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Early Film Culture in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Republican China

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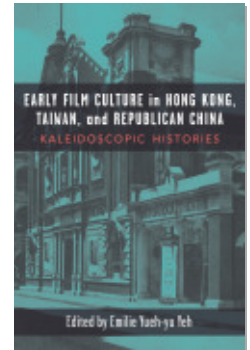
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CHAPTER 10

Forming the Movie Field

Film Literati in Republican China

Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh and Enoch Yee-lok Tam

REVISIONIST HISTORIOGRAPHY AND “FILM LITERATI”

Chinese film historiography of Maoist China, by design, writes off motion pictures, filmmakers, publications, and organizations that were not viewed as offering good support to the founding of the People's Republic.¹ Likewise, the account told by the other side, that of the Republic of China, also excluded instances and figures that failed to support the Kuomintang (KMT), the Nationalist Party. Political historiography is hence limiting because of its need to follow a linear, teleological narrative that precludes ambiguity, contradictions, and betrayals. These politicized linear, teleological principles have dictated the writing of Chinese film history and, to some extent, Chinese diaspora film historiography. As a result, the past of Chinese-language, or Sinophone cinema, is fraught with glaring omissions, deliberate exclusions, and discrimination.

As one of the authors of this chapter has written previously, this orientation has resulted in a grim memory loss in Chinese film history.² The systematic discrimination against the so-called Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies Literature (hereafter Butterfly) writers and their film activities is one of the worst instances. In the first two decades of the Republican period, most popular films were adaptations from Butterfly bestsellers, including *Hei ji yuanhun* (*Wretched Spirit*, dir. Zhang Shichuan, 1916), written by Wu Jianren, and *Yu li hun* (*Jade Pear Spirit*, dir. Zhang Shichuan, 1924), by Xu Zhenya. Some of the major filmmakers of the 1920s also came from the

Butterfly school. But for a long period of time apathy toward these works and writers was so complete that their names and works were banned from the history of Chinese cinema. Inevitably the exclusion of the Butterfly filmmakers obscured early film history, leaving the documentation on cinema's development in the 1920s incomplete. Luckily this political historiography began to relax in the early 1980s, with the efforts of pioneering historians who illuminated the significance of Butterfly authors and their works, especially with respect to modernity, social reform, sexual politics, and the culture industry in the Republican era.³ Though varying in scope and perspective, these founding works set the stage for a line of critical historiography on modern Chinese literature: David Der-wei Wang, Chen Jianhua, Carlos Rojas, Eileen Chow, and Zhao Xiaoxuan have made substantial additions to the growing studies on Butterfly literature.⁴ These works corrected the notion that Butterfly literature was minor, frivolous, or negligible. Instead, they proposed that it played a pivotal role in making Republican literature a multifaceted, sometimes divergent, field of cultural production.

Similarly in the 1980s a gradual dissolve of the opposition between China and the West and subsequent political reform in the Asia Pacific region triggered relaxation of censorship. Amendments and corrections to the omissions and exclusions in film history were hence made one after another in remarkable works by historians and institutions from all over East Asia. To name just a few: the pioneering oral histories on Taiwanese dialect films published by the Taipei Film Archive in the 1990s;⁵ the Hong Kong International Film Festival catalogs published by the Hong Kong Urban Council in the 1990s;⁶ the exhibitions and their attendant curating publications edited by the team of researchers at the Hong Kong Film Archive;⁷ and many film historians working on the pre-PRC history in the Mainland, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and beyond.⁸ These diverse works not only filled blank pages in the history of cinema; they also altered our vision of the past.

The revisionist historiography has been in fashion for some time now. Central to our discussion is the relation between the Butterfly writers and the film industry in Republican Shanghai. Emerging in the late Qing, Butterfly literature flourished during the transition between two epochs—one feudal and the other republican. The incredible shift allowed Butterfly literature to be fully blended into dual temporalities and styles: conserving the classics while experimenting with emergent liberalism and technology. And it is in the latter where the Butterfly writers formed a close alliance with cinema, a burgeoning narrative and technological apparatus that would im-

pact ways of writing, thinking, and seeing in the new century. The Butterfly writers were among those who quickly grasped the opportunities provided by motion pictures to refashion an increasingly competitive leisure market. They used their professional network in journalism and translation to tap into the nascent film business, which needed source material for publicity and production. In the 1910s and 1920s, Butterfly writers were active in building the film culture by translating movie terms and subtitles and writing film and movie star reviews. It is safe to say that in the first decade of the Republic, Chinese cinema had the fingerprints of Butterfly literature all over it, and the rewriting of the Republican cinema will not be inclusive without acknowledging and examining these fingerprints.

According to the literary historians, over twenty writers were associated with Butterfly literature between 1900 and 1930.⁹ In Yeh's study, she identifies fourteen Butterfly writers who crossed over to the motion picture industry, as producer, scriptwriter, director, actor, publicist, or critic. Frequently they played more than one role at a time, and often they performed in multiple capacities.¹⁰ Among these, some were more active in building the new industry than others. Bao Tianxiao, Zhu Shouju, Zhou Shoujuan, Xu Zhuodai, Cheng Xiaoqing, Gu Mingdao, Yan Duhe, and Xu Bibo, for instance, were entrenched in the thriving film scene in the 1920s. Zhang Henshui and Wang Dungen were less invested, though their fingerprints on the screen were no less visible. Several of Zhang Henshui's works were high-profile screen adaptations,¹¹ while Wang Dungen wrote two filmscripts.¹²

Contributions by these Butterfly authors to the film industry, particularly works by Bao Tianxiao and Zhou Shoujuan, have been gradually unveiled.¹³ These discoveries are groundbreaking, calling for further, advanced studies of the interstices between literary and filmic practices. Following this path, we identify Bao Tianxiao, Zhu Shouju, Zhou Shoujuan, Xu Zhuodai, and Yan Duhe as film literati for their involvement with motion pictures, as critics, publishers, editors, scriptwriters, directors, producers, or translators of foreign film stories called "cine-fiction" (*yingxi xiaoshuo*). We argue that the early filmscape, and more specifically, the formation of the movie field in Republican China, may not be sufficiently delineated without taking stock of these people and their various works. By treating them as decisive players in early Chinese film industry, we hope to address their contributions in hybridizing letters and images and in allying screenplays and cine-fiction—in sum, the unique position of "film literati" in bridging the filmic and literary fields.

We introduce the term *film literati* (*dianying wenren*) to label this group of writers for the purpose of highlighting their versatility as players in both fields. “Literati” (*wenren*) is a loaded term in Chinese history. Literally it means the “learned” or “man of letters,” referring to social elites, the backbone of the civil service in imperial China. But a more common usage of “literati” in late Qing and early Republican period refers to literary professionals in general. They might or might not always “sell their writing” (*mai wen*) for a living, though most of them did. *Literati* by the turn of the twentieth century therefore has at least two connotations: a class identity as well as a vocational classification. With these two distinct identities, we coin the term *film literati* to foreground these writers’ movement from an elite precinct to a marketplace of popular culture, from a respectable field of letters and arts to a commercial sphere of visual splendor. Unlike the leading intellectuals of early Republican years (e.g., Lu Xun, Chen Duxiou, and Li Dazhao), who sought social change by means of grandiloquent rhetoric, film literati found their niche in the culture industry through ingenious applications of their writing techniques, including the two-way translation of turning foreign film stories into a new genre called “cine-fiction,” and adapting their own novels as screenplays. The new space in the culture industry allowed them to occupy a peculiar position in the intersection of the movie and literary fields by utilizing the cultural and social capital they possessed.

Film literati is a composite term to indicate writers who utilized their writing for the advancement of the emergent movie field, in criticism, scripts, story ideas, and publicity. Previous studies established Zhou Shoujuan’s track record as a film critic and Bao Tianxiao as a scriptwriter. They transported their transcultural expertise—through their translating practice—to structure the movie field, which was nonnative to begin with and required translating and rewriting for the local audience. In other words, the capital they offered to the formation of motion pictures as a new field was not merely technical know-how, but also epistemological. A parallel can also be drawn between the introduction of cinema to China and the overall ethos of Butterfly literature—a fascination with the foreign, yet an insistence on local identity, resulting in a noticeable drift between the so-called old and the new eras, the archaic and a contemporary sensibility. Here we find an uncanny resonance between early cinema and popular literature when they were engulfed by the new wave of capitalism in the early 1920s. Cinema and vernacular literature were both seen as viable forms to approach the contemporary and apprehend the modern, including practice in newly emerging

culture industries of publishing, publicity, and image-making. This appreciation mobilized ample crossover between the two constituencies, despite their seeming contrasts.

Film literati's intervention in the movie field resonated far beyond their conventional reputation. Their sway can hardly be measured according to a simple method of content analysis, that is, how many pieces of film work they wrote or produced, including their market share and economic value accumulated at the time. More than that, we argue that film literati were instrumental in setting the precepts of the cinema institution in the Republican era. They guided both industry novices and the new converts to standards of watching, receiving, evaluating, and making movies, based on their experience in reading and translating foreign literature. By these means film literati also intended to benchmark film's aesthetic and social value against prevailing norms of image production of the Other. They often used cinema to intervene in the existing conventions of visual representation of the foreign, be it people, customs, scenery, landscape, or objects. These interventions were crucial in structuring the movie field in its formative stage, by drawing its boundaries, mapping and regulating its sphere.

The phrase *movie field* is coined from Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "field" in cultural production.¹⁴ Bourdieu developed his social theory by means of three key terms: *habitus*, *field*, and *capital* in an attempt to reconceive the formation of a class society.¹⁵ To Bourdieu class division or class identity is created symbolically and culturally, rather than merely by social or economic terms. The process is often determined by the interplay between agent and the social structure, which takes place in the habitus, a socialized norm or tendency where people tend to think or act. For example a group of people are socialized through a set of dispositions within a socially determined environment. The habitus is not fixed and can change over time, depending on specific needs, circumstances, and contexts. In tandem with "habitus," Bourdieu introduced noneconomic dimensions to the analysis of the concept of "capital" in class structure. In addition to the notion of monetary or material resources, Bourdieu added that the idea of "capital" as cultural and symbolic resources. In the field of arts, education and culture particularly, cultural or symbolic capital is more significant in shaping the power relations, determining the classification of a class hierarchy. The notion of "fields" refers to an area, or a network where people express and reproduce their dispositions (habitus), to accumulate cultural capital, thereby establishing a recognized status.

Habitus, fields, and cultural, symbolic capital were proposed as new forms in understanding the complex formation of class and power, as fundamentals of social theory. Bourdieu was especially concerned with the diverse forms of “capital,” in which symbolic and cultural capital are as important as financial means in forming a class identity. Hence the power attached to a given class is never a simple process. Instead, it requires vectors of interaction with various forms of capital, within the operations of fields and habitus. With these notions in mind, power becomes a much more nuanced system of interplay and exchange of cultural, symbolic, and economic capital. Bourdieu leads us to rethink art, film, and literary production not as individual activities, but as fields of cultural production: “The field of production and circulation of symbolic goods is defined as the system of objective relations among different instances, functionally defined by their role in the division of labor of production, reproduction and diffusion of symbolic goods.”¹⁶

The world of the Butterfly authors can thus be described as a field where they produced (writing), reproduced (translation, adaptation), and disseminated (publishing, printing) their letters and thoughts. By putting their labor in these divisions, they formed a network of shared taste, interest, and information where they accumulated and displayed their cultural capital. Note that many of these writers were migrants from the provinces, and it was crucial for them to work as cognate agents of a field striving for capital and power. Producing literary goods was one option; making movies was possibly an even more profitable alternative.

We isolate Zhou Shoujuan as a case study to provide an illustration of film literati and their crossover movement. As an early film practitioner, Zhou’s role as a film critic has already been explored. For example, Chen Jianhua studied Zhou’s film review column entitled “Yingxi hua” (“On the Cinematograph”). Between June 20, 1919, and January 17, 1920 Zhou wrote over a dozen film articles for the literary page called “Ziyou tan” (“Talking Freely”) in *Shenbao*, where he introduced foreign films and treated these films as a means of enlightening his readers.¹⁷ *Shenbao* was a major Chinese-language newspaper in Shanghai known for its coverage of culture, leisure, literature, and mass media. One of its signature features was Zhou’s column, which attracted a wide readership, and hence Zhou’s interest in motion pictures had an extensive influence in shaping cinema’s reception by China’s urbanites. Precisely because of the immensity of Zhou’s contribution to early film culture, we argue that his other roles in film culture are in need of further elucidation, especially pertaining to our term *film literati*.

We delineate Zhou as a leading film literatus in fields of interlocking relations and exchanges by piecing together his practices as film critic (writing reviews in *Shenbao*, *Mingxing Special Issue*, *Shanghai Pictorial*, *Film Pictorial*, etc.), scriptwriter (writing scripts for films such as *Shuibuo yuanyang* [*An Ill-Fated Couple*, dir. Cheng Bugao, 1924], *Huan jin ji* [*Money Returned*, dir. Dan Duyu, 1926], *Ma Jiefu* [dir. Zhu Shouju, 1926], *Meiren guan* [*A Beauty's Seduction*, dir. Bu Wancang, 1928], etc.), and cine-fiction writer (rewriting movies as short stories). Tracing his multivalent activities in print media and film industry lets us see the dynamics between the movie and literary fields and put forward a new understanding of the early filmscape as an evolving, cross-disciplinary terrain. We will first discuss Bao Tianxiao, Zhu Shouju, Xu Zhuodai, and Yan Duhe. The last part of the chapter focuses on Zhou Shoujuan to corroborate the concept of film literati.

FILM MEETS BUTTERFLY LITERATURE: CROSSOVER BETWEEN THE MOVIE AND THE LITERARY FIELD

Bao Tianxiao (1876–1973)

Bao Tianxiao, originally named Bao Qingzhu, had varied professional experiences before he became involved in film. As literatus Bao was extremely prolific and versatile. His career crossed many different genres (romance, children literature, detective, science fiction) through a span of more than three decades, from around 1900 to the 1930s.¹⁸ In many ways Bao exemplified the “modern” literati, making a successful transition from the traditional type of scholar to a professional writer in the new century. Bao came from Suzhou, a river town outside Shanghai known for its literary and artistic ambience, including its traditional Chinese gardens and private *écoles*. For centuries, Suzhou was a hotbed producing literati proficient in poetry, calligraphy, painting, and music. When the national civil service examination system (*keju zhidu*) was abolished in 1905, literati residing in the provinces migrated en masse to metropolitan cities to find a new identity for themselves. Shanghai with its burgeoning publishing industry was where these skilled writers found a new professional environment, a new habitus of long-term prospects and sustainability.¹⁹

Bao, like most of his peers, worked primarily as an editor and translator of foreign literature. Between 1901 and 1919 he edited more than a dozen

magazines, for which he was also a contributing writer. Bao was particularly known for translated novels that featured children and education.²⁰ For example, the novel *Xin'er jiaoxue ji* (*The Schooling of Xin'er*) was a translation of *Heart: An Italian Schoolboy's Journal* (*Cuore*, Edmondo de Amicis) and won a prize from the Ministry of Education.²¹ His novel *Ku'er liulang ji* (*The Story of a Poor Vagrant Boy*) was also a translation based on Yuho Kikuchi's *A Child without Family* (a Japanese translation from Hector Malot's *Sans Famille*). This work was adapted by Zhang Shichuan and Zheng Zhengqiu into *Xiao pengyou* (*Little Friends*, 1925). Bao's own novel *Yi lu ma* (*A Thread of Hemp*) was adapted into *Guaming fuqi* (*The Couple in Name Only*, dir. Bu Wancang, 1927). Both pictures were produced by the Mingxing yingpian gongsi (Star Motion Picture Company). The popularity of his fictions, most of which were translated works, made him a sought-after literatus by the nascent film industry. Bao recalled his recruitment meeting with Star's production head, Zheng Zhengqiu:

Zhengqiu explained: "... We've read some of your short stories. You could simply write a story like those, or shorter. Then we can add additional materials, divide it into scenes, and expand it into a filmscript. What do you think?" ... Zhengqiu continued: "My colleagues suggested that you write a filmscript for us each month, and we will pay you one hundred yuan. We can sign a one-year contract first. No hurry about writing new filmscripts just yet. In the first place, you can rewrite your two novels, *Orchid of the Valley* and *Fallen Plum Blossoms*, and give us a synopsis for each. We will put them on the screen. You will agree, won't you?"²²

Bao took only seven days to write the synopses for *Kong'gu lan* (*Orchid of the Valley*, dir. Zhang Shichuan, 1925) and *Meihua luo* (*Fallen Plum Blossoms*, dir. Zheng Zhengqiu and Zhang Shichuan, 1927). The two films achieved a spectacular box-office success, especially *Orchid of the Valley*, proving market potential for literary adaptation. Bao then became Star's chief writer.²³ In addition, he wrote stories for other film companies. Between 1925 and 1927 eleven films (see table 10.1) credited his contributions, either as scriptwriter or translator of the handbill. Handbills were key promotional tools and allowed greater mobility of screen culture to wider circles, especially for foreign movies glossed for Chinese audiences.

Another important feature of Bao's film literati career, besides the various things he did for film companies, was cine-fiction. Bao produced a large

number of cine-fictions. Many of these works were literary versions of Star's productions, and, in fact, some of these films were adapted from Bao's own works (see table 10.1). As film literatus, Bao achieved a prolific career by recycling his own work in multiple platforms, characterized by a circuit of reproduction; that is, by rendering his original or translated works into screenplays on one part of the loop, and by rewriting his film adaptations or foreign film stories into cine-fiction, at the other end.

Zhu Shouju (1892–1966)

Zhu Shouju, a Shanghai native, was the most prolific Butterfly author-filmmaker. Under the pen name "Shanghai Dream Narrator" (*Haishang shuomengren*), he published his influential novel *Xiepu chao* (*Tides of Huangpu*), which was serialized in *Xin Shenbao* (*New Shenbao*) from 1916 to 1921.²⁴ *The Waves of the River Huangpu* was a type of pulp fiction derived from tabloid journalism prevalent in Shanghai beginning in the late Qing period. This genre boasted a candid depiction of all walks of life in Shanghai, with embellished details and sultry anecdotes. Zhu's novel presents a slice of the private lives of Shanghai celebrities (corrupt officials, reckless concubines, hapless opera performers, fickle revolutionaries, and dishonest dramatists) and their sexual indulgences. It was an instant hit. May Fourth critics attacked it for its sensationalism and cheap thrills. Eileen Chang, however, repeatedly referred to it as an influence on her work, claiming that it was the best "naturalist" novel in China.²⁵

Apart from being a pulp fiction writer, Zhu was an avid cinephile, and his path to directing seemed predetermined. With the funds from several investors, in 1920 he partnered with his cinematographer friend Dan Duyu to found the Shanghai yingxi gongsi (Shanghai Film Company).²⁶ The company's debut was the 1921 *Haishi* (*Swear and Oath*, dir. Dan Duyu). Zhu wrote his first screenplay, *Gujing chongbo ji* (*The Revival of an Old Well*), also directed by Dan, in 1923. A huge hit in Shanghai and overseas, *The Revival of an Old Well* was credited as the first feature film that inaugurated the *aiqing dianying* (tragic love) genre. From then on Zhu went full speed to expand his career from literatus to full-fledged filmmaker. He sold the copyright of *The Waves of the River Huangpu* to upgrade the company's infrastructure.²⁷ In 1924, Zhu headed the Shanghai yingxi yanjiu hui (Shanghai Film Study Society) and Baihe yingpian gongsi (Lilium Pictures) For Lilium, he directed two pictures, both of which were adaptations of Butterfly fiction.

Lilium shortly merged with Dazhonghua yingpian gongsi (Great China Film Company) into Dazhonghua baihe (Great China Lilium Pictures) and Zhu remained as chief director of the company, making a major contribution to its growth.

On the other side of the business, Zhu did not forgo his film literati practice. He cofounded a film magazine, *Dianying zhi* (*Film Magazine*), with Gu Kenfu and Cheng Bugao in 1925. Zhu edited the first nine issues, collaborating with other Butterfly writers to secure their footholds in the movie field. During the production of *Swear and Oath*, Zhou Shoujuan, chief editor of *Banyue* (*Biweekly*), provided much-needed publicity for the film's lead, Yin Mingzhu, in his magazine.²⁸ A symbiotic relation thus arose between the two fields, which not only accelerated the growth of the film industry, but also accumulated necessary cultural capital for those on both sides to utilize. During Zhu's tenure in Lilium and Great China Lilium, he claimed directing and writing credits for nearly twenty titles (see table 10.2). Zhu exited the film industry in 1935 briefly but returned in 1940, primarily as a scriptwriter.²⁹

For a long time Zhu's only surviving film was believed to be an incomplete print of *Ersun fu* (*Mother's Happiness*, 1926), housed in Beijing's Film Archive. This film was written by Zhu and directed by Shi Dongshan. In 2011 Japan's National Film Center recovered *Fengyu zhi ye* (*On a Stormy Night*, 1925), directed and written by Zhu Shouju. The print was found from the Kinugasa Teinosuke collection donated by his family after Kinugasa passed away in 2006. The print found in Tokyo comprises eight reels, only one reel short of the original length.³⁰ The surviving print of *On a Stormy Night*, though incomplete, gives us access to a film directed by a representative film literatus.

Xu Zhuodai (1881–1958)

Xu Zhuodai (Xu Fulin; Xu Banmei), commonly known as a humorist within the Butterfly school, directed, wrote, and starred in more than fifteen films. Xu wrote hundreds of satiric pieces and many film articles promoting artistic value (*wenyi*) in local film production. Xu studied physical education in Japan, though his interest was much broader. Before becoming a filmmaker and film critic, Xu was a dramatist, writing scripts for the westernized Chinese stage show called new drama (*xinju*). Xu's memoir indicates that he wrote more than thirty comedies and put them on stage daily over a month's

time. Xu later tried his hand at the comic novel.³¹ Xu's flexible, chameleonic adjustment prompted Butterfly historian Fan Yanqiao to describe his career in three distinct phases, after his three different names: "The first was the Xu Fulin phase, in which he was a physical educator and children's fiction writer; the second one was the Xu Banmei time, in which he was a scriptwriter for the new drama; the third phase was Xu Zhuodai, in which he was a novelist."³² Yet in most of the accounts of Xu Zhuodai, his contributions to the movie field are omitted, and so is his role as film literatus.

Xu's most remarkable contribution as a film literatus was his partly translated, partly edited *Yingxi xue* (*Studies on Photoplay*, 1924). This is one of the earliest film theory books in China, in which Xu discussed aspects of film genre, scriptwriting, directing, cinematography, performance, and editing. In addition, Xu's 1922 essay "The Art of Women Skeletons" ("Yishu shang de Hongfen kulou"), published in *Shenbao*, was one of the very first writings to advocate artistic value as a criterion in film criticism.³³ As film literati Xu advocated the precepts of *wenyi*—art and literary treatment—as guiding principles in Chinese filmmaking.³⁴

Like Zhu Shouju, Xu also made a quick crossover from writer to film director and producer. In 1925, he founded a small production house, Kaixin yingpian gongsi (Happy Film Company), with Wang Youyou. Contrary to Xu's film reviews that propagated *wenyi*, artistic aspirations, and literary merit, Xu seemed to have a relaxed attitude about film production. His production firm Happy Film focused on slapstick, comedies, special effects films, and supernatural films to surprise and amuse audiences.³⁵ Xu also edited the company's in-house magazine *Kaixin tekan* (*Happy Special Issue*). According to his partner Wang, the company's goal was to make fun movies, silly, even mindless, but fitting for average audiences.³⁶ Xu used his Japanese connection to bring in Japanese cinematographer Kawatani Shohei to shoot the first batch of shorts in 1925, *Yinshen yi* (*The Invisible Cloak*), *Linshi gongguan* (*Temporary Residence*), and *Aishen zhi feiliao* (*Cupid's Feed*).³⁷ Tricks (*qulike* or *tuolike*, transliterating the English term "trick") were always used in Happy Film's line of production as main attractions. For instance, *Shenxian bang* (*The Magic Club*, dir. Wang Youyou, 1926) applied tricks to send the actors to the moon. This reminds us of Georges Méliès's famous *A Trip to the Moon* (1902). Happy's mode of production was exceptionally flexible and circumstantial, according to Xu's remark on the company's "scavenger mode" (*shi xiangyan pigu zhuyi*), referring to its lack of resources.³⁸ Happy Film was closed in 1928. At the short-lived Happy Film Company Xu scripted and

directed twelve films (see table 10.3). In the end Xu considered Happy Film a failure because of the company's inability to produce feature-length films, which foreclosed its long-term prospects.³⁹ In the mid-1930s, Xu joined Yihua yingye gongsi (Yihua Film Company) as an actor and also wrote scripts for Star.

Yan Dube (1889–1968)

Originally named Yan Zhen, Yan Dube was best known as a newspaper editor. Yan edited the supplement *Kuaihuo lin* (*Happy Forest*, later renamed *Xin yuanlin* [*New Garden*]) of *Xinwenbao* for more than thirty years, beginning in 1914. In Shanghai *Xinwenbao* was comparable to *Shenbao*, while Yan's *Happy Forest* is compared with Zhou Shoujuan's *Talking Freely* as two leading supplements. The sobriquet *Yi juan yi he* ("Cuckoo and Crane") was coined after the first names of the two leading editors Zhou Shoujuan (*juan* for cuckoo) and Yan Dube (*he* for crane) at the time. Yan also translated *The Complete Works of Sherlock Holmes*. His editorship was so prominent that it was possible his film works were overshadowed.

Like many other film literati, Yan's entry to the movie field was through editorials. *Xinren tekan* (*Xinren Special Issue*), coedited with Zhou Shixun, for the film company Xinren is one of these editorial venues. More importantly, he contributed to *Zhongguo yingxi daguan* (*Grand View of Chinese Cinema*, 1927), along with Xu Zhuodai and others. The book is one of the earliest reference books on Chinese cinema, with complete entries on individual film companies, directors, actors, and film journals.

Although he never served as regular staff in Star, Yan Dube maintained a close relationship with the company. In 1926, Star announced a call for share subscriptions, and Yan drafted the subscription in the paper.⁴⁰ In addition, Yan served as script consultant for Star's first sound film, *Genü Hongmudan* (*The Songstress Red Peony*, dir. Zhang Shichuan, 1930).⁴¹ According to our survey, Yan was credited in fifteen films (see table 10.4) as scriptwriter, consultant, and publicist. Beyond any doubt, his most acclaimed film work was the adaptation of Zhang Henshui's *Tixiao yinyuan* (*Fate in Tears and Laughter*, dir. Zhang Shichuan, 1932) in six installments. Indeed, Huang Xuelei argues that Yan Dube "was not the only qualified candidate for these tasks. It was Yan's fame and stature that the Mingxing [Star] leadership regarded as crucially important."⁴² Here we see that the cultural capital Yan accumulated in the print media significantly eased his crossover to the movie field.

Scriptwriting was one of Yan's major commitments. He taught scriptwriting in Zhonghua dianying xuexiao (China Film School), a feeder school set up by a film company of the same name in 1924. Following this, with Butterfly colleagues Zhou Shoujuan, Pan Gongzhan, and Yao Sufeng, Yan formed Zhongguo dianying yishu yanjiuhui (Society of Chinese Film Art Studies). In 1932 he also took up the scriptwriting consultant role at the Tianyi Film Company. Yan's long-term engagement as film literatus would continue until the mid-1930s. For a detailed list of his scripts please see table 10.4.

In her studies on Hollywood, Janet Wasko emphasizes the film industry's reliance on literary source materials. According to her, nearly half of Hollywood's production in the studio era came from literature, Broadway theater, or other published materials.⁴³ Our survey of the number of films produced between the 1910s and 1920s also showed the close relationship between the movie field and the vernacular literature established since the late Qing period. The affinity between cinema and literature is demonstrated in the preceding discussion of the various roles the Butterfly writers took on; these roles typified many forms in which the film industry utilized literary resources and the conditions in which the Butterfly writers made themselves useful to the movie field.

Zhou Shoujuan (1895–1968) and Cine-Fiction

Zhou Shoujuan (Zhou Zufu) was considered the premium Butterfly writer⁴⁴ and a representative figure in the crossover between the literary and the film spheres. Zhou's literary career began in 1912 with the publication of his fiction *Ai zhi hua* (*Flower of Love*). His translation of *Oumei mingjia duanpian xiaoshuo congkan* (*Selected Short Stories by Famous European and American Writers*) won him recognition from Lu Xun.⁴⁵ Besides fiction and translation, Zhou was active in editing literary and film magazines, including *Ziluolan* (*The Violet*), *Libai liu* (*The Saturday*), *Dianying huabao* (*Film Pictorial*), *Shanghai huabao* (*Shanghai Pictorial*), and *Yinguang* (*Silver Light*). *The Violet* and *Libai liu* were considered premium outlets among major Butterfly periodicals. Like a typical Butterfly literatus, Zhou's professional identity was multilayered and his presence in the literary field ubiquitous. Among these activities, Zhou's most cited film achievement is the reviews he wrote for *Ziyou tan* (*Talking Freely*), the literary supplement of *Shenbao*. Between 1919 and 1920, Zhou published a total of

sixteen movie reviews, covering narrative, performance, direction, and set design. In many ways Zhou can be regarded one of the earliest cinephiles in China, along with Gu Kenfu and Lu Jie (Lok Key), publishers of *Yingxi zazhi* (*The Motion Picture Review*) in 1921. *The Motion Picture Review* is the earliest film publication that survived history.

As film literatus Zhou was not limited to theory and criticism, however. Like most other literati that crossed over to the movie field, Zhou was involved in production, writing scripts, and publicity. His debut as a scriptwriter took place in 1924, for *An Ill-Fated Couple*, directed by Cheng Bugao. Subsequently he wrote five additional scripts (see table 10.5). He also worked as a publicist for Great China Liliun and Star in the 1920s and for Tianyi in the 1930s.

Zhou was a pioneer in film criticism—the reviews on *Shenbao's Talking Freely* were ahead of their time in terms of scope and perspectives. They broke new ground, bringing in a new crop of film devotees. Hence Chen Jianhua suggested that Zhou introduced the film genre to the Chinese audience,⁴⁶ while Xue Feng argued that Zhou's film reviews enlightened his readers no less than did the May Fourth intellectuals.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, we consider Zhou's major undertaking as film literatus should be extended beyond those initial sixteen articles. We suggest taking into account his output in cine-fiction, the new literary genre created by film literati, to further assess Zhou's crossover career. Zhou was eager to transform his moviegoing routine to letters, keeping a record of the stories he watched on screen or read in foreign publications. This is the background from which Zhou produced his film reviews. Zhou wrote in a fashion of reportage, sharing with the readers his spectatorship, perhaps as a movie guide as well. Movies provided him with raw materials and inspiration.

Years before he published his movie articles in *Shenbao*, Zhou began writing cine-fiction, a journal or record of the movies he watched. From 1914 to 1922 Zhou published ten cine-fictions based on foreign films he had seen: *Waiting* (1911), Georges Monca's *Le Petit Chose* (1912), *How Heroes are Made* (dir. Enrico Guazzoni, 1912), Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi's *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1913), *War is Hell* (dir. Alfred Machin, 1914), *A Woman's Sacrifice* (dir. Tom Green, 1906), D. W. Griffith's *The Open Gate* (1909), *Purity* (dir. Rae Berger, 1916), *The Woman Thou Gavest Me* (dir. Hugh Ford, 1919), and *Trumpet Island* (dir. Tom Terriss, 1920).⁴⁸ For more details, see table 10.5. Most of these works were published in *Saturday*, a key Butterfly literary magazine with which Zhou was closely affiliated. The symbiosis

between cine-fiction and Butterfly outlets affirms the claim we made at the beginning of our chapter regarding the close connection between popular literature and cinema in the early Republican era. Throughout the teens and the early 1920s, Butterfly writers like Zhou and Bao Tianxiao penned cine-fiction. By the mid-1920s, cine-fiction had become a routine genre, having been institutionalized as a staple in film publications. This is clearly demonstrated in an exclusive cine-fiction section in the magazine *Dianying Yuebao* (*Film Monthly*). Stories published in this section featured both foreign and domestic sources, indicating the adaptable multiplicity of the genre, as publicity and literature East and West, or in between.⁴⁹

Zhou Shoujuan specialist Chen Jianhua argues that Zhou's oeuvre manifests the cultural production in the Republican era as a complex constitution of reception, translation, and rewriting.⁵⁰ We add that Zhou's multifaceted career mimics the interlocking network of letters and moving images, testifying to a symbiotic linkage of literature and film in Chinese film history. This was made possible by the constant interplay and exchanges of these two fields. As evidenced by Zhou Shoujuan's film reviews, especially his transmutation of screen stories into a new form of cine-fiction, the relationship between fiction and film, the two major sources of popular cultural consumption in Republican times, is proven to be much more intimate and intense than was previously imagined.

In 1925 Zhou published a short story, "Xiao changzhu" ("The Boy Heiress"), as a piece of cine-fiction based on a silent film of the same title, directed by Lu Jie and produced by Great China Liliun.⁵¹ The film was inspired by Mary Pickford's boy role in the American picture *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (dir. Alfred E. Green and Jack Pickford, 1921), also a literary adaptation from Frances Hodgson Burnett's novel of the same title published in 1886. A wealthy old man separates from his only son because he is disappointed with the son's marriage. Years goes by, and the old man is facing death without an heir. Unable to locate his son, the old master's staff finds the son's daughter as a surrogate. But a girl cannot be an heir, according to the custom. So she is made up as a boy to console the grandfather and to fend off relatives coveting her grandfather's wealth. When the girl's gender is disclosed, the succession plan becomes unfeasible. Just when the evil relatives are about to prevail, the girl's father suddenly returns to resume his place as heir.⁵² "The Boy Heiress" was the first cine-fiction based on a Chinese picture that Zhou had written; before this, Zhou only worked on foreign films he watched at the cinema. Lu's diary recorded that prior to "The Boy

Heiress," Zhou occasionally wrote handbills and publicity materials for the company and also used his name and influence to promote films released by Great China Liliun.⁵³ *The Boy Heiress* (dir. Lu Jie [Lok Key], 1925) would be the first Chinese picture in which Zhou was fully involved as a publicist. He edited *The Boy Heiress Special Issue*, which contains several important written records of the film: a synopsis, a full script and credits, the cine-fiction, publicity and production stills, and a couple of short pieces written on location shooting and preproduction.⁵⁴ As a film *The Boy Heiress* has been lost; and if not for Zhou's cine-fiction the film would remain buried in the abyss of historical wreckage.

Existing literature suggests Butterfly literature's inherent ambivalence toward modernity and its anxiety to overcome that uncertain state. Reading a few representative texts, including *Zhou Shoujuan shuoji xiace* (*Collected Fiction of Zhou Shoujuan*), volume 2, and the short stories collected in Fan Boqun's *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Selected Works of the "Saturday,"* including "Aiqing daili ren" ("Love Letters") written by Xu Zhuodai and "Zai jiaceng li" ("The Room Next to the Staircase") by Bao Tianxiao, we observe a consistent pattern.⁵⁵ The authors paused on conventional tropes of victimized women, children, and the poor to advocate a mild version of scientific rationality and liberalism. It appears that when Butterfly literati wrote cine-fiction, both the tropes and the underlined ideologies were sustained. *The Boy Heiress* unfolds with a familiar setting of traditional values under siege, resulting in family disintegration; eventually blood relations unlock the conflict and unite the family. Furthermore, the value under question is recuperated by the return of the wayward son. Clearly the film sides with the idea of individualism when it comes to marriage; nevertheless, when it faces the issue of inheritance, male lineage remains an unbending concept. The oxymoron of the film's English title—"a boy heiress"—is a decoy within the plot to pacify the grandfather and trick the relatives. But when the daughter's father—the true heir—returns, crises are dissipated, and order is resumed. Perhaps it is implied that the young daughter will eventually be accepted as the heiress of the family. But for the time being, only male members of the family have legitimacy to carry on the family tree. The film's ideological position on the issue of gender equality takes many steps backward.

The cine-fiction of "The Boy Heiress" is a by-product of the film. It is a publicity tool. Though it may be a true record of the film's narrative, it can hardly be mistaken as a copy of the film. And without seeing the film, we cannot truly have a credible examination of the relationship between cine-

fiction and its filmic version. In what way can we identify cine-fiction as an interface between motion pictures and vernacular literature? Does cine-fiction exemplify the convergence of images and literature? To answer these questions we will compare the Italian epic *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1913) and Zhou Shoujuan's rewrite. Our comparison sheds light on the impact of the new visual medium of the twentieth century in Chinese vernacular literature, in its imagery, narrative, and ideology.

From Italy to China, from Film to Fiction: Two Versions of the Fallen Pompeii

Zhou watched *The Last Days of Pompeii* on its second run in Shanghai's Tokyo Theatre (March 13–16, 1914)⁵⁶ and subsequently published his cine-fiction of the same title in *Saturday* in 1915. In his introduction Zhou described the popularity of the film in Shanghai, though he had missed it in its first run shown in the Victoria Theatre (March 3–11, 1914)⁵⁷: “I was not into movies, so I did not see this famous picture though I had heard so much about it. Recently I was bored to death, with grudges and desolation besieging me, so I began to frequent cinemas, for relief and pleasure.”⁵⁸ Zhou went on to express his amusement over the plot and the set of *Pompeii*. At the advice of his friend, he decided to rewrite the movie into a tragic love (*aiqing*) story, based on the film's melodramatic ending.

Last Days of Pompeii (1913, hereafter *Pompeii*) is an Italian period film with international impact. The story centers on a triangular relationship between Glaucus, a noble Athenian, his love interest Jone, and Glaucus's blind slave Nidia. The evildoer is the high priest Arbace, who headed the Egyptian cult Isis, which spellbound the people of Pompeii. Arbace covets the beauty of Jone and vows to possess her. Nidia, desperate to win her master's love, collaborates unknowingly with Arbace to poison Glaucus, who is then framed as a murderer by Arbace for a crime Arbace himself commits. Glaucus faces the cruel Roman law of pitting his survival against hungry lions in the Colosseum. All of these events take place against the looming eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in A.D. 79. *Pompeii's* scale, length (running time eighty-eight minutes) and operatic majesty put the rest of the world on notice that cinema was a medium of monumental potential. In her discussion of modern “American” narratives in early cinema, Miriam Hansen argues that the success of the Italian spectacles is indebted to the themes from Mediterranean antiquity, which she calls the Babylonian narrative.⁵⁹ This narrative “portrayed the challenge of

Christian values to pagan Rome. Unlike their rivals (the thrillers that turned on kidnapping and torture, while hinting at other depravities), these Christian epics judiciously balanced their portrayal of decadence with the eventual triumph of Christianity.⁶⁰ *Pompeii* and other Italian epics such as *Quo Vadis?* (dir. Enrico Guazzoni, 1913) and *Cabiria* (dir. Giovanni Pastrone, 1914) were particularly admired by Cecil B. DeMille and D. W. Griffith, whose *Intolerance* (1916) was inspired by these Italian spectacles. The Italian pictures were instrumental in transitioning to feature-length, prestige events that addressed middle- and upper-class patrons.⁶¹

The Italian film epics owe debts to literature. *Last Days of Pompeii*, *Quo Vadis*, and *Cabiria* were all adaptations from prior literary properties. *Pompeii*, for instance, was based on a novel of the same title written by Edward George Bulwer-Lytton in 1834. But this is not the sole reason why they exerted worldwide influence, including their popularity in China. In *Pompeii*, Mario Caserini and Eleuterio Rodolfi trimmed down the scale of the novel by de-emphasizing the religious conflicts between the Egyptian cult Isis and Christianity. They also reduced the complex relationships among several key characters into a love triangle vis-à-vis a ruthless predator. The cinematic scale alternates between romance, drawing-room intrigue, and Roman eroticism (scenes depicting beautiful Jone taking the baths with her maids). Explicit parallels are made between innocent lovers—figured as immaculate doves—and the wicked priest of Isis Arbace, who is likened to a predatory owl. This is a literary technique derived from contemporary fiction, appealing to literate audiences accustomed to poetic metaphors, figure of speech visualized in images. Acting for the most part is physical and externalized, especially the distinct body movement of the blind Nidia, though the story hews to elements that psychologize the behavior of principal characters. Another appeal of the story is its appropriation of the tragic burial of the city of Pompeii, domesticating its destruction by embedding the spectacle into a story of unrequited love and sacrifice. This personifies the natural disaster, and brings intimacy, emotions, and tenderness to a world-famous epic of volcanic obliteration. Magic and spirituality (Isis), special effects and spectacle, echo the power of motion pictures.

In general, Zhou Shoujuan did not depart extensively from the diegesis of *Pompeii* in his rewrite. He follows the narrative structure chronologically, depicting the principal characters of Glaucus (in Zhou's version Clauous), Jone (Zhou's Ions), Nidia (Zhou's Nydia), and Arbace accordingly, and brings in the volcanic eruption as *deus ex machina* at the end. Despite these

Table 10.1. Bao Tianxiao Filmography

Year	Title	Director	Scriptwriter	Author of the original story or cine-fiction, handbill
1925	<i>Kelian de guinü</i> (My Pitiful Daughter)	Zhang Shichuan	Bao Tianxiao	Cine-fiction rewritten as <i>Youhuo</i> (Seduction)
1925	<i>Xiao pengyou</i> (Little Friends)	Zhang Shichuan	Zheng Zhengqiu	Adapted from Bao's novel <i>Ku'er liuleng ji</i> (The Story of a Poor Vagrant Boy), a translation of Yuho Kikuchi's <i>Ie naki ko</i> (A Child without Family), based on Hector Malot's <i>Sans Famille</i>
1925	<i>Xinren de jiating</i> (The Newlyweds)	Ren Jinping	Gu Kenfu	Handbill written by Bao Tianxiao
1925	<i>Kong'gu lan</i> (Orchid of the Valley)	Zhang Shichuan	Bao Tianxiao	Bao's original novel
1926	<i>Duoqing de nüling</i> (A Lovelorn Actress)	Zhang Shichuan	Bao Tianxiao	Cine-fiction rewritten as <i>En yu chou</i> (Grace and Hate)
1926	<i>Hao nan'er</i> (A Good Guy)	Zhang Shichuan	Bao Tianxiao	N.a.
1926	<i>Ta de tongku</i> (Her Sorrows)	Zhang Shichuan	Bao Tianxiao	N.a.
1926	<i>Furen zhi nü</i> (The Daughter of a Wealthy Family)	Zhang Shichuan	Bao Tianxiao	Cine-fiction rewritten under the same title; also wrote handbill.
1926	<i>Liangxin fubuo</i> (Resurrection)	Bu Wancang	Bao Tianxiao	Adaptation of Leo Tolstoy's <i>Resurrection</i> ; also wrote handbill
1927	<i>Guaming fuqi</i> (The Couple in Name Only)	Bu Wancang	Zheng Zhengqiu	Adapted from Bao's novel <i>Yi lu ma</i> (A Thread of Hemp)
1927	<i>Fengliu shaonainai</i> (An Amorous Wife)	Ren Jinping	Bao Tianxiao	Adapted from Bao's fiction <i>Qing zhi maoyi</i> (Trading of Love)
1927	<i>Meihua luo</i> (Fallen Plum Blossoms)	Zhang Shichuan, Zheng Zhengqiu	Bao Tianxiao	Adapted from Bao's translation of Kuroiwa Shūroku's <i>Suteobune</i> (Abandoned Ship), a Japanese translation of Mary Elizabeth Bradton's <i>Diavola</i>
1928	<i>Duoqing de gege</i> (An Amorous Man)	Ren Jinping	Bao Tianxiao	N.a.
1929	<i>Mangmu de aiqing</i> (Blind Love)	Bu Wancang	Bao Tianxiao	Adapted from Bao's <i>Nüling Fuchou ji</i> (Blind Love, 1928–1929)

Table 10.2. Zhu Shouju Filmography

Year	Title	Director	Scriptwriter
1923	<i>Gujing chongbo ji (The Revival of an Old Well)</i>	Dan Duyu	Zhu Shouju
1923	<i>Qi er (Son Abandoned)</i>	Dan Duyu	Zhu Shouju
1924	<i>Caicha nü (The Tea Picking Girl)</i>	Xu Hu	Zhu Shouju
1925	<i>Fengyu zhi ye (On a Stormy Night)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Zhu Shouju
1925	<i>Qianqing (An Old Affair)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Zhu Shouju
1925	<i>Dai zhong fu (The Lucky Man)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Wang Bei'er
1926	<i>Ersun fu (Mother's Happiness)</i>	Shi Dongshan	Zhu Shouju
1926	<i>Ma Jiefu (Ma Jiefu)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Zhou Shoujuan
1926	<i>Lianhuan zhai (Chains of Debt)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Zhu Shouju
1927	<i>Meiren ji (A Beauty's Trap)</i>	Lu Jie, Zhu Shouju, Wang Yuanlong, Shi Dongshan	Zhu Shouju
1927	<i>Wupen ji (Redress a Grievance)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Zhu Shouju
1927	<i>Dapo Gaotangzhou (Victory at Gaotangzhou)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Zhu Shouju
1928	<i>Jiushi wo (Here I am)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Zhu Shouju
1928	<i>Erdu mei (The Second Spring)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Zhu Shouju
1928	<i>Gugong moying (Shadows in the Old Palace)</i>	Jiang Qifeng	Zhu Shouju
1928	<i>Ma Zhenhua (Ma Zhenhua)</i>	Zhu Shouju, Wang Yuanlong	Zhu Shouju
1929	<i>Zhenzhu guan (The Pearl Crown)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Zhu Shouju
1929	<i>Qingyu baojian (Karma of Love)</i>	Li Pingqian	Zhu Shouju
1929	<i>Jiuhua niang (Madam Nine Flowers)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Zhu Shouju
1929	<i>Yinmu zhi hua (Queen of the Silver Screen)</i>	Zheng Jiduo	Zhu Shouju
1930	<i>Huosbao Jiulongshan (Burning of the Nine-Dragon Mountain)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Zhu Shouju
1930	<i>Dapo Jiulongshan (Victory at the Nine-Dragon Mountain)</i>	Zhu Shouju	Zhu Shouju

“faithful” reproductions, we observe the following changes in Zhou’s cine-fiction that might thicken our conception of cine-fiction.

Zhou’s presence as a first-person narrator is made explicit from the outset, and continues throughout the story. At the beginning, Zhou sets the backdrop where the adaptation takes place. He begins the story by telling his audience the history of Pompeii, personifying Pompeii as “an old folk” with glorious past and a metropolitan outlook, like contemporary London and Paris. Such a beginning reiterates the narrative mode used in vernacular Chinese storytelling, citing history and geography to astonish readers. Here

Table 10.3. Xu Zhuodai Filmography

Year	Title	Director	Scriptwriter	Actor	Author of the original story or cine-fiction, handbill
1925	<i>Linshi gonggua</i> (<i>Temporary Residence</i>)	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	Xu Zhuodai	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	NA
1925	<i>Aishen zhi feiliao</i> (<i>Cupid's Feed</i>)	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	Xu Zhuodai	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	NA
1925	<i>Yinshen yi</i> (<i>The Invisible Cloak</i>)	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	Xu Zhuodai	Wang Youyou, Xu Zhuodai	NA
1926	<i>Huodong yinxiang</i> (<i>The Moving Safe</i>)	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	Xu Zhuodai	Wang Youyou, Xu Zhuodai	NA
1926	<i>Huo zhaopai</i> (<i>A Living Billboard</i>)	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	Xu Zhuodai	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	NA
1926	<i>Shenxian bang</i> (<i>The Magic Club</i>)	Wang Youyou	Unknown	Wang Youyou, Xu Zhuodai, Ouyang Yuqian	NA
1926	<i>Guai yisheng</i> (<i>The Odd Doctor</i>)	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	Xu Zhuodai	Wang Youyou, Xu Zhuodai	NA
1926	<i>Xiong xifu</i> (<i>The Heroic Wife</i>)	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	Xu Zhuodai	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	NA
1926	<i>Hong meigui</i> (<i>The Red Rose</i>)	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	Zhu Shuangyun	Xu Zhuodai	NA
1926	<i>Lingbo xianzi</i> (<i>Daffodil Fairies</i>)	Xu Zhuodai	Xu Zhuodai, Wang Youyou	Xu Zhuodai	NA
1926	<i>Jigong huofu 1</i> (<i>Living Buddha Ji Gong 1</i>)	Wang Youyou	Xu Zhuodai	Wang Youyou, Xu Zhuodai	NA
1927	<i>Jigong huofu 2</i> (<i>Living Buddha Ji Gong 2</i>)	Wang Youyou	Xu Zhuodai	Wang Youyou, Xu Banmei	NA
1927	<i>Jigong huofu 3</i> (<i>Living Buddha Ji Gong 3</i>)	Wang Youyou	Xu Zhuodai	Wang Youyou, Xu Banmei	NA
1927	<i>Jianxia qizhongqi 1</i> (<i>Swordsmen Legends 1</i>)	Xu Zhuodai	Xu Zhuodai	Zheng Chao- fan, Wang Youyou	NA
1927	<i>Jianxia qizhongqi 2</i> (<i>Swordsmen Legends 2</i>)	Xu Zhuodai	Xu Zhuodai	Zheng Chao- fan, Wang Youyou	NA

Table 10.3.—Continued

Year	Title	Director	Scriptwriter	Actor	Author of the original story or cine-fiction, handbill
1927	<i>Qianli yan (The Magic Eyes)</i>	Wang Youyou	Wang Youyou	Wang Youyou, Xu Zhuodai	NA
1928	<i>Sanya qiwen (Three Deaf-mutes)</i>	Wang Youyou	Xu Zhuodai	Unknown	NA
1933	<i>Pinming (Fighting for life)</i>	Liu Chungshan	Liu Chungshan	Liu Chungshan	Xu Zhuodai
1937	<i>Huangjin wanliang (Ten Thousand Taels of Gold)</i>	Huang Kuaisheng	Xu Zhuodai	Hong Jingling	NA

Table 10.4. Yan Duhe Filmography

Year	Film Title	Director	Scriptwriter	Other
1925	<i>Renmian taohua (A Beauty Remembered)</i>	Chen Shouyin, Chen Baoqi	Yan Duhe, Lu Danan	
1926	<i>Kongmen xianxi (A Virtuous Daughter-in-law)</i>	Cheng Bugao	Yan Duhe	Title cards
1926	<i>Gu'er jiuzu ji (An Orphan Rescues His Grandpa)</i>	Zhang Shichuan	Zheng Zhengqiu	Handbill
1927	<i>Fengliu shaonainai (An Amorous Wife)</i>	Ren Jinping	Bao Tianxiao	Title cards
1928	<i>Guai nülang (A Strange Girl)</i>	Chen Shouyin	Yan Duhe	
1928	<i>Wu Song danao shizilou (Wu Song Makes Havoc in the Lion Building)</i>	Zhao Chen	Yan Duhe	
1928	<i>Guangong ci Cao (Guan Yu Fooled Cao Cao)</i>	Cheng Bugao	Unknown	Handbill
1928	<i>Duoqing de gege (An Amorous Man)</i>	Ren Jinping	Bao Tianxiao	Handbill
1931	<i>Gechang chunse (The Romance of the Opera)</i>	Li Pingqian	Yao Sufeng	Film consultant
1931	<i>Genühen (The Regret of the Songstress)</i>	Ren Jinping	Unknown	Handbill
1931	<i>Genü Hongmudan (Songstress Red Peony)</i>	Zhang Shichuan, Cheng Bugao	Hong Shen	Film consultant
1932	<i>Tixiao yinyuan (Fate in of Tears and Laughter)</i>	Zhang Shichuan	Yan Duhe	
1932	<i>Zuihou zhi ai (The Last Love)</i>	Shaw Runje	Yao Sugeng	Script consultant
1932	<i>Yiye haohua (A Night of Glamour)</i>	Shaw Runje	Su Yi, Gao Jilin	Script consultant
1933	<i>Chunfeng yangliu (Spring Willow in the Wind)</i>	Wang Fuqing	Gong Lusu	Film consultant

Table 10.5. Zhou Shoujuan Filmography

Year	Title	Director	Scriptwriter	Author of the original story, cine-fiction, handbill
1924	<i>Shuibuo yuanyang</i> (<i>An Ill-Fated Couple</i>)	Cheng Bugao	Zhou Shoujuan	N.a.
1925	<i>Zhen'ai</i> (<i>True Love</i>)	Chen Tian	Zhou Shixun	Adapted from Zhou's original novel <i>Zhen/Truth</i>
1926	<i>Ma Jiefu</i> (<i>Ma Jiefu</i>)	Zhu Shouju	Zhu Shoujuan	N.a.
1926	<i>Huan jin ji</i> (<i>Money Returned</i>)	Dan Duyu	Zhou Shoujuan	N.a.
1926	<i>Lüyang honglei</i> (<i>Green Poplar, Red Tears</i>)	Dan Duyu	Zhou Shoujuan	N.a.
1928	<i>Meiren guan</i> (<i>A Beauty's Seduction</i>)	Bu Wancang	Zheng Zhengqiu	Adapted from Zhou's novel <i>Ai zhihua</i> (<i>The Flower of Love</i>)
1931	<i>Gechang chunse</i> (<i>The Romance of the Opera</i>)	Li Pingqian	Yao Sufeng	Film consultant
1932	<i>Zuihou zhi ai</i> (<i>The Last Love</i>)	Shaw Runje	Yao Sugeng	Script consultant
1932	<i>Yiye haohua</i> (<i>A Night of Glamour</i>)	Shaw Runje	Su Yi, Gao Jilin	Script consultant
1933	<i>Chunfeng yangliu</i> (<i>Spring Willow in the Wind</i>)	Wang Fuqing	Gong Lusu	Film consultant

Zhou foregrounds the presence of the storyteller, playing down the invisibility of the omniscient narration commonly seen in early motion pictures. For instance, when he introduces Glaucus and Jone as a couple, he suddenly breaks into the diegesis by telling the audience that his account must stop short because as a storyteller he lacks a firsthand knowledge (of intimate courtship) in giving out further details to his readers.⁶² Another salient feature in Zhou's version is the considerable dialogue he adds in major scenes. In the sequence where Arbace reveals his desire for Jone, his attempted rape is primarily depicted through acting and staging, such as Arbace's physical aggression toward Jone and her expression of fear and resistance. Because Arbace's desire to take possession of Jone has been premised in a prior close-up of an owl labeled "predatory," the filmmakers directed this sequence rather economically by inserting only one title card ("predatory"--in explaining the meaning of the owl) on Arbace's lie about Glaucus.

Zhou, however, uses dialogue between Arbace and Jone to render this pivotal sequence. Arbace says: "Let me kiss your cherry lips. I can wait no longer." Jone replies: "High priest, are you drunk? What is this place? How dare you touch me? I will not let you smear my innocence."⁶³ Clearly the lascivious speech pronounced by Arbace and Jone's furious response intensify the dramatic situation of her plight. Prior to this Zhou adds a prop missing from the film—a telescope—to depict Arbace's voyeurism toward Jone when she enjoys a romantic sail with Glaucus. For this, the film only shows the back of Arbace, who spots the couple on their boat from his balcony. There is no shot reverse shot indicating Arbace's sight of the couple on the sea and how he reacts. Zhou, however, focuses on Arbace's intense lust for Jone—so much that he picks up a telescope to survey Jone. The close-up view of the distant Jone brought to Arbace by a telescope, according to Zhou, adds to his jealousy and his craving. The sight of the telescope is anachronistic, as this instrument was not invented until the seventeenth century. Despite the glaring anachronism, the use of a telescope to capture the object of male desire is a device carrying a contemporary touch. It not only advances the plot but also brings voyeurism forward, reminding readers of the visual provenance (cinematic) of the fiction (cine-fiction).

Zhou also pinpoints the victimization of woman as the story's pathos. Zhou's rewrite centers on Nidia—her angelic beauty, her misfortune, her unrequited love, and her eventual sacrifice. Clearly Nidia is the muse to Zhou, who uses two full pages to introduce her, focusing on her incredible beauty in embroidered and erotic language typically seen in the Butterfly fiction.

The lengthy description of Nidia may result in a "slow" start of the story (story economy) but it is imperative to the "scholar and the beauty" trope in Butterfly romance. "Scholar and the beauty" is an ideal matrimony in the Butterfly romance—centering on a heterosexual couple with distinct outlook and division of quality—a beautiful virgin paired with a learned gentleman. The essential pathos then becomes an amorous destiny, but an ideal unfulfilled, hence the tragic love ending. Zhou's deployment of the generic pocket of "scholar and the beauty" hence leads him to foreground the inconceivable beauty of the blind slave, and to retell the story by focusing on the slave's perspective and her desire. The subjectivity of Nidia is thus empathically depicted, compared to the film version. For instance, the film shows the happy, domestic life of Nidia

after she's settled in Glaucus's house in a sequence of three scenes. First she is seen spending her time by feeding the birds in the courtyard until Glaucus passes by for a chat; in the next scene of a similar setting, he surprises her while she carries a jar of water; they chat some more. In the scene that follows, she is in the garden, picking up roses and kissing them. No title cards inserted in this sequence further explain the plot; hence a certain degree of temporal ellipsis arises, promoting the audience to infer the story. Audiences are presented the happy time Nidia and Glaucus spend together, but there is little indication of what exactly is being exchanged between them, and what motivates her strong passion for Glaucus. Gratitude? His personality? Or his money? All are possible. The audience is compelled to deduce the story based what is given on screen. In Zhou's version, however, instead of depicting the scenes as they are, he offers an account of Nidia's reflection to frame the sequence where her passion for her master quickly accelerates:

She has little to do in Glaucus's house. She spends her day singing, picking flowers, feeding doves, or chatting with Glaucus in the drawing room. . . . Even if she cannot see the young master's beautiful face, she has an image of him clearly inscribed in her mind. . . . Nidia is a mature and intelligent woman, and her prior life did not allow her a chance of romance. But with the reversal of fortune and now the amorous young master, she cannot help but fall in love with him.⁶⁴

Zhou delineates Nidia's routine, adding a drawing room sitting to the film version. Romance in the drawing room is imperative to the "scholar and the beauty" narrative. More importantly, Zhou explains the cause of her passion, not out of gratitude, but a longing for romantic exchange, like those intimate interactions between Glaucus and Jone. But because of Jone, Nidia's love goes unanswered. The unrequited burning desire prompts her collaboration with Arbace. All of these details fulfill the pathos of the Butterfly tragic love narrative. This underlies Zhou's rendition of Nidia's death into melodramatic hyperbole. The closing of the film shows Nidia leading Glaucus and Jone to the shore, where a boat is about to depart. Glaucus takes Jone on board while Nidia bids them farewell. Nidia then sinks herself into the water. End of the film. The tragic end, however, in Zhou's account is elaborated as follows:

Just when Nidia tries to step into the boat, the boat sails away. Disappointed, Nidia stands on the beach, smiling, looking up to the sky, and says: "Nidia, you've carried out your duty. It is time to die." As she says these words, she smiles and puts her arms into the water . . . just when we have lost sight of her, her head comes out from the water, her face wet with tears. At the top of her lungs she cries out: "Farewell Glaucus, my love . . . don't forget me, the poor Nidia." Suddenly a big wave pushes her into a swirl. All that is left to be seen is her golden locks.⁶⁵

Zhou's hyperbolic account of Nidia's death is rendered by standard melodramatic formulas, using emotion, tears, cries, and the physical evidence of the departed heroine to tell us her resignation to fate and her remorse. These vivid images and sounds Zhou intends to crystallize the pathos of the sacrificial woman—her wretched life and the unalterable course of her destiny. Zhou's story of the last days of Pompeii is indeed the last days of Nidia the blind flower girl.

Because Zhou intended to domesticate and indigenize the story, his version, in terms of pathos and languages, was by virtue a tour de force Butterfly transcription, and hence becomes a distinct text of its own. Zhou's rewrite is by no means inferior. Instead, with unique visualization and incorporation of Western culture and technology, Zhou remade the Italian epic and its Babylonian narrative with distinct, palpable Butterfly ingredients. In hindsight, one should wonder if these two narratives have something in common. By rewriting a Roman natural disaster as a Butterfly tragic love story, Zhou performed a tour de force, putting two distant narratives together through superimposing local popular fiction on a foreign film. A cine-fiction piece like Zhao's *Last Days of Pompeii* exemplifies the surplus value of motion pictures for the literary establishment; in turn, the sphere of the movie field expands further with the aid of literature.

CODA

This chapter focuses on several key popular authors instrumental in constructing the movie field in Republican China, especially their activities in hybridizing letters and images, and in transforming fiction into screenplays and vice versa. We call these authors *film literati*, referring to their dual po-

sitions in the literary and the movie fields. We discuss their negotiation between traditional and emergent forms of narrative, and their crossover from the literary to the movie field. We highlight a hybrid genre known as “cine-fiction,” that is, the literary adaption of motion pictures, to examine the symbiosis between the two fields. Finally, by comparing the 1913 film *The Last Days of Pompeii* and its fiction version written by Zhou Shoujuan, we’ve come to a more informed account of the dynamics between literature and cinema. The study on film literati reveals interstices between Butterfly literature and the Republican cinema. Butterfly authors’ contribution to the formation of China’s movie field is too important to overlook, and we hope our chapter will provoke more interest in this line of enquiry.

Notes

1. Research for this chapter is supported by a research grant awarded by Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (Project Number: RGo13-P-12). We thank CCK’s support and the assistance of Nicolas Li Ling and Yan Wai Ka.

2. Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, “New Takes on Film Historiography: Republican Cinema Redux, an Introduction,” *Journal of Chinese Cinemas* 9, no. 1 (2015): 1–7.

3. Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Cities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Wei Shaochang, *Wo kan yuanyang hudie pai* [My View of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School] (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa, 1990); Fan Boqun, *Minguo tongsu xiaoshuo yuanyang hudie pai* [Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School: The Popular Fiction in Republican China] (Taipei: Guowen tiandi zazhi she, 1990); Rey Chow, *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading between West and East* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

4. David Der-wei Wang, *Fin-de-siecle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1849–1911* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997); Chen Jianhua, “Zhongguo dianying piping de xianqu: Zhou Shoujuan ‘Yingxi hua’ dujie” [Pioneer of Chinese Film Criticism: A Reading of Zhou Shoujuan’s “Shadow Play” Discourses], *Xiandai zhongguo* 9 (2007): 53–76; and Carlos Rojas and Eileen Chow, eds., *Rethinking Chinese Popular Culture: Cannibalizations of the Canon* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Zhao Xiaoxuan, *Yuanyang hudie pai xinlun* [The New Discussion and Evaluation of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School] (Lanzhou: Lanzhou University Press, 2004).

5. See Dianying ziliaoguan koushu dianying shi xiaozu (The Oral History Unit of the Film Archive), *Taiyupian shidai* [The Era of the Taiwanese Dialect Film] (Taipei: Taiwan Film Archive, 1994).

6. See, for examples, *The China Factor in Hong Kong Cinema* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1990); *Hong Kong Cinema in the Eighties: A Comparative Study with Western*

Cinema (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1991); *Overseas Chinese Figures in Cinema* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1992); *Mandarin Films and Popular Songs: 40's-60's* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1993); *Cinema of Two Cities, Hong Kong-Shanghai* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1994); *Early Images of Hong Kong and China* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1995).

7. For oral histories of filmmakers, see Kwok Ching-ling, ed., *Hong Kong Here I Come* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2000); Wong Ain-ling, ed., *An Age of Idealism: Great Wall & Feng Huang Days* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2001); Kwok Ching-ling and Grace Ng, eds., *Director Chor Yuen* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2006); Wong Ain-ling and Angel Shing, eds., *Wang Tianlin* [Director Wong Tin-lam] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2007). For studio studies, see, for example, Agnes Lam, Maggie Lee, and Wong Kee-chee, eds., *The Glorious Modernity of Kong Ngee* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2006) and Grace Ng, ed., *One for All: The Union Film Spirit* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2011). For studies of individual filmmakers, see Wong Ain-ling, ed., *The Cinema of Lee Sun-fung* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2004); Wong Ain-ling, ed., *Li Han-hsiang, Storyteller* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2007); Wong Ain-ling, ed., *Zhu Shilin: A Filmmaker of His Times* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2008). For dialect film studies, see, for example, May Gwan-yuk Ng, ed., *Xianggang Xiayu dianying fangzong* [The Amoy-dialect Films of Hong Kong] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2012); and May Gwan-yuk Ng, ed., *Xianggang Chaoyu dianying xunji* [The Chaozhou-dialect Films of Hong Kong] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2013). For exhibition-turned-book publications, see, for example, Wong Lai-ming, ed., *Bujing moshushi: Chen Qirui, Chen Jingsen fuzi de bujing meixue* [A Touch of Magic: Veteran Set Designers Chan Ki-yui & Chan King-sam] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2013).

8. See, for example, Qing Xiqin, *Oumei dianying yu Zhongguo zaoqi dianying, 1920–1930* [European Film and Chinese Early Cinema, 1920–1930] (Beijing: China Film Press, 2008); Wong Ain-ling, ed., *Zhongguo dianying suyuan* [Chinese Cinema: Tracing the Origins] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2011); Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, ed., *Huayu dianying gongye: Fangfa yu lishi de xin tansuo* [Rethinking Chinese Film Industry: New Histories, New Methods] (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 2011). See also Zhang Zhen, *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema, 1896–1937* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Xuelei Huang, *Shanghai Filmmaking: Crossing Borders, Connecting to the Globe, 1922–1938* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); and Weihong Bao, *Fiery Cinema: The Emergence of an Affective Medium in China, 1915–1945* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015).

9. Fan, *Minguo tongsu xiaoshuo yuanyang hudie pai*. See also Xue Feng, “Fuxian lishi piping’ yu Zhongguo chuantong de xiandai huixiang: yi ershi shiji er san shi niandai ‘yuanyang hudie pai’ wenren de dianying piping wei zhongxin” [“Bifurcated Historic Review” and Modern Echo of Chinese Tradition: Using Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies Literati’s Film Criticisms in the 1920s and 1930s as Examples], *Dangdai dianying* 5 (2010): 101–107.

10. Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, "Wenyi and the Branding of Early Chinese Film," *Journal of Chinese Cinemas* 6, no. 1 (2012): 82–94.

11. Zhang's works adapted to the silver screen include *Yinhan shuangxing* (*Two Stars*, dir. Shi Dongshan, 1931), *Tixiao yinyuan* (*Fate in Tears and Laughter*, 1932), *Luoxia guwu* (*Runaway Lovers*, dir. Cheng Bugao, 1932), *Man jiang hong* (*For My Country*, dir. Cheng Bugao, 1933), *Meiren en* (*When a Lovely Girl Bestows her Favors*, dir. Wen Yimin, 1935). Among these titles, *Fate in Tears and Laughter* has been adapted seven times for the movie screen and a number of television series; the most recent one was in 2004.

12. The two titles are *Jie hou yan* (*Out of the Hell*, dir. Zhang Huichong, 1925) and *Gongren zhi qi* (*The Wife of a Worker*, dir. Ren Pengnian, 1926).

13. Mei Wen, *Posui de yingxiang yu shiyi de lishi: Cong jiupai yuanhu dianying de shuailuo kan Zhongguo zhishi fanxing de zhuanbian* [Broken Images and Forgotten History: The Shift in the Chinese Intellectual Paradigm through the Lens of Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies Films] (Beijing: China Film Press, 2004), 193; see also Feng Min, "Bao Tianxiao yu Zhongguo dianying" [Bao Tianxiao and Chinese Cinema], *Dangdai dianying* 1 (1997): 46–49; Zhang Wei, *Yuanyang hudie pai wenxue yu zaoqi Zhongguo dianying de chuanguo* [Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies Literature and Early Chinese Film Production] (Beijing: China Film Press, 2004); Chen, "Zhongguo dianying piping de xianqu"; Li Bin, "Yuanyang hudie pai wenren: Di yi dai Zhongguo dianying ren" [Literati of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School: Pioneers of Chinese Cinema], *Suzhou keji xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 28, no. 3 (2011): 96–102; Xue Feng, "Richang wenhua piping: xiandai Zhongguo chenshi pingmin shenghuo de zhinan yu xiangxiang—yi ershi shiji er san shiniandai 'yuanyang hudie pai' wenren de yingping shuxie wei zhongxin" ["Everyday Cultural Criticism": Guidance and Imagination of the Everyday Life in Modern Chinese Cities—from the Perspective of Film Criticism of Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies Literati in the 1920s and 1930s], *Dangdai dianying* 10 (2012): 101–106.

14. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

15. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).

16. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 115.

17. See Chen, "Zhongguo dianying piping de xianqu."

18. Mei Chia-ling, *Cong shaonian Zhongguo dao shaonian Taiwan: ershi shiji Zhongwen xiaoshuo de qingchun xiangxiang yu guozu lunshu* [From Young China to Young Taiwan: Youth Imagination and National Discourse in Chinese Novels in the Twentieth Century] (Taipei: Maitian chuban, 2013), 82–83.

19. Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*, 165–177.

20. Chinese literary historian Chen Pingyuan highly praised Bao for his translations, comparing him with Lin Zhu. See Chen Pingyuan, *Ersi shiji Zhongguo xiaoshuo shi*

[History of Chinese Novels in the Twentieth Century] (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1989), 61.

21. See Huang, *Shanghai Filmmaking*, 87.

22. Bao Tianxiao, *Chuanying lou huiyi lu* [Chuanying lou Memoirs] (Taipei: Longwen chuban gongsi, 1990), 654–655.

23. Cheng Jihua, Li Shaobai, and Xing Zuwen, *Zhongguo dianying fazhan shi* [History of the Development of Chinese Cinema] (Beijing: China Film Press, 1980), 56.

24. The sequel *Xin xiepu chao* (The New Tides of Huangpu) was published in *Hong zazhi* (Red Magazine), of which Yan Duhé was the chief editor.

25. See Shu Jing, “Chan: yefang Zhang Ailing” [Cicadas: Evening Chat with Eileen Chang], in *Zhang Ailing pingshuo liushi nian* [Sixty-Year Criticisms of Eileen Chang], ed. Zi Tong and Yi Qing (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 2001), 146–158. Theodore Hutters may not agree with Eileen Chang’s appraisal, but he confirms the riveting anxiety, social undercurrents, and desire that the novel unveiled; see Theodore Hutters, *Bringing the World Home: Appropriating the West in Late Qing and Early Republican China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2005), 229–251.

26. For the details of the establishment of the film company, see Zhu Shouju, “Shu Shanghai Yingxi Gongsi chungli jingguo” [On the Establishment of the Shanghai Film Company], *Yue du MOOK* 33 (2013): 88–95. Also see Fan Boqun, “Zhu Shouju lun” [On Zhu Shouju], *Xin wenxue shiliao* 1 (2013): 103–124.

27. See Fan, “Zhu Shouju lun,” 119.

28. Chen Jianhua, “Cong yingmi dao yinmu qingyuan: Dan Duyu, Ying Mingzhu yu zaoqi Zhongguo dianying de shenti zhengzhi” [From Cinephile to Lovers on the Silver Screen: Dan Duyu, Yin Mingzhu, and Body Politic in Early Chinese Cinema], *Zhongguo bijiao wenxue* 1 (2015): 9–24.

29. At first, he bought a share of the Fair Steel and Iron Factory (Gongping gang-tiechang) to retire, but he came back to the movie field, writing scripts for Cathy, including *Lüsi niang* (*Madam Lü Si*, dir. Xu Xinfu, 1948) and *Meiren xue* (*Blood of the Beauty*, dir. Xu Xinfu, 1948).

30. See Sato Akinari, “Zhu Shouju yu tade dianying zuopin *Fengyu zhi ye*: Zhongguo wusheng dianying Dongjing jiangding shouji” [Zhu Shouju and His Film *Stormy Night*: Notes on Authentication of Chinese Silent Film from Tokyo], *Ming Pao Weekly*, June 1 2011.

31. For a substantial collection of Xu Zhuodai’s comic novels, see Fan Boqun, ed., *Huaji dashi: Xu Zhuodai* [The Master of Comedy: Xu Zhuodai] (Taipei: Yeqiang, 1993).

32. Fan Yanqiao, “Xu Zhuodai de huaji shi” [The History of Xu Zhuodai’s Comedy], *Banyue* 4, no. 12. Quoted from Fan, *Huaji dashi*, 3–4.

33. See Xu Zhuodai, “Yishu shang de *Hongfen kulou* (yi)” [The Art of Women Skeletons, Part I], *Shenbao*, June 13, 1922, 18; Xu Zhuodai, “Yishu shang de *Hongfen kulou* (er)” [The Art of Women Skeletons, Part II], *Shenbao*, June 14, 1922, 18; Xu Zhuodai,

“Yishu shang de *Hongfen kulou* (san)” [The Art of Women Skeletons, Part III], *Shenbao*, June 15, 1922, 18; Xu Zhuodai, “Yishu shang de *Hongfen kulou* (si)” [The Art of Women Skeletons, Part IV], *Shenbao*, June 16, 1922, 18; Xu Zhuodai, “Yishu shang de *Hongfen kulou* (wu)” [The Art of Women Skeletons, Part V], *Shenbao*, June 17, 1922, 18.

34. Xu Zhuodai, “Yingxi zhe xi ye” [Film is Drama], *Minxin tekan* 3 (1926): 17.

35. Beside Happy Film, Xu and Wang also founded another small production house, Hezhong yingpian gongsi (Hezhong Film Company) in 1928. The company produced only one film, *Sanya qiwen* (*Three Deaf-Mutes*), starring Wang and directed by Xu.

36. Wang Youyou, “Guoqu de kaixin wanyier” [Little Toy in the Past], *Kaixin tekan* 3 (1926): 2.

37. For the full account of Kawatani Shohei’s film related activity in China, see Yau Shuk-ting, “Cong Chuangu Chuangping kan ersanshi niandai Zhong Ri dianying ji-aoliu” [Sino-Japanese Film Activity Exchanges in the 1920s and 1930s through the Case of Kawatani Shohei], *Dianying yishu* 341 (2011): 127–132.

38. A story told by Xu illustrates what he meant by “scavenger mode”: one day he received a call from a friend, telling him that a kitchen set prepared for another film now was going to be demolished and asking him if he would like to use it for shooting. Xu and Wang then immediately made up a kitchen scene to make use of the leftover set for their *Guai yisheng* (*The Odd Doctor*, *Jialishi* [*The Fake Wrestler*], 1926). See Xu Zhuodai, “Shi xiangyan pigu zhuyi” [Scavenger Mode], *Kaixin tekan* 2 (1926): 4–8.

39. Xu Zhuodai, “Wo ban yingxi gongsi de shibai tan” [The Failure of My Film Company], *Dianying yuebao* 2 (1928): 92.

40. Yan Duhe, ed., *Mingxing yingpian gongsi tianzhao xingu jihuashu* [Proposal for Share Subscriptions for the Mingxing Film Company]. Also cf. Sun Lei, “Mingxing yingpian gongsi” [The Mingxing Film Company], in *Zhongguo dianying: miaoshu yu chanshi* [Chinese Cinema: Descriptions and Interpretations], ed. Lu Hongshi (Beijing: Zhongguo dianying, 2002), 149–151.

41. Yan Duhe, “Guochan yousheng dianying diyisheng” [The First Voice of Chinese-Produced Sound Film], *Genü Hongmudan tekan* (1931): 20.

42. Huang, *Shanghai Filmmaking*, 99.

43. Janet Wasko, *How Hollywood Works* (Padstow, Cornwall: Sage, 2003), 16.

44. Chen Jianhua regards Zhou Shoujuan as one of the greatest writers of the Butterfly school, calling him “da yuanyang” (the Leading Mandarin Duck) and “da hudie” (the Queen Butterfly). See Chen, “Zhongguo dianying piping de xianqu.”

45. Lu Xun commented that the translation of *Series of Short Stories by Famous European and American Writers* “is a heartening attempt and does not only aim to entertain the populace. It is the pride of the recent translation works.” See Lu Xun, “Oumei mingjia duanpian xiao shuo congkan pinglun” [Comments on *Series of Short Stories by Famous European and American Writers*], *Jiaoyu gongbao*, November 30, 1917, 4.

46. See Chen, “Zhongguo dianying piping de xianqu.”

47. See Xue Feng, “Fuxian lishi piping’ yu Zhongguo chuantong de xiandai huixiang.”

48. Zhou Shoujuan, "Axiong" [The Elder Brother], *Libai liu* 24 (1914): 11–28. The film *Le Petit Chose* (1912) is based on the novel of the same title by Alphonse Daudet; Zhou Shoujuan, "Waiting," *Libai liu* 25 (1914): 1–6; Zhou Shoujuan, "Hedeng yingxiong" [What a Hero], *Youxi zazhi* 9 (1914): 27–44; Zhou Shoujuan, "Pangbeicheng zhi mori" [The Last Days of Pompeii], *Libai liu* 32 (1915): 1–20. *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1913) is based on the novel of the same title by Edward Bulwer-Lytton; Zhou Shoujuan, "Wuhu . . . Zhan" [Alas . . . Fight], *Libai liu* 33 (1915): 7–19; Zhou Shoujuan, "Qi zhi xin" [The Heart of the Wife], *Zhonghua funü jie* 1, no. 2 (1915): 329–339; Zhou Shoujuan, "Bu bi zhi men" [The Open Gate], *Libai liu* 59 (1915): 14–28; Zhou Shoujuan, "Nü zhen hua" [Flower of Female Chastity], *Xiaoshuo daguan* 11 (1917): 1–12; Zhou Shoujuan, "Ai zhi fendou" [Strive for Love], *Libai liu* 153 (1922): 11–16. *The Woman Thou Gavest Me* (1919) is based on the novel of the same title by Hall Caine; Zhou Shoujuan, "Laba dao shang" [Trumpet Island 1], *Youxi shijie* 14 (1922): 1–7. *Trumpet Island* (1920) is based on Gouverneur Morris's "On Trumpet Island," published in *Pearson's Magazine* no. 25 (1911): 42–53.

49. Shan Dong, "Minchu yingxi xiaoshuo yanjiu" [A Study of Cine-Fiction in the Early Republican China] (MPhil thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2014), 5.

50. Chen Jianhua, "Wenren congying: Zhou Shoujuan yu Zhongguo zaoqi dianying" [From Literati to Film Practitioner: Zhou Shoujuan and Early Chinese Film], *Dianying yishu* 1 (2012): 134.

51. Zhou Shoujuan, "Xiao changzhu" [The Boy Heiress], *Xiao Changzhu tekan* (1925): 45–58.

52. For the synopsis of *The Boy Heiress*, see Zhou Shoujuan, "Xia changzhu benshi" [Synopsis of *The Boy Heiress*], *Xia changzhu tekan* (1925): 17, 19, 21.

53. Lu Jie, *Lu Jie rijì zhāicun* [Lu Jie Diaries: Selected Extracts] (Beijing: Zhongguo dianying ziliao guan, 1962), 16.

54. See Zhou Shoujuan, ed., *Xia changzhu tekan* [*The Boy Heiress* Special Issue] (1925).

55. Zhou Shoujuan, *Zhou Shoujuan shuo ji xiace* [Collected Fiction of Zhou Shoujuan], vol. 2 (Shanghai: Dadong shuju, 1927). Fan Boqun, *Yuanyang hudie: Libai liu pai zuopin xuan shang* [Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Selected Works of the Saturday Part One] (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1991).

56. Advertisements on *Shenbao* indicated that *The Last Days of Pompeii* was shown in Shanghai's Tokyo Theatre March 13–16, 1914. See "Dongjing huodong yingxiyuan" [Tokyo Theatre], *Shenbao*, March 13, 1914, 12; "Dongjing huodong yingxiyuan" [Tokyo Theatre], *Shenbao*, March 14, 1914, 9; "Dongjing huodong yingxiyuan" [Tokyo Theatre], *Shenbao*, March 15, 1914, 9; "Dongjing huodong yingxiyuan" [Tokyo Theatre], *Shenbao*, March 16, 1914, 12.

57. Advertisements in the *North China Daily News* indicated that *The Last Days of Pompeii* was shown March 3–11, 1914. See "Victoria Theatre," *North China Daily News*, March 3, 1914, 4; "Victoria Theatre," *North China Daily News*, March 4, 1914, 4; "Victoria Theatre," *North China Daily News*, March 5, 1914, 4; "Victoria Theatre," *North China*

Daily News, March 6, 1914, 4; "Victoria Theatre," *North China Daily News*, March 7, 1914, 4; "Victoria Theatre," *North China Daily News*, March 8, 1914, 4; "Victoria Theatre," *North China Daily News*, March 10, 1914, 4; "Victoria Theatre," *North China Daily News*, March 11, 1914, 4.

58. Zhou, "Pangbeicheng zhi mori," 1.

59. See Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 175.

60. Ian Christie, "Ancient Rome in London: Classical Subjects in the Forefront of Cinema's Expansion after 1910," in *The Ancient World in Silent Cinema*, ed. Pantelis Michelakis and Maria Wyke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 117.

61. Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell, *Film History: An Introduction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994), 58.

62. Thompson and Bordwell, *Film History*, 5.

63. Thompson and Bordwell, *Film History*, 11.

64. Thompson and Bordwell, *Film History*, 9.

65. Thompson and Bordwell, *Film History*, 9.