

記第 74 屆 FIAF 周年大會  
暨研討會的啟示  
Insights from the 74th FIAF  
Annual Congress and Symposium

回顧李萍倩作品  
A Retrospective of Li Pingqian's Films

「啊，我明白了」——《虹》的電影改編  
'Oh, I see': The Film Adaptation of *Rainbow*

「製片委員會」說永華  
Revealed: Yung Hwa's Production  
Committee Meeting Minutes

# 通訊

85  
Newsletter  
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## 《通訊》

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## Newsletter

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國際電影資料館聯盟成員  
A member of the  
International Federation of  
Film Archives

封面：永華出品、李萍倩編導的《春雷》（1949），由李麗華（右）與孫景路（左）主演。二女各具丰姿，委婉的妻子居然能以柔韌抗衡任性撩人的交際花，誰也搶不了誰的鏡。

Cover: Produced by Yung Hwa, written and directed by Li Pingqian, *Our Husband* (1949) featured Li Lihua (right) and Sun Jinglu (left). The two actresses each held their own with a different kind of flair: the demure wife contended against the wilful social butterfly and neither could steal the spotlight from the other.

作為國際電影資料館聯盟和東南亞太平洋影音資料館協會的成員，本館每年皆派員出席年度會議，密切與世界各地的同業交流，討論當前大家面對的議題。尤其難得的是，在澳洲國家影音資料館和英國電影協會的支持下，兩位部門主管月前分別前赴當地學習，實地取經，思考從理念至實務範疇上的應用。

七至九月舉行的「[編+導] 回顧系列四」聚焦李萍倩，雖然過往曾在長城、夏夢等電影專題中放映他的一些電影，但是次有系統地選映他三十年代（上海時期）、四十以至六十年代（香港時期）的重要作品，更能展示他這一代電影工作者與時代的關係。透過他的電影，可以如何看出他以怎樣的態度和手法去回應環境呢？這不禁讓人聯想到今期陳智德博士在他寫文學電影《虹》（1960）的文章中提出了「開放的隱語」。看來，透過電影隔世傳來的訊息，今天回看，往往是有跡可尋，只待有心人細意發掘。

除了影片本身，相關的文獻是個浩瀚的寶庫。今期就永華影業公司七十年前的文獻，對「製片委員會」的成立作出了一點初步的整理；企盼日後能運用更多珍貴的文獻，以第一手資料呈現及論析一頁又一頁的香港電影史。在此特別感激將各式各樣的文獻保存及捐贈予本館的影人及其後人，讓我們在漫漫的摸索路途中，能有根有據地找出方向。[clkwok@lcsd.gov.hk]

As a member of the International Federation of Film Archives and the Southeast Asia-Pacific Audiovisual Archive Association, the Hong Kong Film Archive sends representatives to their annual conferences every year, keeping close contact with our peers in the field to discuss challenges that everyone of us is facing. With support from the National Film and Sound Archive of Australia and the British Film Institute, our two unit heads went on trainings this year to learn first-hand from their archival staff, both in terms of their visions and at a practical level.

The 'Writer/Director in Focus IV' held between July and September shed the light on Li Pingqian. Although some of his films had been shown previously in the retrospectives of Great Wall and Hsia Moon, the programme showcased his most significant works from the 1930s (his Shanghai period), as well as those from the 1940s to 60s (his Hong Kong period) in a more systematic manner this time to better illustrate the relationship between his generation of filmmakers and the times. In what ways did Li respond to the society through his films? This links us to Dr Chan Chi-tak's article in this issue about the literary film *Rainbow* (1960), where he discusses 'unsubtle reference', referring to that hints are everywhere in a film, and the underlying messages are there waiting for someone to uncover across time and space.

Film-related documents are yet another treasure. This issue includes a preliminary study of the establishment of Yung Hwa's 'Production Committee', based on documents dated 70 years ago. Hopefully, we will be able to make use of more valuable, first-hand materials in the future to unveil and explore the history of Hong Kong cinema. Here I would like to express my gratitude to the many film workers and their families who have preserved and donated various materials to the Archive, for providing us with a guiding light on our winding journey of exploration through the history of Hong Kong cinema. [clkwok@lcsd.gov.hk]

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The views put forward in all the written materials are those of the authors themselves and do not represent the views of the Hong Kong Film Archive.

# 記第74屆FIAF 周年大會暨 研討會的啟示

## Insights from the 74th FIAF Annual Congress and Symposium

口述：楊可欣 整理：張寶晶

Narrated by Janet Young

Collated by Cheung Po-ching



捷克國家電影資料館  
的新大樓

The new building of the  
National Film Archive of  
Czech Republic

捷克國家電影資料館的新大樓（左）與舊大樓  
（右）比鄰並立

The new building (left) and the old building (right) of  
the National Film Archive of Czech Republic stand next to each  
other



**第**74屆國際電影資料館聯盟（FIAF）周年大會暨研討會於2018年4月22日至4月27日在捷克布拉格的國家博物館新翼舉行，主辦方為捷克國家電影資料館。香港電影資料館館長楊可欣前赴當地出席這個一年一度的聚會，與世界各地同業交流業界的最新發展。

今屆研討會的主題為「分享」，涵蓋館與館之間的藏品分享，以及各館如何與大眾分享館藏。在館際藏品分享方面，會上再次討論到館與館之間借片的問題。雖然FIAF成員間不會收取借片費，但部分資料館每年要處理數以千計的借片申請，牽涉龐大的行政工作，因此會酌量收取行政費。然而，對一些資源較困乏的資料館而言，單是行政費亦可能難以負擔。楊可欣表示，每次借出影片前及收回影片後，館內技術人員都必須詳細檢查和記錄每卷菲林的狀況，間接影響其他的檢查工作，然而向全世界推廣香港電影文化乃本館的使命之一，因此本館一直盡力履行義務，不收取FIAF成員任何費用。

會上，各國代表也談及開放館藏時面對的困難。有些資料館嘗試在網上設置播放器，讓公眾透過互聯網欣賞館藏影片，但礙於版權所限，大多只能夠上載紀錄片、短片、家庭影片等。影片數碼化亦是一大難題，有資料館原計劃將早年經已數碼化的影片上載至網上播放器，其後卻發現當年

採用的格式與現今的制式並不相容，最終要另覓資源，再花費大量時間將全部影片重新數碼化。楊可欣指，數碼科技發展一日千里，業界對將館藏影片大規模數碼化一直持保留態度。

在小組會議上，各地代表也討論到另一議題，就是當電影放映機壞了，已難以找到適合的零件及人員去更換及維修。部分資料館早已開始儲存零件，即使日後機器壞了，仍可找到零件替換，延長壽命。楊可欣表示，本館也開始儲存二手電影放映機，只要部件合用，都會盡量騰出空間收藏。她又認為，傳承操作及維修電影放映機的知識同樣重要。現時，各地資料館都著手編製手冊，希望在這些珍貴的知識慢慢流失前，記錄下來，分享開去。楊可欣補充，本館也開始舉辦內部課程，安排資深技術人員傳授檢查及修補菲林的知識與技巧，並將其工作流程拍攝下來，令他們的寶貴知識和經驗盡量流傳下去。

在大會安排下，楊可欣隨團前往布拉格近郊，參觀捷克電影資料館的新舊大樓及片庫。新大樓與舊大樓

比鄰並立，設有簇新的辦公室，並備有控制溫濕度的先進倉庫。雖然舊片庫的前身是集中營倉庫，設備相對簡陋，但滿載濃厚的歷史感。當天，負責導賞舊片庫的是一位年約七、八十歲的老人家，他拿著當年的舊相片，縷述舊片庫興建之初的故事。而這位當年有份搬運一磚一木，幫忙改建集中營倉庫的老人家，原來正是該館的前任館長。即使早已過退休之齡，他至今仍孜孜不倦參與資料館的工作，把一生都奉獻給資料館。今天新大樓即將落成，印證了他多年來所付出的時間、精力和心血。這一切，他說來卻淡然自若，那種承擔和使命感實在令人敬佩。楊可欣不禁想起當年曾有幸共事的資料館前研究組策劃余慕雲前輩。慕雲叔熱愛香港電影，同樣將一生奉獻給保育及研究香港電影的工作，他更熱愛與後輩分享電影知識，不怕「教識徒弟無師傅」，只怕未能及時薪火相傳。慕雲叔那份無私精神，實在值得資料館全人好好學習。■



Hosted by the National Film Archive of Czech Republic, the 74th International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF) Annual Congress and Symposium was held at the new building of the National Museum in Prague, Czech Republic, between 22 and 27 April of this year. Janet Young, Head of the Hong Kong Film Archive (HKFA), was in attendance to exchange news on the latest developments in the archival profession with fellow FIAF members.

The theme of this year's symposium was 'sharing', which covered both the sharing practices between different film archives, as well as the work that they did to share their collections with the public. Regarding the former, attendees again deliberated the matter of lending films between FIAF members. Although no loan fee will be charged between members, some archives may have to process thousands of requests per year, and will therefore charge a small fee to cover their administrative costs. However, making such payments may prove difficult for underfunded archives. Young expressed that for the HKFA, conservators had to conduct extensive checks before and after lending out film materials, meticulously recording the condition of each reel of film. While all this meant additional workload for our staff, the HKFA did our best not to charge fellow FIAF members because promoting Hong Kong film culture to the rest of the world was and always had been one of our missions and obligations.

FIAF members also exchanged views on the challenges of sharing their collections with the public at the symposium. Some archives tried to broadcast their film collections online, allowing the public to watch the titles via the Internet. However, due to copyright restrictions, the content was limited to mostly documentaries, short films and home videos. The process had also been complicated by film digitisation. Another archive planned to upload copies of films that had been digitised years ago, only to find the files no longer compatible with the prevailing formats. They ended up



FIAF周年大會於捷克布拉格的國家博物館新翼舉行

The annual congress of FIAF was held at the new building of National Museum at Prague, Czech Republic.

spending extra money and time to re-digitise the films. Young concurred that the development of digital technology was so fast-paced that many film archives had reservation about kicking off mass digitisation projects.

During commission workshop, representatives from across the world talked about the challenges of sourcing suitable replacement parts and hiring knowledgeable technicians when old projectors broke down. Some archives had started saving up spare parts since earlier times, so that they will have suitable machine parts for faulty projectors in the future. Young specified that the HKFA had also begun to collect and make space for the storage of second-hand projectors, as long as their parts were useful. She opined that the passing of technical knowledge regarding operating and repairing film projectors was equally important. Nowadays, film archives around the world were compiling user manuals in hopes of documenting and sharing such valuable information before it was lost with time. Young added that the HKFA also started organising internal training courses, allowing young curators to learn from the expertise of seasoned technicians. The process of checking and repairing film was recorded on camera as well, to preserve as much of their knowledge and experience as possible.

As part of the congress, Young and the other FIAF members travelled to the suburbs of Prague and visited the old and

new buildings, as well as the vaults of the National Film Archive of Czech Republic. Standing right next to the old building, the new building was equipped with not only brand new offices, but also advanced, temperature and humidity-controlled vaults. The old film vault had formerly been used as a warehouse for concentration camps and had a long history, despite being relatively low-tech. On the day, the group was taken on tour by an old gentleman of around 70 to 80 years old. He brought with him some old photographs and recounted the story of how the old vault came into being. This gentleman, who helped transform the concentration camp warehouse into a vault brick by brick, was none other than the former Head of the National Film Archive. The completion of the new building, in many ways, marked the culmination of his years of hard work, dedication, and effort. This gentleman continued to dedicate himself to the work of the Archive in every way, his humbleness was an illustration of his profound sense of duty and devotion to his job. He reminded Young of Mr Yu Mo-wan, former head of the Research Unit of the HKFA. Yu was in love with Hong Kong cinema, and had devoted his entire life to its preservation and research. Most of all, he was passionate in sharing his knowledge with the younger generations; his only fear being that we would not be able to pass on our cultural heritage in time. His selfless spirit was indeed an example to all the HKFA colleagues. [Translated by Rachel Ng] ■

# 記 SEAPAVAA 與英國電影協會短期課程的體驗

## An Account of Experience at SEAPAVAA and the British Film Institute

馮佩琪 Lesley Fung

我今年四月及六月到了泰國曼谷和英國倫敦跟世界各地的電影資料館及影音檔案從業員交流，從大家的經驗分享中獲益不少。

第22屆東南亞太平洋影音資料館協會 (SEAPAVAA) 的年度會議，於四月在泰國曼谷舉行，主題為「影音保存·超越界限」(AV Archiving Beyond Boundaries)，顧名思義，就是探討如何在影音保存的工作中衝破現有的界限。我在會議中分享了香港電影資料館參與康樂及文化事務署「文博義工計劃」的經驗，講述了義工對資料館的工作作出了哪些方面的貢獻。與會者似乎都有與義工合作的經驗，在我的分享後，熱烈地發問及交換意見。能夠聽到不同地方組織的經驗實在是一大收穫，好讓我思考如何讓義工更能發揮所長，與我們一起為保存香港電影資料並肩作戰。在各與會者的報告當中，影音修復專家雷杜高文 (Reto Kromer) 提到，現時流行的數碼影音制式在未來數年很可能不再有電腦軟件支援。面對日新月異的科技轉變，今天使用的數碼制式，不知何時又會被另一制式取代，對影音保存工作而言，這無疑是一個重大的考驗，也讓影音檔案從業員思考數碼化是否長遠保存影音檔案的出路。



英國電影協會修復中心人員為馮佩琪 (前排右三) 等學員介紹該中心的修復及數碼檔案保存設施

Conservation staff from the British Film Institute introduced Lesley Fung (front row 3rd right) and other members of the course to the conservation and digital preservation facilities.

位於倫敦的英國電影協會在六月舉辦了一個名為「資料館的未來2018」(Archive Futures 2018) 的課程，為期三日的課程由該協會的專家主講，分享他們在策劃節目及進行大規模影音數碼化的經驗。在課程的最後一天，我們一班學員到了協會的修復中心參觀。講者介紹了他們使用的菲林掃描機器、電腦影音修復軟件及儲存數碼化後影音資料的數據中心。當日除了可以實地參觀設施，還可以與課程的講者單獨會面，就個別題目請他們作更深入的論析。為了搜集更多儲存數碼影音檔案方案的資料，我向協會的數據、館藏及資訊主管史提芬麥康里奇 (Stephen McConnachie) 請教更多有關協會的數據中心的資訊。協會於數年前設置現時正在使用的「數碼檔案保存基礎架構」(Digital Preservation Infrastructure)，去保存及存取數碼館藏。觀其設施的規模，可以想像即使是協會這樣的一個國家級資料館亦需要花很長時間和投放大量資源才能有今日的成果。

無論是會議或課程，讓不同地域的同業走在一起，互相交換保存影音的最新資訊，為同一目標奮力向前，這體驗尤為珍貴。■

馮佩琪為香港電影資料館搜集組經理

I travelled to Bangkok and London respectively during April and June this year, to interact with film and audiovisual archivists from around the world, and I have learned a lot from their sharing.

The 22nd annual conference of the Southeast Asia-Pacific Audiovisual Archive Association (SEAPAVAA) was held during April, in Bangkok, Thailand. Its theme was 'AV Archiving Beyond Boundaries', with the discussion focused on ways to break through current limitations of audiovisual archival work. I shared Hong Kong Film Archive's experience in the 'Museum Volunteer Scheme' run by the Leisure and Cultural Services Department, and gave an account of the volunteers' contributions to the Archive. Participants at the conference seemed to have similar experience working with volunteers. There were also enthusiastic feedbacks with regard to my sharing. It was most rewarding to learn about the experiences of different organisations, as it gave me an opportunity to deliberate ways of fully utilising the volunteers' skills and talent, enabling them to fight alongside us in preserving Hong Kong's film heritage. Among



# 理想與實踐 ——澳洲探尋 影像及聲音之旅

## Ideals and Execution: An Audiovisual Exploration in Australia

陳彩玉 Priscilla Chan

the presentations of participants, Reto Kromer, an audiovisual restoration expert mentioned that the current digital audiovisual formats would probably be no longer supported by available computer software in a few years' time. With an ever-changing technological environment, the digital formats that we are using today could be replaced any time by another format. It is undoubtedly a major challenge for audiovisual archivists and raises a serious question as to whether digitisation is the right way for long-term preservation of audiovisual materials.

The British Film Institute in London hosted a three-day course called 'Archive Futures 2018' in June, with experts from the institute sharing their experiences in curating programmes and undertaking extensive audiovisual digitisation work. On the last day of the course, we visited the institute's conservation centre, where the speakers introduced us the film scanner and the audiovisual restoration software that they use, as well as the data centre that all the digitised audiovisual materials are stored. Apart from onsite inspection of the facilities, I was able to have one-on-one chats with the speakers and ask them questions on specific aspects. Regarding the ways of storing digitised audiovisual files, I consulted the institute's Head of Data, Collections and Information, Stephen McConnachie, about their data centre. The institute set up the Digital Preservation Infrastructure that is currently in service a few years ago, for the preservation and access of its digital collection. From the scale of the facilities, one can imagine that even for a top-level national archive like the British Film Institute, it would take a long time and abundant resources to accomplish the task.

Be it the conference or the course, it gathered peers of the same industry from around the world to share the latest news on archiving audiovisual materials. It was a particularly valuable experience; as we all worked towards the same goal, making efforts in the preservation of audiovisual materials. [Translated by Diane To] ■

Lesley Fung is Manager (Acquisition) of the HKFA.



(左起) 陳彩玉、NFSAC藏品組主管美琪拿布琳及其助理卡萊查弗絲  
(From left) Priscilla Chan; Meg Labrum, General Manager of the Collection Branch and her assistant Clare Travers



NFSAC的館藏超過二百萬項  
NFSAC has a collection of over 2 million items.



NFSAC與資深教育工作者合辦活動，希望提升學生對當地電影的認知和興趣。  
NFSAC co-hosted events with experienced educational workers to promote and enhance students' interests in local films.



位於首都坎培拉的澳洲國家影音資料館（NFSA）成立於1984年，我們對它並不陌生，早在1993年香港電影資料館籌劃開館時，工作人員已就本館的理念、發展方向、架構及工作實務等方面向NFSA取經。影音檔案學博大精深，不時需要涉獵不同專業範疇，以迎接每一項新挑戰。我們除了要具備理論基礎、透過實踐累積經驗，更要努力不懈的鑽研；還有知己知彼，積極認識其他資料館的工作及發展。我在2018年2月，有幸到南半球的NFSA，充實地度過了為期26天的學習及交流的日子。

這次學習的方向從認識NFSA的館藏保存概念開始。成立於八十年代的NFSA以搜集、保存及分享影像及聲音為己任，二百多萬項的館藏中，有部分是移送自1935年成立的國家歷史影片及話語檔案圖書館的影音資料，數量之多，保存上需要多方面的考量。影音藏品包括早期的模擬制式（analogue format）以至近年的數碼檔案，由於部分載體已經沒有相應的播放器，NFSA於2015年10月27日聯合國教科文組織的世界視聽遺產日，宣佈了啟動「2025大限：藏品有難」（Deadline 2025: Collections at Risk）計劃，決心於十年內，即2025年10月27日前將大約四十種不同制式的館藏磁帶（magnetic media）全部數碼化。這些磁帶當中，聲音紀錄包括為數達42,000小時的內容及12,000卷有齒孔的磁帶，影像紀錄則達45,000小時，主要是澳洲的音樂、電台及電視節目。為了妥善保存這些重要的文化遺產，讓它們的生命得以延續，NFSA員工日以繼夜檢查及修復舊制式藏品，務求全數逐一數碼化。這個浩瀚的工程除了法制、金錢及工作空間的配合，還有賴經驗豐富的技术員及工程人員，將累積的知識及經驗分享，培訓新人。資料館的工作固然是搜集與保存影音資料，但背後若然沒有計劃將機器、技術與經驗一併保留，一切也是徒然。

NFSA主張「館藏視聽遺產：人人皆可接觸」（A 'Living' Archive For Everyone），了解他們對影音保存的理念後，我便就放映節目、展覽及教育等工作跟負責人員學習及交流。澳洲是多種族的國家，NFSA豐富的藏品正反映澳洲文化的多元性和吸納多國文化的兼容性。最令我難忘的，是它有一批於不同時期搜集得來的華語影片；由於語言隔閡，他們只查證了這批影片的部分資料。交流期間，我協助提供和梳理相關的電影資料，有見當中頗有一些中國第五代導演的作品，就向影片、檔案及文物組與及社區聯繫組建議籌劃以此為題的影展。為提升中、小學生對當地電影的認知和興趣，NFSA與資深教育工作者緊密合作舉辦一系列活動，透過廣告片及電影教授澳洲歷史、知識和文化，學問與趣味並重。同時，NFSA經常聯絡國內、海外文化機構（如圖書館、美術館和海外的電影資料館），合辦和外借館藏影片，藉著不同渠道促進當地電影與不同藝術範疇、不同國家的交流。為讓更多市民接觸到它的館藏，它們於2016年11月將網頁大變身。新設計把NFSA的形象年輕化，用色及設計更炫目，頁面以相片及片段為主，在沒有地域及時間限制下吸引更多人瀏覽及使用，內容包括網上電影主題展覽、教材及

供查閱與觀賞不同專題的影音資料。這些資料能夠在網上平台與全世界分享，背後除需要人力物力策展外，更重要的是得到影視界授權支持及教育界的配合。

短短一個月內，我有幸走訪NFSA的坎培拉總部、位於墨爾本和悉尼的分部，與多個部門的專才交流。他們讓我了解澳洲的電影歷史，無私展示及講解藏品，示範保存及修復技術，又分享策展心得。NFSA是國家級資料館，在成立時已在法制上得到保障，是以在館務發展、藏品保存、修復、推廣及使用等方面都得到相當大程度的支持和保護。此外，當地大學有影音檔案學及相關學科供選讀，為NFSA及大大小小的相關文化機構提供人材培訓，令到這方面的發展基礎穩健。

機構於2016年11月啟用的新標誌沿於1984年開館標誌中的笑翠鳥——毋忘搜集、保存、分享並重的初衷。感謝藏品組主管美琪拿布琳（Meg Labrum）及各組別人員為我這次的學習作出安排和準備，讓我能參與他們的恆常工作。變幻才是永恆，但有些事物是不變的，就是資料館從業員嚴謹的理念和專業操守，以及對延續電影文化的熱誠。■

陳彩玉為香港電影資料館節目組一級助理館長



Founded in 1984, the National Film and Sound Archive of Australia (NFSA) in Canberra is no stranger to us. When planning began in 1993 for the establishment of the Hong Kong Film Archive, the team involved took reference from the NFSA when setting the Archive's visions, developmental directions, structures, operations and more. Audiovisual archiving requires expertise from different fields to tackle new challenges every day. Apart from accumulating theoretical knowledge and practical experience, one needs to continue doing research, and to proactively update oneself on the work and development of others in the field. I had the privilege to visit the NFSA this February, to learn and interact with fellow archivists.

The focus of this trip was on learning about how the NFSA preserves its collection. Established in the 1980s, NFSA's mission is to collect, preserve and share audiovisual materials. Among the 2 million-plus items are materials transferred from the National Historical Film and Speaking Record Library founded in 1935. Preserving them requires planning from multiple aspects. NFSA's collection ranges from analogue formats from the early days to more recent digitised files. Due to the fact that some carriers no longer have compatible players, the NFSA started the project 'Deadline 2025: Collections at Risk' on 27 October 2015—World Day for Audio-visual Heritage declared by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization—with a goal of digitising 40-odd formats of magnetic media in ten years' time. Among these magnetic media are sound recordings of up to 42,000 hours, 12,000 reels of tapes with sprocket holes and 45,000 hours of video recordings, mostly of Australian music, radio and television programmes. To properly preserve them and to extend their lease of life, NFSA staff work tirelessly to check and repair these old-format collections before digitising them. This project requires a number of things to come together: legal support, money and space, as well as seasoned technicians and engineers who are willing to share their expertise and experience with younger archivists. Archival work involves the collection and preservation of audiovisual materials, yet without proper planning in preserving the related machinery, technology and technique, all other efforts would be futile.

The NFSA advocates 'A "Living" Archive—For Everyone'. After getting to know its philosophy in audiovisual preservation, I moved on to

exchange ideas with those in charge of programming for screenings, exhibitions and outreach education. Australia is a multiracial country, and NFSA's extensive collection rightly reflects the nation's diversity and pluralism. To me, the most unforgettable items in the collection is a batch of Chinese-language films. Due to language barriers, the NFSA was unable to verify much of the materials. I helped organised information on the films, including works by Fifth Generation directors of Chinese cinema, and proposed to the Film, Documents & Artefacts Section and the Community Engagement Section to curate a programme showcasing these films. To enhance the knowledge and interest of secondary and elementary school students in local films, the NFSA works with educators to co-host activities at once educational and interesting, teaching about Australian history, facts and culture through advertisements and films. The NFSA is also in regular contact with local and overseas organisations (libraries, art museums and overseas film archives) with regard to collaborations, in hopes of promoting cultural exchange. Moreover, to bring its collection to more people, the NFSA gave its website a major facelift in November 2016. With dashing colours and designs, the new website helps the NFSA build a more vibrant image and invites people to surf the site whenever and wherever they want. In addition to online exhibitions, there are educational materials and an audiovisual database that covers different themes. Putting all this information online to share with the world requires not only great effort from staff and financial resources, but more importantly, the support from the audiovisual field regarding copyright issues as well as the cooperation from education sectors.

Within this short month, I was fortunate to have visited NFSA's headquarters in Canberra, as well as its branches in Melbourne and Sydney, where I interacted with experts from various departments. I gained a good grasp of Australia's film history as NFSA staff generously introduced me to its collection, demonstrated their preservation and restoration technology, and shared their experiences in curating programmes. Since the NFSA is a national archive, legal protection was already in place when it was set up. Thus it enjoys a comparably large amount of support and protection in terms of its development, as well as the preservation, restoration, promotion and usage of its collection. Furthermore, local universities offer courses in audiovisual archiving and other related subjects, providing new talents for the NFSA and other cultural institutions, laying a solid foundation for the development of cultural preservation.

In November 2016, the NSFA began using a new logo adapted from its original Kookaburra logo—used since the founding of the Archive in 1984—to remind themselves of its primary mission of acquiring, preserving and sharing its collection. Many thanks to the General Manager of the Collection Branch, Meg Labrum, and all the staff members who had helped me in arranging and preparing for the trip, so that I could join them in their everyday work. The only constant in this world is change, but some things never change: the earnest ideals and professional ethnics of archivists, as well as their passion in preserving film culture. [Translated by Diane To] ■

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## 拈花微笑觀世情 ——回顧李萍倩作品

### Subtle Smile Towards the World —A Retrospective of Li Pingqian's Films



羅卡 (左) 與劉嶽 (右)  
Law Kar (left) and Lau Yam (right)

「[編+導] 回顧系列四：李萍倩」7月14日以《一代妖姬》(1950) 揭幕，並舉行「拈花微笑觀世情——巨匠的香港歷程」座談會，由資深電影研究者羅卡和是次專題客席策劃劉嶽主講。羅卡認為李萍倩在上海時不屬左翼影人，雖然來港後加入左派的長城公司，但作品在這方面的意識形態並不強烈，而是透過人情倫理的刻劃，去諷刺社會上的不公。劉嶽闡述從上海到香港，李氏對人情世故看法通透，保持溫和距離，作品顯得淺淡而意境深遠。

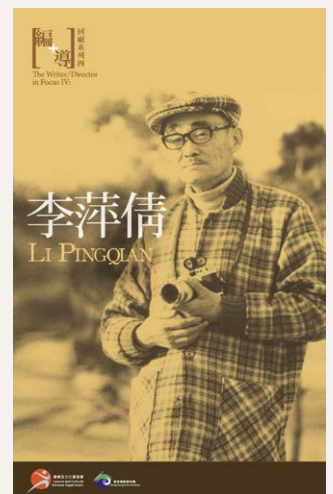
談到李萍倩來港首部作品《春雷》(1949)，羅卡盛讚該片在攝影、美術、收音各方面均製作精細，具四十年代荷里活電影氣派。劉嶽則指《一代妖姬》極力發揮白光艷魅形象，全片在約48小時內發生，拍來緊湊爽快，展示嫺熟靈巧的類型片敘事。羅卡早年曾觀看夏夢主演的《望夫山下》(1957)，可惜現時已找不到拷貝；片中氣氛懸疑、陰沉，像希治閣電影般一層一層的剖出真相，情感細緻而有張力。劉嶽則以《佳人有約》(1960) 為例，說李氏雖有正劇經典，但更多拍悅目輕盈、富都市感的喜劇，總見漂亮明星和誘人情節，而又批判資本主義，有思想矛盾的趣味。《笑笑笑》(1960) 堪稱李氏傑作之一，感人至深，羅卡認為有如他晚年心境——入世而又嚮往出世，樂天知命。劉嶽總結李氏是滬港片場年代的佼佼者，堅持創作，隨遇而安，自有瀟灑的現代氣息，並融入香港左派電影，成為其風格奠基者。

'The Writer/Director in Focus IV: Li Pingqian' opened with *A Strange Woman* (1950) on 14 July, followed by the seminar 'Subtle Smile Towards the World—Hong Kong Odyssey of a Great Director' hosted by seasoned film scholar, Law Kar and guest curator of the programme, Lau Yam. Law pointed out that Li did not belong to the leftist camp during his Shanghai filmmaking days. Though he joined Great Wall, a leftist production company after settling in Hong Kong, his works did not engage strong ideological doctrines. Instead, Li criticised social inequalities through his depiction of human and ethical relationships. Meanwhile, Lau discussed Li's wise and astute view of life, which allowed him to remain moderate and objective in shooting works with subtle yet profound meanings.

Regarding to Li's debut feature in Hong Kong, *Our Husband* (1949), Law was in praise of its meticulous production in terms of photography, art and sound, comparable to Hollywood films of the 1940s. Lau, on the other hand, opined that *A Strange Woman* made full use of the alluring image of Bai Guang. With the story set to happen within 48 hours, Li chose a tight and quick pacing, showing off his proficiency in narrative development. Law also once saw Li's *Forever Waiting* (1957), starring Hsia Moon. Unfortunately, the film has since been lost for years. *Forever Waiting* is suspenseful and gloomy, as the truth was unveiled piece by piece—much like an Alfred Hitchcock film that the emotions and tensions of the characters were depicted delicately. Meanwhile, Lau used the example of *Rendezvous* (1960) to highlight Li's preference for lighthearted urban comedies over classical dramas. Whilst casting good-looking actors and designing enticing plots to attract audiences, Li was critical of capitalism in his works, displaying contradictory but interesting ideologies. Considered as one of the masterpieces of Li, *Laugh, Clown, Laugh* (1960) was especially touching, which in Law's opinion, was indicative of Li's philosophy of life in his later days—complying with the established world orders while maintaining independence; striving for self-contentment and being submissive to the will of heaven. Lau concluded by saying Li was a role model for filmmakers during the studio-filming eras of Shanghai and Hong Kong. He stayed committed to creativity and was able to feel at ease under all circumstances; establishing a unique carefree and contemporary style within the leftist cinema of Hong Kong.

「[編+導] 回顧系列四：李萍倩」節目特刊  
網上版見本館網頁

An online version of *The Writer/Director in Focus IV: Li Pingqian* house programme is available on the Archive website.



## 「喜劇之最： 雄·雙·喜」揭幕

### Opening of '1 Plus 1 Equals More than 2: Comedy Duos of Hong Kong Cinema'

「喜劇之最：雄·雙·喜」7月27日開幕當天，欣逢粵劇藝術家阮兆輝來到資料館接受口述歷史訪問，率先參觀展覽。梁醒波是「雄·雙·喜」節目焦點喜劇巨匠之一，展場中搭建的其中一個場景正是他的代表作之一《南北和》（1961）。輝哥從童星起與波叔多度合作，正適合為南北和裁縫店主持「新店開張」！

開幕翌日請來編劇林超榮主講「港產喜劇電影與本地社會變遷1977-1997」座談會，論析緊扣社會脈搏的本土喜劇，如何展現其時香港社會的核心價值及集體意識形態的變化。

林超榮認為許冠文的作品如《半斤八兩》（1976），以喜劇手法述說社會大眾關心的「打工仔」苦況，大大引起觀眾共鳴。諧趣功夫片《師弟出馬》（1980）中成龍這位師弟，本領不足，終憑有如山寨廠精神的「挨得」取勝。洪金寶的《雜家小子》（1979）提倡集各家之長，沒有名門正宗，反映出香港人多變求生、不拘一格的務實價值。到香港經濟起飛，過往的爛衫戲為新藝城等精裝片取代。《奇謀妙計五福星》（1983）表現兄弟班以「食腦」來達到目的。《富貴逼人》（1987）用浮誇的方式展現香港人夢想一朝發達的心態。九七回歸將至，產生如《表姐，你好嘢！》（1990）這些關乎中港形勢的政治喜劇；周星馳大行其道的無厘頭喜劇，回歸前流露的九七恐懼，在《回魂夜》（1995）中簡直字字珠璣。

配合展覽（至1/10）同期舉行放映節目「影畫早晨」之「最佳拍檔之說說笑」（6/7-28/9/2018），另一場座談會「香港電影中『周身蠟』的人與社會」（講者游靜博士）將於8月26日舉行，詳情請見《展影》（第91期）。

阮兆輝為南北和裁縫店  
主持「新店開張」

Yuen Siu-fai officiated at  
the opening ceremony of  
the 'tailor store'.



林超榮在座談後觀賞展覽  
Lam Chiu-wing visited the exhibition after the seminar.

On the day of his oral history interview, Cantonese opera artist Yuen Siu-fai became the very first guest of the Archive's exhibition '1 Plus 1 Equals More than 2: Comedy Duos of Hong Kong Cinema' which opened on 27 July. Since Leung Sing-por was one of the comedy masters in focus of the programme, a 'tailor store' set from his masterpiece, *The Greatest Civil War on Earth* (1961) was recreated in the exhibition hall. Yuen, who had collaborated with Leung since working as a child actor, was ideally suited to officiate at the opening ceremony of the 'tailor store'.

Screenwriter Lam Chiu-wing was invited to host the seminar 'Hong Kong Comedies and Social Changes, 1977-1997' on the following day, to discuss how local comedies reflected the changes of core values and collective

consciousness of Hong Kong society. Lam opined that works of Michael Hui, such as *The Private Eyes* (1976), depicted the sufferings of the wage earners that the public were concerned about through comedies which resonated well with the audiences. *The Young Master* (1980), a kung fu comedy, featured Jackie Chan as the young master who lacks skills, but is able to gain final victory with his enduring spirit. Sammo Hung's *Knockabout* (1979) championed the incorporation of strengths from different schools of martial arts to form one's own style, reflecting the versatility, eclectic and pragmatic values of Hong Kong people. As Hong Kong's economy began to take off, low-budget productions were replaced by extravagant titles made by companies like Cinema City. *Winners & Sinners* (1983) centered around a group of smart-assed buddies. *It's A Mad, Mad, Mad World* (1987) satirised the wishful dream of Hong Kong people becoming millionaires overnight. As the year 1997 drew near, political comedies such as *Her Fatal Ways* (1990) that portrayed the relationship between Hong Kong and the Mainland came in the spotlight; Stephen Chow's nonsensical comedies such as *Out of the Dark* (1995) also became popular, oozing with Hong Kong people's uncertainty over the 1997 Reunification.

The exhibition to be held until 1st October is tied in with the 'Morning Matinee' series 'Dynamic Duos: Laugh Out Loud' (6/7-28/9/2018). Another seminar 'A Man/Society in Trouble in Hong Kong Comedies' (speaker: Dr Yau Ching) will be held on 26 August. Please refer to *ProFolio* (Issue 91) for details.



## 梁醒波誕辰 110 周年回顧展

### A Tribute to Leung Sing-por on His 110th Birth Anniversary

配合本館主辦、UA CINEHUB協辦的「梁醒波誕辰110周年回顧展」，「梁醒波·伶影之間」展覽現正於本館一樓大堂（至29/10）及UA iSQUARE電影院（至31/10）展出。詳情請見《展影》（第91期）及「我們的波叔」電影放映單張。

To accompany the programme 'A Tribute to Leung Sing-por on His 110th Birth Anniversary', the exhibition 'Leung Sing-por · The Silhouette on Stage and Silver Screen' is being held at 1/F foyer of the Archive (until 29/10) and UA iSQUARE Cinema (until 31/10). Please refer to *ProFolio* (Issue 91) and the leaflet 'Our Greatest Showman' for details. This programme is presented in association with UA CINEHUB.



# 「啊，我明白了」 ——《虹》的電影改編

## 'Oh, I see': The Film Adaptation of *Rainbow*

陳智德 Chan Chi-tak



五、六十年代的香港電影有改編文學作品的傳統，大概可分為三種類別：改編五四文學、通俗文學和外國文學，五四文學方面，包括有改編自巴金同名小說的電影《家》（1953）、《春》（1953）、《秋》（1954）和《寒夜》（1955），改編自巴金《憩園》的電影《人倫》（1959）和《故園春夢》（1964），還有改編自魯迅同名小說的《阿Q正傳》（1958），改編自茅盾同名小說的《虹》（1960）等等。當中，李晨風執導的《春》、《寒夜》和《人倫》皆改編自巴金的小說，五四文學的反封建以及啟蒙與救亡主題，已在這些影片以至其他同樣改編自五四文學的電影中，反覆演繹過。可說李晨風一輩電影人，在五十年代透過電影承傳五四文學精神，完成了反封建的教化功能。當李晨風1960年改編茅盾同名小說的《虹》，因應時代所需，不再重複反封建主題，而是透過五四文化符號來講述革命話語的傳遞。

小說《虹》的潛背景是1927年國共第一次合作破裂後，大批共產黨人被搜捕和殺害，國民黨稱為「清黨」，共產黨則稱為「大革命失敗」。在事件中，茅盾亦遭南京國民政府通緝，在1927至1928年間，寫成了《幻滅》、《動搖》和《追求》三部長篇小說，後稱為《蝕》三部曲，表達了他在1927年大革命失敗後，對革命挫敗的失望、悲觀和消沉。1929年4月至7月，茅盾撰寫另一部長篇小說《虹》，這時他試圖從革命的挫敗和消沉中走出，重拾革命的熱情。

茅盾於1928年7月避居日本東京，居住東京期間完成了《虹》的全稿，1930年3月交付上海開明書店出版單行本。《虹》的故事從女主人公

梅行素在五四運動背景中的成長故事倒敘開始，透過一種女性視角、特別是性別意識成長的角度，探討個人與革命的意義。小說對女主人公的性別意識的成長和覺醒有很仔細描述，提出了一種抗衡於國民黨政府父權意識勢力的女性視角：茅盾藉著配合二十年代中期方興未艾的婦女運動，有意以女性視角造就的邊緣位置，作出對主流權力的批判，也表現知識份子在大革命後的幻滅、動搖和新的理念追求。

電影《虹》由導演李晨風及其子李兆熊合作編寫劇本，原著小說的篇幅很長，電影大約改編了小說的前半部分，結束在女主人公梅行素離開四川奔赴上海一節，人物的心理刻劃側重在女主角梅行素（白燕飾）身上，

對小說的批判意識轉以更隱晦的方式表達。

電影《虹》以五四運動中的學生示威作為序幕，其後多次涉及「抵制劣貨」的情節，其間一律使用「抵制劣貨」這詞語；但在原著小說《虹》裡，除了「抵制劣貨」，還有「偷賣日貨」、「排斥東洋貨」等說法，例如「少城公園的抵制劣貨大會，梅女士也曾去看熱鬧」、「她將來就得做一個偷賣日貨的蘇貨舖的女主人」以及「但是排斥東洋貨的愛國運動」等，當中那「劣貨」、「日貨」、「東洋貨」的意指是同一的；電影《虹》則把「抵制日貨」一律稱為「抵制劣貨」，從頭到尾只用了「劣貨」一詞，但實際上指涉著「日貨」。礙於五十年代的香港電影



片中五四運動學生示威場所見高舉「抵制劣貨」標語，觀眾都知道是說日貨，成為了「開放的隱語」。

The slogan, 'boycott of inferior goods', in the student protest scene during the May Fourth Movement has become very much an unsubtle reference as audiences know that the 'inferior goods' refer to Japanese goods.



《新青年》等五四文化符號作為表達啟蒙與革命的無聲隱語

Cultural symbols of the May Fourth Movement such as *La Jeunesse* depict underlying message of enlightenment and revolution.

檢查條例，一旦影片涉及「排外宣傳口號」或「影響及不利於和友好國家的關係」都不能通過審查，<sup>1</sup> 電影《虹》避免使用「抵制日貨」一詞，只透過五四運動學生示威的場面，使「劣貨」一詞在電影製作者與觀眾之間，作為「日貨」的隱語，但又因為觀眾都知道是說日貨，可說已成了一種「開放的隱語」。

影片後半段，徐綺君（容小意飾）準備奔赴上海，當梅行素問徐何以辭掉教職，徐綺君只說去上海是「去做應該做的事，不過，我現在還不能告訴你」，梅行素隨即回說「啊，我明白了」，並請求徐綺君帶她前往。這情節為小說所無，小說第六章交代梅行素與徐綺君二人結束在瀘州師範學校教書的生活，二人話別時只談及姊妹之情。電影《虹》由這部分以下，幾乎全屬電影編導的個人創作，影片中徐綺君沒有言明前赴上海的目的，當她說「去做應該做的事，不過，我現在還不能告訴你」，好像那是一件觸及此時此地的禁忌的事，而不能明說，但梅行素回答「我明白了」，又像心照不宣，暗地裡點明那禁忌，實際上是指上海的左翼革命運動。

如果我們明白五、六十年代香港電影的歷史、政治限制以及海外市場即「賣埠」的考慮，故事人物徐綺君所迴避的禁忌不是電影故事中的禁

忌，卻是電影以外那現實世界中的禁忌。「我現在還不能告訴你」這一語好像是對觀眾說的，意思是編導不能把意思坦白地說出，而梅行素的回答卻又是演員替觀眾說的，意思是觀眾都心領神會了。這是電影《虹》的革命話語傳遞的關鍵，無論是「抵制劣貨」或未言明的投身左翼革命，都成了開放的隱語，使革命語言隱密化，卻仍然使人心領神會，徐綺君與梅行素對話，有如電影製作者與觀眾之間的心照不宣。

此外，電影也一再透過音樂，喚起觀眾對革命的注意以至回憶。電影由音樂家于彞配樂，他在片中使用了當時身在中國內地的音樂家王雲階為紀念新中國成立十年（1949-1959）而作的《第二交響樂·抗日戰爭》，其中第一樂章反覆變奏北伐戰爭時期流行的歌曲〈打倒列強〉，電影《虹》在開始和尾段，學生「抵制劣貨」的片段中都使用該段音樂。電影公映時，影評人王章特別提及這一點，並引述于彞指出：「他說他所選的主題曲一方面是五四時代流行的，而且這個曲調到現在為止還是為大家所熟悉，人們一聽到這曲子就會回想起那個時代——反帝反封建、爭取婦女解放運動澎湃全國的時代。」<sup>2</sup> 歌曲〈打倒列強〉曾感動不同年代的聽眾，正如汪毓和在《中國近現代音樂史》一書所指，該歌曲「在當時的北

伐戰爭中曾起了很大的作用，並且直到抗日戰爭時期，它們仍作為群眾性的戰鬥歌曲被到處傳唱」<sup>3</sup>；于彞的配樂指涉著〈打倒列強〉和〈第二交響樂·抗日戰爭〉二者，實際上也作為革命符號的象徵，一方面喚起觀眾對革命的回憶，另一方面有助片中的革命隱語明朗化，一再向觀眾作出提示，促使其對蘊含當中的革命訊息心照不宣。

電影《虹》對五四文化符號的傳遞有不少自行創作的情節，是原著小說所無。罹患肺病的韋玉（張瑛飾）被塑造為軟弱形象，因自知患病而拒絕了梅行素的結婚提議。韋玉後來入院接受治療，他本來感到悲觀絕望，直至徐綺君與其兄送了《新青年》等雜誌給他；眾人離去後，韋玉在病床上翻閱《新青年》，鏡頭拉近讓觀眾清楚看見雜誌封面，此時韋玉神情變更，凝神專注的閱讀神態暗示韋玉日後振作和投身革命的開始。同樣，梅行素離開夫家後，徐綺君隨信件寄《新青年》、《婦女雜誌》和《新潮》等進步雜誌給她。在這組情節中，徐綺君與其兄作為向半醒覺或半動搖的知識份子輸送革命思想的源頭，而罹患肺病的韋玉和被封建父權誘騙的梅行素，則作為接受啟蒙和被救贖者，當中的媒介不是言語，而是以《新青年》等五四文化符號作為表達啟蒙與革命的無聲隱語。電影在這



《虹》透過女性性別意識成長的角度，探討個人與革命的意義。

*Rainbow* explores the meaning of the individual and the revolution from the perspective of growing female consciousness.



裡突出了文化媒介的重要性，而電影本身也作為一種文化媒介，並向觀眾暗示，電影《虹》的製作者在某程度上也作為輸送革命思想的媒介，期望觀眾接收當中的革命訊息，如同梅行素向徐綺君說：「啊，我明白了。」

李晨風導演的電影《虹》，對原著小說有很大程度的改編，後半段甚至作出了創作性的補充，因為五四文學的反封建以及啟蒙與救亡主題，是李晨風在五十年代的《春》、《寒夜》和《人倫》三部改編自巴金小說的粵語片中已反覆演繹過的訊息。

《虹》所凸顯的再不是革命訊息，而是革命話語的傳遞，電影既製造隱語，復以多種五四文化符號，包括刊物和音樂，使片中各種革命隱語進一步明朗化，電影製作者毋庸解說或灌輸，仍然使觀眾心領神會，引導觀眾對革命訊息心照不宣，是電影《虹》更關鍵的表意方式。■

#### 註釋

- 1 參考吳國坤，〈冷戰時期香港電影的政治審查〉，收錄於黃愛玲、李培德編《冷戰與香港電影》，香港，香港電影資料館，2009，頁57。
- 2 王章，〈「虹」片配音充滿時代氣息〉，香港，《文匯報》，1960年11月27日。
- 3 汪毓和，《中國近現代音樂史》，北京，人民音樂出版社，2009，頁83。

陳智德，現任香港教育大學文學及文化學系副教授，獲香港藝術發展局頒發2014年度「香港藝術發展獎：年度藝術家獎（藝術評論）」；著有學術論著《板蕩時代的抒情：抗戰時期的香港與文學》、散文集《這時代的文學》、《地文誌：追憶香港地方與文學》等。

Hong Kong cinema of the 1950s and 60s had a tradition of adapting literary works for the big screen. These works could be roughly divided into three categories: adaptations of May Fourth literature, of mainstream literature and of foreign literature. Examples of film adaptations from the first category include *Family* (1953), *Spring* (1953), *Autumn* (1954) and *It Was a Cold Winter Night* (1955), all Ba Jin's novels. His other work, *Spring Dream in Old Garden*, was also adapted twice into *Human Relationships* (1959) and *Garden of Repose* (1964). Likewise, *The True Story of Ah Q* (1958) and *Rainbow* (1960) were adaptations of Lu Xun's and Mao Dun's novels of the same title. Among these films, *Spring*, *It Was a Cold Winter Night* and *Human Relationships* were directed by Lee Sun-fung. Themes of May Fourth literature such as anti-feudalism, enlightenment and saving the country in crisis were repeatedly explored in all these film adaptations. It can be said that Lee belonged to a generation of filmmakers who inherited the beliefs of May Fourth literature and continued its didactic streak in the 1950s. When Lee adapted Mao Dun's novel, *Rainbow*, in 1960, he stripped away its focus on anti-feudalism and highlighted the delivery of revolutionary message through cultural symbols of the May Fourth Movement.

*Rainbow* was written after the failure of the first collaboration between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and Kuomintang (KMT) in 1927, when many CCP members were persecuted and killed. KMT called this a 'purge', while CCP referred the incident as the 'failure of the Great Revolution'. Mao himself also became a wanted man of the Nationalist Government in Nanjing during this time. From 1927 to 1928, he wrote three full-length novels—*Disillusion*, *Wavering*, and *Pursuit*—which later became known as the trilogy of *Eclipse*. In the novels he expressed his disappointment, pessimism and despair at the failing of the revolution in 1927. From April to July 1929, Mao

started writing another full-length novel, *Rainbow*, in which he tried to walk out of the shadows of political disillusionment and regained his belief of the revolution.

Mao fled to Tokyo, Japan in July 1928, and whilst there he completed the manuscript for *Rainbow*. He handed it over to Shanghai Kaiming Bookstore for publication in March 1930. The story of *Rainbow* is told in flashbacks of the female protagonist, Mui Hang-so, who grows up during the May Fourth Movement. It explores the meaning of the individual and the revolution from a female perspective, in particular from a developing gendered point of view. Mao described Mui's growing

gender awareness and awakening in depth, and offered a female point of view that countered the patriarchal authority of the KMT government. He took inspirations from the burgeoning feminist movement of the mid-1920s, and deliberately chose to criticise the mainstream power structure from a female perspective and a marginalised position, and to convey the sense of disillusion and wavering of intellectuals after the revolution, as well as their pursuit of new ideals.

The film *Rainbow* was co-written by director Lee Sun-fung and his son Lee Sil-hong. The original novel is very long. Thus the film adaptation covers only roughly the first half of the book and ends when Mui leaves Sichuan for Shanghai. It also focuses on the psychological characterisation of Mui (played by Pak Yin), depicting the social and political criticisms conveyed by the novel in more subtle ways.

The film opens with a student protest during the May Fourth Movement, and later many scenes focus on the ‘boycott of inferior goods’, where the phrase is often repeated. However, in the novel, slogans and phrases such as ‘smuggling in Japanese goods’ and ‘rejecting Japanese merchandise’ are also mentioned. Examples of these include ‘Ms Mui had also attended the protest against inferior goods at the Shaocheng Park out of curiosity’, ‘she was to become the shopkeeper of a grocery store that smuggled in Japanese goods’, and ‘patriotic movements that advocated the rejection of Japanese merchandise’. The terms ‘inferior goods’, ‘Japanese goods’, and ‘Japanese merchandise’ are interchangeable, but the film only makes reference to the former—calling the ‘boycott of Japanese goods’ as ‘boycott of inferior goods’. Due to the Film Censorship Ordinance in 1950s Hong Kong, in which it forbade films from using ‘xenophobic slogans’ or ‘negatively influencing the relationship with friendly nations’,<sup>1</sup> *Rainbow* had

to avoid using the phrase ‘boycott of Japanese goods’, and rely on scenes of student protest during the May Fourth Movement as well as the term ‘inferior goods’ to convey the message. Since audiences would have very little problem connecting the dots, it could be said that this was very much an unsubtle reference.

In the second half of the film, as Tsui Yee-kwun (played by Yung Siu-yi) prepares to go to Shanghai, Mui asks her why she has decided to quit her teaching job. Tsui only says that the reason for her departure is that she has ‘to do what is right, but I can’t tell you anything right now’. Mui immediately replies, ‘Oh, I see’, before asking Tsui to take her along. This is not a scene from the novel. In chapter six of the novel, it describes simply that Mui and Tsui’s lives at the Luzhou Normal School have come to an end, and the two only speak of their friendship as they part. The film deviates from the source completely from this point onwards. Tsui does not state explicitly in the film why she is going to Shanghai, and her vague words ‘to do what is right, but I can’t tell you anything right now’ hint at yet another taboo subject that cannot be explicitly told onscreen. Mui’s response seems to also affirm this, rather blatantly suggesting that Tsui is about to join the leftist revolution in Shanghai.

Taking into consideration the history of 1950s and 60s Hong Kong cinema, the political restrictions of the day and the overseas film market environment, the subject that Tsui avoids is not a taboo within the context of the film, but a taboo of the world outside it. The line ‘I can’t tell you anything right now’ seems to be addressed towards the audiences, as though the filmmakers cannot explicitly state what is on their minds. Mui’s response is as much her own as it is the audiences’—like her, the audiences understand exactly what Tsui is talking about.

This is the key to the conveyance of revolutionary message in *Rainbow*—both the phrase ‘boycott of inferior goods’ and the unstated plan to join the leftist revolution are fairly obvious riddles. The language of revolution is codified, but easy to understand. Tsui and Mui’s conversation implies the tacit understanding between the filmmakers and the audiences.

Furthermore, the film repeatedly uses music to rouse audiences’ attention to and even memories of the revolution. The music of *Rainbow* was arranged by composer Yu Lin, where he incorporated Wang Yunjie’s “Second Symphony: The War of Resistance Against Japan”, a piece written in commemoration of the 10th anniversary of New China (1949-1959). The first movement repeatedly introduces variations of ‘Down with Imperialist Forces’, a tune made popular during the Northern Expedition, and is used in both the beginning and the end of the film, as well as the scene where the students ‘boycott inferior goods’. Upon the film’s release, film critic Wong Cheung highlighted this particular feature of *Rainbow*’s music, and quoted Yu Lin, ‘He said that the theme song he chose was not only popular during the May Fourth Movement, but sounded very familiar to audiences until this day. Once they heard of the tune, they would recall that era—an era of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, and a time when the women’s liberation movement was surging across the nation.’<sup>2</sup> The song ‘Down with Imperialist Forces’ had touched the hearts of audiences of different generations. As indicated by Wang Yuhe in *History of Early Modern and Modern Chinese Music*, the song ‘played a key role in the Northern Expedition, and up until the War of Resistance Against Japan, it was still widely performed as a military tune for the people.’<sup>3</sup> Yu’s incorporation of ‘Down with Imperialist Forces’ and ‘Second Symphony: The War of



Resistance Against Japan' is actually a symbol of the revolution. It recalls audiences' memories of the revolution and facilitates the coming-of-light of the underlying revolutionary message in the film. It has once again given hints to the audiences, to prompt their tacit understanding of the revolutionary message.

Many parts in *Rainbow*, with regards to the delivery of cultural symbols of the May Fourth Movement, are created by the filmmakers. Wai Yuk (played by Cheung Ying), who suffers from lung disease, is characterised as a weakling who has rejected Mui's proposal of getting married due to his own health conditions. After Wai is hospitalised, his pessimism and despair finally dissipates him when he receives magazines like *La Jeunesse* from Tsui and her brother. Wai flips open the magazine on bed after all his visitors have left. The camera zooms in and gives audiences a clear look of the magazine cover. At the same time, Wai's expression changes; his concentrated demeanour during reading foretells his rebound in the later days and joining of the revolutionaries. Similarly, after Mui leaves her husband, Tsui sends her copies of progressive magazines such as *La Jeunesse*, *The Ladies' Journal*, and *The Renaissance*

along with letters. Here, Tsui and her brother are the advocates who disseminate revolutionary ideas to the intellectuals who are half-aware or not fully committed to the cause. On the other hand, the sickly Wai and Mui, who is deceived by the feudal patriarchy, are those who are enlightened and saved by the movement. They are not persuaded via words, but via cultural symbols of the May Fourth Movement such as *La Jeunesse*, which convey the underlying message of enlightenment and revolution. *Rainbow* highlights the importance of the cultural medium, of which the film itself is also one. It alludes to the audiences that the producer of *Rainbow* is, to a certain extent, also delivering revolutionary ideologies, hoping that they too would comprehend the message, just as Mui responds to Tsui, 'Oh, I see.'

Lee Sun-fung's *Rainbow* changes great parts of the plot of the original novel. The latter half of *Rainbow* further includes self-created scenes as themes of May Fourth literature, anti-feudalism, enlightenment and saving the country in crisis, were already explored in Lee's previous Ba Jin screen adaptations in the 1950s—*Spring*, *It Was a Cold Winter Night*, and *Human Relationships*. *Rainbow* focuses less

on the message of revolution but the delivery of it. It creates many codified moments and refers to various cultural symbols of the May Fourth Movement, including journals and music, to help throw light on the underlying message of revolution. Lee is not heavy-handed in his approach, but nonetheless allows audiences to have a clear grasp of his political stance and beliefs as well as the tacit understanding of the revolutionary message. The key to *Rainbow* is as much the medium as it is the message. [Translated by Rachel Ng] ■

#### Notes

- 1 See Kenny Ng, 'Political Censorship of Hong Kong Films During the Cold War' in Wong Ain-ling and Lee Pui-tak (eds), *The Cold War and Hong Kong Cinema*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2009, p 57 (in Chinese).
- 2 Wong Cheung, 'The *Rainbow* Soundtrack is Full of Historical References', Hong Kong, *Wen Wei Po*, 27 November 1960 (in Chinese).
- 3 Wang Yuhe, *History of Early Modern and Modern Chinese Music*, Beijing: People's Music Publishing House, 2009, p 83 (in Chinese).

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Ms Jenny Tsai  
Mr Roger Tsui  
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Thank you!

五至七月間，「瑰寶情尋」之「賞文·閱影：華語名著改編」（8/4-2/9/2018）舉行的座談會系列，分別聚焦司馬遷（《史記·刺客列傳》）、老舍（《駱駝祥子》）和曹禺（《日出》）作品。講者們豐富的資料和論述，從原著和電影之間的探討，推廣而至其與歷史和所身處的時代的關係，啟人深思。

As part of the 'Archival Gems' programme 'Worth a Thousand Words: Adaptations of Chinese Literary Classics' (8/4-2/9/2018), a series of seminars were held between May and July, putting focuses on Sima Qian's 'Biographies of Assassins' section of *Records of the Grand Historian*, Lao She's *Rickshaw Boy*, and Cao Yu's *Sunrise*. Citing a wealth of research and evidence, the speakers provided incisive and insightful commentary on the links between the original works and their film adaptations, as well as the relations between history and contemporary society.

## 情與義：文學與電影對歷史人物的重塑 6.5.2018

Ties of Duty: Reconstructing Historical Figures in Literature and Film

是次座談會邀得影評人曾肇弘主講，以改編自《史記·刺客列傳》的電影為例，探討文學與電影對歷史人物的重塑。《史記》是由西漢太史公司馬遷以紀傳體撰寫的歷史書籍，但曾肇弘認為，《史記》的描述簡潔、精準而生動，加上故事性強，因而兼備史學與文學價值。



曾肇弘闡述了兩部改編自《史記·刺客列傳》「專諸刺吳王」的電影《魚腸劍》（1957）及《刺客列傳》（1980）與原著的相異之處。他認為，《魚腸劍》不但較著重細節，更增加了角色的心理描寫，強調吳王僚的昏庸無道，從而突顯專諸大義凜然的形象，令人物刻畫更立體。相對《魚腸劍》，《刺客列傳》的改編則略為粗疏，例如角色的衣著過於鮮艷，欠缺春秋時代應有的古樸味。

至於改編自「聶政刺韓傀」的電影《大刺客》（1967），曾肇弘指，根據原著，嚴仲子求聶政刺殺韓傀，為的只是私怨，也沒強調聶政的出身背景，但《大刺客》卻將聶政塑造成愛抱打不平的熱血男兒，為對抗橫行霸道的秦國及報答嚴仲子知遇之恩才慷慨赴義。曾肇弘又認為，《大刺客》拍攝於「六七暴動」前後，當中表現的激情、暴力和叛逆，很明顯受時勢感染。

Film critic Tsang Siu-wang talked about the reconstruction of historical figures in literature and cinema, illustrated by film adaptations of the 'Biographies of Assassins' section of *Records of the Grand Historian*. While written as historical biographies by Sima Qian in Western Han dynasty, Tsang believed that *Records* served both historic and literary values as it was not only accurately and lively written but also strong in narratives.

He then compared two film adaptations of 'Zhuan Zhu's Assassination of King Liao' in *Records—The Hidden Dagger* (1957) and *Night of the Assassins* (1980)—to

the original text. Tsang pointed out that *The Hidden Dagger* put focus on the details and heightened psychological characterisation, with the incompetent King Liao acting as a foil to the righteous Zhuan Zhu to add dimensions to the characters. He also argued that *Night of the Assassins* appeared to be a somewhat shoddy adaptation when compared to the former; misusing overly colourful costumes in a story set in the humbly-toned Spring and Autumn period.

With regards to the film adaptation of 'Nie Zheng's Assassination of Han Kui', *The Assassin* (1967), Tsang specified that in the original text, Yan Zhongzi asked Nie to assassinate Han only because of personal disputes, while providing little background information of Nie. However, Nie is depicted as a noble rebel who accepts the suicide mission to counter the vicious rule of Qin dynasty, and to express his gratitude for Yan in the film. Shot around the time of the 1967 riots, *The Assassin* was clearly under the influence of the times in terms of the passion, violence and rebelliousness shown.

## 老舍的小說與電影 3.6.2018

Reading Lao She Through Novels and Films

座談會上，講者陳廣隆探析兩部由老舍名著《駱駝祥子》改編的電影——《浪子雙娃》（1962）及《駱駝祥子》（1984）。陳廣隆首先簡述老舍的生平、寫作特色和歷年的改編，提出除了為人熟悉的寫實主義外，老舍突出的人物塑造和心理描寫，往往比情節本身更令人難忘。



陳廣隆 Horace Chan

Horace Chan analysed two cinematic works based on Lao She's *Rickshaw Boy—What Price Love* (1962) and *Rickshaw Boy* (1984) in the seminar. Chan started by giving an outline of Lao She's life, his writing style and the various screen adaptations of his works. He argued that although Lao She was famous for his realistic tone, the creation and psychological characterisation of his characters were often more memorable than the plots of his stories.



《浪子雙娃》以愛情、歷險作宣傳重點，更將結局改寫為陽光、正面的劫後重圓。如此大幅改動，是五、六十年代常見的做法，但影片在銅鑼灣、深井、鯉魚門等地大量實景拍攝，倒頗有老舍風格，仿如其作品對地景（北平街道）的描劃，表達出導演對香港這地方的深厚感情。

《駱駝祥子》精細佈置的廠景則回應著原著二十年代的歷史背景。陳廣隆特別提到電影裡出現的電車，暗示了當時電車與人力車業的競爭和工潮，與老舍的人文關懷互相呼應。斯琴高娃飾演的虎妞靈氣活現，觀眾既同情又喜愛，甚至影響了此後各類改編《駱駝祥子》作品的詮釋呢！

*What Price Love* was marketed on its elements of romance and adventure, with a revised ending of happy reunion, leaving the film on a positive and hopeful note. It was commonplace for 1950s and 60s screen adaptations to make drastic changes to their source material. Yet, the choice to film on location in Causeway Bay, Sham Tseng and Lei Yue Mun was somehow reflective of Lao She's writing—his tendency to lovingly describe the scenery (the streets of Beijing) in which his stories were set. The choice of location filming in Hong Kong equally unveiled the director's love for the city.

In contrast, *Rickshaw Boy* was filmed on meticulously constructed studio sets that recreated the 1920s Beijing, in which the original novel was set. Chan drew attention to the presence of trams in the film that served to hint at the industrial upheaval caused by the competition between trams and rickshaws. He suggested that the inclusion of such detail was yet again homage to Lao She's humanistic vision. The film also featured Siqin Gaowa as the feisty and scene-stealing boss's daughter, which became an audience favourite and a lasting influence to many future adaptations of *Rickshaw Boy*.

## 曹禺劇場的電影詮釋 1.7.2018 Cinematic Representations of Cao Yu's Theatrical Works

左翼戲劇家曹禺是中國話劇的奠基人物之一，名作《雷雨》和《日出》等，自三十年代發表後，曾多番由不同的劇團和媒體搬演，歷久不衰。游靜博士從中國戲劇的現代化談起，透過歷史脈絡去闡述孕育出這位劇作家的環境。曹禺少時隨繼母觀看傳統地方戲曲，青年時代則深受西方劇作家易卜生影響；有評者認為《雷雨》中的繁漪活脫是未曾出走的娜拉，而《日出》中的陳白露是出走而墮落的娜拉。

曹禺結合現代主義與寫實主義的大膽嘗試當時雖然一鳴驚人，但《雷雨》及《日出》公演時一方面被國民黨指有傷風化，被列為禁書批鬥，另一方面左翼評論界也有聲音謂其反封建及鞭撻帝國主義不足。曹禺創作的《日出》有三個版本：原作寫於1936年；1951年中共建國後公演修訂版（開明本），回應了早年一些來自左翼的批評；以及1985年和女兒萬方合作的電影文學本。三者之間在人物安排、劇情等方面都有差異。

至於原著與香港電影的改編，游靜認為，原著本是群戲，香港兩部電影（分別攝於1953和1956年）卻把重點放在陳白露身上。曹禺曾強調，《日出》的主角是這個「損不足以奉有餘」的社會，並表示第三幕（妓院內）最貼近他的心，因為妓女翠喜，有「一顆金子似的心」，可惜香港兩部《日出》電影，都刪掉翠喜一角。電影更安排小東西獲救，讓觀眾感到較有希望。講者認為原作顛覆了絕望與希望的黑白二分，對於資本主義社會環環相扣的政經結構，及「人這個東西」在這結構下非常複雜的、愛恨交纏的情感，有深刻的關懷、分析與洞見，對今天活在香港的我們，猶具意義。



游靜 You Jing

Leftist playwright Cao Yu was one of the founding figures of Chinese theatre. His renowned works such as *Thunderstorm* and *Sunrise*, had been performed by different theatre troupes and adapted for different mediums since their publications in the 1930s. Dr Yau Ching began by discussing the modernisation of Chinese theatre and the historical context in which Cao was nurtured in.

As a child, Cao often followed his stepmother to watch traditional Chinese operas. He was heavily influenced by Henrik Ibsen during his youth, to the extent that some critics depicted similarities between the character of Fan Yi in *Thunderstorm* and a Nora who had never left her family in *A Doll's House*. Likewise, Chen Bailu in *Sunrise* hinted at a degenerate Nora who had run away from home.

Cao Yu's bold attempts in bringing together modernism and realism were much-lauded, but at the same time condemned by the Kuomintang for debauchery when they were first performed and his books were also banned. Even leftist critics found fault in Cao's criticism on feudalism and imperialism were deemed not strong enough. Therefore, there were three versions of *Sunrise*: the original work that was written in 1936; a 1951 revised version for performance after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, which addressed some of the earlier leftist criticisms; and finally a film literature script that he co-authored with his daughter Wan Fang in 1985. The three differed from each other in terms of how the characters and plots were handled.

As Yau moved on to analyse the Hong Kong film adaptations of *Sunrise*, she pointed out that while the original play gave equal attention to a large cast of characters, the two adaptations (made in 1953 and 1956 respectively) chose to focus on Chen Bailu alone. Cao once said that the real lead of *Sunrise* was the society that chose to 'rob the poor in order to feed the rich'. He also expressed that the third act (set inside a brothel) was closest to his heart due to his fondness for the prostitute character Cui Xi, who had 'a heart of gold'. Unfortunately both film adaptations cut out her character. Another significant change from the source material was that Xiao Dong Xi got rescued, bringing a sense of hope to the audiences. In Yau's opinion, the original play subverted black-and-white dichotomies such as despair and hope and depicted the complexities of a capitalist society where the political and the economic intertwined. With a sensitive and insightful eye, Cao examined how human relationships and emotions of love and hate played out in such a social structure. It was very much the reason why *Sunrise* was particularly meaningful for audiences in Hong Kong in this day.

「賞文·閱影：華語名著改編」尚有兩節座談分別於8月5日及9月2日舉行，詳情見《展影》（第90期）。

Two more seminars from 'Worth a Thousand Words: Adaptations of Chinese Literary Classics' will be held on 5 August and 2 September. Please refer to *ProFolio* (Issue 90) for details.

三月底開展的「芳華年代」，五、六月間繼續請來三位講者，探索令人難忘的張國榮與梅艷芳，如何與我們的美好年代相遇上。

Since late March, the programme 'Glory Days: When Leslie met Anita' had been inviting speakers to explore how Leslie Cheung and Anita Mui crossed paths with us in the splendid era. In May to June, the seminars continued to follow.

## 男裝如花與女裝蝶衣：張國榮與梅艷芳的電影形象 22.5.2018

Fleur and Dieyi: The Cinematic Images of Leslie Cheung and Anita Mui

座談會中，李展鵬博士透過張國榮不羈陰柔的獨特氣質，與梅艷芳的百變形象，探討他們的性別特質與香港政治社會文化的關聯。

李展鵬首先從「身體」與「國族」的角度切入，分析「身體」在國家意識下的不自主。張梅二人在八十年代的出現無疑打破了界限，不論是舞台、銀幕上的演出或是本身的性格形象，都開拓了以個人選擇為主的新時代。他更分別以張梅多部電影角色的「身體」及「性別」，討論其中的意義及象徵。像如花在《胭脂扣》（1988）的男裝出場扮相突顯了其藏在女性身體中的堅強性格；而在《霸王別姬》（1993）裡的花旦程蝶衣，則是「墮落」的男體，愛上了師兄段小樓，與傳統男權背道而馳。不停換裝的川島芳子和《英雄本色III夕陽之歌》（1989）裡背景模糊的周英杰，都演繹出當時移民潮下香港的不確定狀態；而張國榮飾演的旭仔在《阿飛正傳》（1990）裡對於身份的追尋，或《春光乍洩》（1997）裡沒有回家意圖的何寶榮，都充分表達出香港人不知屬於何處的困惑。



李展鵬 Lei Chin-pang

Dr Lei Chin-pang made use of Leslie Cheung's unsettled and feminine demeanour and Anita Mui's transformative image, to explore the relation between their gender traits and Hong Kong's socio-political culture in the seminar.

Lei analysed the lack of autonomy of the 'body' under the national consciousness from the perspectives of the 'body' and 'nationality'. The appearance of Cheung and Mui in the 1980s undoubtedly broke the boundaries. Whether it was on the stage, on the silver screen, or through their own characters, they opened up and unveiled a new era led by personal choice. Lei also examined the meaning and symbolism of 'body' and 'gender' in a number of Cheung and Mui's roles. For examples, in *Rouge* (1988), Fleur's appearance in men's clothing highlights the strong character hidden in her female body. As for Cheng Dieyi, who dresses as a *huadan* in *Farewell to My Concubine* (1993), is a 'fallen' male body who falls in love with his male partner on stage, Duan Xiaolou, running counter to the traditional concepts of masculinity. Kawashima Yoshiko, who constantly changes her images; and Chow Ying-kit in *A Better Tomorrow III: Love and Death in Saigon* (1989), who has an ambiguous background, both represent the uncertain state of Hong Kong at the time of an immigration tide. As for Cheung's role Yuddy, who is in search of his identity in *Days of Being Wild* (1990); or Ho Po-wing who has no intention of returning home in *Happy Together* (1997), both express the confusion of Hong Kong people who do not know where they belong.

## 梅艷芳與張國榮的性別形象和文化想像 27.5.2018

Gender Image, Sexual Imagery, and Cultural Imaginary of Anita Mui and Leslie Cheung

何家珩博士在座談會中，從張國榮及梅艷芳的性別形象，分析當中的文化想像。他認為，張國榮的性別形象多元，由《英雄本色》（1986）有情有義的宋子傑、《倩女幽魂》（1987）的陰柔書生寧采臣、《家有囍事》（1992）的「娘娘腔」常騷到《霸王別姬》（1993）的京劇乾旦程蝶衣，他演繹起來都游刃有餘，成功衝破傳統男性典範的框架，推翻二元對立的性別定型。



何家珩 Jason Ho

另外，何家珩又指，梅艷芳雖憑《胭脂扣》（1989）如花一角，奪得多項最佳女主角的殊榮，奠定了她在影壇的地位，但她並沒繼續扮演柔弱的女性。反之，她卻願意突破，除參演《審死官》（1992）等喜劇外，還飾演強悍的川島芳子，將其舞台上的百變形象，延伸到大銀幕。及至後期《金枝玉葉2》（1996）的方艷梅和《男人四十》（2002）的陳文靖，不管那是觀眾的自我投射，還是導演或劇本的驅使，梅艷芳本身彷彿與她的角色揉合，難以分割，可見她的演技和形象已達至另一境界。

Dr Jason Ho analysed the cultural imaginary surrounding the gender images of Leslie Cheung and Anita Mui in the seminar. He argued that Leslie Cheung's diverse gender image allowed him to perform at ease in roles that spanned from the loyal, sentimental Sung Tse-kit in *A Better Tomorrow* (1986), the gentle scholar in *A Chinese Ghost Story* (1987), the sissy Shang So in *All's Well Ends Well* (1992), to the Peking opera *huadan* Cheng Dieyi in *Farewell to My Concubine* (1993). He broke through the conventional framework of male model and overthrew the stereotypical gender binary.

Ho also pointed out that although Mui won multiple best actress awards with her portrayal of Fleur in *Rouge* (1989), which established her position atop the film industry, she did not continue to take up roles of a soft woman. On the contrary, she was willing to push beyond herself, taking part in comedies such as *Justice, My Foot!* (1992); playing the valiant Kawashima Yoshiko, extending her transformative persona from the stage to the silver screen. When acting as Fong Yim-mui in the later *Who's the Woman, Who's the Man* (1996), and Chan Man-ching in *July Rhapsody* (2002), Mui seemed to be in such harmony with the roles—whether it was driven by audiences' self-projection, by the director or the script—her acting and image proved to have reached another level.



## 真係五十年不變？—— 我們的美好年代 9.6.2018

50 Years of...What Exactly?

《胭脂扣》(1988)中的一句經典對白，帶出講者家明對八十年代香港電影中的時代寄寓的剖析。座談會以《胭脂扣》一片段打開序幕：袁永定帶了女鬼如花回家，女友阿楚呷醋，緊抓如花的長衫衣領說：「件衫磨咗五十年都唔爛，啲料都幾襟咗。真係五十年不變？」此時，攝影機順著阿楚的動作急速推移，再回拍她氣憤的特寫。家明認為，這突如其來的鏡頭運動正好突顯「真係五十年不變？」這句台詞於此片的重要性。



家明 Ka Ming

八十年代正值中英談判的關鍵時期，也是香港電影題材轉變的分水嶺之一。家明認為，此前的香港電影多屬「非政治化」，普遍以賣座為目的，主打愛情、武打等類型片，但到了八十年代，卻開始有的放矢，滲入政治元素，例如《胭脂扣》及其原著小說便多次提到「九七」以及對「五十年不變」的懷疑。家明又指，八十年代的藝文界也推出了不少作品，梳理香港歷史，包括電影《上海之夜》(1984)、《等待黎明》(1984)、《傾城之戀》(1984)、電視劇《香江歲月》(1984)、舞台劇《我係香港人》(1985)等，既隱含對時代的關懷，也呼應了香港人對中英聯合聲明的焦慮以及對九七回歸的迷惘。

A well-remembered line in *Rouge* (1988) denoted speaker Ka Ming's analysis of times in Hong Kong films in the 1980s. The seminar opened with a snippet of *Rouge*: Yuan Ting brings a female ghost, Fleur home; his girlfriend Ah Chor becomes jealous and grasps the collar of Fleur's *cheongsam*, saying, 'Your clothing hasn't worn-out after 50 years, that's pretty impressive fabric. Is it true there's no change for 50 years?' The camera then pans quickly to follow Ah Chor's movements, before giving a close-up of her furious expression. Ka Ming believed that this sudden camera movement highlights the importance of the line—'Is it true there's no change for 50 years?'

The 1980s was a crucial period of time for the Sino-British negotiations and a watershed moment to the change of themes in Hong Kong films. Ka Ming argued that previously Hong Kong films were mostly 'non-politicised'—driven by sales, with focuses on romance and martial arts. However, in the 1980s, they began to reveal intentions with political undertones, such as the repeatedly mentioned '1997' and doubts about the promise of 'status quo for 50 years' in *Rouge* and its original novel. Ka Ming also pointed out the art and literature community of the 1980s produced a number of works that examined the history of Hong Kong, including films like *Shanghai Blues* (1984), *Hong Kong 1941* (1984), *Love in a Fallen City* (1984), TV series *Days of the Orient* (1984), theatre play *I am Hong Kong* (1985) and so forth. They embodied implicit concerns for the times, echoing the anxiety of Hong Kong people over the *Sino-British Joint Declaration* and confusion about the 1997 Reunification.

## 香港電影資料館「大變身」 Hong Kong Film Archive Gets Its Makeover

資料館於2001年落成啟用，一直致力搜集、保存及修復香港電影，並透過放映、展覽、座談會等活動，與大眾分享這些文化瑰寶。轉眼間，資料館大樓投入服務已經17個年頭！為了給你們帶來更舒適的到訪體驗，我們的展覽廳、電影院及票房將於2018年10月4日起暫別大家，進行大變身，至2019年2月以全新面貌投入服務。

變身期間，三樓的資源中心將如常開放，歡迎繼續蒞臨。

Since its establishment in 2001, the Hong Kong Film Archive has been committed to acquiring, preserving and restoring Hong Kong's cinematic heritage. These archival treasures are made available for public appreciation through a variety of screenings, exhibitions and seminars. After 17 years of service, our exhibition hall, cinema and box office will be closed from 4 October 2018 until February 2019 for remodelling.

The Resource Centre on 3/F will remain open as usual during the refurbishment period.

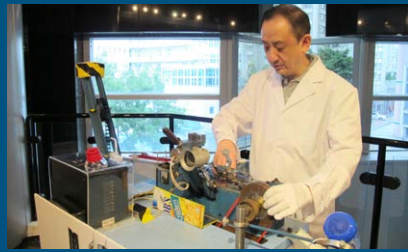
以「博物館輸入中……」為主題的「香港博物館節2018」於6月23日至7月8日舉行。香港電影資料館為這項盛事的23個康文署轄下參與單位之一，除特設「伴戲同行·無聲的翻譯員」活動，更將本館修復的電影《彩色青春》（1966）首度作戶外放映，與眾同樂。

With the theme 'Museum is typing...', Muse Fest HK 2018 was held from 23 June to 8 July this year. As one of the 23 participating units from Leisure and Cultural Services Department, Hong Kong Film Archive hosted the 'Hand in Hand with Film—the Silent Translator' exhibition cum demonstration and the first-ever outdoor screening of the restored *Colourful Youth* (1966).

## 伴戲同行·無聲的翻譯員

Hand in Hand with Film—the Silent Translator

「伴戲同行·無聲的翻譯員」展覽在本館一樓大堂展示今年初搜集得來的銅版字幕機，同場設有展板及錄像播放，透過這台為電影拷貝壓印字幕的機器，述說字幕製作過程及技術變遷。本館的修復人員更於周末即場示範操作字幕機製作字幕的過程。參加者既可近距離接觸實物，細看銅版壓到菲林上的效果，之後還可獲得印有字幕的菲林片留念。



本館影片修復員吳宏雄示範操作銅版字幕機：開動後輸送帶帶動菲林運行，把裝好銅版的手把壓下，便能將銅版上的字幕一下壓到運行中的菲林上。

Ng Wang-hung, Film Technician of the HKFA demonstrated how to use the copper-plate subtitling machine: After the machine is turned on, its conveyor belt would roll and deliver the film to the operator. He would then push the lever down and the subtitles on the copper plates would be pressed onto the moving film frame by frame.

'Hand in Hand with Film—the Silent Translator' was held at the Archive's 1st Floor Foyer, where a copper-plate subtitling machine that was acquired early on this year was put on display. Along with the display boards and introductory videos, the exhibition recounted the process of how subtitles were printed onto film, and how such technology evolved through the years. Conservators of the Archive also gave weekend demonstrations of using the machine to print subtitles on film. Visitors had the opportunity to not only observe the machine in use, but to examine the printed subtitles on the film closely. They were each gifted a strip of film with subtitles printed on as souvenirs afterwards.

## 彩色青春電影派對

Colourful Youth Agogo Party

是次博物館節的特備壓軸活動「彩色青春電影派對」於7月7日在油街實現的園景區舉行，放映由本館於2015年修復的《彩色青春》112分鐘版本。大會請來藝人森美擔任主持，與導演黃修平、澳門「戀愛·電影館」藝術總監朱佑人和MOVIE MOVIE總經理蔡靄兒暢談觀後感，並分析青春歌舞電影的今昔之別。朱佑人認為《彩》片的主角歌精舞勁，盡顯年青人的活力。蔡靄兒指該片不但描繪了當時年青人騎「綿羊仔」、跳阿哥哥舞的時髦生活，更反映了其時社會重視的價值觀，勸喻年青人要珍惜光陰、努力向上。曾執導多部青春電影的黃修平坦言現今年青人不大接受說教式的電影，但他相信只要懷著一顆赤誠之心去拍攝電影，定能令觀眾產生共鳴。



(左起) 蔡靄兒、朱佑人、黃修平、森美  
(From left) Joycelyn Choi, Albert Chu, Adam Wong and Sammy Leung

The closing programme of this year's Muse Fest 'Colourful Youth Agogo Party' was held at the Green Area of Oil! on 7 July, screening the 112-minute *Colourful Youth* that was restored by the Archive in 2015. While Sammy Leung was invited as the host, he was joined onstage by director Adam Wong; Albert Chu, Artistic Director of Macau Cinematheque-Passion; and Joycelyn Choi, General Manager of MOVIE MOVIE, to share their thoughts of the film and discuss the evolution of youth musicals. Chu praised the leading actors in *Colourful Youth* for their youthful energy and talents in singing and dancing. Choi, meanwhile, pointed out that the film not only depicted

the stylish lives of youths riding scooters and doing agogo dancing, it encouraged young audiences to cherish time and work hard, reflecting the social values of the time. Wong, who directed multiple coming-of-age films, suggested that young people nowadays do not take well to didactic titles. Nonetheless, he believed that films made with passion and sincerity would always resonate well with audiences.

《彩色青春》(1966)戶外放映，兼有重現六十年代摩登色彩的派對。

*Colourful Youth* (1966) was screened outdoor; with a party that recreated the 1960s modern vibe.





# 「製片委員會」說永華

## Revealed: Yung Hwa's Production Committee Meeting Minutes

郭靜寧 Kwok Ching-ling



七十年前，永華影業公司在香港成立，是中國影壇的盛事。

抗戰勝利後，中國即陷於內戰局面，上海物價波動厲害，製片廠難以作出預算，紛紛嘗試轉移陣地，把資金、人才集中到香港，<sup>1</sup> 1946年來港的就有蔣伯英開設的大中華電影企業有限公司。巨富李祖永<sup>2</sup> 1947年籌備在港成立電影公司，同時建設具規模的製片廠去攝製電影，以提高中國電影質素為志，永華影業公司創業作《國魂》（1948）以及緊接推出的《清宮秘史》（1948），為公司創業雙響炮。永華網羅一眾編演製人才，1948年幹勁沖天地開拍一連串電影。

七十年過去，1954年一場火災燒去底片，今天倖存下來能看的永華四十年代電影，只有《國魂》、《清宮秘史》和《春雷》（1949）。香港電影資料館館藏的一批永華文獻中，珍貴地保存了一冊「總經理室會議錄」，記下永華創業之始至1950年初的會議紀錄，得見其時永華攝製影片的宗旨和實況。「會議錄」中，為1948年1月19日至1950年2月2日

的31次會議紀錄，由第四次（1948年2月18日）開始正式稱為製片委員會會議。

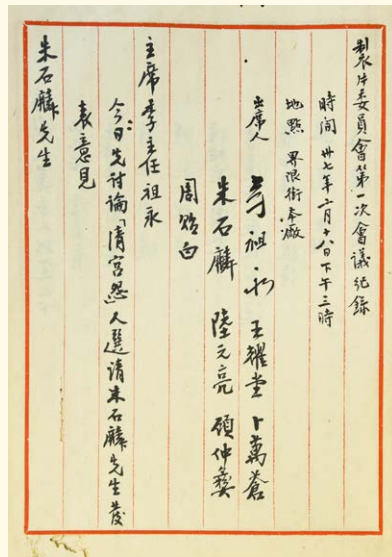
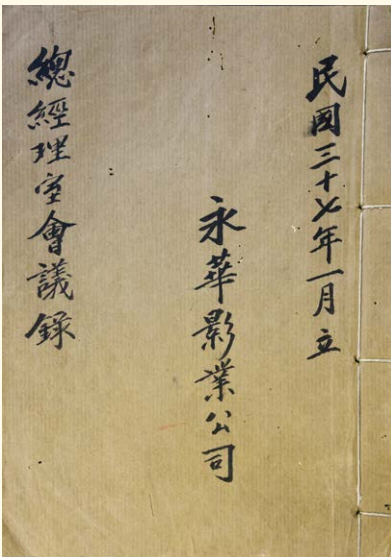
第一次總經理室會議，成員為主席李祖永、協理王耀堂、廠長陸元亮及導演卜萬蒼，闡明營業宗旨及目的為「提倡中國古代優越道德所得之利為宗旨，設法普及及改善中國現在教育為目的」，並說明永華由李祖永獨資。<sup>3</sup> 公司組織分為業務和製片兩部分，前者由王耀堂負責，後者由陸元亮負責；另有製片委員會，由李、王、陸、卜及朱石麟、李萍倩、吳祖光、歐陽予倩、顧仲彝<sup>4</sup>、周貽白組成，目的為「研究製片計劃，物色導演及演員」。程步高、高季琳（即柯靈）、張駿祥之後也曾出席該會議。

三次的總經理室會議後，定期舉行製片委員會會議，永華主席、總經理李祖永身兼製片委員會主任。要員中，陸元亮負責擬訂製片廠辦事細則及廠規；卜萬蒼負責擬訂製片委員會之範圍細則；法學出身的王耀堂，負責擬訂業務部的辦事細則。1949年2月9日開始加入的邵忻湖和張星聯，身份為投資人及常務董事。會議由李雋青（作詞家）作紀錄。

### 劇影人才濟濟

永華擬大展拳腳，延攬的編導，均非泛泛。除了《國魂》和《清宮秘史》，諸片並舉，更議決各片劇本完成後始開攝。會議中談到的《鄉愁》（吳祖光作品）應即《山河淚》（1949）、《春城無處不飛花》（程步高作品）應即《春城花落》（1949）、《野火》（張駿祥作品）應即《火葬》（1949）。發行策略上，影片以四片為一組，每組所含各影片風格性質須不同，便利影院排片。1948年初攝影棚建成的有兩座，但同時開拍數片〔參考片廠的拍攝起訖表，見第25頁〕，問題叢生，1949年4月25日議改為專攝一部片。其實永華大舉開展得太急促，委實難以維持。

這群風華正茂的編導，大多四十多歲，最年青的吳祖光才剛三十出頭。從永華出品中雖不見具名顧仲彝、周貽白、歐陽予倩的作品，這幾位劇作家是早期永華編劇骨幹，收集劇材，分別寫了名為《女店員》（顧仲彝）、《鴛鴦結》（周貽白）和《芳草啼鴉》（歐陽予倩）的劇本，大抵未及開拍。當中最資深的歐陽予倩（時年近六十），早於三十年代已



曾來港從事電影工作。三、四十年代中國話劇大盛，亦有電影工作者在上海淪陷時期退出電影界搞話劇，這方面的互動，顯然滋育了電影界人才；與此同時，也有不少傑出話劇演員投身電影，在電影界中有精湛的演出。至於永華兩部創業巨製，亦改編自話劇，編劇正是原作者吳祖光（《國魂》）和姚克（《清宮秘史》）。

這群名重一時的編導中，卜萬蒼、朱石麟、李萍倩等因在上海淪陷時期曾在中華電影聯合股份有限公司（簡稱「華影」）拍片，戰後背上附逆影人之嫌，舉步維艱，朱石麟早在1946年就已在港拍片。另一邊廂，國共內戰正熾，不少左翼文人亦來港暫避。永華在成立後轉瞬隨著政局劇變，失去大陸市場，李祖永亦遽失在內地的資產；永華難以為繼，委員會中各人接著紛紛或回國，或他去在香港影壇另謀出路。顧仲彝、周貽白、歐陽予倩、吳祖光等陸續回國。留港的，朱石麟、李萍倩、程步高加入香港左派電影公司長城、鳳凰，卜萬蒼自組泰山公司。誠如李翰祥所言，當時永華的情況（包括知名演員）「有左有右，有中間偏左，也有中間偏右，另外還分了上海幫和重慶幫。」<sup>5</sup> 1948至49年間永華薈萃各方人傑，然後各奔前程，是後來香港影壇分為左右陣營前的短暫合流。

### 《國魂》與《清宮秘史》

《國魂》和《清宮秘史》「生正逢時」，捲入了掀起滔天巨浪的政治漩渦；朱石麟更在1967年1月5日聞得引述毛澤東的話指《清宮秘史》為「賣國主義影片」，當天腦溢血逝世。<sup>6</sup>

《國魂》耗資百萬，巨景65堂，為了顯示精心搭建的大景，劇場味道較濃；張徹就曾讚揚「劇本的對話風格，音節鏗鏘」，編和演的出色，與舞台磨練大有關係。<sup>7</sup>

回看朱石麟的電影生涯，《清宮秘史》與他接著那幾年的作品（《花姑娘》〔1951〕、《誤佳期》〔1951〕、《中秋月》〔1953〕等），是他創作臻成熟的一個高峰。將話劇搬上銀幕，朱石麟深諳巧妙運用鏡頭，可以達至悖人心魄的效果。話劇舞台中的場景，縱使觀眾注意力專注於一人，仍能覺察台上各人的舉動。《清宮秘史》一場為例，珍妃穿男裝拍照，受太后羞辱之際，光緒趕到。一個光緒大特寫，他正跪下低頭急為珍妃辯說，心焦如焚之際，畫外音一聲「老佛爺起駕」，光緒（與及觀眾）的錯愕，無可挽回的無力感滿滿將面孔（與及銀幕上的畫面）覆蓋。經過時間的沉澱，數十年後回看《清宮秘史》，尤其可堪細嚼。<sup>8</sup>

然而，《清宮秘史》最為人詬病，是結尾寫老百姓愛戴光緒一場，

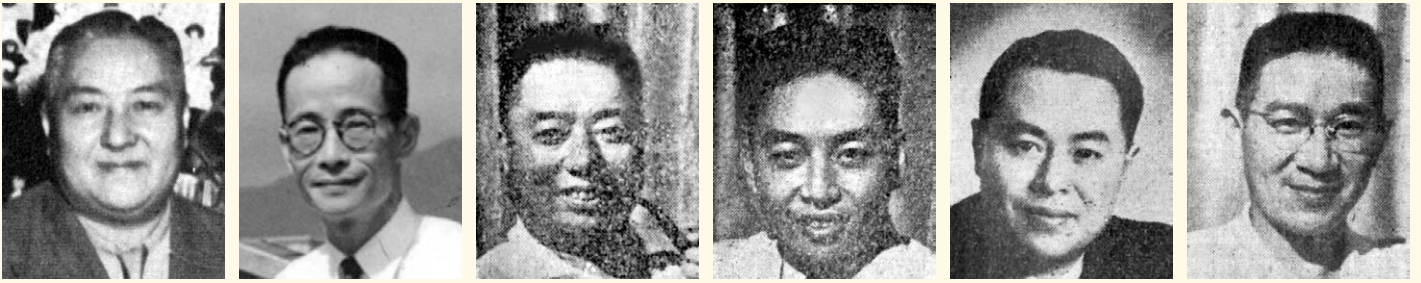
由李祖永執意加上。編劇姚克反對不果，固然對這個要不得的結尾甚為激憤，<sup>9</sup> 恐怕朱石麟亦深明難以在李祖永對劇本妄加改動的情況下繼續為永華效力。

### 製片之道難

製片方面，廠長陸元亮為錄音專家，他36歲當永華製片廠廠長時，延續其上海經驗，兩年後離開永華，歷任多家片場廠長。<sup>10</sup> 在四十年代末仍顯荒蕪的香港興建一間片廠，困難重重。紀錄中表示電力會在會議當天十日內接通，原來之前得費九牛二虎之力，將無電可以供應的「絕源區」，幾經努力，從對山放高壓線越嶺而來，裝架到廠內，各項最新設備始能安裝啟用。<sup>11</sup> 會議中又談到好些需解決的技術問題：因原片受濕，所攝影片沖洗後有光路現象，須與專家處理及解決；攝影棚內回音大，遂裝置Celotex wool（毛織物）<sup>12</sup> 以改善等等。

李祖永雖然挾重資成立永華製片廠，一開始已大感支出異常龐大，會議中頻頻商議節省開支之法。為助推進工作，每片設製片執行主任、副主任，一為導演，一為廠長，聯合負責。導演兼為製片執行主任，職責繁重〔卜萬蒼就《國魂》定貨、撥款事致王耀堂信見第26頁〕。又演員中有兼擅劇務工作者，定為職演員，增強劇務工作。





製片委員會成員中的（左起）李祖永、朱石麟、卜萬蒼、吳祖光、王耀堂、陸元亮

Production committee members: (from left) Li Zuyong, Zhu Shilin, Richard Poh, Wu Zuguang, Wang Yaotang and Lu Yuanliang

永華並試行佈景改為包工制，以節省開支；看來初見成效，但遭受到流言，李祖永即表示「本公司製片方針始終以提高本國影片水準為目標，決不容粗製濫造，自墮聲譽」〔1949/1/20，製片委員會第21次會議〕。李祖永心高氣傲而又一心求好的脾性，從他對此事的反應之烈可見一斑。

永華成立之初與內地交往頻繁，例如《國魂》中的〈正氣歌〉曲譜用公開方式徵求，分別在上海、南京、天津、北平、廣州、漢口、重慶和香港進行；影片亦多有赴內地拍外景。雖然票房屢屢報捷，「《國魂》在上海放映時賣座超出《一江春水向東流》」、「《清宮秘史》在新嘉〔加〕坡放映時打破歷來國片紀錄」〔1949/2/9，製片委員會第22次會議〕，隨著1949年中國政權易手，永華景況一瀉千里。1950年2月2日最後一次的製片委員會會議中，編導只尚有程步高和朱石麟出席，談製片題材方面，議決為「歷史」、「反封建」及「暴露」為主。縱使後來情況每下愈況，李祖永一直念念不忘拍片，1959年溘然而逝前，1956年開拍的《飛虎將軍》才剛殺青。

永華的會議錄，紀錄下其全盛時期製片委員成員名單，當時的運作情況和困難。永華的成立，顯然與「影戲大王」張善琨有關，但張善琨在永華沒有任何職位，亦從沒出席製

片委員會會議。或許其時張善琨受漢奸之嫌，只是暗地裡獻策，協助網羅人才；後來想法與李祖永背道而馳，就自組長城影業公司去了。風雲流散後，永華與嚴俊於1952至56年合作了幾部片，捧出了林黛，也讓李翰祥踏上導演的路。留下的片場，更由國泰、嘉禾，一脈相承。<sup>13</sup> 余慕雲認為李祖永成立永華，功在奠定了國語電影在香港立足和發展的基礎，又創先把香港電影引進國際電影市場。<sup>14</sup> 無疑，永華為香港電影在質的提升以至勃興上，有著承先啟後的意義。永華的成立，是戰後中國影業重心南移香港重要的一頁，有關的文獻，同時呈現當時香港與內地的狀況，為歷史長河彼端留下鮮明的足跡。■

#### 註釋

- 1 參見〈我們的話〉中有關「中國的『荷里活』到底是香港還是上海？」一節，《電影與戲劇》，第二期，香港，電影與戲劇出版社，1947年2月1日。
- 2 李祖永（1903-1959）祖籍浙江，生於上海，父為金融巨子，留美歸國後曾在光華大學任教，並主理大業印刷廠等業務，承印中央銀行紙幣。戰後與「影戲大王」張善琨談到拍電影的計劃，成立了永華。
- 3 另一方面，董月娟（張善琨夫人）表示永華成立時「李祖永是大資本家，他拿了三百萬美金出來，我們呢就拿我們倫敦戲院那塊地……也足足六十萬……後來李先生對電影越來越有興趣，自己弄劇本呀，慢慢搞，演員導演在那裏白養著，張善琨急死了，兩個人就意見不合，我丈夫就退出來。」見「香港影人口述歷史叢書」之一《南來香港》，郭靜寧編，香港，香港電影資料館，2000，頁32。
- 4 顧仲彝並任演員訓練班班主任。永華1949年初在北平、上海、香港招考訓

練班學員，考取的八人中，其一為李翰祥。參見李翰祥著，《三十年細說從頭（一）》，香港，天地圖書有限公司，1983，頁83-88。

- 5 同上，頁122。
- 6 吳祖光1949年回國，1957年給打為右派，屢遭磨難，自況「生正逢時」。《國魂》和《清宮秘史》所捲入的政治漩渦參見吳祖光著〈《正氣歌》與《國魂》的風波〉（吳祖光，《寫劇生涯》，貴州，人民出版社，1986）及周承人著〈中國影史最大冤案——電影《清宮秘史》〉（載於黃愛玲編，《故園春夢——朱石麟的電影人生》，香港，香港電影資料館，2008）等資料。
- 7 何觀（即張徹），《國魂》，「影話」，《新生晚報》，1959年7月23日。
- 8 陳耀成的〈種族、國家和中國現代性的爆發點——《清宮秘史》六十年之省思〉（載於《故園春夢——朱石麟的電影人生》，同註6），對該片有精闢的論析，並認為光緒的形象非常具感染力。
- 9 詳見〈《清宮秘史》劇作者的自白〉，載於姚克著《清宮秘史（電影攝製本）》，香港正文出版社，1967。
- 10 陸元亮從影經歷及他對李祖永、張善琨的看法，詳見「香港影人口述歷史叢書」之二《理想年代——長城、鳳凰的日子》〈陸元亮〉一章，黃愛玲編，香港，香港電影資料館，2001。
- 11 參見《國魂》特刊中陸元亮撰寫的〈建廠經過記畧〉。
- 12 在一般房間內，聲波遇到牆壁會產生回音；攝影棚或錄音室要做到能吸音，牆面需附有吸聲材料如幕布、海綿等。
- 13 原本在九龍塘村的片廠在1954年遭到火災，未幾政府要收回土地，李祖永遂聯同新加坡國泰機構在斧山道興建新永華製片廠，落成後由國泰接管。國泰1971年結束製片，該片場就成為了嘉禾片場。
- 14 見余慕雲，《香港電影八十年》，香港，香港區域市政局，1994，頁84。

郭靜寧為香港電影資料館研究及編輯組一級助理館長



《清宮秘史》(1948)：憂國事、愁家事，「同心鴛鴦」光緒(舒適飾)和珍妃(周璇飾)。  
*Sorrrows of the Forbidden City* (1948): Shu Shi (as Emperor Guangxu) and Zhou Xuan (as Concubine Zhen) play the feeble, weary-laden royal couple.

The birth of Yung Hwa Motion Picture Industries Ltd in Hong Kong 70 years ago was heralded as a momentous event in Chinese film history.

China was just emerging from the ashes of the War of National Resistance when it was caught and left in tatters in the vortex of civil wars. Prices in Shanghai fluctuated wildly from one day to the next and the precarious economic conditions made budgeting a futile exercise, forcing film studios to divert their capital and manpower to Hong Kong.<sup>1</sup> Jiang Boying of Great China Film Company was one of the southward-bound filmmakers who made Hong Kong their new home in 1946. In the following year, Shanghai tycoon Li Zuyong<sup>2</sup> set grand plans in motion for the establishment of a film company and a full-scaled studio in Hong Kong to realise his vision of raising the bar on Chinese filmmaking. Things were running full-steam shortly afterwards. *The Soul of China* (1948), its inaugural production, was followed immediately by *Sorrrows of the Forbidden City* (1948). With a wealth

of talent in screenwriting, cast and production in their stable, the studio rolled out a string of new titles in full vigour.

Yung Hwa's film vault was torched by a fire that broke out in 1954. *The Soul of China*, *Sorrrows of the Forbidden City* and *Our Husband* (1949) were the only films of Yung Hwa in the 1940s that survived and could be seen nowadays. Among the Yung Hwa related documents held in the Hong Kong Film Archive collection is a stack of 'General Manager Office Meeting Minutes', which records the proceedings and discussions made from the studio's genesis to early 1950 and offers a glimpse into the visions and operations of their productions. There are altogether 31 meeting minutes taken between 19 January 1948 and 2 February 1950; the proceedings were officially named 'Production Committee Meeting Minutes' from the fourth meeting onwards (18 February 1948).

The first general manager office meeting was attended by chairman Li Zuyong, Li's deputy Wang Yaotang, studio head Lu Yuanliang and director

Richard Poh, who laid down the studio's visions and objectives as follows: promote and extol traditional Chinese moral values; popularise and raise the bar on education in China. It was also stated clearly at the outset that Yung Hwa was wholly financed by Li Zuyong.<sup>3</sup> The company ran on two operational pillars—business and production—with Wang and Lu installed at the helm respectively. Also noted down in the minutes was the setting up of a production committee formed by Li, Wang, Lu, Poh together with Zhu Shilin, Li Pingqian, Wu Zuguang, Ouyang Yuqian, Gu Zhongyi<sup>4</sup> and Zhou Yibai, with its scope of work defined as 'conducting feasibility studies for production plans and the recruitment of directors and actors'. The attendance of directors Cheng Bugao, Gao Jilin (aka Ke Ling) and Zhang Junxiang at various times was also noted in the minutes.

These production committee meetings became a regular fixture following the first three general manager office meetings. Li Zuyong, Yung Hwa's chairman and general manager, became head of the production committee. Li's right-hand men were: Lu Yuanliang, who set out the areas of work and rules of the production studio; Richard Poh, who outlined the responsibilities of the production committee; and Wang Yaotang, a law graduate, who managed the business side of things. Shao Xihu and Zhang Xinglian joined the management team on 9 February 1949 as investors and managing directors. Li Junqing, an acclaimed lyricist, served as secretary at the meetings.

### Teeming with Talents

With a set of ambitious plans drawn up, Yung Hwa set out on a hunt for the crème de la crème of filmmaking. Besides the back-to-back releases of *The Soul of China* and *Sorrrows of the Forbidden City*, it was agreed at



the meetings that shooting would only kick off when a full script was in place. Several projects that were later released under a new title, including *A Peasant's Tragedy* (directed by Wu Zuguang, 1949), *Virtue in the Dust* (directed by Cheng Bugao, 1949) and *Hearts Aflame* (directed by Zhang Junxiang, 1949) were mentioned. In terms of distribution strategies, it was decided that film titles would be released as a set of four, each title having a distinct style to facilitate their theatrical release schedule. Though only two of the studios were completed in early 1948, the camera was already rolling for several titles all at once (see the studio shooting record on the right), leading to a host of problems. As a result, a motion was passed on 25 April 1949 to limit shooting to one title at a time. However, Yung Hwa had already fallen victim to an ambitious start.

Merely in their forties, many Yung Hwa screenwriting and directorial talents were at the peak of their creative prowess, with the early-thirtysomething Wu Zuguang being the youngest. Even though the names of Gu Zhongyi, Zhou Yibai and Ouyang Yuqian, the backbone of the Yung Hwa screenwriting team in the early days, were not found on the film credits, they each wrote a screenplay from the script materials they gathered: *Female Shop Assistant* (Gu Zhongyi), *A Lover's Knot* (Zhou Yibai) and *Fragrant Grass and Cuckoo* (Ouyang Yuqian), projects that somehow never got materialised. Ouyang Yuqian, the veteran of the trio at nearly 60 years of age, ventured into filmmaking in Hong Kong as early as the 1930s. With stage plays all the rage in the Mainland in the 1930s and 40s, many filmmakers in Japanese-occupied Shanghai left their old trade for the theatre, which facilitated an exchange of talents while nurturing the film industry's future talent pool. Meanwhile, a number of theatre actors

1948年影片拍攝起訖表  
Studio shooting record of films in 1948

卅七年度灯泡消耗總計為 13,785 元  
各劇區月應攤 405.30 元

(三十七年度)

劇名	開拍起訖日期	月數	應攤金額
國魂	37.3 — 37.8	6	2,431.60
清宮秘史	37.4 — 37.10	7	2,837.10
鄉愁	37.4 — 37.11	7	2,837.10
春雷	37.7 — 38.1	7	2,837.10
春城無在不離花	37.8 — 37.12	4	1,621.20
野火	37.11 — 38.1	3	1,215.90
總計			13,785.00

were set to unleash their abilities on the silver screen. Yung Hwa's two inaugural titles were both adapted from stage plays, featuring scripts penned by none other than the original playwrights, Wu Zuguang (*The Soul of China*) and Yao Ke (*Sorrows of the Forbidden City*).

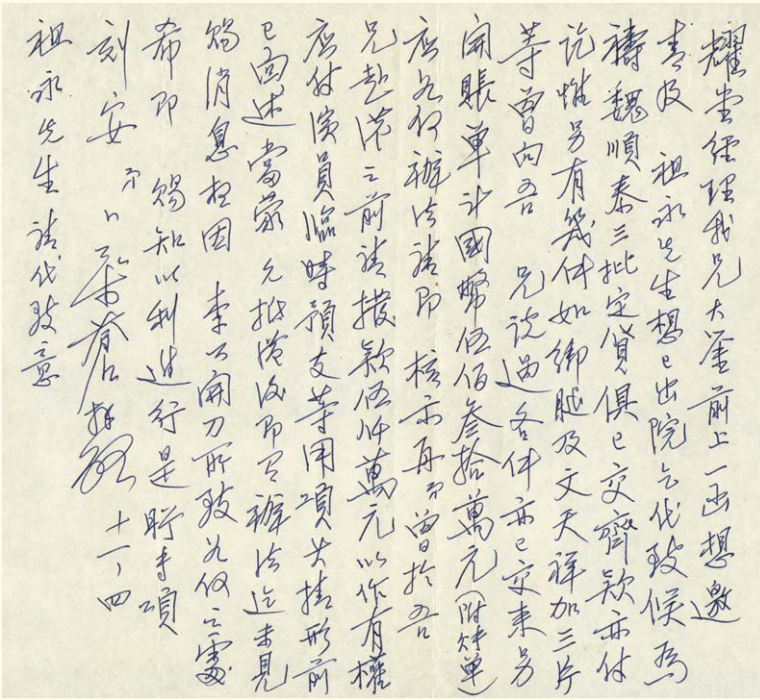
Due to the affiliation of renowned screenwriters and directors Richard Poh, Zhu Shilin, Li Pingqian and their peers with China United Film Holdings Company Ltd (aka 'Huaying') in occupied Shanghai, they were branded as traitorous filmmakers with their tainted reputation throwing up a string of obstacles in their paths. Zhu's way out of the impasse was to find greener grass in Hong Kong as early as in 1946. The raging civil war in China also forced a number of left-wing intellectuals to flee to Hong Kong. Facing extremely volatile and complex political situations, Yung Hwa gradually lost its grip on the Mainland market while Li Zuyong's personal assets were fast going down the drain. Seeing no future in Yung Hwa, its committee members either headed back to the Mainland or sought new ventures in Hong Kong. Gu Zhongyi, Zhou Yibai, Ouyang Yuqian and Wu Zuguang subsequently returned to the Mainland; those who chose to stay in Hong Kong, including Zhu Shilin, Li Pingqian and Cheng

Bugao, joined the leftist ranks of Great Wall and Fenghuang, while Richard Poh founded Taishan Film Company. As director Li Han-hsiang rightly summed up, the Yung Hwa talent pool (actors included) hailed from 'political camps of left and right, of the centre-right and centre-left, while being divided as the Shanghai and Chongqing cliques.'<sup>5</sup> Yung Hwa marked a brief convergence of talents between 1948 and 1949, whose lives and careers later diverged onto separate paths, before the Hong Kong film industry was divided into left and right camps.

### *The Soul of China and Sorrows of the Forbidden City*

It was a case of unfortunate timing that the releases of *The Soul of China* and *Sorrows of the Forbidden City* got embroiled in a tumultuous political turmoil. Upon learning Mao Zedong's censure of *Sorrows of the Forbidden City* as a 'work of treason' on 5 January 1967, Zhu Shulin died of brain haemorrhage the very same day.<sup>6</sup>

*The Soul of China* boasted a one-million budget and some 65 constructed sets. The meticulously crafted grand sets added a theatrical aura to its mise-en-scène. Chang Cheh was effusive in his praise, 'carefully



卜萬蒼手稿：執導《國魂》（1948）時兼理該片製片事宜

Manuscripts of Richard Poh: the master behind the camera and related production matters of *The Soul of China* (1948)

scripted dialogues that flowed like a stream of sonorous rhythms'. The excellent screenwriting and acting was undoubtedly the fruits of the cast and crew's previous training in theatre.<sup>7</sup>

*Sorrows of the Forbidden City*, together with Zhu Shilin's later works, *Flora* (1951), *Should They Marry?* (1951) and *Festival Moon* (1953) were made during the director's creative heights. Adapting stage plays for the silver screen, Zhu deftly employed his camera to capture mind-blowing and enthralling cinematic moments. The theatre stage allowed audiences a full view of all other actions playing out around the central actor, in spite of the spotlight being shone on him or her. The film adaptation of *Sorrows of the Forbidden City* received diverse treatment: Concubine Zhen, clad in a male costume for a photo session, is on the receiving end of a barrage of insults from the Empress Dowager when Emperor Guangxu arrives to save her from her fall from grace. The camera shifts to zoom in on the emperor, who gets down on his knees begging for the empress's pardon, when a non-diegetic

voice cuts in, 'All rise for the Empress Dowager'. Announcement of her imminent departure leaves the helpless emperor whose face fills up the entire screen (and the unprepared audiences) in an utter state of shock. Like wine that matures with time, *Sorrows of the Forbidden City* gains complexities with the passing years.<sup>8</sup>

*Sorrows of the Forbidden City* came under intense scrutiny—and denouncement—for its controversial portrayal of Emperor Guangxu as a popular and well-loved monarch in the ending sequence. Yao Ke, the screenwriter, was vocal in his disagreement with Li Zuyong's ill-considered executive decision.<sup>9</sup> With Li freely taking liberty with the scripts, Zhu Shilin knew too well that his days at Yung Hwa were numbered.

### An Obstacle-Fraught Path

On the production front, Lu Yuanliang, Yung Hwa's 36-year-old studio head and a sound-recording specialist, brought with him a wealth of Shanghai experience. He left to helm other studios after a two-year stint at Yung

Hwa.<sup>10</sup> Starting a film studio from scratch was almost an insurmountable undertaking in the socio-economically deprived Hong Kong back in the late 1940s. It was noted in the minutes that within ten days after the meeting, the electricity supplies would be up and running, but the project proved to be nothing short of a Herculean task: the 'unwired zone' of the studio would have to be rigged with high voltage electrical cables extended all the way from the mountain ranges some distance away to transmit enough electricity to power all the studio's state-of-the-art facilities.<sup>11</sup> Mentions were also made of the technical issues to be addressed: original film materials that had been exposed to moisture resulted in negatives that were marred by linear marks—an issue to be rectified by specialists; Celotex wool had to be installed on the walls of soundstages to reduce acoustic echo, etc.<sup>12</sup>

Though Li Zuyong had no qualms about investing heavily in Yung Hwa, the financial strains were emphatically felt since day one. Cost-cutting measures were often tabled and discussed. To shake up production, it was decided that each film would be overseen by an executive producer and a deputy (respectively drawn from the ranks of directors and the studio head). The director would double as a film's executive producer shouldering an array of duties (see Richard Poh's letter to Wang Yaotang with regard to goods ordering and allocation of funds for *The Soul of China* above). Some members of the cast also assisted in production, contributing to a film on both sides of the camera.

Yung Hwa also introduced a contract system to its set design unit as one of its cost-cutting initiatives. Despite its initial success, the scheme was panned by the media. In answering the critics, Li stated that 'our company remains steadfast in its vision



of raising the bar for Chinese cinema and will never damage our reputation by tolerating shoddy work' (the 21st production committee meeting held on 20 January 1949). His defiant response spoke volumes about a man who strove to do the best and yet was too proud for his own good.

Yung Hwa held strong ties with the Mainland in its early days. The music score of 'The Song of the Righteous Spirits' in *The Soul of China* was chosen from entries submitted to an open selection held in major cities across China: Shanghai, Nanjing, Tianjin, Beijing, Guangzhou, Hankou, Chongqing and Hong Kong. Yung Hwa's films were also shot on location in the Mainland. Despite making a clean sweep of box offices across the country repeatedly—'*The Soul of China* sends *Spring River Flows East* to the second place of the Shanghai box office record' and '*Sorrows of the Forbidden City* sets an all-time box-office record of Chinese film in Singapore' (the 22nd production committee meeting held on 9 February 1949), Yung Hwa's business hit rock bottom soon after the transfer of political power in China in 1949. Cheng Bugao and Zhu Shilin were the only screenwriters who attended the last production committee meeting on 2 February 1950. It was decided then that future works would centre on the themes of 'history', 'anti-feudalism' and 'exposé'. In the face of the company's spiralling fortunes, Li Zuyong remained steadfast in his filmmaking endeavours: *Flying Tigers*, which had begun filming in 1956, just wrapped up before his untimely death in 1959.

Collectively, the meeting minutes of Yung Hwa provide an accurate snapshot of its organisational structure, daily operations and problems it encountered in its heyday. Zhang Shankun was obviously pivotal behind the founding of the company, even

though he was not acting in an official capacity nor had attended any of the meetings. Perhaps due to the suspicion cast on him as a traitor, Zhang chose to pull the strings behind the scenes, masterminding plans and recruiting talents for the company. After a bitter rift with Li, Zhang pulled out of Yung Hwa and went on to establish Great Wall Pictures Corporation. Putting this episode behind, Yung Hwa collaborated with Yan Jun on several titles between 1952 and 1956, making Linda Lin Dai a star and launching the directorial career of Li Han-hsiang. Its studios further gained a second lease of life as home to Cathay and Golden Harvest in later days.<sup>13</sup> Yu Mo-wan believed that Li's founding of Yung Hwa placed Mandarin cinema firmly on the map of Hong Kong, laying a solid foundation for its future growth while propelling Hong Kong cinema onto the world stage.<sup>14</sup> Inheriting old legacies and envisioning future potentials, Yung Hwa's contribution in raising the bar on and stakes for Hong Kong films is incontestable. Its establishment denotes a crucial page in the history books, documenting the southward shift of Chinese cinema to Hong Kong. This set of archival documents has unveiled the situations of Hong Kong and the Mainland at the time, leaving indelible footprints along the long and winding sands of times. [Translated by Agnes Lam] ■

#### Notes

- 1 See the paragraph 'Is Hong Kong or Shanghai the Hollywood of China?' in 'From the Editor', *Film and Play*, No 2, Hong Kong: Film and Play Press, 1 February 1947 (in Chinese).
- 2 A native of Zhejiang, Li Zuyong (1903-1959) was born in Shanghai to a financial tycoon father. Li returned to the Mainland to teach at the Kwang Hua University after his studies in the US and headed the operations of Daye Printing Factory, a central bank-commissioned banknote printer. After the war, he discussed with Zhang Shankun about filmmaking and founded Yung Hwa.
- 3 According to Tong Yuejian (wife of Zhang Shankun), Yung Hwa had a 'well-heeled financier in Li Zuyong, who forked out US\$3 million as its start-up capital. We pitched in our plot of land in Jordan where London Theatre was...It was worth


some HK\$600,000... As Li's interest in filmmaking grew, he began trying his hand at screenwriting—and taking his time in doing so, leaving a studio-full of idling employees and Zhang drenched in anxiety. My husband tendered his resignation shortly after a row with Li.' See Kwok Ching-ling (ed), *Monographs of Hong Kong Film Veterans 1: Hong Kong Here I Come*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2000, p 40.

- 4 Gu Zhongyi also oversaw the company's acting class. Yung Hwa conducted a series of recruitments in Beijing, Shanghai and Hong Kong in early 1949. Among the eight successful candidates was Li Han-hsiang. See Lee Han-hsiang, *Passing Flickers I*, Hong Kong: Cosmos Books Limited, 1983, pp 83-88 (in Chinese).
- 5 *Ibid*, p 122.
- 6 Wu Zuguang returned to the Mainland in 1949. He was denounced and persecuted as a 'rightist' in 1957, which began his unfortunate life. For details of the political intrigues surrounding *The Soul of China* and *Sorrows of the Forbidden City*, see Wu Zuguang, 'Crisis of "The Song of the Righteous Spirits" and *The Soul of China*' in *A Career in Screenwriting*, Guizhou: People's Publishing House, 1986 (in Chinese) and Zhou Chengren, 'The Gravest Miscarriage of Justice in Chinese Film History: *Sorrows of the Forbidden City*' in Wong Ain-ling (ed), *Zhu Shilin: A Filmmaker of His Times*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2008.
- 7 He Guan (aka Chang Cheh), 'Film Talks: On *The Soul of China*', *New Life Evening Post*, 23 July 1959 (in Chinese).
- 8 Evans Chan, 'Race, Nation, and Ground Zero of Chinese Modernity: *Sorrows of the Forbidden City*—60 years later—A Reconsideration' in Wong Ain-ling (ed), *op cit*. In his article, Chan offered astute insights into *Sorrows of the Forbidden City* and commended the infectious charm invested in the characterisation of Emperor Guangxu.
- 9 See Yao Ke, 'Confessions of the Screenwriter of *Sorrows of the Forbidden City*' in *Sorrows of the Forbidden City (Shooting Script)*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Rightman Publishing Ltd, 1967 (in Chinese).
- 10 For further reading on Lu Yuanliang's filmmaking career and his views on Li Zuyong and Zhang Shankun, see 'Interviews: Lu Yuanliang' in Wong Ain-ling (ed), *Monographs of Hong Kong Film Veterans 2: An Age of Idealism: Great Wall & Feng Huang Days*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2001.
- 11 See Lu Yuanliang, 'Studio Construction Notes' in *The Soul of China Brochure* (in Chinese).
- 12 Echoes are created when sound waves hit a wall and bounce back around a room. Echo-cancelling fixtures, such as drapes and foam insulation, are vital in soundstages or recording studios.
- 13 With the original studio in Kowloon Tong razed to the ground in 1954 and its site reclaimed by the government soon afterwards, Li Zuyong opened a new Yung Hwa studio on Hammer Hill Road in a joint venture with Singapore's Cathay Organisation. It was managed by Cathay after its completion. When Cathay folded its filmmaking business in 1971, the studio acquired a second lease on life as Golden Harvest's filmmaking hub.
- 14 See Yu Mo-wan, *Eighty Years of Hong Kong Cinema*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Regional Council, 1994, p 84 (in Chinese).

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"THE SOUL OF CHINA"  
A Yung Hwa Motion Pictures Release

國魂 ·  出品 永華影業公司

《國魂》(1948) :  
「人生自古誰無死，留取丹心照汗青」，  
劉瓊（飾文天祥）唸來感人肺腑。

'Death comes to all men;  
may my loyal heart shine in the annals of history',  
a quote affectingly delivered by Liu Qiong  
(as Wen Tianxiang) in *The Soul of China* (1948).