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内容提要

本书以海派文化语境中的电影和与电影有关的文学为研究对象,从文学、 艺术学和文化学的角度展开对有关理论、创作现象以及电影与文学关系的分析和探讨。

本书认为海派文化是一种现代大众文化,这种文化以工业化、商业化现代都市为环境,以大众传播媒介所造就的现代大众为前提,在由现代都市和现代大众所建构的现代大众社会中诞生。而作为机械文明和科学技术发展产物的电影既是一种新型艺术,也是典型的文化工业产品,具有大众文化性质,并充分表现着现代大众文化的特征;现代大众文化语境中的文学也与前工业时代的文学有一定的区别,这种区别不仅由特定的文化所导致,也产生于其与电影的密切而错综复杂的关系之中。

从学术研究的继承性和创新性原则出发,本书的"绪论"通过评述吴福辉的《都市漩流中的海派小说》、许道明的《海派文学论》、李今的《海派小说与现代都市文化》、李欧梵的《上海摩登——种新都市文化在中国》以及杨义著、郭晓鸿辑图的《京派海派综论》等学术专著,检视了关于海派文化、文学和电影的重要研究成果,既旁证了"海派文化就是现代大众文化"、"海派文学和电影受制于海派文化并表现着海派文化的特征"、"海派电影与文学有着密切的联系"等基本观点,又指出了现有研究中所存在的问题和薄弱环节,从而确立了本书的研究方法,研究起点、难点和突破口。

本书的第一章论述鸳鸯蝴蝶派文人的电影创作。历史考证显示,鸳鸯蝴蝶派文人不仅创作了大量文学作品,同时也参与了许多电影的创作。本书认为,如同他们的小说建立了中国现代通俗文学的一种经典模式,鸳鸯蝴蝶派文人的电影创作也开创了中国电影的一个延续至今的重要传统;更重要的是,他们不仅建构了独具特色的"文学化电影叙事"和"文学化影像风格",还通过"写"电

影创造了一种"电影化"的文学样式,并将通俗与高雅、现代与传统融人其中,将艺术与商业融为一体,典型地表现了现代海派文化的性质与特征,也为我们在与海派文化同质的当代大众文化语境中的电影、文学创作和文化建设提供了某些借鉴。

第二章主要讨论《现代电影》及其"软性电影"论者的文化表达。本书认为, 在中国电影史上,由新感觉派作家刘呐鸥参与编辑的《现代电影》是一本非常 重要的刊物,其重要性不仅在于它曾经引发过一次关于"软性"和"硬性"电影 的重要论争,更重要的是它还表现了--种更接近电影本质的先进的文化观念 和超前的文化特征。令人遗憾的是,在阶级斗争尖锐、激烈的峥嵘岁月里,"文 化"完全被"政治"所遮蔽、因此我们在以往的电影史著中看到的只是对于《现 代电影》的单一的政治批判,而从未见具体的文化分析,以致无法获得完整的 历史真相,也不能有效利用我们现在可能正迫切需要的一种文化资源。本书不 仅同到《现代电影》杂志、发掘其被"遮蔽"了的有关电影的文化表达,而且还仔 细分析了《现代电影》主要编辑黄嘉谟和刘呐鸥当年的所谓"软性电影观".指 出,作为"软性电影"论者,刘呐鸥与黄嘉谟阐释电影的角度虽然不同——后者 注重电影的娱乐性, 而前者则强调电影的"电影化"——但他们都比较准确地 把握了电影的现代文化本质,并揭示了这种文化本质与电影的艺术特征及审 美功能之间的内在联系。这些论述的真正价值过去一直被遮蔽,不仅是由于 "软"、"硬"电影论争的政治化评价,其中实际上也有着文化语境冲突的原 因——在前工业时代的"革命文化"和"农民加士大夫"式的精英文化语境中、 "都市"、"娱乐"、"商业化"都是被质疑的概念,与此相关的电影特征和功能也被 悬置了起来——因此,即使是开创了中国电影一个新的时代的"第五代",也仅 仅是在视听语言上完成了电影的"现代化革命",与构建于现代大众文化语境 中的黄嘉谟的"娱乐的电影"和刘呐鸥的"'电影的'电影"还有一定距离。在前 <u>工业文明逐渐过去、中国社会开始全面进入现代大众文化时代的今天,刘呐</u> 腐、黄嘉谟或"软性电影"论者们的电影观及其文化价值才逐渐在我们现在的 电影政策、策略和创作实践中体现出来。

第三章探讨的是新感觉派小说的"隐性视觉形态"。在海派文化语境中,电影与文学的关系不仅表现在文学对电影的影响方面,也表现在电影对文学的影响上。在第一章论述鸳鸯蝴蝶派文人通过"写"电影创造了一种"电影化"的文学样式之后,本章又从作为现代大众文化的海派文化的视觉化倾向出发,从

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镜头角度、视点、景别、运动、色彩、蒙太奇等方面具体而详尽地讨论了刘呐鸥、穆时英、黑婴等新感觉派作家的小说创作对影像创造的摹仿或对电影手法的借用,指出其"仿像"所创造的隐性视觉形态不仅改变了传统小说的表现形式、改变了世界的非视觉构想和把握方式,面且以与后现代主义的逻辑联系适应和推动了中国文化现代化的进一步转型。

本书的第四章通过分析 20 世纪 20 年代洪深和 30 年代夏衍、朱石麟的电 影创作,讨论在以现代工业、商业高度繁荣为前提的海派文化语境中艺术、政 治、商业的结合与互动。笔者认为、艺术、政治、商业的不同关系是工业和后工 业时期的现代大众文化区别于前工业或农业时期的传统精英文化的一个重要 方面:在传统的精英文化语境中,艺术、政治一般很难与商业联系在一起;而在 "所有东西(包括劳动力)都成为商品"的大众文化时代,则艺术、政治都可进行 商业操作,三者之间是一种结合与互动的关系。本章首先以复衔为中心,具体 分析了发生在30年代的一次左翼文坛与电影资本家的双向选择式的合作,指 出这次合作不仅达到了双方的目的,而且对中国电影和中国文学、文化的发展 都具有十分重要的意义。接着回溯到 20 年代, 讨论了当时洪深创作的电影剧 本《申屠氏》的接受效应与文化语境及他的艺术观转变——从追求非商业化的 "纯艺术"到创作艺术与商业并举的影片——之间的关系。笔者认为《申屠氏》 由于与文化语境的错位而导致的失利、洪深艺术观的转变和创作调整为后来 左翼电影创作正确处理革命、艺术和商业的关系提供了可资借鉴的教训和经 验。本章的最后一节论述朱石麟"联华时期"的电影创作。笔者认为、朱石麟的 创作既表现了对传统文化立场的坚持和对艺术的不懈追求,同时艺术和传统 又是他的影片吸引观众、提高票房的商业策略——这种在艺术和传统中寻找 商业"卖点"的电影创作正是"联华精神"、同时也应该是海派文化语境中艺术、 政治与商业关系的典型表现。

"趋重"女体的性别操作是海派文化语境中电影创作的一个非常重要的现象,它既涉及到电影艺术的基本规律,也是海派文化作为现代大众文化的具体表现,并充分显示了海派文化对海派电影也即中国早期电影的制约和影响。第五章通过解读影片片名和当时一些电影期刊上登载的明星图片,分析女性的家庭叙事和女体的社会表达,论证了在1920—1940年代的海派文化语境中电影与女性的密切关系——这样的关系表现并强化了海派文化的现代大众文化特点——并进一步阐述了电影中作为能指的"女性"的丰富而复杂的所指,由

此深刻揭示了海派文化的"多元性"特征。

通过以上各章的论述,本书充分揭示了海派电影理论、创作及与文学关系的复杂性和矛盾、统一性,表现了海派电影"现代与传统同在、政治与娱乐兼容、艺术与商业结合、电影与文学互动"的主要特点——这些特点同时也是海派文学和文化的特点,由此显示了海派电影、文学与文化之间的相互制约、影响和表达。本书不仅回到历史、尊重历史,力图还原历史,而且立足现实,试图在相似的文化语境中建立历史与现实的呼应关系,并展开相应的文化批判。在此基础上,"结语"归纳性地阐述了"海派电影"和"大众文化"的阶段性特征和海派文化即现代大众文化在当下的广泛延续,指出:黄嘉谟强调电影的娱乐性、刘呐鸥追求纯粹视觉化的"'电影的'电影"、新感觉派创建隐性视觉形态的尝试、左翼作家与商业电影公司合作、洪深从艺术的非商业化走向商业化艺术、朱石麟及其联华公司对艺术和传统文化的商业经营,以及鸳鸯蝴蝶派文人在现代和传统中寻找并通过文学化的爱情、伦理故事制造商业"卖点",乃至整个海派电影"趋重"女体的性别操作等,都不仅在当时具有不可置疑的文化合理性,在今天看来,其对于我们当下电影、文学创作和文化建设的借鉴意义也显而易见——当然其中也有许多教训需要我们认真吸取,以免重蹈历史的覆辙。

附加说明:1.本书中的大量图片及其附带文字有的是对书中相应内容的补充、直观论证和视觉化表达,而有的则是对书中观点的进一步或转换角度的阐发;2.两篇附录文章试图提供对研究对象的历史地位的确切把握和现实意义的间接论证。

关键词:海派文化 电影 文学 选择 互动 整合

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Abstract

The book is primarily concerned with the study of film and filmic literature in the context of Shanghai Culture, concentrating on the analysis of some relevant theories, creative phenomena, and the relationship between film and literature from three different perspectives, namely, literature, art and culturology.

The book believes that Shanghai Culture is a kind of modern popular culture which is situated in the industrialized and commercialized modern metropolis and preconditioned by modern commonalties who are exposed to the mass media. The birth of this kind of culture is a result of modern society built up by modern metropolis and modern commonalties. Film, as a product of industrial civilization and the development of science and technology, is a kind of new art as well as a prototypical product of cultural industry. This kind of product not only has qualities of popular culture, but also fully characterizes it. There are some differences between literature in the context of modern popular culture and the literature in the pre-industrial times. These differences result not only from the specific culture, but also from its close and complicated relationship with film.

In view of the succession and innovation of academic research, the Introduction of the book makes a critical survey of some of the important works pertinent to Shanghai Culture, its literature and film. Among them are Wu Fuhui's Shanghai Styled Novel in the Urban Maelstrom, Xu Daoming's Theory Of Shanghai Styled Literature, Li Jin's Shanghai Styled Novel and The Modern Urban Culture, Li O'fan's Modern Shanghai –a New Urban Culture in China, and Yang Yi's General Survey of Beijing Culture and Shanghai Culture. In this way, the book indirectly confirms such fundamental viewpoints like "Shanghai Culture is just the modern popular culture", "Shanghai styled literature and film are not only affected

by Shanghai Culture, they also reveal the characteristics of it", and "Shanghai styled film is closely related to literature". Furthermore, the book points out the remaining problems and the weak points of the research work having been done so far, and these remaining problems and weaknesses actually become our research focus in this book.

Chapter one is concerned with the film creation of "Yuan Yang Hu Die (Mandarin duck and butterfly)" Group. According to the textual research, literary scholars in this group have not only created a large number of literary works, but also attached importance to the film creation. Just as their novels have built up a classic pattern of modern Chinese popular literature, the "Yuan Hu (Mandarin duck and butterfly)" Group's film creation has started an important tradition of Chinese filmdom up to now. To be more important, not only have they created the unique "Literary Film Narration" and "Literary Video Style", but also have they created a "Filmic" literary genre through "writing" film. They combine earthliness with elegance, modernity with tradition, and art with commerce. These represent the typical features and character of modern Shanghai Culture, which can be used for reference in terms of film and literary creation as well as cultural construction similar to Shanghai Culture.

Chapter Two mainly discusses the magazine Modern Film and the viewpoints of those who propose the idea of "Soft Films". The book suggests that Modern Film, edited by Liu Na'ou, plays a very important role in the history of Chinese film. It is important not only because it has brought about a heated debate between "soft" and "hard" films, but also because it has represented a kind of pioneering cultural conception and leading cultural character close to the nature of film. Unfortunately, in the hard times with fierce class struggle, culture has been fully veiled by politics. Thus in the previous works on film history, we could only find simplex political criticism on Modern Film. There wasn't any concrete cultural analysis. Because of this, It is impossible for us to get the complete historical truth. And it is hard for us to make full use of the cultural resources we exigently need at present. This book not only goes back to Modern Film to dig its "veiled" expression of film culture. Furthermore, it carefully analyzes the conception of "soft

film" put forward by the magazine's chief editors, Huang Jiamo and Liu Na'ou. The book points out that, as proponents of "soft film", though Liu and Huang's interpretations of film are different (while the latter pays attention to the entertaining aspect of film, the former emphasizes its filmic nature), both of them have grasped film's essence as modern popular culture and have revealed the inner connection between it and the artistic feature and aesthetic function of film. The reason for the long veiling of the true value of these views not only lies in the political evaluation of the debate between "soft" or "hard" film, but also lies in the conflict of different cultural contexts. In pre-industrial times, due to the fact that the cultural emphasis was placed on "revolutionary culture" and the culture of " peasant plus literati and officialdom", such concepts as "city", "entertainment" and "commercialization" were in doubt. Because of this, the characteristics and functions of film related to them were laid aside. Even those "fifth generation" directors who opened up a new era of Chinese film only carried out the modernization of film in its audiovisual language. Their achievement was outshone by Huang Jiuamo's "entertaining film" and Liu Na'ou's "filmic film", which had been constructed in the context of popular culture. With the gradual diminishing of pre-industrial times and the coming of the era of modern popular culture in Chinese society today, the filmic views and cultural values of Liu, Huang or other proponents have gradually been seen in today's film policies, "Soft Film" strategies and creative practices.

Chapter three of the book discusses "Covert -visual Mode" of the New Sensation School. In the context of Shanghai Culture, the relationship between film and literature can not only be found in literature's influence on film, but also in film's influence on literature. After the discussion of the "Yuan Hu" Group's creation of "filmic" literature through "writing" film in the first chapter, this chapter, taking the visualized tendency of Shanghai Culture as starting-point, examines in detail the simulation of video creation and the borrowing of film techniques in the fiction writing of such New Sensation School writers as Liu Na' ou, Mu Shiying, Hei Ying in terms of camera lens, perspective, scene, action, color, montage etc. It points out that the creation of covert-visual mode by

simulating not only changes the form of expression of traditional fiction and the non-visual design of the world and ways of mastering, but also pushes forward the further change of modernization of Chinese culture by way of its logical connection and adaptability with post-modernism.

Through the analysis of the films created by Hong Shen in the 1920s, and Xia Yan, Zhu Shilin in the 1930s, the fourth chapter discusses the combination and interaction of art, politics and commerce in the context of Shanghai Culture of which modern industry and booming commerce is a prerequisite condition. book holds that different relationships among art, politics and commerce is the major difference between modern popular culture in industrial and post-industrial times and traditional elite culture in pre-industrial or agricultural times. While in the context of traditional elite culture, art and politics could hardly be related to commerce, in the era of popular culture all things including labor forces become As art and politics can be commercialized, the three enjoy a merchandise. relationship of combination and interaction. To begin with, the chapter centers around Xia Yan analyzing the mutually selected cooperation between the Left-wing writers and the film capitalists in the 1930s. It points that this cooperation not only but also plays a very important role in the serves the aims of both sides, development of Chinese film, literature and culture. The chapter then dates back to the 1920s to discuss Hong Shen's film script The Shentus, examining the relationship between the acceptance effect in the film and the cultural context as well as the change of his artistic views-from the pursuit of non-commercial "pure art" to the creation of films with both artistic and commercial qualities. The author thinks that the failure of The Shentus owing to its discrepancy with the cultural context, the change of Hong Shen's artistic views and adaptation of his creation have provided the Left-wing writers with lessons to draw as to how to deal with the relationship among revolution, art and commerce. The last part of this chapter discusses Zhu Shilin's film creation in the "Lianhua times". The author holds that Zhu Shilin's creating shows his adherence to traditional culture as well as his unremitting pursuit of art. At the same time, the artistic and traditional factors are his commercial strategies to attract the audience and increase the box office.

kind of search for commercial "selling point" in both art and tradition is just the "Lianhua spirit". And it is a prototypical manifestation of the relationship among art, politics and commerce in Shanghai Culture.

Biased towards the portrait of females is an important aspect of Shanghai Culture in its film creation. It not only involves the basic principle of film art, but is also a manifestation of Shanghai Culture which is a kind of modern popular culture. Furthermore, it shows the influence of Shanghai Culture on Shanghai styled film which is also the early Chinese film. By interpreting the names of films, the photos of film stars in some magazines, chapter five analyzes the family narration of women and the social manifestation of female bodies, explains the close connection between film and females in the context of Shanghai Culture between the 1920s and 1940s. The connection reveals and stresses the features of Shanghai Culture as modern popular culture. It further elaborates on the rich and complicated signified of "females" as signifier in the film and exposes the pluralism of Shanghai Culture.

Through the discussion in the above chapters, the book fully exposes the complication, contradiction and unity of the theory and creation of Shanghai-styled films with literature. It reveals that "the co-existence of modernity and tradition, the compatibility of politics with entertainment, the combination of art and commerce, and the interaction between film and literature" are the major features These characteristics are also that of Shanghai-styled of Shanghai-styled film. literature and culture. This fact demonstrates the restriction, influence and expression among Shanghai-styled films, literature and culture. The book not only goes back to the history, respects the history, and makes an attempt to restore the history; it also bases its discussion on reality and tries to build up a corresponding relationship between history and reality in a similar cultural context and conducts a critical review. On the basis of this, the Conclusion of the book sums up the phase quality of "Shanghai-styled Film" and "Popular Culture", and concludes that Shanghai Culture is a wide extension of modern culture in present-day China. It points out Huang Jiamo's emphasis on film's entertainment, Liu Na'ou's pursuit of purely visualized "filmic film", the New Sensation School's attempt to establish

covert-visual mode, the cooperation between left-wing writers and commercial film corporations. Hong Shen's change from non-commercial artistic film to commercialized film, Zhu Shilin and his Lianhua corporation's business practice of art and traditional culture, the search between modernism and tradition by the "Yuan Hu" Group and its effort to manufacture commercial "selling point" through literary love and moral stories, and even the female body biased practice of Shanghai-styled film no doubt had cultural rationality at that time. Even in today's society, they can obviously provide us something to use for reference with regard to the creation of film and literature as well as the cultural construction. Of course, there are lessons for us to draw in some of them to avoid recommitting the same historical errors.

(Notes: 1. There are many pictures with captions in the book. While some of them are supplementary materials, object demonstration and visualized expression to the corresponding sections in the book, others are further explanations of the views in the book or explanations of the views in the book from different perspectives. 2. The two articles in the appendix try to provide a definite understanding of the research object's historical status and indirect expounding of its practical significance.)

Key words: Shanghai Culture, film, literature, choice, interaction, integration

【化史语境中的"海派"电影与文学关系的研究

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这次欣然为盘剑教授的《选择、互动与整合:海派文化语境中的电影及其与文学的关系(1920—1940年代)》一书写序,考虑的原因有三。一是基于学术兴趣的相近:探讨的都是我近 20 年来所关注的学术课题^①;本来与盘剑素昧平生,2004年6月在上海一次视觉文化的国际研讨会上认识,此后阅读他的论文,对他研究态度的认真、史料收集的扎实、文本分析的细致、问题意识的鲜明等等,印象尤其深刻。二是意在增强海内外"中国研究"领域的学术互动:近年国内陆续出版多套海外"汉学"丛书(我已撰文商榷此词的不妥)^②,但海外学者及时用中文发表的、具体评析国内学术成果的文章,似乎还不太多,长期的学术单向流动可能导致"交流"之说时时名不副实。三是借此机会再次强调"跨学科研究"的重要性:传统的文学研究界在选择课题和方法时大可不必为所谓"思想史"和"文化研究"的崛起而忧心忡忡,而新兴的电影及媒体研究界也需要拓宽视野,在文本分析和市场描述之间寻找更多的互动与整合之处。

盘剑的《选择、互动与整合》建立在他的文学博士(浙江大学)和传播学博士后(复旦大学)的坚实的研究基础上。部分章节的观点虽已发表过初稿(比如2001年至2005年发表在《文学评论》、《当代电影》、《北京电影学院学报》、《电影艺术》上)、但全书读来仍有一气呵成之感。在绪论的"学术检视"中、盘剑一一指

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① 除荚文著作外,相关中文文章收入张英进:《电视中国:从学科史角度观察中国的电影与文学研究》,南京大学出版社,2005年版;张英进:《电影的世纪末怀旧?好菜坞,老上海,新台北》,湖南美术出版社,2006年版。

② 张英进:《文学理论与文化研究:美国比较文学研究趋势》,载《中国比较文学》2005年第3期。

出目前"海派文化"一些主要学者(如李欧梵、李今、王文英、吴福辉、许道明、杨义等)的研究成果、并在文学与电影的互动领域内探索新的课题,提出新的见解。

盘剑新的见解之一是:20世纪20至40年代的海派电影"在当时和对后世的影响都是史无前例和无可比拟的"。与"以北京为中心的非商业化的政治教化电影或称京派电影"相对应,"海派电影既指一种与特定文化形态密切相关的电影流派,同时也指中国电影发展的一个阶段,即以现代商业大众文化为基本特征的海派电影阶段"。盘剑认为,"在海派那里,新与旧、现代与传统是相互交汇,并行不悖的",因此有"互动"之说。盘剑进一步认为,相比"五四"时期的新文化运动,"更符合历史发展规律的倒是海派,它向旧文学、旧文化的'退'实际上更利于新文学、新文化的'进':它以新、旧的兼容与调和有效地建立起了现代与传统的联系,也以大众一通俗文学的形式在尽可能深广的范围内达成了中西文化的理解与沟通,从而在'五四'落潮以后于三四十年代进一步推动了中国文化的现代化进程。"

海派文化这种似"退"实"进"的例证之一,是鸳鸯蝴蝶派文学对上海电影的影响,这也是盘剑新的见解之二:即中国电影的文学性起源于鸳鸯蝴蝶派。以往的电影史研究从意识形态出发,批判鸳鸯蝴蝶的"封建意识"和"反动表现",而忽略它对电影作为叙事艺术的贡献®。其实,早期中国电影中的封建思想和保守主义本非鸳鸯蝴蝶派作怪,而是源于衰落时期的文明戏的影响,因为张石川、郑正秋、邵醉翁等人本来都是文明戏圈子的中间人物,他们从影初期热衷的不外乎是以戏为主的"影戏"。盘剑在第二章中分析鸳鸯蝴蝶派文人的贡献时,指出他们电影创作中"新与旧的夹杂与转换",以及他们在"叙事模式、影像风格与类型片创作"等方面的努力,强调是鸳鸯蝴蝶派创立了中国电影中以家庭、伦理为主线的、令大众喜闻乐见的电影叙事传统。通过创作电影"本事"(即故事梗概)和说明书(二者皆用文言)、编写字幕(半文半白)和对话(白话)、编辑期刊及广告宣传等文字活动,鸳鸯蝴蝶派既是中国"电影文学"(流行于印刷媒体的文字)的拓荒者,又是"文学化的电影"(再现于银幕的影像)的早期探索者,是他们将中国的"影戏"文学化、规范化、类型化,从而吸引、培养、造就了早期中国商业电影的广大观众群。

这里我想阐述三个意见。第一, 鸳鸯蝴蝶派在"类型片"方面的尝试应该与晚 清对西方小说类型(如言情、侦探)的介绍有关, 何况有些鸳鸯蝴蝶派作家(如包天

① 程季华主编:《中国电影发展史》,中国电影出版社,1981、第1卷,第56—57页。

我的第二个意见与盘剑并列讨论夏衍和朱石麟有关。如果按盘剑的划分,"左翼电影"亦属于"海派电影",在培养"现代大众"方面继鸳鸯蝴蝶派之后取得世人公认的成功,那么联华的情况应该更为复杂。联华是 20 世纪 20 年代末"武侠一神怪片"泛滥后脱颖而出的高举"民族电影"旗帜的生力军,它的商业性形成于罗明佑对其华北一东北电影院线的"现代经营意识"(盘剑语),政治性见于罗明佑与国民党官员长期的密切关系,而艺术性似乎体现于朱石麟为代表的中国文人传统。问题在于,盘剑指出朱石麟创作中具有"京派血统"的"农民加士大夫"心态,对海派都市文明持怀疑、甚至批判的态度。按这个逻辑推理,商业性的"海派电影"其容量应该远大于教化性的"京派电影",以至可以包容"京派电影"——后者不仅包括朱石麟的文人传统,更包括同样不乏教化性的左翼电影。"京"、"海"之分在此似乎失去平行对等的身份,电影的商业本质因此决定了1949年以前中国电影中"海派"一统天下的局势。这样看来,"京派电影"一说则显得不太合理(因其势力单薄面不成"派"),而"海派电影"又成为1949年以前中国电影的代称,涵盖似乎太广。

① 海外学者对此已经多有论述,比如强调晚清文学现代性的王德威、坚持现代文学时期"保守思想" 延续性的科克·丹登 (Kirk Denton)、以及近年提出"没有五四文学"命题的米歇尔·霍克斯 (Michel Hockx)。

② 在毕克伟(Paul Pickowicz)看来,历史证明不是"五四"精神影响了 30 年代的电影,而是左翼影人完全受电影通俗剧叙事的制约,而这种通俗叙事一直影响到 80 年代的谢晋。见毕克伟:《"通俗剧",五四传统与中国电影),载郑树森编:《文化批评与华语电影》(台北:麦田,1995),第 25-67 页。