

「銀光承傳——粵劇申遺十周年」系列報道
Commemoration Coverage: 'Celebrating Inheritance
and Integration—10th Anniversary of Inscription of
Cantonese Opera onto Representative List of the
Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity'

《阮玲玉》與《上海之夜》的海上傳奇
Centring Hong Kong, Staging Shanghai: Tsui Hark's
Shanghai Blues and Stanley Kwan's *Center Stage*

血滴子——由小說、野史、戲曲到電影
The Flying Guillotine: From Fiction, Unofficial History,
Chinese Opera to Cinema

通訊

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Newsletter
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《通訊》

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編者的話 | Editorial@ChatRoom

封面：《阮玲玉》（關錦鵬導演，1992）：張曼玉演繹阮玲玉，亦演她如何演阮玲玉及她自己；圖為海報。

Cover: Maggie Cheung impersonates Ruan Lingyu in the *Center Stage* (directed by Stanley Kwan, 1992), and within the film's (meta)narrative-cinematic structures, she also appears as herself conversing with others about Ruan; the cover is a film poster.

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踏入9月，迎來本年度資料館的重頭系列節目「銀光承傳——粵劇申遺十周年」。經過各組同事密鑼緊鼓的籌備，館內各個組別在搜集、修復、放映、展覽、研究及出版方面，都勉力展示工作成果，大家目標一致：保存及宣揚粵劇電影的文化價值，並開拓回顧及研究的角度。然而，徒有館藏電影及資料，若對粵劇藝術沒有一定認識，焉可建立正確的視角？幸得多位專業粵劇界人士、粵劇及電影研究者不吝指導及分享，致令這系列活動在推廣粵劇電影的道路上，沒有越趨不前，而是邁出新的第一步。

集思廣益，非但跨界的審視會有助電影的探索，跨地域的展示同樣有助深化電影的研究。追本溯源，香港電影與上海電影結有濃厚的連繫。資料館於10月開始舉行「瑰寶情尋——光影雙城」，並於11月將此節目帶至上海，向港、滬兩地觀眾及學者展示多部與上海電影有密切關係的館藏電影，播下兩地文化交流及研究的種子，成果可期。 [mkyung@lcsd.gov.hk]

As we entered the month of September, the Archive hosted one of our most momentous programmes on this year's calendar: 'Celebrating Inheritance and Integration—10th Anniversary of Inscription of Cantonese Opera onto Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity'. It was the result of months of extensive preparation by multiple teams, and the fruits of our labour can be seen in our research and restoration work, screenings, exhibitions, and publications. The aims across our teams are the same: to preserve and promote the cultural value of Cantonese opera cinema, and to expand the perspectives from which we conduct our retrospectives and research. Yet well-resourced the Archive may be, we were aware that we would not be able to establish a valid point of view without expert knowledge in the art of Cantonese opera. Fortunately we received generous support and guidance from industry professionals and scholars of Cantonese opera and cinema. With their help, our journey and mission to promote Cantonese opera cinema was unimpeded and we even managed to make important steps forward.

The same way collaboration between different fields of expertise helped enrich our research, co-operation and exhibition across different geographies can likewise deepen our understanding of cinema. Hong Kong cinema has had a long and rich history and relationship with Shanghai cinema, and in October the Archive launched its 'Archival Gems—One Tale, Two Cinemas' programme, which was then taken to Shanghai in November. A variety of films from the Archive with connections to Shanghai cinema was shown to audiences and scholars from both Hong Kong and Shanghai, thus sowing the seeds for cultural exchange and research. We look forward to seeing such efforts bear fruit in the future. [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。

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

蝶影再生，紅梨復艷

The Butterfly
Shadow Rises Again;
The Red Pear Blossom
Blooms Afresh



「世無回生之人，那有復艷之花？」正當《蝶影紅梨記》（1959）中新科狀元趙汝州（任劍輝飾）驚疑眼前歌娘是一夕言歡的早折紅蓮，黠慧的謝素秋（白雪仙飾）已嫋嫋娉娉，移步上前：「花也再生，色也復艷……」汝州眼前的是紅蓮還是素秋，彷彿已不重要，因為一切已成傳奇。

戲迷影迷期待能「再生」、「復艷」的豈只素秋、紅蓮？欣逢各種時機配合，香港電影資料館於2017年展開《蝶影紅梨記》修復工作，由館內修復組檢查及對比館藏物料，並進行修補及數碼掃描，之後委約日本的IMAGICA電影工作室進行數碼修復，讓這部享譽一甲子的粵劇電影瑰寶重拾昔日光彩。

今年適逢粵劇被列入聯合國教科文組織的「人類非物質文化遺產代表作名錄」十周年，香港電影資料館於本年九月至十二月以「銀光承傳——粵劇申遺十周年」為題，舉行展覽、放映及座談會，並特地安排《蝶影紅梨記》數碼修復版於9月4日在香港文化中心大劇院首映，為這連串的節目掀開序幕。

當晚數百位觀眾及嘉賓到場觀影，眾人翹首以待的銀幕傳奇，得助於電影數碼修復的技術，終得蝶影再生，紅梨復艷。由編劇家唐滌生撰寫、名導李鐵細緻調度、仙鳳鳴劇團班底精湛演出一同成就的粵劇電影巔峰之作，於此夜重現華彩。■



導演李鐵兒子
Son of director Lee Tit



殷浩輝博士
Dr Hoover Yin Ho-fai



放映《蝶影紅梨記》（1959）的影片修復過程的短片，讓觀眾了解是次修復的緣起及經過。

The short movie clip allows the audience to better understand the reason and process of restoring *Butterfly and Red Pear Blossom* (1959).



（左起）本館前館長、現康文署總經理（演藝事務）林覺聲；康文署助理署長（演藝）馮惠芬；梁醒波兒子梁乃業醫生伉儷；梁醒波孫兒梁智宏；康文署總經理（電影及文化交流）區玉芳及本館館長楊可欣
(From left) Richie Lam, Chief Manager (Performing Arts Services) of the LCSD and former Head of HKFA; Linus Fung, Assistant Director (Performing Arts) of the LCSD; Dr Paul Leung Nai-yip (son of Leung Sing-por) and his wife; Andrew Leung (grandson of Leung Sing-por); Betty Au, Chief Manager (Film and Cultural Exchange) of the LCSD and Janet Young, Head of HKFA.

‘No one could ever rise from the dead/No flower could ever renew its freshness!’ In *Butterfly and Red Pear Blossom* (1959), as talented scholar Chiu Yu-chau (Yam Kim-fai) wonders if the songstress before him is the short-lived Hung-lin, with whom he once shared an intimate evening conversing, the clever Tse So-chau (Pak Suet-sin) steps forward elegantly and replies: ‘The flower has restored its life/and regained its glamour’. Yet it seems of little consequence if the lady before Yu-chau’s eyes is indeed Hung-lin or So-chau—the dream-like scene has now been immortalised into the stuff of legend.

For Cantonese opera and cinema fans, what they look forward to is more than merely the ‘revival’ of So-chau or Hung-lin. Thanks to many fortunate coincidences and opportunities, the Hong Kong Film Archive began the restoration of *Butterfly and Red Pear Blossom* in 2017. Our Conservation Unit checked and compared materials from our Archive records, and then proceeded to mend and digitally scan the film before then commissioning IMAGICA Lab. in Japan, to help with its digital restoration. This Cantonese opera classic, renowned and beloved for over 60 years, was thus restored to its former glory.

This year marks the 10th anniversary of the inscription of Cantonese opera onto UNESCO’s Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. To commemorate this important milestone, the Archive organised a series of screening programmes and exhibitions between September and December. We also arranged for

the digitally restored version of this classic film to premiere at the Grand Theatre of the Hong Kong Cultural Centre on 4 September, officially kicking off ‘Celebrating Inheritance and Integration—10th Anniversary of Inscription of Cantonese Opera onto Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity’.

Several hundreds of guests and viewers attended the premiere. With the aid of advanced digital restoration techniques, this eagerly awaited, legendary film was given new life and restored to its original splendor. Written by the eminent librettist Tong Tik-sang, skilfully directed by renowned director Lee Tit, and superbly performed by members of the Sin Fung Ming Opera Troupe, this supreme Cantonese opera film turned over a new page in its illustrious history on this evening. [Translated by Rachel Ng] ■



(左起) 陳培偉醫生、馮秉仲
(From left) Dr Chan Pui-wai, Gordon Fung Ping-chung



(左起) 本館顧問張同祖導演，以及馮秉仲及其兒子馮煒璋
(From left) HKFA’s adviser Cheung Tung Joe, Gordon Fung Ping-chung and his son Peter Fung Wai-chang



本館顧問舒琪導演
Director Shu Kei, HKFA’s adviser



本館工作人員大合照
Colleagues of HKFA



(左起) 首映禮司儀謝建業、本館節目組一級助理館長龍智傑
(From left) Tommy Tse, MC of the premiere ceremony; Aric Lung, Assistant Curator I of HKFA’s Programming Unit

「銀光承傳——粵劇申遺十周年」策展分享

From a Curatorial Perspective: 'Celebrating Inheritance and Integration—10th Anniversary of Inscription of Cantonese Opera onto Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity'

許佩琳 Hui Pui-lam

香港電影資料館於本年9月6日至12月1日舉行「銀光承傳——粵劇申遺十周年」展覽，節目組的一級助理館長陳彩玉分享策展的理念及過程。

陳指出，香港國際電影節早於1987年出版了《粵語戲曲片回顧》，及後資料館於2003年出版該特刊的修訂本，此外，已故的研究組策劃余慕雲先生於2004年整理出涵蓋了633部電影的〈五、六十年代香港粵語戲曲電影片目〉；是次展覽便是建基於前人努力搜集的資料及研究得出的成果，有著承先啟後的意味。

展覽的入口是一個三面佈景，以光雕投影及動態影像重構《紫釵記》（1959、1977）中〈燈街拾翠〉賞燈的長安街場景，讓觀眾在雅樂聲及

唐滌生動人詞句的引領下，遙想李益與霍小玉在元宵夜長安燈市以釵定情，雖曾燈釵夢碎，猶幸花前遇俠，迎來劍合釵圓的動人故事。陳指出，唐滌生是五十年代「粵劇雅化」的重要人物，《紫釵記》更是其膾炙人口之作，是次希望以電腦科技元素，讓觀眾猶如置身電影場景中，感受文學、粵劇、電影三者結合的懾人魅力。

粵劇電影是融合了兩種藝術形式的獨特片種，節目組同事策展和製作時可說是懷著戰戰兢兢的心情，摸著

石頭過河。陳指出，資料館過去的粵劇電影節目大多以紅伶為焦點，是次的概念是聚焦於粵劇電影本身。

陳表示，早期的想法是展示粵劇電影如何保存粵劇藝術的功架及排場，及後在資料搜集過程中，邀得對粵劇及電影均涉獵甚深的阮兆輝教授來館觀看過百部粵劇電影選段，並向我們仔細講解粵劇伶人在演出電影時，如何因片長、場面調度、運鏡及佈景等因素，而在演出上有所調整。阮教授的分享令節目組在建構展示大老倌的傳統功架及獨門絕技的「功架門」展區起了重要的作用，令展示及解說均更加豐富及精確。

另一個展區「導賞門」則集中在珠璣、陳皮、黃鶴聲、蔣偉光及龍圖五位粵劇電影產量甚豐的導演，及作品甚有個人特色的李鐵導演，分別從其生平探索他們與粵劇的淵源，以及從鏡頭運用、燈光、場景等角度切入，解構他們拍攝粵劇電影的手法。

陳分享導演拍攝粵劇電影的手法各有特色，從其生平亦可看出端倪，陳皮導演因其父為著名小武靚全而與多位老倌熟稔，其電影鏡頭多是一氣呵成，讓觀眾可以欣賞老倌的首本名



「功架門」展示了從過百部粵劇電影中精選出來的12段影片，讓觀眾欣賞一眾大老倌的風采，細味他們的獨門功架及排場等技藝。

'Feats of Beauty' showcases 12 excerpts selected from over 100 Cantonese opera films, a special treat for audiences who wish to experience the charisma of some of the Cantonese opera's biggest stars. It is a unique opportunity to closely savour their signature *gongjia* (feats) and *paichang* (formulaic scenes).



以光雕投影及動態影像重構《紫釵記》中李益與霍小玉相遇的長安燈市場景。

Using projection mapping and moving images, the exhibition recreates the Chang'an street scene from *The Legend of Purple Hairpin*, where Lee Yik and Fok Siu-yuk encounter under the bright lights of the Lantern Festival.



劇照牆以多部粵劇電影的宣傳照片及工作照組成，以影像記錄拍攝現場的幕前幕後故事。

The wall collage showcases a collection of film stills, documenting happenings on and off the set.

曲及獨門唱腔，亦可見陳對老倌的尊重及雙方的默契。此外，由粵劇紅伶黃鶴聲執導粵劇電影更是如虎添翼，他熟諳粵劇的排場及功架，深得老倌信任，因此電影中保留了很多優秀粵劇傳統技藝和名伶功架，如余麗珍在《山東紮腳穆桂英》（1959）的出眾「躑功」、粉菊花於《大戰泗洲城》（1962）的「挑水桶」絕技均存留在光影之中。李鐵導演重視粵劇與電影相互融合，風格靈活多變，對鏡頭更是多番琢磨。陳指出，節目組同事更細數了一些電影的鏡頭數目，作為研究的基礎，其中李鐵導演的《紫釵記》（1977）包含七百多個鏡頭。陳更指出，資料館前任節目策劃何思穎先生對是次展覽助力很大，他不但與團隊一同細研多部電影的風格特色，更仔細推敲一些選段的電影語言，協助撰寫精闢的解說，令展覽內容更加充實。

粵劇和電影在藝術上的淵源甚深，自有聲電影誕生後已有不少梨園中人參與製作，資料館亦藏有不少珍貴的粵劇電影。為配合是次慶祝粵劇申遺成功十周年主題，資料館特別選映多套粵劇電影，向觀眾展示糅合粵劇和電影這兩種藝術的經典作品。是次選映的電影分兩部分，首部分聚焦當舞台上的粵劇遇上了鏡頭運動、畫面構圖及剪接手法等電影語言，會為觀眾帶來怎樣不一樣的觀影經驗；另一部分則是在「影畫早晨」時段選映的多部粵劇戲寶改編電影，回顧多位粵劇名伶的功架絕技及獨特唱腔。■

許佩琳為香港電影資料館研究及編輯組二級助理館長

In commemoration, the Hong Kong Film Archive proudly presented the exhibition 'Celebrating Inheritance and Integration—10th Anniversary of Inscription of Cantonese Opera onto Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity', which ran from 6 September to 1 December, 2019. Priscilla Chan, Assistant Curator I of the Archive's Programming Unit, shared the conceptual framework behind the exhibition and the curatorial process.

According to Chan, the 11th Hong Kong International Film Festival published a catalogue titled *Cantonese Opera Film Retrospective* in 1987, which was later reprinted as a revised edition by the Archive in 2003. Meanwhile, in 2004, our late Co-ordinator of the Research Unit Mr Yu Mo-wan compiled the 'Hong Kong Cantonese Opera Films of the 1950s and 1960s', a filmography cataloguing over 633 motion pictures. Chan noted that 'this exhibition is built on the foundation of our predecessors and the fruitful results of their research, keeping the spirit of continuity intact'.

Upon entering the exhibition space, the first thing to greet the viewer is a three-sided film set, recreating the lantern-lit Chang'an Street from *The Legend of Purple Hairpin* (1959; 1977) through the use of dynamic projection mapping. The iconic lyrics by Tong Tik-sang and the elegant Chinese music immerse the audiences in the scene where Lee Yik offers Fok Siu-yuk the hairpin as the token of their love on the night of the Lantern Festival in Chang'an. Siu-yuk's experience of love has disillusioned her only too harshly; it is fortunate for her to meet with the 'Yellow-Garbed Knight' in front of the blossoming

flowers. Their encounter leads up to the legendary story of 'separation and reunion'. Chan pointed out that Tong Tik-sang was a major character in the 1950s who elevated the literary quality of Cantonese opera, and *The Legend of Purple Hairpin* was among his most popular works. 'We hope to immerse the audiences into the cinema-like setting with the help of computer technology, so much so that they can feel the magnetic charm of the perfect amalgamation of literature, Cantonese opera and cinema.'

In the process of curating and producing this exhibition, the Programming Unit was faced with the daunting task of addressing the duality of Cantonese opera as both a stage and cinematic art form. Chan stated that previous archive programs tended to focus on specific Cantonese opera performers. For this exhibition, the approach was to consider primarily the cinematic art form.

Chan confessed that she initially intended to showcase how the *gongjia* (feats) and *paichang* (formulaic scenes) were preserved through Cantonese opera films; during the course of her research, she invited veteran Cantonese opera performer and actor Prof Yuen Siu-

陳皮、珠璣、蔣偉光三位導演的子女前來參觀展覽，在敘述父親生平的展板前留影。

Descendants of three directors, Chan Pei, Chu Kea and Cheung Wai-kwong, visited the exhibition and photographed in front of the exhibit panels.



陳皮的兒子陳永柏
Alex Chan, son of Chan Pei



珠璣的女兒：(左起) 朱天恩、朱天惠
Daughters of Chu Kea: (from left) Chu Tin-yan,
Chu Tin-wai



(左起) 蔣偉光的兒子蔣雲生、兒媳及孫兒
(From left) Cheung Wai-kwong's son Cheung Wan-sang,
daughter-in-law and grandsons

fai to view clips from over a hundred Cantonese opera films, and walked us through how the performances of Cantonese opera stars were adjusted and modified in films due to limited running time, mise-en-scène, camera movements and photography of film sets, etc. Prof Yuen contributed greatly to the 'Feats of Beauty' section of the exhibition in terms of precision and richness in content. This section focuses on demonstrating traditional feats and exclusive choreographic techniques performed by opera veterans.

The 'Gates of Styles' section, on the other hand, focuses on the Cantonese opera film oeuvres of five prolific directors, including Chu Kea, Chan Pei, Wong Hok-sing, Cheung Wai-kwong and Lung To, and the critically acclaimed Lee Tit. By examining the various cinematic approaches and backgrounds of the six directors in terms of their relationship to the traditional Cantonese opera art, this part of the exhibition breaks down the Cantonese opera film genre in terms of camera movements, lighting and set design, etc.

Chan remarked that the individual approaches adopted by directors often depended on their backgrounds and history. For example, Chan Pei was well-acquainted with various Cantonese opera performers because his father, Leng Chuen was a renowned *xiaowu* (young military male role) in Cantonese opera.

Chan's films were distinguished by their use of long takes, allowing the audiences to appreciate to the fullest the famous tunes and unique vocal styles of opera veterans. Chan deemed that it was also a reflection of the director's respect for Cantonese opera performers and their mutual trust; besides, Cantonese opera films directed by famed opera star Wong Hok-sing were exceptional because Wong was familiar with Cantonese opera formulaic scenes and feats, and gained credibility among opera veterans. His films preserved a great wealth of esteemed opera traditions and feats; for example, the foot-binding techniques of Yu Lai-zhen in *The Story of Muk Kwai-ying* (1959) and the 'carrying water buckets' stunt of Fen Ju Hua in *The Capture of the Evil Demons* (1962). Lee Tit, on the other hand, emphasised on the harmonious blend of Cantonese opera and film. Lee was versatile in his styles and was persistent in honing his camera skills. The Programming Unit colleagues surveyed the number of shots used in the films by the six directors; Lee Tit's *The Legend of Purple Hairpin* (1977) topped the list with over 700 individual shots and edits.

Chan also credited Sam Ho, former Programmer of the Archive, for contributing immensely to this exhibition—by working with the team on the styles and film languages of various excerpted films, and writing precise descriptions for the exhibit panels which greatly enriched the

exhibition content.

Cantonese opera and the film medium are inseparable and their amalgamation has left behind a rich artistic heritage. A great number of opera performers have participated in films since the birth of the talkies, and the Archive has the privilege of possessing a collection of rare Cantonese opera films. To commemorate the 10th anniversary of inscription of Cantonese opera onto the Representative List of the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, we presented a special screening programme which introduces audiences to the unusual confluence of the Cantonese opera and cinematic art forms. The screening is divided into two parts: Films to be screened in the first batch would focus on the unique relationship between traditional Cantonese opera and Hong Kong cinema, offering audiences insight into how stage performance art form was reinterpreted through the cinematic lens and the language of film (via camera movements, shot composition and editing, etc). Films presented in 'Morning Matinee', on the other hand, feature celebrated Cantonese opera performers from classic opera adaptations that showcase their unique vocal styles and signature choreography. [Translated by Sandy Ng]

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

輝哥駕到

Here Comes Brother Fai!



粵劇藝術博大精深，粵劇電影展示這門藝術的不同元素，非門外漢所能掌握，因此香港電影資料館特意邀請跨足粵劇及電影兩界的前輩阮兆輝教授（下暱稱輝哥）蒞臨指導，讓不同組別的相關工作人員對粵劇電影有更確切的認識。

輝哥於七月份四度撥冗到訪，除了接受阮紫瑩、張文珊，以及資料館同事的訪問，就過百部粵劇電影的排場及功架選段作講解，並闡述粵劇舞台演出與粵劇電影之異同，及介紹粵劇電影常用的官話、把子（兵器）及鑼鼓點的運用。

此外，輝哥亦講述廣東粵劇及粵劇電影多年以來的演變，如引進北派武功、京劇妝扮及服飾等，並細談多位大老前輩如白玉堂、白駒榮、靚次伯等的粵劇造詣，又介紹粵劇電影多位為人忽略的功臣，包括資深武師梁少松、關正良、周小來及羊牯仔等的精彩翻騰跌撲技巧；並細說梨園及影圈的軼事，如徐子郎與劉月峰在大龍鳳劇團的合作，讓館內同事對粵劇電影大大加深認識，不但對資料館是次的連串工作大有幫助，長遠來說更對我們日後推廣粵劇電影的工作助益匪淺。我們十分感謝輝哥對資料館的支持，更感受到輝哥對粵劇及電影的熱愛，不吝分享，生生不息薪火傳。■

Cantonese opera is an art form of great breadth and depth, and it takes more than a layman's knowledge to understand how different artistic elements of the stage craft are re-interpreted through the cinematic lens. For this reason, the Hong Kong Film Archive has invited Prof Yuen Siu-fai ('Brother Fai'), a veteran of both the stage and screen, to visit us and give professional guidance, allowing colleagues from different units to have a better understanding of Cantonese opera films.

Brother Fai visited the Archive four times during the month of July. During the interview by Yuen Tsz-ying, Milky Cheung Man-shan and Archive staff members, Brother Fai walked us through the similarities and differences between Cantonese opera and films by identifying different *paichang* (formulaic scenes) and *gongjia* (feats) performed in excerpts from over 100 Cantonese opera films. During such occasions, Brother Fai gave in-depth explanations of the use of

stage Mandarin, stage weapons and percussion music.

Apart from tracing the evolution of Cantonese opera and Cantonese opera films throughout history, such as the introduction of Northern-style acrobatics, Peking opera-style make-up and costumes, Brother Fai shared his insights on the great talents of Cantonese opera maestros such as Pak Yuk-tong, Pak Kui-wing, and Lan Chi Pak; and introduced some underrated masters of the craft—martial artists such as Leung Siu-chung, Kwan Ching-liang, Chow Siu-loi, and Yang Gu Zai who excelled at flips, somersaults and rolling techniques. His anecdotes about the world of Cantonese opera and Hong Kong cinema, such as the co-operation between Tsui Tsi-long and Lau Yuet-fung at the Tai Lung Fung Opera Troupe, not only deepened our knowledge about Cantonese opera cinema, but was also a great help to the Archive in organising the programme and our long-term work in promoting Cantonese opera cinema. The Archive is therefore immensely grateful to Brother Fai for his unyielding support and we are genuinely touched by his ardent passion for Cantonese opera and cinema. His generosity in sharing his knowledge and experience, and his dedication to passing on his craft, are truly inspiring. [Translated by Rachel Ng] ■



阮兆輝教授（背鏡頭者）正聚精會神觀看電影選段
Prof Yuen Siu-fai (facing away from the camera) was absorbed in viewing the excerpted film clips.

資料裡的資料

Sifting Through the Archival Trove

阮兆輝 Yuen Siu-fai



我每次走進香港電影資料館，都好像見到慕雲叔余慕雲先生，因為沒有他的鼓吹，絕對沒有電影資料館。就算有，也可能再晚幾十年，所以我表心裡作出崇高的敬禮。資料，為甚麼要保留？留給誰？留來做甚麼？這是掌管文化藝術的人必須明白的。如果只是，我們有一座設備完善、資料豐富、值得誇耀的資料館，就只是面上貼金，與任何文化藝術無關，所以希望每個有心人都用自己的精神、時間，從資料館的藏品裡面，發掘出你所認識的寶物來公諸同好。如果將資料束諸高閣，久而久之就變成廢物。看到「廢物」這名字，你會痛心嗎？如果會，就請有識之士坐言起行，將你認為寶貴、認為值得公開的東西整理出來，憑你專長的知識，憑你的熱誠去做，不管是導演手法、攝影藝術、美術、演員演技、化妝、剪接、燈光、服裝等專題，應該繼續再繼續。

有人說我為資料館花了很多精神、時間，怎麼說？其實是資料館的同事為我戲曲界花了很多心血、時間，幸好有他們，否則你叫我這古稀老翁埋首目錄當中，找出有戲曲功架的電影，還要在其中找出該片段，相信難之又難，所以慶幸遇到一群熱心人，在這裡衷心感謝！

這次我能從電影中找回不同輩份的藝術家們的戲曲功架，是我十分感恩，他們留下了不少好東西，如果沒有電影，那些藝術便隨人而去，多可惜！好！既然今天我們仍看得到那麼多的珍貴影像，我們就應好好學習，看了要思想儲藏，還要模擬學習，最重要的是練，還要感受眼神、風采，總而言之，這些寶物呈現在眼前，如何對待，悉從尊便，而且資料館不是為一個人服務的，所以為配合時間，或要作一點犧牲也未可料，看你的了！

這一次整個過程中，美中不足的就是有些好東西礙於版權所限，不能面世，希望各方的持份者一起尋求共識，免使藝術精品變為廢物，合十以待。■

阮兆輝，著名演員及粵劇表演藝術家，現為香港中文大學音樂系客座副教授、香港八和會館副主席及西九文化區戲曲顧問小組委員。

Every time I step into the Hong Kong Film Archive, I feel the presence of Uncle Mo-wan (Mr Yu Mo-wan), for without his unwavering championship and support, there would have been no Film Archive. Or at least it would have taken a few extra decades for the Archive to transpire at all. I salute him from the bottom of my heart. Archival information: why the need to preserve it? Whom do we keep it for? And for what purpose? These are questions that custodians of art and culture need to answer and understand. A well-equipped, well-stocked, highly praised institution... if this is all the Archive is, then it is but an exercise in self-glorification, which is irrelevant to art and lacking any cultural value. Therefore, I hope that everyone who cherishes the Archive would contribute your time and effort to discovering its treasures and sharing your findings with your friends and peers. If the archival records remained within an ivory tower, they would ultimately turn into 'trash'. Does it pain you to cast your eyes over the word 'trash'? If so, I implore those who can to take action by uncovering and organising information or records you find valuable and worth sharing with the public. Make use of your professional knowledge and your passion, whether it may be in the realm of directorial technique, cinematography, art design, acting, make-up, editing, lighting, or costume. We should all keep the flame burning.

Some say that I have spent a lot of my time and energy on the Archive. It's fallacious. The fact is, the Archive staff have devoted so much toil and effort into the preservation of my art form: Cantonese opera. If not for them, it would have been virtually impossible for a solitary old man like me to dive deep into the archives and find all the films featuring Cantonese opera feats, and locate individual scenes and sequences. I would like to therefore extend my most sincere thanks to this team of passionate individuals, whom I am so fortunate to have met.

I am immensely grateful for this opportunity to rediscover the feats performed by Cantonese opera artists of different generations, for they have left behind a sizeable legacy. If

it were not for cinema, we would not have been able to preserve their artistic achievements for posterity, which would have been a great shame! Since we are now privy to so much rare, invaluable footage, we should study them carefully. We should commit them to memory, model after them, and above all, we should practise, observing and 'experiencing' the expression in the performers' eyes and their charisma. In any case, such treasures are before us, and it is up to you how you choose to deal with them. Remember, the Archive does not just serve any one individual, so one may have to make some sacrifices to reconcile his or her own schedule.

The one single imperfection through the course of this project was that we were not able to secure public access to some valuable material due to copyright restrictions. I hope and eagerly anticipate that different stakeholders will find compromise together, so then great art would not collect dust and become just waste.

[Translated by Rachel Ng] ■

Yuen Siu-fai is a renowned film actor and Cantonese opera performer. He is currently an Adjunct Associate Professor of the Department of Music at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Vice Chairman of the Chinese Artists Association of Hong Kong, and a member on the Xiqu Centre Advisory Panel for the West Kowloon Cultural District.



《光影中的虎度門——香港粵劇電影研究》 Heritage and Integration A Study of Hong Kong Cantonese Opera Films

香港電影資料館邀請 12 位學者與專家，包括（依筆劃序）：何思穎、余少華、吳月華、李少恩、林萬儀、張文珊、陳守仁、陳曉婷、蒲鋒、劉燕萍、盧偉力、羅卡，分別就粵劇電影的源流和歷史、電影與粵劇的比較研究、粵劇電影中傳統排場的運用、上海南來的京劇藝人對粵劇電影的影響，以至從香港粵劇電影的文學、美學、音樂及藝術層面出發，作多方面的探討。口述歷史部分則收錄了羅品超、紅線女、李鳳聲、李願聞、潘焯、朱慶祥及阮兆輝這七位台前幕後前輩的訪談，讓公眾對香港粵劇電影有更深入及全面的認識。

電子書更輯錄了一百部粵劇電影中現存可見的排場及功架，冀能方便讀者按圖索驥，並拋磚引玉，引起大家對粵劇電影的文化價值的關注。

The Hong Kong Film Archive invited 12 scholars and experts (in alphabetical order: Winnie Chan Hiu-ting, Chan Sau-yan, Milky Cheung Man-shan, Sam Ho, Grace Lau Yin-ping, Law Kar, Lee Siu-yan, Lo Wai-luk, Lum Man-yee, Stephanie Ng, Po Fung and Yu Siu-wah) to contribute essays on Hong Kong Cantonese opera films. Their essays cover a variety of discursive topics, ranging from the origins and history of Cantonese opera films, a comparative study of film and Cantonese opera art, the adaptation of traditional Cantonese opera conventions in Cantonese opera films, the influence of Peking opera performers who emigrated from Shanghai on Cantonese opera films, to the literary, aesthetic, musical and artistic aspects of Hong Kong Cantonese opera films. To provide a deeper understanding of the film genre, the e-publication also includes oral history interviews with seven veteran performers and creative talents from the Cantonese opera film community, including Luo Pinchao, Hung Sin Nui, Cecilia Lee Fung-sing, Lee Yuen-man, Poon Cheuk, Choo Heng Cheong and Yuen Siu-fai.

In particular, the e-publication includes a compilation of *paichang* (formulaic scenes) and *gongjia* (feats) from a hundred of Cantonese opera films, presented in a form of a reader-friendly table with concise descriptions. The efforts put in will surely facilitate a greater appreciation of the historical and cultural contributions of Cantonese opera films.

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配合展覽和放映，香港電影資料館舉辦了連串座談會及映後談，找來專家和影人，細談粵劇電影之不同面向。

In conjunction with the exhibition and screening programme, the Archive presented a series of seminars and post-screening talks in which scholars and filmmakers met and analysed the different dimensions of Cantonese opera films.

香港電影裡的戲曲功架

Xiqu Stage Movements

in Hong Kong Films 14/9/2019



(左起) 張文珊、阮兆輝教授

(from left) Milky Cheung Man-shen, Prof Yuen Siu-fai

座談會由阮兆輝教授主講，張文珊擔任主持。阮特地從百部粵劇電影選段中，選取當中 12 部電影的精華片段與觀眾分享，並指出不同輩份的伶人演出，反映出伶人的功底及粵劇的變遷：擅演「女關公」的女武生靚華亭出身自全女班，她的演出蘊含傳統做派風格；同是全女班出身的任劍輝所演的《大紅袍》（1965）充滿火氣，與她曾習小武有莫大關係。此外，伶人的演出反映潮流的更替，例如羅家權以海派京劇裝扮演出《肉山藏妲己》，贏得「生紉王」稱號，加上歌舞班出身的秦小梨演出妲己，當年大受歡迎，與黃鶯聲當年在劇院中吊威也演出《封神榜》大異其趣。

阮表示，或許基於審美觀的轉變，過往一些伶人獨門功架今天已不復見，但部分的名伶首本如白玉堂的「大審戲」，今天仍是粵劇演員的楷模，因此其銀幕片段極其珍貴。在講解過程中，阮細說欣賞老倌演出的門道，講述戲曲演員所受的訓練，並深入淺出地闡釋粵劇電影與舞台演出的異同。

Hosted by Cheung Man-shan, our seminar featured guest speaker Prof Yuen Siu-fai. From over 100 Cantonese opera titles, Yuen selected special excerpts from 12 films to share with the audiences and provided insight commentary. Yuen cited performances of great masters from different generations; these excerpts not only reflect the performers' solid foundation, but also the evolutionary changes of Cantonese opera throughout history. For example, Leng Wah Hang, the female *wusheng* (military male) playing 'Female Lord Kwan', came from an all-female troupe; her performances subtly suggest the traditional opera style of mannerism. Yam Kim-fai also honed her craft in an all-female troupe in those

early days; her powerful showmanship in *The Great Red Robe* (1965) was visibly influenced by her previous training in *xiaowu* (young military male) roles. Besides, the different performing methodologies adopted by opera artists reflect the wax and wane of trends. For example, Law Kar-kuen's character in *A Royal Scandal* was clad in a Shanghai-style Peking opera costume, and he was given the title of 'King Zhou Come Alive'; on top of that, Chun Siu-lei's portrayal of Daji was exceptional given her background in musical troupe, which propelled the opera to its unprecedented fame. This opera was cited as an interesting comparison to *The God's Story*, in which Wong Hok-sing stunned the audiences with his wire stunts.

Yuen noted that some of the unique *gongjia* (feats) of opera veterans were disappearing, perhaps due to the changes in aesthetic standards. However, famous opera repertoires, such as Pak Yuk-tong's 'The Final Trial', still stand in the test of time. Yuen deemed that many contemporary opera stars regarded Pak as their role model and the screen version was extremely rare. Yuen then walked us through in detail the techniques in each performance. He also discussed the similarities and differences between performing Cantonese opera onscreen and onstage, as well as shared insight into the training that a Cantonese opera artist undergoes.

銀幕作為第四面牆——試談粵劇電影的電影藝術

Screen as the Fourth Wall—the Art of Cantonese Opera Film

22/9/2019



劉焯 Lau Yam

第四面牆是西方戲劇概念，指舞台上除框住舞台的三面牆以外，還有置於演員與觀眾之間一面透明的牆；演員在大多數寫實

主義風格的戲劇中，不與觀眾互動，觀眾猶如穿透第四面牆看演出。劉焯著力探討香港粵劇電影如何處理第四面牆，以國內戲曲電影《梁山伯與祝英台》（1954）比較。此片開頭舞台幕幔拉起，攝影機逐漸走進故事的佈景中，循序漸進引導觀眾；不少粵劇電影亦以舞台拉開幕幔開始，但手法不規範，每有新奇。如馮峰導演的《十年一覺揚州夢》（1961），不只在開頭，而是全片三番四次展示舞台的框，框中調度亦多樣，第四面牆便若隱若現，饒有趣味。

劉又以《萬惡淫為首》（1963）新馬師曾夫子自道的片段，與內地的《梅蘭芳的舞台藝術》（1955）對照。後者透過建立梅的人民藝術家形象，展示新中國的文藝政治。而新馬則一身西化明星扮相，面向鏡頭，誠懇表白心志，加上其慰問難民的照片及讚揚其事迹的旁白，刻意確立慈善伶王的形象，迎合當時的香港民間社會。

The fourth wall is a concept from Western drama traditions, referring to the invisible wall between the actors and the audience, in addition to the three walls that surround the stage. In most realist or naturalist performances, actors do not interact with audiences and it is as though the audience is observing from the other side of the fourth wall. Lau Yam's research focuses on how directors of Cantonese opera cinema treat the fourth wall between actors and the audience. As a case in point, the Mainland production *Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai* (1954) opens with stage curtains being pulled back to reveal a scene painting, before the camera moves in to shoot the actors; it is as if leading the audience through a cinematic journey. Many Cantonese opera films also open with stage curtains parted and there's no standard way in terms of filmic approaches, which gives rise to interesting effects that are sometimes least expected. He cited *Ten Years Dream* (1961), directed by Fung Fung, as an example: this technique is used more than once after the opening scene. In fact it is employed several times in between scenes as the frame of the stage is shown in different ways, which make the whole production even more intriguing.

Lau also discussed *Lust is the Worst Vice* (1963) in which Sun Ma Si-tsang performs a monologue in front of the camera. He compared it to the Mainland documentary *Stage Art of Mei Lanfang* (1955). In the

latter film, Mei was filmed in such a way to establish his image as the people's artist and to instil confidence in the belief of a new China. Sun Ma Si-tsang, on the other hand, was clad in modern costumes resembling that of a western film star; Along with photos showing him visiting refugees and a voice-over praising his virtues, he confides his good intentions directly to the camera. All these help to establish Sun Ma's image as the 'Opera King of Charity'.

粵語片的粵劇—— 凝固於現代鏡框的傳統

Cantonese Opera in Cantonese Film—Tradition Frozen in Frame

28/9/2019



李小良教授 Prof Li Siu-leung

李小良教授指出，三十至五十年代是香港粵劇的黃金時代，出了多位傳奇式的紅伶，如薛覺先、馬師曾及芳艷芬等，但礙於當年的技術，沒有把紅伶在舞台上的表演拍攝下來，現在只可以在電影欣賞他們的演出。粵劇界普遍認為，伶人在電影與舞台上的表演是兩碼子事，但粵劇電影始終保留了紅伶當年的表現程式及某種風格的腔調，例如關德興在《樊梨花金光陣產子》（1958）的策馬功架及靚次伯在《三娘教子》（1958）內以古腔演唱教子腔的場面。

李續指，電影的普及令舞台粵劇頗受威脅，而「時裝粵曲歌唱片」獨特之處在於嘗試將傳統的粵劇與現代社會融合，並以新的形式呈現，對電影或粵劇均有重大意義。李以陳皮導演的《新梁山伯祝英台》（1951）為例，片中約九成情節均是古裝，只有開首與結尾是時裝部份，卻提綱挈領地闡述了對封建社會的鞭撻。《早知當初我唔嫁》（1956）這套大唱粵曲的時裝片更借用了不少粵劇的橋段，如飾演教書先生的任劍輝與飾演新寡的芳艷芬在庵堂隔門對唱頗有《蝶影紅梨記》中〈隔門〉一幕之風，當中一句「禮教似藩籬」唱詞同樣表達了對傳統禮教的非議。

Prof Li Siu-leung identified the period from the 1930s to 50s as the golden age of Hong Kong Cantonese opera, with the arrival of legendary performers such as Sit Kok-sin, Ma Si-tsang and Fong Yim-fun. Due to the limited technology at the time, there is very little film documentation of stage performances from that period. We are left to appreciate these performances

through the lens of Cantonese cinema. The clear consensus among members of the Cantonese opera community is that the screen representation of Cantonese opera is a completely different entity from the live stage performance art form. But certain stage conventions and unique vocal approaches from the period still managed to survive the transition to film. In the film *Fan Lei-fa Delivers a Son in the Golden-light Formation* (1958), for example, Kwan Tak-hing performs the feat of 'horse riding' using traditional Cantonese opera stage movements and choreography. In *How Third Madam Educated Her Son* (1958), Lan Chi Pak uses ancient vocal style as his character lectures the child.

Li discussed how the growing popularity of the new cinematic medium had potentially posed a threat to Cantonese opera stage tradition. However, this gave rise to an unusual hybrid of Cantonese musicals that adapted Cantonese opera to modern settings, resulting in a new sub-genre. Li cited Chan Pei's *New Love Story of Leung Shan-pak and Chuk Ying-toi* (1951) as an example of a progressive modern critique of feudal society through the retelling of a classic tragic tale. This was achieved by framing the period costume film with the beginning and the end set in modern times. He noted that *Too Late for Divorce* (1956), a Cantonese opera film in modern costumes, borrowed heavily from various Cantonese opera classics. For example, the scene in which Yam Kim-fai's character, a tutor and Fong Yim-fun's character, a new widow, sing to each other through closed doors in a nunnery, harks back to the scene 'A Door Apart' in the Cantonese opera classic *Butterfly and Red Pear Blossom*. Li deemed that 'moral strictures are like fences', a line from the film's lyrics, sharply censured the traditional ethical morals.

從藝路上相扶持

Stand by Each Other down the Artistic Path

1/10/2019



（左起）舒琪、卓翔
（From left）Shu Kei, Cheuk Cheung

在《乾旦路》（2012）映後談，該片導演卓翔回憶他的初衷，是想導演一部以粵劇為題材的劇情片，經思量後決定由拍攝紀

錄片開始，冀能藉此累積粵劇知識及拉近與伶人之間的距離。卓導續指出，紀錄片主角之一的王侯偉是他的同學，是現今行內寥寥可數的一位男旦，經王介紹下他認識了另一位演花旦的男伶譚穎倫。但譚在2004年後因變聲而被迫棄旦從生，卓導得悉與他再聚，卻驚覺譚的眼裡已找不到當初的熱血和「火光」，激發他拍攝《乾旦路》的靈感，以譚與王在粵劇藝術路途上如何互相扶持、跌碰與掙扎為電影主線。

舒琪則分享他導演《虎度門》（1996）時的體會，他指出粵劇是一門高深學問，伶人要掌握箇中的表演形式，除需要有天份外，要經過長時間和無間斷的訓練，過程是「浩瀚」和無止境的，故謂之藝術。他亦稱作為紀錄片的導演，與當中人物建立互信是非常重要的，亦要小心處理導演與主角各自的內心議題，否則兩者間產生的角力對拍攝會造成一定挑戰。

In the post-screening talk, Cheuk Cheung, director of *My Way* (2012), recalled his initial plan was to direct a fictional feature film about Cantonese opera; but he decided to start with a documentary after giving the matter much thought. His hope was that it would be an opportunity for him to gain more knowledge about the art form and also cultivate a closer relationship with opera artists. Cheuk revealed that Wong Hau-wai, one of the characters in the film, was in fact his classmate and also one of the very few male *dan* (female) actors in the industry today. Wong then introduced Cheuk to another male *dan* actor Tam Wing-lun. However, in 2004, Tam was forced to give up *dan* roles and switch over to *sheng* (male) acting after his voice changed. Upon hearing the news, Cheuk sought out Tam and was shocked that he could no longer find the same level of fiery passion in Tam's eyes. The incident provided inspiration for *My Way*, which focuses on how Tam and Wong struggle and support each other in their pursuit of the art of Cantonese opera.

On the other hand, Shu Kei shared his experiences and insight from directing *Hu-du-men* (1996). Shu deemed that Cantonese opera was profound and complex, and an opera performer needed more than simply talent, but also longtime and continuous training, the process of which may feel 'measureless' and endless—for these reasons 'it is considered an "art"'. Shu also explained that it was important for documentary-makers to build a relationship of mutual trust with their subjects, and to also handle topics close to their subjects' hearts with the utmost sensitivity. Otherwise, the tension between the two parties would pose considerable challenges to the shooting of the film.

12/10/2019



(左起) 周荔嬌、劉澤深、何思穎

(From left) Janice Chow, Micheal Lau, Sam Ho

座談會上，劉澤深、周荔嬌及何思穎分享參與製作展覽過程。劉表示，是次展覽是從電影角度出發，聚焦六位擅長拍攝粵劇電影的導演，當中五位導演作品總數達三百多部，佔五十年至六十年代的香港粵劇電影過半數，而第六位則是導技令人稱羨的李鐵導演。周則分享研究及資料搜集方面的心得。她表示，過程中她翻閱大量文獻，包括多份當年的報紙及雜誌，例如三十年代的《伶星》，以及五、六十年代的《長城畫報》、《中聯畫報》及《娛樂畫報》等。周續說，最難得的是能夠聯繫上李鐵、陳皮、珠璣及蔣偉光這四位導演的後人，不單向他們求證文獻的記載，更搜集了不少一手材料及照片，彌補資料上的缺失。

在製作過程中作出不少指導的資料館前節目策劃何思穎，則指出粵劇電影是影劇互動下的產物，在技法上有不少獨特之處。何又透過蔣偉光導演的《畫裏天仙》（1957）及黃鶴聲導演的《大紅袍》（1965）的片段，講解導演在粵劇電影中使用的不同的場面調度及技法，如蔣在《畫》片中以煙、影、燈做出明暗的效果，以及在拍攝浪漫場面時所採用的風格化運鏡。

Michael Lau, Janice Chow, and Sam Ho participated in the preparation and production of the exhibition, and during the seminar they shared their experiences of the process, from ideation to execution. According to Lau, the team chose to shine light on the cinematic aspect of Cantonese opera, in particular six directors who were especially skilled at making Cantonese opera films. Five of the six directors have directed over 300 pictures, over half of which were Hong Kong opera films produced in the 1950s to 60s. The sixth is director Lee Tit, who was praised and admired for his directorial skills and talents. Chow shared her experiences and takeaways from the process of research and information gathering. She described how she combed through vast amounts of archival records, including newspapers and magazines such as *Ling Sing* from the 1930s, and *The Great Wall Pictorial*, *The Union Pictorial* and *The Screen & Stage Pictorial* from the 1950s and 60s. The experience Chow treasured most was managing to contact the descendants of four of the directors (Lee Tit, Chan Pei, Chu Kea, and Cheung Wai-kwong). Not only did they assist in verifying and corroborating details from archival documents, but they also provided primary materials and photos to supplement existing records.

Sam Ho, former Programmer of the Archive, provided invaluable advice during the production of the exhibition. In the seminar, he suggested that Cantonese opera films were the product of the interplay between cinema and theatre, with many specific techniques and characteristics. He used excerpts from Cheung Wai-kwong's *Fairy in Drawing* (1957) and Wong Hok-sing's *The Great Red Robe* (1965) to illustrate how Cantonese opera film directors utilise mise-en-scène and other techniques to create effects, such as Cheung's use of smoke, shadows, and lighting to highlight the contrast between light and dark, and his stylistic use of cinematography in romantic scenes.

「瑰寶情尋」之「賞文·閱影：外語名著改編」（10/2-8/9/2019），最後兩節的放映和座談會順利舉行，為時八個月的活動圓滿結束。

The last two screening sessions and post-screening talks of 'Archival Gems—Worth a Thousand Words: Adaptations of Foreign Literary Classics' (10/2-8/9/2019) proceeded without a hitch. The eight-month programme had officially ended as scheduled.

俄國文學的轉化

The Evolution of Russian Literature 4/8/2019



鄭政恆 Matthew Cheng

講者鄭政恆多角度闡述遼闊的俄國文學，與改編電影的關係。鄭指出果戈里是烏克蘭人，早年於俄國聖彼得堡任低層官員，其對官僚陋習的體會引發《欽差大臣》的創作。鄭表示香港多次將此劇搬上銀幕，除今次選映的《視察專員》（1955）和《步步高陞》（1961），尚有吳回導演的《奇人奇遇》（1956）。鄭續指出在受此劇作啟發的電影中，當數台灣王童導演的《假如我是真的》（1981）最具爭議性，這電影根據內地作家沙葉新的同名劇作改編，頗有《欽差大臣》故事的痕跡，當年因題材敏感而被港英政府列為禁片。

俄國另一大文豪托爾斯泰的作品，也是華語改編電影的寵兒。鄭指出洪仲豪和高梨痕合導的《再生緣》（1948），便是改編自《復活》。邵氏也曾數度改編托爾斯泰的文學著作，如卜萬蒼導演的《一夜風流》（1958），靈感同樣來自《復活》；何夢華導演的《蕉風椰雨》（1960）則改編自《安娜卡列尼娜》。

Matthew Cheng gave an overview of the vast and rich heritage of Russian literature by exploring different perspectives and expounded on its relationship with screen adaptations. Nikolai Gogol was himself a Ukrainian who had served in the Russian government at St. Petersburg as a lowly official during his early career. His background and past experience no doubt influenced and inspired the writing of his famous play *The Inspector General*. Cheng noted that there were several Hong Kong-produced films based on the same play: apart from *The Inspector General* (1955) and *The Prince Incognito* (1961) which were screened earlier, Ng Wui's *Adventures of a Fabulous Man* (1956) was another case in point. Cheng then turned his attention to the believed to be the most controversial adaptation *If I Were for Real* (1981), directed by Taiwanese director Wang Toon. The theme was lifted from the famous play *The Imposter* by the Mainland's playwright Sha Yexin. Due to its controversial content, the film was once banned by the British Hong Kong government.

The works by Russian literary giant Leo Tolstoy, have been quite popular for film adaptations: *A Reborn Romantic* (1948), directed by Hung Chung-ho and Ko Lei-hen, harks back to the novel *Resurrection*; The Shaw Brothers was also quite keen on adapting Tolstoy's works into films. For example, *An Unforgettable Night* (1958), directed by Richard Poh (alias Bu Wanchang), was again inspired by *Resurrection*; *Malaya Affair* (1960), directed by Ho Moon-hwa, took direct influence from the novel *Anna Karenina*.

類型片與脈絡置換—— 《一鳴驚人》與《嬌嬌女》

Displacement and Recontextualisation of
Genre Films—*The Beauty and the Dumb* and
Precious Daughter 8/9/2019



洛楓 Dr Natalie Chan

洛楓認為，《一鳴驚人》（1954）及《嬌嬌女》（1956）在情節上與原著顯著不同，當中的取捨和改動正表達了電影隱含的深層意義。例如，法朗士原著的《啞妻》中，女主角開聲後喋喋不休，但《一》及《嬌》那長舌婦

的角色都不是由能夠說話後的女主角擔當：《一》那位是衣著和談吐都偏向洋化的丁小姐，與溫婉文靜及經常穿唐裝的啞女秀秀形成強烈對比，這種將中西文化二分的觀念，在早期的文人電影都很普遍；而《嬌》那位則是啞女穎兒的嫂嫂，除了嘮叨外，更添加了不少負面的言行，例如性格卑鄙、常常虐待工人等，以突顯女主角討喜可人的形象。

洛楓從電影內女主角的溝通方式，分析當中不同的演出形態。《嬌》中，穎兒與男主角以紙筆溝通，較為靜態；而《一》的秀秀則用手語和眼神與人溝通，不但使整體演出較靈活，也帶出溝通並不限於語言，眼神和動作亦可達致心靈交流。

Dr Natalie Chan deemed that the storylines from *The Beauty and the Dumb* (1954) and *Precious Daughter* (1956) represented quite a departure from the source material from which they were adapted; the modifications were designed to add complexity and new meaning in the screen versions. For example, in the original Anatole France play, *The Man Who Married a Dumb Wife*, the heroine compulsively chatters away once she recovers her voice. But in the two aforementioned film adaptations, neither female protagonist become chatterboxes after regaining their respective voices; in *The Beauty and the Dumb*, the character of Miss Ding takes on the role of the chatterbox. Characterised by her Western fashion sense and demeanour, Miss Ding is a perfect foil for the demure, mute heroine Xiuxiu who is costumed in traditional cheongsam gowns. The cultural divide between East and West was a common thread in early literary adaptations. In *Precious Daughter*, the role of the chatterbox is given to an evil sister-in-law who endlessly nags and complains and harasses servants. Again, the character serves as a foil to the positive qualities of the mute heroine Wing-yee.

The performance approaches of the lead actresses in the two films also diverge dramatically due to the different methods of communication they adopt within the narrative. In *Precious Daughter*, the mute Wing-yee communicates with the male protagonist through letter correspondence, leading to a more internal performance. In *The Beauty and the Dumb*, Xiuxiu communicates with her eyes and sign language, allowing for a more expressive interpretation; it also articulates the message that communication is not all about languages, eye and body gestures can also facilitate heart-felt communication.

「光影雙城」札記

A Handy Digest on
'One Tale, Two Cinemas'

蔡漫虹 Carmen Tsoi

在電影文化層面上，上海與香港有一份歷史深厚的淵源。上世紀三、四十年代，因時局影響，大批上海商人及影人南來香港，帶來資金及人才，締造了滬港兩地文化交流的契機，當中尤以卜萬蒼執導的《貂蟬》（1938）最具先驅意義。《貂蟬》於1937年在上海開拍，一度因戰事和人員離散而停頓，電影翌年於香港續拍，成為首部香港出品的國語電影；自此，上海與香港的交流不輟，發展出一段關係密切的電影雙城因緣。

適值「香港節2019——藝匯上海」在上海舉行，推廣香港藝術文化及拓展滬港之間的連繫，香港電影資料館亦參與其中，以「光影雙城」為題，於11月2日至12月15日在上海電影博物館籌辦旗袍戲服及電影海報展覽；同時於11月2至3日及9至10日在上海電影博物館及上海電影資料館舉行電影放映及座談會，將香港的電影文化帶給上海觀眾。

我們早於2017年底已展開籌備工作，並多次派員穿梭滬港兩地，視察及確定展覽場地，並與上海人員商量各項展覽的細節及安排。由於今次展出的旗袍戲服是非常珍貴的文物，部分更是年代久遠，質料脆弱、易受破損，為確保它們能安全抵滬，這批旗袍連同供展示用、度身訂做的包布人型模型，均由我們親自運送。

在開幕典禮舉行前一星期，我們再次來到上海電影博物館及上海電影資料館為活動作最後預備工作。團隊一行五人，兵分兩路；修復組同事負責佈展的工作，首先是檢查並確保運到展場的旗袍文物及人型模型狀況良好，沒有因運送過程受損。修復組同事早前已為有需要的旗袍進行修復，也配合每一件旗袍選定了模型，並進行基本塑型。到了展場後，由於部分旗袍質料不適宜蒸熨，我們用輕微濕潤的物料及玻璃小心翼翼地壓平旗袍的摺痕，然後我們把旗袍穿上各自



鳴謝上海電影博物館提供照片 Photo courtesy of Shanghai Film Museum

開幕典禮的主禮嘉賓：(左起)上海市委宣傳部電影處處長彭奇志、上海電影博物館及上海電影資料館館長任仲倫、民政事務局局長劉江華、民政事務局常任秘書長謝凌潔貞、康文署署長劉明光

Officiating guests of the opening ceremony included: (from left) Peng Qizhi, Director of Film Division, Shanghai Municipal Film Administration; Ren Zhonglun, Head of Shanghai Film Museum and Shanghai Film Archive; Lau Kong-wah, Secretary for Home Affairs; Cherry Tse, Permanent Secretary for Home Affairs; Liu Ming-kwong, Director of Leisure and Cultural Services



鳴謝上海電影博物館提供照片 Photo courtesy of Shanghai Film Museum

滬港雙方代表交換合作備忘錄

Representatives from Shanghai and Hong Kong exchanged Memorandum of Cooperation

的模型。模型穿上旗袍後，需要在不同部位加入填充物料，固定及微調，以確保旗袍穿上後妥貼，並能展現當年片中演員穿上該戲服的模樣。展品備妥後，修復組同事隨即要監察場地的燈光及溫濕環境，確保溫濕度及光線維持適合展示文物的環境。另一邊廂，節目組同事則忙於到不同放映場地進行試片，因應不同設施和環境，調較影片的光度及聲量。此外，同事們亦要進行海報展佈置、開幕典禮及座談會籌備工作。

在兩地工作人員努力下，「光影雙城」開幕典禮於11月2日順利舉行，典禮上滬港雙方交換合作備忘錄，開啟兩地往後的文化交流。典禮完成後，緊接下來的便是放映開幕電影《掙扎》(又名《九江血戰》，1933)修復版。《掙扎》是中國最早發聲電影之一，由上海天一影片公司出品，由於天一一是邵氏兄弟最早成立的電影公司，可說是標誌了邵氏王國的誕生，也代表了滬港兩地同根同源。影片極可能是上海天一僅存在世的電影拷貝，以及導演裘芑香的唯一存世電影。為了讓香港觀眾率先欣賞這部館藏瑰寶，《掙扎》已於十月份在香港電影資料館「瑰寶情尋——光影雙城」專題節目內放映。至於由發源於香港的聯華公司出品、羅明佑導演的《天倫》(1935)，我們則特意安排於11月3日在上海電影博物館與香港電影資料館放映，讓兩地觀眾能在同一日觀賞這部經典電影。

上海是中國電影發軔之地，亦對香港電影的發展具有深遠的影響，是次選映的八部資料館館藏電影可作見證：當中四部為三、四十年代上海電影公司或影人參與製作的影片，另外四部為於八、九十年代香港電影黃金時期拍成，並以三、四十年代舊上海為故事背景的經典之作。我們冀能透過舉辦「光影雙城」系列活動，祝願滬港這「兩生花」的文化根脈茁壯成長，在電影世界繼續綻放異彩。■

蔡漫虹為香港電影資料館節目組二級助理館長

Considered from the vantage point of cinematic and cultural history, Shanghai appears to have a special and profound connection to Hong Kong. The flood of emigration of filmmakers and merchants, from Shanghai to Hong Kong, began in the 1930s and 40s during a period of great political upheaval in the Mainland. Not only did they bring capital and talents with them, they also brought favourable opportunities for cultural exchanges. *Sable Cicada* (1938) directed by Richard Poh (alias Bu Wancang) serves as a prime example. Principle photography for the film began in 1937 in Shanghai but the war brought production to a halt as many cast and crew members fled. The production resumed in Hong Kong in the following year, becoming the first Hong Kong-made Mandarin-speaking film. The cultural exchanges between Hong Kong and Shanghai have not ceased ever since, and the cinematic relationship between the two cities has become ever more intimate and intriguing.

Hosted in Shanghai, 'Festival Hong Kong 2019—A Cultural Extravaganza@Shanghai' aims to serve as another juncture for the ongoing cultural dialogue between the two cities by introducing Hong Kong's unique film culture to Shanghai audiences. The Hong Kong Film Archive has the honour of participating in its 'One Tale, Two Cinemas' programme held from 2 November to 15 December 2019, playing a number of classic movies in conjunction with a series of seminars from 2 to 3, and 9 to 10 November at Shanghai Film Museum and Shanghai Film Archive. Meanwhile, a *qipao* and film poster exhibition (the former showcases *qipao* costumes featured in movies) are currently run at the Shanghai Film Museum until 15 December 2019.

'One Tale, Two Cinemas' had been in the planning since the end of 2017, during which colleagues from the Archive were busy travelling back and forth between Hong Kong and Shanghai; representatives on both sides also took time to discuss and iron



香港電影資料館的修復組同事忙於為展覽旗袍作最後檢查。
Conservation Unit of HKFA conducting a final check of the *qipao* exhibits



旗袍展展出由五十至千禧年代女星在電影中穿著過的九襲旗袍戲服；圖為其中三襲五、六十年代的電影戲服。

Nine *qipao* worn by lead actresses from the 1950s to 2000s were featured in the exhibition. These three were worn by actresses in films produced in the 1950s and 60s.

out the collaboration details. Since the *qipao* featured in this exhibition are rare artefacts, and some of which are dated far back in time and made of fragile materials, both the costumes and cloth-wrapped mannequins were delivered first-hand by our colleagues to ensure their utmost safety.

One week before the opening ceremony, we dispatched colleagues again to Shanghai Film Museum and Shanghai Film Archive for final preparation. Our team, comprised of five members, worked simultaneously on different tasks: colleagues from our Conservation Unit were wrapped up in assembling the exhibition. The first thing was to inspect the *qipao* exhibits and cloth-wrapped mannequins, making sure they were intact after delivery. Our Conservation Unit had already restored some of the costumes as needed earlier on, and paired each exhibit with an appropriate mannequin while also proceeding with some basic styling. Since the materials of some *qipao* are not suitable for steaming, upon arriving the exhibition venue, we carefully smooth the creases out by placing a slightly moist cloth on top of the costumes and then flattening with pieces of glass. After we dressed the mannequins

accordingly, we used padding materials to shape the mannequins as appropriated, fixed the overall shape and made fine adjustments as well. It was our priority to make sure that all the mannequins were clad nicely in our *qipao* costumes, showcasing the same glamour and allure as they were worn by actresses in films. After handling the exhibits with care, our Conservation Unit colleagues proceeded to coordinate with the Shanghai side to make sure the temperature, humidity and lighting of the venue stay at the proper levels and our artefacts would be exhibited in a suitable environment. Meanwhile, our Programming Unit colleagues travelled tirelessly to different venues to conduct test screenings, adjusting the lighting and volume of the film according to the environment and facilities of the screening venue. On top of that, our colleagues were occupied with tasks such as setting up the poster exhibition, preparing the full run-down of seminars and the opening ceremony.

After months of intense preparation and planning on both ends, the inauguration ceremony was held on 2 November without a hitch. Memorandum of Cooperation

was exchanged on stage, which opened a new chapter for further cultural dialogues between Shanghai and Hong Kong. After the ceremony, 'One Tale, Two Cinemas' opened with *Struggle* (Restored Version; originally released by Unique Film Productions [Shanghai], 1933), which was one of the earliest talkies in Chinese cinema. The film is believed to be the only surviving film of Unique as well as the only surviving film directed by Qiu Qixiang. Unique (Shanghai) was the first film company founded by the Shaw Brothers, which sowed



鳴謝上海電影博物館提供照片
Photo courtesy of Shanghai Film Museum

來自港滬兩地的電影專家進行交流：（左起）何思穎、石川

Film specialists from Hong Kong and Shanghai took part in the cultural exchange seminar: (from left) Sam Ho, Shi Chuan



上海的影人後代蒞臨觀影，與工作人員合照：（左起）上海電影博物館發展管理部主任王穎、攝影師黃紹芬的兒子黃宗煒、康文署總經理（電影及文化交流）區玉芳、導演費穆的兒子費明照、演員韓非的兒子韓偉

Descendants of famed Shanghai filmmakers and actors were present at the screening, and were photographed with staff at the venue: (from left) Amanda Wang, Director of the Development Department at Shanghai Film Museum; Huang Zongwei, son of cinematographer Huang Shaofen; Betty Au, Chief Manager (Film and Cultural Exchange) of the LCSD; Fei Mingxi, son of director Fei Mu; Han Wei, son of actor Han Fei



演員魏鶴齡的女兒魏芙（左二）前來觀看父親主演的《貂蟬》（1938），與該片的攝影師黃紹芬的兒子黃宗煒（左三），以及本館工作人員合照

Wei Fu (2nd left) arrived at the screening of *Sable Cicada* (1938), in which her father Wei Heling plays the lead role; she participated in a group photo with our colleagues and Huang Zongwei (3rd left), son of the film's cinematographer Huang Shaofen.

the seeds for what later became the 'Shaws Kingdom'. It is our privilege to share this precious gem once again with the Shanghai audiences. In fact, the Hong Kong audiences had had the privilege to preview *Struggle* before it opened in Shanghai, which was premiered in October as part of our programme 'Archival Gems—One Tale, Two Cinemas'. Meanwhile, *The Song of China* (1935), directed by Lo Ming-yau and produced by United Photoplay Service Limited which originated in Hong Kong, was screened on 3 November simultaneously by the Shanghai Film

Museum and the Hong Kong Film Archive. This special arrangement broke down boundaries between audiences in Shanghai and Hong Kong, allowing them to appreciate the film's elusive charms on the same day.

Shanghai was the base for the then flourishing Chinese cinema, and had exerted a thoroughgoing influence on the development of Hong Kong films. We have selected eight films from our archival gems which serve as the 'key witness' to this symbiotic relationship: four of our selected films were either produced by Shanghai film companies or filmmakers in the

1930s and 40s; the remaining four were classics set in old Shanghai in the 1930s and 40s, all produced in Hong Kong during the golden era of Hong Kong cinema, i.e., the 1980s to 90s. The programme series 'One Tale, Two Cinemas' is our blessing to Shanghai and Hong Kong, the ever-evolving 'twin sisters' who are destined to shine and continue to shine in the world cinema. [Translated by Natasha Wong] ■

Carmen Tsoi is Assistant Curator II of HKFA's Programming Unit.



本館同事與上海的觀眾及工作人員合影

Colleagues from our Archive were photographed with audiences and local staff at the venue.



《阮玲玉》與《上海之夜》 的海上傳奇

Centring Hong Kong, Staging
Shanghai: Tsui Hark's *Shanghai
Blues* and Stanley Kwan's
Center Stage

葉月瑜 Emilie Yeh Yueh-yu



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上海／香港

上世紀三、四十年代的上海長年來是香港視覺文化和電影不曾消失的母題。上海與香港兩城的發展和中國在近代遭受歐洲帝國與殖民主義的屈辱息息相關，而因此產生了一種近乎親屬般的關係。在現代性和大都會的議題上，兩城經常被相互比較；從影史的角度來看，上海和香港更被捆綁一起，形成所謂的「雙城故事」。首先，上海是中國電影製作的先發地，孕育了幾代的電影從業人員。但在二次大戰之後，香港一度成為「東方荷里活」，影片年產量在六十年代居東亞第二，在七十年代更打破文化和經濟的國界，出口量在全球的市場，僅次美國電影。¹ 這樣的歷史變換，讓上海／香港的雙城記不斷上演。

上海與香港從來都不是敵對的雙方（最多可能也只是互相看不上眼）。相反的，歷史將香港變成了中國電影的第二故鄉。戰後香港成為華語電影的主產地，不單是粵語或國語片，連廈語片和潮語片，都聚集在香港生產和包裝。學者張真引介了「上海電影」一詞闡釋二、三十年代中國電影的「白話現代性」（vernacular modernism），意指彼時上海生產的影片既有前衛文化的表徵，也有上海小市民文化的認同，可謂既普羅又前

衛。新中國建立後，迷人又親民的上海電影，隨著人員技術和資源的轉移，部分在香港找到了安身之地，得以延續下去。在往後的二十年間，上海與香港各行其道。就在上海影人苦於應對文化大革命的巨大改革，導致電影製作幾乎停滯之時，香港已是邵氏和國泰兩家最具規模的華資電影片廠基地，並發展成東亞第二大的影片生產城市。此時的香港已取代上海，成為華人電影的主要所在。直至八十年代，在香港主權移交前夕，盛世的香港電影回顧上海和她的電影遺緒，迫切地想和中國重新接觸。學者大衛博維爾（David Bordwell）曾用「活生生的遺產」（a vital heritage）² 一詞形容《上海之夜》（1984）片中描繪的三十年代中國電影。遺產有建築、歷史和文化傳承和保存的意涵。正是這些歷史和文化傳承，提供了香港電影大量的史料和故事資源。香港電影在全盛時期的八、九十年代以娛樂和商業著稱，但若要进一步獲取歷史深度和文化資本，顯然要回歸最著名，也最值得一探的中國電影遺緒，尋求靈感。

換言之，上海是否就是香港影人的玫瑰蓓蕾？稍微調查一下，不難發現戰後很多香港導演都拍過與上海有關的影片。但在這些影片當中，以下討論的兩部影片則採用了綿密，甚

至過激的方式去接觸上海電影，有時過激到把上海這主人翁掏空。掏空後，填入一副新的軀體，換上一把新的聲音，這新軀體和聲音正是香港電影。徐克的的神經喜劇《上海之夜》是一例，關錦鵬的傳記片《阮玲玉》（1992）是另一例。兩部電影都以重拍上海為題出發，但最終上海母題被取而代之，影片以香港／香港電影做終結。炫目的香港演員在兩部影片中的華麗演出不得不讓觀眾刮目相看，在在顯示出香港電影的自傲與洋洋得意。雖是重拍上海，拾回舊時遺緒，但香港電影自始至終處於前台正中央，毫不讓步。看完這兩部以上海為題材的影片，我們莞爾一笑：上海遺緒只能從老照片和殘舊的影片裡去追憶，香港始終才是真正的電影之都。

上海那一夜

徐克《上海之夜》的故事讓人想起《一夜風流》（1934）的片名：*It Happened One Night* 在，「上海那一夜」：一晚上的溫存改變人物的一生。《一夜風流》的劇情和《上海之夜》當然很不同，但徐克採用的是《一夜風流》典型的神經喜劇式樣（快速的對白、動作、三角關係）去改編三十年代經典《馬路天使》（袁牧之導演，1937）。《馬路天使》並非原

創，當時也參考了法蘭波西治（Frank Borzage）的兩部影片，《七重天》（*7th Heaven*, 1927）和《花街神女》（*Street Angel*, 1928）為樣板，再摻以上海時事，拍成一部有批判意識的通俗劇。無獨有偶，亨利金（Henry King）也在1937那年重拍《七重天》，深獲好評。

在上海的那個夜晚究竟發生了甚麼事？在夜總會跑龍套的董國民（鍾鎮濤飾）和落難女子舒佩琳（張艾嘉飾）在一二八日機轟炸之際，跑到蘇州河橋下避難。兩人相濡以沫，約定勝利後在同一地點相見。十年後，兩人遵守約定，回到蘇州橋下尋找對方，但因為當時不曾留下姓名，也因停電看不清對方的面孔，而遲遲無法相認。舒此時已是夜總會的紅牌歌女，董依然跑龍套，打散工，並夢想實現他的作曲才華。凳仔（葉蒨文飾）是剛抵埗的鄉下姑娘，一下錢被扒光，被舒收留，此時董剛巧搬進舒住所的天臺。之後故事轉變成三角關係，雖然舒與董稍後已相認，但為了成全凳仔，舒決定和夜總會經理離開上海，到香港另謀生計。

《上海之夜》與《馬路天使》之間的「相似處」顯而易見，有喇叭手和天涯歌女的戀情，天臺的浪漫愛情，波希米亞的戲謔對應上海的城市冷漠，歷盡滄桑的老手為涉世未深的小

姑娘犧牲自己的愛情。除此之外，《上海之夜》和《馬路天使》實在是南轅北轍，形式和政治有很大差異。反倒是《上海之夜》以觀眾熟悉的十里洋場作為場景，加上許多神經喜劇的詼諧橋段，形成一部上海影像檔案的高音超速滑稽劇，而這正是徐克力道之處。由此看來，《馬路天使》只是一個橋段，《上海之夜》的上海不過就是一個便利的佈景。

天才徐克展現了大衛博維爾口中的香港電影基因：「鬼五馬六、花臣多多、勁癲勁喪」。³《上海之夜》充滿了許多劇情聲音和語詞的反斗。譬如說一見鍾情是本片故事的軸心，但偏偏劇情安排那一見發生在停電的夜晚：黑濛濛的，誰也沒看清楚誰的面孔。不僅開了「一見鍾情」的玩笑（同時也開了電影一個玩笑：沒有燈光，何來電影？），也引來後來的捉迷藏和相見又不相認的亂局。另一個反斗：彼時上海盛行的各式皇后選舉，背後的利益千絲萬縷。影片中的月曆皇后選舉，因女贊助人的要求，選了一位面貌平平的鄉下姑娘凳仔，破壞了商界大款遴選新情婦的目的。之後陰錯陽差，女贊助人更取代了新上任的皇后，和好色的商界大款共度春宵。《上海之夜》就是以這些「如果這般，結果如何？」的假設情景，以笑鬧嘲諷的喜劇形式去重新詮釋、反轉經典。

大衛博維爾稱這種「圓滑嫻熟，既低俗又天馬行空的想像是香港電影橫行全球觀眾的特點」⁴。這不僅是徐克電影的特出之處，也是許多同期香港電影的共同特徵。

神經喜劇缺少不了愛情與動作，這兩者最終融合成快樂結局。《上海之夜》也不例外。就在舒搭上火車決意離開上海之際，追著火車的董在最後一秒鐘上車，在擠滿人的車廂中和舒再度重逢。列車開往南方，兩人的目的地香港，留下凳仔一人在上海浮沉。電影的最後鏡頭凝結在凳仔披上一件斗篷，自信滿滿的以慢鏡的速度走向上海這個五花八門的舞台，背景正是一張巨型電影廣告，即將上映的影片正是《再見上海》，這不單是亂世佳偶的告別中國，也是徐克對上海的最後道別。雖然《上海之夜》以連接上海電影遺緒為開端，但始終還是需離開上海，前往目的地香港。徐克眼花撩亂的重演上海結果變成了一場回到香港的旅程，除此之外，《上海之夜》更是一部體現香港電影力道十足的表演，盡是「鬼五馬六、花臣多多、勁癲勁喪」。

香港，中央舞台

上海明星阮玲玉（1910-1935）在1935年自殺，時年25歲。《阮玲玉》拍的是她自殺前的事跡，包括她的事業、家庭、感情。阮的早逝使得她成為中國電影史上最富傳奇的明星，而她的聲譽與地位更在死後達到巔峰，數十年後成為上海電影遺緒的標誌：亮麗、神秘、短暫。一部描寫阮玲玉的傳記片不僅引人遐想，更進一步能與中國電影的正統匯集在一起。為了達此雙重目標，《阮玲玉》採取了多層的敘事結構，使用了精巧的視覺風格。本片有兩條唇齒相依的劇情線：一條是關錦鵬執導，張曼玉主演的香港片《阮玲玉》；另一條是拍攝此傳記片的過程，以紀錄片的方式呈現出來。為了讓結構更炫目，第一條



《上海之夜》（1984）：亂世中的浮花浪蕊於悲喜中結下情誼；（左起）飾舒佩琳的張艾嘉、飾凳仔的葉蒨文

Shanghai Blues (1984): Two desperate hearts share tears and laughter in a topsy-turvy world; (from left) Sylvia Chang as Shu Pei-ling, Sally Yeh as Stool.

劇情加插阮玲玉的檔案照片和演出的片段去表述正在拍攝的影片如何忠實地呈現阮玲玉的生平。兩條劇情線順著阮步步走向生命盡頭的時間順序，一來一往，相互印證。第二條線（紀錄片部分）主要是導演和眾演員對談阮玲玉這個話題，進一步變成對如何去理解拍攝中的《阮玲玉》一片的指引。

雙重結構產生了雙重焦點：觀眾面對兩個景框，兩個演員，自然會做比較：一個是早逝的老上海明星，一個是即將躍升為國際明星的香港演員。把兩人放在影片中，讓她們似乎有了親屬般的關係；當下張曼玉的工作便是要演活演好一個舊日的阮玲玉。雖然《阮玲玉》不是一部紀錄片，但其中一條劇情線主要是講導演與演員討論如何去遴選組織一些老上海、老電影的資料（譬如像照片、影片，甚至是談話）。這種做法讓這部分可以算是比爾·尼科爾斯（Bill Nichols）所稱的反身紀錄片。另一條劇情線就順著這些討論，把阮玲玉的故事搬演出來，也連帶描繪二、三十年代的上海。這個安排把上海電影視為九十年代以導演關錦鵬、演員張曼玉等人代表的香港影業的先祖。透過拍攝阮玲玉傳奇的一生，關錦鵬把自己和香港電影擺入了中國電影的遺產當中，鞏固了香港和上海電影的親屬關係，也將香港電影放到世界電影的遺產當中，無外乎他幾次問演員這個問題：「你希望在半個世紀後還有人記得你嗎？」

搬演（re-enactment）通常是紀錄片的大忌（除了幾個像埃洛·莫里斯〔Errol Morris〕和約書亞·奧本海默〔Joshua Oppenheimer〕的作品外），怕被批評導演欺騙或是造假。但在《阮玲玉》一片中，搬演通常是對前事和遺緒的反思而發生的後續，所以有其必要性。搬演對史家來說，往往是編排歷史的一個有力策略，反身和搬演這兩條劇情線的視覺風格涇渭分明，主要以色調區分。反身由導演和演員對談，加上一些阮玲玉同時

代老影人的訪問錄影組成，這部分是黑白攝影，多中特寫鏡頭，眾人侃侃而談，張曼玉和劉嘉玲等漂亮明星均以平凡人的裝扮入鏡，帶出直接、具傳記風味的效果。相反的，上海時代的搬演則以彩色拍攝，打光採用強烈的明暗對比。整體而言，除了遠景的上海城市景觀用極簡的佈景表現外，⁵搬演的影像風格比反身部分更繁複，質地更為慎密。這部分的分場很多，像是兩場夜總會戲的戲，講的是阮玲玉和唐季珊關係的發展，美術用當時風行的新藝術和裝飾藝術做鋪張，把阮玲玉即將自毀的傳奇舞台布置得精美無比。再看看張曼玉的造型和表演：身穿旗袍，細長的柳眉，燈光照亮的半邊臉，藏著不為人知的思緒，斜著瘦長的身體，緩慢地上樓下樓，走動說話，一舉一動都刻意推敲。這個部分的精工設計擺明就是一齣舞台劇，一個上海明星的迷亂舞台。反倒是加插的阮玲玉劇照和影片顯得蒼白老舊，體現不出她所代表的上海風華。不知是否真的無法找到更適宜的影像，但使用模糊不清的老影像的確可達到歷史滄桑的效果。

反身和搬演這兩條線在影片進入高潮時開始碰觸對方，擦撞出更戲劇化的表現。相得益彰，相輔相成。其中一例是在阮玲玉主演的《三個摩登女性》（卜萬蒼導演，1933）大獲好評後，聯華影業公司同仁拍團體照留念，鏡頭裡人物就位，擺好姿態，攝影機也緩慢拉遠，調整景框，此時，這場戲逐漸由彩色轉換成黑白，攝影機再拉遠，之後定格成一張黑白的老照片，化為反身的紀錄片資料之一。另一例是阮玲玉在《新女性》（1934）片尾中，躺在病床上嘶喊著：「您救救我！我要活啊！我要活啊！」的著名場景。拍攝這場時，導演蔡楚生（梁家輝飾）一再喊停，要求張曼玉重來。他要更強烈的情感去表達劇中人物韋明的生死掙扎。張曼玉最後做到了，導演很滿意，說收工。但太入戲的張曼玉卻一發不可收拾，躺在病床上，把頭蒙進被單裡不斷啜泣。導演見狀，

坐到床沿關心著，叫「阿阮」，喚她出戲。之後跳到白色床單的特寫，同一鏡頭由彩色溶入黑白，此時鏡頭推後向上，從後俯視飾演蔡楚生的梁家輝，看著還在被單下哭泣的阮玲玉／張曼玉。關錦鵬喊「Cut」，告訴攝影指導潘恆生：「這個保留」，並提醒梁家輝，說他忘了掀開被單。之後鏡頭剪到靜止不動的梁家輝，完全沒理會導演的話，只是望著被單，接下來便滑入《新女性》的那個片段，「您救救我！我要活啊！我要活啊！」以特大的字幕逐句逼上銀幕。死亡前的哭喊，一次比一次迫切；最後的表演，變成了死亡的彩排。《新女性》是阮玲玉的遺作，人生如戲，不久她也因緋聞纏身，服食安眠藥自殺。張曼玉一次又一次用力去詮釋韋明的掙扎，每次嘗試所累積的壓力，也一步一步更逼近阮玲玉所面對的生死交界。

此處的搬演和反身對調了位置。慶幸的是張曼玉一早就說過，她不會因為媒體的窮追猛打而犧牲自己。《阮玲玉》演到最後，是張曼玉的好戲，傳奇的阮玲玉則退居配角。和《上海之夜》玩轉老掉牙的上海景觀不同，《阮玲玉》的多層敘事結構讓上海再現的調度有所節制，大大減低刻板形象的重複。

《上海之夜》和《阮玲玉》兩部香港影片都回歸到上海這個中國電影的遺產重鎮去搬演歷史。在這個過程中，香港始終是中心，而老上海的人、事、景物則一一被啟動，去成就香港電影的盛世風華。■

註釋

- 1 David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment* [2nd ed.], Madison, WI: Irvington Way Institute Press, 2011, p. 2.
- 2 同上註，頁 87。
- 3 感謝殷慧嘉的翻譯。這是前述大衛博維爾著作的第一章的篇名，同註 1，頁 1。
- 4 同註 1，頁 84。
- 5 Mette Hjort, *Stanley Kwan's Center Stage. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006, p. 64.*

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Shanghai/Hong Kong

Shanghai of the 1930s and 40s has been an enduring motif in Hong Kong's visual culture and cinematic imagination. Shanghai and Hong Kong are often compared as twins, given the similar trajectories the two cities shared in China's encounter with (and defeat by) European imperialism and colonialism. Many attempts have been made in allying the two cities as emblems of Chinese modernity and metropolitanism; many attempts have also been made to pair Hong Kong with Shanghai as cinematic twin cities in Chinese-language cinemas: Shanghai as the birthplace of Chinese cinema, while Hong Kong was once 'Hollywood of the Orient'. Although Chinese film arose in Shanghai in early 20th century, it was Hong Kong filmmakers in the 1970s who broke from the distribution dominance of Hollywood and took Chinese films to the global screens.¹ Shanghai and Hong Kong were hardly rivals. Instead, Hong Kong is properly seen as the second home of Chinese cinema, especially when it became a film capital of Chinese-language cinemas, including Cantonese, Mandarin, Amoy and Chaozhou in the postwar years. What film scholar Zhang Zhen calls 'Shanghai cinema' was able to escape and re-settle in Hong Kong, a safe house where some of its talent, resources, and knowledge were kindly accommodated. Hong Kong became a refuge for talent, capital and industry know-how from Shanghai. Subsequently Hong Kong was home to two transnational film studios (Shaws and Cathay) and second only to Japan as the largest film production centre in East Asia in the next few decades. Following this historical continuation, Hong Kong cinema, in its prime, anxiously looked for a re-connection to Shanghai and its cinema legacy or 'a vital heritage'.² Heritage is a concept with ties to art history, conservation and provenance. It indicates a prior repository from which filmmakers could draw primary materials for recreation. Shanghai cinema's storied resources and reputation could potentially add value to Hong Kong cinema, whose core

identity is popular entertainment. Connecting to a legacy/heritage or heritage site may also give a popular work much-needed historical depth and cultural capital.

Is Shanghai the 'rosebud' to Hong Kong filmmakers? Perhaps. The filmography list on Shanghai themes can go on and on. Zhu Shiling, Li Pingqian, Lee Sun-fung, Ng Wui, Wong Tin-lam, Doe Chin, Bruce Lee, Kirk Wong, Ann Hui, Yim Ho, Tsui Hark, Stanley Kwan, Wong Kar-wai, Peter Chan Ho-sun, and Wong Jing all paid tribute to Shanghai. But it is in the two films that I will discuss below that we see the most elaborate contact, so aggressive it is almost like a form of cannibalism, hollowing out its Shanghai host, fitting it with a different body, and a new voice, now called Hong Kong cinema. In Tsui Hark's *Shanghai Blues* (1984), the aggression is most evident in a tiring string of quotations of Hollywood and its wall-to-wall soundtrack. In Stanley Kwan's *Center Stage* (1992), a biopic of the silent screen goddess Ruan Lingyu brings a valorisation of Maggie Cheung's Hong Kong stage craft. In both instances, Hong Kong takes over Shanghai by its claims of remaking, and restaging it. They are acts of self-assertion, calling attention to its flamboyant stars and conspicuous performativity. In staging Shanghai and recovering Chinese film heritage, Hong Kong remains front and centre, as a unique cinema city.

It Happened that Night, in Shanghai

The story of Tsui Hark's *Shanghai Blues* (*Shanghai zhi ye*; literally Shanghai night) is far from Frank Capra's *It Happened One Night*, a 1934 screwball comedy about a runaway heiress who has a venturesome night with a reporter. The genre's formula will inevitably lead to a Hollywood ending, entwining romance and action. The film's title suggests what happens in just a few hours would eventually change the whole course of the story, with the fated lovers eventually unite together. Taking cues from a romcom like *It Happened One Night*, Tsui Hark



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《阮玲玉》(1984): 張曼玉(右)演繹終因不敵「人言可畏」而走上絕路的阮玲玉; 圖左為飾演唐季珊的秦漢。

Center Stage (1992): Maggie Cheung (right) impersonated Ruan Lingyu in the film, who was defeated by circumstances in life by admitting that 'gossip is a fearful thing'; Chun Hon (left) plays Tang Jishan

reworked some elements of *Street Angel* (1937), a leftist classic directed by Yuan Muzhi for Shanghai's leading studio Mingxing. Yuan Muzhi's *Street Angel* used ideas from two American films: Frank Borzage's *7th Heaven* (1927) and *Street Angel* (1928), and the former was remade again by Henry King in 1937.

What actually happens in Tsui Hark's citation of this Shanghai classic? Tung Kwok-man a musician (Kenny Bee) and a young woman Shu Pei-ling (Sylvia Chang) running from an air raid meet by chance under a bridge of the Suzhou River. Amidst the bombing and the chaos of a blackout, they console each other. Touched by the other's kindly spirit, they agree to meet again, once war comes to an end. Ten years later Shanghai has recovered and the couple faithfully follow their vows, only to find an impossible task—they forget to exchange names and have not even seen each other's faces. In the darkness, they only hear the other's voice. Stool (Sally Yeh), a penniless, new arrival, has been taken in by Shu, now a songstress at a night club. Meanwhile, Tung moves in to the rooftop in Shu's apartment building. Stool quickly finds herself in love with the musician, not knowing Shu is the girl Tung has been waiting for. Shu and Tung eventually recognise each other but to help Stool marry Tung, Shu decides to leave Shanghai for good.

Traces of *Street Angel* are evident: love between a horn player and a songstress; the rooftop dwelling; a bohemian precariousness that frames the chaotic urban milieu and an older, seasoned woman sacrificing herself for her younger sister (a naïf). Other than these, Tsui made little real connection with *Street Angel*. Instead, we see many references to old film and television series centring on prewar and interwar Shanghai. These references remain patently routine: recycled audiovisuals from television and films of the studio era; sights and stories of the Shanghai urbanites in their daily struggles appear in caricatures, offering comic relief from the near-misses of the protagonists. *Shanghai Blues* is a hyperactive pastiche of Shanghai stock images, stereotyped by mass culture circulation of insistent, in-your-face tropes. This is Tsui Hark's calling card. *Street Angel* is simply a dress-up, or excuse; and *Shanghai Blues* is a quintessential Hong Kong picture.

Tsui's film displays the generic properties identified by David Bordwell in his *Planet Hong Kong*: 'all too extravagant, too gratuitously wild.'³ It ingeniously tweaks the menus of available situations, scenarios and playful use of sight gags and sound japes. Love at first sight is the governing trope, but what if there was no light to see? The couple 'meet cute,' but since they don't receive a good look at their partner, it complicates the subsequent search and romantic fulfillment. There is a beauty pageant, which is meant to select a new mistress for the lascivious director of the board. Against all expectation and convention, the woman sponsor of the event intervenes and picks Stool. What next? The attempt to drug the pageant queen for a sexual exploit is intercepted by the same woman sponsor: just by chance and a mistake, she eventually becomes the body double on the bed with the director. *Shanghai Blues* is awash with these what-ifs, reversals, farce, place switches, and dislocations. These indicate the 'slick look and the vulgar, freewheeling imagination that became the hallmarks of Hong Kong



《上海之夜》(1984) 中巨型電影廣告牌寫著：「再見上海」，標誌戲中亂世佳偶告別中國，也有導演徐克向上海道別的況味；(左起) 葉蒨文、李麗珍。

In *Shanghai Blues* (1984), the film billboard reads, 'Goodbye Shanghai'. It contains a double meaning that the film's couple would leave China, and Tsui Hark, the director, was bidding adieu to Shanghai; (from left) Sally Yeh, Loletta Lee.

cinema for world film culture'⁴. These characterise Tsui's work and many of his Hong Kong counterparts.

As in a screwball comedy where romance and action entwine and resolve into a happy ending, on a nightly train departing Shanghai the couple finally reunite as they have promised each other ten years before. Their train is heading south, for Hong Kong. They leave Stool behind to fend for herself alone. Last shot of the film: a freeze frame of Stool in front of a large film billboard showing 'Goodbye Shanghai'. This final image could be read as the couple's farewell to Shanghai as well as Tsui's final words on the city. Though Tsui reworks a Shanghai classic to connect to Chinese film heritage, in the end, Hong Kong emerges as the final subject (and object), the real destination. Tsui's kinetic and ostentatious staging of Shanghai is in fact a journey back to Hong Kong, and a *tour de force* execution of Hong Kong cinema, all too 'extravagant and wild'.

Hong Kong, the Centre Stage

Center Stage is about Ruan Lingyu (1910-1935), a young movie star who committed suicide in 1935, at the age of 25. Premature death has made Ruan a legendary figure in Chinese film history and to a large extent, posthumous Ruan (via endless circulations of her screen images) encapsulates the heritage of Shanghai cinema: glamorous, enigmatic, evanescent. Re-enacting Ruan's life, art and death thus is not just an appealing biopic of a silent screen

goddess, but a chance to tap into the genealogy of Chinese cinema and its first cohort of 'classics'.

To achieve this, *Center Stage* embarks on an intricate narrative structure and ornate visual style. It has two incestuous narrative parts (diegeses). First is a Hong Kong made biopic starring Maggie Cheung, directed by Stanley Kwan. Second is the 'making of' the biopic, which is shot as a documentary. To make the narrative more complex, the first part inserts extradiegetic, archival materials of Ruan's life and surviving prints to authenticate (or cross-examine) the re-enactment of Ruan's legend. The two parts are weaved together in a chronological and teleological order, in a way that the second part works as commentary, lending a deliberate agency of how to read the film-in-the-making.

The dual structure invites audiences to view the film bi-focally, in two frames and compare the two actors, one Shanghai (past, deceased), one Hong Kong (present, on her way to global stardom) at the same time. There is a relation of kinship between the two figures, indicating an inheritance of talent, as well as evolution of earlier body into a more elaborate, self-conscious presentation. Though the film is not documentary, there is enough documentary material to call it 'reflexive', to use Bill Nichols' influential six-part taxonomy. That is, the film is full of musings by the filmmakers on how to assemble, choose and organise the objects (photos, clips, events, conversations) evocative of an earlier stage of film

history, and Shanghai life. The re-enacted sections flow from the reflexive parts, with their intent on mapping a rendition of Shanghai cinema in the 1920s and 30s. And it is also clear that Shanghai cinema of this time is positioned as a direct ancestor to Hong Kong cinema of the 1990s, to director Kwan and star Cheung, and the industry they represent. It is a gesture of affiliation; Kwan makes claims about his own standing via the provenance of Ruan, and her directors. It is almost like he claims a mantle or fulfillment of the potential of Shanghai cinema and Ruan Lingyu, by means of his arrangement of her traces, a legacy that was tragically cut short. On several occasions, he asks the actresses the question, 'Would you wish to be remembered decades after your passing?'

In documentary filmmaking, re-enactment usually struggles with charges of deceit or guile (with key exceptions, as in Errol Morris and Joshua Oppenheimer). Here, it works in tandem with reflexive thinking about historical precedents and legacies. Reflexivity in Kwan's film motivates, and justifies the performance and style in the re-enacted scenes. It is a powerful instance of 'emplotment', a term coined by Hayden White in narrative strategies used by historians.

Visually, the two strands are distinguished sharply. Reflexive material coming from Kwan, Cheung, the other actors, and several elderly contemporaries of Ruan are shot in black and white, in very tight framing. We are meant to take this material as forthright and biographical, with the people speaking their minds about the problem at hand. Though Maggie Cheung is a famous actress, she is framed and recorded as an ordinary person, musing about the character of Ruan, and her predicaments. There is speculation about the era, especially expectations about motherhood and gender roles (Ruan adopted a daughter, but never bore a child herself). The periods of re-enactments are in colour, with deep shadows that are shot in striking chiaroscuro. Comparatively there is more complexity and volume in these shots, though in the backgrounds hang sketches

of typical Shanghai cityscape.⁵ There is a lot of scenery, such as extended scenes in the night club where Ruan's romances transpire on the dance floor. The décor conveys the art nouveau and art deco styles of 1930s Shanghai in the French concession. These scenes are lavish, even garish as they carry the heaviest dramatic load of Ruan Lingyu's road to self-destruction, and the legendary stage. They are the most 'staged', in that they feel quite artificial, retouched and stylised. In this film the most impoverished images are those of Ruan herself, both still and moving, which function as the primary documents testifying to her life, and that of her lovers and family. It is striking that despite her huge popularity, the filmmakers couldn't find actual pictures that are sharp, stylish and convey the glamour that Ruan signifies. Or, they may have been available, but Kwan preferred to use the more rough, out-of-focus images, perhaps lending more 'credibility'. As mentioned, it is the colourful, spacious scenes of Maggie Cheung in cheongsam, moving languidly, that do the main work of channeling Ruan Lingyu. One may say that Kwan's film is colour-coded, in that the purpose of the imagery is telegraphed by its appearance, and its movement.

As the film progresses to its climax, there are places where reflexive and re-enactment touch one another, and their effects start to coalesce. One is a portrait photograph with all the stars, directors and executives of United Photoplay Service Limited assembled for a typical commemorative snapshot. The people move into place, and so does the camera frame, then the shutter clicks, and the colour scene transforms into black-and-white still, transitioning to documentary object. Another is a famous scene from Ruan's 1934 film *New Women* where she lies in hospital bed, protesting loudly 'I want to live!' Maggie Cheung plays this scene for her director Cai Chusheng (Tony Leung Ka-fai), but he keeps calling 'Cut!' He asks her to intensify the emotion, motivating the action that brings on the character's death. Once she nails the performance, Cai is pleased, while Ruan/Cheung remains under

the sheet, sobbing. This indicates the cost with which the performance was purchased: wrenching torment. It was the silent star's final film. Shortly, life had mirrored art, and Ruan Lingyu was dead from overdose of sleeping pills. The climax of *New Women* itself is run following the repeated takes of Maggie Cheung, each rendition more desperate than the last, as if Cheung is running ever closer to the fateful end of her model's performance, by recycling the pressures that drives Ruan over the edge.

This is sobering, but it is cheering that Maggie Cheung dismisses any similar urge, though she too must have had much unwanted attention from press, paparazzi and similar pests. In the end, *Center Stage* is Maggie's show, and Ruan Lingyu is but accessory. But it is well to remember that Ruan was not only a screen goddess, she played a movie star, and celebrity and sex object, at a time when these roles were much more incipient, more fluid and in variation. These were times when society itself was in radical reformation, not to mention the scourge of colonialism, imperialism and war. It is to the filmmakers' credit that 1930s Shanghai is not reduced to stereotype, though the contrast between the re-enactment biopic and reflexive footage remains stark. Like Tsui Hark's *Shanghai Blues*, *Center Stage* is Hong Kong-centric, a contemporary picture using historical sources from the 1930s as legacy builder. Re-enactment takes centre stage, in that the people and events from Shanghai play supporting roles in the triumph of Hong Kong cinema. ■

Notes

- 1 David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment* [2nd ed.], Madison, WI: Irvington Way Institute Press, 2011, p 2.
- 2 *Ibid.* p 87.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p 1. This is the title of the first chapter.
- 4 *Ibid.* p 84.
- 5 Mette Hjort, *Stanley Kwan's Center Stage, Hong Kong*: Hong Kong University Press, 2006, p 64.

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血滴子—— 由小說、野史、戲曲到電影

The Flying Guillotine: From Fiction, Unofficial History, Chinese Opera to Cinema

蒲鋒 Po Fung



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血滴子是傳說中一種非常厲害的武器：被它一罩著，便要身首異處，絕無生理兼且死狀可怖。它的來源一直很含糊，本文嘗試爬梳各種資料，追尋這種武器傳說的來源，也整理它成為武俠作品元素的歷程。

對於血滴子的來源，台灣學者崔雅慧在其 2002 年的碩士論文〈江南八俠研究〉中已作了很有價值的研究。崔查找了大量清末民初的文獻，找到多篇早期的血滴子記載，其中 1916 年出版的蔡東藩著《清史通俗演義》，是現時所知最早一份出版的血滴子文獻。¹《清史通俗演義》的第三十回述：「這血滴子是什麼東西？外面用革為囊，裡面卻藏著好幾把小刀，遇著嚇人，把革囊罩他頭上，用機一撥，頭便斷入囊中。再用化骨藥水一彈，立成血水，因此叫做血滴子。這乃雍正皇帝同幾位綠林豪客用盡心機想出來的。」²這裡套頭殺人的基本設計已有。其後的三十二回還有補充：「據故老傳說：『雍正帝……想內外無事，血滴子統已沒用，索性將這班豪客誘入一室，陽說飲酒慰勞，暗中放下毒藥，一古腦兒把他酖死，絕了後患，所以血滴子至今失傳。』」³兩段文字點出了「血滴子」既是武器又是密探組織的雙重意義，而且其斷人頭顱，與雍正、年羹堯有關等描述，都緊緊的與後來的血滴子傳說連在一起。

小說之外，民國時期出版的清朝野史，也有血滴子的記載。其中我找到最早的一則，是許小仙的筆記〈血滴子〉，刊於 1918 年 8 月 25 日無錫出版的旬刊《消夏集》：「讓清高宗性殘忍好殺，以故多養刺客，有私議朝政或謗刺者，多被血滴子所死。血滴子銅製，下傍有雙刀如剪刀式，鋒

利無匹，式如匣，大于人首有半，用時軋兩剪，頭即斷入匣中。此種酷刑，慘無人道，此清社之所以屋歟。」⁴〈江南八俠研究〉也提到許文之後的野史記載，那是 1919 年出版的燕北老人著的《滿清十三朝宮闈秘史》，其中有一節為「血滴子器具之製造法」。⁵它的說法和《清史通俗演義》類似，也把血滴子寫成斷人頭的武器，也是雍正結交的江湖人士為其作刺殺任務之用。

無論《清史通俗演義》或以上的野史記載，對血滴子的描述都只是一些簡略片斷，以血滴子為主題組織出一部人物眾多，情節豐富的武俠小說的，則是民初時期，身兼中醫師及武俠小說家的陸士諤（1878-1944）。陸士諤 1917 年在上海出版了武俠小說《八大劍仙》（又名《八大劍俠傳》），小說由年羹堯的出生開始，敘述他如何結交江湖人物，其中一個雲中燕便是血滴子的發明者。年羹堯另一位朋友張樂天，原來是化了名的四貝勒胤禎（即雍正）。年羹堯把結識的江湖好漢組織成血滴子，以血滴子為武器，刺探暗殺，幫助胤禎奪位。《八大劍仙》後，陸跟著寫了《血滴子》、《七劍八俠》、《七劍三奇》、《小劍俠》、《新劍俠》等續集，又創作了《紅俠》、《黑俠》、《白俠》等前傳，構成一個時間跨越清朝數代，劍俠與歷史宮闈秘辛糾結一起的鴻篇巨製武俠系列，其中首三部有血滴子的情節。⁶

民國時期，單是《八大劍仙》和《血滴子》已印了 21 版。但它的影響絕不止小說自身。我們憑陸在小說創作的特定角色（例如發明血滴子的雲中燕）和情節（例如雍正命血滴子為他盜取身有異香的馮香兒作妃），會尋索到陸的小說成為其他媒介改編的基礎。1922 年上海的大世界乾坤大劇場便把陸的小說改編成京劇《血滴子》。⁷血滴子聳人聽聞的殺人方法在舞台上也有呈現。⁸京劇外，1929 年也已有由陸作品改編的電影《血滴子》，由上海天一公司出品。⁹1940 年香港亦有陸著的粵語片改編，《呂四娘》改編自其《七劍八俠》。同年的《雍正皇夜盜香妃》亦是襲用了《血滴子》一書的劇情。¹⁰

《血滴子》最轟動的一次改編發生在抗戰後期。1944 年上海中國戲院以陸著的「血滴子」系列為基礎改編成京劇。當時京劇市道甚差，名角李少春、葉盛蘭都票房慘淡，《血滴子》沒有名角演出，卻賣個滿堂紅。¹¹這個劇目還長賣長有，由抗戰後期 1944 年一直演到抗戰後的 1946 年，兩年內一續再續，演出了 15 本。¹²上海掀起的這股熱潮影響所及，多個城市都有排演《血滴子》，其中蘇州也賣個滿堂紅。¹³《血滴子》劇目還渡海到台灣，1948 年蓋叫天的兒子張翼鵬到台北永樂戲院上演京劇，便編了劇目《清宮三百年：年羹堯與血滴子》，陸著原作的痕跡尚在。這個京劇又影響到



在《清宮劍影錄》（上集，1963）中，血滴子呈鐵鏈吊鐘形

In *Musketeers in Qing Palace, Part One* (1963), the flying guillotine design is a bell-shaped contraption attached to the end of a chain.

李天祿的亦宛然掌中劇團創作的布袋戲《清宮三百年》的前段劇情。¹⁴ 這些創作又間接影響到 1949 年後的港台武俠小說。從這些廣泛的跨媒介改編，我們看到陸的「血滴子」系列對建立血滴子的流行文化地位有極之關鍵的作用。

除了從故事層面探索血滴子的流轉過程，血滴子的影像演進過程也值得追溯一下。現時在電影中能夠見到血滴子影像的，六十年代有兩部電影，一部是 1963 年的《清宮劍影錄》（上集），另一部則是 1966 年的《斷臂神龍劍》。邵氏兄弟公司 1975 年的《血滴子》把罩形的血滴子外沿加了鋸齒，令它裡外均可殺人，在造型上有所改進，幾乎成了以後血滴子的定製。要到劉偉強導演《血滴子》（2012）才放棄血滴子的罩形設計。■



《斷臂神龍劍》（1966）中的血滴子外形像燈罩，裝上旋轉的穗子尖刀。

The flying guillotine in *Heroic Days of the Great Ming Dynasty* (1966) resembles a lamp shade, and is affixed with sharp rotating blades.

香港電影資料館將分別於 13/12/2019-8/3/2020 及 13/12/2019-27/3/2020 舉行「五花八門——香港電影的兵器世界」的展覽及放映。展覽將展出劉偉強導演的《血滴子》的實物道具，並於 14/2/2020 放映邵氏公司的《血滴子》及由蒲鋒作映後談。

註釋

- 1 <江南八俠研究> 是台灣的國立政治大學中國文學系崔雅慧的碩士論文，關於血滴子的部分，位於論文第六章第四節的〈另一種想像——從偵吏到血滴子〉，頁 201-210。
- 2 蔡東藩：《清史通俗演義》，上海：會文堂新記書局，1935，頁 193。
- 3 同上註，頁 204-205。
- 4 許小仙：〈血滴子〉，《消夏集》第五期，1918 年 8 月 25 日，第 37 頁。
- 5 《滿清十三朝宮闈秘史》之後，1920 年出版的《滿清野史》，收錄天椒著的《滿清外史》，其第三篇〈雍正朝〉的第三章〈血滴子之猛厲〉，文字幾乎和《滿清十三朝宮闈秘史》一樣。《滿清外史》被收入在《滿清野史》，但《滿清外史》的成書年份應比其餘二書更早，只是無法斷定是何時寫成。
- 6 2019 年中國文史出版社把陸士諤的《八大劍俠傳》、《血滴子》等 16 種武俠小說重新出版，提供了研究陸著武俠小說的重要材料。本文有關陸的生平及小說資料，引述自中國文史出版社的《八大劍俠傳·血滴子》附錄的田若虹整理「陸士諤年表」。
- 7 「從前排演《血滴子》的是大世界乾坤大劇場，……是根據著陸士諤寫的《八大劍俠》編的。」黃容：〈閑話《血滴子》〉，《繁華報》，1944 年 9 月 6 日。
- 8 可人：〈記：老牌血滴子〉，《海報》，1944 年 10 月 15 日。
- 9 中國電影藝術研究中心、中國電影資料館編：《中國影片大典（故事片·戲曲片 1905-1930）》，北京：中國電影出版社，1996 年，頁 227。
- 10 黃淑嫻編：《香港影片大全第一卷（1913-1941）》，香港：香港電影資料館，1997，頁 423、429。
- 11 劉郎：〈《血滴子》的轟動〉，《海報》，1944 年 12 月 7 日。
- 12 宜春：〈十五集血滴子上演 曹慧麟于素運賣力〉，《羅賓漢》，1946 年 10 月 12 日。
- 13 〈閩晶否極泰來 血滴子紅遍蘇州〉，《羅賓漢》，1947 年 3 月 4 日。
- 14 陳龍廷：〈政治修辭·歷史虛擬：戰後臺灣布袋戲的少林寺「延異」〉，《臺灣文獻》，第 68 卷第 3 期，2017 年 9 月 30 日，頁 102。

蒲鋒，資深影評人及電影研究者，曾任香港電影資料館研究主任，著有《電光影裡斬春風——剖析武俠片的肌理脈絡》（2010）。



The 'flying guillotine' is a powerful weapon from folk legend: once the victim is trapped under the hat-like contraption, they will meet a certain, gruesome death by decapitation. Yet the origins of this legendary weapon have always been murky. This essay will attempt to examine various sources, in order to trace where the flying guillotine came from, as well as to present an account of its evolution into an iconic element of *wuxia* literature and cinema.

In her 2002 Masters thesis 'A Study on the Eight Swordsmen of Jiangnan', Taiwanese scholar Tsui Ya Hsui made some valuable contributions on the subject. Tsui sifted through voluminous documentation from the late Qing dynasty through to the early Republican era, noting many instances where the flying guillotine was mentioned. In particular, *The Popular Romance of Qing Dynasty* by Cai Dongfan, published in 1916, was identified as the earliest known publication to document the weapon.¹ In Chapter 30, Cai writes, 'What was this "flying guillotine"? A receptacle made of leather, with a number of small knives inside. When you come face to face with your enemy, put the leather receptacle over his head and activate the machinery to decapitate him, then release the poison inside to dissolve him into a bloody puddle. Hence the name *xuedizi* (literally 'blood dripping device'). This was a weapon the Emperor Yongzheng and a bunch of underworld lackeys created after racking their brains.'² It is clear that by then the basic design and premise of the weapon had already been established. Later, in Chapter 32, the story of the flying guillotine continues: 'According to ancient legends, Emperor Yongzheng... felt that his reign was secure and he no longer had use for the *xuedizi*. So he lured his bunch of underworld allies to a room under the pretence that he would treat them to drinks. Instead he put poison in their wine and killed them, thereby eliminating all his loose ends. For this reason



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《血滴子》(1975) 把罩形的血滴子外沿加了鋸齒，令它裡外均可殺人。

The Flying Guillotine (1975) introduced sharp, jagged edges to its flat, cone-shaped weapon, implying it could entrap its victim inside the cone or simply inflict injury with its edges.

the design of the flying guillotine was lost to future generations.³ Together, the two passages highlight how the term *xuedizi* carries a double meaning as both a weapon as well as a secret spy organisation. Other features mentioned, such as the flying guillotine's ability to behead people, as well as its associations with Emperor Yongzheng and his general Nian Gengyao, would perpetuate through later accounts and mythical stories of the weapon.

Apart from novels and fiction, some of the unofficial historical accounts published in the same Republican era also contain references to the flying guillotine. The earliest example I could find was a piece titled 'The Flying Guillotine' by Xu Xiaoxian, published on 25 August 1918 in the Wuxi periodical *Xiaoxia Ji*: 'Emperor Gaozong of Qing was cruel and bloodthirsty, so he kept a stable of assassins who would murder his political opponents or conspirators with flying guillotines. The flying guillotine is made of bronze, with a double-blade underneath shaped like scissors and sharp as a razor. The weapon is shaped like a box and almost twice the size of a human head. When wielded, the blades scissor together to cut off the head, leaving it in the box. It is a most inhumane form of torture, which explains the final demise of the Qing dynasty'.⁴

'A Study on the Eight Swordsmen of Jiangnan' also records a reference

to the flying guillotine in an unofficial historical account written after Xu's essay, which is *The Secret Imperial History of the Thirteen Rulers of the Qing Dynasty* by Yanbei Laoren, published in 1919, in which a section is named 'Methods of Making the Flying Guillotine Weapon'.⁵ The description here is similar to that of *The Popular Romance of Qing Dynasty*, in that the flying guillotine is also depicted to be a weapon that beheads its victims, often wielded by the underworld lackeys of Emperor Yongzheng to carry out political assassinations.

Yet the texts above, be it *The Popular Romance of Qing Dynasty* or the unofficial historical accounts, contain only brief, fleeting descriptions of the flying guillotine. The first writer to take inspiration from such a weapon to create a *wuxia* work with a large cast of characters and a rich, multi-layered plot was Lu Shi'e (1878-1944), *wuxia* novelist of the Republican era who also worked as a Chinese medical practitioner. In 1917 Lu published in Shanghai his novel *The Eight Sword-Immortals* (also known as *The Legend of the Eight Swordsmen*), a fictional treatment of Nian Gengyao's life from his birth to how he later made friends with various members of the underworld, one of which is Yun Zhongyan, the inventor of the flying guillotine. Nian's other companion Zhang Letian later turns out to be the Fourth Prince

Yinzhen (who later becomes Emperor Yongzheng) in disguise. Nian forms the group *Xuedizi* with all these figures from the underworld, and together they use the flying guillotine to carry out assassinations and sabotage, in order to assist Yinzhen's ascent to the throne. After *The Eight Sword-Immortals*, Lu wrote a series of sequels (*The Flying Guillotine*; *Seven Swords*, *Eight Swordsmen*; *Seven Swords*, *Three Wonders*; *Little Swordsman*; *The New Swordsman Legend*) as well as some prequels (*Red Swordsman*, *Black Swordsman*, *White Swordsman*, etc). Together they form an epic series, spanning across several reigns during the Qing dynasty, mixing together *wuxia* swordsmanship and historical-political intrigue. The flying guillotine is featured in the first three volumes of this series.⁶

During the Republican era, *The Eight Sword-Immortals* and *The Flying Guillotine* alone were printed and reprinted a total of 21 times. Yet the series' influence extended beyond the mere realm of popular fiction. From Lu's novels we see the creation of certain archetypal characters (e.g. Yun Zhongyan, inventor of the flying guillotine) and plot elements (e.g. Emperor Yongzheng ordering the *xuedizi* to help him abduct Feng Xiang'er, a girl with exotic fragrance as his concubine) that would serve as the basis for adaptation into other mediums. For example, in 1922 the Qian Kun Theatre at Grand World, Shanghai, adapted Lu's novel into a Peking opera named 'Flying Guillotine'.⁷ The horrifying way in which the weapon took its victims' lives was also depicted onstage.⁸ Apart from Peking opera, by 1929 there had also been a film adaptation of the same work: *The Bloody Blade* (1929), produced by Unique (Shanghai).⁹ In 1940 a Cantonese-language film adaptation of *Seven Swords*, *Eight Swordsman* was released in Hong Kong: *The Story of a Swordswoman*. The same year also saw the release of *The Emperor's Nocturnal Tryst with the Concubine*, which borrowed heavily plot elements from the novel *The Flying Guillotine*.¹⁰

The biggest hit among all *The*

Flying Guillotine adaptations appeared towards the end of the Sino-Japanese War, in 1944, when the Great China Theatre of Shanghai adapted Lu's *wuxia* series into a Peking opera performance. This was a time when the Peking opera box office was suffering, where even famous performers such as Li Shaochun and Ye Shenglan struggled to draw audiences. Yet *The Flying Guillotine*, which featured no major star at all, was a runaway success.¹¹ Its popularity was long-lasting, as during the two-year period between wartime 1944 and post-war 1946, the opera play was extended time and again, to a total of 15 installments.¹² This craze from Shanghai led to many other cities putting on productions of *The Flying Guillotine*, with shows selling out completely in Suzhou.¹³ It even travelled across straits to Taiwan, when in 1948 Zhang Yipeng, son of Gai Jiaotian, went to perform Peking opera at the Taipei Yong Le Theatre and wrote the opera play *300 Years of the Qing Dynasty: Nian Gengyao and the Flying Guillotine*. Traces of influence from Lu's original fiction were apparent, and in turn, Zhang's opera play became a source of inspiration for the first half of Li Tien-lu's I wan Jan glove puppet play: *300 Years of Qing Dynasty*.¹⁴ Together these theatre productions indirectly fed into post-1949 Hong Kong and Taiwanese *wuxia* fiction. Such cross-fertilisation across different media shows how significant an influence Lu's *Flying Guillotine* series was on the popular imagination of the weapon.

The evolution of the flying guillotine extends beyond the level

of story or plot; it is also worth exploring its visual history. Examples of where modern audiences can see visual representations of the flying guillotine include two films from the 1960s: *Musketeers in Qing Palace, Part One* (1963) and *Heroic Days of the Great Ming Dynasty* (1966). The 1975 Shaw Brothers production of *The Flying Guillotine* featured a cone-shaped design with jagged, razor-sharp edges, indicating that it could entrap its victim inside the cone or simply inflict injury with its edges. This advancement in visual design very much set the tone for future depictions of the flying guillotine, until Andrew Lau Wai-keung's *The Guillotines* (2012), where the cone-like design was finally abandoned.

[Translated by Rachel Ng] ■

Under the same theme, the Hong Kong Film Archive will present the exhibition 'Multifarious Arrays of Weaponry in Hong Kong Cinema' (13/12/2019-8/3/2020) and a screening programme (13/12/2019-27/3/2020); the exhibition will showcase the actual props used in *The Guillotines*, directed by Andrew Lau Wai-keung. The screening of the Shaw Brothers film *The Flying Guillotine* will be hosted on 14 February 2020, with a post-screening talk by Po Fung.

Notes

- 1 'A Study on the Eight Swordsman of Jiangnan' is the Masters thesis of Tsui Ya Hsui from the Chinese Literature Department of the National Chengchi University of Taiwan. References to the flying guillotine can be found in Section 4, Chapter 6: 'Another Form of Imagination: From Chinese Detective Sergeant to the Flying Guillotine' pp 201-210 (in Chinese).
- 2 Cai Dongfan, *Popular Romance of Qing Dynasty's History*, Shanghai: Huiwentangxinji Shuju Publishing, 1935, p 193 (in Chinese).
- 3 Ibid, pp 204-205 (in Chinese).
- 4 Xu Xiaoxian: 'The Flying Guillotine' in *Xiaoxia Ji*, Issue 5, 25 August 1918, p 37 (in Chinese).
- 5 After *The Secret Imperial History of the*

Thirteen Rulers of the Qing Dynasty, An Unofficial History of the Manchu Qing Dynasty was published in 1920, which included Tian Jia's *An Alternate History of the Manchu Qing Dynasty*. In particular, Chapter III 'The Ferocity of the Flying Guillotine', of Part III 'Yongzheng's Reign', is almost the same word-for-word as *The Secret Imperial History of the Thirteen Rulers of the Qing Dynasty. An Alternate History of the Manchu Qing Dynasty* should be written much earlier than the two books mentioned; however we cannot say in certainty in which year it was written.

- 6 In 2019 the China Literature & History Press published a new edition of 16 of Lu Shi'e's *wuxia* novels, providing an invaluable resource to the study of his work. All the information regarding Lu's biography and his works are quoted from 'A Timeline of Lu Shi'e's Life', compiled by Tian Ruohong and published in the appendix to *Eight Swordsmen: The Flying Guillotine*, China Literature & History Press (in Chinese).
- 7 'In the past *The Flying Guillotine* was rehearsed here at the Qian Kun Theatre of the Grand World... an opera play based on Lu Shi'e's *Eight Swordsmen*.' From Huang Rong: 'A Few Words on *The Flying Guillotine*', *Vanity Fair*, 6 September 1944 (in Chinese).
- 8 Ke Ren: 'On the Old Versions of the Flying Guillotine', *Hai Bao*, 15 October 1944 (in Chinese).
- 9 China Film Art Research Center, China Film Archive (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Chinese Films (Story and Operatic Films 1905-1930)*, Beijing: China Film Press, 1996, p 227 (in Chinese)
- 10 Mary Wong (ed), *Hong Kong Filmography Volume I (1913-1941)*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 1997, pp 423, 429.
- 11 Liu Lang: 'The Incredible Success of *The Flying Guillotine*', *Hai Bao*, 7 December 1944 (in Chinese).
- 12 Yi Chun: 'Fifteen Episodes of The Flying Guillotine Performed: Cao Huilin and Yu Suilian's Give Dedicated Performances', *Robin Hood*, 12 October 1946 (in Chinese).
- 13 'The Light at the End of the Tunnel for Yan Jing, The Flying Guillotine a Smashing Success in Suzhou', *Robin Hood*, 4 March, 1947 (in Chinese).
- 14 Chen Longting, 'Political Rhetoric and Historical Fantasy: *Différance* in Depictions of Shaolin Temple in Post-War Taiwanese Glove Puppetry', *Taiwan Historica*, Vol. 68:3, 30 September, 2017, p102 (in Chinese).

Po Fung is a veteran film critic, film researcher and former Research Officer of HKFA. He is the author of *An Analysis of Martial Arts Film and Its Context* (2010, in Chinese).

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 The late Mr Lie Joe Beng
 The late Mr Gary Ling
 Mr Ng Wing-fai
 Mr Thomas Tse Kin-yip
 Mrs Woo Simmy Edith

本館特此致謝！

Thank you!

我心的愛
是否你心的夢
可否借一條橋讓我倆相通
在這借來的橋中
明天的我 明天的你
會不會再像那天相擁

——《上海之夜》插曲〈晚風〉
曲／詞：黃霑；主唱：葉倩文

My heart-felt love
Is it also your heart-felt dream?
Only if someone could grant us a bridge to cross the chasm
between us!
On this borrowed bridge
Would 'the I of tomorrow' and 'the You of tomorrow'
Still fall into a warm embrace just the way we were?

'Night Breeze', soundtrack of *Shanghai Blues*
Music/Lyrics by James Wong; Performed by Sally Yeh

歐陽興義繪畫的《上海之夜》
(徐克導演，1984) 美術設計圖

Film art design by Au-yeung Hing-ye
for *Shanghai Blues* (directed by Tsui Hark, 1984)

