

《正德皇夜探龍鳳店》的數碼修復
The Digital Restoration of *Emperor Zhengde's Night Visit to the Dragon and Phoenix Inn*

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封面：《正德皇夜探龍鳳店》(1958) 中的風流天子 (任劍輝飾) 與俏鳳姐 (麗兒飾)

Cover: The charming and romantic emperor (played by Yam Kim-fai) and the beautiful Phoenix (played by Lai Yee) in *Emperor Zhengde's Night Visit to the Dragon and Phoenix Inn* (1958)

一年將盡，又到了檢視工作成果的時候。資料館響應聯合國教科文組織「世界視聽遺產日」，選了歌唱戲曲片《正德皇夜探龍鳳店》(1958) 作戶外放映，借助數碼投映和修復的技術，影片睽違已久的彩色影像，終於重現眼前。是夜，名伶的聲影光輝彷彿穿透時空，在維港的醉人夜色映襯下，與影迷久別重逢。《通訊》找來節目組及修復組同事，細談他們重組及修復《正德皇》的經過。

資料館過去數月，先後舉辦放映節目、展覽及座談會，介紹香港喜劇電影的變遷。游靜博士撰文探討不同時期的香港喜劇片所反映的階級焦慮和衝突，分析透徹入微，引人深思。「滄海遺珠」系列首位焦點影人是已故的陳焯生，其女兒陳彩雲更遠道從美國返港，分享父親的電影事業。當年陳焯生炮製了不少喜劇，放在香港喜劇片的脈絡互相參照，亦頗有趣。

踏入冬季，絲絲寒意來襲，特別惹人愁緒。九月至今，電影界多位幕前幕後影人，包括吳君麗、岳華、金庸、鄧文懷、藍潔瑛相繼辭世，令人神傷。憶念已逝影人的成就與風采，教我們益發記取保存電影文化遺產的重要性。[mkyung@lcsd.gov.hk]

As the year-end closes by, it is time to contemplate our works throughout the year. In support of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's 'World Day for Audiovisual Heritage', the Hong Kong Film Archive presented the outdoor screening of the Cantonese opera film, *Emperor Zhengde's Night Visit to the Dragon and Phoenix Inn* (1958), in its original lustrous colours with the aid of digital projection and restoration technology. Audiences gladly reacquainted with the classic, as legendary stars traversed time and space, against the mesmerising backdrop of the Victoria Harbour. In this issue, we invited our colleagues from the Programming and Conservation Units to share with us in detail the elaborate processes through which the film was reconstructed and restored.

In the previous months, the Archive organised a series of screening programmes, exhibitions and seminars to retrace the evolution of Hong Kong comedies over the years. In her analytical and thought-provoking article, Dr Yau Ching explored class anxiety and conflicts in Hong Kong comedies from different eras. The late Chan Cheuk-sang was the first filmmaker featured in the new series 'Hidden Treasures' that aimed at putting a spotlight on neglected Hong Kong film veterans. To mark the occasion, Chan's daughter Ada Chan especially returned from the US to have a chat with us on her father's cinematic career. Chan had produced a considerable number of comedies in the past, and his films were all the more fascinating when placed within the historical context of Hong Kong comedies.

As winter approaches, there is a nip in the air that brings nostalgia. Here we lament the loss of film veterans who have passed away since September, including Ng Kwan-lai, Elliot Yueh Hua, Jin Yong, Raymond Chow and Yammie Lam. Preserving films as cultural heritage has never felt more crucial and relevant as we reminisce about their accomplishments and memorable screen presence. [mkyung@lcsd.gov.hk]

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本刊所載文章內容為個別作者的觀點，並不代表香港電影資料館的立場。

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《正德皇夜探龍鳳店》 的數碼修復

The Digital Restoration of *Emperor Zhengde's Night Visit to the Dragon and Phoenix Inn*

許佩琳 Hui Pui-lam

今年十月，香港電影資料館在香港文化中心舉行了《正德皇夜探龍鳳店》（1958）（下稱《正德皇》）修復版的戶外放映，這是首部由資料館獨力數碼重組及修復的電影。是次請來多位館內同事，包括修復組一級助理館長勞啟明及技術員黃俊賢、葉嘉謙，以及節目組一級助理館長陳彩玉，講述修復的緣起及經過。

《正德皇》早於上世紀九十年代已經與資料館結緣，萬利影業公司李志卿先生的後人於1994年，將過百部四十至七十年代由其公司出品或發行的電影菲林及相關資料移送至資料館籌劃辦事處，當中包括《正德皇》的多項素材。陳彩玉分享，前節目策劃羅卡先生早於2004年籌備「故劍生輝——任劍輝紀念展」時，已留意到館藏的《正德皇》彩色底片，惟原底片存在多種不同程度的問題，原聲片更嚴重變形及黏稠至不能使用，因此當年只能放映黑白拷貝。直至近年數碼技術持續提升，資料館亦添置了數碼修復器材，因而決定為《正德皇》進行修復，重現影片的原伊士曼色彩。

勞啟明表示，修復組由2017年10月開始籌備，以近一年時間完成《正德皇》的修復工作。陳彩玉指出，彩色底片的片頭及片尾並不完整，亦欠缺黑白拷貝中一段長達2分40秒的片段，基於資料館對菲林秉持「一格都不能少」的原則，最後決定將黑白拷貝中17段共約七分鐘的片段，與彩色底片的影像併合，組成一個長108分鐘28秒較完整的版本。

修復工作的第一步是檢查及修補《正德皇》的數組菲林片，修復團隊分別為黑白拷貝、彩色底片，及長度共有12分鐘23秒的保留片（包括彩色底片及聲片）清理污漬、重造菲林駁口及修補損壞片邊齒孔等，然後逐一以影片掃描器將其轉換成數碼影像及聲音檔案，而彩色原底片及保留片的影像終於在數碼化後重現。葉嘉謙表示，重組過程猶如拼圖般，首先是以黑白拷貝的影像及聲軌作框架，將彩色原底片及保留片的影像取代黑白拷貝的影像，甚至將黑白拷貝欠缺的彩色片段併入其中，但由於原聲片已損毀，於是需要在保留聲片中尋找可以配對的素材，以填補聲音。最後，修復團隊在保留底片中抽取三個彩色片段的影像及一句「你在朝廷原係至尊」的唱詞聲軌，併合在合成版中。

保留片通常是當年剪接後保留下來的散碎菲林，一般的損毀及收縮的程度比其他菲林嚴重，是次《正德皇》的部分保留底片因醋酸症候群嚴重損壞，令菲林變色及變形至不規則的狀態。黃俊賢解釋，資料館於2016年添置的影片掃描器運作時不用將菲林的齒孔掛上齒輪，令收縮嚴

重的菲林亦可掃描，其運行速度亦可由每秒24格調節至每秒一至四格，從而減低損壞菲林的機會。

數碼影像及聲音重組後的下一步，便是為影像和聲音進行數碼修復，包括穩定震動的畫面、移除顏色晃動、減少花痕及斑點、校正顏色、調整光暗，以及減低雜聲等多項工序。葉嘉謙指出，當中以減少影像花痕最花功夫，因為幾乎每一格畫面均不規則地出現「樹枝紋」，即因發霉而引起的網狀霉漬。加上《正德皇》的衣飾含有大量透亮及反光的物料，電腦未能分辨同一格畫面上的閃爍是塵垢還是衣飾所致，因此每一格畫面均需以人手修正，並反覆測試修正的程度，務求在減輕塵埃造成的閃爍及去除斑點的同時，又不會影響華麗衣飾的熠熠美感。

修復團隊在校正顏色及調整光暗上也下了一番功夫，務求令畫面顏色一致的同時，亦保留當年影片的質感。修復團隊估計，受當年菲林的感光度及燈光設備所限，《正德皇》的一幕外景是在日間拍攝，權充夜景。修復團隊先從劇情的鋪排，如正德皇步出後門、對月沉吟、在茅屋內的鳳



姐唱出「長夜懷念又快天曉」等曲詞，以及穿插於前後的廠景的燈光處理，再與黑白拷貝同一幕的光暗作比對，推敲出該幕應是夜景，於是便以廠景的色調作為調節光暗的計算基礎，將外景部分適度調暗，配合劇情。

資料館過往的電影修復工作的主要工序均是委託外聘專業修復工作室進行，因為專業修復工作室在設備上較先進，但為了培育館內的修復人員，令他們有機會實踐電影修復的知識和技術，所以今次《正德皇》的修復工作交由館內修復團隊進行。勞啟明欣見團隊在修復的過程中取得不少寶貴經驗，更主動提出合宜的修復建議。勞續指，受館內設備所限，現階段只完成了初步的修復工作，畫質上仍有改善空間，例如有一段來自保留底片的影像，菲林因醋酸症候群而呈不規則的扭曲及不同程度的變色，令顯示出來的影像不斷晃動及嚴重褪色，如將來進行第二階段的修復，會盡量減少顏色晃動及變化的幅度，提高影像穩定性。

搜集、保存、修復、研究及推廣香港電影一直是香港電影資料館的使命，是次《正德皇》的經驗，正顯示了這些工作環環相扣。資料館希望藉是次戶外放映，讓睽違一個甲子的七彩伊士曼《正德皇》重現觀眾眼前，從而喚起市民對保存電影文化的關注。■

許佩琳為香港電影資料館研究及編輯組二級助理館長

The Hong Kong Film Archive held an outdoor screening of the restored *Emperor Zhengde's Night Visit to the Dragon and Phoenix Inn* (1958; hereinafter referred to as *Emperor Zhengde*) at the Hong Kong Cultural Centre in October this year. The film was the first film digitally reconstructed and restored solely by the Archive. We invited a number of colleagues, including Koven Lo, Assistant Curator I and Penny Wong and Ip Ka-him, Technicians of the Conservation Unit, and Priscilla Chan, Assistant Curator I of the Programming Unit, to share with us the restoration story.

The Archive crossed paths with the film as early as the 1990s, when the descendants of Mr Lee Gee-hing of Man Li Film Company transferred film and other materials of over 100 features produced or distributed by the company in the 1940s to 70s to the Archive's Planning Office back in 1994. Among the collection were a number of pre-print materials of *Emperor Zhengde*.

Chan shared that Mr Law Kar, former Programmer of the Archive, already noticed that the Archive was in possession of the film's colour negatives when he was preparing the retrospective 'In Memory of Yam Kim-fai' in 2004. However, the negatives had numerous problems of varying degrees, while the soundtrack was so severely warped and sticky that it was unusable. Consequently, only the black-and-white print could be screened at the time. But with the

continual advancements in digital technology over the past several years and the Archive's acquisition of digital restoration equipment, we recently decided to restore *Emperor Zhengde* in hopes of restoring the film to its full Eastmancolor glory.

Lo revealed that the preparation work started in October 2017 and it took nearly a year to complete the restoration of *Emperor Zhengde*. Chan pointed out that parts of the opening and end credits, as well as a scene of 2 minutes and 40 seconds long present in the black-and-white print, were missing from the colour negatives. Adhering to the principle of 'not a single frame less', the restoration team decided to combine 17 footages from the black-and-white print, totalling approximately 7 minutes in duration, with images from the colour negatives to create a more complete reconstructed version of 108 minutes and 28 seconds long.

The restoration team began by inspecting and repairing the different sets of film reels of *Emperor Zhengde*. They removed stains from the black-and-white print, the colour negatives, and the 12 minutes and 23 seconds long edited-out film (including colour negatives and soundtrack), replaced old splices, and repaired damaged film edges and perforations. They then converted the contents of each reel into digital images and sound files using the film scanner. The images from the original colour negatives and edited-out film could finally be seen after being digitised. Ip stated



從這一串的連環圖可見，黑白拷貝補足了彩色底片欠缺的片段，將皇后（鳳凰女飾）的細膩表情完整重現觀眾眼前。

The black-and-white print filled the missing footage of the colour negatives, unveiling the delicate expressions of the empress (played by Fung Wong Nui) in full.

that the reconstruction process was like piecing a puzzle together. The restoration team used the images and soundtrack of the black-and-white print as the base and replaced black-and-white footages with colour images from the colour negatives and edited-out film. When they discovered footages from the colour negatives that were missing in the black-and-white print, they even tried to find corresponding materials from the edited-out film to fill in the missing soundtrack. In the end, the restoration team extracted three colour segments and the soundtrack of the line ‘You’re the Emperor in the Imperial Courts’ from the edited-out film and incorporated them into the combined version.

Edited-out film is usually outtakes removed during the editing process. The extent of damage and shrinkage of edited-out film is generally more severe than that of other film reels. Vinegar syndrome in this case caused serious damage to a number of edited-out film of *Emperor Zhengde*, resulting in extensive discolouration and severe warping. Wong explained that the Archive’s film scanner, which was acquired in 2016, allows the film to be transported sprocket less when in operation so that film with severe shrinkage can also be scanned. Additionally, its scanning speed can be adjusted from 24 frames per second to 1 to 4 frames per second, thereby reducing the chances of film damage in the process.

Reconstructing the digital

images and soundtrack was just the beginning. The next step involved digital restoration of the images and sound. The processes included image stabilisation, deflickering, scratch and spot reduction, colour correction, contrast enhancement, and noise reduction. Ip pointed out that scratch reduction was the most labour-intensive, because nearly every frame had irregular ‘twig scratches’ (net-like mildewed stain) on them. On top of that, the costumes in *Emperor Zhengde* contain copious amounts of transparent and reflective materials. The computer could not differentiate whether the flashing in each frame was due to dust or the costumes. As a result, the restoration team had to correct each frame manually and adjust the degree of correction repeatedly, so as to reduce the flashing due to dust and remove the spots without reducing the lustrous splendour of the costumes.

The restoration team also put painstaking efforts into colour correction and contrast enhancement in order to make the colour tone consistent throughout the entire feature, while retaining the film’s original texture. They believed—due to limitations in film sensitivity and lighting equipment of the time—that one of the outdoor scenes in *Emperor Zhengde* which takes place at night was actually shot during the day. In that scene, Emperor Zhengde walks out of a back door and softly recites poetry under the moon while Phoenix sings a song in a hut, the

lyric of which include ‘*I reminisce all night until dawn*’. The technicians compared it to the lighting arrangement of the preceding and following scenes which were filmed in the studio, as well as the light and dark contrast of the same scene in the black-and-white print, and deduced that the scene in question was a night scene. They used the colour tone of the preceding and following scenes that were shot in the studio as the basis for calculating the light and dark contrast, and consequently dimmed the scene that was filmed outdoors accordingly to match the plot.

In the past, the Archive commissioned professional film restoration laboratories to handle most of its film restoration work as these laboratories are more advanced in terms of equipment. However, this time the Archive decided to undertake the restoration work in-house with a view to nurturing our own restoration team by giving them a chance to put their knowledge and skills into practice. Lo was glad to see the invaluable experience gained by the team, as well as their initiative in giving appropriate suggestions during the restoration process. He added that due to limitations of the Archive’s available facilities, only the first phase restoration work had been completed at this stage, and there was still room for improvement in terms of picture quality. For example, one of the edited-out film footage was warped and in varying extent of discolouration



如將同一影像的三個版本並列，原彩色底片（中）的影像明顯褪色，經數碼修復後的彩色影像（下）色調回復鮮明及統一。

If we put the same image from the three versions together, we can see that the image colour of the original colour negatives (middle) had faded seriously, while the colour image after digital restoration (bottom) was restored to its original glory.

due to vinegar syndrome. Hence, the scanned images were flickering continuously and in heavily faded colours. If the next phase of the restoration process were to take place in the future, they would then try to reduce the flickering and jittering and to increase the images' stability.

The Archive's mission is to collect, preserve, restore, study, and promote Hong Kong films. The experience of restoring *Emperor Zhengde* tells us that all these works are closely interlinked. The Archive hopes to take the opportunity of this outdoor screening to unveil this six-decade old and long-lost Eastmancolor feature before the audience, and to draw the public's attention to the importance of preserving Hong Kong's cinematic culture. [Translated by Johnny Ko] ■

Hui Pui-lam is Assistant Curator II of the Research & Editorial Unit of the HKFA.



維港旁的永存星影 Everlasting Stars Shine on the Harbour Front

《正德皇夜探龍鳳店》（1958）採用七彩伊士曼菲林拍攝，但香港電影資料館館藏的彩色原底片損壞嚴重，過去只能夠放映其黑白拷貝。是次為響應聯合國教科文組織「世界視聽遺產日」，資料館特意將《正德皇》數碼重組及修復，完成由彩色與少部分黑白影像組成的合成版。資料館在10月27日於香港文化中心露天廣場舉行戶外首映，讓觀眾在晚風送爽、偶有中式帆船經過的維多利亞港景致下，重溫「戲迷情人」任劍輝、「彩色皇后」麗兒等七大巨星在瑰麗色彩下的懾人魅力及精彩演出。■ Although *Emperor Zhengde's Night Visit to the Dragon and Phoenix Inn* (1958) was shot in Eastmancolor, the Archive had only been able to screen the feature in black and white in the past due to severe damages in its original colour negatives. In support of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's 'World Day for Audiovisual Heritage', the Archive decided to reconstruct and restore digitally the colour version of the motion picture to create a combined print containing a few black-and-white excerpts. The reconstructed version premiered at the outdoor screening at the Hong Kong Cultural Centre Piazza on 27 October. Accompanied by the cool night breeze, filmgoers revisited the captivating and spectacular performances of seven Cantonese opera stars, including 'Opera Fans' Lover' Yam Kim-fai and 'Queen of Colour Film' Lai Yee, in glorious colour, while the occasional Chinese sailboat traversed the Victoria Harbour in the background. ■



（前排右起）盧瑋鑾教授、張敏慧女士與友人（後左）及本館工作人員合影
(Front row from right) Prof Lo Wai-luen, Ms Cheung Man-wai and friend (back row left) with HKFA staff



余慕雲太太（左）、袁步雲太太賞面光臨
Mrs Yu Mo-wan (left) and Mrs Yuen Po-wan came to support the event



鄒文懷談嘉禾

The Way of the Big Boss: Interview with Raymond Chow

口述歷史訪問：

1997年2月27日（余慕雲、廖昭薰訪問）

1997年11月14日（羅卡、石琪訪問）

2012年12月4日（蒲鋒、劉焯、王麗明、傅慧儀訪問）

整理：蒲鋒、劉焯／節錄：吳君玉

Oral History interviews:

27 February 1997 (by Yu Mo-wan and Cynthia Liu)

14 November 1997 (by Law Kar and Sek Kei)

4 December 2012 (by Po Fung, Lau Yam, Cecilia Wong and Winnie Fu)

Collated by Po Fung and Lau Yam / Excerpted by May Ng

Translated by Johnny Ko

嘉禾公司於1970年創立，屹立香港三十多年，是香港最重要的電影公司之一。其創辦人鄒文懷先生於10月30日溘然長逝，享年91歲。鄒先生畢生投入電影事業，不但提拔了多位巨星及導演，更借鑑荷里活的融資、發行及營運制度，拍出數以百計優質電影，成功將香港電影推向國際。鄒文懷先生對香港電影建樹良多，成就卓著，有目共睹，多年來對資料館的工作亦十分支持，不但多次應邀出席活動，更三度接受口述歷史訪問，講述成立及營運嘉禾的經過，訪問文章〈鄒文懷：我對自己所做的事沒有失望〉收錄於2013年出版的《乘風變化——嘉禾電影研究》。現將此文節錄刊載，藉以表達對鄒先生的懷念，亦讓大家重溫這位在電影業地位舉足輕重的人物的電影歷程。

我對電影非常愛好，在邵氏公司工作了很多年，全副精神投進去，已視之為終身事業。但做下去，公司有些做法不是我想要的，我不時會覺得另有更好的做法，但到底是替人家工作，公司有公司的方針和政策，有他們的顧慮，不會如我所望，逐漸覺得不如自己發展吧。

我和何冠昌先生及梁風先生一起離開邵氏公司，三人合夥組織了嘉禾公司。梁風先生管行政、財務及宣傳，何冠昌先生和我做策劃、製作到發行宣傳。

當初除了自己的，沒有其他資金。但由於我們在這行裡已有相當資歷，各地很多發行商，知道我們出來拍片，對我們的製作、發行有信心，很有興趣投資，並因而組織了我們在外地的發行網。我參考美國電影業的方式，他們的製作發行，完全靠銀行融資。公司成立時，我們便依照這種方式跟銀行商討，結果Chase大通銀行肯幫我們融資，在佐敦道建了嘉禾第一間戲院（編按：即嘉禾戲院，1977年1月開幕）。

片場

嘉禾早期不少影片在台灣拍攝。那時台灣的獨立製片也很興旺，有很多片場可用，於是便去台灣拍。後來從國泰接收了斧山道永華片場的經營，永華片場不大，但國泰沒有完全利用，租給我們，一家便宜兩家利，從此嘉禾便有一個全面發展的根據地。

接收永華片場之前，我們已建立了天工沖印公司。沖印是電影製作很重要的一環，跟我們一起出來的邵氏工作人員中，有位工程師趙耀俊先生，我加入邵氏之前已認識他。加入邵氏後因沖印部很落伍，受公司命整頓沖印部，便拉趙先生進去主理，很快他對沖印機器的認識在行內差不多數一數二。到我們出來做，立刻由他主持開辦天工。到我們接收了片場，他改組沖印部門，機器換的換，補充的補充，很快就上軌道了。

美國很多製作人、製作公司是獨立經營的，只要製作有點眉目，過去有點成績的，大發行商就會找上門：「你在搞一部戲呀，不如這樣吧，我幫你多少，你想怎樣做法？」在美國就容易做

得多，大公司需要影片啊，你直接去他們的片場拍，他們給你一間寫字樓，你成為片場裡的一家獨立製片。他們對你感興趣，簽了約，你就差不多可以拿張合同到銀行借錢拍戲，本身倒不需要有多少錢。這個制度是促進電影製作的一個很好的方式，是真正的獨立製片，不受別人的掣肘，喜歡怎樣發展便怎樣發展。我當時參考荷里活的制度，跟很多導演和製作人合作，給他們很大的自由度和發展空間。以當年來說，我們是第一家行此制度的公司。導演方面，好像早期的羅維是位多產導演，我們滿足不了他的拍片數量，如果他有時間自己拍，只要嘉禾有優先發行權就可以。

之後，更有分紅制度，李小龍應是第一位以此形式合作的。他紅了後，其他人爭相開給他的價錢，數額大到我們難以負擔。他當年都很老實地跟我說外面向他招手的情況，我便提議合組一間公司，好讓他知道發行影片實際會賺多少錢，並預先談好有幾多百分比的收益歸他。他答應照支取當初開的片酬，只要影片賺錢，再分花紅，我們便組織了協和公司。接



鄒文懷（左）效力邵氏多年，是邵逸夫（右）的得力助手。Raymond Chow (left) worked at Shaw Brothers for years and was the right-hand man of Run Run Shaw (right).

下來，我們跟不少人以此方式合作組織公司，嘉禾便出現了很多衛星公司，像許冠文的許氏公司，合作多年，嘉禾這種較自由的合作制度十分成功。

洪金寶由武師開始，武術指導、導演一直做上去。人聰明，在片場裡面，看著看著，學到不少東西。他的公司跟我們有合約，他跟何冠昌先生談的時候，他的要求何先生都接納。他說得很簡單：「你沒有戲給我拍的時候，我就到外面拍。」這很公道，那時我們也不肯定可以拍很多戲，但他要經常開工，做武指、做替身，甚麼都做。

海外及日本發行

在日本發展的情況可說相當艱巨。日本人故步自封，對外語片很保守。早期，李小龍的影片輸往日本，是跟東和公司的川喜多長政洽談的。他看見全世界的成績那樣好，已認定會有生意。於是，由東寶東和替我們在日本發行，用東寶的戲院，很成功。李小龍第一部嘉禾電影在日本很賣座¹，東寶東和希望繼續發行他的電影。但李小龍第二部嘉禾電影是《精武門》（1972），內容是他把日本人打得落花流水。我也不好意思提出這部戲。我認為本片的主題並不適合在日本放映。哪知川喜多先生說：「當時是有很多心地壞的日本人，做過很多不應該做的事。這些給現代的年輕人看看，作為警惕，也不錯。你不用擔心，有甚麼負面的反應，由我全盤

擔當。」有了這樣的強心丸，我就放心把《精武門》交給他們，結果這部電影在日本也非常賣座。

東寶東和對香港電影票房非常關注。當時在香港最賣座的電影是許冠文三兄弟的喜劇，如《鬼馬雙星》（1974）、《半斤八兩》（1976）等，那些電影的喜劇成分多半來自對白。日本人看外語片並不配音，用原裝聲帶加上字幕。那麼，日本人怎可能懂得欣賞許氏兄弟的電影？東寶東和的人來到香港，看見本地的觀眾非常喜歡許氏兄弟的電影，希望把這些電影帶給日本的觀眾，但我仍有一些保留。我提出，這些電影的宣傳要做得很好才行。

當年日本的發行成本，包括宣傳、廣告費用和印製拷貝的成本高至差不多兩百萬美金，全國性發行，當時是個高得驚人的數字。結果，票房成績很好。跟著的，還有殭屍片、洪金寶、元彪的電影在日本都很流行。他們更發行了成龍的電影，成龍也因此成為了八十年代日本最流行的偶像。

拍攝西片

與華納公司第一齣正式合作的是李小龍主演的《龍爭虎鬥》（1973）。那時候我們對世界發行沒甚麼經驗，認為跟華納合作，使我們的工作人員可以在發行跟其他方面得到很多寶貴的經驗。《龍爭虎鬥》也算是電影史上有地位的影片，這片是合作形式拍成的。荷里活西片的拍法，大部分是要掌握預算

和工作時間，比當時一般港產粵語片的預算準確得多，我們在這方面學到不少東西。

後來我直接去美國拍西片，沒有帶很多錢過去，我要學美國人的獨立製片，以影片的未來收入作抵押，向銀行融資。我們先後拍了差不多三十部荷里活式的西片，其中《炮彈飛車》（*The Cannonball Run*）第一、二集（1981、1984），成為了當年美國的每周票房冠軍。在籌備拍攝一連串的西片時，我也在1980年獲得北美洲電影院商會頒發的年度最佳電影人大獎。

很多人都問，我怎會想到要拍《忍者龜》（*Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*，1989）？事緣1987年有一天，那時主持美國辦事處的湯基利（Thomas Gray）打電話來告訴我，他逛當地的動漫展的時候遇上了《Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles》漫畫的作者，在擺賣他們當時已經非常流行的漫畫，還有電影版權。漫畫裡的忍者龜，是龜首人身的武俠英雄，用香港的龍虎武師，戴上了龜的面具和服裝，便能容易又便宜地拍到全世界最棒的動作；用不同國籍的演員配個音就變成英語片、華語片、法語片、日語片等等。我同意了。哪知製作一開始大家就認真得不得了，監製陳錫康很有遠見，把整個概念改了，從一個便宜的小製作變成世界級的作品，除了由龍虎武師演武打以外，還有一批演員負責演文戲，第三批演員負責平時非打鬥的動作。製作費不斷上升，但寄回來的毛片影帶卻很有大片風範。結果以荷里活片來說還是低成本，但比我們當初的預算的確超出很多。拍完了，所有的大片廠卻反悔當初給我們的口頭答應，沒有人肯替我們發行。好不容易才找到了當時一家比較新、較肯冒險，但規模小得多的電影公司New Line Cinema發行，到後來當然是賺到盤滿鉢滿。他們幾年後更為我們發行了成龍的《紅番區》（1995）、《警察故事4之簡單任務》

(1996)等電影，把我們的港產片帶入了全美國的主流市場，我們雙方又賺了一大筆。

八十年代，在多次到美國的旅程中，我看見了當時一個新的影院概念：多廳戲院。在同一位置有多個影廳好處顯而易見，排片可以更靈活，票務、小賣部可以服務更多人；對觀眾來說，有更多電影和放映時間選擇。我們在新加坡找到了適當的地點，得到當地政府的大力支持，在1992年在新加坡開了全亞洲第一家多廳影院：有十個影廳的嘉華義順。由於反應極佳，我們在接著的數年內在東南亞各地（包括香港）也建了多家多廳影院，到1997年我們有兩百多個銀幕。在最高峰時期，我們一共在七個國家與地區的40多間影院裡擁有超過330個銀幕。

與時並進

九十年代，我們因為盜版而蒙受的損失感到意興闌珊。當時李澤楷先生籌辦衛星電視時，計劃了一個電影台，希望播放嘉禾電影，我們把第一批約四百部影片的版權賣了給衛視，成為全香港第一間賣片庫的公司。

九十年代末，政府收回了斧山道片場的地權，嘉禾也成功轉型，專注發行和影院的業務。在2003年，我們拍了最後一部電影《行運超人》(2003)。

千禧年代，我們還在向前看。當年我們和其他行家正在研究數碼科技在拍攝和放映方面的用途，更跟我們在日本的老朋友東寶東和研究怎樣把日本的舞台表演現場直播到香港戲院裡面。2007年橙天娛樂收購了我在嘉禾的股份，是我80歲生日的最佳禮物，因為我從18歲開始兼職，到80歲也該退休了。■

(原文經鄒文懷先生修訂增補)

註釋

1 李小龍第一部在日本公映的電影是美國華納公司發行的《龍爭虎鬥》(1973)，第二部是《唐山大兄》(1971)。

Founded in 1970 and prevailed for more than 30 years, Golden Harvest was one of the most important film companies in Hong Kong. Its founder, Raymond Chow passed away sadly on 30 October at the age of 91. Held in high regard for his achievements, the legendary and acclaimed film producer not only launched numerous actors and directors into stardom, but also introduced the Hollywood mode of financing, distribution and operation into the Hong Kong film industry, making hundreds of outstanding films and bringing Hong Kong cinema onto the global stage. Chow was also a generous supporter of the Hong Kong Film Archive. Time and again, he accepted invitations to the Archive's activities and participated in the Oral History project. Over the course of three interviews, Mr Chow shared with us his personal story of founding and running Golden Harvest. In remembrance of him, excerpts of the interviews, which were released in the Archive publication *Golden Harvest: Leading Change in Changing Times* in 2013, are presented here to offer a glimpse of the life of this beloved and monumental figure of Hong Kong cinema.

I worked at Shaw Brothers for many, many years. I love the film industry and had decided to dedicate my whole life to it. I gave it my heart and soul, but as time went by, I realised that certain aspects of the job weren't getting done the way I would have liked. At the end of the day, however, I was just an employee, so even if I had some good ideas, there were company policies and operational guidelines to adhere to. Upper management might have had other things to worry about, or they might have had different thoughts, which was why I eventually felt the urge to venture out on my own.

Golden Harvest was a three-way partnership of Shaw Brothers alumni. Leung Fung was in charge of

administrative matters, finance and publicity, while Leonard Ho and I were responsible for planning, production and distribution.

We only had our own capital to work with when we first started. However, many distribution companies abroad knew that we'd started our own company—they had confidence in us and were interested in becoming investors. In doing so, they formed a foreign distribution network for our films. I referenced US film industry practices. Their production and distribution businesses were financed by banks. So when we set up our company, we negotiated with the banks for a similar business arrangement. In the end, Chase Bank helped us out and we were able to build the first Golden Harvest Cinema on Jordan Road, which opened in January 1977.

The Studio

Many of Golden Harvest's early works were filmed in Taiwan. Independent filmmaking was thriving in Taiwan at that time, and many studios were available for rental. This was why we decided to shoot films in Taiwan. Sometime after, we took over Yung Hwa Motion Picture Studios from Cathay. The set-up at Yung Hwa Studios wasn't huge, but Cathay didn't use it to its fullest. It would be a win-win situation if they leased it out to us, so that's what happened. We established Golden Harvest's base there.

Before acquiring Yung Hwa Studios, we founded Cine Art Laboratory Limited. Film processing is an essential part of production. Among those that left Shaw Brothers with us, an engineer named Mr Eugene Chao was particularly knowledgeable when it came to machinery and film development. I already knew him before working for Shaws, and I was the one who recruited him after seeing how outdated the Processing Department at the



鄒文懷（左）與何冠昌（右）均是嘉禾公司的創辦人，二人合作無間。
Raymond Chow (left) and Leonard Ho (right) were the founders of Golden Harvest; the two worked seamlessly together.

Shaw studio had become. Chao was an engineer right down to the core—it was all about the machinery with him and it didn't take him long to earn himself a reputation within the industry as an expert. When we ventured out on our own, we got him on board right away. He reorganised the set-up at Yung Hwa Studios after we took over, replacing and restocking equipment as required.

There were many independent producers and production companies in the US—as long as you had a prospective film project and a good 'track record', big distributors would come knocking on your door offering to help you out. This was a lot easier in the US—the large companies needed films, so you went directly to their studio and they gave you an office to set yourself up as an independent production unit on their premises. If they were interested in what you were doing and signed with you, you could basically take the contract to the bank and borrow the money needed to shoot your film without spending your own. This system was a good way of encouraging film production. It was real independent production without any external interference—you could do whatever you wanted to. I used the Hollywood model as a guideline to work with many directors and producers, giving them a great degree of freedom and room for development. We were the first company that operated on this system back then. As for the directors, like Lo Wei who was prolific in the early days, we were

unable to give him as many films as he could direct, so we allowed him to shoot under his own company's name when he had the time, as long as Golden Harvest had priority in distributing the finished product.

As time went by, we also put a bonus system in place. I think Bruce Lee was the first actor to sign a contract under this new arrangement. After he rose to stardom, others began to offer him enormous amounts of money to make films for them. He was always open with me regarding this situation. We could not afford to pay him what other companies offered, so I proposed that we set up a joint venture company. We'd let him know how much we earned with the distribution of his films and negotiate on the percentage cut he'd receive beforehand. He agreed to being paid the sum as laid out in his actor's contract as long as he was given a bonus if his films were profitable. This was how Concord Productions came into existence. From then on, we worked with quite a number of people this way, so Golden Harvest had many satellite companies, such as Michael Hui's Hui's Film Company, with which we cooperated for many years. This policy of hands-off cooperation worked very well for Golden Harvest.

Sammo Hung started his career as a stuntman and worked his way up to become a martial arts choreographer and, eventually, a director. He was extremely intelligent and picked up on a lot of things by watching how others worked at the studio. His company

had a contract with ours, and Leonard Ho agreed to all the conditions that Hung negotiated. His terms were quite simple, he just said, 'When you don't have any films for me to work on, I'll take on other studios' projects.' That was more than fair as we ourselves weren't sure if we could shoot a large quantity of films at the time. Meanwhile, Hung kept himself busy with his martial arts choreography, being a stunt double and doing pretty much anything and everything.

Distributing Overseas and in Japan

Business development in Japan was extremely challenging as it was a very conservative country that sort of shut itself out from the world, and was not particularly open to foreign films. In the early days, Mr Kawakita Nagamasa from Towa Company approached us with regards to the distribution of our films which starred Bruce Lee. After seeing how well they did in the rest of the world, he was sure there'd be a market in his home country. Consequently, Toho-Towa Company became our distributor in Japan, playing our features through the Toho cinema chain. It was a huge success. With the excellent box-office response to Bruce Lee's first Golden Harvest film,¹ Toho-Towa hoped to continue to distribute other Bruce Lee films. But Lee's second film, *Fist of Fury* (1972), is about him beating Japanese people to a pulp. I was too embarrassed to offer them this film. I felt that the film is not suitable for showing in Japan. But Mr Kawakita said, 'In those days, there were a lot of bad Japanese people who did many things they should not have done. It is not a bad thing to show this to our young people nowadays, as a cautionary tale to them. Don't worry. I will handle any negative response to the film.' With that kind of confidence boost, I stopped worrying and let them have the picture. *Fist of Fury* had a very successful run in Japan.

Toho-Towa paid close attention to the Hong Kong box office. At one time, the best-selling films in Hong Kong were the comedies made by the three Hui brothers, Michael, Ricky and Sam, such as *Games Gamblers Play* (1974), *The Private Eyes* (1976), etc. More than half of the comic elements of those films came from dialogue. When foreign films are shown in Japan, they are not dubbed. Only subtitles would accompany the original soundtrack. How, then, could the Japanese enjoy the Hui brothers' films? When the people from Toho-Towa came to Hong Kong, they saw that the local audience enjoyed the Hui brothers' films very much. They hoped to bring this kind of enjoyment to the Japanese audience. But I still had my doubts. I mentioned that these films must be promoted very well.

They spent almost US\$2 million on publicity, prints and advertisements for the nationwide release of the film, an incredibly large amount in those days. In the years that followed, vampire films, and films directed by and starring Sammo Hung and Yuen Biao also did very well in Japan. Toho-Towa also distributed Jackie Chan's films, and Jackie Chan thus became the most popular idol in Japan in the 1980s.

Making Hollywood Films

Our first official collaboration with Warner Bros was *Enter the Dragon* (1973), starring Bruce Lee. Since we had no experience with global distribution at the time, we thought it would be a great opportunity for our employees to do and learn many different things. *Enter the Dragon* is considered to have a prominent place in cinematic history and was a co-production. An important characteristic in shooting Hollywood films lay in budgeting and scheduling which were a lot more precise than that for locally-made Cantonese titles at the time. We learned a lot in this regard.

Then I went directly to the US to make Hollywood-style films. I didn't take

鄒文懷（左二）曾提拔多位巨星及導演：（左起）元彪、成龍、洪金寶

Raymond Chow (2nd left) nurtured a number of stars and directors: (from left) Yuen Biao, Jackie Chan and Sammo Hung



a lot of money with me, as I wanted to do it the American independent producer way—approaching banks for financing, using the projected income of the films as collateral. We made a total of almost 30 Hollywood-style motion pictures. Among them, *The Cannonball Run I and II* (1981, 1984) were box-office champions in the US when they opened. Meanwhile, in 1980, in the midst of making production deals and pre-producing a number of films, I was honoured as the International Showman of the Year by the National Association of Theater Owners.

Many people asked why I decided to make a film called *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* (1990). Thomas Gray was in charge of our LA service company at the time. One day, he called me up and told me that he had gone to the local comic book convention, where he met the authors of the *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* comic books, who were selling their immensely popular comics as well as film rights to their works. In the comic books, the title characters were martial arts heroes with turtle heads and human bodies. By putting Hong Kong stuntmen in masks and suits, we could easily and cheaply produce the best martial arts action; slap on different soundtracks and we'd have an English, Chinese, French or Japanese film. I gave him the go-ahead. But when pre-production began, everyone became very serious. Thanks to the foresight of producer David Chan, the whole concept was changed from a cheap film to a world-class production.

In the end, in addition to the Hong Kong stuntmen in charge of the martial arts sequences, we had another quartet of actors to perform the acting scenes, and another quartet in charge of the non-martial arts action. The production cost started to rise, but the dailies on the tapes sent back to us looked like a major motion picture. Finally, the film wrapped at a budget that was still considered low for a Hollywood film, but was much higher than we had originally anticipated. But when the film was completed, all the major studios backed out on their verbal promises to us—no one was willing to distribute the film. It took us a lot of doing to find a newer company that was more willing to take risks, but that was much smaller in scale, New Line Cinema, to distribute it. In the end, of course, we all ended up making a healthy profit. A few years later, they distributed some of our Hong Kong-produced Jackie Chan films such as *Rumble in the Bronx* (1995), *First Strike* (1996), etc., and took our products into the US mainstream market. Both of us did very well on that deal, too.

In the 1980s, in my many trips to the US, I came across a new cinema concept, the multiplex cinema. It was easy to see the obvious benefits in having numerous screens at the same location—more flexible scheduling of films, and the same ticket office and concessions bar can service many more people. For the audience, there is a much greater choice of films and screening times. We found a suitable location in Singapore and

received tremendous support from the Singaporean government. In 1992, we opened the first multiplex cinema in Asia—the Golden Village Yishun 10. Due to the overwhelming response, we built numerous multiplexes in Southeast Asia, including Hong Kong, over the next few years. By 1997, we had over 200 screens. At our peak, we had over 330 screens at over 40 cinemas in seven countries and territories.

Moving Along with the Times

In the 1990s, we were very discouraged by the losses we suffered due to piracy. At the time, Mr Richard Lee was setting up Star TV, and he planned to feature a film channel. He wished to show Golden Harvest films, so we sold them our first batch of film rights about 400 titles. We were the first company in Hong Kong to sell a film library.

In the late 1990s, the Hong Kong government took back the land grants of the studio on Hammer Hill Road. Golden Harvest also successfully made the transformation to focus on the distribution and exhibition aspects of the film business. In 2003, we made our last film, *My Lucky Star*.

In the 2000s, we were still looking ahead. At the time, we and our colleagues were looking into applying digital technology to film production and projection. We worked again with our old friend Toho-Towa from Japan, to try to do a live broadcast of a stage play in Japan onto the big screen of a Hong Kong cinema. In 2007, Orange Sky Entertainment took over my shares in Golden Harvest, giving me the best 80th birthday gift I could hope for. I had been working since doing part-time jobs when I was 18, so I felt ready to retire at age 80. ■

(The original collated interview was revised and edited by Mr Raymond Chow.)

Notes

- 1 The first Bruce Lee film released in Japan is *Enter the Dragon* (1973) distributed by Warner Bros, and the second one is *The Big Boss* (1971).



多元多變的陳焯生 The Well-Rounded and Versatile Chan Cheuk-sang

李雍悠 Minna Li

前香港電影資料館節目策劃何思穎曾說：「香港電影業像是一個大森林，從外俯瞰，最易看到的都是一些大公司、大明星，他們就似是又高又壯的大樹，奪目耀眼；但大樹之間還有很多自立自強的電影工作者，他們努力灌溉，為這個大森林栽種出繁花似錦。」香港電影資料館於今年九月推出全新專題節目「滄海遺珠」，目標便是帶觀眾走入香港電影這個大森林，勾尋一群默默耕耘卻被遺忘的電影工作者。系列的頭炮是「娛樂先生：陳焯生與他的大聯」，透過電影放映及映後談，讓觀眾認識這位身兼製片、導演、編劇等多個崗位的大聯影業主事人。9月1日放映《從心所欲》（1952），邀得陳焯生女兒陳彩雲特地從美國回港出席映後談，與策劃是次專題放映的節目組一級助理館長陳彩玉對談。

陳彩玉透露，於七十年代移居美國的陳焯生伉儷不時返港，自2002年開始，每次回港均造訪資料館。陳焯生於2012年接受口述歷史訪問，其豐富的經歷令她印象深刻，於是構思節目時便興起以陳焯生作為專題影人的念頭，但在籌備期間卻不幸聞得這位影人前輩過世的消息。資料搜集期間陳彩玉得到他家人的支持，借出珍貴的相片和文獻資料，讓大家得以全面地了解這位影人的足跡。

陳焯生踏足電影行業的契機由在戲院工作開始，當年他受老闆指派

到片場當助手，因而掌握不少電影製作的技巧。憑著天賦的商業頭腦，入行不久，便學懂二輪電影發行，買下剛上映而又有潛力的電影，然後在香港、九龍的公餘場作二輪放映。隨後，他為戲院「包拍」電影，由戲院出資，他就負責製作和後期的一切事務，包括送檢、宣傳等。

為了節省成本，本為製片的陳焯生更兼任導演及編劇，還親自繪畫卡通特技，例如《孫悟空大鬧雷音寺》（1965）裡的特技就是出自他手筆。回看陳焯生出品的電影，陳彩玉說：



陳彩雲女士（左）由美國返港出席《從心所欲》（1952）映後談，與當天主持陳彩玉留影。

Ada Chan (left), who returned from the US to attend the post-screening talk of *As You Desire* (1952), with the host Priscilla Chan



「他是一位很有創意的電影工作者，創作上不會只拍攝賣座的歌唱片，特別的東西都願意嘗試。」陳焯生亦曾將「無頭東宮」的故事從粵劇舞台搬到電影去，加入各種特技拍成《無頭東宮生太子》（上、下集，1957），以及《無頭東宮救太子》（1957）。

陳焯生投入電影製作，家人亦總動員參與。妻子黃美儀在片場幫忙，還擔任監製及製片。他弟弟華倫、兒子毅成和女兒婉雲都曾參與幕前演出。餘暇時，一家人的活動就是到位於雞籠灣的片倉清理及打掃。陳彩雲笑稱：「曾目睹爸爸在家中一格一格的在做定格動畫，而媽媽就負責沖曬劇照，大聯可說是一間家庭手工業式運作的電影公司。」

到七十年代粵語片的市場大不如前，陳焯生將業務轉型，將影片租予不同機構放映，包括政府、學校，甚至郵輪公司等。影片發行方面，他的版圖不只是東南亞，還遠至美洲多個國家。

陳焯生畢生製作及發行了二百多部電影。他與家人移民美國後，仍將大量劇照、文獻及電影拷貝保存至今，部分更慷慨捐贈予資料館。這些資料今天看來彌足珍貴，讓大家能回顧他的電影軌跡之外，亦從而了解五、六十年代香港電影業的運作情況。■

李雍悠為香港電影資料館博物館見習員

Former Programmer of the Hong Kong Film Archive Sam Ho once remarked, 'If the Hong Kong film industry is a vast expanse of lush green forest, our attention may be easily drawn towards big film studios or stars not unlike noticing the tallest trees in sight. However, the grandeur of the forest is only possible with the vigorous growth of numerous trees, including the many self-reliant and dedicated film workers with their exceptional achievements.' In September this year, the Archive launched the new series 'Hidden Treasures', a trek guide of this forest, to introduce the neglected filmmakers in Hong Kong cinema worthy of recognition. It opened with the programme 'One-Man Entertainment Machine: Chan Cheuk-sang and His United Film', which featured film screenings and talks to put a spotlight on Chan Cheuk-sang, the owner of The United Film Company who had held various positions as a producer, director, screenwriter, etc. At the post-screening talk of *As You Desire* (1952) on 1 September, Ada Chan, Chan's daughter, especially returned from the US to have a chat with the brain behind the series, Priscilla Chan, Assistant Curator I of the Programming Unit of the Archive.

Priscilla Chan shared that Chan Cheuk-sang and his wife, who had immigrated to the US in the 1970s, would visit the Archive whenever they returned to Hong Kong since 2002. When Chan Cheuk-sang granted us oral history interviews in 2012, his extensive experience left a deep impression on her and his name

immediately sprang to mind when she was curating the programme. Unfortunately, Priscilla Chan received news of the film veteran's passing halfway through preparation for the programme. She later got in touch with Chan's family during research and gained their full support of the programme. They loaned the Archive invaluable personal photographs and documents, allowing us to have a better glimpse of Chan's cinematic career.

Chan Cheuk-sang entered the film industry through landing a job at a cinema. Sent by his boss to the set to serve as an assistant, he ended up mastering many filmmaking skills. It was not long before the business-minded Chan learned to acquire films displaying good potential in first-run screening and show them at the 5:30pm screening in second-run cinemas on Hong Kong Island and in Kowloon. He soon became an 'all-in-one' filmmaker for cinemas—the cinemas provided the funding while he was responsible for production and all post-production endeavours including obtaining official exhibition approvals and publicity.

To save costs, Chan Cheuk-sang, who was originally a producer, worked as a director and screenwriter, and even drew animation effects such as those seen in *Monkey Saint Raids the Monastery* (1965). Looking back at Chan's works, Priscilla Chan commented, 'He was a very innovative filmmaker. He didn't just idle with the popular musical films, but was willing to try anything special.' Chan also adapted tales of the 'Headless Empress' from Cantonese



大聯出品《刮龍世界》(1964)由陳焯生導演，喜劇孖寶新馬仔(新馬師曾)、鄧寄塵主演
Produced by The United Film and directed by Chan Cheuk-sang, *Money, Money* (1964) starred the comedy duo, Sun Ma (Sun Ma Si-tsang) and Tang Kei-chen.

operas into films, and used all kinds of special effects to make *The Headless Empress Bears a Son Part One and Part Two* (1957), as well as *The Headless Empress Rescues the Prince* (1957).

Chan Cheuk-sang's film production was a real family affair. His wife Wong May-yeet not only helped on set, but served as executive producer and producer. Chan's

brother Wah Lun, his son Chan Ngai-sing and daughter Chan Yuen-wan also acted in his films. Leisure activity for the family was cleaning up the warehouse at Kellett Bay. Ada Chan joyfully recalled, 'I once saw my father creating stop-motion animation frame by frame at home while my mother was developing film stills. The United Film was in fact a film company that operated like a cottage industry.'

Chan Cheuk-sang transformed his business in the 1970s when the market for Cantonese films declined significantly. He rented films to government institutions, schools and even ocean liners. He also distributed films to Southeast Asia, and to a number of countries in North and South America.

Chan Cheuk-sang produced and distributed over 200 films throughout his life. Although he and his family immigrated to the US, they maintained an extensive archive of invaluable film stills, documents, and film copies to date. They also generously donated some of the materials to the Archive, allowing audiences to fully review Chan's cinematic career and gain a better understanding of the operations of Hong Kong film industry in the 1950s and 60s. [Translated by Richard Lee] ■

Minna Li is Museum Trainee of the HKFA.

《孫悟空大鬧雷音寺》：陳焯生與土法特技

Monkey Saint Raids the Monastery: Chan Cheuk-sang and His Rudimentary Visual Effects

9月9日放映了陳焯生導演及監製的《孫悟空大鬧雷音寺》(1965)，映後談由紀陶主講。當天更邀得在電影中反串唐三藏的李鳳聲蒞臨，跟觀眾分享她與陳焯生先生合作的逸事，而飾演孫悟空、近年鮮有露面的羽佳亦有列席。

李鳳聲難忘陳導演很願意提拔新人，給予演員很多機會發揮。提到電影中有騎馬的戲份，李鳳聲憶述未開拍前，陳導演出錢讓他們學騎馬，學了四、五次才拍的。她亦佩服陳導演腦筋靈活，大膽起用全女班，找來鄧碧雲、鳳凰女等拍攝《楊八姐鬧金鑾》(1963)及《英雄情淚保山河》(1964)。

紀陶續跟觀眾細談陳焯生製作的電影特技，例如《孫悟空大鬧雷音寺》裡孫悟空翻筋斗到天上的鏡頭疊疊效果、《無頭東宮生太子》(上、下集，1957)裡「頭身分開」的效果等。紀陶指出，雖然當年陳焯生及同期一些擅長製作特技的影人如盧寄萍是用土法炮製，效果不是很細緻，但當中有不少意念蘊含東方美學元素，譬如一些「放掌」的法寶效果，便是採用了敦煌壁畫中的「飛天」圖像，今天看來仍相當有特色。



(左起) 紀陶、李鳳聲、羽佳、陳彩雲
(From left) Keeto Lam, Cecilia Lee Fung-sing, Yu Kai and Ada Chan

A post-screening talk was held by Keeto Lam after the screening of *Monkey Saint Raids the Monastery* (1965), directed and produced by Chan, on 9 September. Cecilia Lee Fung-sing, who cross-dressed in the film to play the role of monk Tong, was also invited to share her experience working with the director. Yu Kai, who acted as the Monkey Saint made a rare appearance at the talk too.

Lee recalled fondly how Chan was willing to nurture new actors, providing ample opportunities for them to develop their craft. On the mention of scenes which involved horse riding, Lee remembered that Chan paid for the actors' riding lessons

himself and they each took four to five classes before filming. She also admired Chan's ingenuity in boldly assembling an all-female cast including Tang Bik-wan and Fung Wong Nui for *Sister Yeung* (1963) and *Operation Woods* (1964).

Lam analysed the special effects featured in Chan's films in detail, including the dissolve shots in the scene where the Monkey Saint jumps to the heavenly realm in back flips in *Monkey Saint Raids the Monastery* as well as the 'separation of the head and the body' in *The Headless Empress Bears a Son Part One and Part Two* (1957). Lam pointed out that although the special effects created by Chan and peer filmmakers such as Lo Ki-ping, who specialised in producing special effects, were considered rudimentary, their creations encompassed elements of oriental aesthetics. For example, the magic 'flying palms' in fighting scenes were inspired by *apsaras* of the Dunhuang murals and they remained unique to date.



陳焯生：當年拍片要看形勢

Chan Cheuk-sang: Films were Products of Opportunistic Timing

口述歷史訪問：
2012年10月25日（劉欽訪問）
整理：李雍悠

Oral History interview:
25 October 2012 (by Lau Yam)
Collated by Minna Li

我1922年9月18日在廣東新會縣出生，八歲時跟隨哥哥來香港。1941年日軍侵華時，我本來仍在英皇書院讀書，因年滿18歲被抽去在中環街市當糧食管理。當日軍的飛機飛臨中環街市，向天井扔下五百磅炸彈，我幸好剛在二樓，沒有被炸死。後來我和弟弟坐船到越南跟爸爸團聚，到了越南後，我在小學教體育，直至戰後1947年回香港。

邊拍片邊經營冰室

回港後，大哥介紹我到新世界戲院工作。戲院老闆也拍戲的，有機會就派我去片場當助手，除了收音，甚麼都學過，寫字幕、剪接也學會了。

我之前在越南教了五年書，積存了點錢，就買下摩理臣山道天樂里的大聯冰室。白天我做一檔冰室，晚上又回去戲院和片場打工。剛好關家（指關家柏、關家餘兄弟及其家族）在天樂里居住，那時我已經在戲院幫手，跟他們有點聯絡，我就碰碰機會，替周詩祿拍的片做二輪發行，有賺有蝕，那時收很少錢。

自組公司包拍影片

我創立大聯公司是在1950年，取這個名字就是因為冰室叫「大聯」。開始拍第一部電影是用毅成公司的名義拍，毅成是取自我兒子的名字，拍了《從心所欲》（1952）、《飛來艷福》（1952）、《花月爭輝》（1952）三部戲（同為珠璣導演）。《從心所欲》這部電影是關家的院線出資，給我四萬元包拍，說要在正月

年初一上映。他們要求我：「喂，你能不能搞一部這樣的戲，我要有老馬（馬師曾）、新馬（新馬師曾）、梁醒波、伊秋水、紅線女。」我想這樣的人才，找誰導演呢？想到珠璣，他快得不得了，這邊講那邊做。正月頭上映，全院滿座，關家的院線賺第一輪放映的票房收入，二輪的收入則歸我。戲拍了出來能賣座，他們就接下去再找我包拍，後來連賣埠也要我負責，賣到新加坡、美國和越南等。

《夜弔秋喜》大收旺場

漸漸我自己也學會了製片，拍了一部歌唱片《夜弔秋喜》（1954），是吳一嘯作曲，陳皮導演，兩人的薪酬已去了七千，全部製作費是四萬餘元而已。拍完這部片，最糟糕是新馬仔（新馬師曾）連續十部片都不賣座。那時我還在「新世界」工作，偷偷跑去拍，戲院的負責人說：「抽起它吧，《夜弔秋喜》現在再出，要虧本了，不行的，新馬仔現在沒有人看。」我想，抽起它沒有錢回來，貨如輪轉嘛。於是我想辦法，印了街招，晚上跟夥計去在灣仔、鵝頸橋那裡貼。一早上班的人看到：這部片如此厲害？結果這部片爆滿，那時的人都要聽新馬仔唱歌。

拍《無頭東宮》系列

拍《無頭東宮》系列背後有一段故事。有個年輕人找我：「陳先生，有部戲，你代理好嗎？」他們拍《天后娘娘》（1957），那時剛剛有個映

期，我想就代理吧，以為能賣座，天后誕嘛。但上映兩三天都沒有人看。後來，戲院老闆跟我說千萬不要做，有祂的名字，說是犯了神，他們也不放映的。結果三天就cut（落）了畫，我的代理費也收不到，虧蝕得厲害。其後見到龍圖導演，他說粵劇《無頭東宮》在新加坡很賣座，建議將它拍成電影。原著是李少芸，於是我們去找他洽談版權。李少芸是很能幹的，他說：「行，七千塊錢，找我太太（余麗珍）去演。」他不寫劇本，要龍圖他們幾個寫。他們很精明，分成上、下集來拍（指《無頭東宮生太子》上集及下集大結局，1957年公映），就多收一些錢。

這部戲一出來，十二點半場也滿座。於是就多拍第三集《無頭東宮救太子》（1957）。第三部是我想出的點子，反正有上、下集，再「食」（接）第三部，應該可以再做下去，但他們說不行了。像第一集《無頭東宮》，放映了八天，比平常只讓我多演了一天。

與新馬仔合作無間

到六十年代，歌唱片已經不大流行了。那時拍片看形勢，好像新馬仔的《撲水世界》（1963）、《搏命世界》（1965）那些，就等機會取巧了。例如拍《撲水世界》，我找新馬仔，他向來是不拍外景的，要他去拍外景就有噱頭。這個「世界」系列的電影有很多劇本都是司徒安寫的，我給他故事大綱，新馬仔怎樣，去



大聯十周年紀念誌慶，吳君麗（中）到賀，與陳焯生伉儷合照
Ng Kwan-lai (centre) with Chan Cheuk-sang and his wife at the 10th anniversary celebration of The United Film

哪裡，告訴他讓他去寫。他很快，口講內容，由助手替他去寫。一般拍七天，通常是七點鐘開拍，但新馬仔要十二點才來，而他的行頭則一早就送過來了，那時香港過九龍沒有隧道，要用小輪運來。他來到拍一會兒，拍到十二點多，但一點鐘就沒有船了，沒法子，拍完後要請他坐「嘩啦嘩啦」（指香港一種以引擎發動的電船）走。他料定一個小時內要把戲的全部跳鏡完成，珠璣和我們也知道怎樣跳。新馬仔拍戲特別就是這樣，要是鏡頭內有鄧寄塵、李紅就先跳拍他們，剩下祥哥（新馬仔）的等他來到才拍。整部戲拍七天，其實他只來七個小時。

粵語片低潮期拍成《獅王之王》

我最後導演《失去母愛的人》（1969），找了張清和李紅。那部戲我們拍得也很怪，不在片場，在藍塘道租了個片倉，樓上樓下自己佈景，那些佈景師傅也很能幹，一個晚上就把全景佈置好了。最後出品的《獅王之王》是1971年，已經一年多沒拍戲了，這部戲是王風導演的，這年只有這一部粵語片在香港公映，其他全部是國語片。我故意「扒逆水」（反潮流找商機），找來經常演反派的石堅演正派。

粵語片在1972年已經很低落了，都沒有甚麼好拍。那時都是台灣的打鬥片，我們又不習慣，所以沒有拍。1972年我就決定移民美國，此後我當針灸師也有三十多年了。■

I was born in Xinhui, Guangdong on 18 September 1922. I came to Hong Kong when I was eight years old with my older brother. When the Japanese army invaded China in 1941, I was still studying at King's College. But I was already 18 at the time, so I was assigned to the food control unit at Central Market. On the day the Japanese planes flew over Central Market and dropped a 500-pound bomb on the yard, I happened to be on the second floor and fortunately survived. My younger brother and I later took a boat to Vietnam to reunite with our father. After arriving Vietnam, I taught physical education at an elementary school until 1947, when I returned to Hong Kong after the war.

Making Films While Running a Diner

After returning to Hong Kong, I got a job at New World Cinema through my older brother's referral. The cinema owner also made films, and he would send me to the studio to serve as an assistant whenever the opportunity arose. I learned everything there, such as writing subtitles and editing; but not sound mixing.

I had some money saved up from my five years of teaching in Vietnam, with which I bought United Soda Fountain on Tin Lok Lane along Morrison Hill Road. I ran the diner during the day and worked at the cinema and studio at night. It so happened that the Kwan family (referring to the Kwan Kar-pak and Kwan Kar-yu brothers and their family) lived on Tin Lok Lane too. By the time I got to know them,

I was already helping out at the cinema. I tried my luck and took on the second round of distribution for Chow Sze-luk's films. There were profits and losses, and I ended up pocketing very little money.

Setting up My Company and Making Production-Distribution Deals

I founded The United Film Company, which was named after my diner, in 1950. The first three films I had a hand in producing were *As You Desire* (1952), *Romance from Heaven* (1952) and *Radiant Love* (1952), all directed by Chu Kea and released under Ngai Shing Company that was named after my son. *As You Desire* was funded by the Kwan family's cinema chain. They gave me HK\$40,000 to film and distribute the title, and said that it had to be released on the first day of Chinese New Year. Their request was as follows: 'Hey, can you make a film like this? I want Ma Si-tsang, Sun Ma Si-tsang, Leung Sing-por, Yee Chau-shui and Hung Sin Nui in it.' 'Who should I get to direct this cast?' I thought. And Chu Kea's name sprang to mind. He was incredibly fast and got on with the job straight away. The film opened on the first day of Chinese New Year to a full house. The Kwan family's cinema chain took the box-office earnings from the first round of screenings, and I pocketed those from the second round. With the success of *As You Desire*, they gave me a budget to make and distribute another film. As time went by, I became responsible for overseas distribution as well and sold the films to Singapore, the US, Vietnam, etc.

Tremendous Success of *Paying Nocturnal Sacrifice to Chau-hei*

Eventually I learned how to shoot and made the musical title *Paying Nocturnal Sacrifice to Chau-hei* (1954), for which Ng Yat-siu and Chan Pei served respectively as the composer and director. Their salaries alone cost HK\$7,000, while the total production budget was just over HK\$40,000. By

the time the filming wrapped up, we learned the terrible news that the last 10 films starring Sun Ma Si-tsang had flopped and didn't make any money. I was still working at New World Cinema at the time and sneaked out to shoot the film. The head of the cinema said, 'Just trash it. If you release *Paying Nocturnal Sacrifice to Chau-hei* now, you're going to lose money. It's a bad move. Nobody wants to watch Sun Ma Si-tsang these days.' I thought, 'If I don't release it, I won't make any money. I need to have a high turnover to generate revenue.' So I came up with an idea. I printed some playbills and put them up in Wanchai and under the Canal Road Flyover with my employees in the night. When people went to work in the morning and saw them, they became curious about whether the film was as impressive as it looked. The film ended up being a box-office hit, and everybody wanted to hear Sun Ma Si-tsang sing.

Shooting *The Headless Empress* Series

There's a story behind how *The Headless Empress* series came into being. A young man contacted me one day, saying, 'Mr Chan, we have a film that we're hoping you could distribute.' They had made *Goddess of the Sea* (1957). There happened to be an open slot at the time, so I decided to take it on. I thought it'd do well at the box office, considering it was screening on the titular character's birthday. But no one came to watch the film even two or three days after its release. The cinema owner told me later that I shouldn't have got involved. He said that the film contained the deity's name and was considered sacrilegious. The cinemas were not willing to screen it, and it got pulled out after screening for just three days. I never received my distribution fee and lost a substantial amount of money. Then I crossed paths with director Lung To. He suggested making a film

adaptation of *The Headless Empress*, as this Cantonese opera was a big hit in Singapore. So we met up with Lee Siu-wan, who wrote the script for the original stage production, to acquire the rights. Lee was a capable man. He said, 'Sure. Give me HK\$7,000 and cast my wife (Yu Lai-zhen) as the leading role.' He also left the task of screenwriting to Lung and his team. They were very crafty and split the film into two parts (*The Headless Empress Bears a Son, Part One* and *Part Two*, both released in 1957) so that they could make more money.

Even the 12:30pm screenings were full when the films were released. Therefore, we made a third instalment titled *The Headless Empress Rescues the Prince* (1957). It was my idea. Since there was already a two-part film, the third instalment should go down well with audiences. However, the cinemas said that it didn't work that way. For *The Headless Empress Bears a Son, Part One*, for example, they let me show it for eight days, which was only one day more than the norm.

Collaborations with Sun Ma Si-tsang

By the 1960s, the popularity of musical films had waned. Making films during that time depended on the circumstances. Features such as *Wrong Number* (1963) and *What a Life* (1965) which starred Sun Ma Si-tsang, were products of opportunistic timing. For *Wrong Number*, I asked Sun Ma to film on location, which he normally would never agree to and it gave the film a gimmick. Many of the scripts of the *Wrong Number* series were written by Szeto On. I would give him the outline of the story and tell him what Sun Ma's character would do and where he'd go, and then let him write. He was very fast and would dictate the content to his assistants. It usually took seven days to shoot a film. We would start filming at 7pm and Sun Ma would only arrive at midnight. But his costumes and props were brought to the set way

ahead of time. Back then, there was no tunnel connecting Hong Kong Island and Kowloon, so the ferry was the only means of transport. Sun Ma would film for a short while after arriving and finished just before 1am. Since there were no ferry services after 1am, we would arrange for a 'Walla-walla' (a kind of motorboat in Hong Kong) to take him back to Hong Kong Island. He expected to complete all his scenes for the day within an hour; and Chu Kea and the crew knew how to shoot each scene accordingly. It was a special practice when working with Sun Ma. Whenever Tang Kei-chen and Lee Hung were in the scenes, we'd do the shots of them first and later with Sun Ma. It took seven days to shoot the entire film, but in reality, Sun Ma was only on set for seven hours.

Making *Super Boxer* During the Cantonese Film Slump

Lost Love (1969), starring Cheung Ching and Lee Hung, was the last film I directed. It was shot in a very strange way. Instead of filming in a studio, I rented a film vault on Blue Pool Road and created sets on the ground floor and upper floors. The set builders were also incredible. They put up everything overnight. *Super Boxer*, the last film I produced, was released in 1971. By then, I hadn't made any films for over a year. The film was directed by Wong Fung. It was the only Cantonese title shown in Hong Kong that year—the others were all Mandarin films. I deliberately went against the grain and cast Sek Kin, who often played the villain, as the hero.

By 1972, the popularity of Cantonese films had declined significantly, and there weren't any films worth making. Action features from Taiwan were prevalent at the time, but we weren't familiar with them, so we didn't make any. I decided to immigrate to the US in 1972, and have since worked as an acupuncturist for over 30 years. [Translated by Johnny Ko] ■

懷念喜劇之王梁醒波 3/8/2018 In Remembrance of the King of Comedy: Leung Sing-por

今年是波叔誕辰110周年，資料館於八月舉辦了「我們的波叔：梁醒波誕辰110周年回顧展」，並在「最佳拍檔之說說笑」節目中選映了「南北系列」的三部電影，讓觀眾重睹波叔的精彩演出。8月3日放映的《南北和》（1961）特設映後談，由波叔孫兒梁智宏分享他追溯爺爺事跡的歷程，及波叔傳奇人生給予他的啟示。

「南北系列」電影於六十年代面世，透過波叔與歡喜冤家劉恩甲的鬥氣故事，帶出南北文化相異下暗湧處處，故事通俗幽默，卻發人深省。梁智宏認為「南北系列」的題材至今仍未過時，當中對南北的文化、語言、價值觀等衝突的刻劃仍適用於現今香港社會，並容易引起不同年齡層的觀

眾共鳴。此外，他特別欣賞爺爺戲路廣闊，在演繹不同經典角色，例如《紫釵記》（1959）中的俠義黃衫客、呆佬、烏龍王，以至《光棍姻緣》（1953）中的光棍，均能成功塑造人物，令人留下深刻印象。回溯爺爺逾五十載跨越劇、影、視界的演藝事業，其非凡成就固然令人難忘，但他至感欽佩的，更是其一生對藝術的追求，以及事事認真、為人謙遜的態度。



梁智宏 Andrew Leung

As this year marked Leung's 110th birth anniversary, the Archive organised the programme 'Our Greatest Showman: A Tribute to Leung Sing-por on His 110th Birth Anniversary' in August, and screened three classics from Leung's 'The Greatest' series at the 'Dynamic Duos: Laugh Out Loud' programme. A post-screening talk was held on 3 August after the screening of *The Greatest Civil War on Earth* (1961) as Andrew Leung, the grandson of Leung Sing-por, reflected on his iconic grandfather as well as the wisdom imparted by the acting legend.

'The Greatest' series came into sight in the 1960s and depicted the cultural clashes between the Northerners and Southerners comically, through interactions of the quarrelsome characters played by Leung Sing-por and Liu Enjia. Their hilarious bickering brought both humour and poignancy, while offering food for thought. Andrew Leung believed that the central theme of 'The Greatest' series remained relevant as the clashes in cultures, languages and values continued to exist in Hong Kong society today, and resonated with audience of different ages. Leung was especially in awe of his grandfather's versatility as an actor, who took on classic roles such as the righteous Yellow-Garbed Knight in *The Legend of Purple Hairpin* (1959), the Dunce and Silly Wong, as well as the titular bachelor in *A Bachelor's Love Affair* (1953). His unique take on each of the characters left indelible impressions on audience for decades to come. Looking back at his grandfather's illustrious career spanning more than five decades in Cantonese operas, films, and television shows, Leung was duly impressed by his grandfather's extraordinary achievements and even more so by his dedication in the pursuit of art, and his exceptional working attitude and humility.

「周身蟻」的香港喜劇電影 26/8/2018 The Trouble in Hong Kong Comedies

8月26日「喜劇之最：雄·雙·喜」展覽舉行「香港電影中『周身蟻』的人與社會」座談會，由游靜博士主講。她引述著名社會學家戴維斯（Christie Davies），提綱挈領地指出工業資本主義愈成熟，大眾對向上流動的焦慮愈大，而喜劇人物在電影中跌跌的滑稽場面，以及反串，皆透過身體與現實的不協調，表達出對管治及工具化反抗的回應，紓緩了日常生活中不能成功向上流動的焦慮。

香港喜劇電影的衝突多來自人際關係上的不協調，大致可分為代際之間、階級之間、族群／南北之間及中西之間這四類。但無論是哪一種衝突，最終都會以教化趨同作結，許氏兄弟在這方面尤為明顯。游指出這與歐美喜劇電影多視制度、社會及工廠為批判對象，強調自由、釋放及反叛的取向頗有不同。香港的喜劇孖寶都是全男班組合，當中更有不少男扮女裝的例子。游認為，反串除了與粵劇傳統有關，這些失常男人也可解讀為男性主體在特定的政治經濟現實下處於危機的狀態。

游靜另撰文闡述香港喜劇電影所反映的階級矛盾和心理壓抑，見〈香港喜劇電影的邊緣人〉，第21-27頁。



游靜博士 Dr. Yau Ching

At the seminar entitled 'A Man/Society in Trouble in Hong Kong Comedies', held on 26 August as an extended activity of the 'One Plus One Equals More Than Two: Comedy Duos of Hong Kong Cinema' exhibition, Dr Yau Ching quoted the renowned sociologist Christie Davies on the latter's belief that the public's anxiety about climbing up the social ladder intensified as industrial capitalism became increasingly mature. She highlighted Davies's view on how the comic scenes in films, where the actors stumbled or cross-dressed—their physical states being incongruous with reality—were expressions of the characters' resistance against governance

and instrumentalisation and reliefs of the audience's angst towards failure in moving up the social ladder in real life.

The conflicts in Hong Kong comedies mostly arose from inharmonious interpersonal relationships. They could be roughly divided into four categories: clashes between different generations, different classes, different ethnic groups or people from the North and South, and between East and West. Whatever the case, these conflicts ultimately ended with both sides coming together through finding common ground—which was particularly evident in the works by the Hui brothers. Yau pointed out that this was quite different from European and American comedy films, which often criticised the system, society, factory model, and emphasised freedom, liberation and rebellion. The comedy duos of Hong Kong cinema were all male, with a number of examples of men dressing up as women. Yau believed that in addition to being part of the Cantonese opera tradition, the act of cross-dressing undertaken by these dysfunctional men could also be interpreted as an allusion to the male being chewed up and spat out under certain political and economic realities.

See Yau Ching's essay 'Reimagining Marginality in Hong Kong Comedy Films', which analysed class contradictions and psychological repression in Hong Kong comedy films, on pp 21-27.

八、九月迎來「瑰寶情尋」之「賞文·閱影：華語名著改編」的最後兩個座談會，分別探討香港作家李碧華與金庸的名作。

The last two seminars of the 'Archival Gems' programme 'Worth a Thousand Words: Adaptations of Chinese Literary Classics' were held in August and September, in discussion of the films adapted from the works by Lillian Lee and Jin Yong.

歷史新編，性別奇視：李碧華的小說電影 5/8/2018

Engendering History: The Novels and Films of Lillian Lee

吳國坤博士在座談會中，以陳凱歌於1993年執導的《霸王別姬》及羅啟銳於1981年為香港電台電視部節目《香港香港》系列拍攝的同名電視劇互為對照，從社會文化及性別等方向解讀箇中底蘊。吳首先指出改編中國傳統歷史故事是當年香港流行文化的一大特色，不單寄託了香港對中國的文化想像，更是對自我身份認同，以及香港與中國關係的探索。

吳續說，陳的版本呈現地道的北京風俗，擅以電影效果及舞台語言交代時代的更替，同時著墨於性別及性向的轉變，如程蝶衣驚覺變聲的一幕，帶出性別與身體的關係，交代主人翁由「男兒郎到女兒身」的戲劇性轉變。相比之下，港台版本拍攝風格較平實。至於結局，陳的版本充滿戲劇衝突，紅衛



吳國坤博士 Dr Ng Kwok-kwan

兵要求程與段小樓互相揭發一幕更將衝突推到最高峰，吳認為這是來自藝術家及曾經歷文革的陳凱歌對中國文化的反思。港台版本則是二人於文革後在香港的上海澡堂裸裡相向並對話當年，一曲「時不利兮離不逝」充滿了時不予我的慨嘆，側面反映八、九十年代的社會現實。

At the seminar, Dr Ng Kwok-kwan drew comparisons between the film *Farewell to My Concubine*, directed by Chen Kaige in 1993, and Alex Law's *King Chau and Lady Yu*, a drama produced by the Television Division of Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK) in 1981, and interpreted these works from the socio-cultural and gender perspectives. Ng began by pointing out that the reworking of traditional Chinese historical stories used to be a major feature of Hong Kong popular culture. Not only did it represent Hong Kong's imagining of Chinese culture and acknowledgement of self-identity, but also an exploration of the relationship between Hong Kong and China.

Ng went on to mention that Chen's version depicted authentic Beijing customs. He stated that the director was adept at using cinematic effects and stage language to illustrate the change of times, and put great emphasis on the shift in gender and sexuality. For example, the scene in which Cheng Dieyi shockingly discovers that his voice has changed highlights the relationship between gender and the body, marking the protagonist's dramatic transformation from a 'man' to a 'woman'. In contrast, the RTHK version was more subdued in style. The ending treatment in the two versions was also completely different. Chen's version was full of dramatic conflict, with the scene where the Red Guards make Cheng and Duan Xiaolou expose each other driving tensions to a peak. Ng believed that the scene represented Chen Kaige's contemplation of Chinese culture from the perspective of someone who hailed from a family of artists and who had experienced the Cultural Revolution. Meanwhile, the RTHK version sees the two protagonists reminiscing about the past, unclothed, at a Shanghainese bathhouse in Hong Kong after the Cultural Revolution. The lyric 'Time has not been on my side' evoked the woes of being at odds with the times, subtly reflecting the social reality of the 1980s and 90s.

兩代書劍、三段恩仇：比對《書劍恩仇錄》的文字與影像 2/9/2018

The Book and the Sword: From Words to Sight and Sound

講者舒琪從編導手法、片廠制度、左右派之爭及自我身份認同等層面，分析1981年的楚原版與1988年的許鞍華版在改編《書劍恩仇錄》之異同。舒琪簡述《書劍》自1955年在《新晚報》連載後的兩次修訂，以及電影上的三度改編。最早版本由李晨風於1960年執導，唯拷貝已散佚。而楚版及許版的《書劍》均是以連載版為藍本，忠於原著的同時亦各有所長。舒琪認為，由倪匡改編的楚版《書劍》改善了原著因連載而顯得粗疏的地方，例如將張召重以激將法引出鐵膽莊少主周英傑透露文泰來及駱冰的藏身地點，改為以西洋望遠鏡誘之，便較原著合理。



舒琪 Shu Kei

舒琪續指，在內地取景拍攝的許版《書劍》，重現了小說中的錢塘江觀潮及六和塔大戰等大場面，並引入了武俠片少見的手法，如以平衡剪接處理打鬥場面，以及乾隆在風雪下的背影，帶出乾隆狠辣的一面，至今回看，仍然突出。

Speaker Shu Kei analysed the similarities and differences between the film adaptations of *The Book and the Sword* by Chor Yuen in 1981 and by Ann Hui in 1988 based on the approaches in scriptwriting and directing, the film studio system, competition between the political left and right and the search of self-identity. He gave a brief introduction on the two revisions and the three film adaptations of *The Book and the Sword* since it was first published in *The New Evening Post* in 1955. The earliest film adaptation, directed by Lee Sun-fung in 1960, was already lost; while the other two by Chor and Hui, which were based on the serialised publication, excelled in different aspects. Shu suggested that Chor's version, adapted by Ni Kuang, changed certain scenes in the original novel which were considered crude due to its serialised format. For example, Zhou Yingjie, the young master of the Iron Gall Manor was originally goaded by Zhang Zhaozhong into revealing where Wen Tailai and Luo Bing were hiding. But in Chor's version, Zhou was tempted by Zhang with a telescope instead, which appeared more logical.

Hui's version on the other hand was shot on location in the Mainland and recreated some of the novel's epic scenes, including the Qiantang River Tide and the Battle at the Liuhe Pagoda. It also introduced cinematic techniques that were rarely seen in *wuxia* titles, such as using parallel editing for the fighting scenes and the shot of Emperor Qianlong's back amid a snowstorm to emphasise his ruthlessness that remained remarkable to date.

七至九月間，「[編+導] 回顧系列四：李萍倩」舉行了三個座談會，從不同的角度，解構李萍倩不同時期作品的特色，及其對社會、人性的刻劃和回應。

From July to September, three seminars were held for 'The Writer/Director in Focus IV: Li Pingqian' to examine from different angles the characteristics of the director's works at different stages of his career, as well as his depiction of and response to society and human nature.

說謊男女——李萍倩電影中的性／別 18/8/2018 Deception by Him and Her—Sex and Otherwise in Li Pingqian's Movies

游靜博士指出，要了解李萍倩電影中有關性及性別的議題，必須認識其作品所呈現的現代性。她從《說謊世界》（1950）中環環相扣的「說謊男女」出發，闡釋李萍倩善於將敘事的中心放在群體而非個人身上。到了《都會交響曲》（1954），透過主人翁「余也人」現身說法，強調「人人皆可以是故事主人翁」的手法，以及近乎古怪的場面調度，構成一種疏離效果，這無疑令他的作品特別現代。《笑笑笑》（1960）描寫銀行小職員為資本主義制度淘汰，轉而做相聲，卻慘遭女兒白眼，以傳統藝術價值的失落，映襯出女兒所代表的現代性的不仁。



游靜博士 Dr. Yau Ching

游靜更縷析李萍倩的多部電影中對女性角色的刻劃如何映照出他對時代的回應：《女兒經》（1934）中具體的女性生活處境和她們遭受的壓抑，放在當時政府推行「新生活運動」的歷史背景來看，具有對口號式教化唱反調的意味；《寸草心》（1953）和《新聞人物》（1960）同樣描寫社會弱勢女孩，前者寄托了左翼電影較常見的勇敢女性形象，後者卻彷彿以較不幸的女性處境來警惕觀眾，單靠簡化的理想願景不足以沉淪於社會底層的女性引出新路。

在紅與灰之間——李萍倩電影中的個人與社會 22/9/2018 Between Red and Grey—Individuals and Society in Li Pingqian's Cinematic World

座談會由盧偉力博士及該節目的客席策劃劉焯先生主講，兩位由回顧李萍倩的生平開始，及後道出李來港後電影作品的轉變。盧博士指出，將《說謊世界》（1950）與《都會交響曲》（1954）相比便可見李萍倩在意識形態及創作風格的改變，由《說》片中明顯的階級批判過渡至《都》片中對人性弱點的批判，盧分析此轉變可能與當年的政治環境有關：港英政府於1952年先後遞解約十名左派電影人出境，事件令長城、鳳凰及新聯等左派電影公司的電影以迂迴及曖昧的方式呈現對階級的批判，如透過刻劃人與人之間的感情，滲出背後的意識形態，猶如「穿了一件灰色的外衣，內裡是紅色的」。

李萍倩在袁仰安主政的新長城頗有發揮，以社會寫實派最具代表性。盧分析李在《寸草心》（1953）一片中的鏡頭運用，如以移動鏡頭拍攝父親放工後由沙田火車站沿路軌走回家，那一幕對親情的描寫，強調的不是情節，而是情態，可說是藝術上的突破。劉焯續指，在該片中李沒有對父親任職的銀行作直接的批判，但以女兒畢業靠的不是父親的薪資，而是老師及鄰里親友的互助，帶出個人力量的不足，需要群眾的集體支持這背後的意識形態。

Dr Yau Ching pointed out that in order for us to understand the sex- and gender-related issues in Li Pingqian's films, we must first come to grips with the modernism of his works. She began with the deceitful men and women whose lives are intertwined in *Awful Truth* (1950), explaining Li's adeptness at centring the narrative on multiple characters rather than the individual. Meanwhile, in *Tales of the City* (1954), he emphasised the fact that anyone can be the main character of the story by having the protagonist Yu Yeren (meaning everyman) serves as the narrator. With an almost bizarre mise-en-scène, Li created an alienation effect which undoubtedly made his works particularly modern. *Laugh, Clown, Laugh* (1960) tells the story of a bank clerk who is made redundant by the capitalist system. He becomes a comedian, for which his daughter holds him in contempt. The devaluation of traditional arts reflected the heartlessness of modernity, epitomised by the protagonist's daughter.

Yau Ching further explained how the portrayal of female characters in many of Li's films was his retort to the times. This depiction of the situation females and the repression they were subjected to in *Bible for Girls* (1934) against the backdrop of the government's launch of the 'New Life Movement' suggested disapproval of slogan-chanting brainwashing. Both *Parents' Love* (1953) and *Girl on the Front Page* (1960) are stories about socially vulnerable young women. The former put hope in the courageous female, a figure often seen in left-wing films, while the latter, which seemingly used a woman's unfortunate predicament as a warning to viewers, implied that we were unable to show women at the bottom of society a new way forward by championing simplified ideals alone.

The seminar featured Dr Lo Wai-luk and Mr Lau Yam, the guest curator of the programme, who took a retrospective look at Li Pingqian's early days and the change of style in his works after moving to Hong Kong. Lo highlighted Li's change in ideologies and style by comparing *Awful Truth* (1950) and *Tales of the City* (1954). He pointed out that the transition from overt criticism towards social class in *Awful Truth* to probing into human weakness in *Tales of the City* could be attributed to the political climate at the time. The British colonial government of Hong Kong deported more or less 10 left-wing filmmakers in 1952 on two occasions, prompting left-wing film companies such as Great Wall, Fenghuang and Sun Luen to depict class criticism in a more veiled and ambiguous fashion in their productions, preaching ideologies through the portrayal of human sentiments.



盧偉力博士（左）、劉焯（右）
Dr. Lo Wai-luk (left), Lau Yam (right)

With Yuan Yang-an at helm of the new Great Wall, Li was able to bring his skills into play, with social realism becoming his signature style. Lo analysed Li's cinematography in *Parents' Love* (1953), where he filmed the father walking back home along the tracks of Shatin railway station with a moving camera. The scene could also be regarded as Li's artistic breakthrough as it depicted familial love through emphasises on the mood instead of the plot. Lau added that the director did not make any blatant remark towards the bank which the father worked for, but showcased the fact that the daughter was able to graduate thanks to the charitable effort from the teacher, relatives, neighbours and friends rather than her father's salary, bringing out the underlying ideology that individual effort was insufficient and there was a need for collective support from the masses.

香港喜劇電影的邊緣人

Reimagining Marginality in Hong Kong Comedy Films

游靜 Yau Ching



喜劇從來是無權無勢者抒解與宣洩焦慮及不滿的一種語言，而現代社會的新教倫理、資本主義時刻協助人製造大量對自己身體、未來、階級的焦慮。Alan Dale 曾分析美國喜劇電影的核心課題為「周身蟻的人」(‘Comedy is a Man in Trouble’)。「周身蟻」，源於在基督新教倫理主導的社會文化中，持續的向上認同，不斷攀爬社會階梯，被賦予理所當然的道德意涵，使現代人對於身體的突然「失控」，有前所未有的焦慮；動作喜劇的普及化正是來自紓緩這些壓力的社會需求。「……動作喜劇視失足／墮落為一種我們生命中必須與之共存、好笑，但又無可避免的處境。但在基督教神學中，失足／墮落有最壞的含義。基督教對墮落的恐懼，想像地獄的深淵永遠在下面，呈現出對肉身存在的一種不斷反抗，包括人類被指派要跟其他動物一樣抗衡地心吸力的枷鎖。」¹ Christie Davies指出，在基督新教倫理紮根最深的社會中，也是工業資本主義最興旺的地方，平民的幽默感——或日常搞笑的習慣——不但沒有消逝，反而隨之興盛起來。² Steve Seidman 把笑匠喜劇在荷里活的興盛追溯為美國夢的「副作用」。³《整蠱專家》(1991)中周星馳與劉德華手牽著手，一身黑西裝趾高氣揚地爬上樓梯，唱著「我要努力向上，不枉諸君寄望；我要努力向上，要令朋友滿心歡暢。青年人要努力，休悲愴淒涼；總之但憑我力量，先要堅定我志向」，⁴ 只為鋪排他們滾下來的慘烈。香港曾經長期風靡的笑匠喜劇，是否也可以被解讀為香港夢的「副作用」？

承載矛盾的類型

美國笑匠喜劇如卓別靈 (Charlie Chaplin)、基頓 (Buster Keaton) 等的作品，把人與社會制度的搏鬥、個體無助的掙扎化成舉重若輕的笑料，讓觀眾可以在戲院安穩的環境中，暫時認同自我作為異類／怪胎或各種邊緣人的可能身份，從而釋放在美國夢大論述氛圍下，久被壓抑的情感。香港150年獨特的殖民地歷史，配合非常急速壓縮並被認為異常「成功」的資本主義體制，也幫忙造就了喜劇作為幾十年香港電影史上最重要的電影類型之一，產生了不少喜劇泰斗。然而，跟歐美電影比較不同的是，香港喜劇電影中的笑匠，在針對建制提出反叛的同時，又不無弔詭地經常擔當作為教化觀眾的角色。像《半斤八兩》(1976)中一方面讓許冠傑演

活了七十年代青年人愛上位的特性，另一方面也以許冠文這名孤寒老闆，呈現香港社會草根階層人壓人的現實，並借二人間的角力，凸顯代際價值觀的矛盾，批評香港(在這看似黃金時代)製造出來的新人類如何練精學懶與忘本。當二人躺在舒服的酒店水床上，許冠傑慨嘆著說：「我總是覺得這個世界好像欠了我很多似的」，許冠文立刻反駁：「你自出娘胎的時候連尿布都沒有一條，這個世界欠了你甚麼」。《雞同鴨講》(1988)更進一步批判美式跨國文化對本土的吞噬，重新肯定尊卑有序的儒家人倫關係。

今天回溯五十年代的香港電影，可見喜劇作為類型片從沒脫離中國文藝重視文以載道、教化觀眾的傳統。《兩傻遊天堂》(1958)中作為學

生的新馬仔(新馬師曾)與鄧寄塵，雖然他們自己的髮型及服裝其實跟同學「貓王」(鄭君綿)十分相似，但他們卻在片首多次辱罵貓王的「阿飛裝」為「最賤格」。這種自以為是、高高在上又單一的泛道德觀，即使在最接近邊緣主體的類型片中，仍然相當主導，跟怪胎主角遇到的各種複雜處境及難題形成奇妙的張力。六十年代的南北和系列以家庭倫理及愛情故事為骨幹，企圖處理香港大量難民湧入後的多族群社會衝突，呈現廣東人對非廣東文化及「外省」對廣東文化的各種刻板印象，像「孟子說南蠻南蠻」、「廣東人都沒出息」、「外省人沒句真話」等等，但不忘安排新一代批判及跨越偏見，成為政治正確、宣揚族群和諧的新香港人，讓「外省」妹丁皓說出「我最喜歡吃梅香鹹



《半斤八兩》(1976)中喜劇人物的衝突反映了代際之間的矛盾：
(左起)許冠傑、許冠文、許冠英

The Private Eyes (1976) reflects the inter-generational conflicts between the characters: (from left) Sam Hui, Michael Hui and Ricky Hui

魚」；廣東女白露明說「我情願吃臭豆腐」這樣的話。

本土喜劇孖寶

「喜劇孖寶」在歐美電影中為常見的表演形式，通常由兩個同性別、同年紀、同種族但有相反技能或能力的演員組成搭檔，利用兩人之間的對話與肢體動作進行演出，在個性或行為上製造對立，利用落差來形成戲劇效果。五十年代兩傻系列的新馬與鄧寄塵表演的精靈行動與低弱的反差正是喜劇孖寶本土化的表表者。但至六十年代南北和系列中梁醒波與劉恩甲的組合卻出現相當大的質變；首先這對孖寶身形及智商與技能相當類近，他們的戲劇性對立及情節上的互鬥與磨合，主要並非來自體形上的不協調，更多是為了凸顯當時多族群文化的社會矛盾；「喜劇孖寶」的表演形式於此成為獨特社會問題的一種上身。香港喜劇電影的這種「貼地」特質，也可能是對中國相聲傳統的一種繼承與轉化。

七十年代開始香港電影中許氏兄弟的互學互鬥，戲劇張力也不來自高低智商與技能的反差，而是社會急速轉變過程中價值觀念矛盾撞擊暴力的具體呈現。這些社會暴力的呈現，在九十年代進一步成為周星馳作品的題旨，也見於他與吳孟達的搭檔表演中。他們二人隨時互換的霸凌互扁互

窒又互靠取暖，成為獅子山下香港人熟悉的最親密關係異常真實的寫照。我們在這樣的人際關係，這樣的愛恨交雜中拉扯長大，做了也許相近的香港夢，又經歷過何其悲喜難分與笑到氣絕的荒謬及無奈。

性別流動及連線

《百變星君》(1995)李澤星(周星馳)一夜之間從富家子淪落為管家(吳孟達)的私生子，溝女不遂被炸至粉身碎骨，只剩下腦及口，把港人面對大限的身份危機，對一無所有的恐懼，抑壓著絕望無奈只能「食腦」及死剩把口等處境情懷，作出最直白的詮釋，卻竟是一部科幻喜劇的格局。阿星被植入無敵晶片，據說可以千變萬化，但化身的並非高科技武器而是家常用品如廁所牙膏之流，最後殺敵絕招竟變成微波爐，充滿港式文化的市井玩味。男人走到這裡早已不是男人，因為香港人是否還是人已經成為疑問。易服與喬裝，在此被賦予新的意義。是他演的(廢)人，在喬裝(廢)物，還是，他作為廢物，要易服成人？而觀眾經歷的悲喜難分與笑到氣絕，正正來自人與物之間的類近與距離？

周星馳主演及導演的電影一向被認為欠缺女性角度，並帶有強烈的歧視或仇恨女性成分。在周星馳常常被造就成英雄的過程中，女主角卻被

塑造成奇醜無比、有生理障礙或特別魯笨等。最叫人印象深刻的例子莫如《食神》(1996)中刀疤臉加齙牙的莫文蔚，及《少林足球》(2001)中起初齙牙繼而光頭，而且守龍門時站在對方龍門前的趙薇。《長江7號》(2008)中的張雨綺全片被安排穿著貼身的旗袍，展現她據說是35D、24、35的身材。她演的袁老師，是周鐵(周星馳)的夢中情人與小狄(徐嬌)的救星，溫柔善良充滿愛心如天仙下凡。這些都容易被讀成是鞏固性別定型，強化父權社會對女性作為賢妻良母，同時又能作為花瓶或「性徵」的想像。

這些理所當然的解讀最大的問題是把「性別位置」擺放在一個跟它的文化脈絡抽離的真空處境中，彷彿「性別」可以是被放置在階級、教育、國族認同等議題外的一塊獨立方塊，而漠視了周星馳電影中經常把各種政治社會問題呈現成互為因果，所以即使橋段誇張但仍能達到叫人感到可信，而且發出會心微笑(或大笑)的效果。

跌倒與反串，都是身體對管治、被邊界化與工具化提出反抗的表達方式。香港喜劇電影中的失常男人，是否可讀成是在我們特定的政治經濟現實下，男性已經無法再想像自己作為(正典)男性主體，甚至無法再想像自己作為一個能夠持續抗衡地心吸力



《百變星君》(1995)描寫香港人面對身份危機時的恐懼，充滿政治隱喻。

Filled with political metaphors, *Sixty Million Dollar Man* (1995) depicts Hong Kong people's fear in face of identity crisis.



有別於歐美的傳統，香港喜劇電影大多以教化作結，重新肯定儒家人倫關係的《雞同鴨講》(1988)便是一例。

Differ from Euro-American traditions, most Hong Kong comedy films assume a didactic role as educator: *Chicken and Duck Talk* (1988), which reinstates Confucian hierarchical values, is one of the examples.

的「正常人」，能讓自己不被看成是「被唾棄物」的暗示？從這角度回看香港喜劇電影中經常出現的笑匠反串醜女，如《兩傻擒兇記》(1959)中的鄧寄塵、《南北喜相逢》(1964)中的波叔等，可能要表達的不是對女性的嘲弄，剛相反，正是透過顯現她們的醜與性別失常，來暗示這些角色與笑匠自身的醜、弱勢與各種身體失常（如跌倒、變成生化人等）的相類近性，於是可以有連線及互相代入的可能。這樣重看香港電影，也許可以啟發我們重新思考，電影詮釋與挪用社會脈絡及文化資源的多種可能。■

註釋

- 1 本文作者譯自：'...slapstick sees falling as an amusing inevitability we have to live with as we can. By contrast, in Christian theology, falling has the worst possible connotations, of course. The Christian fear of falling, with the pits of hell always imagined down below, indicates a ceaseless resistance to physical existence, with our enslavement to gravity a symbol for all the animal lapses to which we're given.' (Alan Dale, *Comedy is a Man in Trouble: Slapstick and American Movies*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000, p 13.)
- 2 Christie Davies, 'The Protestant ethic and the comic spirit of capitalism' in *Jokes and their Relation to Society*, Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998, pp 43-62.
- 3 Steve Seidman, *Comedian Comedy: A Tradition in Hollywood Film*, Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1981.
- 4 原為粵語片《彩色青春》(1966)插曲〈青年人抹去你的憂傷〉的歌詞。

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Comedies have been classically studied as a 'side effect' of power struggle and the human need to process disempowerment, for example, as seen in 'the superiority theory'¹: laughter considered as an expression of feelings of superiority over another being, vis-à-vis aspects of the shameful, ugly or the base; in 'the incongruity theory'² which describes laughter as a reaction to a sense of things being out of place, a perception of temporal, geographical or other forms of 'abnormal' displacement, and 'the relief theory',³ where laughter is the venting of superfluous nervous energy. In what ways could Hong Kong comedies be seen—or experienced in this deeply colonised society amidst troubled times—as provocative and politically non-conforming, while simultaneously offering its audience tension-releasing effects? Comedy is read as a text which negotiates both psychic and cultural restraints, with the effects of producing a sensation of personal empowerment, often from the positions of the 'middling people'. Do Hong Kong comedians serve the role of these 'middling people'? Discussions on distance, detachment, alienation, and reassurance⁴ are also influential for studies on the subversive effects of comedy in relation to survival.⁵ Geoff King's⁶ historicising of David Worcester's⁷ studies of the satire as a subgenre which has been prevalent in periods of 'public excess, hardship, impropriety and aberration', and his development of Steve Seidman's work on the central comedian figure who has the licence to disrupt the narrative, using tropes like pre-Oedipal regression (pre-occupation with bodily fluids and focus upon the lower body stratum), are particularly useful for examining popular Hong Kong comedies in which representation of 'excess, hardship, impropriety and aberration' as well as regression are prevalent.

Alan Dale's *Comedy is a Man in Trouble* sees slapstick comedy in the context of American films as a relief device to cope with the Christian fear of falling, a gentle reminder of our humanness: '...slapstick sees falling as an amusing inevitability we have to live with as we can. By contrast, in Christian theology, falling has the worst possible connotations, of course. The Christian fear of falling,

with the pits of hell always imagined down below, indicates a ceaseless resistance to physical existence, with our enslavement to gravity a symbol for all the animal lapses to which we're given.'⁸ Christie Davies has observed that in modern history, with the triumph of industrial capitalism, comedy 'flourished enormously' among those 'most strongly endowed with the Protestant ethic' because



笑匠透過反串凸顯女性的醜與性別失常，暗示這些角色失去男性主體，並成為「被唾棄物」的狀態。圖為鄧寄塵（右一）在《兩傻擒兇記》（1959）的反串扮相。

Comedians unveil the degenderisation of women through their cross-dressed performances, and suggest that their characters have lost their subjectivity as men and further become a state of 'non-being'. Here shown is the cross-dressed Tang Kei-chen (1st right) in *Two Fools Catch the Murderer* (1959).

the Protestant ethic and capitalism work collaboratively to produce a lot of anxieties in a society towards one's own body, future and class formation.⁹ While the protestant work ethic helps to sustain the supply of workers to conform to the capitalist mode of production and expansion, comedy helps to keep these workers alive and sane. Comedies provide alternative resolutions to problems produced by a Christian-dominated culture, problems which fail to be resolved within a Christian value system itself. Steve Seidman¹⁰ sees the popular tradition of comedian comedy in Hollywood as a 'side effect' of the American Dream. American comedians such as Buster Keaton and Charlie Chaplin transform the struggles between the individual and social systems into laughable material so that the audience could embrace and identify with abjects and freaks in a safe environment called the cinema, thus enjoying an emotional release repressed by the grand narrative of the American Dream. Hong Kong, although not as Christian-dominated as the US, has also been infused with the Protestant work ethic and capitalist values. To what extent could Hong Kong comedian films be seen as a side effect of the Hong Kong Dream?

Ng Ho's¹¹ pioneering study of Cantonese comedy subgenres including kung fu comedy, satire and comedian comedy, drawing widely from examples of 1950s to 70s,

alongside his study of Michael Hui as an auteur in 1970s to 80s, helps to establish the historical framework for the study of Hong Kong comedies. Jenny Lau¹² offers significant insight into Michael Hui's work of the 1970s in relation to Chinese social and moral conventions as well as the specific processes of modernisation and metropolitanisation in Hong Kong; how Hui's characterisation is either 'unaware of the change and thus caught in impossible situations', or presented as struggles 'against the encroaching reality of progress'.¹³ Her close textual study of Hui's work leads to her concluding remarks on the Hong Kong colonial subject as a 'schizophrenic triple split subject',¹⁴ dispossessed of a collective memory and self-determination, unable to identify politically, culturally and economically.

Hong Kong comedies, with its most popular auteur Stephen Chow's work as one notable example, can be read as mapping multi-layered stigmatisation of a dominated subject (by capitalism, colonialism, Chinese feudal values and more) onto characters with physically and emotionally challenged/disabled bodies, non-normative genders, dysfunctional losers etc., and through these processes of displacement, a relatively safe space is carved out for the audience to identify with, sympathise with and laugh at what seems to be the 'lack' in all these characters. Chow, through his

highly skilful use of folk humour and Cantonese slang (his effective but widely criticised 'no-sense talk'), often parodies established power, overthrowing the boundaries between the cultured and the banal, and facilitates the formation of a localised community through a shared history of popular culture.

In one of Chow's representative films *Tricky Brains* (1991), for example, an anti-climax of falling is built up by the homogeneous white-collar working man costume and prop (white shirt, black suit, black tie and glasses and the document suitcase) of Chow and Andy Lau no less, the robot-like peer group dancing, the overly excited out-of-tune singing '*I have to try hard, and make everybody happy. Young man has to work hard, I have to be decisive*',¹⁵ creating as a totally over-the-top and slapstick expression of the struggle and the desire to climb up the social ladder, which is symbolised, in this case, literally by climbing up a long and steep staircase in open air, framed by commercial buildings all around it.

Genre of Contradictions

Hong Kong's specific colonial cum highly compressed aka 'miraculously successful' capitalist history of 150 years, has contributed to the formation of comedy as one of the most significant genres throughout the decades and has produced a handful of comedian masters. Benjamin Leung¹⁶ has shed light on understanding 'the unmatched popularity in (the 1990s) Hong Kong's popular culture market of comedies and mix-genre movies with a clear comical bent' as delivering a 'relief' of a strain generated by 'the discrepancy between belief (ideology) and personal experiences', a tension acutely and commonly felt in British capitalist Hong Kong. It should however be noted that Hong Kong comedians differ from their Euro-American counterparts as they rebel from the system, they also

paradoxically assume a didactic role as educator. A close look at 1950s Hong Kong comedies would reveal that this genre, in spite of its critical and grassroot oriented conventions, has never departed from the Chinese arts tradition of being the elites' ideological vehicle for educating the masses. Through negotiating between residual and emergent value systems in a rapidly changing society, Hong Kong comedians serve as 'middling people'. Sam Hui in *The Private Eyes* (1976), playing a typical go-getter of the 1970s, contrasting with Michael Hui playing his stingy boss, foregrounds the inter-generational conflict and dog-eat-dog reality of Hong Kong working classes on the one hand, and critiques the younger generation's lack of work ethic and loyalty on the other hand. Lying on a water bed in a love hotel while spying on their neighbour's adulterous affair, Sam sighs, 'I feel that the world owes me much', only to be slapped by Michael's 'You came to this world without a diaper on. How could anyone owe you anything?' Hui brothers' *Chicken and Duck Talk* (1988) further reinstated Confucian hierarchical values through critiquing the impact of transnational American capitalism on local culture.

Two Fools in Paradise (1958) opens with Sun Ma Si-tsang and his buddy Tang Kei-chen bullying their classmate (played by Cheng Kwan-min) by mocking at his 'Teddy Boy' outfit, although the three of them in fact look quite alike from hair to wear. This kind of self-righteous mono/hyper-moralism remains dominant—however contradictory this may sound—in a genre known for its proximity to or sympathy for freakish subjects. 'The Greatest' series of the 1960s, including films such as *The Greatest Civil War on Earth* (1961), *The Greatest Wedding on Earth* (1962), built on conventions from family melodrama and romance comedies, tackles the sensitive topic of intercultural tensions in a refugee-

packed society. Foregrounding the making up of non-Cantonese stereotypes by Cantonese and vice versa, the series aims to advocate the politically correct and orthodox ideal of social assimilation and harmony, another way perhaps aimed to ease fear, anxieties, and irresolvable contradictions felt all too starkly in Hong Kong.

Double Acts

The Double Act, as a common form of performance in Euro-American comedies, is usually built on the uneven relationship between two partners, often of the same gender, age, ethnic origin and profession but drastically different in terms of personality or behaviour. The contrast between the two characters' physique, body language, speed or level of intelligence makes up the intensity of drama or the comic effect. The *Two Fools'* films of Sun Ma and Tang epitomise one high point of localised double act comedies in the history of Hong Kong cinema, like that of Laurel and Hardy. But 'The Greatest' series of the 1960s produces another duo of quite a distinct species. In contrast to the Sun Ma and Tang duo, comedy lies not in the differences between the stooge and the banana man—one cannot tell major bodily or IQ distinctions between Leung Sing-por and Liu Enjia. Instead comedy is produced by the diegetic problem and the message of the films. For example, how could the social conflicts between various ethnic populations in Hong Kong be resolved? The interactions between Southerner Leung Sing-por and Northerner (non-Cantonese) Liu Enjia and by extension their families demonstrate these social conflicts to such an extent that the duo itself is in fact designed as embodiment of this particular problem. They are the visual representation of the socio-cultural problems they embody, inducing laughter through their identities. This

kind of comic embodiment with intense social specificity could also be an offshoot from *xiangsheng*, a Chinese traditional stand-up comedy form often played as a duo dialogue between two performers.

The cruel competitiveness and mutual bullying between the Hui brothers in films from the 1970s onwards seemed to once again formulate a form of comedy duo of a different nature. The dramatic tension no longer resided in the contrast between mental or physical skills but rather in the explicit visualisation of violence produced by contradictory value systems evolving in nauseating speed. The impact of social violence on the everyman became the key—if not only—theme in Stephen Chow's wildly popular work from the 1990s onwards; its representation was especially effective in the duo performance between Chow and Ng Man-tat. While these two routinely mock, belittle and bounce off each other, one obviously requires the other for companionship and support. The representation of their closer-than-family love-hate relationship serves not only as a narrative trope but speaks intimately to Hongkongers' mundane experience of cuddling with each other in this tightly knit dog-eat-dog community. Northrop Frye's¹⁷ definition of comedy as a cathartic, taboo-breaking experience of the 'normal individual' proves to be useful for theorists such as Susanne Langer¹⁸ who further identifies comedy as a text in which the protagonist's survival is taken to signal a general survival against events which would have destroyed him/her in tragedy. Mikhail Bakhtin's¹⁹ notion of the 'carnival', influential among theorisation of comedy, where people generally segregated are given an opportunity to temporarily escape the confines of one's selfhood and be part of an egalitarian collectivity, is linked to his idea of the 'grotesque', an excess produced by bodily changes through

eating, evacuation and sex. While the Hong Kong comedians' potentially tragic personas strategically take their comedian turns, as variable responses to Hong Kong's different and changing forms of coloniality and nationality, Hongkongers may find themselves programmed and/or spoken for by a similar dream called the Hong Kong Dream, then drowning ourselves in carnivalesque laughter out of cathartic sadness and despair, consuming Hong Kong comedies representing various taboo-breaking experiences and forms of excess.

Body/Gender Fluidity and Reimaging Coalition

Henri Bergson²⁰ analyses laughter as resulting from the diminution of a living creature to the condition of an object or a machine, pointing to a direction towards a foundational relationship between theories of comedy and theories of abjection and mechanisation. Stephen Chow in the 1990s has taken on the challenge of foregrounding processes of abjection and mechanisation in his construction and reinvention of the Hong Kong comedy genre to another height. Facing sudden and rapid plot changes, Chow's personas often tactically and speedily assimilate technology and/or kung fu (through intertextual references to older Chinese films and/or use of digital effects) into his personal transformation and induce paroxysm of laughter to disguise nausea and danger produced by such changes. In *Sixty Million Dollar Man* (1995), the 'destiny' of Sing (played by Stephen Chow) could not be more (melo)dramatic (or tragic). He 'falls' from a billionaire's spoiled filthy rich kid to become the bastard son of a house servant (played by Ng Man-tat) overnight, only to find himself almost killed in an explosion, destroying his entire body as his brain and mouth remain. A scientist promises to restore his life by turning

him into a cyborg. Along the way Sing is implanted a chip which apparently grants him extraordinary body-transforming skills to fight his enemies but all he could access seems to be useless household appliances such as a toilet or a toothpaste tube. Although incapable of turning into 'real' hi-end hi-tech weapons, Sing in a life-saving call, becomes a microwave oven which 'melts' his enemy.

This sci-fi comedy gives Hong Kong's pre-1997 fear of losing everything a more than literal interpretation while it speaks a lingo full of grassroot wit typical of Hong Kong Cantopop culture. A man is not a man here, as the humanity of Hongkonger becomes a serious question. Cosplay and drag has acquired a series of new meanings. Chow's constant laughable morphing in allowing for (mis)recognition and/or disavowal of a socio-political compulsion, where we (audience and Chow) share a not-quite-changeable reality. Is Chow performing trash performing abject performing man, or are we as audience all performing comedy while we laugh at the indistinguishability between man and thing, a state of our non-being? While the success of Hong Kong comedians has been discussed as partly due to their miraculous abilities to transform from clown to god²¹ and back to clown, could these self-transforming tactics be re-read as allegorical survival narratives, as proposals for game plans to mock at the impossibility of memorising humanness while the territory is constantly renewed and delivered as a consumable package to colonisers and tourists alike? In this 'economic miracle' aka Hong Kong preoccupied with upward mobility and mechanistic efficiency, what kinds of affects, memories and denials could be recalled, renewed and/or rescued through (tragic-)comic characters such as the 'afterlife' cyborg in *Sixty Million Dollar Man*? Last but not least, are the desires and anxieties mapped and

displaced onto cinema through images of shame, disability and impurity in any way (trans)gendered?

Agnes Ku²² emphasises the need for the discussion of gender politics, in relation to processes of 'self-invention' in Hong Kong comedies, criticising the problematic of naturalising comic personas as a gendered everyman. Many heroines in Chow's earlier 'no-sense' comedies are marked by a disability or ugliness in the processes of making Chow the hero, most memorably the scar-faced Karen Mok Man-wai in *The God of Cookery* (1996) and the bald-headed Vicki Zhao Wei in *Shaolin Soccer* (2001), among many. It has been noted that Zhang Yuqi throughout *CJ7* (2008), among Chow's more recent work, is clothed in an airtight cheongsam in order to emphasise her 35D/24/35 figure. The young angelic teacher she is cast in, impersonating an ideal female archetype, becomes the saviour for Chow the construction worker (played by Stephen Chow) and his son (played by Xu Jiao) in trouble. All of these could be easily read as reinforcing gender stereotypes, sucking up to chauvinistic projection or playing the double bind of good wife and sex bomb.

I would, however, argue that this kind of gender-specific reading seeks to alienate Hong Kong comedies from its intricate socio-cultural context, as if gender could be analysed as an issue separated from class or ethnic identifications. Like that of the best Hong Kong comedians, Chow's work, silly and nonsensical on the outset, manages to convey a sense of verisimilitude and intimacy particular to Hong Kong audiences due to its ability in addressing interlocking social and political issues, while his personas are often confronted with life-threatening crisis in plots and have to survive through various forms of shaming and flagellation in processes of dehumanisation and rehumanisation. 'Cyborg writing is

about the power to survive, not on the basis of original innocence, but on the basis of seizing the tools to mark the world that marked them as other.²³ Chow's always shamed and traumatised personas may speak to gender politics through their ready identification with the other, not with a taken-for-granted assumption of manhood but already deprived of a qualification as man, a position not unlike women of visible hurt. In this light, Chow's personas could perhaps be reconsidered as non-normative texts towards bodily deterritorialisation and degenderisation, as their survivor or outcast positions deem them incapable of imagining themselves as any (normative) genders, male or female. Could these representations then be read as paving the way for new possibilities of coalition between different disempowered subjects due to their gender, class or ethnic positions?

Bhaskar Sarkar²⁴ reads Hong Kong martial arts films as 'hysterical texts', which evince 'an accentuated, dizzying pace' that resonates with confusion, ambivalence, and tension. He proposes that Asians, striving to cope with an intensifying, 'mutating world' and lacking the space and time to adequately process the vast transformations of their lives, 'turn to generic narratives and mythic structures to make sense—allegorically—of their lived

experiences'.²⁵ By taking a closer look at Hong Kong comic genre's formations and strategies from different eras, I hope this would help to deepen our understanding of comedies as socio-historical constructs bound by imaginings and fantasies available at given times and places, and their possibilities of offering relief in shaping and maintaining struggling and surviving communities while coping with an intensified castrating world and lived experiences. ■

Notes

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- Satire: Modern Essays in Criticism*, Ronald Paulson (ed), Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971, pp 115-134.
- 8 Alan Dale, *Comedy is a Man in Trouble: Slapstick and American Movies*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000, p 13.
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 - 10 Steve Seidman, *Comedian Comedy: A Tradition in Hollywood Film*, Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1981.
 - 11 Ng Ho, *Ethnography of Hong Kong Cinema*, Hong Kong: Sub-culture Ltd, 1993 (in Chinese).
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 - 13 Ibid, p 167.
 - 14 Ibid, p 172.
 - 15 Lyrics from the original soundtrack 'Youngster, Wipe Away Your Sorrow' of the Cantonese film *Colourful Youth* (1966).
 - 16 Benjamin K. P. Leung, *Perspectives on Hong Kong Society*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, p 71.
 - 17 Northrop Frye, 'The Argument of Comedy', 1948. <https://www.scribd.com/document/348107720/Frye-The-Argument-of-Comedy>. Accessed on 6 November 2018.
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 - 25 Ibid, p 173.

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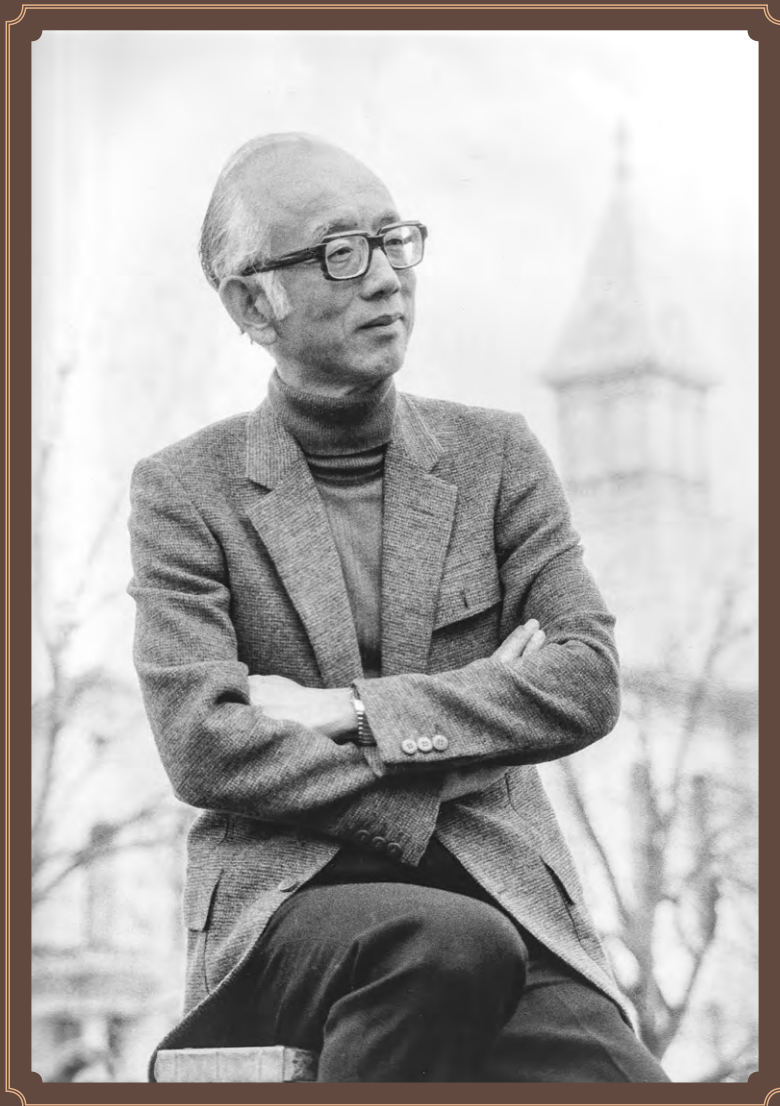
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Thank you!



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