

拿起你的弓箭，射下九個太陽：

《劇場》的實驗電影與香港第一波實驗電影浪潮匯流

Grab your bow and arrow shooting down the nine suns:
Early experimental films of Theater group and its' impact
on the first wave Hong Kong experimental films in the 1960s

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摘要

《劇場》在1966年與1967年舉辦的兩次電影發表會，在某種程度上標示了台灣實驗電影發展的起點，就像許多的起點一樣，這開端卻是深刻地與佚失與斷裂相關。兩次發表會的影片裡，目前完整保留的電影大概只有莊靈的《赤子》、《延》，大多數的影片都呈現佚失或尚待挖掘的狀態。和60年代《劇場》藉以大量文字與少數圖片提供對於歐美電影的想像狀況類似，當今我們依賴的也是少數的圖片與文字，想像一個距今約莫五十年距離的起點。因此，面對實驗電影起始一個很重要的課題就是，面對佚失，我們該如何思考這一段過去。本文將《劇場》的同人社群視作歷史動因，探討它引發的思想、言論與創作，試圖討論《劇場》經過翻譯與實踐為臺灣第一波實驗電影帶來的面向，也因為《劇場》在港臺之間流動與合作，在某種程度上也加速了香港第一波實驗電影的嘗試與表現，在這裡也試圖初探《劇場》與香港實驗電影影人交流景況。

關鍵字：《劇場》、現代性、真實電影、《中國學生周報》、香港第一波實驗電影

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前言

《劇場》在1966年與1967年舉辦的兩次電影發表會，在某種程度上標示了臺灣實驗電影發展的起點，就像許多的起點一樣，這開端卻是深刻地與佚失與斷裂相關。兩次發表會的影片裡，目前完整保留的電影大概只有莊靈的《赤子》、《延》，大多數的影片都呈現佚失或尚待挖掘的狀態。和60年代《劇場》藉以大量文字與少數圖片提供對於歐美電影的想像狀況類似，當今我們依賴的也是少數的圖片與文字，想像一個距今約莫五十年距離的起點。也許，《劇場》的同人性質也促成一部分佚失的結果，雜誌的少量發行（每期約一千份），自費籌辦，實驗電影除了私下聚會放映與在臺灣公開兩次放映會外，¹少數的或非定址（siteless）的流通就注定了這段實驗電影開端有著反歷史（ahistorical）的特質，意思是電影的流通與發行在某種程度上決定了電影歷史如何被書寫。如，伊恩·克里斯提（Ian Christie）提及我們理解的電影史被已經發行的電影支配：「除非電影被看到，否則他們不會被書寫」²，在有限的放映管道之外，同人間的聚散，《劇場》時期創作的實驗電影稍縱即逝難以被歷史清晰銘刻，因此在劉永皓一篇對於早期臺灣實驗電影的書寫裡，用了些許挫敗的口吻寫下幾十個諾大的「空白」字樣，斷片式的書寫取代了由史料串起細節交織的文化場景。

因此，面對實驗電影起始一個很重要的課題就是，面對佚失，我們該如何思考這一段過去。類似的情況也可見於英國電影學者西恩·科比（Sean Cubitt）在書寫早期英國錄像藝術史時遭遇的困難，「不被國家藝術典藏或國家電影與電視案收藏，甚至在藝術市場或藝術建構的邊緣之外……」。這種邊緣狀態讓它變成一個政治時刻：將美學轉向行動的時刻」這行動的時刻，指的是社群建立的生態樣貌，西恩·科比在試圖書寫早期英國錄像藝術史時，引用藝術家麥克·萊格特（Mike Leggett）對自己早期作品的詮釋為開頭，試圖點出藝術生態的樣貌作為錄像史的書寫：「並不是說這些作品內容本身有政治性，而是製作它們的行動，結盟關係，拼湊而來的拍攝基金，在藝術世界裡的個人動因，社群風氣的建立（ethos of community）都形成了某一種政治運動」⁴即便在這裡我們討論的不是錄像史，但處於機制與史料建構之外的邊緣狀態卻能多所回應，在這邊文章裡我將社群視為歷史動因，探討它引發的思想、言論與創作，試圖討論《劇場》經過翻譯與實踐為臺灣第一波實驗電影帶來的面向，也因為《劇場》在港臺之間流動與合作，在某種程度上也加速了香港第一波實驗電影的嘗試與表現，在這裡也試圖初探《劇場》與香港實驗電影影人交流景況。

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為什麼會想拍電影？

「我覺得，以前限制多時，這個不能做，那個不能做，反而有衝動……」⁴

1.除了公開放映外，《劇場》也有私下聚會的放映，如邱剛健曾提及在陳耀圻在回國時曾經「弄了個地方給我們看」他的電影，在看過動畫《后羿》後因為製作精良而感到震驚。而邱剛健的《疏離》在救國團的正式放映前也在聚會放映中播映讓《劇場》成員看過。請見許碩舜訪問，〈疏離：邱剛健談『劇場』時代及短片〉，《電影欣賞》第72期，1994年11／12月，頁65-70。

2.這段發言是2002年在發行倫敦電影合作社（London Film-Makers' Co-operative）於1966年至1976年拍攝影片的計畫Shoot Shoot Shoot研討會的觀察。請見Sean Cubitt, "The Past is a Different Medium," *REWIND+PLAY: An Anthology of Early British Video Art*, UK: LUX, 2009, pp.3-4.

3.同上註。

4.李道明、許碩順訪問，〈黃華成：這就是原則〉，《電影欣賞》第65期，1993年9／10月，頁31。

《劇場》1965年元月發行，在創刊之前一群愛好電影與戲劇的青年便不定期舉辦私下聚會，1964年邱剛健剛從夏威夷大學「東西文化中心」學習戲劇回台並在國華廣告公司，⁵莊靈在臺大視聽中心工作，李至善在中影幫李行拍「養鴨人家」，陳清風剛從日本學習映畫歸國，黃華成在臺視工作正想辭職，崔德林在中廣當播音員，陳映真的寫作才能初露頭角，方莘在藍星詩社是年輕一代詩人。這群文藝青年的聚會地點不一。某夏日邱剛健與莊靈在小美冰淇淋碰頭便提起辦雜誌的構想，兩人七位好友，有能力者就出一千元，便籌到了《劇場》創刊經費。《劇場》前三期的譯稿幾乎都由邱剛健從夏威夷帶回臺灣的大量的書和雜誌翻譯：

出一個雜誌，我堅持要有一個電影劇本的全部翻譯，也堅持要有一個話劇劇本翻譯。所以他是非常厚的一本雜誌……有讀者寫信來說，你給的東西太多了！我說我們在台灣這個情況下，我寧願脹死……台灣資訊實在太少，所以我寧願塞得你們沒辦法動。⁶

在貧瘠的飢餓難耐與翻譯性的充食飽脹之間，《劇場》處在對西方思潮全然接受擁抱「橫的移植」的時代。對於飢餓和貧瘠，在許多研究裡的另一種說法是「思想真空」，⁷自國民政府來臺後在文化上產生的極度斷裂，歸因於兩種偏向寫實主義的傳統：中國的五四運動與日治時期新文化運動被全然揚棄：「1949年後的臺灣作家受到西方文學影響格外顯著，若干學者（如劉紹銘教授）認為這個現象的主要肇因，是由於這些作家無法親炙戰前前輩的文學遺產。也就是說，四九年前大部分新文學的作品的被禁，形成了一個真空的狀態。」⁸國民政府以白色恐怖與二二八事件，禁止與移除五四運動和臺灣新文化運動的思想遺產。臺灣在1950、1960年代經歷社會的現代化，難以提出解釋社會巨變的思想系統，當權者卻把可能平衡或觀察現代化發展的五四與新文化運動的傳統連根拔起。⁹無法討論和社會政治與土地相關的問題，知識份子也無法滿足於「戰鬥文藝」、「反共懷鄉」的樣板文學，現代主義便夾帶著「進步、前衛」的色彩由文學運動發端提倡，如主張自由主義的《文星》、《筆匯》、試圖進行「破壞性建設」¹⁰的《現代文學》等有系統地將西方思潮如存在主義、意識流、超現實主義等引入臺灣。《劇場》便是在這一波西方思潮引流的風氣裡誕生，在沉悶蒼白的島嶼之內「現代性」的普世存在提供了一種國籍界線被消解的幻覺，一個跨越國界的藝術社群存在的想像，¹¹這對戰後臺灣的年輕作者與藝術家來說特別吸引人，因為這提供了在強烈的停滯、孤立文化氛圍之下的一群人一個連結的出口，也使得知識青年得以在現代的號召之下形成文學、電影、繪畫、音樂等匯流實驗的總和式的社群。¹²因此《劇場》成員寫的作品經常可見於文學雜誌，

5. 1962年前後劉大任與邱剛健都前後接受美國國務院獎學金至夏威夷大學東西文化中心就讀也因此結識。劉大任，〈《劇場》那兩年〉，《人間思想》第6期，2004春季號，頁195-198。

6. 邱剛健口述，重返後街工作小組採訪整理，〈熱情·純真·無知及感謝〉，《人間思想》第6期，2014年春季號，頁189。

7. 呂正惠，〈現代主義在台灣：從文藝社會學的角度來考察〉，《超克「現代」上冊》，臺北，臺灣社會研究雜誌社，2010年，頁2-27。

8. 張詠聖，〈現代主義，當代台灣：文學典範的軌跡〉，臺北，聯經評論，2015年，頁20。

9. 同上註，頁17。

10. 《現代文學》創刊詞：「我們不想在『想當年』的癱瘓心理下過日子。我們得承認落後，在新文學的道路上，我們雖不至一片空白，但至少是荒涼的……我們尊重傳統，但我們不必模倣傳統或激烈的廢除傳統。不過為了需要，我們可能做一些『破壞的建設工作』。」劉紹銘，〈發刊詞〉，《現代文學》第1期，1960年3月，頁2。

11. 同註8。

12. 黃華成在「大台北畫派宣言」提出近似綜合（總和）藝術的概念：「把藝術當作一整體看待，找出它們相互之間的關係，在它們各方面展露你的才識。」在這裡綜合藝術引用的是花田清輝在50年代提倡的跨媒介如電影，文學，音樂，藝術等等的融合，尋求新的深入社會議題的綜合性質藝術。黃華成以創作執行他的整體藝術的概念，有趣的是他的概念與執行皆先行似的跟日本戰後前衛藝術產生間接式的迴響，包括「實驗002」擴延電影式的創作，也幾乎是與在1960年代興起的擴延電影同步。黃華成，〈大台北畫派 Ecole de Great Taipei〉，《劇場》第5期，1966年1月，頁101、106。

以第23期《現代文學》為例，它收錄了黃華成的小說〈青石〉、邱剛健的詩〈洗手〉、陳映真的小說〈獵人之死〉¹³，在頁面一角的交換廣告像是同人聚會後留下的足跡。1966年3月《幼獅文藝》、《現代文學》、《笠》、《劇場》一同合作主辦的「現代詩展」，更是總和式創作的一場盛會「一群現代詩人會合了一群狂熱的現代畫家，並肩作一次融和性的展出……在你意想不到的方式（姿態）做一次空前試驗性的展出！」¹⁴

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陳佳琦曾在〈陳映真與《劇場》的分裂：記一段現代／鄉土對峙的史前星火〉一文，精彩地考究陳映真對現代主義開的第一槍，其現場應該不是在《文學季刊》而是在第五期《劇場》刊登的〈現代主義底再出發—演出「等待果陀」底隨想〉。如果是如此，所謂七〇年代現實主義文學復興的前現場就應該要稍早往前推演至《劇場》時期，也因此《劇場》所影響的不僅是電影與劇場界，在文學界的角色也不容忽視，¹⁵因此劇場成員在這一波現代主義（文學）浪潮裡都曾推波助瀾或逆反而行。藉由這篇精彩的論述，在這裏我想強調的並非現代／鄉土文學之爭的前史，而是一個比較邊緣的現場，電影的前文本（pre-text）—劇本：《劇場》對「知性」電影的認識也幾乎是從文字，如小說般的劇本開始。藉由對文學認識的基礎，快速地認同劇本是在當代引介電影最可行的媒介之一。即便邱剛健與陳映真在對於翻譯「現代性」文藝一事上意見相左，對於電影劇本的翻譯他們不約而同地賦予與認同劇本獨立的文學生命，同時也認為劇本的獨特性在它的電影性，是一種影像化的文字，可以被獨立看待的主體。

1982年2月10日在紫藤廬舉辦了一場別開生面的「電影論壇」名為「知識份子與電影」，該論壇由王墨林策劃，汪立峽主持，其中一部份以歷史回顧為主題，邀請電影刊物編輯分享以同人發起的刊物創辦風氣，其中陳映真談的是《劇場》，除了保持一貫地對於全盤西化批判的距離之外，他稀奇地提到了翻譯的愉悅，「談的電影我們沒有看過，也不知道怎麼一回事…懂洋文的每個人分配翻譯一些，我就拿回去拼命的啃。在這樣的過程之中，我發現到電影跟文學有個共同的地方，……它涉及到思想的問題，涉及到對人的評價、看法……然而，他跟文學不一樣的地方，就是它有畫面，那些劇照非常令人著迷。」¹⁶除了一旁引人入勝的劇照之外，我們該如何理解陳映真說的，劇本的畫面，某種程度上劇本裡視覺式甚至是觸覺式的文字彌補了電影動態的缺席，以第一期《劇場》翻譯的瑪格麗特·莚哈斯的「廣島之戀」為例，行文裡暗示的視覺，姿態，觸覺，聲音等等皆以文字鋪成了一場電影的場景調度：

電影開始時，兩對裸露的肩膀，逐漸地顯露出來。我們所看到的，只是這些肩膀—僅限於上半身那一段—在擁抱著。說是掩蓋在灰裡也好，雨裡也好，露、珠或是水之下都成，隨你感

13. 《現代文學》第23期，民國54年2月1日。

14. 〈廣告頁〉，《幼獅文藝》148期，1966年4月，頁31。

15. 陳佳琦，〈陳映真與劇場的分裂：記一段現代／鄉土對峙的史前星火〉，《藝術觀點ACT》第41期，2010年1月1日，頁17-25。

16. 其他主題還有，黃建業談《影響》雜誌，林銳談《電影通訊》，王墨林談電影的「試片室時代」，蔣勳談《雄獅》美術，焦雄屏談「電影廣場」。見王墨林策劃，〈知識份子與電影〉，《大地生活》第六期，1982年4月，頁43-51。

覺。主要是我們有這種感覺：當這些露珠、這些汗水、漸漸蒸發、漸漸消失的時候，好像就是原子彈的蕈狀雲沈澱下來的。¹⁷

邱剛健堅持在雜誌內刊登完整的劇本，想做的或許不僅是使得缺席的視覺藉由文字引渡，更大的野心或許是尋求「劇本」的理型，一部以文字傳播的電影。2005年羅卡在北京訪問邱剛健，有別於回憶過往在《劇場》或在香港邵氏工作時，口氣舒緩眼神總是遠遠地定在一方的神情。被問到對於創作的滿足感在何時？邱剛健眼睛突然亮了起來：「我有個信念，劇本夠好的話可以獨立存在，變成小說、話劇一樣讓人們獨立欣賞的東西」，但同時他也強調，電影劇本又與小說不同，它有電影形象的部分，如《去年在馬倫巴》寫的是外在動作，不能像小說一樣寫意識流，必須成就視覺形象是劇本的侷限也是特質，具體地周詳地將場面調度、氛圍、形象都表現出來就是好劇本。¹⁸因此，邱剛健一直以呂哈斯的劇本《廣島之戀》、《去年在馬倫巴》為師，花上漫長的時間，以鉅細彌遺的文字堆砌出影像的場景氛圍，甚至在導演之前在紙上就搬演了一場戲。所以，當邱剛健拿到李碧華的小說《胭脂扣》以及被改過了幾版但一直無法拍板定案的劇本時，他從頭至尾修改了賦予文字形象化的「細節」¹⁹，像是，他認為梅艷芳行走的姿態很迷人，而在劇本裡安排了許多具體的動作，而讓劇本終於定稿開拍。

因此在翻譯之外，《劇場》刊登了不少同仁創作的電影與劇場的劇本，²⁰劇本形式不一，黃華成的《金牙》像小說，如他所說：「任何短篇小說生來就是電影腳本」²¹，有些如邱剛健的《午覺》則像詩，以創作劇本為基礎，讓這群人更迫切地走向實踐的下一步，徵求可能拍實驗片的同好並舉行發表會。

參、

欣賞能力『不可能是』創作能力。你告訴別人黑澤明有多偉大，就像是你右手高舉指著太陽說它有多熱！你並不是太陽。你更不該站在它下面，熱得汗顏不已。你唯一能作的：拿起你的弓箭，射下九個太陽！²²

1966年2月18日《劇場》第一次的電影發表會在耕莘文教院舉辦，發表作品有邱剛健的《疏離》²³、莊靈《延》、黃華成的《原》、《現代の知性の花嫁の人氣》，邱剛健與黃華成的短片有著強烈的

17. 瑪格麗特·杜拉著，〈廣島之戀〉，崔德林譯，《劇場》第1期，1965年1月1日，頁108。

18. 羅卡，口述歷史訪問：邱剛健二訪，2005年12月15日，錄影帶資料，香港電影資料館製作。部分訪問內容收錄在羅卡主編，喬亦思、劉竅助編，《美與狂：邱剛健的戲劇、詩、電影》，香港，三聯書店，2014年。

19. 訪談中，邱剛健曾提到有人質疑他改編的劇本，劇情與原本相差不遠。但他不斷地強調自己修改的是細節，文字轉換成具體影像的細節。

20. 第二期刊登了李志善、莊靈的《荒：為一個現代畫家而作》，李志善的《沙、河、孩子們》，郭中興《上山》、《蝴蝶》，朱邦復的《雕塑的痕跡》，商禽《門或者天空》、邱剛健《午覺》、黃華成《先知》（戲劇），第三期郭君《我的鞋呢》、張照堂《唯烈日不朽》、伊儂奴君（黃華成）《金牙》、《佈景》、巫品雲《夏日》，第四期巫品雨的《台北人》，第五期刊登莊靈《延》、邱剛健《疏離》、黃華成《現代の知性の花嫁の人氣》。

21. 伊儂奴君，《金牙》，《劇場》第3期，1965年7月，頁337。

22. 皇城，〈一些老掉了牙的謠言〉，《劇場》第2期，1965年4月1日，頁117。

23. 《疏離》因為有自瀆的動作，傅良甫神父認為不適合在耕莘文教院播放，臨時被取消此片放映，而另外擇日在救國團放映。

實驗特性，如《疏離》²⁴呈現一位青年在建築工地看見一位工人吃力地推車上斜坡，他很想幫忙但無力行動，只能乾瞪著眼返家後，面對著透過玻璃的陽光重複喃喃「上帝」而自瀆。²⁵「現代の知性の花嫁の人氣」則剪輯入了大量的黑幕與白幕，毫無敘事，近攝了手擦拭眼鏡，捶打「現代の知性」的字樣，偶爾片名字體會輪番在黑白幕上排列。²⁶上述的兩部影片讓簡志信戲稱為困惑觀眾的「小電影」，然而在莊靈的口中卻是電影「技術觀念」的革命。²⁷莊靈的《延》則拍攝了懷孕的太太陳夏生的日常，幾乎像是家庭電影一般，拍攝了早晨起床在外雙溪附近的住家、搭公車上班、下班到市場買菜、爾後返家結束一日的疲憊。平實地紀錄生活，如莊靈所言，《延》試圖嘗試的是反對佈景道具、反對燈光、反對技術的「絕對真實」電影。²⁸

從第一次放映會的嘗試來看，《劇場》創作的不只是在形式上進行實驗的「現代派」作品，以及邱剛健一句看似不經意但令人在意的挑釁：「我想我要高辛甬脫光衣服的舉動潛意識地是我對權威者的一個妥協，我要的就是低級的趣味」（以低級趣味向權威妥協！），亦延伸嘗試了「真實電影」（Cinema Verite）。²⁹電影的紀實語言從來就沒有在《劇場》缺席，在第二期加入的陳耀圻發表的〈記錄方式與真實性〉，³⁰介紹了紀錄片幾位重要的先驅作品和概念，如胡許（Jean Rouch）和社會學家莫辛（Edgar Morin）首度以同步錄音和16厘米攝影機拍攝的《一個夏天的紀錄》（Chronicle of a Summer）（1961）其中對「真實電影」進行定義。《劇場》在莊靈與陳映真的翻譯之下，也引介了英國自由電影（Free Cinema）重要導演林賽·安德遜（Lindsay Anderson）、湯尼·李察遜（Tony Richardson）的作品，1950年代中期發起的自由電影運動，意在對抗主流英國電影對階級的再現，鼓勵攝影者走向街頭紀錄真實生活且表達主觀個人意見。在評論中，陳映真讚嘆以紀錄電影起家的安德遜寫實地描寫了北英倫蕭瑟與深沈孤絕的地景，³¹莊靈則強調李察遜作品裡的「反對因素」在內容上進行的嘲諷，以及來自「Angry Young Man新文藝集團」³²反抗傳統偽善的新現代精神。藉著影評，他們意在反思電影不論在形式的實驗，或是現實反映的可能性，1966年舉辦的第一次電影發表會某種程度上是上述可能性的檢驗。值得一提的是，這幾部發表會的作品劇照、劇本分鏡、影評、導演拍攝札記皆鉅細彌遺地刊登在第五期的《劇場》，替這次放映會留下記錄並產生重要的後延影響。

暨第四期《劇場》詳盡地刊載於1965年9月3日與4日在耕莘文教院演出的《等待果陀》與《先知》劇照、劇評、以及同仁間在引介「現代主義文藝」一事意見相左的迴響之後，第五期便是歧異之下實際離合的事件呈現，許南村（陳映真）翻譯的「沒有死屍的戰場：好萊塢戰爭電影中的愛國

24. 根據導演手札，《疏離》還有青年在浴室與毛蟲對望，並喃喃「看著你，你是我的神」半晌後，用手指把毛蟲揉扁的片段。另外亦有青年離開工地後，前往松江路上被一台汽車撞飛並彈到電線桿三次的片段。邱剛健，〈疏離的註腳〉，《劇場》第5期，1966年4月，頁167-175。

25. 「我是藉著這年輕人和『疏離』這個名詞去表現真實社會中，人和社會的分離以致於無法行動的感覺。」許碩舜訪問，〈疏離：邱剛健談『劇場』時代及短片〉，《電影欣賞》第72期，1994年11/12月，頁65。

26. 黃華成，〈現代の知性の花嫁の人氣〉，《劇場》第5期，1966年4月，頁189-190。

27. 莊靈，〈「延」的誕生〉，《劇場》第5期，1966年4月，頁167-175。

28. 同註27。

29. 莊靈提到在1965年陳耀圻加入《劇場》曾在邱剛健的婚後新居播放從美國新聞處借來James Blue的The March，即便不是很理解陳耀圻一直提倡的Cinema Verite，但或許也被The March的紀實語言影響，同註27。

30. 陳耀圻，〈記錄方式與真實性〉，《劇場》第3期，1965年7月，頁183-196。

31. 許南村，〈超級的男性〉，《劇場》第1期，1965年1月1日，頁80。

32. 莊靈，〈湯姆瓊斯李察遜〉，《劇場》第1期，1965年1月1日，頁82-84。

主義底真相」因涉及反越戰意見，臨時在出刊前文章遭受撕毀因此沒有刊出，³³在這期目錄上的編譯名單也少了劉大任、陳耀圻、許南村等人名字。而在第四期左右來自香港的金炳興與羅卡陸續加入《劇場》編譯行列，自此，《劇場》成員與香港的知識青年有了緊密的合作，除了譯稿交換之外還有實驗電影的共同嘗試（如，黃華成的《實驗002》有金炳興的參與）。第五期的《劇場》是一重要的分水嶺，在往後幾期便減少了自主的劇本創作，有了香港的來稿更加強了實驗電影場景的介紹，如，光火（羅卡）在同期翻譯的〈美國地下電影〉³⁴，同期亦有從聯合報轉載由李襄執筆的〈日本前衛電影〉，介紹在1964年在東京新宿舉辦的實驗電影放映會，以文字詳細介紹了大林宣彥、高林陽一、飯村隆彥、唐納德里奇在布魯塞爾實驗電影節獲獎的作品《砂》、《家》、《吃過了的人》、《ONAN》、《戰爭遊戲》、《日本的文樣》。³⁵

劉大任與陳映真在離開《劇場》之後，參與1966年創刊《文學季刊》編輯工作，陳耀圻也在隔年完成他在UCLA碩士的畢業製作《劉必稼》以及《上山》。一群在《文季》的朋友幫陳耀圻在1967年10月於耕莘文教院舉辦了一場轟動的「真實電影」放映會，會中亦邀請姚一葦與俞大綱擔任主持³⁶。《上山》訪問了在藝專念書的黃永松、黃貴蓉與牟敦弋三人，漫談他們的生活和興趣，並間隙穿插三人同行登五指山的紀錄影片。主導訪問的陳耀圻亦試探性地丟出敏感的越戰議題，試圖觀察三位青年的回應。《劉必稼》拍攝了家鄉在湖南的老兵劉必稼，在1952年跟隨國民政府來，受政府徵招至花蓮豐田開墾築壩的紀錄影片，藉由訪問與巧妙智識的剪輯，影片不著痕跡地引渡不言明地批判。³⁷在映後，黃春明將此次放映會與《劇場》的兩次電影發表會相較，意有所指的對於《劇場》「執迷的」電影有所警惕，而深受陳耀圻電影的寫實語言吸引，進而喟嘆文壇寫實作品的貧乏，極力呼籲重新連結社會與文學關係。³⁸而就在同一年稍早幾個月在7月29日，《劇場》在國軍文藝活動中心舉辦第二次電影放映會，放映了黃華成《實驗002》、張淑芳《生之美妙》、莊靈《赤子》、張國雄《「」》、龍思良《過節》、許俊逸《下午的夢》、張照堂《日記》。³⁹這算是他們最後一次公開活動，1968年1月15日最後一期《劇場》出版後，這群同人們正式解散。

33. 邱剛健也曾提起在第5期《劇場》抽稿一事「陳映真翻譯了一篇反越戰的文章，黃華成是一個很敏感的人，他覺得這個一定會有問題，所以我們就做一個自我審查，就把它給抽掉了，那時候我還跑去黨部文宣處去做解釋……」許碩舜，〈疏離：邱剛健談《劇場》時代及短片〉，《電影欣賞》第72期，1994年11/12月，頁65。

34. 羅卡在《劇場》第六期介紹安迪·沃荷的《噴洩》(Blow Job, 1964)，在合併的第七期與第八期翻譯了〈八釐米狀況〉，在第九期書寫了〈地下電影出人頭地記〉一文，專注在實驗電影推介。

35. 在布魯塞爾實驗電影節獲獎的經驗，刺激了日本實驗電影擴張的嘗試。這段歷史亦在此專輯由平沢剛書寫，區秀詒翻譯的〈早期的日本藝術電影院聯盟與地下電影〉一文被詳盡書寫。

36. 尉天驄，〈和姚一葦先生在一起的那段日子〉，《暗夜中的掌燈者》，臺北，書林出版社，1998年11月，頁18。

37. 張世倫的〈做為紀錄片現代性前行孤星的《劉必稼》〉一文對此片隱含的政治意涵與存在主義式個人生命的呈現有深入的分析。http://www.funscreen.com.tw/headline.asp?H_No=615（瀏覽日期：2017年11月20）。

38. 黃春明，〈看陳耀圻的作品有感〉，《幼獅文藝》165期，1967年12月，頁108-110。

39. 根據莊靈的報導，「下午的夢」藝專學生創作，最接近劇情片。張國雄《「」》美術設計，以許多素材拼貼成富有「現代感」的電影，張淑芳「生之美妙」特寫靜坐者的臉部，手揉捏著方糖，再把碎糖倒入咖啡裡，取煙，取火柴，點火，點菸於抽菸等動作。張照堂「日記」用丁槌敲打連恩畫像與工人敲石畫面剪接，用高角度俯瞰男主角在路上往來踱步不連貫的跳接，與倏地跳出矮牆消失。龍思良的「過節」長焦鏡頭拍攝歌仔戲後台演員演出前實況，男士剃頭，女士穿風扇，殺雞等等。「實驗002」黃華成請張照堂執機，金炳興做男主角，穿著丁字褲在外雙溪的草地與土坡上完成，以圓形紙板遮住鏡頭外框。放映時有6個只螢幕，放映機架在倒放的頭盔，黃華成控制放映機的投影讓影像在發表會大廳四壁上隨意遊走。莊靈，〈劇場第二次電影發表會〉，《幼獅文藝》第165期，1967年12月，頁64-67。

肆、

某種程度上《劇場》時期關於電影的兩個主要面向的嘗試，電影前衛形式的實驗與電影紀實語彙嘗試，在1966年後分別由香港的第一波實驗電影運動承繼，以及在陳耀圻的《上山》與《劉必稼》裡實踐。後者在1968年受「民主台灣聯盟案」波及，在遭受一個月拘留後，對於電影紀實的發展產生了一定程度的壓抑。⁴⁰而前者隨著邱剛健在1966年赴港邵氏工作，《劇場》來稿大量仰賴在香港的資源，而逐漸產生場景交匯影響。如羅卡與金炳興在參與《劇場》編譯工作同時，羅卡在《中國學生周報》（以下《學周》）擔任編輯，金炳興則是主筆之一。

《學周》資金來自美國中央情報局成立的「亞洲基金會」，⁴¹於1952年成立，在韓戰後期美國試圖對中國在軍事、政治、思想與經濟進行防堵之際，《學周》透過文化宣傳連結香港與海外華人青年，透過右傾僑校、教會學校與政府官立學校的推廣，試圖啟發青年在人文主義與自由主義的觀念。⁴²根據羅卡的觀察《學周》試圖以思想和文化影響青年一代，在50年代以中國文人本位試圖理解西方自由主義與現代主義，60年代特別擁抱西方電影思潮。⁴³《學周》在1960年特別增闢「電影圈」專欄，配合在1962年港英政府新建的香港大會堂，以及同年由香港電影協會成立的第一影室（studio one）經常放映歐美電影，「電影圈」影評專欄的影響力逐漸擴大。⁴⁴黃維波等大學生受其影響在1966年於「大學生活社」舉辦電影賞談小組，而該賞談會在1967年更進一步成立大學生活電影會（大影會），「電影圈」作者羅卡，金炳興，陳任等成為執行委員會幹事，西西，陸離，吳昊等都是大影會積極份子。

在大影會之前，即便在香港即便有零星的實驗短片創作，但未有組織也尚未公開放映的機會。⁴⁵不論是《學周》或《大學生活社》都還是停留在電影賞析與放映階段。對羅卡來說《劇場》第五期刊載的實驗電影劇照與劇本皆深刻衝擊了他對實驗電影實踐的想像，某種程度上激化了在香港實驗電影創作與組織「此舉（《劇場》第一次電影發表會）無疑是對自命先進的香港電影青年的一種挑激。1966年下半年起香港非業餘性電影工作者宣告起步，不諱是對這種挑激的回應」⁴⁶因此，大影會除了以研究與討論實驗電影為目的，也設有放映組、拍攝組，大影會總共舉辦三次電影發表會。於1967年秋天舉辦了第一次非正式的實驗電影作品觀摩放映會，放映何藩的《大都市小人物》、《離》，周宗濂的《工展會》、羅卡的《意外》，與會者還有金炳興、陸離、西西、譚乃孫以及邱剛健。此時的創作，除了何藩在邵氏擔任場記，利用閒暇之餘借用器材而拍攝了極具前衛風格的

40. 黃永松在參與《上山》拍攝之際也是《劉必稼》的攝影助理，之後還隨陳耀圻進入中影從美術助理做起，也訓練黃永松研究文物與田野調查的功力，也啟蒙了他對傳統工藝的興趣。藍祖蔚、楊媛婷專訪，〈天工「傳」物半世紀——黃永松「淫則盈」的生活〉，<http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/culture/paper/1149136> (瀏覽日期：2017年11月23日)。

41. 趙稀方，〈五十年代香港難民小說〉，《流離與歸屬：二戰後港臺文學與其他》，臺北，臺大出版中心，頁75。

42. 羅卡，〈冷戰時代的《中國學生周報》〉：<http://www.hkmemory.org/jameswong/wjs/web/upload/book/5625rokerchineseestudentweekly-e.pdf>

43. 同上註。

44. 趙曉彤，〈西西一九六〇年代影話寫作研究〉，香港中文大學中國語言及文學課程哲學碩士論文，2013年8月20日，頁17-18。

45. 伍浩，〈實驗電影的第一潮（1967-1971）〉，《實驗電影展75》影展手冊，1975年3月4日-3月6日。

46. 羅卡，〈早期的香港獨立短片〉，《自主世代：六十年代至今自主、實驗、另類創作》，香港，香港電影資料館，2001年，頁20-21。

《大都市小人物》與《離》之外，多數作品皆近似劇情短片。大影會在1968年2月舉辦第二次會員電影發表會，⁴⁷隔年3月舉辦第一屆「業餘電影展」⁴⁸，值得一提的是已到香港發展的黃華成原計劃在此放映2部影片，一是由他自己執行以張淑芳掛名導演的《生之美妙》，與由他在邵氏工作受委託製作的「香港映畫廣告片」，前者黃華成回憶道，出於巧合到香港發展時他只帶了這部片，在大會堂放映現場熱絡，讓他感動異常。⁴⁹然，後者因為版權因素不能播映，這部廣告片由於拍攝手法與內容太特殊也沒有被邵氏採用。⁵⁰

在第一屆「業餘影展」的片單裡，我還要特別提出羅卡的《全線》（1969），因為此作亦暗藏了與後《劇場》的脈絡連結。《全線》（Rout line）以攝影者坐進轎車為開頭，一路上透過車窗拍攝沿路香港街景而構築的一部10分鐘實驗片，觀者不清楚車行的方向，時而前進偶爾倒退，沿路經過旺角、深水埗、戲院區、住宅區與商業大樓，隨著車速瞬時捕捉時代身影：穿著時髦的女士、車伕、魚貫而行的路人。最後在九龍塘多實街一棟兩層樓花園式洋房停駐，鏡頭帶到門口的招牌上寫著「中國學生周報」與「創建實驗學院」。值得一提的是「創建實驗學院」在1969年由一群「自由主義知識份子」成立，有自美國留學回港的包錯石，《學周》社長林樂恆、總編輯羅卡、作家胡菊人、戴天等人以及《大學生活》、《盤古》雜誌編輯，如張文祥、黃維波、古蒼梧等人興辦，校址在友聯出版社在九龍塘的洋房物業，標榜以美國自由大學模式辦學，學費極低，開設美術、文學、哲學課程，成為大影會重要的活動場地，而此地也依稀可見知識青年在現代派思想與左傾思想間複雜的關係與轉向，⁵¹也因此，這實驗學院是知識青年經常聚會的場所。而在這意味深長的鏡頭凝視之後，持攝影機的人下了車，再將手中鏡頭轉向將車窗搖上的司機，玻璃窗上則漸漸浮現由黃華成設計，張照堂在1964年拍攝具有冷冽與現代風格的攝影作品為主視覺的「業餘電影展」傳單。《全線》像是一則電影聚會的影像邀請，藉由行車帶領觀者到聚會現場，同人意味濃厚，特別以鏡頭指出停駐的地點，「創建實驗學院」更是知識青年群聚藉教育與刊物反射思想與社會觸媒的反應爐。據羅卡回憶《全線》試圖呈現的是一位在67暴動後的青年，主觀地看見短短的人生歷程，其中只有一個觀點，不能自主，單點定向驅動的香港。然最後的鏡頭選擇停留在自籌的電影發表會傳單上，象徵著一個出口，可以自主發展的園地。⁵²有趣的是如此的出口認同了已經停刊的《劇場》相關的人事、視覺印象回應，形成了以影像與智識交流並跨越國界邊際（冷戰時期構成左右對壘）的社群迴圈，某種程度上更扣合了在冷戰時期臺港緊密的文藝思潮交流關係。

這篇文章，試圖以社群的流動初步探索《劇場》時代所開啓的實驗電影面貌，亦討論港台第一波實驗電影的交匯與遷徙，以人為單位串起的活動場景與社群行動，或許是在巨大（物質）空白之下能藉以拼湊片段的方法之一。某種程度上六〇年代港臺實驗電影的交流與冷戰政治架構倡導現

47. 放映作品有陳坤揚《困獸》、林年同《滿座》、《關於三件事》、何藩《遊》、趙德克《實驗一號》、盧景文《鏡頭練習》、《學堂怪事》、羅卡《陰影》、林樂培《實用電影》。資料來源如上。

48. 同上註。

49. 同註4。

50. 羅卡在2017年10月7日「臺灣與亞洲電影史國際研討會」發表論文〈港臺電影文化新生力量的發源與互動——六十至七十年代〉時簡報提及。

51. 杜家祁，〈現代主義、明朗化與國族認同：香港六十年代末「創建學院詩作坊」之詩人與詩風〉，<http://www.huayuqiao.org/LLM/LLM-1819/LLM181907.htm>（瀏覽日期：2017年12月3日）

52. 周郁齡，短訪羅卡，2017/10/13，香港深水埗。

代派與自由主義思潮的串聯路徑有重疊的關係（《劇場》與《學周》），相較於1966年中國文革開始對於實驗影像產生可能驅逐效應，如情境主義者、漢學家也創作實驗影像的魏延年（René Vignet），因為批判文革在1966年被中國驅逐出境而後輾轉到香港與臺灣定居，⁵³冷戰政治與思潮架構也形成了帶有現代性格的實驗電影一個得以流動或離心的作用空間，《劇場》便是提供對於電影實驗一個得以開展滌洄的場所，而這樣的串連便與香港的第一波實驗電影嘗試產生匯流作用。雖然，在《劇場》之後臺灣對於實驗電影創作與發表一度沈寂，最晚等到1978年金穗獎的創辦才進一步產生鼓勵與彙聚。然在《劇場》後續效應不減，如1971年創辦的《影響》承繼了《劇場》對於電影改革的使命，王墨林深受《劇場》影響在高三時開始在「晨光」、「現代」雜誌寫影評與發表短片腳本，⁵⁴而王菲林認為《劇場》使得封閉的電影工業開始轉動，⁵⁵而在1989年由太陽系資金創辦的第二代《影響》亦在創刊號為文向《劇場》致敬，使得《劇場》之後，成為一個連接當代文化界域的重要的時態。



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53. 魏延年到了香港後，持續地翻譯關於批判文革的著作，並陸續創作實驗影像如Can Dialectics Break Bricks (1972)，在1976文革結束的同一年他也發表了一部批判文革的實驗影片《One More Effort, Chinaman, if you want to be revolutionaries!》。

54. 王墨林，〈作者序〉，《中國的電影與戲劇》，臺北，聯亞出版社，1981年。

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**Grab your bow and arrow shooting down the nine suns:
Early experimental films of Theater group and its' impact on the first wave
Hong Kong experimental films in the 1960s**

CHOU, Yu-Ling

Abstract

Theater held two film presentations in 1966 and 1967. To some extent, it marked the beginning of experimental films in Taiwan. Like many other art forms, the beginning is all about loss and interruption. Among all the featured films at the screenings, *only My Newborn Baby and Life Continued* by Chuang Ling have been well preserved. Most of the other films are either lost or undiscovered. In the 1960s, *Theater* used a large number of words and just a few images to picture the western films. Similarly, we also attempted to imagine the beginning of the experimental films that started around 50 years ago by only a few images and words. The situation brings up a very important lesson regarding experimental films: how should we discuss the part of the past when it was lost? This study regards *Theater*, a community that consisted of people having the same habits, as the historical motivation to the first attempt of experimental films in Taiwan. The thoughts, discussion and creations inspired by it will also be addressed. We aim to discuss the influence that *Theater* had on the experimental films in Taiwan with their translation and practice. It is believed that the exchanges and cooperations among the artists in Hong Kong and Taiwan promoted by *Theater* also sped up the development and expression of the first attempt of experimental films in Hong Kong. Therefore, this study also focuses on the interactions between the *Theater* staff and experimental filmmakers in Hong Kong.

Keywords: *Theater*, modernity, realist movies, *The Chinese Student Weekly*, the first attempt of experimental films in Hong Kong

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Foreword

Theater held two film presentations in 1966 and 1967. To some extent, it marked the beginning of experimental films in Taiwan. Like many other art forms, the beginning is all about loss and interruption. Among all the presented films in the presentations, only *My Newborn Baby* and *Life Continued* by Ling Chuang are well preserved. Most of the other films are either lost or undiscovered. In the 1960s, *Theater* used a large number of words and few images to picture the Western films. Similarly, we also attempt to imagine the beginning of the experimental films that started around 50 years ago by only a few images and words. Perhaps, the like-minded nature of *Theater* was also a cause of the loss of experimental films. This self-sponsored magazine was printed in a small number (about 1,000 copies per issue). Experimental films were mostly played at private gatherings then. There were only two public screenings of experimental films organized by Theater,¹ the small and site-less distribution resulted in their ahistorical feature. In other words, the distribution and release of films have decided how the history of films was written. As Ian Christie noted, the history of film was dominated by the published films. He addressed that films will not be written about until they are seen.² Other than limited screening, the interactions among those people with the same habit could also lead to the loss of experimental films. The experimental films created in Theater barely went down history. Liu Yung-Hao (劉永皓) put down the term “blank” for dozens of times out of frustration in an article on the early experimental films in Taiwan. He used fractional writing to replace detailed cultural scenes.

The situation brings up a very important lesson regarding experimental films: how should we discuss the part of the past when it was lost? The similar difficulty can also be seen as English filmologist Sean Cubitt was writing an anthology of early British video art.” Uncollected by either the national art collections or the national film and television archive, marginal to the concerns of the art market and the art establishment... It is that status that made it a political moment: a moment when an aesthetic turned into a mode of action.” As Cubitt was describing British video art, he started with British video creator Mike Leggett’s interpretation on one of his earliest works. Cubitt aimed to point out the art ecology in the writing of video history: “It was not... that the works themselves were political in any but the most oblique sense, but that the act of making them, the alliances, the scraped together funding, the vision of individual agents in the art world and the ethos of community building formed a kind of political movement underpinning the making of a kind of work which never really established itself in the UK.”³ We may not be discussing the video history here. However, the marginal status of being outside the system or history was similar. We refer to the community as the historical motivation in this study and discuss the thoughts, discussions and creations inspired by it. We aim to address Theater’s impact on the first attempt at experimental films in Taiwan with its translation and practice. Due to the distribution of *Theater* and cooperation between Taiwan and Hong Kong, it also sped up the development of the first attempt of experimental films in Hong Kong. In this study, we will also discuss the interactions between Theater and Hong Kong’s filmmakers.

1. Besides public screenings, *Theater* organized private screenings. For example, Chiu Kang-Chien (邱剛健) mentioned that Chen Yao-Chi (陳耀圻) “found a random place to show us” his film. He was surprised by the high quality of the animation *Houyi* (后羿). Before the official screening of Chiu’s *Alienation* (疏離), he showed the film to the members of *Theater* at a private screening. See Xu, Shuoshun (許碩舜) “Alienation: Kang Chien Chiu’s Words on the *Theater* Group and its Short Films” (疏離：邱剛健談『劇場』時代及短片). *Film Appreciation Journal* (電影欣賞). Vol 72, Nov and Dec 1994, pp.65-70.

2. This statement at “Shoot Shoot Shoot: Seminar” of London Film-Makers’ Co-operative in 2002 was his observation on the shooting from 1966 to 1976. Sean Cubitt, “The Past is a Different Medium,” *REWIND+PLAY. An Anthology of Early British Video Art*, UK: LUX, 2009, pp.3-4.

3. Ibid.

I.

What inspired you to shoot films?

"I think it was an impulsive action of mine. There used to be many limitations.

So I felt like I must do it..."⁴

The first issue of *Theater* was published in January 1965. Before that, some youngsters who shared the same passionate on films and drama had held regular meetings for a period of time. In 1964, Chiu just returned to Taiwan after finishing his study of the drama program at the East-West Center at University of Hawaii and worked at Dentsu Taiwan.⁵ Chuang worked at the NTU Audio-Visual Center at that time. Li Chi-Shan (李至善) was shooting *Beautiful Duckling* (養鴨人家) at the Central Motion Pictures Corporation (CMPC) for Lee Hsing (李行). Chen Ching-Feng (陳清風) returned from Japan, where he learned movie production. Huang Hua-Cheng (黃華成) was about to quit his job at Taiwan Television (TTV). Cui De-Lin (崔德林) was a broadcaster at the Broadcasting Corporation of China (BCC). Chen Ying-Zhen (陳映真) was a rising star with his writing talent. Fang Hsin (方莘) was a young poet at the Blue Star Poetry Union (藍星詩社). These literati had meetings at random places. Chiu and Chuang once met up at Shaomei Ice Cream. They brought up the idea of organizing a publishing house together. They asked seven of their friends to sponsor 1,000 Taiwan dollars each if they could. This was how they raised the budget for publishing the first issue of *Theater*. The translated articles published in the first three issues of *Theater* were mostly from books and magazines that Chiu brought back from Hawaii.

I insisted on including the translation of a full film script and a play script in the magazine. As a result, the magazine must be a very thick one. Some readers even sent letters to us and told us that we had provided too much information in one magazine. I told them I would rather be stuffed to death by information at this time. There was too little information in Taiwan then. So, I would rather you to be stuffed than to starve.⁶

As choosing between starvation and satiation of translation, *Theater* had decided to embrace horizontal transplantation of the western thoughts. "Vacuum of ideas" is an alternative term for this sort of knowledge starvation and infertility in many studies.⁷ Ever since the Nationalist government's arrival, there had been an extreme cultural interruption in Taiwan. The interruption was derived from the government's complete sublation of two traditions of naturalism, namely the May Fourth Movement in China and the New Culture Movement during the Japanese governance. "Ever since 1949, Taiwanese writers had been greatly affected by the western literature. Many scholars, such as Lau Shiu-Ming (劉紹銘), believe that it resulted from the fact that these writers could not have learned from the senior writers and their works before the war. In other words, a certain vacuumed situation had formed for literature due to the ban on the new literature before 1949."⁸ The Nationalist government banned and abolished the philosophical legacy of the May

4. Li, Daoming (李道明) & Shuoshun Xu (許碩舜) "Hua-Cheng Huang: This is Originality" (黃華成：這就是原創). *Film Appreciation Journal* (電影欣賞). Sept and Oct 1993, pp.31.

5. Liu Da-Zen (劉大任) and Chiu both received the scholarship offered by the U.S. Department of State and studied at the East-West Center of University of Hawaii around 1962. They then become acquainted. Liu, Da-Zen (劉大任). "Two Years I Spent in the Theater Group" (《劇場》那兩年). *Renjian Thought Review* (人間思想). Vol 6 (Spring, 2014), pp.195-198.

6. Chiu, Kang Chien (邱剛健). ed. Back to Backstreet Office (重返後街工作小組). "Enthusiasm, Innocence, Naiveness and Gratitude" (熱情·純真·無知及感謝). *Renjian Thought Review* (人間思想). Vol 6 (Spring, 2014), pp. 189.

7. Lu, Cheng-Hui (呂正惠). "Modernism in Taiwan: A Look from Art and Social Studies" (現代主義在台灣：從文藝社會學的角度來考察). *Overcoming the Modern* (超克「現代」). Vol. 1. Taipei: Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly In Social Studies, pp.2-27.

8. Chang, Sung-sheng (張詠聖). *Modernism and the Nativist Resistance: Contemporary Chinese Fiction from Taiwan* (現代主義·當代台灣：文學典範的軌跡). Taipei: Linking Publishing, 2015, p.20.

Fourth Movement and New Culture Movement in Taiwan. Due to the modernization of Taiwan in the 1950s and 1960s, there was barely any ideology that could explain the tremendous shifts in society. Also, the authorities decided to abolish the traditions of the May Fourth Movement and New Culture Movement, which could have balanced or observed the development of modernization.⁹ The intellectual could not discuss issues regarding political sociology or the land, nor could they obtain satisfaction with military literature and art or anti-communist and nostalgic model literature. As a result, some literature movements of modernism were initiated. For example, Wen Hsing (文星) and Bi Hui (筆匯) advocated liberalism. *Modern Literature* (現代文學), on the other hand, attempted to introduce western trends such as existentialism, stream of consciousness and surrealism to Taiwan through “destructive constructions.”¹⁰ Theater was established during the introduction of the western trends. It created an illusion as if the national borders were dissolved in the universal modernization of Taiwan. It also formed an imagination towards a cross-country art community.¹¹ The illusion and imagination attracted many young writers and artists in Taiwan during the post-war period. They offered certain connections among a group of people in cultural stagnation and isolation. As a result, a **collective** community that focused on experimental literature, films, paintings and music was formed.¹² This is also why the articles written by the members of Theater were frequently published in literary magazines. Take the 23rd issue of *Modern Literature* as an example. It included Huang’s novel *The Bluestone* (青石), Chiu’s poem “Washing Hands” (洗手) and Chen’s novel *Death of a Hunter* (獵人之死).¹³ The exchange advertising at the corner of the page was the meeting record for the like-minded people. In March 1966, the Modern Poetry Exhibition was co-organized by *Youth Literary* (幼獅文藝), *Modern Literature*, *Li* (笠) and *Theater*. It was a grand event of collective creation. It gathered a group of modernist poets and passionate contemporary artists. Together, they curated an **integrated** exhibition... It was an unprecedented experimental exhibition that was presented in the most unexpected way.”¹⁴

II.

In “Ying-Zhen Chen’s Separation from *Theater*: Prehistoric Sparks between Modern and Native Theater” (陳映真與《劇場》的分裂：記一段現代／鄉土對峙的史前星火), Chen Chia-Chi (陳佳琪) points out Chen’s first criticism of modernism should not be his article on *Literature Quarterly* (文學季刊). Instead, it should be “Toward a New Departure in Modernism: Thoughts on the Recent Production of Waiting for Godot” (現代主義底再出發—演出「等待果陀」底隨想), which he wrote for the fifth issue of *Theater*. If so, the primary scene of the literary renaissance of realism in the 1970s should be traced back to the *Theater* period. That is to say, *Theater* did not just have an influence on the film and theater, but it also affected literature at a certain level.¹⁵ We could say that the members of *Theater* all helped or fought against the

9. Ibid., p.17.

10. The foreword to the inaugural issue of *Modern Literature* notes, “We do not want to live our lives with the paralyzed nostalgic mindset. We have to admit the ill-development of the new literature. It was not a total blank, yet it is indeed barren... We respect the tradition. Yet, we do not need to complete imitate or abolish them. What we can do is some destructive construction work for the future development.” Liu, Shao-ming (劉紹銘). “Foreword” (發刊詞). *Modern Literature* (現代文學). Vol. 1 (Mar, 1960), p.2.

11. See Note 8.

12. Huang addressed something similar to the collective production of art in Manifesto of the Ecole de Great Taipei (大台北畫派宣言), “See art as a whole. Find their interrelations. Allow them to present your talents.” Huang quoted the term “collective production of art” from Kiyoteru Hanada, who advocated the integration of different media forms, such as films, literature, music and art, for an in-depth discussion of social issues. Huang implemented his idea of the total work of art in his artworks. Interestingly, his idea and implementation indirectly responded to the post-war avant-garde art in Japan. Some works of Huang’s, such as *Experiment 002* (實驗002), were created in synchronization with the emergence of expanded cinema in the 1960s. Huang, Hua-Cheng (黃華成) “Ecole de Great Taipei” (大台北畫派 Ecole de Great Taipei). *Theater* (劇場). Vol. 5, Jan 1966. pp.101 & 106.

13. *Modern Literature* (現代文學). Vol. 23 (1 Feb, 1965).

14. Advertisement Page. *Youth Literary* (幼獅文藝). Vol. 148, Apr 1966, pp.31.

15. Chen Chia-Chi (陳佳琪). “Ying-Zhen Chen’s Separation from Theater: Prehistoric Sparks between Modern and Native Theater” (陳映真與劇場的分裂：記一段現代／鄉土對峙的史前星火). *Art Critique of Taiwan* (藝術觀點ACT), Vol. 41. 1 Jan 2010, pp.17-25.

trends of literary modernism. By quoting this inspiring discussion, what I intended to point out was not the pre-history of the debate over modernist/nativist literature. Instead, I would like to focus on a marginal scene, namely the pretext of the film: scripts. All the knowledge about the “intellectual” films that *Theater* had learned was from the texts--**novel-like scripts**. Based on their literature knowledge, they all approved that scripts are the most possible means to introduce modern films. Chiu and Chen may have different opinions on the modernity of literary translation. However, they both agreed that translation empower film script to have their own literary life. Also, they both believed that visuality of the script is a unique feature. The visualized words can be seen as an independent subject.

On February 10, 1982, there was an innovative film forum named “Intellectuals and Films” at Wistaria Tea House. The forum was organized by Wang Mo-Lin (王墨林) and hosted by Wang Li-Xia (汪立峽). A panel of the forum was about the retrospective review of the history, and editors of film magazines were invited to share their experience of how a like-minded group organized a magazine. Chen talked about *Theater*. As always, he criticized the complete westernization. Yet, he also mentioned how delightful he felt during translation. “We had never seen that film. We did not know what it was about. Everyone that understands English was given a part of it. I took my part and worked on it. During that process, I discovered that films and literature have something in common. They are both about thoughts, about people’s comments and ideas. There was only one thing different. There were images in films. I always find the film stills fascinating.”¹⁶ Apart from the attractive film stills, we should also understand more about the image of a script as mentioned by Chen. To some extent, the visual and even tactile texts have compensated for the absence of motion in a film. For example, the first issue of *Theater* published the translation of Marguerite Duras’s *Hiroshima mon amour*. The visuals, postures, tactility and sound indicated in the text formed a mise-en-scène (i.e. the placing on stage) for the film.

As the film starts, two naked shoulders fade in. What we **see** are just two shoulders, the upper bodies, embracing. You can say their lower bodies are buried in aches, rain, dew or water. It is up to how you **feel** about it. What is important is that we have the feeling: when the dew or sweat evaporates and disappears, it looks like the precipitation process of mushroom clouds after an atomic explosion.¹⁷

Chiu insisted on publishing full scripts on the magazine. What he was trying to do may not have been compensating the absent images with the text. He was seeking for the form of scripts, a film of text. In 2005, Law Kar (羅卡) interviewed Chiu in Beijing. He had always gazed somewhere afar when talking about his jobs at *Theater* and Shaw Brothers Studio (邵氏). However, when Law asked him how he obtained the satisfaction from creating, Chiu’s eyes lighted up immediately. He said: “I have a faith that a script may be an independent existence if it is good enough. It could be something that people can appreciate just like novels and plays.” He also noted that film scripts are different from novels. There are images in films. For example, *Last Year at Marienbad* (去年在馬倫巴) is about the external action. The script cannot be revolving around the stream of consciousness. It is the limitation and feature of a script to create their visual images. If the mise-en-scène, atmosphere and images are all well-presented, it is a good script.¹⁸ Therefore, Chiu had been studying Duras’s *Twenty Four Hour Affair* and *Last Year at Marienbad*. He spent a long time creating

16. Other subjects include Huang Chien-Yeh (黃建業) on the magazine *Influence* (影響), Lin Rui (林銳) on *Cinema Newsletter* (電影通訊), Wang on the era of preview rooms for films, Jiang Xun (蔣勳) on *Lion Art* (雄獅美術) and Peggy Chiao (焦雄屏) on *Film Square* (電影廣場). See Wang, Moli (王墨林). “Intellectuals and Films” (知識份子與電影). *Dadi Shenhua Journal* (大地生活). Vol. 6 (Apr 1982), pp.43-51.

17. Duras, Marguerite. “Hiroshima mon amour.” trans. Cui Delin (崔德林). *Theater* (劇場). Vol. 1. 1 Jan 1965. p.108.

18. Kar, Law (羅卡). “Oral History: The Second Interview with Chiu Kang-Chien (口述歷史訪問：邱剛健二訪), Hong Kong Film Archive, 15 Dec. 2015. See Law, Kar (羅卡), Yisi Qiao (喬亦思) & Qin Liu (劉銀助). *Beauty and Madness: Kang Chien Chiu’s Theater, Poetry and Films* (美與狂：邱剛健的戲劇、詩、電影). Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 2014.

the visual scene and atmosphere through detailed texts. He even realized a play on paper before the director did. Chiu then read Lee Pik-Wah's (李碧華) novel *Rouge* (胭脂扣) and its script, which had been revised for several times without any pleasing result. He revised all the details that should be visualized with text thoroughly.¹⁹ For example, he found Anita Mui's (梅艷芳) walking posture charming. He then arranged many specific moves in the script and eventually finalized the script.

Besides translation, *Theater* also published film and drama scripts created by its members.²⁰ These scripts were written in different forms. Huang's *Golden Teeth* (金牙) was more similar to a novel. He noted that "every short novel is born to be a film script."²¹ Other scripts, such as Chu's *An Afternoon Nap* (午覺), were more like poems. Based on script creations, the members in *Theater* attempted to take further action and seek for the possibility of shooting experimental films and holding screenings.

III.

The ability of appreciation can never be the ability of creation. When you tell people how great Akira Kurosawa was, it is like when you point at the sun and tell people how hot it is. However, you are not the sun. You should not stand underneath it and sweat yourself out. The only thing you can do is grab your bow and arrows and shoot the nine suns down!²²

On February 18, 1966, the screening of *Theater* was held at Tien Educational Center (TEC). The presented films included Chiu's *Alienation*²³, Chuang's *Life Continued*, Huang's *Seeds* (原) and *Modern, Popularity, Sophistication, Wedding*. Chiu's and Huang's films display many experimental characteristics. Take *Alienation* for example.²⁴ It presents a scene where a young man sees a worker push a trolley up a hill at a construction site. He wants to help but there is nothing he can do. He returns home. He sees the sun through the glass and starts masturbating and mumbling the word "god."²⁵ *Modern, Popularity, Sophistication, Wedding* includes many black and white scenes with no narrations. It presents a close shot where someone is wiping the glasses and pounding on the words "Modern, Popularity." Sometimes the title of the film will appear on the black and white background.²⁶ Chien Chih-Hsin (簡志信) described these "minor films" that confuse the audience. However, Chuang believed they are the revolution of filming

19. During the interview, Chiu mentioned that some people questioned the plots he revised were not different from the original script. However, he constantly addressed that it was the details that he revised to transfer texts into actual images.

20. The second issue presents Li Zhi-Shan (李至善) and Chuang's *Wasteland: A Creation for A Modern Artist* (荒：為一個現代畫家而作), Li's *Sand, River and the Children* (沙、河、孩子們), Guo Zhong-Xing's (郭中興) *The Mountain* (上山) and *Butterflies* (蝴蝶), Chu Bong-Foo's (朱邦復) *The Marks of Sculptures* (雕塑的痕跡), Shang Qin's (商禽) *Door or the Sky* (門或者天空), Chiu's *An Afternoon Nap*, Huang's *The Prophet*. The third issue includes Guo Jun's (郭君) *Where Are My Shoes?* (我的鞋呢), Chang's *Only the Burning Sun Is Immortal* (為烈日不朽), Huang's *Modern, Popularity, Sophistication, Wedding* (現代の知性の花嫁の人氣の).

21. Yinongnuijun (伊農奴君). "Golden Teeth" (金牙). *Theater* (劇場) Vol. 3, Jul 1965, p.337.

22. Huangcheng (皇城). "Some Cliche Vulgar Words" (一些老掉了牙的髒話). *Theater* (劇場) Vol. 2, 1 Apr 1965, p.117.

23. Due to the masturbation scene in *Alienation*, Fred Foley (傅良甫) refused to screen it at TEC. It was played at the China Youth Corps at a later date.

24. According to the director's note, *Alienation* also includes a scene where the young man looks at a caterpillar at the bathroom. He mumbles: "Looks at you! You are my god!" After a while, he crushes the caterpillar with his fingers. Also, there is a scene where the young man is hit by a car and sent flying to the electricity pole for three times when he leaves the construction site and walks towards Songjiang Road. Chiu, Kang Chien (邱剛健). "Alienated Footnotes" (疏離的註腳). *Theater* (劇場) Vol. 5, Apr 1966, pp.167-175.

25. "I wanted to present the feeling of being immobilized when people are isolated from the society through the term 'lienation.'" Xu, Shuoshun (許碩舜) "Alienation: Kang Chien Chiu's Words on the Theater Group and its Short Films" (疏離：邱剛健談『劇場』時代及短片). *Film Appreciation Journal* (電影欣賞). Vol 72, Nov and Dec 1994, pp.65.

26. Huang, Hua-Cheng (黃華成). "Modern, Popularity, Sophistication, Wedding" (現代の知性の花嫁の人氣). *Theater* (劇場) Vol. 5, Apr 1966, pp.189-190.

technology.²⁷ Chuang's *Life Continued* is about the daily life of his pregnant wife, Chen Hsia-Sheng (陳夏生). It is almost like a home movie that presents Chen's everyday life where she gets up at a house near Waishuangxi, goes to work by bus, buys grocery at the market, and returns home after a long day. The film authentically records life. *Life Continued*, as Chuang mentioned, is an "absolutely authentic" film that opposes tools, lighting and techniques.²⁸

Judging from the first screening, the first films of modernism *Theater* created are not just experiments in form. Chiu's seemingly random yet provocative expression was also an attempt of cinema verite. He said: "By making Kao Hsin-Yung (高辛甬) naked, I subconsciously compromised to the authorities. Offensive jokes are exactly what I aimed for. That is, I compromise to the authorities with these offensive jokes."²⁹ The documentary language of films was never absent in *Theater*. The second issue includes Chen's "Recording Techniques and Authenticity" (記錄方式與真實性)³⁰ and introduces many works and concepts by some pioneers of documentary films. For example, Jean Rouch and sociologist Edgar Morin shot *Chronicle of a Summer* (一個夏天的紀錄) with a 16mm camera and synchronous-sound technology. They then defined the term "cinema verite." *Theater* also published Chuang's and Chen's translation of Lindsay Anderson's and Tony Richardson's works since they were important free cinema directors in the U.K. The free cinema movement of the mid-1950s aimed to protest the hierarchical representation in most of the British films and encourage photographers to document the authentic lives of the citizens and express their subjective personal opinions. In his review, Chen praised Anderson's authentic captures on the depression or loneliness of the north-England as a documentary director.³¹ Chuang focused on the ironic "opposition factor" in the content and the new modern spirit of Angry Young Man that go against the tradition.³² By writing reviews, Chen and Chuang aimed to discuss the possibilities of whether films can be used for form experiments or reality reflection. The screening in 1966 can be seen as a review of these possibilities. It is worth knowing that the film stills, storyboards, reviews and director's notes of the featured films at the screenings were published in the fifth issue of *Theater*. This issue not only recorded these screenings but also created significant after-effects.

The fourth issue of *Theater* published the stills and reviews of *Waiting for Godot* and *The Prophet*, as well as the staff's debate over the introduction of literature of modernism. The issue had struck a chord. Therefore, the fifth issue authentically presents the actual incidents and debates from the perspectives of both sides. Chen's translation "Nobody Dies: Shades of Patriotism in the Hollywood War and Anti-War film" (沒有死屍的戰場：好萊塢戰爭電影中的愛國主義底真相) was torn down before this issue was published due to its anti-war implication.³³ Liu Da-Zen (劉大任), Chen and Hsu Nan-Tsun (許南村) were also removed from the editor list of this issue. Around the publication date of the fourth issue, Kam Ping-Hing (金炳興) and Law from Hong Kong joined *Theater*. It was also when the *Theater* staff worked closely with the

27. Chuang, Ling (莊靈). "The Birth of *Life Continued*" (「延」的誕生). *Theater* (劇場) Vol. 5, Apr 1966, pp.167-175.

28. Ibid.

29. Chuang noted that Chen, who joined *Theater* in 1965, used to play *The March* by James Blue he borrowed from the American Cultural Center at Chiu's newlywed house. Although Chuang did not quite understand the notion of cinema verite promoted by Chen, he may still have been influenced by the documentary language of *The March*. See Note 27.

30. Chen, Yao-Chi (陳耀圻). "How to make Documentaries and Their Authenticity" (紀錄方式與真實性). *Theater* (劇場) Vol. 3, Jul 1965, pp. 183-196.

31. Hsu, Nan-Tsun (許南村). "This Sporting Life" (超級的男性). *Theater* (劇場) Vol. 1, 1 Jan 1965, pp.80.

32. Chuang, Ling (莊靈). "Tom Jones by Tony Richardson" (湯姆瓊斯李察遜). *Theater* (劇場) Vol. 1, Jan 1965, pp.82-84.

33. Chiu also discussed the article removal in the fifth issue of *Theater*. "Chen translated an anti-war article. Huang was a very sensitive person and believed it might cause us some troubles. We had an internal review and decided to remove that article. I had to go to the KMT Propaganda Office to explain to the officials..." Xu, Shuoshun (許碩舜). "Alienation: Kang Chien Chiu's Words on the Theater Group and its Short Films" (疏離：邱剛健談『劇場』時代及短片). *Film Appreciation Journal* (電影欣賞). Vol 72, Nov and Dec 1994, pp.65.

intellectuals in Hong Kong. Besides their translation exchanges, they cooperated in some experimental films (e.g. Kam participated in the making of Huang's *Experiment 002*). The fifth issue was an important turning point. The issues after it included fewer script creations and added in the scene introduction of the experimental films by Hong Kong contributors. For example, Law translated "American Underground Movies" (美國地下電影).³⁴ In the same issue, Li Xiang's (李襄) "Avant-Garde Films in Japan" (日本前衛電影) was reprinted from *United Daily News*. Li's article introduces the experimental film screening held in Shinjuku in 1964, as well as featured artists such as Nobuhiko Obayashi, Yōichi Takahashi, Takahiko Iimura and Donald Richie. Their films were awarded at the Brussels International Experimental Film Festival, including *Sand*, *House*, *The People Who Have Eaten*, *Onan*, *Wargames* and *Japanese Patterns*.³⁵

After Liu and Chen left *Theater*, they were invited to be the editors for the first issue of *Literature Quarterly* in 1966. Chen just finished shooting *Liu Pi-Chia* (劉必稼) and *The Mountain* as his graduation productions for the master program in UCLA. A group of friends from *Literary Season Monthly* (文季) held a grand cinema verite screening for Chen in October 1967 and invited Yao Yi-Wei (姚一葦) and Yu Ta-Kang (俞大綱) to be the hosts.³⁶ *The Mountain* interviews three students of the National College of Arts, namely Huang, Huang Gui-Rong (黃貴蓉) and Mou Tun-Fei (牟敦芾) and asked about their lives and habits. The film also included the documentary videos of them hiking on Wuzhishan. Chen, the main interviewer, also attempted to ask them about some sensitive issues about the Vietnam war in order to observe their responses. *Liu Pi-Chia* is about a Hunan veteran Liu Pi-Chia. He followed the Nationalist government to Taiwan in 1952 and was then recruited as a worker that reclaimed land and built dams in Fengtien, Hualien. Through the witty interviews and clever editing, the film is judgmental without bringing up any criticism.³⁷ Huang compared this screening with the other two screening of *Theater*. He mentioned he was warned by the films that *Theater* was obsessed with. He was also attracted by the authentic language in Chen's films. By doing so, he expressed his sorrow seeing the scarce of authentic works in literature and aimed to reconnect the relations between literature and society.³⁸ In the same year, *Theater* held the second screening at the Armed Forces Cultural Center and played Huang's *Experiment 002*, Cheung Suk-Fong's (張淑芳) *Joy of Life* (生之美妙), Chuang's *My Newborn Baby* (赤子), Cheung Kuo-Hsiung's (張國雄) *Untitled*, Hsu Jun-Yi's (許俊逸) *A Dream in the Afternoon* (下午的夢) and Chang's *Diary* (日記).³⁹ This was their last public

34. Law introduces Andy Warhol's *Blowjob* (1964) in the sixth issue of *Theater*. In the seventh and eighth issues, he translated "The 8mm Situation" (八釐米狀況). In the ninth issue, he published "The Success of Underground Cinema" (地下電影出人頭地記). It is obvious that he mainly focused on the introduction of experimental films.

35. The triumph at the Brussels International Experimental Film Festival stimulated Japan's experimental films to expand further. The history was recorded in "Underground Cinema and the Art Theatre Guild" written by Hirasawa Go and translated by Au in this collection.

36. Wei, Tian-Cong (尉天聰). "The Days I Spent with Yao Yi-Wei (和姚一葦先生在一起的那段日子)." *A Light Carrier in Dark Nights* (暗夜中的掌燈者). Nov 1998. Taipei: Bookman Books, p.18.

37. Chang Shih-Lun's (張世倫) "Liu Pi-Chia, A Modernity Pioneer of Documentaries" (做為紀錄片現代性前行孤星的《劉必稼》) provides an in-depth analysis on the political indication and presentation of the personal life of existentialism. http://www.funscreen.com.tw/headline.asp?H_No=615 (Retrieved Nov 20, 2017)

38. Huang, Chung-Ming (黃春明). "Reflections on Chen Yao-chi's Works" (看陳耀圻的作品有感). *Youth Literary* (幼獅文藝). Vol. 165. Dec 1967, pp.108-110.

39. According to Chuang's report, *A Dream in the Afternoon* by the students of the National College of Art was the most similar to a drama film. The art design of *Untitled* by Chang was a modern film that consists of many elements. Chang's *Joy of Life* zooms in on the face of a sit-in person. The person crushes sugar cubes and put them into his coffee. He then gets a cigarette and lights the lighter up. In the end, he lights up the cigarette and starts smoking. Chang's *Diary* presents a montage of short clips, including a hammer knocking on Dean's portrait, workers knocking on the rocks, the overlook shot where a man steps back and forth, the man disappears after he jumps across the short wall. Long Sih-Liang's (龍思良) *Getting Ready for the Festival* (過節) presents the stage and back stage of Taiwanese opera with telephoto lens, including scenes of men having a haircut, ladies getting dressed and killing chickens. In *Experiment 002*, Huang invited Chang to be the cameraman and Kam the leading character. Kam was asked to wear a thong and walked on the grassland and the hill of Waishuangxi. The lens was covered by a round paperboard. There were six screens at the screening. The projector was fixed on an upside-down helmet. Huang controlled the projector and made the image move on the wall of the hall. Chuang, Ling (莊靈). "The Second Screening of the Theater Group" (劇場第二次電影發表會). *Youth Literary* (幼獅文藝). Vol. 165. Dec 1967, pp.64-67.

event. After the last issue of *Theater* was published on January 15, 1968, they were parted.

IV.

We could say there were two major attempts of films during the *Theater* period, namely the avant-garde experiment and documentary language. They were inherited from the first attempt of experimental films in Hong Kong after 1966 and implemented in Chen's *The Mountain* and *Liu Pi-Chia*. Chen was held in custody for a month due to the Alliance for Taiwanese Democracy in 1968. As a result, the development of the documentary language in films was suppressed.⁴⁰ The first experimental film movement of Hong Kong was introduced to Taiwan when Chiu worked at Shaw Brothers Studio and many articles of *Theater* were written based on the resources in Hong Kong. For example, Law and Kam are both translators for *Theater*. Law was also an editor and Kam was one of the main writers at *The Chinese Student Weekly* (中國學生周報).

The fund of *The Chinese Student Weekly* mostly came from the Asia Foundation founded by the Central Intelligence Agency of the U.S. It was established in 1952.⁴¹ As the U.S. attempted to suppress China's military forces, politics, ideology and economy, *The Chinese Student Weekly* tried to connect the Chinese youngsters in Hong Kong and abroad via cultural promotion. The overseas schools for the Chinese, church schools and official schools all helped establish young people's idea of humanism and liberalism.⁴² According to Law's observations, *The Chinese Student Weekly* attempted to cultivate the younger generation about liberalism and modernism with the ideas and cultures of Chinese literati in the 1950s. In the 1960s, it fully embraced the western thoughts on films.⁴³ In 1960, a new column titled Moviedom (電影圈) was added to *The Chinese Student Weekly*. The review column on films gradually gained its influence with the establishment of the Hong Kong City Hall by the British Hong Kong government and the regular screening of western films at Studio One, which was established by the Hong Kong Motion Picture Industry Association in 1962.⁴⁴ Under this influence, college students, such as Wong Wai-Bor (黃維波), held a film review panel at the College Life Club (大學生活社) in 1966. The film review panel established the College Life Film Association (大學生活電影會, CLFA) in 1967. Writers such as Law, Kam and Joe Chan (陳任) all served as the commissioners at the executive committee. Also, Xi Xi (西西), Lu Li (陸離) and Wu Hao (吳昊) were active members of the association.

Before the CLFA, there had already been a few experimental videos, but they were never organized or played in public.⁴⁵ *The Chinese Student Weekly* and the College Life Club only held screenings and review meeting of films. For Law, the stills and scripts of experimental films published in the fifth issue of *Theater* had a great impact on his imagination of experimental films. To a certain degree, it stimulated the creation and organization of the experimental film creations in Hong Kong. "This (the first screening of *Theater*) was

40. When Huang was shooting *The Mountain*, he was also a shooting assistant for *Liu Pi-Chia*. He even worked for CMPC with Chen as an art assistant. The training developed Huang's ability of relics and field research and inspired his interest in traditional crafts. Lan, Tsu-Wei (藍祖蔚) & Yuan-Ting Yang (楊媛婷). "Heritage of a Half Century: Huang Yung-sung's 'the-empty-becomes-full' Lifestyle" (天工「傳」物半世紀-黃永松「溇則盈」的生活). <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/culture/paper/1149136> (Retrieved 23 Nov, 2017)

41. Zhao, Xifang (趙稀方). "Novels about Hong Kong Refugees in the 1950s" (五十年代香港難民小說), *Wandering and Belonging: Post-war Literature in Hong Kong and Taiwan* (流離與歸屬：二戰後港臺文學與其他). Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, p.75.

42. Luo, Ka (羅卡). "The Chinese Student Weekly in the Cold War (冷戰時代的《中國學生周報》)". <http://www.hkmemory.org/jameswong/wjs/web/upload/book/5625rokerchinesestudentweekly-e.pdf>

43. Ibid.

44. Chiu, Hiu Tung (趙曉彤). *Study on Cinematic Writings of Xi Xi in the 1960s* (西西一九六〇年代影話寫作研究). Dissertation of Department Chinese Language and Literature, CUHK. 20 Aug 2013, pp. 17-18.

45. Wu, Hao (伍浩). "The First Attempt of Experimental Movies (1967-1971)" (實驗電影的第一潮(1967-1971)). Brochure of the 1975 Experimental Film Festival (實驗電影展75). Mar 4-6, 1975.

a provocative action to the young filmmakers in Hong Kong. In 1966, there had been more and more non-amateur filmmakers in Hong Kong. The situation was a response to the provocative action.”⁴⁶ As a result, the CLFA also included a screening team and a shooting team other than their research and discussion of experimental films. There were three screenings held by the CLFA. In the fall of 1967, the first unofficial screening of experimental films was held and included Ho Fan’s (何藩) *Big City Little Man* (大都市小人物), *Approaching Shadow* (離), Zhou Zong-Lian’s (周宗濂) *Hong Kong Brands and Products Expo* (工展會) and Law’s *An Accident* (意外). Writers such as Kam, Lu, Xi Xi, Tan Nai-Sun (譚乃孫) and Chiu were all invited. Ho’s avant-garde films *Big City Little Man* and *Approaching Shadow*, which he shot during his free time with the borrowed equipment as he was a set coordinator at Shaw Brothers Studio. The other works are mostly short drama videos. The CLFA held its second screening for its members in February 1968.⁴⁷ In March 1969, the first Amateur Films Exhibition (業餘電影展) was held.⁴⁸ It is worth knowing that Huang originally planned to screen two films of his at the exhibition, namely *Joy of Life* and *Hong Kong Commercial Compilation*. Huang noted that he played *Hong Kong Commercial Compilation* at the Hong Kong City Hall because that was the only work he brought to Hong Kong at that time. The audience all showed their appreciation for the film and it made him particularly touched.⁴⁹ However, the film could not be played due to copyright issues. This commercial film was also not adopted by Shaw Brothers Studio due to its peculiar shooting techniques and content.⁵⁰

In the film list of the first Amateur Films Exhibition, I would like to discuss Law’s *Rout Line* (全線, 1969), for it is subtly related to *Theater*. *Rout Line* starts with the scene where the cameraman is getting into a limo. As the car drives all the way across Hong Kong, the cameraman shoots the street view along the way. It is a 10-minute experimental film. The audience could not see the direction of the car. The car sometimes moves forward and sometimes backward. It drives through Mong Kok, Sham Shui Po, the theater area, residential area and commercial buildings. The era is captured at the speeding moment, including ladies in fashionable dresses, drivers and passengers. In the end, the car stops by a two-story house in Dorset Crescent, Kowloon Tong. The camera then moves to the sign that writes The Chinese Student Weekly and Chuangjian Experimental Academy (創建實驗學院). Chuangjian Experimental Academy was established by a group of intellectuals that advocated liberalism in 1969, including Pao Cho-Shek (包錯石), who just finished his study in the U.S., Director of *The Chinese Student Weekly* Lam Yut-Hang (林悅恆), Chief Editor of *The Chinese Student Weekly* Law, writer Hu Ju-Ren (胡菊人) and writer Dai Tian (戴天). The founders also included editors of *College Life* and *Pangu* (盤古), such as Zhang Wen-Xiang (張文祥), Wong, Gu Cang-Wu (古蒼梧) and so on. The location of the academy was a property of Union Press. They advocated free college and only charged low tuition fees. There were art, literature and philosophy courses at the academy. The academy had become an important place for the CLFA events. The intellectuals’ modern and left-wing thoughts, including their relations and shifts, could be observed

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46. Luo, Ka (羅卡). “Independent Short Films in Early Hong Kong (早期的香港獨立短片). *i-GENERATIONs: Independent, Experimental and Alternative Creations from the 60s to Now* (自主世代：六十年代至今自主、實驗、另類創作). Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2001, pp.20-21.

47. Featured films included Chen Kun-Yang’s (陳坤揚) *The Trapped Beast* (困獸), Lin Nian-Tong’s (林年同) *Full House* (滿座) and *About Three Things* (關於三件事), Ho’s *Travel* (遊), Zhao De-Ke’s (趙德克) *Experiment No. 1* (實驗一號), Lo King-Man’s (盧景文) *Shot Practices* (鏡頭練習) and *Bizarre Things at School* (學堂怪事), Law’s *Shadows* (陰影) and Doming Lam’s (林樂培) *A Practical Film* (實用電影). *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. See Note 4.

50. On 7 October 2017, Law mentioned it during the presentation of his study “Emergence and Interaction of New Forces in Hong Kong and Taiwan Film Culture: The 1960s-1970s” (港臺電影文化新生力量的發源與互動—六十至七十年代) at the International Conference on the Film Histories of Taiwan and Asia Cinemas.

here.⁵¹ As a result, the experimental academy had become the space for the intellectual gatherings. After a long, meaningful gaze, the cameraman gets off. The shot shifts to the driver who is rolling up the window. The Amateur Films Exhibition flyer which was designed by Huang based on Chang's modern photographic work, fades in on the window in the end. *Rout Line* is like a visual invitation to a film gathering. It leads the audience to the gathering through the driving process. It was obviously designed for those who shared the same habit. Chuangjian Experimental Academy was also like a reactor where the intellectuals reflected their thoughts and connected to society with education and publications. According to Law, *Rout Line* attempts to present a young man's subjective view towards life after the Hong Kong 1967 leftist riots. Only one point of view was focused in the film. He had no autonomy. It indicated the situation of Hong Kong, where it can only move towards one direction. However, the last shot stops at the flyer of a self-sponsored screening. It symbolizes an exit and a place for the autonomic development.⁵² Interestingly, the exit recognizes the personnel and visual imagination of *Theater*, which had ceased publication by then. It formed certain visual and intellectual interactions and some cross-border communities (the border of opposition resulted from the Cold War).

This article attempts to discuss the experimental films initiated during the *Theater* period. It also discusses the interactions and shifts of the first experimental films in Hong Kong and Taiwan. The events and community organized by the people may be a source for us to explore this huge gap in history. To a certain degree, the interactions of experimental images in Hong Kong and Taiwan in the 1960s were developed in parallel with the promotion of modernity and liberalism under the political structure during the Cold War. It was different from the explosion effect on experimental images resulted from the Cultural Revolution in 1966. For example, situationist and sinologist René Vienet also created experimental images. He was evicted and exiled to Hong Kong due to his criticism of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. In the end, he settled in Taiwan.⁵³ The Cold War politics and ideology structure also form a flowing space for experimental films with modernity. *Theater* provided a space for film experiments to develop. These connections in Taiwan also integrated with Hong Kong's first attempt at experimental films. Unfortunately, the development of experimental films had been suppressed for a period of time after the ceased publication of *Theater*. It was not until the establishment of the Golden Harvest Award (金穗獎) in 1978 that the production of experimental films was again promoted and organized. On the other hand, *Theater* has created a continuous after-effect. For example, *Influence*, which was founded in 1971, succeeded *Theater's* mission of cinema innovations. Wang Mo-Ling was under a great influence of *Theater*. He started writing reviews and scripts for magazines such as *Morning Light* (晨光) and *Modern* (現代) since he was 18.⁵⁴ Wang Fei-Lin (王菲林) believed that *Theater* had evoked the development of the closed film industry.⁵⁵ Therefore, he paid tribute to *Theater* in the first issue of the republished *Influence*, which was funded by the Solar System (太陽系) in 1989. It is obvious that *Theater* was an important conjunction for connecting the modern cultural fields. (Translated by WANG, Shang-Hao)

51. Tu, Chia Chi (杜家祁). "Moderism, Eclaircissement and National Identity: The Poets and Poetic Style of the Creative Poetic Academy Workshop in 60s Hong Kong (現代主義、明朗化與國族認同：香港六十年代末「創建學院詩作坊」之詩人與詩風)." <http://www.huayuqiao.org/LLM/LLM-1819/LLM181907.htm> (Retrieved Dec 3, 2017)

52. Chou, Yu-Ling (周郁齡), Interview of Law Kar, October 13, 2017, Sham Shui Po, Hong Kong.

53. As Vienet arrived in Hong Kong, he kept translating publications that criticize the Cultural Revolution. He also created experimental images, such as *Can Dialectics Break Bricks* (1972). In 1972, the Cultural Revolution had come to an end. In the same year, Vienet released an experimental film to criticize the Cultural Revolution. The film is titled *One More Effort, Chinaman, if you want to be revolutionaries!*

54. Wang, Moli (王墨林). "Words from the Author" (作者序). *Chinese Movies and Drama* (中國的電影與戲劇). Taipei: Lianya Publishing House, 1981.

55. Wang, Feilin (王菲林). "Unreality of and Reflections on the Auteur Theory" (作者論的虛妄與反省). *An Unfinished Song about His Movie Dream: Memorial Special for Wang Feilin* (一曲未完成電影夢：王菲林紀念文集). Taipei: Kening Publishing House, 1993, p.131.

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