頁5。

11 〈迷霧〉收入新出版的《侶倫卷》，許定銘編，香港，天地圖書，2014，頁127-144。

12 侶倫：〈序〉，《黑麗拉》，上海及香港，中國圖書出版公司，1941，頁2。

"Building Roads Across the Boundary": Lui Lun and Several Stories Related to *The Rich House*

// Wong Shuk-han, Mary

The first time I saw *The Rich House* (1942), I did not know what to make of it. On the one hand, the romantic and passionate performance of Cheung Wood-yau came as a total surprise. Viewers familiar with Cantonese films of the 50s and 60s would have a hard time adjusting. It's like seeing an innocent girl wearing sexy clothes. More important, we rarely get to see Hong Kong films from the 30s and 40s nowadays. Thus, there is not enough image data in our mind to help us understand them, so everything looks new. While watching, we couldn't help but whisper and marvel at the details. "Wow! Look! Hong Kong people were already eating crackers packed in a tin in the 30s!" The strangeness of *The Rich House* is both real and distant. That is where its charm lies.

The Rich House was produced by Nanyang Film Company. According to the screenwriter and author of the original story Lui Lun, it was completed before the outbreak of the Pacific War,[1] that is, before December 1941. The release date now named by the Hong Kong Film Archive was December 24, 1942, meaning that it was only officially released after the fall of Hong Kong.[2] The film tells of the young and beautiful Clara (played by Lo Ming) from a poor family who works in a café to support her family, and receives help from the client Carlito from time to time. The two have a dubious relationship. Later, writer Yu Fan (Cheung Wood-yau) falls in love with Clara. But he is jealous and suspicious of her relationship with Carlito. He returns to

the mainland to work in order to build a future for the two of them. After he leaves, Carlito pulls tricks to make Clara lose her job. Desperate to find money as compensation for trouble made by her brother, she is forced to become a taxi dancer. When Yu Fan comes back from the mainland, he misjudges her as being materialistic and the two break up due to misunderstandings. Later, when Clara is dying from a lung disease, Yu Fan rushes to the hospital. After clearing up their misunderstanding, Clara dies, leaving a deeply remorseful Yu Fan.

This is a tragic love story about a girl working as a hostess. We can find similar themes in Shanghainese films of the 30s. Frankly, if we only look at the main love plot, we can't see what is special and endearing about this film. Actually, *The Rich House* is not just a tragedy, it is also a hilarious comedy. While it is about a love affair, it also depicts the life of artists in great depth. It is a Hong Kong film with plentiful traces of Western culture. These different elements were deftly handled by the director and screenwriter. Compared with other contemporary films such as *The Light of Women* (1937) and *Twin Sisters of the South* (1939), *The Rich House* is an even more remarkable experiment in a hybrid cultural context.

Lui Lun's *Clara* and *The Fog*

We certainly have cause to credit these characteristics of *The Rich House* to Lui Lun (1911-1988), the screenwriter

and author of the original story. Born in Kowloon, Lui Lun's real name was Lee Kuan-lam. While his novel *Dead End* (1952) from the 50s is more notable today, he started writing poetry in 1926,[3] and his novels in the 30s were not only readable, but also extremely popular. A "letter from a reader" dated 1948 talked about the "large readership" of his pre-war novels in Hong Kong, and said that they were "indispensable to middle and higher-class households, beloved by young people who had lived in Hong Kong for some time".[4] From this, we can gather that Lui Lun's readers were more educated young Hong Kongers. Many critics have highlighted the exotic touch of his novels. This is clearly evident in the "Clara" collection of short stories.[5] Clara[6] consists of seven stories, including *Clara* (1937), *The Fog* (1936), *Woolen Sweater* (1935), *Will-o'-the-wisp* (1937), *Spanish Girl* (1936), *The Eternal Song* (1937) and *Stories Told by My Mother*. Some of them show a rich exotic flavor. For instance, *Spanish Girl* is a love story between a Hong Kong man and a Spanish girl living here. *The Eternal Song* tells a German love triangle against a Chinese background. Lui Lun was skilled at depicting city life, and was particularly good at stories about middle-class families. In my view, *Woolen Sweater* is the best work in the collection, exploring the psychology of a middle-class husband and wife who suspect each other but dare not show it. With a simple structure, the plot reveals the complex psychology of the characters layer by layer.

Lui Lun was the first generation of Hong Kong writers active in both the literary and film circles. However, he modestly said he did not belong to the film industry, so he

did not mind whether he was successful or not. He wrote, "I worked in the film industry. As a saying at the time goes, I was 'building roads across the boundary'."[7] This suggests a kind of pioneering work. According to the data of the Hong Kong Film Archive, Lui Lun wrote the scripts of ten films. He had also worked in the publicity department of Nanyang Film Company.[8] In retrospect, he thought he was comparatively satisfied with the screenplay of *The Rich House*.[9] In an article, he mentioned that it was adapted from his story *Clara*. While the main plot was undoubtedly taken from *Clara*, *The Fog*, another story from the collection, also provided important elements for the film. We can think of *The Rich House* as being based on both stories.

In the novella *Clara*, the hero is the first-person narrator. Thus, it is full of his feelings about Clara. He describes his observations of Clara in detail. During an encounter in the rain, he takes off his coat and gives it to the shivering Clara. The novella goes like this, "Her petite figure was wrapped in my overcoat; touching her half-bare arm, I seemed to be touching a piece of ice."[10] This scene is also in the film. But the male protagonist's sensitivity is replaced by a more impetuous personality. We can see this change more clearly from another example. Towards the end of film, Yu Fan comes back from the mainland but cannot find Clara. When they meet by chance at the dance hall, the misunderstanding between them reaches a climax, and then they part forever. In the novella, the male protagonist has more analytical power. After returning to Hong Kong, he doesn't believe in the slander that calls Clara a little whore, thinking that it is Carlito's trick. However, the hero in the

film is hot-blooded but stubborn. This change makes the character and the plot more dramatic.

Since it is a first-person narrative, the novella *Clara* only sees things from the male protagonist's angle. If this is translated into film, it will limit the point of view. With Clara's point of view added to the film, the audience know about her hesitations, while Yu Fan is ignorant of them. Lui Lun incorporates the plot of *The Fog* to provide material for the feminine angle in the film. One scene of *The Rich House* reveals the inner struggles of Clara. After returning home, she sees the note that Carlito slipped into her pocket asking her to meet him at a hotel, with the suggestion of an indecent bargain. At first, she treats it with disdain. But when she thinks of her family desperately in need of money, she pieces together the torn note, thus showing her inner conflict. This scene is absent from the original story of *Clara*, but is a key scene in *The Fog*. The latter uses a third-person narrative to reveal the inner thoughts of the heroine Ching-chi. The story is quite simple. After returning home at night, the escort girl Ching-chi recalls the row that broke out when she turned down a rich boss at the dance hall. Later, she finds a note from the boss asking her to meet him at a hotel. She tears it up and then pieces it together, when she remembers her artist boyfriend who's in need of money to get medical treatment. The whole novella is just an episode. It ends at dawn, when it is hinted that she will sacrifice herself for her boyfriend. Lui Lun skillfully combines the two novellas to give sufficient treatment to both the male and female protagonists. Interestingly, *The Fog* was published one year earlier than *Clara*. In terms of artistic merit, it is

superior to the latter.[11]

Actually, the quality of *Clara* is not as high as other works in the short story collection. But it is the one most suited to be adapted into a commercial film. Since other works place more emphasis on interior characterisation, it would be more difficult to adapt them into a gripping drama. The novella *Clara* consists of 13 chapters. Each chapter is basically a movie scene, as indicated below:

Chapter 1: The writer meets Clara at the Peacock Café
Chapter 2: They meet in the rain in Tsimshatsui
Chapter 3: The writer runs into Clara who has been transferred at the ABC Café
Chapter 4: Clara tells him her life story in the café
Chapter 5: At the ABC Café, the writer offers to support Clara
Chapter 6: While watching *Camille*, they fall in love
Chapter 7: Clara goes to the writer's home and they profess love for each other.
Chapter 8: Domestic life of the hero and heroine
Chapter 9: Clara disappears for a few days. The writer is in a bad mood after hearing rumours.
Chapter 10: They quarrel at home. Clara is injured. Later, they make up and have sex.
Chapter 11: The blissful life of the couple. But Clara becomes more seriously ill.
Chapter 12: The writer leaves Hong Kong. They have dinner one last time at Boston Restaurant in Tsimshatsui.
Chapter 13: The writer returns to Hong Kong. Clara is already dying in hospital.

The fact that the film closely follows the novella shows the importance of the original story in the adaptation. However, as mentioned before, *The Rich House* is not just a tragic love story, but also a comedy. Apart from being faithful to his own story, Lui Lun's script intersperses the main narrative with portrayals of the life of artists, making the film more appealing and light-hearted despite its heavy subject. The film features painters, writers and musicians, showing the audience the Bohemian life of artists. I particularly enjoy the scenes of eating, such as drinking coffee, eating crackers and bringing a whole loaf of bread home and eating it together happily. These details of life emphasize the alternative lifestyle of artists. Whether they are realistic or not may not matter so much.

A Hong Kong Camille

The story of *Clara* contains echoes from *La Dame Aux Camélias* (1848). This is not hard to recognize, as many readers have also pointed it out. The novel by Alexandre Dumas, fils (1824-1895) was very popular. In *Clara*, Lui Lun also referred to this prototype positively. *La Dame Aux Camélias* had been adapted into many silent films prior to the 1930s. The version *Camille* starring Greta Garbo (1905-1990) in 1937 was probably the most talked about. It was likely that this film had an influence on Lui Lun's novella and *The Rich House*.

The confessional male narrative voice of Lui Lun's *Clara* clearly recalls Armand from *La Dame Aux Camélias*. But since they were written in different contexts, there are great differences between the French text and the Hong Kong

text. One important difference is that the reason for the breakup of the couple in the French version is the hero's father. Due to class difference, he privately convinces Camille to leave and give up this love. In the Hong Kong text, whether it is the novella or the film, the breakup is preordained by Clara being forced to work as a hostess due to poverty, the suspicious personality of Yu Fan, which lead to multiple misunderstandings, as well as her poor health. The domineering father is absent. Even the rich Carlito is not a patriarchal figure. Clara's fate is different from Camille after all.

Lui Lun's focus is on the love story. He portrays the hero and heroine as more equal in social status. Class is not the reason that separates them. If we look at other stories in the collection, such as *Spanish Girl*, *The Eternal Song* and *Stories Told by My Mother*, we can recognize the romantic and sentimental style of Lui Lun. Romantic love lasts forever, even if the couple is separated by war or by death. Several stories in the "Clara" collection were published between 1935 and 1937, while the collection was published in 1941. As he said, "While the war is raging, the publication of this little book is extremely ill-timed."[12] His novellas put love in the forefront, just like Eileen Chang's *Love in a Fallen City*. In those turbulent times, he had chosen the personal above the social.

Lui Lun's *Clara* was undoubtedly also influenced by Chinese fiction. However, with *La Dame Aux Camélias* as a clue, we can make the following connections. Alexandre Dumas, fils wrote *La Dame Aux Camélias* under the influence

of the French novel *Manon Lescaut* (1731). The love story of *La Dame Aux Camélias* unfolded from the plot of this novel. In Hong Kong, Lui Lun's Clara was influenced by the French novel *La Dame Aux Camélias*. The popularity of the novel and its adaptations into American films also attracted the attention of the Hong Kong film industry. Hence, *The Rich House* was evolved from a range of sources.

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[Translated by Christine Chan]

Notes

1 Lui Lun, "My Screenplays and Films – The Film Industry and I, concluding part", *Notes from Heung Shui Uk*, Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1985, p.172 (Chinese only).

2 Ibid. Lui Lun mentioned that he was told that *The Rich House* had been screened during the fall of Hong Kong. This information needs further verification.

3 For the timeline of Lui Lun's literary works, see Hui Ting-ming, "The Chronology of the Works of Lui Lun", *Selections of Lui Lun's Works*, Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, pp.390-400 (Chinese only). This chronology was edited from Wan Tsan-cheong, "A Concise Chronology of Lui Lun's Works", *Bafang Literary Journal*, Vol. 9, Jun 1988, pp.66-81 (Chinese only).

4 Wah Ka, "Lui Lun's Novels – Letter on a Winter Night", in: Wong Chung-ming (ed.), *Criticisms of Lui Lun's Works*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literature Study Publication, 2010, p.57. The original letter was published in *Wen Wei Po, Literary and Arts Weekly*, Issue 15, Dec 26, 1948 (Chinese only).

5 For example, see Lo Wai-luen, "Exploring Lui Lun's Early Novels", in Wong Chung-ming (ed.), *Criticisms of Lui Lun's Works*, op. cit., pp.66-80. Originally published in *Bafang Literary Journal*, Vol. 9, Jun 1988 (Chinese only).

6 Lui Lun, *Clara*, Shanghai and Hong Kong: China Book Company, 1941 (Chinese only).

7 Lui Lun made direct references to his film work in three articles. See Lui Lun, "The Film Industry and I", "In the Film Circle - The Film Industry and I, part 2", "My Screenplays and Films – The Film Industry and I, concluding part", *Notes from Heung Shui Uk*, op. cit., pp.164-174. Quote from "The Film Industry and I", p.164.

8 Lui Lun said he had written more than ten film scripts, but two or three of them were not filmed. See "My Screenplays and Films – The Film Industry and I, concluding part", op. cit., p.171.

9 The other two screenplays he was more satisfied with were *Broken Strings* and *Children of the Earth*. See "My Screenplays and Films – The Film Industry and I, concluding part", op. cit., pp.172-173.

10 Lui Lun, *Clara*, op. cit., p.5.

11 *The Fog* is included in the recently published *Selections of Lui Lun's Works*, Hui Ting-ming (ed.), op. cit., pp.127-144.

12 Lui Lun, "Preface", *Clara*, op. cit., p.2.

延伸閱讀

關於原作者與編劇侶倫

// 盛安琪

1

《蓬門碧玉》（洪叔雲導）乃南洋影片公司於淪陷前拍成的電影，但由於戰事的爆發，1942年12月才獲安排公映。影片的編劇為香港新文學作家侶倫，故事則改編自他1937年寫成的短篇小說〈黑麗拉〉。[1] 過往，不少研究本地文學的學者會將這小說視為侶倫早期的代表作之一，並對其同期作品進行不同的研究和分析。[2] 今趟從美國三藩市尋回的《蓬門碧玉》，因為是目前館藏唯一有影像可看的侶倫編劇作品，故對研究者而言，這發現更是彌足珍貴。正如資深的電影研究者黃愛玲所說，《蓬門碧玉》可談之處甚多，除了比對電影與原著的異同外，更引發其對上海、香港的雙城思考。[3]

2

侶倫在三、四十年代涉足影壇之前，已活躍於文壇、報界。現將侶倫的生平簡述如下，以作參考。

侶倫（1911.9.30-1988.3.26），原名李觀林，又名李霖，祖籍廣東寶安，生於香港，為家中長子，父親行船。因家境不佳，早在八歲時已輟學。北伐戰爭時期，曾到廣州參加國民革命軍，並在軍中當小書記。國共分裂後，回到香港，開始積極投入寫作。1928年10月15日出版的香港新文藝雜誌《伴侶》第五期中，《初吻專號》的〈試〉，便是目前能找到他最早的一篇作品。同期，他開始以「侶倫」（取「李霖」諧音）作為筆名。此後，他還用過貝茜、林風、李林風、林下風等筆名寫作。1931年，加入《南華日報》，先編輯附屬於報紙的畫報周刊，後擢升為該報的文藝副刊編輯。及至1937年，抗日戰爭爆發，侶倫因《南華日報》轉向成親日派報紙而辭職。接着，他轉入電影界，並先後在合眾影業有限公

司和南洋影片公司任編劇。期間編寫過的電影作品包括《如意吉祥》（李化導，1938）、《風流債》（蔣愛民導，1938）、《強盜孝子》（仰天樂導，1940）、《蓬門碧玉》、《弦斷曲終》（高梨痕導，1943）、《大地兒女》（楊工良導，1945）等。其中，《大地兒女》這部「國防電影」更險些令他遭到殺身之禍。1942年，侶倫成功逃離佔領區，並隨大批愛國文化人轉移東江，在廣東紫金當小學教師。抗戰勝利後，侶倫回到香港，亦有撰寫電影劇本，作品包括《情深恨更深》（洪叔雲導，1947）、《諜網恩仇》（任彭年導，1948）、《怪俠飛天龍》（顧文宗導，1949）和《好事成雙》（楊工良導，1955）；並續以賣文維生，期間完成長篇小說《窮巷》（1948）。這部原於《華商報》上連載的小說，以反映社會低下層的面貌為題，被譽為侶倫從浪漫主義轉向寫實的一部代表作。1955年，侶倫重投報界，與友組織香港采風通訊社。此後三十年，侶倫主要從事新聞工作，但期間他仍堅持不懈，執筆寫作。從二十年代到八十年代，凡六十年，一直活躍文壇，見證着香港新文學的發展。[4]

注釋

1 這短篇小說首先發表於《朝野公論》，第2卷第12期及第13期，香港，朝野公論社，1937年6月20日、7月5日。1941年7月，再收錄於上海中國圖書公司出版的同名小說集內。

2 關於侶倫早期作品的研究，可參閱盧瑋鑾：〈侶倫早期小說初探〉，《八方文藝叢刊》，第9輯，1988年6月號，頁55-63。

3 參閱黃愛玲：〈《蓬門碧玉》點滴談〉，《通訊》，第70期，香港，香港電影資料館，2014年11月，頁3-6。

4 更多關於侶倫的生平資料，可參閱溫燦昌：〈侶倫創作年表簡編〉，《八方文藝叢刊》，第9輯，1988年6月，頁66-81。

Extended Reading

About Author and Screenwriter Lui Lun

// Angel Shing

The Rich House, a Nanyang Film Company production directed by Hung Suk-wan, was completed prior to the Japanese invasion of Hong Kong in 1941. With the onset of war, the film release was delayed until December 1942. The screenwriter Lui Lun, adapted his own short novel, *Clara*[1] for the screen. Lui was a major figure in Modern Hong Kong Literature and much research has been conducted on his works from this period.[2] Many Hong Kong literary scholars consider *Clara* a classic example of his early work. For researchers, the recent discovery of *The Rich House* in San Francisco is even more precious because the film is the only surviving example of Lui's screenwriting efforts that the Archive has been able to secure. As veteran film critic and researcher Wong Ain-ling wrote, *The Rich House* offers us much to discuss; from the differences between the adaptation and the original to the intricate relationship between Shanghai and Hong Kong.[3]

When he entered the film industry in the late 1930s, Lui was already an established writer and journalist. To offer some context, a brief biographical account of his life follows:

Lui Lun (September 30, 1911 – March 26, 1988) was born Lee Goon-lum (aka Lee Lum) in Hong Kong, with ancestral roots in Bao'an, Guangzhou. He was the firstborn son. His father was a sailor. Due to poverty, he left school early by the age of 8. During the time of the Northern

Expedition (1926-28), Lui traveled to Guangzhou and joined the National Revolutionary Army as an administrative clerk. After the alliance between the Nationalists and Communists fell apart, Lui returned to Hong Kong and began actively pursuing a career in writing. The article "Test" featured in the "First Kiss Edition" of the local literary magazine *Companion* (Issue 5, Oct. 15, 1928) is his earliest cited work. Around the same time, he adopted the pen name "Lui Lun" (it rhymed with his given name "Lee Lum") but later, also published under many other pseudonyms, including Betsy, Lum Fung, Lee Lum-fung and Lum Ha-fung. In 1931, Lui was hired by the local newspaper *South China Daily News*. Initially, he served as an editor for the newspaper-owned magazine but was later promoted to the post of chief editor of newspaper's literary section. In 1937, the Second Sino-Japanese War erupted. Lui resigned from *South China Daily News* because of the paper's pro-Japanese stance. He turned to the film industry for work, serving as the in-house screenwriter for such companies as Hezhong and Nanyang. His writing credits during this period include *Felicity and Luck* (1938; directed by Lee Fa), *The Price of Amour* (1938; directed by Chiang Oi-man), *The Thief Who Is a Filial Son* (1940, directed by Yeung Tin-lok), *The Rich House, Gone with the Song* (1943, directed by Ko Lei-han) and *Children of the Earth* (1945; directed by Yeung Kung-leong). The last film was a patriotic film that promoted national security, and literally put a target on his back. In 1942, after escaping from the Japanese-

occupied territory, Lui joined a large collective of patriotic writers and artists migrating to the Dong River region. He settled in Guangdong's Zijin County where he worked as a primary school teacher. After the war, Lui returned to Hong Kong and wrote sporadically for the screen. His later screenwriting credits include *More Love, More Bitter* (1947; directed by Hung Suk-wan), *Behind the World of Secret Agents* (1948; directed by Yam Pang-nin), *Flying Dragon, the Strange Hero* (1949; directed by Ku Wen-chung) and *Blessings Come in Pairs* (1955; directed by Yeung Kung-leong). During this period, he continued to work as a newspaper editor while completing his novel, *Poor Alley*. Originally published as a serial in *Hua Shang Daily* [Hong Kong], *Poor Alley* explored the lower strata of society and was considered a groundbreaking work, marking a shift from romanticism to realism in his writing. In 1955, Lui teamed up with a group of friends and founded an independent news agency named Choi Fung News Agency. Over the next 30 years, Lui focused on being a journalist but never stopped from writing creatively. He remained an active member of the literary community from the 1920s to the 1980s, serving as a living testimony to the development of Modern Hong Kong Literature.[4]

Notes

1 The novella was first published in *Universal Forum*, Hong Kong: Universal Forum Society, Vol. 2 / Issues 12 & 13 (Jun 20 & Jul 5, 1937). It was included in the short story collection published under the same name by China Book Company, Shanghai, in Jul 1941 (Chinese only).

2 To learn more about studies on Lui Lun's early works, please refer to Lo Wai-luen, "An introduction to Lui Lun's Early Novels" in *Bafang Literary Journal*, Vol. 9, Jun 1988, pp.55-63 (Chinese only).

3 Wong Ain-ling, "Some Thoughts on *The Rich House*", *Newsletter,* Hong Kong Film Archive, Issue 70, Nov 2014, pp.3-6.

4 For more information about Lui Lun, please refer to Wan Tsan-cheong, "A Concise Chronology of Lui Lun's Works", in *Bafang Literary Journal*, Vol. 9, Jun 1988, pp.66-81 (Chinese only).

從奢華到貧乏：一雞兩味的《苦鳳鶯憐》

// 何思穎

《苦鳳鶯憐》（1941）之趣味盎然，是多方面的。粵劇名家馬師曾扮演大偵探，歌手張月兒扮演其妻，二人在片中打情罵俏，針鋒相對，可謂香港電影史上最富姿彩的銀幕夫妻之一。本片改編自一部著名的同名粵劇，馬師曾相信因此劇而走紅，此劇又因馬師曾而為人所熟悉。[1]

不過，電影內容與原著粵劇截然不同。[2] 據報載，原著故事講述一被誣一俠義的女子彩鳳和鶯娘的故事，片名因而有「苦鳳」、「鶯憐」四字；[3] 電影主角則縱情於高端的生活模式。在原著粵劇中馬師曾扮演義丐，更因此角色而走紅，紅得後來其「乞兒腔」為人所吹捧。但在電影中，馬師曾非但不窮，更過着奢華的生活，不必幹粗活，他是個風流偵探，像福爾摩斯般有型，不是那種鬼祟的私家偵探。至電影末段，他又成了乞丐，劇情完全扭轉過來，非常戲劇化。

電影肆意強調馬師曾的奢華生活——頭髮永遠蠟得四正，量身訂造的西裝永遠筆挺；夫婦二人住的是現代化裝潢的大宅，西式半身雕塑在牆上映照出巨型剪影，體現出三十年代荷里活流行的「前黑色電影」表現主義色彩。這種生活模式，與我們熟悉的、視這種生活為腐敗甚至醜陋的五十年代粵語片大相逕庭。電影與原粵劇故事的低下階層設定相去甚遠，最後又重回低下階層設定，如此安排煞是巧妙。

偵探與妻子這段特別的夫妻關係，顯然是參考自荷里活片《風流偵探》（*The Thin Man*, 1934）。《風流偵探》是一部美國經典，但也是一部滄海遺珠，雖然多年來獲得不錯的評價，導演雲狄克（W.S. Van Dyke）卻一直不被影評人或學者視為大導演。曾有人這樣形容他：「是個忠誠有效率的片廠導演，以

馬師曾飾演面「懶」心精的冷面偵探，生活奢華，住現代化大宅，總是以無懈可擊的造型出場。
Ma Si-tsang plays the blank faced detective, indulges in upscale Westernised lifestyle and presented himself as an unbeatable strategist.

拍片速度快和缺乏個人風格著稱」；[4] 美國電影作者論教父沙理斯則在其名著《美國電影》中，把雲狄克歸入無關痛癢的「雜錄」（Miscellany）一欄，並指他「以粗心匆忙而聞名」，不過「或許正是這種粗心和匆忙令……《風流偵探》有種輕鬆的魅力」。[5] 此外，這部電影也不屬於受學者或評論重視的類型——它是個犯罪故事，但不能算作符合黑色電影；它是部喜劇，卻不及差利卓別靈或巴斯特基頓的默片那麼創新，也不如鬥氣式喜劇（screwball comedy）般充滿社會顛覆性。

《風》之所以獲得喜愛和好評，並非因為導演技法了得或類型表述出色，而是因為角色多彩，但這並不包括英文片名中Thin Man的角色。弔詭的是，《風流偵探》系列中的Thin Man其實只是個小角色，第一集甫出場已被殺，但因為電影太受歡迎，接連拍了五部續集，而偵破Thin Man謀殺案的風流偵探（威廉鮑威爾〔William Powell〕飾）碰巧又身型瘦削，Thin Man這個綽號從此就跟這個偵探角色不可分割了。

《風流偵探》1934年在港上映後七年，馬師曾在《苦鳳鶯憐》（1941年拍成）[6] 中扮演了香港版風流偵探。《風》令人樂道之處是角色之間的火花，主角鮑威爾和梅娜萊（Myrna Loy）把夫妻關係詮釋得淋漓盡致，堪稱經典。這也難怪，電影改編

《苦鳳鶯憐》向荷里活寶座佳作《風流偵探》取經，《風》表面包裝成偵探小說，骨子裏卻是鬥氣式喜劇，威廉鮑威爾和梅娜萊成影史上數一數二的銀幕夫妻檔。
Referencing on Hollywood film *The Thin Man*, the film is in fact more a screwball comedy than a detective thriller. William Powell and Myrna Loy together made one of the most memorable portraits of husband-and-wife rapport in cinema history.

自著名黑色小説作家漢密特（Dashiell Hammett）的同名作品，據稱是漢密特根據自己與長期伴侶、名劇作家麗蓮海爾曼的關係所寫；而電影的編劇克格特（Albert Hackett）和古德列治（Frances Goodrich）碰巧也是著名的夫妻檔。[7]

《苦鳳鶯憐》中馬師曾和張月兒的夫妻關係，顯然是以鮑威爾和梅娜萊為藍本，看起來趣味盎然。他們可謂香港電影史上最令人難忘的銀幕夫妻之一，全片打情罵俏，互相調笑又針鋒相對，表現出夫妻之間的關愛和深厚感情，無懼兩性衝突和性格差異。他們的關係不像典型的中國式婚姻，二人有一套充滿現代性的相處方式，相信絕不反映四十年代的真實狀況，反而有一份刻意呈現新的婚姻關係的感覺。[8]

無可否認，香港電影歷來充斥着大量抄襲外國電影之作，舊酒新瓶固然「慳水慳力」，同時亦是持續邁向西化和現代化過程的一種表現。疾呼自由戀愛的作品，在近代中國文學和粵語片屢見不鮮，《苦》在自由戀愛外再跨出一步，介紹了一種超出觀眾想像的反傳統婚姻關係。

偵探夫妻（馬師曾、張月兒），打情罵俏，針鋒相對，但總是床頭打交床尾和，展現一種現代性的婚姻。

The detective and his wife (played by Ma Si-tsang and Cheung Yuet-yee) engage in witty banter throughout the film, going at each other with flirty insults and teasing wisecracks.

《苦鳳鶯憐》作出了一些調整，大概是為了獲得觀眾共鳴。首先是片名。本片雖然內容調皮輕快，片名卻保留了原著劇名的文藝悲情，「鳳」、「鶯」為片中兩位女主角的名字，年輕的阿鳳的確命苦，片末父親被殺，而鶯姐也的確憐惜阿鳳，予以協助。以樣板的文藝式片名滿足了觀眾後，電影便展露出輕鬆的一面，給觀眾介紹新派的夫婦相處之道。

然後，正如上文所說，連馬師曾也要妥協，電影末段劇情一轉，大偵探被迫放棄高尚生活，扮成乞丐流連陋巷。這一段的演出，讓他彷彿回到大戲台上，華衣美髮盡去，換來衣衫襤褸，頭髮蓬鬆，更遇上一群掙扎求存的露宿者。如此一來，最重要是讓馬師曾重操故業，變回大家最熟悉的貧窮的他，甚至以招牌乞兒腔高歌一曲（片中他更親口說自己「曉唱馬師曾喉」）。

回到熟悉的環境、人物形象和唱腔，不僅是要忠於原著，因為單靠相同的片名和報章廣告的宣傳伎倆已可達到。這樣做更是要體現分歧的東西可以共存，甚至是整合——富與貧、熟悉與創新、傳統與現代、電影與粵劇、香港與荷里活、東方與西方……

馬師曾假扮乞丐查案，高歌招牌「乞兒腔」名曲〈余俠魂訴情〉，一饗戲迷。
Ma Si-tsang seizes the chance to strut his stuff with his signature Beggar Sound and perform his most popular piece of the time, "Love Confession at the Temple".

從風光大偵探到無家的乞丐，從擁抱上流生活到記念草根，如此精神分裂的劇情轉折，除了明顯的票房考慮之外，亦標誌着求同存異的關鍵就在於取捨、同化與融合。

香港、中國內地，以至亞洲大部分地區的現代史，都充滿着各種適應的過程。我們為了追趕發達國家的步伐，無所不用其極地調整自己的文化，使之與權力更貼近。我們對傳統做法提出質疑，嘗試效法西方，經過多年的磨合和調節，我們了解到某些做法可以或需要接受、某些做法則可以或需要捨棄。然而，這些嘗試可能破壞力驚人。二十和四十年代的國共內戰，某程度上就是中國人嘗試在資本主義和共產主義這兩個西方概念之間作出選擇，死者數以百萬計。

馬師曾本人亦以破舊立新著稱，全身投入務求將粵劇推向高峰。據說在三十年代，即《苦鳳鶯憐》一劇走紅後數年、電影版還未出現之前，馬師曾一度雄心壯志地發起粵劇現代化運動，計劃製作打破傳統的表演，結果觀眾不受落，慘淡收場，只好收起激進的改革念頭。[9]

馬師曾及其電影製作班底改編《苦鳳鶯憐》時，成功將兩種迥然不同的生活方式放進同一個故事中，兩種方式看似互不協調，卻又確實並存。但說到將西方模式調節成本土傳統模式，我們這位本土風流偵探就比荷里活片有進步之處——威廉鮑威爾和

梅娜萊的角色是對恩愛夫妻，但在美國嚴厲的電影製作守則及業界的審查制度下，竟要分床而睡；反觀香港片《苦鳳鶯憐》，馬師曾和張月兒則可同床共枕，甚至在床上嬉戲呢！

翻譯：杜蘊思

本文改寫自筆者較早前刊於香港電影資料館《通訊》（第69期，2014年8月）的另一文章〈高端與底層：戰前香港電影的幾點觀察〉，在此感謝編輯組為兩文提供研究資料。

何思穎 資深策展人，曾任香港電影資料館節目策劃。

注釋

1 粵劇版的《苦鳳鶯憐》在文獻中常被引用為馬師曾走紅之作，作品本身亦因此在粵劇史上佔上席位。雖然有證據顯示此劇確實令馬師曾一劇成名，但筆者沒能找到此劇約二十年代首次公演時的原始資料，無從證實。另有一說是在此劇之前馬師曾的人氣已越見高企，這一點有待進一步研究。

2 原著粵劇的資料主要採自三、四十年代的報章報道，惜執筆時未能找到近代的報道和歌詞劇本。

3 片名的「憐」字，既可解作「憐憫」，亦可解作「可憐」。「憐憫」的意思似乎較貼近電影版，而粵劇版則以「可憐」的意思較為恰當。

4 見'Trivia and Fun Facts About The Thin Man', http://www.tcm.com/this-month/article/133586%7C0/Trivia-The-Thin-Man.html。

5 見Andrew Sarris, *The American Cinema: Directors and Directions, 1929–1968*, New York: Da Capo Press, 1996, 頁266 - 267。

6 《苦鳳鶯憐》要待到戰事結束後，1947年才於香港上映。

7 見'Filmsite Movie Review: The Thin Man', http://www.filmsite.org/thin.html。漢密特和海爾曼的關係在文學界引起頗多議論，也曾在改編自海爾曼小說《原畫再現》（*Pentimento*）的電影《茱莉亞》（*Julia,* 1977）中被拍出來，令飾演漢密特的謝遜羅伯斯（Jason Robards）奪得奧斯卡男配角獎。

8 《風流偵探》雖不是大製作，影響卻不小，活地亞倫的《曼克頓神秘謀殺案》（*Manhattan Murder Mystery,* 1993）、五十年代同名電視劇集和七、八十年代好幾輯夫妻檔電視劇集都向它致敬，近年更有公司計劃重拍並由尊尼特普主演。與本文討論更相關的或許是改編自漢密特另一小說《馬爾他之鷹》（*Maltese Falcon*）的《女魔王》（*Satan Met a Lady,* 1936），不過相比1931年版和《群雄奪寶鷹》（*The Maltese Falcon,* 1941）兩部同樣據《馬爾他之鷹》改編的荷里活作品，《女魔王》則採用了與《風流偵探》類似的輕鬆調子。

9 粉面十三郎：〈馬師曾粵劇革命大失敗〉，《伶星》廣州版，第56期，1933年2月10日，頁17-20。

From Lavishness to Poverty: Dramatic Plot Twists in *Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole*

// Sam Ho

Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole (1941) is fascinating in more ways than one. The film features one of the most colorful married couples in the history of Hong Kong cinema, with Cantonese opera star Ma Si-tsang playing a master detective and singer Cheung Yuet-yee as his wife, rollicking in witty banter, flirty insults and delicious wisecracks. It is adapted from a popular Cantonese opera of the same Chinese title, which likely made Ma famous and which in turn was made famous by him.[1]

Yet the film is apparently very different from the original.[2] While the original opera, according to newspaper accounts, focused on the suffering of two female characters – hence the "bitter" and the "sorrowful" in the title[3] – the film indulges in the upscale lifestyle of the detective and his wife for much of its length. In the opera, Ma played a beggar, a character which, as mentioned earlier, made him famous. So famous, in fact, that his singing was known thereafter, often affectionately, as the Beggar Sound. But in the film, not only is Ma's character not poor, he actually leads a leisurely life, exempt from back-breaking work or leg-fatiguing duties. He is a detective, the soft-boiled kind in the same vein as Sherlock Holmes or Hercule Poirot and not the gum-shoed kind like Philip Marlowe or Sam Spade. He does become a beggar at one point, but in a highly dramatic plot twist that switches the film onto very different gear in its last segment.

The film goes out of its way to highlight the swanky lifestyle of Ma's detective. He is finely coiffed and fetchingly drabbed

in tailored suits. He lives with his wife in a spacious home handsomely appointed in mostly Western-style furnishings, complete with sculptured busts that cast giant shadows on walls, realizing the kind of proto-noir expressionism found in 1930s Hollywood. Such a lifestyle is a far cry from the 1950s Cantonese cinema we are familiar with, which frequently associates wealth and high living with corruption, even evil. The film's departure for much of its length from the downscale setting of the original and eventual return to it is illuminating.

The unique relationship between the detective and his wife is obviously based on the Hollywood film *The Thin Man* (1934). The latter is an American classic. A minor classic, in that, although much admired and apparently enjoyed throughout the years, it was made by a director not considered by critics and scholars as an auteur – one W.S. Van Dyke, known primarily as a "loyal and efficient house director" marked by "speed and impersonality with which he cranked out projects",[4] whom Andrew Sarris, godfather of American auteurism, consigned to the less-than-remarkable category of "Miscellany" in his all-important tome *The American Cinema*, noting that Van Dyke has a "reputation for carelessness and haste" but that "perhaps carelessness and haste are precisely the qualities responsible for the breezy charm of… *The Thin Man*".[5] The film also does not belong to a genre that lends itself to handy readings in philosophical, sociological and/or aesthetic terms. It is a crime story, but hardly qualifies as film noir; it's a comedy, but not nearly as groundbreaking as Chaplin-Keaton silents or as socially subversive as the screwball funnies.

The Thin Man was loved and esteemed not for its directorial excellence or profound genre expressions but for its characters. And, as a testimonial to the magic of film art, those characters do not include the one in the title!

In one of cinema's many ironic delights, the title character that gives rise to the *The Thin Man* series is a minor character who dies early in the original. The film was so popular that five sequels were made and, since William Powell, who plays the soft-boiled detective who solves the murder of the title character, was fortuitously lissome, the Thin Man moniker was kept and Powell's character became bonded to the series title.

It is this later Thin Man that Ma Si-tsang plays in *Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole*, made seven years (but not released in Hong Kong until after the war, in 1947) after *The Thin Man* was shown in Hong Kong in 1934,[6] the same year of the latter's American release. As mentioned above, *The Thin Man* was treasured for its characters. It's also relished for the chemistry between characters. The relationship between Powell's detective and his wife, played by Myrna Loy, is so breezily charming that it is now considered one of the most memorable portraits of husband-and-wife rapport. No wonder: it was adapted by the husband-and-wife team of scriptwriters Albert Hackett and Frances Goodrich from a novel of the same title by famed noir author Dashiell Hammett, who supposedly based *The Thin Man* on his own relationship with his long-time partner, the renowned playwright Lillian Hellman.[7]

The relationship between Ma and his leading lady Cheung Yuet-yee is obviously modeled after Powell and Loy. Like

Powell, Ma plays a detective. Like Loy, Cheung plays the detective's wife. Together, they make one of the most unique and memorable married couples in the history of Hong Kong film. Taking after the American detective and his wife, Ma and Cheung engage in witty banter throughout the film, going at each other with flirty insults and teasing wisecracks. It is obvious theirs is a devoted marriage and the sneering repartees are at once expressions of their affections and a process through which they cement their love, exercising fond feelings while exorcising tensions of gender and personality differences inherent to marriages. This is not a typical Chinese marriage, but a very modern one in which husband and wife relate to each other in their own terms. It is far from likely a realistic portrayal of 1940s marital relationships, but more an attempt to project an alternative picture of the ideal marriage.[8]

The landscape of Hong Kong cinema throughout its history is densely decorated with copycat works that borrow generously from foreign films. No doubt attempts to milk proven success for ready entertainment, they are also part of an on-going effort to come to terms with modernity and westernisation. We are familiar with Chinese literature and Cantonese cinema's cry for free love – no, not the push for sexual liberation in the West in the latter half of the 20th Century, but the wish of young people in China in the first half of that century to love and marry the persons of their own choices. *Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole* goes one step further, extending audience imagination beyond free love by celebrating an alternative marriage that does not conform to tradition.

That celebration is made with adjustments likely aimed at connecting with the local audience. First of all, the title. The film, despite its prevalent glee and playfulness, retains the melodramatic title of the original opera. There is actually truth in advertisement, at least with the Chinese title – perhaps better translated as "Sorrowful Phoenix, Sympathetic Oriole". One of the film's major female characters is named Phoenix and another, Oriole. Phoenix is indeed sorrowful, for her father is revealed to be murdered near the end, and Oriole is indeed sympathetic, offering the young girl support. Once the obligation for familiar melodrama is satisfied, the film revels in its lightheartedness, introducing its newfound model of marriage to the audience.

Then, as mentioned above, Ma has to surrender his lifestyle, albeit temporarily. In an awkward plot twist, the detective is forced in the last section of the film to flee his luxurious surroundings and pose as a beggar on the other side of the track. There, he indulges in a performance that seems to have taken him back to the opera stage of the original. Gone are the fashionable, prime-cut wardrobe and greased, groomed hair, replaced by tattered clothes and disheveled manes. He runs into a lineup of colourful characters who live on the street, each doing whatever it takes to survive. Perhaps most importantly, Ma is given an opportunity to resume his well-known downtrodden persona, back to an environment of poverty to present a song from the original in his signature Beggar Sound. A line of dialogue even has him self-reflexively declares: "I can sing in the Ma Si-tsang Sound!".

Such a reversion to the familiar – the environment, the

persona, the tune – is more than just an attempt to connect the film to its original, a task readily fulfilled by the title and obligatory marketing measures such as newspaper advertisement. It also animates a co-existence and even an integration of the divergent of rich and poor, familiar and novel, tradition and modernity, film and opera, Hong Kong and Hollywood, East and West... The schizophrenic awkwardness of that drastic plot twist from the detective's splendid living to one of a homeless panhandler, switching from a celebration of upper-class lifestyle to a commemoration of lower-depth roots, in addition to the obvious box-office considerations, also signifies efforts to choose, to assimilate or to mix.

The modern history of Hong Kong, China and much of Asia is a history of dramatic adaptations. In trying to catch up with the developed world, the people of this land had been trying frantically to adjust their cultures to the powerful forces that had descended upon them. Questions were raised about traditional ways and attempts were taken to emulate the West. Throughout the years, the people never stopped trying to get adjusted, adopting modern ways with which they were comfortable and abandoning others that they were not. The efforts could be devastating. The Civil War of China in the 1920s and 1940s, for example, was in some regards the Chinese people's attempt to choose between capitalism and communism, both Western ideas. Millions were killed in that attempt.

Ma Si-tsang himself was well known as a maverick devoted to pushing the limits of Cantonese opera. In the 1930s, a few years after *Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole* became a hit on the

opera stage and a few years before the film version was made, it was reported that he had launched an ambitious campaign to modernise opera, with plans to put on shows that challenged established conventions. That effort failed miserably – rejected by audiences, at times fervently – and he was forced to tone down his reforming ways.[9]

And in adapting *Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole* to film, Ma and his fellow filmmakers managed to embrace two divergent lifestyles in the same story. They may seem incongruous to one another, but they co-existed. But adjusting Western ways to local traditions also gave our own Thin Man a leg up on his Hollywood source of inspiration. The Powell and Loy characters, loving couple that they are, have to sleep on separate beds, prohibited by America's strict Production Code from spending the night on the same piece of furniture. But in Hong Kong's *Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole*, Ma and Cheung are free to sleep – and frolic in slapstick fun – on the same luxurious bed!

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(This article is an adaption of "The Thin Man and the Bohemians: Discoveries in Pre-war Hong Kong Films", an earlier one I wrote for *Newsletter*, Hong Kong Film Archive, Issue 69, August 2014. Also, special thanks to the Editorial team for providing research material for this and the earlier effort.)

Notes

1 The opera *Sorrowful Phoenix, Sympathetic Oriole* is frequently cited in literature as the work with which Ma Si-tsang shot to fame and itself had thus been afforded a place in Cantonese opera history. Though evidence strongly suggests that the opera had indeed contributed greatly to Ma's rise in popularity, I had not been able to consult primary-source material of the time when the opera was first staged, presumably in the 1920s, to confirm that the opera had in fact catapulted Ma to fame. Other reports suggest that Ma was already enjoying a steady growth in fame before *Sorrowful Phoenix, Sympathetic Oriole*. Suffice it to say that further research is warranted.

2 Information of the opera is based on newspaper reports, mostly from the 1930s and 40s but none from the contemporary period, and not from the libretto, which is unavailable at time of writing.

3 The Chinese adjective that describes the Oriole in the title – *lian* in pinyin – can mean both "sympathetic" and "sorrowful". The use of "sympathetic" is more appropriate for the film, while the use of "sorrowful" may be more appropriate for the opera.

4 "Trivia and Fun Facts About *The Thin Man*", tcm.com. http://www.tcm.com/this-month/article/133586%7C0/Trivia-The-Thin-Man.html.

5 Andrew Sarris, *The American Cinema: Directors and Directions, 1929-1968*, New York: Da Capo Press, 1996, pp.266-267.

6 The film was not released in Hong Kong until after the war, in 1947.

7 "Filmsite Movie Review: *The Thin Man*", http://www.filmsite.org/thin.html. The relationship between Hammett and Hellman is by turns celebrated and maligned in the literary circle and is portrayed in the film *Julia* (1977), based on Hellman's book *Pentimento*, for which Jason Robard won an Oscar playing Hammett.

8 *The Thin Man*, despite its relatively low budget, had been very influential, spawning homages such as Woody Allen's *Manhattan Murder Mystery* (1993), an American television series of the same title in the 1950s and several husband-and-wife comedy series in the 1970s and 1980s. A remake starring Johnny Depp had also been planned. More appropriate to our discussion here is *Satan Met a Lady* (1936), based on the novel *Maltese Falcon*, also written by Hammett, but, unlike the hard-boiled adaptations of 1931 and 1941, takes on the light-hearted, breezy approach of *The Thin Man*.

9 Title of the article is "Big Failure of Ma Si-tsang's Cantonese Opera Reform" written by Fenmien Shisanlang, *Ling Sing*, Guangzhou, Issue 56, Feb 10, 1933, pp.17-20 (Chinese only).

延伸閱讀

馬師曾粵劇戲寶《苦鳳鶯憐》

// 吳君玉

《苦鳳鶯憐》是馬師曾（1900-1964）在1924年參加人壽年班演出的劇目，原編劇為駱錦卿。故事講述奸夫毛實學勾搭貴婦馮二奶，二人串通謀殺馮二奶的親夫，又陷害侄女馮彩鳳，令其夫馬元鈞誤會妻子紅杏出牆。鳳被逐出家門，幸遇上名妓崔鶯娘憐其身世，聯同撞破二人奸情和陰謀的義丐，往官府告狀，鳳終沉冤得雪。

此劇開演之初，馬師曾原被派演奸夫毛實學的角色，但這角色既難演得好，亦不能發揮他「網巾邊」（男丑）戲路的特長。結果新戲演出的反應平平，馬師曾於是另闢蹊徑。他看中戲中本來不起眼的乞兒角色，於是爭取與駱錦卿的徒弟陳醒威掉換角色來演，並自編曲詞，自創「乞兒喉」（又名「檸檬喉」），亦極力模仿乞丐的神態，結果由於他扮相和神情動作都神似，唱腔亦很新穎，令觀眾耳目一新，大受歡迎。本來這角色出場不多，他演戲的那場主要是敘述他去找在馮家為傭的姊姊借錢拜山，撞破一對奸夫淫婦的陰謀而有一番演唱。後來由於馬師曾的演出大受歡迎，迫得駱錦卿亦要修改劇本，遷就馬師曾的戲路和加重他的戲份。而馬師曾亦憑戲中義丐余俠魂一角在粵劇界嶄露頭角，當中一段他自撰的【長句中板】〈廟遇訴情〉（又稱〈余俠魂訴情〉）的唱段，傳誦至今。[1]

當年人壽年班演出時，是由千里駒、嫦娥英、馬師曾等主演。後來馬師曾對劇本多次加工，精煉情節，突出余俠魂、崔鶯娘的俠義情懷。[2] 戰後馬師曾以勝利劇團的班牌名演出，《苦鳳鶯憐》為劇目之一，馬、紅（線女）主演，飾演「苦鳳」馮彩鳳的是後來在影壇以演出潑辣、惡毒老角聞名的馬少英（即馬笑英）。[3]

改編電影方面，這部南洋影片公司1941年拍製、1947年

上映，號稱「名劇改編偵探奇情巨片」（片頭標語）的同名電影，顯然劇情與原劇大相逕庭，當中異同不在此贅述。商人採用馬師曾戲寶之名作為片名，明顯是為招徠粵劇戲迷。儘管情節改頭換面，但將馬師曾首本名曲完整保留銀幕上，今天看來，可說保存戲曲文化有功。

再過十年，再有另一部同名電影面世。1957年，該劇由馬、紅帶領廣東粵劇團在廣州演出後，同年香港的越光影業公司將此劇搬上銀幕，由蔣偉光導演，羅劍郎飾馬元均（鈞）、梅綺飾馮彩鳳、鳳凰女飾崔鶯娘，飾余俠魂的則是丑生王梁醒波。根據載於該電影特刊的電影本事，可見此影片劇情較接近原著，電影廣告更宣傳謂「舞台不朽名劇首次搬上銀幕」、「梁醒波飾余俠魂　成個老馬」。[4] 當年電影亦有好評：「情節雖有改動，但觀眾仍可看到原劇的主要精神」，[5] 可惜此電影目前未見有拷貝留存，劇情的演變和梁醒波的演繹，暫未有影像資料可供回顧。

注釋

1 有關馬師曾演出此劇的歷程，以及此劇的故事梗概，參考余伯樂：〈馬師曾的戲劇生涯〉專欄，《新晚報》，載於1956年3月1日至1956年9月26日；〈苦鳳鶯憐〉及〈馬師曾〉條目，《粵劇大辭典》編纂委員會編：《粵劇大辭典》，廣州，廣州出版社，2008，分見於頁116、866-867；廣東粵劇院：《粵劇藝術大師馬師曾百年誕辰紀念文集》，北京，中國戲劇出版社，2000；黎鍵：《香港粵劇敘論》，香港，三聯書店，2010。

2 〈苦鳳鶯憐〉條目，《粵劇大辭典》編纂委員會編：《粵劇大辭典》，同上。

3 准將：〈苦鳳鶯憐．馬師曾．馬少英〉，《伶星》香港光復版，第16年第236期，1946年3月9日，頁7。

4 《苦鳳鶯憐》電影廣告，《華僑日報》，香港，1957年12月12日。

5 李慕長：〈苦鳳鶯憐〉，《大公報》，香港，1957年12月17日。

Extended Reading

Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole – the Ma Si-tsang Cantonese Opera Classic

// May Ng

Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole is a 1924 Good Harvest Cantonese Opera Troupe production, featuring Ma Si-tsang (1900-1964). Originally written by Lok Kam-hing, the opera tells the story of Fung ("Phoenix") who is framed by an adulterous aunt and her lover, Mo. They later murder Fung's uncle. After Fung is banished by husband, she encounters famed courtesan Ung ("Oriole"), who sympathizes with her predicament. With the help of a beggar, who uncovers the adulterous couple's evil plot, Ung and Fung petition the authorities and eventually clear Fung's name.

When the opera was first performed, Ma Si-tsang played the role of the adulterous lover, Mo. It was a difficult role and failed to showcase Ma's talent for playing Nan Chou ("male clown's role" in Cantonese opera tradition). When the production received lukewarm response from the audience, Ma decided to take a different approach. He eventually focused on the minor role of the beggar, originally played by Chan Sing-wai, a student of the opera writer; Ma decided to switch roles with Chan and even wrote a number of songs for himself. He also developed a new singing style known as the "Beggar Vocal" (also known as the "Lemon Vocal") and worked hard to capture the mannerisms and spirit of the beggar character. In the end, his remarkably convincing performance along with his new vocal style, brought him popular acclaim. In the original opera, the beggar character has few scenes. His one key scene involves a visit to his sister who works as

a maid in the household of the adulterous aunt. Hoping to borrow money from his sister so that he can visit the gravesite of their parents, the beggar accidentally uncovers the adulterous couple's evil plot. That is when the beggar character gets to sing a full song. Due to the popularity of Ma's performance, the opera writer, Lok revised the script, expanding the role of the beggar and tailoring it to suit Ma's performance style. The beggar role (Yu Hup-won) established Ma's name in the Cantonese opera world. One of the beggar's songs written by Ma, "Love Confession at the Temple" (also known as "Yu Hup-won's Love Confession") continues to be a topic of conversation among performers and enthusiasts even today.[1]

Qin Lei-kwui, Sheung Ngo-ying and Ma were the leads of the opera when it was first staged by the Good Harvest Troupe. Ma continued to revise the script, streamlining the plot and highlighting the chivalrous nature of the beggar and the courtesan characters.[2] After the war ended, Ma renamed his touring opera troupe, "Victory Troupe" and added *Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole* to the repertoire, this time starring Hung Sin-nui and Ma. Fung was played by Ma Sui-ying, an actress who later became known for playing the role of the evil shrews in numerous movies.[3]

A film was produced under the same title in 1941 and released in 1947. Described as "a sensational detective-mystery film adapted from the opera classic" (in the film's

title sequence), the film has absolutely no relationship to the opera. It was obviously a marketing tactic by the investors to name the film after Ma's opera classic in order to draw the opera audience into movie houses. However, the film does feature the legendary Ma performing some of his most famous songs. Today, the film serves as a remarkable document that preserves the cultural heritage of Chinese opera.

A decade later, yet another film was produced under the same name (released under the English title, *Pity the Poor Girl*). In 1957, even as Ma and Hung completed a tour of Guangzhou with the Guangdong Cantonese Opera Troupe, the Yueguang Film Company in Hong Kong released a film adaptation of the opera. Directed by Chiang Wai-kwong, the film version starred Law Kim-long in the role of Kwan (Fung's husband), Mui Yee in the role of Fung, Fung Wong Nui in the role of Ang and Leung Sing-po – the King of Nan Chou – in the role of Yu the beggar. The synopsis from film's promotional pamphlet suggests that this latest adaptation is more faithful to the opera than the original film. Slogans for the film even read "the classic opera dramatized on the silver screen for the first time" and "Leung Sing-po as Yu Hup-won has been transformed into the old Ma."[4] The film also received positive reviews: "although the plot has been altered, audiences can still see the essence of the original opera."[5] Unfortunately, there are no surviving prints of the film available for us to be able to compare the differences in the plot and Leung Sing-po's interpretation of the beggar role.

Notes

1 For information related to Ma's involvement in the production of the opera and the opera synopsis, please refer to: Yu Bak-lok, (Column:) "The acting Career of Ma Si-tsang", *The New Evening Post*, Hong Kong, Mar 1-Sep 26, 1956; "*Bitter Phoenix, Sorrow Oriole*" and "Ma Si-tsang", *Cantonese Opera Art Lexicon*, Cantonese Opera Art Lexicon Committee (ed.), Guangzhou: Guangzhou Publishing House, 2008, pp.116 & 866-867; *Collected Writings in Commemoration of the Centennial of the Birth of Cantonese Opera Maestro Ma Si-tsang*, Guangdong Opera Institute (ed.), Beijing: China Drama Press, 2000; Lai Kin, *A Discourse on Hong Kong Cantonese Opera Art*, Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 2010 (Chinese only).

2 "Bitter Phoenix, Sorrow Oriole", *Cantonese Opera Art Lexicon*, op. cit. (Chinese only).

3 Wai Choeng. "*Bitter Phoenix, Sorrow Oriole* – Ma Si-tsang – Ma Siu-ying", *Ling Sing,* Hong Kong, 16th year, Issue 236, Mar 9, 1946, p.7 (Chinese only).

4 The film's printed ad featured in *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, Hong Kong, Dec 12, 1957 (Chinese only).

5 Lee Mo-cheung. "*Bitter Phoenix, Sorrow Oriole*", *Ta Kung Pao*, Hong Kong, Dec 17, 1957 (Chinese only).

《南島相思曲》的單思和傷思

// 羅卡

《南島相思曲》在1947年出現可算是戰後香港電影的異數。影片寫南洋發生的故事：來自香港的富家子（王豪）在抗戰中受傷，戰後遵父命去到印尼爪哇休養，和熱情的土生華女（季禾子）戀上並私訂終身，卻遭頑固老父（盧敦）拆散。另一暗戀她的馬來土生（姚萍）卻化妒為愛，和她一道去香港尋夫。寫南洋華人故事的港片在五十年代拍了不少，本片早在戰前1938年就有人籌拍，直到戰後初期才得以拍成，因此《南島相思曲》在南洋題材的開發上起着先鋒作用，細讀之下又察覺它有着某種「顛覆性」。

《南》片不但寓寫中國和南洋文化的交匯衝擊，台前幕後也有着南北影人合作和影劇文化交流的特色。監製翁國堯是香港四達片場老闆，糾合編導譚新風和攝影、錄音、助導等粵語片班底首次改拍國語片。演員中，王豪是由重慶歸來的資深影劇人；姚萍是馬來亞華僑，戰前已活躍於國粵語片界；季禾子是來自內地戲劇界的新秀；演侍從的吳家驤、未婚妻的羅碧霞也來自國語影劇界；演老父的盧敦、叔父的李亨、旅館賬房的李鳴（後易名良鳴）在廣州從事影劇、之後來香港發展，但片中都說國語。可以說，這是戰後各地影劇人復員回港後較早的一次交匯合作。

在此先交待一下抗戰前後香港電影的情況。1937年全面抗戰爆發，上海的資金、演員開始南移香港拍製國語片；不少劇團在內地巡迴演出宣傳抗日後都來到香港，以此為中站再往南洋演出，亦有不少團員留港演出話劇、電影謀生。這都使得國語舞台劇和電影在港獲得生機，而南北影劇藝人的交流合作也在1937到41年間持續進行。

香港富家子盧經倫（王豪）到印尼爪哇休養，和土生華女荷花（季禾子）譜出南洋戀曲。
Rich Hong Kong heir Lu Jinglun (Wang Hao) goes to Java, Indonesia to recuperate and falls in love with an Indonesian-born Chinese woman (Ji Hezi).

同期，香港粵語片也在南來人材、資金的激匯下迅速壯大，市場也隨着內地移民的大增而旺盛起來。抗戰一方面推動了內地人和內地文化向海外擴散，另一方面，敵愾同仇又強化了海外華人對華語電影的需求，這都使得粵語片在南洋的流通更廣。自1930年代有聲粵片生產後，港片一向倚靠南洋市場，至此，和南洋華人的關係更形密切。

國民政府為求統一一向提倡國語，因而對粵語片存有偏見：政治上，南京政府極力提防廣東地方勢力和中央對抗；文化上，又認為粵語片趣味低級庸俗，影響風化。1936至1937年間，南京政府一度下令禁止粵語片在內地公映。經多次交涉請願，卒在1937年6月獲准緩禁三年。[1]但國府排斥港片的行動陸續有來，抗戰期間，認為粵語片充斥着「風花雪月」、「神怪離奇、誨淫誨盜」毒素，加強電檢控制之餘又發動輿論嚴厲批評。勝利後，國府重申戰前對粵語片的禁令，使得香港電影界裹足不前，1946年間拍成公映的六部新片中，有五部是南來影人拍製的國語片，主要供應內地。戰後首部粵語片《郎歸晚》公映於1947年1月下旬，由於南洋市場反應熱烈，不必在內地上映也能賺錢，本地片商才敢陸續製作粵語片。可以說，是南洋觀眾的支持使得被國府壓制的粵語片絕境逢生。

荷花的南洋造型及熱情歌舞，盡展異國風情。
Lotus' Southeast Asian look and hot singing and dancing are full of exoticism.

《南島相思曲》原來在1938、40年間已籌拍過三次，但都沒有成事。香港的《藝林》半月刊1938年第38期報導了南粵公司因內部問題進行大改組，拍攝中的《南》片要停頓。[2]《藝林》1939年1、2月提及《南》片將改由民族公司拍攝，[3] 並在五至七月間多次專文報導其籌備和開拍，說是由君嘯自編自導，劇本根據他多年前在新加坡寫出的長篇小說改編，「以南洋熱帶地方做背景」、「以音樂歌唱為中心」，請得由上海載譽歸來的陳雲裳擔當女主角，計劃分拍粵、國、英語三個拷貝。[4] 八月再傳出陳僅拍了三天即趕回上海，引致「南島相思曲流產」。[5] 但1940年，又有報導說大觀公司要開拍《南島相思曲》，由湯曉丹執導、張瑛主演云。[6]《南》片經歷一波三折仍有人接續籌拍，可見此片的題材故事有吸引人之處，亦約略見到38、39年間港片市道的旺盛，跨地區、文化題材乘時而興。

戰後再拍的《南島相思曲》又如何呢？從譚新風編導的《南島相思曲》影片本身，可以看到這並非急於迎合市場的投機庸俗之作。雖然戰後元氣尚未恢復，器材缺乏、製作條件不佳，卻可看到種種局限下的努力用心。白英才當年是與何鹿影齊名的攝影師，在佈光、構圖、前後景對比上都見心思。服裝、佈景、音樂雖仍嫌簡陋，但已做到頗有異國情調氣氛，特別是荷花（季禾子）的土著服飾和歌唱對她的熱情性感造型幫助不少。飾土生樂師古高的姚萍出生馬來亞，有聲樂底子，演技和他的彈唱技巧一樣結實。反而王豪演的熱血文藝青年性格未曾寫出，無甚表現。

從佈景、服飾及音樂舞蹈，建立影片的文化定位。
The film's cultural background is established through the sets, costumes, music and dance.

譚新風的編導技巧仍嫩，雖有創意，往往表現不足。把背景安放在爪哇想是要突出荷花的單純和喜愛歌舞，然而土風歌舞場面拍不出水準。但一些細節安排頗佳；王豪初抵爪哇家門，李亨説出有不少文化人、革命志士來過南洋，又介紹牆上掛着的皮影戲公仔，為影片的文化定位起到點睛作用。荷花唱出填上中詞的南洋歌曲、和王豪談中國時事和歌樂，見出她心懷祖國而傾慕於中國來客的情意，就是不錯的開始，但往後的情投意合寫得仍不足夠。片中處理得較好的，我認為是姚萍眼見王豪、季禾子就要結婚而暗自傷感的場面，由兩人歡欣雀躍、他呆坐彈奏轉場為二人行婚禮，而姚的表情一直呆若木雞，影像轉接得如真似幻，適切表達出他的恍惚心境。就可惜影片轉入他陪伴荷花到香港尋夫的段落拍得粗糙，到王豪知情趕返爪哇、在病床前見她最後一面，都處理得過急而不夠細緻，劇力和悲劇感都無法凝聚。

異邦私訂婚盟
Entering a secret marriage in the foreign land

古高（姚萍）眼見心上人另嫁他人，黯然神傷。
Gu Gao (Yao Ping) is saddened that his beloved is marrying someone else.

而最為矚目的，依然是題材的新穎和寓意的獨特。基本上，劇本的主幹套取自法國的小說《茶花女》（*La Dame aux Camélias*），和類似《蝴蝶夫人》（*Madame Butterfly*）那樣的異國情緣故事；情節並不新鮮。有意思的是編劇把一個熟悉的愛情故事安放在戰後的香港和印尼爪哇之間（兩者都是殖民地），而人物有來自中國、寄寓香江的守舊父親（盧敦）、比較能接受新轉變的叔父（李亨），和支持革新的下一代（王豪），他曾參軍抗日，對白中暗示他仍想投身救國（參加解放戰爭？）但為父所阻，迫他遠赴印尼「休養」；有南洋華人中因循懶散的上一代（荷花之父），和熱愛祖國文化卻不被祖國接受的新一代如荷花、古高，寫出他們的文化差異和對祖國新文化、舊傳統的不同態度：老父拆散他倆除開階級身份外，還認定女方是異族、不接受南洋人的風俗文化。這使得影片有別於《茶花女》式階級差別導致棒打鴛鴦、或《蝴蝶夫人》式異國戀情橫遭拆散那種程式化腔調，而多出一些弦外之音可供追尋回味。這是說，編導有意識地借一個通俗故事表現海外華人由於文化習俗思想的不同而被傳統建制歧視排斥的悲哀處境，也曲折地批評了國府當局漠視地區文化、妄求「大統一」的政策。雖然表現上未臻成熟，還有着不少缺失，那份心意卻是可感知的。

譚新風年輕時在廣州和盧敦、李晨風、李化等搞話劇演出，是電影和戲劇的「發燒友」。1920年代末他們在廣州一同接受過戲劇電影的學院訓練，畢業後，盧、李等人來港發展，卻未見譚在三十年代有一同參與影劇工作。有說他去了德國學醫，回港後才加入影界，但尚未查找到他戰前參與電影工作的記載。《南

儘管荷花極力向盧父（盧敦）解釋華裔身份，「能說、能聽、能寫中國話」，仍被盧父認定是異族，棒打鴛鴦。
Even though Lotus tries to explain her overseas Chinese identity to Lu's father (Lo Duen) that she can speak, understand and write Chinese, he still thinks of her as an alien and is determined to break up the couple.

島相思曲》可能是他初次自編自導之作，在國府歧視粵片和地區文化的形勢下拍出本片，亦算難得。譚新風作品不多，比較活躍的是四、五十年代，在港編寫了超過11部粵語片，導演了11部電影，並拍了一部新聞片《解放後的廣州》（1949），六十年代不再執導，只偶爾客串寫寫劇本。譚的畢生力作是1949年花了一年時間精力編導的《大樹王子》（1950），是用提線木偶演出的長篇動畫片，被譽為「中國電影史上第一部傀儡影片」。全片以神話影射統治者的專制，引致人民革命推翻王朝；明顯有着打倒蔣家政權迎接解放的寓意。香港報界在1948年初已稱他為「前進導演」，可見他戰後的作品和言論已有着「左傾」思想。

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注釋

1 見羅卡、法蘭賓：《香港電影跨文化觀》（增訂版），北京，北京大學出版社，2012，頁125-6。
2 見〈南粵改組了〉，《藝林》半月刊，第38期，1938年9月15日。
3 見〈女大思嫁是油漆未乾改編〉，《藝林》半月刊，第46期，1939年1月15日；〈民族公司抬進光明之路〉，《藝林》半月刊，第48期，1939年2月15日。
4 見〈君嘯二部新作　「南島相思曲」與「响導女之秘密」〉，《藝林》半月刊，第54期，1939年5月15日；〈「南島相思曲」趕緊開拍〉，《藝林》半月刊，第57期，1939年7月1日。
5 見〈傳南島相思曲流產〉，《藝林》半月刊，第59期，1939年8月1日。
6 見〈姚萍提高薪金〉，《藝林》半月刊，第72期，1940年4月16日。

Unrequited Love and Regret in *Love Song of the South Island*

// Law Kar

The making of *Love Song of the South Island* in 1947 can be seen as a rare case in Hong Kong cinema. The film tells a story that takes place in Java, Indonesia: a rich Chinese merchant (Lo Duen) sent his son (Wang Hao) to recuperate in Java just after the war. He falls in love with a native girl with Chinese blood (Ji Hezi) and they exchange marriage vows, but his stubborn father breaks up the couple. Another native young lad (Yao Ping) who has a crush on her accompanies her to Hong Kong to look for her husband. A number of Hong Kong films in the 50s dealt with the stories of overseas Chinese in Nanyang (a region that includes Malaya, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia and the Philippines, as called by the Chinese) but none in the 40s. There had been plans to make this film in 1938-1940, but none was successful. Thus, *Love Song of the South Island* was a pioneer on this subject. Upon careful viewing, one would find some elements of subversion in it.

Apart from making allusions to the clash between Chinese and Nanyang culture, *Love Song of the South Island* is also an example of the collaboration and cultural exchange between Northern and Southern film cast and crew. Producer Yung Kwok-yiu was the owner of the World Wide Motion Picture Studio in Hong Kong. Bringing together director and screenwriter Tam Sun-fung and a Cantonese film crew including the photographer, sound man and assistant director, he made a Mandarin film for the first time. Among the cast, Wang Hao was a veteran actor who had returned

from Chongqing; Yao Ping was a Malaysian Chinese who had been active in Cantonese and Mandarin cinema before the war; Ji Hezi was a newcomer from the mainland; Wu Chia-hsiang who played the servant and Luo Bi-xia who played the fiancée were also Mandarin film actors; Lo Duen who played the father, Lee Hang the uncle and Li Ming (later renamed Leung Ming) the hotel cashier were educated in Guangzhou who later came to Hong Kong. However, they all spoke Mandarin in the film. One could say that this was an early collaboration among actors who came to Hong Kong after demobilisation.

Here, I want to briefly describe the situation of Hong Kong film before the outbreak of war. In 1937, with all-out war being waged against the Japanese, there was an influx of capital and actors from Shanghai to Hong Kong to make Mandarin films. After making anti-Japanese propaganda tours in the Mainland, many theatrical troupes passed through Hong Kong to tour to Southeast Asia. Some of their members stayed to work in theatre and film. This helped to revive Mandarin stage works and films in Hong Kong. The exchange and collaboration between Northern and Southern actors also continued between 1937 and 1941.

During the same period, Hong Kong Cantonese cinema also grew rapidly with the influx of talent from the north as well as the surge in capital. With the rapid increase of mainland immigrants, the market also expanded. The Anti-

Japanese War led to the exodus of mainlanders and the spread of mainland culture overseas. On the other hand, bound by a common love for the country there was a growing demand for Chinese-language films. Ever since sound movies were first produced in the 1930s, Hong Kong films relied on Nanyang market. The outbreak of war resulted in even closer ties.

For the sake of unification, the Nationalist Government had always advocated Mandarin and was prejudiced against Cantonese films. Politically, the Nanjing Government was wary of the opposition of local Guangdong forces to the central authorities. Culturally, it also saw Cantonese films as vulgar and having a bad influence on people. From 1936 to 1937, the Nanjing Government banned the release of Cantonese films on the Mainland. After repeated negotiations, the ban was suspended for three years in June 1937.[1] However, the Nationalist Government continued its discrimination against Cantonese cinema. During the war, it accused Cantonese films of being full of "depraved subject matters", "fantasy" and "propagating sex and violence". In addition to tightening control and censorship, it also mobilised public opinion against it. After the war, the Nationalist Government reinstated the ban on Cantonese films, causing the Hong Kong film industry to come to a standstill. Among six new movies completed and released in 1946, five were Mandarin films made by filmmakers who had moved to the south. They were mainly catered to the mainland market. The first postwar Cantonese film *My Love Comes Too Late* was released in late January, 1947. Due to its popularity in Nanyang, it was profitable even without being released on the Mainland. As a

result, local producers continued to make Cantonese films. One could say that the support of Nanyang audiences helped to resurrect Cantonese cinema which was being suppressed by the Nationalist Government.

Despite plans to make *Love Song of the South Island* in 1938 and 1940, none of them were carried out. According to *Artland* biweekly magazine, due to the internal problems of Nanyue Film Company, the shooting of the film had to be halted.[2] In January and February 1939, *Artland* reported that the film would be made by Minzu Film Company instead.[3] From May to July, it carried long articles reporting on its preproduction and shooting. The film was said to be written and directed by Kwun Siu based on the novel he had written in Singapore years before. "Set in a tropical country in Nanyang" and "with music and singing playing a central role", it was to star Nancy Chan newly returned from Shanghai. Apart from a Cantonese version, Mandarin and English versions were to be dubbed.[4] In August, it was reported that Nancy returned to Shanghai after just three days of shooting, resulting in the "cancellation of *Love Song of the South Island*".[5] However, in 1940, there were reports that Grandview Film Company wanted to make *Love Song of the South Island*, to be directed by Tang Xiaodan and starring Cheung Ying.[6] The continual interest of film companies in the film shows that it had an intriguing subject matter. It also suggests the large market for Cantonese cinema in 1938 and 1939, with the emergence of cross-boundary and cross-cultural subjects.

What about the postwar making of *Love Song of the*

South Island? Directed by Tam Sun-fung, it was not an opportunistic or cheap work that pandered to the market. Despite the shortage of equipment and poor production conditions after the war, one can see the efforts made under the various constraints. As photographer, Pak Ying-choi was Ho Look-ying's equal. His meticulous work is evident in the lighting, composition and the contrast between foreground and background. While the costumes, sets and music are rather rudimentary, they have an exotic flavor. The native clothes and singing of Lotus (Ji Hezi) help her to project a warm and sexy image. Yao Ping, as the native musician Gu Gao, had vocal training. His acting is as solid as his piano playing and singing. In contrast, the personality of the hot-blooded intellectual played by Wang Hao is not too outstanding.

Tam Sun-fung's directing and screenwriting were still immature, even though he was creative. By setting the film in Java, he wanted to highlight Lotus' purity and love of singing and dancing, but the folk dance and singing scenes were not well shot. However, some details were well thought out. When Wang Hao first arrives at his house in Java, his uncle Lee Hang names the intellectuals and revolutionaries who have been to Nanyang, and talks about the shadow puppets hanging on the wall, thus drawing attention to the cultural background of the film. When Lotus sings a Southeast Asian song with Chinese lyrics and discusses Chinese current affairs and music with Wang Hao, it reveals her patriotic feelings and her admiration for the Chinese visitor. This is a good start, but the love affair is still not given adequate treatment later on. In my view, one of the better scenes is the

one showing Yao Ping's sadness when he learns that Wang Hao and Ji Hezi are about to be married. The happy couple is contrasted with Yao Ping sitting there playing the piano in a daze. His face remains expressionless when the scene cuts to their wedding. The dreamy cut aptly expresses his stupefied state. Unfortunately, the treatment of the part where he accompanies Lotus to Hong Kong to look for her husband is rather coarse. The same goes for the ending when Wang Hao finds out the truth and travels to Java to see the dying Lotus. This is hastily done, and fails to convey the drama and tragedy of the situation.

What is remarkable about the film is its novel subject matter and strong viewpoint. Basically, the main plot comes from common stories about exotic love affairs, such as *La Dame aux Camélias* and *Madame Butterfly*. Tam gave it a twist by setting a familiar love story between postwar Hong Kong and Java (both were colonies). In terms of characters, it has a conservative father from China living in Hong Kong (Lo Duen), an uncle who's more open to change (Lee Hang), and a son that supports reforms (Wang Hao). He has served to fight the Japanese, and the dialogue suggests that he still wants to serve the country (by joining the war of liberation?). However, he is prevented from doing so by his father and forced to go to Indonesia to "recuperate". Among the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, there's an indolent older generation (Lotus' father), and a new generation that identifies with but is rejected by the motherland, such as Lotus and Gu Gao. The film shows their cultural difference and their diverse attitudes towards China's new culture and old traditions. The hero's father tries to undo their marriage not only due

to class difference, but also because he sees her as an alien and rejects the customs and culture. This is where the film diverges from the formula of *La Dame aux Camélias* or *Madame Butterfly*, in which class or racial difference is the reason for the separation of the lovers, and carries other implications. That is, the screenwriter deliberately used a melodrama to illustrate the tragic plight of overseas Chinese snubbed by the traditional establishment due to differences in cultures or customs. The film also obliquely criticised the Nationalist Government for ignoring diasporic culture in the name of "unification". While the film is somewhat immature and has its flaws, it is still a commendable effort.

As a young man, Tam Sun-fung was active in theatre in Guangzhou along with Lo Duen, Lee Sun-fung and Lee Fa. He was a film and theatre buff. In the late 1920s, they received academic training in theatre and film in Guangzhou. After graduation, Lo, Lee and others came to work in Hong Kong. But Tam did not join the film industry in the1930s. Some say that he went to Germany to study medicine and only joined the film industry after returning to Hong Kong. So far, there are no records of his pre-war participation in the film industry. *Love Song of the South Island* may have been the first film written and directed by him. It was not easy for him to make this film at a time when the Nationalist Government discriminated against Cantonese cinema and diasporic culture. Tam Sun-fung was not prolific. He was mainly active in the 1940s and1950s. He wrote more than 11 Cantonese films in Hong Kong, directed 11 films and made a documentary *Guangzhou After the Liberation* (1949). He stopped directing in the 1960s and only wrote screenplays

from time to time. His masterpiece is *Prince of the Woods* (1950), which he spent one year directing in 1949. An animation feature using marionettes, it was hailed as "the first puppet film in Chinese film history". The film uses a fairy tale to show how authoritarian rule is overthrown by a people's revolution, with obvious suggestions of welcoming the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek's regime and the liberation. In early 1948, he was called a "progressive director" in the Hong Kong press, suggesting that he already displayed "leftist" inclinations in his postwar works and thinking.

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[Translated by Christine Chan]

Notes

1 See Law Kar and Frank Bren, *Hong Kong Cinema – A Cross-cultural View* (Chinese expanded version), Peking University Press, 2012, pp.125-6.

2 "Reorganisation of Nanyue Film Company", in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 38, Sep 15, 1938 (Chinese only).

3 "The Adaptation of *Two Daughters* from *Wet Paint*", in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 46, Jan 15, 1939; "Minzu Film Company's Way to Brightness", in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 48, Feb 15, 1939 (Chinese only).

4 "Two New Works by Kwun Siu: *Love Song of the South Island* and *The Secret of a Female Escort*", in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 54, May 15, 1939; "*Love Song of the South Island* Begins Shooting", in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 57, Jul 1, 1939 (Chinese only).

5 "*Love Song of the South Island* is Rumoured to be Cancelled", in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 59, Aug 1, 1939 (Chinese only).

6 "Pay Rise for Yao Ping", in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 72, Apr 16, 1940 (Chinese only).

延伸閱讀

譚新風生平概略

// 盛安琪

由於年代久遠，且經歷戰亂，資料散佚不全，要查找三、四十年代電影工作者的生平，殊非易事，像《南島相思曲》（1947）的編導譚新風便是一例。1997年，譚新風曾接受本館的影人口述歷史訪問，但當時他已年逾九十，對當年從影生涯憶述並不全面，現筆者從訪問中擷取內容較清晰、有關其家庭背景和出身的部分，再加上零散的報章、期刊和不同影人的回憶，勾勒譚新風的生平概略。

導演譚新風（1904.5.23 - 2003.4.19），[1] 生於廣東台山，在三兄弟中排行第二。其父早年到美國謀生，家裏經濟環境不俗，有好些田產。初中時，曾在廣州唸書，這時期他已結交一些從北方來的朋友，因而說得一口流利的北方話（按：在訪問中他說到「北方話」時，他唸的是普通話）。後來轉到北京唸高中，以及赴外地升學。[2]

約在1927至1928年間，據盧敦憶述，譚新風進入廣東電影學院學習三個月，與鄺山笑、袁耀鴻、李化等成為該學院第一期的畢業生。畢業後，譚留在學院任助教，認識李晨風、盧敦、吳回等第二期學員，並一起組織一個名為「呼喚劇團」的業餘話劇團來。除參與話劇的演出外，他亦有親自撰寫劇本。[3] 而據梁燦在《香港影壇話當年》一書所載，譚本來是留學德國習醫的，回港後，在攝影師彭年的鼓勵下，放棄行醫的生涯，投身電影界。[4]

據現存資料記載，《南島相思曲》是最早一部由譚新風編導的影片。據《華僑晚報》所載，「《南島相思曲》是導演譚新風戰前寫好的劇本，當時女主角曾選定鄭孟霞擔任，後因戰事吃緊，譚新風回祖國服務，該片遂中止攝製……」[5] 至於譚新風完成的這部《南島相思曲》，與戰前流傳君嘯開拍後三天便「流產」的同名電影，[6] 兩者有何異同，以及譚與君嘯（又名譚君嘯）[7] 二人的關係，則尚待進一步的考證。

在完成《南》片後，譚新風還編、導或編導過《生財有道》（1947）、《黃金潮》（與左几合導，1947）、《一日夫妻百日恩》（1948）、《江湖鐵漢》（1948）、《三劍俠》（1948）、《大樹王子》（1950）、《明星夢》（與左几合作編導，1951）、《紅粉飄零》

（1951）、《發財添丁》（1952）等多部電影。其中，最特別的應數香港出品的第一部木偶電影《大樹王子》。這部改編自外國神話的木偶戲，從劇本寫作、設計繪圖、塑像造型、裝配傀儡、拍攝到配樂、配音等工作，歷時達一年之久。

1954年，華南電影工作者聯合會為籌募建會經費和福利基金而出品了《錦繡人生》，影片由三部短片組成，當中第一部短片〈可憐的裴迦〉劇本，便是由朱克和譚新風合作改編同名俄國文學名著而成。[8]

到五十年代尾至六十年代中，譚只偶爾在電影中客串演出，並極少涉足幕後，這時期他擔任編劇的電影只有三部，包括《春歸何處》（1957）、《月宮寶盒》（1958）、《飄零雁》（與張瑛、潘藩合編，1965）。

注釋

1 譚新風生卒年份由華南電影工作者聯合會提供。

2 見「譚新風訪談」，香港電影資料館「香港影人口述歷史計劃」，訪問：朱順慈，1997年1月25日。

3 見盧敦：《瘋子生涯半世紀》，香港，香江出版，1992，頁17、29-31；另見上註。

4 見梁燦：《香港影壇話當年》，香港，香港文學報社，1998，頁16-17。

5 見〈新片介紹　南島相思曲〉，《華僑晚報》，香港，1947年1月4日。

6 有關君嘯籌拍《南島相思曲》的過程和停拍的經過，請參閱羅卡：〈《南島相思曲》的單思和傷思〉，見本書，頁58-63。

7 有關君嘯又名譚君嘯的記載，見梅靈：〈女大思嫁嫁杏有期〉，《華字日報》，香港，1939年1月21日；〈譚君嘯將投到祖國的懷抱〉，《電影圈》，第51期，新加坡，1939年8月16日。值得一提的是，譚新風與君嘯背景有相似之處，除了兩人都在戰時回國內服務之外（見註5；另見〈傳南島相思曲流產〉，《藝林》半月刊，第59期，1939年8月1日），據說君嘯也曾在歐洲留學（見〈君嘯二部新作　「南島相思曲」與「响導女之秘密」〉，《藝林》半月刊，第54期，1939年5月15日）；而一位報刊作者更曾撰文稱譚新風戰前已導演《女大思嫁》，而這實為君嘯在1939年導演的作品（見吉甫：〈推薦「黃金潮」〉，《華僑晚報》，香港，1947年12月23日），究竟這是吉甫的記憶之誤，抑或兩者是同一人，目前礙於資料有限，未有答案。

8 見郭靜寧編：《香港影片大全第四卷（1953-1959）》，香港，香港電影資料館，2003，頁52。

Extended Reading

A Short Biography of Tam Sun-fung

// Angel Shing

Due to the ravages of time and the destruction of WWII, much of the information about the filmmakers from the 1930s and 40s has been lost. It is almost impossible to get a clear picture of the industry's key figures. Tam Sun-fung, the writer-director of *Love Song of the South Island* (1947) is a prime example. When we interviewed Mr Tam for the Archive's Oral History Series in 1997, the filmmaker was already well into his nineties. He was unable to recall many of the details of his filmmaking days. Based on the more lucid parts of the interviews about his family and formative years, scattered press clippings and the recollections of other filmmakers, this article intends to sketch an outline of Tam's life.

Director Tam Sun-fung (May 23, 1904 – April 19, 2003)[1] was born to an affluent family in Toishan, Guangdong. He was the second of three sons. His father had spent time doing business in the US and his family owned a considerable amount of land. Tam spent his middle school years in Guangzhou, where he befriended several students from the north and became fluent in Mandarin. After completing his high school education in Beijing, Tam continued his studies overseas.[2]

According to Lo Duen, somewhere between 1927 and 1928 Tam entered the Guangdong Film Academy where he studied for three months. He was among the academy's first graduates, along with Kwong Shan-siu, Yuen Yiu-hung

and Lee Fa. Tam later became a teaching assistant at the academy and got to know the second crop of students that included Lee Sun-fung, Lo Duen and Ng Wui. Together, they formed an amateur drama group called "Calling Troupe". Apart from performing on stage, Tam also ventured into playwriting.[3] According to the book *Yesteryears of Hong Kong Cinema* written by Leung Chan, Tam studied medicine in Germany. Upon his return to Hong Kong, with the encouragement of cinematographer Pang Nin, Tam abandoned the career in medicine to pursue filmmaking. [4]

Existing records identify *Love Song of the South Island* as Tam's debut as writer and director. According to *Wah Kiu Man Po* ("Expat Chinese Evening Post"), "Director Tam Sun-fung finished writing *Love Song of the South Island* before the war began, and cast Cheang Man-ha as the female lead. Later on, as war spread on the mainland, Tam returned to China to serve the motherland. As a result, the principle photography on the film came to a complete halt..."[5] How Tam's film differs from the rumored, pre-war production of the same name, directed by Kwun Siu and aborted after three days of production,[6] and what relationship Tam had with Kwun Siu (also known as Tam Kwun-siu),[7] are some of the many unanswered questions.

After completing *South Island*, Tam went on to write and/or direct *Ways to Make Money* (1947), *Gold Fever* (1947; co-directed with Tso Kea), *A Very Special Tie*

Between Husband and Wife (1948), *Uncompromising Fellow* (1948), *The Three Swordsmen* (1948), *Prince of the Woods* (1950), *I Want to Be Famous* (1951; co-written-and-directed with Tso Kea), *Pretty Girl Homeless* (1951), *May Fortune Grow and Sons Come in a Row* (1952), etc. The most notable being *Prince of the Woods*, the first-ever Hong Kong film shot with marionettes. Adapted from a foreign folklore, the production process of this marionette film – from scriptwriting to set and character design, to marionette construction, photography, scoring, dubbing, etc. – lasted a full year.

In 1954, the South China Film Industry Workers Union produced the omnibus film, *This Wonderful Life* as part of their fundraising efforts. One of the three shorts featured, *Poor Pui-ka* was adapted by Chu Hak and Tam from a Russian literary classic.[8]

From the late fifties to mid-sixties, Tam made occasional guest appearances in movies but rarely worked behind the scenes. During this period, he wrote screenplays for just three films, including *Whither Spring* (1957), *The Magic Box* (1958) and *The Plight of a Lonely Girl* (1965; co-written with Cheung Ying and Poon Fan).

Notes

1 Tam Sun-fung's dates of birth and death were provided by the South China Film Industry Workers Union.

2 See "Tam Sun-fung Interview", conducted by Donna Chu, The Oral History Project, Hong Kong Film Archive, Jan 25, 1997.

3 Ibid. and also: Lo Duen, *Half a Century as a Lunatic*, Hong Kong: Xiangjiang Publishing, 1992: pp.17 & 29-31 (Chinese only).

4 Leung Chan, *Yesteryears of Hong Kong Cinema*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Literature Press, 1998, pp.16-17 (Chinese only).

5 "Coming Soon: *Love Song of the South Island*", *Wah Kiu Man Po*, Hong Kong, Jan 4, 1947 (Chinese only).

6 For more details about the short-lived production of Kwun Siu's *Love Song of the South Island*, see Law Kar, "Unrequited Love and Regret in *Love Song of the South Island*", pp. 140-147 in this book.

7 Examples of Kwun Siu being referred to as Tam Kwun-siu include: Mui Ling, "*Two Daughters* Are Getting Married", *The Chinese Mail*, Hong Kong, Jan 21, 1939; "Tam Kwun-siu is Returning to the Embrace of the Motherland", *Screen Voice Pictorial*, Singapore, Issue 51, Aug 16, 1939. It's noteworthy that there were many background similarities between Tam Sun-fung and Kwun Siu; both returned to the mainland to serve the country during the war. (See [5] and "*Love Song of the South Island* is Rumored to be Cancelled", in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 59, Aug 1, 1939.) Kwun Siu allegedly also studied in Europe. (See "Two New Works by Kwun Siu: *Love Song of the South Island* and *The Secret of a Female Escort"*, in *Artland* biweekly magazine, Issue 54, May 15, 1939.) A columnist also stated in his article that Tam Sun-fung directed *Two Daughters* before the war began. (See Gut Fu, "Recommending *Gold Fever*", *Wah Kiu Man Po*, Hong Kong, Dec 23, 1947.) But the film was indeed directed by Kwun Siu in 1939. As to whether or not Gut Fu's memory was flawed, or whether the two directors were actually the same person, the answer is inconclusive due to lack of evidence. (Sources available in Chinese only)

8 Kwok Ching-ling (ed.), *Hong Kong Filmography Volume IV (1953-1959)*. Hong Kong Film Archive, 2003, p.60.

導演：高梨痕　編劇：英明霞
出品：南洋影片
演員：李綺年、鄺山笑、
梁添添、黃楚山、陶三姑
1937　黑白　DCP　粵語　83分鐘

Dir: Ko Lei-hen Scr: Ying Ming-ha
Prod Co.: Nanyang Film Company
Cast: Lee Yi-nin, Kwong Shan-siu, Leong Tim-tim,
Wong Cho-shan, To Sam Ku
1937 B&W DCP Cantonese 83min

女性之光

The Light of Women

李綺年演的陸慕貞生於鄉間，哥哥為錢逼她下嫁工廠老闆當妾侍，她為逃婚而避走到鄰邑另覓新生活。這裏，她遇上情郎（鄺山笑），滿以為自由戀愛會得幸福，但最後卻發覺此君懦弱無能，於是決斷帶養女秀華（梁添添）離開 。她把女兒帶大，更開辦職業學校，教養女生。影片的聲畫雖因年代久遠而欠佳，但喜見三十年代已活躍的演員如李綺年、黃楚山、陶三姑等年輕又自信的演技。劇本也完整紮實，充滿當時生活的細節。最動人的是，影片清晰大膽地描寫了面對性別及階級壓迫（包括兄長的虐打和花花公子的玩弄）作出反抗的可能，及農村女性堅決奮鬥和自食其力的意志。片中借母女倆的求生歷程，側寫自梳文化的普及、承傳及衰落，大大彌補了今天我們對早期現代華南文化認知及多元性別想像的不足。

Luk Mo-jing (Lee Yi-nin) moves to a nearby town to escape from being married off to a rich factory owner. In her new life, she finally meets a man she loves, only to discover that he, too, is Mr. Wrong. With her adopted daughter Sau-wah (Leong Tim-tim) in tow, Mo-jing establishes a vocational school for girls from poor families. Showing the harsh obstacles that face a woman in 1930's Chinese society, the film depicts a new generation of women who pursues a freer life and independence. It also gives us a chance to see legendary actors like Lee Yi-nin, Wong Cho-shan and To Sam Ku at work. The image and sound quality of the long lost film may not be ideal but the highly original story depicting working class women struggling against class and gender oppression continues to be moving and daring in today's lights, and serves to significantly talk back to our lack of knowledge and imagination regarding the possibilities of modern South Chinese culture.

特約研究學者：游靜　Guest Commentator: Yau Ching

導演：薛覺先、高梨痕
編劇：湯德培　攝影：鄒振國
出品：南洋
主演：薛覺先、唐雪卿、黃曼梨、
林妹妹、范覺非
1937　黑白　DCP　粵語　111分鐘

Dirs: Sit Kok-sin, Ko Lei-hen Scr: Tong Tak-pui
Prod Co: Nanyang Film Company
Cast: Sit Kok-sin, Tong Suet-hing, Wong Man-lei,
Lam Mui-mui, Fan Kok-fei
1937 B&W DCP Cantonese 111min

續白金龍

The White Gold Dragon, Part Two

1933年邵醉翁的上海天一影片公司與粵劇泰斗薛覺先合作，將二十年代末改編自美國默片《郡主與侍者》（1926）的西裝粵劇《白金龍》拍成電影，在省港以至星馬上映轟動一時。1937年，南洋影片公司再找薛覺先拍《續白金龍》。此片講述富家子白金龍（薛覺先）隨心上人張玉娘（唐雪卿）自滬赴星洲，投資並打理張父經營的橡膠廠生意，但不久便與張家父女誤生齟齬，令他意興闌珊。同業三杜公司老闆圖拉攏龍注資，其妹吳瑪麗（林妹妹）自薦施美人計，奪其歡心。玉娘慘被冷落，向其堂姊玉蟬（黃曼梨）哀訴，玉蟬遂巧施連串妙計……一齣一男周旋於三女之間的愛情喜劇，同性爭風，以及商場的爾虞我詐，在一片洋派的社交場上展開。盛年薛覺先玉樹臨風的氣宇與別具情韻的唱腔得以留影銀幕，彌足珍貴。未看本片，誰會想到黃曼梨一旦放下身段，情挑薛覺先，連林妹妹都要靠邊站！影片的取材和故事背景，都標誌着邵氏版圖跨越中港而視野遠及東南亞的企業策略。

In 1933, Shaw Zui Weng of Shanghai's Unique Film Company joined hands with Cantonese opera maestro Sit Kok-sin in putting onto the screen *The White Gold Dragon*, a stage play adapted from the 1926 American silent film *The Grand Duchess and the Waiter*. Later in 1937, Nanyang Film Company enlisted Sit again for this new instalment. A romantic comedy revolving around one man and three women, it takes as well an incisive look into the dog-eat-dog business world. The film is especially precious in that it has preserved for posterity the art of Sit Kok-sin in his prime. Another attraction is Wong Man-lei, who takes on an unusual part as a seductress, stealing the limelight even from her co-star Lam Mui-mui. The choice of material and the film's setting also reveal Shaw Brothers' intent to extend its movie empire to Southeast Asia.

講者：吳君玉、傅慧儀 Speakers: May Ng, Winnie Fu

太平洋上的風雲

Incident in the Pacific

導演／編劇／原著：侯曜
攝影：阮曾三　剪接：褚計會
監製：邵醉翁　出品：天一
演員：李綺年、羅品超、陳天縱、劉克宣、子喉七、侯曜
1938　黑白　DCP　粵語　115分鐘

Dir/Scr/Orig Story: Hou Yao
Prod: Runje Shaw　Prod Co.: Unique Film Company
Cast: Lee Yi-nin, Lo Ban-chiu, Chan Tin-tsung, Lau Hark-suen, Tsi Hau Tsat, Hou Yao
1938　B&W　DCP　Cantonese　115min

二十年代上海默片名導侯曜的有聲片創作，肇始於三十年代在港執導粵語片，部分屬其時蔚然成風的國防電影，部部獨樹一幟。《太平洋上的風雲》描寫日本侵佔東三省後一雙抗日戀人的事跡，羅品超在前線衝鋒殺敵，李綺年飾美女間諜打入虎穴，電影預示抗戰不僅救東北救中國，實際貢獻於恢宏的國際反法西斯戰爭。去年數碼掃描曝光的《血肉長城》，愛國教授棄文從武，率學生從城鎮轉戰鄉野，領導民眾打游擊，人人犧牲亦在所不辭。兩片寄寓侯曜的經歷和理想，頗以老師／軍師自居。他在《太》片飾「二桿先生」，筆桿鎗桿皆可打擊侵略者，他兩者皆能，《血》片又名《激死老竇》，侯親飾老教授，怒殺無恥賣國的兒子（劉克宣），國家榮辱比一家血脈更重要。侯曜就是一位特殊人物，早已看透政治和利益的遊戲，他的國防片，有別於內地的寫實及左翼調子。它們源於現實而發揮想像，不乏驚險奇情，不避俚俗，男女情愛之外，廖夢覺、子喉七、劉克宣等丑生老倌施展鬼馬特長。他的香港作品縱使製作平凡，卻能傾注意念和熱情於聲影，個人／作家／導演／角色混然一體，親身走進劇情中吶喊自己的信念。這種創作者張揚自我的氣質，在當時頗見故事因循、意識型態日盛的內地電影中罕有，而香港影業遠離政治中心、娛樂商品化、環境紛雜多元，或許促成他在港的創作風格。

特約研究學者：劉嶔

導演／編劇：侯曜
攝影：阮曾三　剪接：褚計會
監製：楊欽明　出品：文化
演員：侯曜、陳雲裳、蔣君超、
黃壽年、劉克宣、黃楚山
1938　黑白　DCP　粵語　98分鐘

Dir /Scr: Hou Yao
Prod: Yeung Yam-ming　Prod Co.: Wen Hua
Cast: Hou Yao, Nancy Chan, Jiang Junchao,
Wong Sau-nin, Lau Hark-suen, Wong Cho-shan
1938　B&W　DCP　Cantonese　98min

血肉長城

Fortress of Flesh and Blood

1920s Shanghai silent film director Hou Yao first ventured into sound cinema in Hong Kong during the 30s. *Incident in the Pacific* centres on two lovers who defend their country fearlessly against the Japanese. This wartime epic not only sets its sights on the salvage of China but raises a shout against Fascist aggression.

The newly digitised *Fortress of Flesh and Blood* sees a patriotic scholar forgoing the pen for the pistol, leading his students to the war front. Hou Yao is no ordinary filmmaker; his "national defence" cinema is distinctly different from the realistic and leftwing premise of his Mainland counterparts. While based on real life, his works are larger than life as well, featuring a mixture of suspense and romance plus the animated turns by *chou* (clown) masters in Cantonese opera. An auteur-director who also plays his own characters, his assertiveness is a far cry from other Mainland productions which tend to be clichéd and propagandist. This might be due to the fact that he made such films in Hong Kong, a highly commercialised city where entertainment matters above all else.

Guest Commentator: Lau Yam

導演：盧敦　編劇：盧敦、李晨風
攝影：羅永祥　剪接：湯魯劍
監製：雷漢魂、何漢鎧
製片：駱克　出品：中國聯業
主演：張瑛、微風、胡美倫、林妹妹、
吳回、高魯泉、馮應湘
1941　黑白　DCP　粵語　中英文字幕　97分鐘

Dir: Lo Duen　Scr: Lo Duen, Lee Sun-fung
Prod Co: Lianye Film Company
Cast: Cheung Ying, Mei Fung, Wu Mei-lun,
Lam Mui-mui, Ng Wui, Ko Lo-chuen,
Fung Ying-seong
1941 B&W DCP Cantonese
Chi & Eng subtitles 97min

天上人間

Follow Your Dream

盧敦編導的寫實悲喜劇，反映戰時香港的龍蛇混雜和光怪陸離，對三、四十年代廣州和香港緊密的互動有很實在的摹描。片中細緻描劃因命運安排而暫住同一屋簷下的勞苦民眾，其中有扶老攜幼屈居天台的窮漢子（張瑛）、靠賣藝來餬口的落難唱家班、斤斤計較的包租婆（李月清）、為養家而犧牲色相的舞小姐（林妹妹）、和行走江湖的女伶（胡美倫）。來自五湖四海的各式人等，在遇上良善、樂觀、有教養的張潔玲（微風）後，都或多或少被其溫情和豁達所感染，激發患難與共和守望相助的熱情。窮漢子不滿現狀欲回後方貢獻的愛國情懷貫穿全片，而同屋共住的「人人為我，我為人人」精神，比家傳戶曉的《危樓春曉》（1953）竟早十二年呢！

This realist tragicomedy is a microcosm of wartime Hong Kong where life is full of strange absurdities. It mirrors as well the close interactions between Hong Kong and Guangzhou in the 1930s and 40s. In the film, a twist of fate brings some working-class folks under the same roof – a dirt-poor writer with many mouths to feed, two itinerant singers, a money-grubbing landlady, and a prostitute. Their encounter with Cheung, a kind, optimistic and educated woman, ignites their concern for the common good, as they become more selfless to each other in times of hardship. Central to the plot is the patriotic move taken by the poor man who, disillusioned with Hong Kong's realities, goes back to serve the motherland. An entire decade earlier than director Lee Tit's classic *In the Face of Demolition* (1953) which champions the very spirit of "One for All".

特約研究學者：黃愛玲　Guest Commentator: Wong Ain-ling

導演：洪叔雲　編劇：侶倫
原著：侶倫《黑麗拉》
攝影：阮曾三　出品：南洋
主演：張活游、路明、容玉意、姚萍、黃明
1942　黑白　DCP　粵語
中英文字幕　105分鐘

Dir: Hung Suk-wan
Scr: Lui Lun　Orig Story: Lui Lun's *Clara*
Prod Co: Nanyang Film Company, Shaw & Sons
Cast: Cheung Wood-yau, Lo Ming,
Yung Yuk-yi, Fung Ying-seong
1942　B&W　DCP　Cantonese
Chi & Eng subtitles　105min

蓬門碧玉

The Rich House

侶倫寫於1937年的短篇小說《黑麗拉》，寫窮作家愛上苦命女的愛情故事，內容充滿三、四十年代香港華洋雜處的風情，人物和場景都富新派都會小說的浪漫和悲情。經他本人改編成電影《蓬門碧玉》，仍一定程度上保持了小說的洋化氣息，窮作家（張活游）由憐惜其身世開始，繼而愛慕當女侍的黑麗拉（路明），中間黑麗拉又與有財有勢的嘉年奴形成三角戀。有西洋樂隊表演的咖啡廳、外賣是西化的罐頭塗麵包、在家煮咖啡和牛奶……最大的分別是加入了當畫家的方華（姚萍）和其妻子（容玉意）兩顆極富喜感和熱情的死黨，他倆豁達和開放的性格，令全片的氣氛變得輕快和溫馨。

Clara, a 1941 "new-school cosmopolitan novella" by Lui Lun, depicts the tragic romance of a poor author and his luckless lover against the backdrop of 1930s and 40s Hong Kong where East meets West. *The Rich House*, the screen adaptation of the novella by Lui himself, retains to a certain extent the exotic touch of the original. Cheung Wood-yau plays the struggling writer, who develops an affection out of sympathy for waitress Clara (Lo Ming), their affair yet turning into a complex love triangle with the intervention of rich man Carlito. Signatures of Western modernity are found here and there, such as café with live band, self-made sandwiches and enjoying coffee and fresh milk. One major difference from the source material is the addition of the comedic, freewheeling painter couple (Yiu Ping and Yung Yuk-yi), who imparts on this melodrama a feel-good, light-hearted tone.

特約研究學者：黃淑嫻　Guest Commentator: Wong Shuk-han, Mary

導演：楊工良　編劇：莫康時
攝影：阮曾三　剪接：褚計會
監製：邵邨人　出品：南洋
主演：馬師曾、張月兒、林妹妹、
劉克宣、黃楚山
1947　黑白　DCP　粵語　125分鐘
Dir: Yeung Kung-leong　Scr: Mok Hong-si
Prod Co: Nanyang Film Company
Cast: Ma Si-tsang, Cheung Yuet-yee, Lam Mui-mui,
Lau Hark-suen, Wong Cho-shan
1947 B&W DCP Cantonese 125min

苦鳳鶯憐

Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole

單看戲名，不難聯想到馬師曾的同名首本名劇，哪知珍貴拷貝再現，才發現這是早期香港電影「取西經」的趨時之作。電影明顯受1934年荷里活賣座佳構《風流偵探》「啟發」，不單情節和角色設計上有不少挪用前作的痕跡，連偵探主角和妻子的鬥氣冤家形象也依樣畫葫蘆。馬師曾飾演面「懶」心精的冷面偵探，揮灑自如，令人驚喜的是鬼馬歌后張月兒，演經常與他拌嘴的妻子，含蓄但到位，兩人對手戲合拍程度，比原裝那一對毫不遜色。影片亦非純然抄襲，豪門夜宴一幕，雖脫胎自西片結尾，但移至開場，卻頗具戲曲處理人物亮相之格局：角色陸續登場，佈下奪產疑雲陣，交代人物關係糾葛有條不紊，為之後的富翁失蹤和連番命案埋下伏線。巧將同名粵劇的奸夫淫婦故事，嵌進這罕有結合喜劇與罪案元素的西化跨類型電影，令傳統走向現代之餘，不失戲曲做惡懲奸的社會教化功能。另一亮點是馬師曾假扮乞丐查案，高歌「乞兒腔」名曲〈余俠魂訴情〉，一饗戲迷。此片在1941年拍製，因戰事延至1947年才公映，佚失多年，今日重現，名伶風采未覺褪色，其見證西風東漸的影史意義尤引人深思。

Featuring one of the most uniquely colourful married couples in the history of Hong Kong cinema, *Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole* is a delightful genre-blender, mixing touches of comedy, crime story, Cantonese opera and more. The film is obviously inspired by the Hollywood classic *The Thin Man* (1934), with Cantonese opera star Ma Si-tsang playing a master detective and singer Cheung Yuet-yee playing his wife, rollicking in witty banter, flirty insults and delicious wisecracks. It also stays close to home despite its leaning towards the West. With a Chinese title identical to a famous opera, the film takes a dramatic plot twist, taking Ma away from his upscale environ to a beggar's haven, giving him a chance to perform a cherished tune from the original. The mix of plots and styles in *Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole* may be at times awkward, but the very awkwardness is a testament to Hong Kong cinema's longstanding penchant to boldly negotiate between the traditional and the modern.

特約研究學者：何思穎　Guest Commentator: Sam Ho

導演／編劇：譚新風
攝影：白英才
監製：翁國堯　出品：南聯
主演：王豪、盧敦、季禾子、姚萍、李亨
1947　黑白　DCP　國語　99分鐘

Dir/Scr: Tam Sun-fung
Prod Co: Nanlian Film Company
Cast: Wang Hao, Lo Duen, Ji Hezi, Yao Ping, Li Xiang
1947　B&W　DCP　Mandarin　99min

南島相思曲

Love Song of the South Island

戰後國民政府重申對「方言電影」的禁令，使得香港的粵語片舉步維艱。本片由粵片班底結合南北各地影劇人拍國語片，並以南洋為背景，是跨地區／跨文化製作的早期嘗試。專權老父（盧敦）把愛國愛文藝的兒子（王豪）送去南洋爪哇休養，遇上土生的熱情女子（季禾子）和音樂家（姚萍），結成好友。女的愛上文藝青年，卻慘被有地域／文化歧視的老父拆散，好友陪她遠赴香港尋夫，挽回不了悲劇命運。故事架構取自《茶花女》，卻以專橫老父拆散姻緣暗指國府歧視地域文化，為殖民地華人作不平鳴。拍得有情有義，就可惜描寫不夠深入細緻。全片大都在片場拍攝，卻在佈景、服裝、音樂、歌曲及風俗習慣方面營造南洋的氣氛，今天看來雖略嫌粗陋，卻別有可觀的情趣。

After WWII, the Nationalist Government's ban on "dialect pictures" threw Cantonese film workers into a frenzied panic, and considerably hindered the production of Cantonese films. This cross-boundary production was the conserted efforts of film and theatrical talents from north to south, setting the story's background in Southeast Asia. This Camille-esque story traces the luckless lot of a Chinese songstress (Ji Hezi) in Southeast Asia. Despite her strong identification with her native country, the woman's affair with Lo King-lun (Wang Hao), a rich heir from the Mainland, is thwarted by Wang's domineering father (Lo Duen) who snubs his overseas compatriots. Arguably an allusion to the Nationalist Government's discrimination against diasporic culture and Cantonese cinema, the film could have gone further if it had dug deeper into the subject. This studio-shot piece exudes an exoticism which, rudimentary as it is, offers a glimpse of the struggles faced by postwar Cantonese filmmakers who went all out to cater for overseas markets.

特約研究學者：羅卡　Guest Commentator: Law Kar

放映時間表 Screening Schedule

日期		時間	香港電影資料館電影院
28/3	六 Sat	2:00pm	苦鳳鶯憐 Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole
		4:30pm	❖ 座談會：試婚：傳統與現代的交匯 Seminar: In Search of the Perfect Marriage
		7:30pm	風流偵探 The Thin Man ＊
29/3	日 Sun	2:30pm	天上人間 Follow Your Dream ◆
		4:30pm	❖ 座談會：左翼電影的美學 Seminar: The Aesthetics of Left-wing Cinema
		7:30pm	朗基先生的罪行 The Crime of Monsieur Lange ＊■
3/4	五 Fri	2:30pm	苦鳳鶯憐 Bitter Phoenix, Sorrowful Oriole
		5:00pm	太平洋上的風雲 Incident in the Pacific
		7:30pm	血肉長城 Fortress of Flesh and Blood
4/4	六 Sat	2:30pm	女性之光 The Light of Women
		4:30pm	❖ 座談會：家與國的桎梏與重塑 Seminar: The Conflict and Reconciliation between Family and Nation
		7:30pm	金蘭姊妹 Sworn Sisters ＊
10/4	五 Fri	7:30pm	太平洋上的風雲 Incident in the Pacific
11/4	六 Sat	2:30pm	血肉長城 Fortress of Flesh and Blood
		4:30pm	❖ 座談會：罕有的自畫像——論侯曜和三十年代香港電影的方法 Seminar: A Rare Self-portrait: On Hou Yao and Filmmaking in 1930s Hong Kong
		7:30pm	青年進行曲 March of Youth ＊
12/4	日 Sun	2:30pm	天上人間 Follow Your Dream ◆
		7:30pm	蓬門碧玉 The Rich House ◆
17/4	五 Fri	7:30pm	女性之光 The Light of Women
18/4	六 Sat	2:00pm	續白金龍 White Dragon, Part Two
		4:30pm	❖ 座談會：洋裝、粵劇與電影 Seminar: Western Clothes, Cantonese Opera and Cinema
		7:30pm	郡主與侍者 The Grand Duchess and the Waiter ＊●
19/4	日 Sun	7:30pm	南島相思曲 Love Song of the South Island
23/5	六 Sat	2:30pm	南島相思曲 Love Song of the South Island
		4:30pm	❖ 座談會：《南島相思曲》的因緣 Seminar: The Story behind *Love Song of the South Island*
		7:30pm	馬來亞之戀 Malaya Love Affair ＊
24/5	日 Sun	2:30pm	續白金龍 White Dragon, Part Two
30/5	六 Sat	2:00pm	蓬門碧玉 The Rich House ◆
		4:30pm	❖ 座談會：香港茶花女：《蓬門碧玉》的文學與電影互動 Seminar: Camille - A Hong Kong Rendition: The Interaction between Literature and Film in *The Rich House*
		7:30pm	茶花女 Camille ＊

❖ 免費入場 Free admission
＊ 參考電影 Reference Film
◆ 影片附中英文字幕 With Chinese and English Subtitles
■ 影片附英文字幕 With English Subtitles
● 影片附英文插入字幕 With English Intertitles

試婚：傳統與現代的交匯
IN SEARCH OF THE PERFECT MARRIAGE

【苦鳳鶯憐 BITTER PHOENIX, SORROWFUL ORIOLE】

28.3.2015 4:30pm

特約研究學者 Guest Commentator: 何思穎先生 Mr Sam Ho
資料館前節目策劃、資深策展人 Ex-Programmer of HKFA and veteran curator
講者 Co-speaker：安娜 David Chan 影評人 Film Critic

左翼電影的美學
THE AESTHETICS OF LEFT-WING CINEMA

【天上人間 FOLLOW YOUR DREAM】

29.3.2015 4:30pm

特約研究學者 Guest Commentator: 黃愛玲女士 Ms Wong Ain-ling
資料館前研究主任、資深策展人及影評人
Ex-Research Officer of HKFA, veteran curator and film critic

家與國的桎梏與重塑
THE CONFLICT AND RECONCILIATION BETWEEN FAMILY AND NATION

【女性之光 THE LIGHT OF WOMEN】

4.4.2015 4:30pm

特約研究學者 Guest Commentator: 游靜博士 Dr Yau Ching
嶺南大學文化研究系副教授
Associate Professor, Department of Cultural Studies, Lingnan University

罕有的自畫像
——論侯曜和三十年代香港電影的方法

A RARE SELF-PORTRAIT:
ON HOU YAO AND FILMMAKING IN 1930S HONG KONG

【太平洋上的風雲及血肉長城
INCIDENT IN THE PACIFIC & FORTRESS OF FLESH AND BLOOD】

11.4.2015 4:30pm

特約研究學者 Guest Commentator: 劉欽先生 Mr Lau Yam
資深影評人、資料館前項目研究員
Veteran film critic and Ex-Project Researcher of HKFA
講者 Co-speaker：羅卡先生 Mr Law Kar

洋裝、粵劇與電影
WESTERN CLOTHES, CANTONESE OPERA AND CINEMA

【續白金龍 WHITE DRAGON, PART TWO】

18.4.2015 4:30pm

講者 Speakers：
吳君玉女士 Ms May Ng
資料館研究主任 Research Officer of HKFA
傅慧儀女士 Ms Winnie Fu
資料館節目策劃 Programmer of HKFA

《南島相思曲》的因緣
THE STORY BEHIND LOVE SONG OF THE SOUTH ISLAND

【南島相思曲 LOVE SONG OF THE SOUTH ISLAND】

23.5.2015 4:30pm

特約研究學者 Guest Commentator: 羅卡先生 Mr Law Kar
資料館及香港國際電影節前節目策劃、資深策展人及影評人
Ex-Programmer of HKFA and HKIFF and veteran curator and film critic

香港茶花女：《蓬門碧玉》的文學與電影互動
CAMILLE - A HONG KONG RENDITION: THE INTERACTION BETWEEN LITERATURE AND FILM IN THE RICH HOUSE

【蓬門碧玉 THE RICH HOUSE】

30.5.2015 4:30pm

特約研究學者 Guest Commentator: 黃淑嫻博士 Dr Wong Shuk-han, Mary
嶺南大學人文學科研究中心主任
Director of the Centre for Humanities Research, Lingnan University

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Early Cinematic Treasures Rediscovered

香港電影資料館出版 Published by Hong Kong Film Archive

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