

鄉土・現實・歷史旁白

——戰後七〇年代
臺灣美術發展學術研討會論文集

Collected Papers of the Conference

"Nativism, Reality and Historical Narration: Postwar Taiwanese Art in the 1970s"



RURAL LIFE

REAL LIFE

HISTORICAL NARRATIONS

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序

國立臺灣美術館自1988年開館即以建構臺灣美術發展主體性為核心價值與目標，在探討臺灣美術發展脈絡之前提下，長期致力臺灣美術史發展為主軸的學術研究與研討推展活動，期待透過多元的學術研究及開放性的論壇，重新思索及形塑臺灣文化中不同的藝術發展面向與風貌。為鼓勵臺灣美術史的研究與論述，國美館歷年來持續策劃舉辦「戰後臺灣美術發展系列學術研討會」，深入研究戰後臺灣美術之發展歷程與影響，今年度則以「鄉土・現實・歷史旁白」為主題，對七〇年代臺灣美術的發展重新展開不同面向與多元角度的探討。

臺灣近現代美術的發展，早期隨著明清以降遊宦官員及教席文士往來，書畫仍屬文人雅趣及廳堂裝飾，日治時期西洋繪畫及膠彩繪畫逐漸在臺發展，且因官辦臺展、府展舉辦，美術創作乃普遍受到社會重視。1950年代起伴隨臺灣經濟起飛與現代化的腳步，年輕藝術家受到西方文化與現代藝術潮流的影響，東方畫會、五月畫會、現代版畫會相繼成立，臺灣美術界逐漸走向現代化的思潮。這個潮流對當時的藝術創作環境產生重大的影響，然而此一現象到了1970年代卻出現另一種不同的聲音，也就是所謂的「鄉土運動」。這波反思在地回歸鄉土的運動不僅影響到了文學、舞蹈和美術，甚至影響到解嚴之後的臺灣主體意識的詮釋與認同。

這是臺灣美術發展從明清晚期所謂「閩習」到日治時期「地方色彩」之後，重新追尋自我風格與思想的另一階段，或只是另一種西方藝術潮流下時髦與表象性形式的模仿？是否真正對臺灣美術發展有深刻的反思與深遠的影響？這些關鍵議題都值得重新研究與探討，也是本次研討會所著重的論辯焦點。本研討會共發表有論文五篇：謝東山〈臺灣鄉土美術的質與量〉、廖新田〈臺灣鄉土美術中的國族想像與框架〉、白適銘〈外來者或內在者？——七〇年代臺灣風景畫環境經驗建構問題探析〉、龔卓軍〈不受治理的藝術：國家視野之外的七〇年代臺灣美術〉、盛鎧〈創造鄉土詩境：1970年代的臺灣美術與鄉土運動〉。

綜觀歷史，不論是藝術家或藝評家在面對身處時空環境的觀照與評論通常是當下且即時性的。然而，時過境遷，在後人脫離彼此當時的歷史背景與時代潮流，重新回溯審視並探討思考這一段的歷史發展，不同的時空距離，必然會產生不同觀點與多元的論述。本次研討會邀請發表論文及對談的專家學者，均在臺灣美術史研究上長期深耕，並針對本次主題就當時美術發展與定位提出個人階段性的研究成果。國美館特別將之彙集成冊出版，希冀將本次研討成果，提供美術研究及愛好者，對於瞭解戰後七〇年代的臺灣美術有更豐富多元視野的啟發。



國立臺灣美術館 館長

Preface

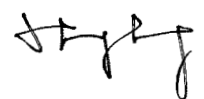
Since its foundation in 1988, National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts has been committed to scientific research and development centered on art history in Taiwan with the core value and aim of building awareness of Taiwanese arts. With dynamic research and open forums, we are to rethink and reshape different aspects of artist development in Taiwanese culture. To further encourage the research and discussion on art history in Taiwan, we have been organizing the conference series on arts development in postwar Taiwan. This year, the conference is titled “Nativism, Reality and Historical Narration” to attract more approaches to the development of Taiwanese arts.

Looking back at the modern history of Taiwanese arts, calligraphy and paintings had been intended for recreation and decoration of the literati as officials and educated elites moved to Taiwan in the Ming and Qing Dynasty. During Japanese reign, Western and gouche paintings found its place in Taiwan. Also, the official “Taiwan Fine Arts Exhibition” (臺展) and “Taiwan Governmental Fine Arts Exhibition” (府展) further encouraged art creation in Taiwan. Later in the 1950s, with the economic take-off and modernization, young artists were widely influenced by Western cultures and modern arts. The foundation of the Eastern Art Association (東方畫會), May Art Society (五月畫會) and Modern Prints Association (現代版畫會) has initiated modernization of the Taiwanese art circle, transforming the landscape of art creation. However, Taiwanese arts took on a different path in the 1970s to nativism that appealed to reflection on and returning to the homeland. The nativist movement not only influenced literature, dance and arts at that time, but also showed its impact on the development of Taiwanese identity after the martial law was lifted.

Is it a path from the “Min practice” during the Ming/Qing Dynasty and “local colors” during Japanese governance to the pursuit of one’s own style and thinking? Or, is it just another popular but superficial imitation of form? Does it have a far-reaching influence on Taiwanese arts? All these issues are worth discussing and will be covered in the conference papers. Papers presented in this conference include “The Quality and Quantity of Nativist Art in Taiwan,” “Imagination of Nationhood and the Framework of Nativist Art in Taiwan,” “Insider or Outsider? An Analysis of Issues Involved in the Creation of the Environmental Experience for Taiwanese Landscape Paintings in the 1970s,” “The Art of Not Being Governed: Seeing Taiwanese Art in the 1970s beyond a State,” and “The Creation of Nativist Poetry: Arts and the Nativist Movement in the 1970s Taiwan.”

The viewpoints and discussions that brought up by artists and critics are usually applicable to the time they live in. However, with time passing, when we look back and rethink the same period, we will certainly have a different approach to the same issues. That’s why we have invited experts who have been contributed to the research on art history in Taiwan to bring their latest research results in the conference, sharing their diverse and professional thoughts with us. We’ve collected these papers in the hope of providing inspiration for all who are passionate about art research, offering a different perspective of the postwar art in 1970s Taiwan.

Director
National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts



臺灣鄉土美術的質與量

The Quality and Quantity of Nativist Art in Taiwan

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謝東山

Tung-Shan Hsieh

摘要

1970年代，文學的鄉土運動解放了創作的限制，美術方面則因為鄉土題材早在日治時期即已存在，題材若無關政治議題便不是禁忌。反之，因鄉土運動的推動而使美術界，為了表達更深入的描繪鄉村景觀和民俗風情，採用照相取材手法，增進畫面的真實感與審美趣味。照相寫實後來成為臺灣美術史的一種表現手法，並在1970年代之後成為某種特有風格。在討論臺灣鄉土美術的歷史意義問題上，媒材、形式、題材、內容構成創作思想的四大議題。媒材由於它的專門性質，很少研究者觸及，題材與內容則已受到廣泛討論，而形式問題到目前為止並無深入的探索。四十年過去，人們逐漸體認到，流行的議題如鄉土美術，終究只是歷史現象，事過境遷沉澱下來，飽含人文意義的事物不多。

在這些不多的美術史遺事中，重要的不是人們曾經為臺灣美術做過什麼，而是最後留給歷史的啓示是什麼。若說到鄉土美術運動的成就是不凡的，那麼，它最終是創作形式的改變。歷史不斷地轉變，古人相信歷史在走向至善，現代人承認歷史的前進是辨證的統一。鄉土美術形式上的改變可能只是現階段的定在（Being Determinate），它仍有可能產生使臺灣寫實繪畫具備名實相符的實在性。從文展、臺展、府展到省展等類型的繪畫風格發展過程中，70年代改變的是創作風格，以及這些風格所帶來的整套創作邏輯。本文試著分析鄉土美術運動所形成的藝術規則，以及從此規則所畫定的形式矩陣中，探索臺灣當代學院派繪畫的創作理念根源。

關鍵詞：超級寫實主義、文展、外光派、學院主義、風俗畫、世代

前言

1970年代，文學的鄉土運動解放了創作的限制，這在當時是相當於文化檢查（cultural censor）的問題。美術的鄉土運動無關政治，但它帶給臺灣美術某種對未來的許諾，並改變了美術文化的進程。

1960年代中期，所謂「現實主義」的文學觀點開始出現在臺灣的文壇上，而以尉天聰所主編的《文學季刊》作為最重要的作家集結園地。到了1970年代，現實主義的文學觀逐漸滲入鄉土文學作家的作品當中，鄉土文學的重要作家像是陳映真、黃春明、王禎和、王拓、楊青矗等人，都逐漸在文壇上漸露頭角。¹

1970年代現代派過度西化的情形，早在1966年到1970年間，已遭到陳映真、尉天聰等人的批判。不過由於1970年代初期，詩壇在內部、外部的諸多因素下，新世代詩人開始推動內部的反省。這樣的氣氛，使得關傑明、唐文標等來自外部的批評，引起一陣風潮。

1972年2月與9月，當時為新加坡大學英文系教授的關傑明於《中國時報》人間副刊分別發表〈中國現代詩的困境〉與〈中國現代詩的幻境〉二文直指當時臺灣新詩過度模仿西方，是一種「殖民文學」。²他就三本詩集提出討論：葉維廉編譯的《中國現代詩選（1955-1965）》，張默、痲弦、洛夫編的《中國現代詩論選》，洛夫等人編的《中國現代文學大系（1950-1970）》詩一、二輯，認為其雖以「中國」為名，實則很少中國性，只見國際性、世界性。更嚴厲批判了包括洛夫、葉維廉、葉珊、白荻、商禽、鄭愁予等現代派詩人。³

臺大客座的數學系教授唐文標，在關傑明的批評出現後，便以「史君美」為筆名，發表〈先檢討我們自己吧〉以聲援關氏的說法。1973年7月《龍族》的評論專號上，他發表了〈什麼時候什麼地方什麼人——論傳統詩與現代詩〉，接著8月的《中外文學》、《文季》第一期與第二期，分別刊出〈詩的沒落〉和〈僵斃的現代詩〉兩篇舊文，9月《中外文學》再次刊出新作〈日之夕矣〉，短時間內的大量曝光，加上四文炮火過於猛烈，不僅將整個詩壇皆予以批評，甚至連學術界盛讚的批評家夏濟安亦遭受池魚，終於引起遍地烽火。連傾向關傑明的顏元叔皆為文批判，並於《中外文學》第2卷第5期上以「唐文標事件」稱之。⁴有關鄉土文學論戰的過程與結局，現已有不少研究出版，例如張雙英的《二十世紀臺灣新詩史》或陳政彥的〈戰後臺灣現代詩論戰史研究〉，本文在此不多贅述。

相對於文學界，臺灣有發生過鄉土美術運動嗎？如果有的話，它的範圍有多大？有多少藝術家參與此運動？或者說，終究這只是發生在傳播媒體內的運動——一場紙上運動。從美術史的角度來看，臺灣鄉土美術的質與量確實需要重新評估。

1970年代，鄉土運動在文化界陸續展開，一如前一個時期的藝術現代化運動。美術的鄉土

1. 池煥德，《「臺灣」：一個符號鬥爭的場域：以臺灣結／中國結論戰為例》，臺中，東海大學社會學研究所碩士論文，1997年，頁27-8；楊碧川，《臺灣歷史辭典》，臺北市，前衛，1997年，頁334。
2. 張雙英，《二十世紀臺灣新詩史》，臺北，五南圖書，2006年8月，頁146。
3. 古遠清，《臺灣當代新詩史》，臺北市，文津，2008年1月，頁70；陳政彥，《戰後臺灣現代詩論戰史研究》，桃園市，國立中央大學中國文學研究所博士論文，2007年6月。
4. 陳政彥，《戰後臺灣現代詩論戰史研究》，桃園市，國立中央大學中國文學研究所博士論文，2007年6月；古遠清，《臺灣當代新詩史》，臺北市，文津，2008年1月，頁72。

運動如果拿「超級寫實主義」（Hyperrealism）的首次公開展出時間為起點，至今已有四十年歷史。1975年11月8日，由中華民國油畫《香蕉連作》，成為臺灣首次以超寫實主義公開展出的作品。⁵1970年代，美術的鄉土運動發展出兩條對後來有關鍵性影響的路線，除又名「照相寫實」的超寫實主義，國內另發展出「懷鄉寫實主義」繪畫。

1971年2月，《雄獅美術》創刊號上發表了一篇介紹懷斯（魏斯）的文章〈美國懷鄉寫實主義大師——魏斯〉，因效果逼真，又帶鄉愁意味，很快成為年輕世代模仿學習對象。魏斯（Andrew Wyeth，1917-1996）成名於1950年代，他最著名的畫作（曾被讀者文摘報導），是《克莉斯汀娜的世界Christina's World》，於1948年完成。在魏斯的作品中，我們可以發現，他將現實景物與過去的記憶或聯想結合，營造令人難以捉摸的感動。他也喜歡用景物的四季變化來暗喻生命的榮枯。畫作中常呈現憂鬱的氣氛，幽暗的房間、閣樓、農具、鐵器、帆布、土石、枯草、牆上的懸浮物、吊在樹上的死鹿，充滿了孤獨與落寞的情緒。這種忠實描繪生活中平凡事物的創作風格，符合70年代臺灣畫壇關注鄉土的訴求，給臺灣鄉土美術帶來一個新的創作方向，喚起觀者對鄉土的追憶與緬懷，提供鄉土美術一個創作方向，配合媒體的宣傳，引起仿效風潮，許多藝術家將鄉村舊物納入作品中，創作出一種精細描繪鄉土景物的風格。

「超級寫實主義」是由謝孝德回國後於學院間引進推展，成為新生代的流行畫法。上述「懷鄉寫實主義」則沒有明確的技法指導者。美術的鄉土運動主要在學院展開，這兩種技法的推廣，成為臺灣美術發展的轉捩點。它從此改變了臺灣美術的發展方向。

臺灣鄉土美術與鄉土文學論戰，在實際發展過程中，為何沒有一致的成果？還有，文學與藝術，尤其是美術，為何會有不同的進程？

文學與美術兩種媒材，本質上不同，兩者在表現與效果上自然不會有相同結果，現象學理論家莫里斯·梅洛龐蒂（Maurice Merleau-Ponty）在《世界的散文》已有清楚的解釋。⁶梅洛龐蒂說，語言作為一種溝通媒材是文化累積下來的定式，只能用，不能改變。這不同於繪畫的媒材的寬鬆規定。在任何語言中，都有某種類似的東西。文學作家不同於畫家之處在於，「作家只能在一種既有語言中構思，而每一畫家都重構他自己的語言。」這意味著由語言所屬的這一公共財產構成的文學作品，企圖回到這一公共財產領域中。這同時意味著，文學作品一開始就是一種活在語言中的東西，「它給語言帶來的那些改變本身，在作家的處理之後，依然是可以被辨識出來的」，而畫家的經驗，「在其過渡到繼承者那裡後，就不再被視為同一的了。」⁷這意味過去的語言不盡是被克服，而是被包納進去。繪畫則「沉默無言。」⁸

語言使用一定數量的符號，它能夠從這些關鍵含義出發，重新組織任何新含義，從而能夠用同一種語言說出它們。⁹語言是絕對清楚明白的，沒有哪種思想會在語詞中殘存，「也沒有任何語

詞會在關於某種東西的純粹思想中殘存。」¹⁰語言通過把我們引向事物，使我們從語言本身忘記語言的存在。語言允許用有限數量的符號，表達不確定數量的思想或事物。這些符號被選用來準確地，重新組織我們打算說的一切新東西。¹¹「語言」包含了全部可能含義的胚芽；我們所有的思想都註定要被語言說出；出現在人的經驗中的任何含義，「在其自身內就包含著其用語，就像皮亞傑（Piaget）的兒童們眼裏，太陽在其中就包含著其名稱。」¹²

畫家和作家雖然以各自的方式，為了各自的考慮，經歷了同樣的冒險¹³，但他們之間的差別是明顯的。梅洛龐蒂引述馬爾羅（Andre' Malraux）的說法，畫家尋求於畫中的東西是他的風格。一個畫家在學會用他自己的聲音說話之前，需要花費許多時間，學會表達的一切所需技術。¹⁴這與作家在訓練寫作不同，而且更不同於文學家的是，文學使用普同的規範，畫家則否；後期的畫家並不知道他們有什麼改變，因為畫家本人永遠也說不出，「什麼是由他自己來的，什麼是事物而來的，什麼是已經在他的先前的繪畫中的，什麼是由他現在增加的，什麼是從前輩那兒獲取的，什麼是他自己的，因為這是沒有什麼意義的。」¹⁵那就是說，繪畫創作永遠沒有明確的規範可尋。科學中有著知識的累積，而繪畫始終是具而未決的。¹⁶在臺灣史上，文學規範的轉變不明顯，但繪畫則讓人眼花撩亂，這兩種媒材的性質無疑地產生不同的結果。

從長遠的溝通效果上來說，文學關乎歷史，繪畫則不為時代所侷限。語言的態度和繪畫的態度從時間角度看，差不多正好相反。「儘管繪畫中形象地表現出了人物的衣著、傢俱和用品的外形、儘管它可能暗示著某些歷史環境，它瞬間就在某種夢幻的永恆中展現出自己的魅力：經過許多世紀之後，我們仍然可以很容易地回到這幅畫，甚至無須知道誕生它的那種文明歷史。」¹⁷寫作相反地，需要先瞭解，才明白其最持久的意義。《致外省人信笈（Les provinciales）》如果不再現十七世紀的神學爭論的話，就不會告訴我們任何東西，《紅與黑》（Le rouge et le noir）如果不再現王朝復辟時期的黑暗的話，同樣不會告訴我們任何東西。¹⁸

文展型風俗畫

日本近代史上全國最高的美術競賽獎從文展開始。1907年（明治40年）10月25日，第一回文部省展覽會（簡稱文展）正式開幕，開啓了官展的歷史。文展從1907年舉辦至1918年。1919年文展改組，改由新成立之「帝國美術院」主辦，稱為「帝國美術展覽會」（簡稱帝展），從1919年至1935年。1935年「帝國美術院」改組，該年帝展停辦。1936年官展再度改為文部省主辦，被稱為新文展（1936年-1944年）。戰後1946年改為「日本美術展覽會」。該官展除了1923年（關東大震災）、

5. 之後卓有瑞更於12月13日於美新處舉行首次個展，其中包含15幅巨幅的《香蕉連作》。超寫實主義在臺灣的推廣，最早起於1973年謝孝德回國後於學院間的推展。而卓有瑞大規模的超寫實主義畫風，其精密寫實的手法可謂首開新寫實主義之風。
6. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，北京，商務印書館，2005年。
7. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，北京，商務印書館，2005年，頁115。
8. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，頁115。
9. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，頁1-2。

10. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，頁2。
11. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，頁2。
12. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，頁2。
13. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，頁52。
14. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，頁62。
15. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，頁75。
16. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，頁115。
17. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，頁116。
18. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，頁116-117。

1935年、1945年（太平洋戰爭）停辦以外，每年舉辦。自1907年創立至今，一百餘年，競賽內容與時並進，但風格變化不大。

日本人將西洋繪畫技法融入日本畫中始自江戶末期，日本美術近代化的過程中是建立在明治維新的「文明開化」基礎上。由派遣留學生到歐洲學習美術、設置美術教育機構到成立官方沙龍，而後逐漸形成統一的審美價值觀，並透過官方的力量，包括美術教育與展覽，建構出一種主流的審美價值判斷標準，在明治末年，其主要意識形態可以說是對東（日本）、西美術創作觀念的折衷主義——在對西方的認知上是極積的，在審美趣味上則傾向保守，努力地要保有傳統日本江戶以來的「町眾文化」審美理想。

日本從明治初期到大正初年（約1866-1915），學院的基礎既非安格爾式的新古典主義，也不是純粹的印象主義，而是十分有趣的，以自然主義為描繪基礎，加入印象主義注重光彩瞬間變化的日本外光派。在題材選擇上，外光派強調寫生，以現實生活中平凡的事物為素材，再加上理想化的構圖安排，因此，總的來說，並非全然忠實于自然之再現。

就審美趣味而言，文展與帝展所呈現的繪畫，不論日本畫部或西洋畫部都傾向於唯美主義。因為創作技法上是以寫生為基礎，加上題材來自於日常生活所能觸及者，所以畫面的效果展現的總是真實而不具太多幻想成分。

而在官辦的沙龍的品味控制在一些審查委員的手中。創作觀念和表現技巧所隱藏的不但是一種審美價值觀，也是一套審美價值判斷標準。例如，文展西洋畫的審查委員黑田清輝的創作技法屬於日本外光派，他的中心批評意識是：繪畫的任務不只是自然的忠實再現而已，「如果我們只畫出眼所見的，總覺得缺了點什麼。」¹⁹因此，若要通過他的審查，首先必須技法上是外光派的或接近外光派，接著，巨細靡遺的忠實寫實也不見得是「對的」畫法，它必須在自然之外，添加點什麼，才能過關。這種創作思想所建立起來的整套創作規則，後來在美術學校中形成當時的學院主義。

明治26年左右到明治末期（1910）的西洋畫壇可以黑田清輝為代表，屬於帶有日本風格的外光派畫家佔優勢的年代，成員多屬於白馬會。在1920年代之前，持續不斷地影響著日本的繪畫創作。最遲在20世紀初期，透過教育與沙龍兩個連鎖的訓練與規範，「日本化的西洋畫」和「西化的日本畫」已成為學院式的繪畫的審美判斷標準。（等同於中國五四運動的日本維新，它所達成的繪畫規範，其中的本土化即是日常生活的描繪。）

另外，日本畫方面，最早提出具體改革策略的是岡倉天心，時間是在1880年代。岡倉所領導的理想主義與由圓山四條派所沿續下來的自然主義，成為明治末期到昭和年間日本畫的兩大主流。但是它們的共同地方乃是要在日本畫的傳統之外，建立科學精神，從真實的自然中，寫生創作對象。在明治時代所標舉的改革精神就是「東西融合」、「借西助東」或「內吸傳統美術之源，外效洋畫之風」的概念。

文展與帝展（至少在1925年以前）的審查標準，謝東山在《臺灣美術批評史》整理並歸納出大致為四個規範²⁰：第一，作品必須來自於實際的觀察——即現場寫生；第二，物象的把握要精

確——素描或寫實能力；第三，物體雖因光與大氣的影響會產生變化，但其固有色仍不可忽視——色彩表現；最後，在這些可見的物件之外，繪畫還需要一點不存在於描繪物件外觀的東西——情感的表現力。這最後一點指的就是作者在創作之際，對自然所生的情感（emotion），也是作品所顯現的個性。這四個形式要件所組成的價值判斷標準，無疑地，確立了不但是日本官展與臺灣官展（包括臺展與府展）的審查標準，也同時是美術學校教學的四點原則。它們曾經在20世紀初成為在野繪畫團體的攻擊目標，因為這四個形式要件正是建構「學院主義」（academicism）的教條。

由此四個形式要件，文展的風格逐漸受到規範，因為「作品必須來自於實際的觀察」，而觀察的物件總是畫家生活周遭之景物，這些是構成「風俗畫」的題材，他們包括靜物、風景、人物、日常生活景像、歷史故事或傳說。文展後來的發展，確實以風俗畫為最大宗，並以此開發出後來被稱為「文展型風俗畫」的畫種。在日本，「學院主義」的批評意識一直要等到東鄉青兒所領導的二科會在帝展佔有獨立出來的空間後，才逐漸失去它的全面統治威力。在臺灣，「學院主義」一直是戰後美展的審查指標，它的影響力一直到1960年代仍然是全面性的。

戰後初期寫實畫風

文展型寫實繪畫從「臺展三少年」於1927年首屆臺展一夕成名後，成為學習榜樣，他們帶頭以寫生為主的畫風持續下來。

戰後初期，臺灣美術風格和創作價值觀，大底上延續日治時期，尤其是西畫與東洋畫。這個時期的西畫與東洋畫在形式上沿襲臺展這時期的外光派，題材以日常生活為主。臺展風格延續日本文展的傳統，並保留了文展的審美價值觀。這套審美價值觀，最終生產出後日流行久遠的前述「文展型風俗畫」，雖然畫的人全是臺灣畫家。從日治時期到民國時期，繪畫或雕刻的鄉土題材，有了名分的改變，日治時期它的名字是「地方色」，包含著日本本島與臺灣，民國時期它更名「鄉土」，意涵裡，隱約指稱大陸與臺灣。

全省美展（臺灣省全省美術展覽會，簡稱省展）第一次展覽會於1946年（民國35年）10月22日假臺北市中山堂舉行。省展初期「文展型風俗畫」，留日畫家以及他們的學生的作品佔極大比例。風格大多數為前已述及的外光派，少數為帶有表現派色彩的作品。我們今日所說的印象主義與古典主義作品，在1970年之前很少在省展中見到。

美術論戰

文學論戰期間，美術界一直到論戰末期才發生一次爭辯。蔣勳主編《雄獅美術》期間，在該刊93期（1978年11月號）策畫「海外華裔藝術家特輯」。²¹蔣勳在1978年出任《雄獅美術》總編輯，在原有的美術領域之外，增闢了攝影、建築、音樂、影劇、舞蹈、文學等內容，形式上，《雄獅美術》變成了一份綜合性的文藝刊物，它遂成為鄉土運動支持者的另一個新據點。這是一次各類型藝

19. 黑田清輝語。日展史編纂委員會，《日展史1》，東京都，光琳社，1980年，頁333。

20. 謝東山，《臺灣美術批評史》，臺北，洪業文化事業公司，2005年8月。

21. 蔡宏明，〈適生力極強的鄉土文學——美術中的鄉土〉，《臺灣文藝》105期，1987年，頁5-6。

術的鄉土運動健將的大集合，這些跨越界限的單元，在當時的美術界造成頗大的震盪，同時成為文學論戰的理念，轉滲到各個文藝領域的新開端。²²

在上述「海外華裔藝術家特輯」中，編者刻意以趙無極、周文中、貝聿銘為樣本，指出藝術後學者以他們揚名海外的成就為追求的最高目標，是一種病態的現象，因為這種現象會令「自己的文化迷失在這種浮誇的虛榮心理上，使本土文化永遠累積不了成果」。這個籌畫甚久的特輯，原是以國內年輕藝術工作者為訴求物件，旨在期待新一代「為這一時期中國文化犁田、撒種、插秧、灌溉、除稗草、施肥料」，然而編輯報告中提到：「不要徒然用他們在異國的聲名來滿足自淫……結果是一代一代年輕的中國人，遠拜著巴黎或紐約，一代一代的中國青年在毫無自信的情況下讓這一段的中國藝術史成為空白」，終於引起以賀釋真為首的一群留居巴黎的中國藝術家的回應。²³這次「華裔藝術家」事件是1970年代美術界唯一引發的論戰，爭論的重點不是創作題材，而是後殖民主義的正當性。

鄉土美術運動

臺灣美術引進寫實技術的時機，恰好與文學鄉土化同一個年代，但與文學的關係不大。技術引進與兩本美術雜誌有關，《雄獅美術》與《藝術家》兩家雜誌社都是七〇年代初成立。

1971年2月，《雄獅美術》創刊，在創刊號上發表了一篇介紹懷斯（魏斯）的文章《美國懷鄉寫實主義大師——魏斯》，作者是主編何政廣。懷斯的作品細膩而抒情，描繪的是美國鄉村風光，在七〇年代的這股鄉土主義的潮流下，被冠上「懷鄉寫實大師」。1972年，韓湘寧在《雄獅美術》上對紐約的超級寫實主義繪畫做了介紹，同年8月，謝里法的《論攝影走向繪畫的路》也介紹了這一新的繪畫形式。1974年，何耀宗發表《今日的寫實主義》，對超級寫實繪畫做了詳細論述。另外，何政廣還出版了《魏斯——美國懷鄉寫實大師》一書，並在《雄獅美術》對魏斯再次做了詳細的介紹。1974年，旅居巴黎的謝孝德將這種盛行於美國紐約的新藝術引介入臺灣，再經由《雄獅美術》雜誌刊載相關畫家的文章及作品，許多藝術家開始嘗試此類創作，並在校園中推廣，蔚為一股新的創作潮流。在劉聖秋的碩士論文《七〇年代臺灣鄉土美術之研究》內中也提到，照相技法被廣為採用，即連水墨畫也開始利用照相術，李奇茂矇矓的水牛畫作和顧重光的古屋系列，都是藉由照相機的幫助，從各種角度仔細觀察物體。「不僅能擺脫傳統的羈絆，且能夠呈現社會現實」，引起許多藝術家仿效，使超級寫實主義走向鄉土化的發展。

至於超級寫實主義（Hyperrealism）又被稱作照相寫實主義（Photographic Realism），流行於七〇年代的一種藝術風格。它幾乎完全以照片作為參照，在畫布上客觀而清晰地加以再現。正如克洛斯（Chuck Close）所說，「我的主要目的是把攝影的資訊翻譯成繪畫的資訊。」它所達到的驚人的逼真程度，比起照相機來有過之而無不及。照相寫實主義是以相機來採集視覺材料，並依此創作畫作的一派現實主義畫風，產生於1960年代末1970年代初的紐約。受電視和電影等的刺激，依賴照

相術，是都市生活形態的產物，呈現的是「人工的自然」。代表畫家有泊爾斯坦（Pearlstein），科洛斯（Close），唐艾迪（Don Eddy），和愛斯特（Richard Estes）等。「照相寫實主義其獨特之處在於利用攝影成果做客觀、逼真的描繪。往往先製作平面的照片形象，再將其移植到畫布上。」它的理論是根據現代哲學中的距離論，認為「傳統的寫實主義是注入了作者的主觀激情，因而是一種主觀的寫實或人文的現實，為觀者瞭解的可能性較小。而不含主觀感情、用大家共同的眼睛（照相機）來觀察和反映，則能為更多的群眾所瞭解，傳達的範圍更廣。因而照相寫實主義的作品嚴峻、冷漠，有自然主義風格。而且，放大日常事物的尺寸，所造成的美學和心理效果異乎尋常。」²⁴

省展的改革

1973年省展的改革始末。自1946年「省展」開辦以來，省展體制所形成的保守勢力，阻礙著臺灣美術前進的力量。歷年來所形成的積弊如下：1.評審以人為導向，缺乏客觀的評審標準。2.免審查制度取消後，評審晉升的管道受阻。3.獎勵方式不再全然吸引創作者。4.展覽機構增多後，省展的權威逐漸式微。5.濃厚的沙龍性格，題材顯得偏頗。1973年第27屆籌備會議召開時，新科籌備委員兼評審委員謝孝德乃正式將上述弊病提出討論，經過各方討論後，導致了1974年第28屆評審委員結構的大幅變革，結果如下：1.籌備會議改由全國各大美術團體（畫會、學會）負責人與省級社教機構代表所組成。2.將自第一屆以來長期蟬連的資深評審委員一律更換，輩分高者聘為顧問，不再參與評審作業。3.評審委員之聘請，每年先由各美術團體推薦，後經主辦單位圈選，呈報上級，核准後方得產生。4.評審委員年年局部更換。1974年評審團結構的大幅改變²⁵，取消國畫第二部，本省籍評審委員大量裁減，剩林玉山一人，可說是美術界對原先省展風格的突襲，也是對「文展型」美術路線的反擊。省展一開始的審查路線是與臺展相同，而臺展是日本文展的複製。

1975年，謝孝德出版了《新寫實主義》一書。同年，第一屆「全國油畫展」當中卓有瑞100號的油畫作品《香蕉連作》，成為臺灣首次以超寫實主義公開展出的作品。之後卓有瑞更於12月13日於美新處舉行首次個展，其中包含15幅巨幅的《香蕉連作》。卓有瑞大規模的超級寫實主義畫風，其精密寫實的手法可謂首開新寫實主義之風。

「鄉土美術」的發展結果，「寫實主義」得到鼓舞，對於鄉土題材的寫實風格多予以肯定。1976年《雄獅美術》舉辦的「青年繪畫比賽」（1978年更名為「雄獅美術新人獎」）帶動了鄉土美術的風潮，成為七〇年代除了省展、全國美展等官展之外，首度由民間主辦的繪畫競賽。²⁶「雄獅美術新人獎」的評審標準多傾向鄉土題材的寫實作風，如1978年的三位得主謝明錫、王文平、詹前裕，都以鄉土美術為題材。

1978年鄉土美術的盛況，這一年為鄉土美術的興盛期，不僅水彩、油畫家，甚至連水墨畫家也如倪再沁所謂的：「背起相機回到鄉野去拍攝符合鄉土原則的景象，然後以素描功力為基礎，以水

22. 蔡宏明，〈適生力極強的鄉土文學——美術中的鄉土〉，《臺灣文藝》105期，1987年，頁5-6。

23. 蔡宏明，〈適生力極強的鄉土文學——美術中的鄉土〉，《臺灣文藝》105期，1987年，頁5-6。

24. 參見「照相寫實主義」百度百科解釋，（2010年2月16日瀏覽）。

25. 1974年第二十八屆起，取消國畫第二部，本省籍評審委員大量裁減，剩林玉山一人。

26. 倪再沁，《臺灣美術的人文觀察》，臺北，雄獅出版社，1995年，頁27。

墨棉紙為媒體，刻畫出全新的水墨鄉土。」²⁷

1979年，全國青年畫展由光復書局主辦，《藝術家》雜誌社協辦，展覽的一大特色為臺灣首次採用「主題性畫展」來競賽，其創作名稱定為「生活與環境」，與鄉土美術有著密切的關聯。得主為袁金塔、韓舞麟、張振宇、洪敬雲、黃銘祝、謝榮源。水彩畫為此次參展的主流，風格為「鄉土寫實」路線。

若從題材分類，七〇年代可以劃歸為泛鄉土主義的藝術家很多，其中還包括原先屬於文展型風格的本土題材創作的人。蔡宏明在〈適生力極強的鄉土文學——美術中的鄉土〉一文指出，沈國仁、李薦宏，以不同的手法來呈現臺灣的鄉土風光。膠彩畫方面，林之助、林玉山、許深洲、陳進、陳慧坤、黃鷗波、蔡草如等人，經常捕捉現實生活、鄉土風光為題材。在具有外光派風格的第二代畫家中，不少是生長於日據時代的，如張炳堂、何肇衢、王守英、陳瑞福。戰後出生者，陳東元（1943-）、曾茂煌（1934-）、黃銘哲（1948-）、謝明錡（1955-）、陳來興（1949-）、黃銘祝（1956-）、袁金塔（1949-）、蘇信義（1949-）、王國柱（1945-）等人，都被歸於鄉土主義的藝術家。²⁸

畫風比較

綜觀之，1970年代至今，畫家若以描繪方法分類可分為兩大類，外加若干小類。第一類，完全以寫生作畫，不論室內或室外題材，離開寫生對象，不再作重大修飾。前輩畫家很多風景寫生屬於此類型。這類畫家堅持繪畫要有臨場感，或班雅明所說的「靈光」（aura）。第二類，完全依賴照片作畫，即使最後有修飾，也不改變原照片圖像，後來的照相寫實畫家，不少採用此法。此外，在第一類寫生型中，不少畫家在現場畫出初稿，回家後根據速寫（sketch）或照片完成創作。第二類照片作畫型中，也有畫家把照片當參考，加入其他照片所無細節。總之，在這兩大繪畫陣營裡，存在著不少變數。然而，目前的趨勢是，寫生的畫家多屬文展型畫家，年紀平均在60歲以上，人口逐年遞減。第二類型創作者情形剛好相反，年齡逐年下降，人口逐年遞增，簡單講，目前創作前先做寫生的人，在國內已接近絕種。

1970年代「鄉土運動」在表現技法上，有新的發現，除了原先文展型風格，美國超現實主義（Super Realism）的平塗或噴畫法²⁹，以及被稱為懷鄉寫實畫家魏斯（Andrew Wyeth，1917-96）的精密蛋彩技法，都為年輕世代開啓新的一扇技法之門。就像鄉土文人畫畫一樣，照相寫實畫家表達的無限新意在於：它最終使沉默的文化走出其致命的迴圈。³⁰

27. 倪再沁，《臺灣美術的人文觀察》，頁31。

28. 蔡宏明，〈適生力極強的鄉土文學——美術中的鄉土〉，《臺灣文藝》105期，1987年，頁5-6。

29. Photorealism is a genre of art that encompasses painting, drawing and other graphic media, in which an artist studies a photograph and then attempts to reproduce the image as realistically as possible in another medium. Although the term can be used broadly to describe artworks in many different media, it is also used to refer specifically to a group of paintings and painters of the United States art movement that began in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Wikipedia, 20 March 2016.

30. 梅洛龐蒂著，楊大春譯，《世界的散文》，北京，商務印書館，2005年，頁112。

技法與創作形式

一個畫家總是採用某種媒材（medium），依照某種形式（form），畫出他想要的題材（subject matter）。他選擇的題材，配合了他所用的形式，如此完成的作品可以傳達某種他試圖表現的內容（content）。一個畫家的主要任務就是如此，這是大家都知道的事實。「媒材」大家都能辨視（例如油畫），「題材」就出現在畫面（例如宜蘭龜山島）。形式永遠保持緘默，只對行家開口。「內容」則總是含羞帶笑，要你猜，有時連作者都拿捏不住，到底他要表達的是「海外孤懸一荒島」，還是「蓬萊有仙山」。媒材、形式、題材、內容四者，就是一位畫家或雕刻家創作時要面對的問題。

就目前所知，鄉土美術研究者多偏向於詮釋題材，略過媒材，大談內容。形式則因為像文學，藏在字裡行間，隱瞞自己的真實身分，難以誘導，又不便公然拷問。正因為這個事實，研究者常迴避形式問題的盤詰。然而，整個鄉土美術運動的策動者，可能就是這個隱形的「形式」。它從內部開始，改變了臺灣美術的寫實問題。本文接下來試著從這個角度，瞭解鄉土美術運動所使用的創作形式，以及它所有可能已建立起來的規範。

1680年，Henri Testelin出版《箴言錄》，這是制定藝術規則完全公式化的一本書，集體著作，巴黎Testelin整理出版³¹。《箴言錄》可以概括代表藝術理論在17世紀的瞭解³²：其中1.構圖、2.素描、3.情感表現力、4.光線、5.色彩被美術界接受為創作的首要規範。17世紀之前，完美的藝術條件還包括透視學與解剖學。就現代藝術來看，這五種必要條件應可縮減為四種：光線與色彩統一成一個項目。自從後印象派觀念興起後，光線不再是判斷藝術創作能力的必要條件，似已不言自明。

風格包含三大元素，即造形元素（plastic elements）、具象元素（figurative elements）以及組織方法（manner of working）。組織方法指組織造形元素與具象元素的方法，這是造成某種風格的重點。先撇開具象元素不談，光就造形元素與組織方法，來分析文展型風格與照相寫實型兩者的差異。

首先，文展型風格形式要素的四個規範：第一，作品必須來自於實際的觀察,即現場寫生——素描；第二，物象的把握要精確，寫實能力——構圖；第三，物體雖因光與大氣的影響會產生變化，但其固有色仍不可忽視，色彩表現——色彩；最後，在這些可見的物件之外，繪畫還需要一點不存在於描繪物件外觀的東西——情感表現力。這最後一點指的就是作者在創作之際，對自然所生的情感（emotion），也是作品所顯現的個性。素描、構圖、色彩、情感表現力，此四則規範從日本早期文展到省展中期（約1975年前後）沒有多大改變。

1970年代至今，照相寫實取代寫生寫實後，四則規範所組成的矩陣發生明顯變化。³³素描—構圖—色彩—情感表現力，分別代表觀察力、具象元素組織力、固有色與光線的整合力、素描—構圖—色彩三者的編組能力。照相寫實的創作流程上，素描一項因為描繪對像是平面的照片，不是素描定義中的寫生——由帶有光影的立體對象轉換為平面的物像，素描力被縮減至無；相反，它在真實感超越寫生是無庸置疑。構圖（具象元素組織力）在寫生型與照相型無明顯差距。色彩（固有色與光線的整合力）方面，寫生型從現場中獲取真實的色與光的真實臨場感，照相型則固有色與光線被壓縮成平面的、虛擬的，因此色彩失去強烈真實的表現力。情感表現力（素描—構圖—色彩三者的編組能力）方面，照相型與寫生型理論上有同樣的能力，唯有在素描一項較難改變物相，表現範

31. 李宏編著，《西方美術理論簡史》，重慶，西南師範大學出版社，2008年，頁86。

32. 李宏編著，《西方美術理論簡史》，重慶，西南師範大學出版社，2008年，頁86。

33. 矩陣運算在科學計算中非常重要，而矩陣的基本運算包括矩陣的加法，減法，數乘，轉置，共軛和共軛轉置。

圍受到牽制。

綜合比較下，（1）寫生型在細節表現上不如照相型，（2）但照相型的寫實性趨於平版化。（3）照相型的光影表現不如寫生型，（4）寫生型在情感表現力上勝出照相型。由素描—構圖—色彩—情感表現力組成的這個矩陣中，若以A代表素描，B代表構圖，C代表色彩，D代表情感表現力，那麼明顯地，A在迅速消失，B在增強中，C增強虛擬性也同時降低真實感，D在減弱中。照相型的寫實所造成的缺點並非臺灣獨有。在一個後工業時代，圖像虛擬化日益蔓延，它已威脅到繪畫的人性化。這是目前全球正在面臨的情況。

照相型與寫生型之間存在著某種辯證關係。在臺灣，照相型寫實的興起與發展，無疑地，被設想成在取代甚至消滅寫生型寫實。照相型寫實與寫生型寫實的關係正如黑格爾所說，事物辯證發展的規律是：

普遍的東西構成基礎，因此，不應當把前進的、運動的，看作從某一他物到另一他物的流動。在繼續規定的每一個階段上，普遍的東西不斷提高它以前的全部內容，它不僅沒有因其辯證的前進運動喪失了什麼，丟下了什麼，而且還帶著一切收穫物，使自己內部不斷豐富和充實起來。³⁴

據此，可以明白地說，臺灣寫實繪畫的發展過程是一個帶著一切收穫物，使自身內部不斷豐富和充實起來的過程。新形態寫實繪畫因社會生活的發展、文明的進步，使其內容日漸豐富起來。

研究方法上的一些問題

臺灣鄉土美術的主要角色為戰後崛起的第一代，風格寫實的畫家如吳耀忠、賴武雄，及1970年代崛起的鄉土寫實美術新生代。後者之中，部分是來自學院的畫家如施並錫、奚淞、翁清土、韓舞麟、謝明錫、黃銘昌及非學院出身的黃銘哲、周孟德、陳隆等人，活耀的時間在1970年代末80年代初。鄉土美術與鄉土文學相同的是都大量使用日常生活中的題材，而且都偏向取材鄉村場景。

這種趨勢反映出，僅從寫實風格繪畫觀察，日治時期出生的畫家，多屬於文展型畫家，重寫生，重表現個人對描繪對象的感覺。戰後第一代出生者，如韓舞麟（1947-?）、施並錫（1947-）、陳世明（1948-）、蘇信義（1949-）、洪敬雲（1951-）、黃銘昌（1952-）、賴佳宏（1957-）……等畫家，理應屬省展型畫風，但實際上並不一致，有的因受教於前輩畫家，有的則日後改變風格。而新一代（1980年代以後出生者），明顯地是屬於影像製作者而非傳統意義的畫家了。這裡存在著歷史分期、風格與世代的問題，我們接著來探討一下，以便瞭解實際的分佈情形。

歷史分期

每個社會變化的節奏時快時慢，「代」的期限也時長時短。歷史上有些代較長，有些則較短，

要通過考察才能發現曲線的轉捩點。³⁵歷史的發展以時間為單位，但歷史的敘述，「最精確的測定未必是最小的時間單位，而是最能反映事件本質的東西。」³⁶有些事物的起始並沒有確切的日期，例如鄉土美術運動，這個史實若指一個單主題而言，確實有一個確定時間標幟，若是作為一個政治與文化運動，其原先設定的日期，只不過是一個明顯的標幟，但並不精確的。它的運動原因與結果都比政治事件本身更複雜。以十年為單位可能比一年更能說明事件的因果關係。例如，文展型繪畫在臺流行時間，前後長達60年，約從1927到1980年代初，而且跟政權的更替無關。1980年代後，新的一代進入不是鄉土就是後現代時期。

風格

起源與藝術流派（artistic school）。英國當代藝術學者Nigel Wentworth在其《繪畫現象學》提到繪畫流派（school）的形成；「畫家學會他的手藝，是通過模仿他的老師、其他畫家的作品，以及他所遇到的他們的作品³⁷」。畫家學習某個老師時，是學習某個畫派的繪畫方式。是以明確的教學，如講授使用什麼工具材料，如何使用，「代表了一個特定時期，一個單獨畫派的特殊實踐。它可以被描述為一種範式，畫家在其中學習創作。」³⁸

範式（paradigm）是由個別畫家形成的，之後，別人又模仿他們。「其中一些畫家將盲目地在這個範式之內創作，創作出顯然具有派生性質的乏味的作品；其他畫家則會將它重新創作為某種完全不同的東西。」³⁹任何一個時代都存在許多流行的趨勢，「畫家會嘗試開發這些畫風，吸取他需要的東西。」⁴⁰臺灣畫家發展了平行於美國寫實主義的那些畫派時，他們同時也改造了那種畫派所列示的繪畫風格，如此，他們逐漸形成某種不同的傳統。例如，我們在魏斯繪畫中發現的對造型或光影的表現方式，也能夠在臺灣鄉土寫實主義風格的繪畫作品中找到。

世代

世代的問題。歷史記述的主旋律是代或世代（generation）。同代人的定義原意指在同一時期於相同社會環境中出生的人，如明代14世紀末出生的蘇州人，臺灣戰後嬰兒潮出生的人。同代人「必然受到類似的影響，在思想尚未定型的年齡更是如此。」⁴¹同一代的人，他們的行為通常會清楚地表現出某些引人注目的特徵。而在不同年代出生的人口之間，他們的觀點即使相反時也同樣有相同的特徵，當他們互相對立爭論某一問題時，也反映出相同的行為特徵。這就是人們所說的，

34. 皮道堅，〈中國美術史研究中的方法論問題〉，收錄於劭大箴主編，《中國現代美術理論批評文叢－皮道堅卷》，北京，人民美術出版社，2011年11月，頁9-10。

35. 馬克·布洛克（Marc Bloch）著，張和聲譯，《歷史學家的技藝》（Apologie Pour l'Histoire ou Métier d'Historien），北京，北京師範大學出版社，2014年1月，頁154。

36. 馬克·布洛克（Marc Bloch）著，張和聲譯，《歷史學家的技藝》（Apologie Pour l'Histoire ou Métier d'Historien），頁152。

37. Wentworth, Nigel 原著，董宏宇、王春辰譯，《繪畫現象學》，上海，江蘇出版社，2006年，頁164。

38. Wentworth, Nigel 原著，董宏宇、王春辰譯，《繪畫現象學》，頁164。

39. Wentworth, Nigel 原著，董宏宇、王春辰譯，《繪畫現象學》，頁180。

40. Wentworth, Nigel 原著，董宏宇、王春辰譯，《繪畫現象學》，頁182。

41. 馬克·布洛克（Marc Bloch）著，張和聲譯，《歷史學家的技藝》（Apologie Pour l'Histoire ou Métier d'Historien），北京，北京師範大學出版社，2014年1月，頁153。

「相同的烙印來自相同的時代，從而造就了一代人。」⁴²文展型、省展型、影像型三種風格的創作者，屬於三個世代，年齡上同代的人可能並非完全相同，但在藝術的認知上屬於同一代人。有些學科是以「代」來劃分時期，如藝術流派史、思想史。⁴³臺灣的美術流派若從代來劃分，西洋媒材已至少有三代，中國媒材則有文人畫、新文人畫、前衛水墨三代人。這種世代的劃分法確實與政權王朝的更迭無關。

「代」的時間節奏。鄉土寫實畫家與後來興起的照相寫實不屬於同代人，雖然有些人年齡較前者大，但他們的觀念並不屬之。代與代之間難以滲透，因為在同樣的影響下，個人會做出不同的反應。⁴⁴在臺灣美術史中，「一代」這個概念有個起始點，例如二次大後，戰爭時期出生的一代人，可能都屬於同樣環境下成長的人。然而這一群中，對事件的感受就各自的性質而異，早熟者屬於前一代，一般者屬於這一代。⁴⁵前述第二代鄉土畫家在分類上，他們是戰後一代未受日本美術教育者，這時，臺灣繪畫已明顯擺脫日本文展的支配，他們開始一種不再像前輩畫家的創作標準，是「省展式風俗畫」的第一代畫家。

分類原則

在分類每一代寫實繪畫時，我們所用的方法是找出它們之間的同一性（identity）。同一性的實現方法為⁴⁶：1.忽略事物的多樣特徵，只挑出具有典型性的其中之一，例如從a, b, c, d, e,中，找出a，因為a具備典型性。例如在懷鄉寫實型風格中，謝明錫的畫風可能最接近典型性。2.忽略事物的多樣特徵，把多樣特徵聚合成為一種。例伽，把a, b , c, d, e加總起來成為「一」（One），在照相寫實風格中，顧重光的畫風可能最接近「一」，他的超級寫實靜物畫包含各種臺灣超級寫實的共同特徵，即a.照相為本，b.無筆觸，c.物相比例放大，d.無照片質感（如陳昭宏作品）。

一切藝術都是多樣的或不同的。藝術不同來自：1.藝術本身的固有特性；2.藝術外表的差異。每一代寫實繪畫的差別（difference）的性質⁴⁷，以鄉土寫實繪畫類為例，它們之間的差異產生多樣性（variety, diversity）的面貌。在多樣性中，不同事物各自其所是，且不受其與他物關係的影響，這種關係是外在於它們的。鄉土美術風格存在差異性，但是由於差異在它們之間互不影響，差異就變成第三者，一個比較者，一個概念（notion）。

質與量

臺灣鄉土美術的質與量問題。黑格爾（Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel）在《小邏輯》中提到，

42.馬克·布洛克（Marc Bloch），張和聲譯，《歷史學家的技藝》，頁153。

43.馬克·布洛克（Marc Bloch）著，張和聲譯，《歷史學家的技藝》，頁155。

44.馬克·布洛克（Marc Bloch）著，張和聲譯，《歷史學家的技藝》，頁154。

45.馬克·布洛克（Marc Bloch）著，張和聲譯，《歷史學家的技藝》，頁154。

46.黑格爾（Georg W.F. Hegel）原著，黃昀、常培育譯，《小邏輯》（The Logic of Hege1），2冊，北京，中國社會科學院出版社，2007年8月，頁115。

47.黑格爾（Georg W.F. Hege1）原著，黃昀、常培育譯，《小邏輯》，頁117。

存在包含3個階段⁴⁸：1.質（Quality），2.量（Quantity），3.尺度（Measure）。先說質。質是與存在相同一的性質（the character identical with being）；存在就是有，「有」是不可感覺，不可感知，不可想像的，而只是純思，只是抽象的存在。「有」若要成為實在的有，是通過「變異」（Becoming）的辯證過程。質存在著自身的否定性。質包含著異在（Being-for-another），是某物的擴張。質與他物的比較，就是自在存在（Being-by-self）。

把定在（Determinate Being）當做存在（Determinateness），這樣就可以得到實在（Reality）。⁴⁹例如，一個計畫是實在（已不再是主觀、內在的），身體是靈魂的實在，法律是自由的實在，世界是神聖理想的實在，藝術是意象的實在。達成實在性的條件是事物與概念相符合的存在。例如，鄉土寫實繪畫的實在，便是鄉土寫實繪畫是與「鄉土寫實繪畫」概念相符合的繪畫。臺灣鄉土美術的「質」是一種「有」，但經過變異，具體化為「實在」，被藝術家實踐為意象的實在，因此已超越只是純思的階段。

定在（Being Determinate）是Hegel哲學的特點：事物皆具兩面性，因為事物的變易是宇宙下的常態。變易是事物生與滅的原理。天地之間的事物包含矛盾（contradiction）或對立（opposite attribute）。天地之間不是生生不息；只有生是正常，滅則是不正常。天地之間的生滅過程是一種辯證的方式：其結果是一個純粹的無（一個包含有在內的無），也同樣是純粹的有（一個包含無在內的有）。

定在（Determinate being）是變易的統一，是事物當下的存在狀態，例如，燃燒、生命週期、走路、畫畫，都屬於定在。變易是有與無的統一。這種統一內，有無的差異性互相引涉，呈不固定狀態。變易（Becoming）是一切存在物的基本特徵。古希臘哲學家Heraclitus曾說過：「一切皆流動。（All is flowing.）」反之，定在（Determinate being）是統一形式中的變易。定在都是片面的（is there and so）和有限的（is one-sided and finite）。照相寫實風格就性質來說，是片面的和有限的，它隱藏著變易；它不會一勞永逸地解決了臺灣美術寫實繪畫創作方式。

本質的問題。鄉土寫實繪畫的本質是什麼？本質（Essence）是映現在物自身的存在。⁵⁰本質的觀點（point of view）屬於反思（Reflection）的觀點，存在於事物中，在事物表面底下，它的存在只在人的反思之下才產生——本質不是自為存在的東西。事物各有其本質，本質是永恆不變的。但是在鄉土寫實繪畫作品的直接存在中，沒有真實性。對人來說，本質和內在只能在外在的現實中證實，透過現實被認識到。本質作為反思的範疇是根據（ground）同一性（identity）、差別性（difference）產生人的思維中。

因為「鄉土寫實繪畫」只是一個臺灣美術史上已有共識的概念，要證實某畫為鄉土寫實繪畫，我們實際上只能從「什麼不是鄉土寫實繪畫」（差別性）去確認它的可能存在，再從同一性中証實其存在。在此反思中，「鄉土寫實繪畫」是此辯證的根據。在臺灣美術史中，「什麼不是鄉土寫實繪畫」，似乎不少，例如人們一向不認為現代主義的繪畫不是鄉土寫實繪畫，1920年代開始的前輩

48.黑格爾（Georg W.F. Hege1）原著，黃昀、常培育譯，《小邏輯》，頁85。

49.黑格爾（Georg W.F. Hege1）原著，黃昀、常培育譯，《小邏輯》，頁91。

50.黑格爾（Georg W.F. Hege1）原著，黃昀、常培育譯，《小邏輯》，頁112。

畫家的風俗畫也不是，因為「鄉土寫實繪畫」這樣的概念，在鄉土美術運動之前並未在人們的意識裡。鄉土寫實繪畫是歷史過程中的定在（Being Determinate），定在（Determinate being）是統一形式中的變易。因此鄉土寫實繪畫在本質上是指：所有「非鄉土寫實繪畫」之外的繪畫，僅僅屬於某個歷史階段中產生的繪畫才是。這在臺灣美術史上，只屬於1970年代生產的藝術中，被認為是鄉土寫實主義的繪畫，其他在此前或之後製作的都不屬之。

「鄉土寫實繪畫」是個歷史時期產生的藝術，這樣的藝術只是某種黑格爾所說的「定在」下的產物，它的內容隨著歷史在改變。根據如此的定義，「鄉土寫實繪畫」的量就不再是一個無限性的邏輯問題了。我們甚至可以在美術史家的認定下，排除評論者無限的擴充比附，例如，郭雪湖1928年的《圓山附近》算是臺灣「鄉土寫實繪畫」嗎？

量的問題。量（Quantity）是外在於存在的一種性質（the character external to being），根本不會影響到存在。那就是說，量的大小不影響到其存在；一座房子，不論大小仍然是房子。但是量的增減會改變質的性質（character）。某一品質統一體（measure）超出了特定界限，則其質也就隨之被揚棄了。質在此並未被消滅，而是被另一種質所代替，如水變氣體。尺度的這些變化過程，亦即，不變地交替由單純的量變，然後由量變轉為質變過程。⁵¹鄉土寫實繪畫由質與量的統一所造成，是一種概念。此概念可看成某種有尺度的東西。當概念中量的增減發生時，質就會產生改變，如金屬氧化程度不同、水的溫度之增減、音調的差別是尺度變化過程中發生的。鄉土寫實繪畫因為得到藝術界的刺激（引力大於斥力）後，藝術品數量的增加產生質的改變，於是就會有名實不相符的現象。

名實相符，指名（notion）與實（reality）相符，只有兩者相等時為真。若全體與部分關係的概念與它的「實在性」彼此不符合，這種關係便是不真。全體的概念必定包含部分。如果全體的概念被分裂為許多部分，則全體就會停止其為全體。如是，則這些部分的事物是低級的與不真的存在⁵²。「不真」（untrue）並不是指它所意指(signifies) 的事物不存在（non-existent）。「一個不正常或一個有病之軀也可以同樣存在著，但這些事物是不真的，因為它們的概念和它們的實在是不相符的。（A bad state or a sickly body may exist all the same, but these things are untrue, because their notion and reality are out of harmony.）」⁵³在鄉土運動熱潮過後，國內不少寫實繪畫加入了超現實主義的（the Surrealistic）成分；題材雖是本土的，風格卻已不再是鄉土寫實所涵蓋的全體的概念。1980年代後，現代主義在臺興起，鄉土寫實繪畫全體的概念被分裂為許多部分，有些畫家以新表現主義畫鄉土題材。這時，全體與部分不能正常運作，鄉土寫實繪畫就「不真」了。在後期鄉土寫實繪畫運動中，數量變多，質也改變了。鄉土寫實繪畫因而又啓動臺灣繪畫的下一波進程。

美術史觀

中國當代藝評家皮道堅指出：

51.黑格爾（Georg W.F. Hegel）原著，黃昀、常培育譯，《小邏輯》，頁109。

52.黑格爾（Georg W.F. Hegel）原著，黃昀、常培育譯，《小邏輯》，頁135。

53.黑格爾（Georg W.F. Hegel）原著，黃昀、常培育譯，《小邏輯》，頁135。

人類藝術實踐是一則不斷前進的辯證發展史。在這個辯證發展中，人們對於發展特殊規律的認識總是一步一步的地，不斷發展和完善起來。這個發展過程具有歷史性和辯證性。『一部分被形成，一部分被生產出來』，在藝術領域裡，被形成的是人類對美的事物的感受力和理解力，被生產出來的則是藝術品。⁵⁴

皮道堅的觀點是唯物主義的衍生，也是馬克思主義者相信的美術發展史觀。

人類的感官經驗投射在自然，產生藝術品，這樣的成品是形式與內容達到了辯證的統一。內容與形式的統合構成美術史的內容。皮道堅：

人類在美術領域的活動，不外是兩個方面的不停追求：一方面在改造自然，成為人為的和為人的生產領域實踐活動中，不斷地積累著理性因素，不斷地豐富『人的感覺的人性』，豐富人對自然、社會的審美感受，從而也就不斷地擴大了美術所表現的題材的範圍。⁵⁵

另一方面，「為了達到上述目的而不停地努力探求的藝術形式，使其日臻豐富和完美。」⁵⁶這兩方面的追求是對立統一的辯證關係，前者表現為美術的內容，後者表現為美的形式。⁵⁷可以說，整個美術史就是一個由內容到形式，由形式到內容不斷轉化、推陳出新的過程。⁵⁸美術發展的基本矛盾是內容與形式的矛盾，它們的不斷轉化構成了美術史無限多樣的發展過程。這個過程漫長而緩慢的，且形式的發展通常比內容的發展還要緩慢。⁵⁹1970年代鄉土寫實主義在臺灣美術史中代表的最大意義是形式的躍進，其推陳出新過程中，使臺灣美術找到某種新的表現方法。

黑格爾說，事物辯證發展的規律：

普遍的東西構成基礎，因此，不應當把前進的、運動看作從某一他物到另一他物的流動。在繼續規定的每一個階段上，普遍的東西不斷提高它以前的全部內容，它不僅沒有因其辯證的前進運動喪失了什麼，丟下了什麼，而且還帶著一切收穫物，使自己內部不斷豐富和充實起來。⁶⁰

臺灣寫實繪畫應該可以看成是哲學知識的歷史，是取代性的，但取代是建立在舊有的基礎上，因此它的發展過程是一個帶著一切收穫物，使自身內部不斷豐富和充實起來的過程。臺灣寫實繪畫因社會生活的發展、文明的進步，使其內容日漸豐富起來。

結論

在世界各國的現代化過程中，現代繪畫引進的傳統，絕多數來自歐洲，尤其是文藝復興以來的大傳統。亞洲地區的西式繪畫各因其殖民化情形，有著不同的引介時代與管道。印度、印尼、馬來西亞、越南、菲律賓皆前後從其殖民者引入歐洲繪畫傳統。中國與日本則以派遣留學生方式，從歐

54.皮道堅，〈中國美術史研究中的方法論問題〉，收錄於劭大箴主編，《中國現代美術理論批評文叢－皮道堅卷》，北京，人民美術出版社，2011年11月，頁8。

55.皮道堅，〈中國美術史研究中的方法論問題〉，收錄於劭大箴主編，《中國現代美術理論批評文叢－皮道堅卷》，頁8。

56.皮道堅，〈中國美術史研究中的方法論問題〉，收錄於劭大箴主編，《中國現代美術理論批評文叢－皮道堅卷》，頁8。

57.皮道堅，〈中國美術史研究中的方法論問題〉，收錄於劭大箴主編，《中國現代美術理論批評文叢－皮道堅卷》，頁8。

58.皮道堅，〈中國美術史研究中的方法論問題〉，收錄於劭大箴主編，《中國現代美術理論批評文叢－皮道堅卷》，頁9。

59.皮道堅，〈中國美術史研究中的方法論問題〉，收錄於劭大箴主編，《中國現代美術理論批評文叢－皮道堅卷》，頁9。

60.皮道堅，〈中國美術史研究中的方法論問題〉，收錄於劭大箴主編，《中國現代美術理論批評文叢－皮道堅卷》，頁9-10。

洲學習西方繪畫加以歸化。

就像其他文化技藝，繪畫也是從專家學習，然後再代代相傳下來。臺灣美術的西洋畫學自宗祖國日本，時間在20世紀初。從1920年代至1970年代，臺灣美術的創作風格與技法複製日本，並相傳至少兩個世代。1970年以後，大眾傳播的發達與留學生人數的快速成長，美國地區性的與國際性的寫實主義，在短短幾年內前後引進國內，這種「西學」不論是觀念或技術，迅速成為流行，成了繼日本文展以來的另一種風格。臺灣美術自此有更多的表現方式可供選擇，連帶地改變了臺灣美術界長期以來，間接移植過來的日本江戶時代市民品味。

從質方面來說，臺灣鄉土美術吸收並超越文展的創作規範，轉變為比文展創作觀念更加豐富的美術類型，為臺灣繪畫發展找出生機。從量而言，鄉土繪畫經過四十餘年的發展與轉變，目前符合歷史上嚴格定義的鄉土繪畫已十分有限。在世代交替下，所謂鄉土繪畫正在快速走入歷史。

Abstract

The nativist literature movement broke the creation limitations in the 1970s. The nativism of art has long existed since the Japanese governance. Nativist subjects are not taboos as long as they are irrelevant to political issues. Through the promotion of the nativist movement, artists had started applying photorealistic techniques to enhance authenticity and aesthetics. They aimed to express authentic rural landscapes and folk customs. Photorealism had then become a technique of impression in Taiwanese art history and an artistic style after the 1970s. When discussing the historical implications of Taiwanese nativist art, there are four dimensions that construct the creative ideas, namely mediums, forms, subject matters and contents. Mediums are rarely mentioned in the research due to their particular characteristics. There have been extensive researches about subject matters and contents, but no studies on the issue of forms have been done. It took forty years for us to realize that popular issues, such as nativist art, are nothing but historical phenomena. There are only a few subjects with cultural implications after the historical events.

These historical art events are not about what people have done for Taiwanese art history, but what implications they have left for the history. What extraordinary about the nativist art movement was the change of forms. History has been constantly changing. People in the past believed that history is on the road to achieve the highest good. People at present recognize the fact that the evolution of history is in dialectical unity. The change of forms in nativist art might just be seen as “being determinate” at the moment. It can still produce the reality that corresponds to the notion in Taiwanese realistic paintings. Through the development of paintings styles from Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibition (文展), Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition (臺展), Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition (府展) to Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibition (省展), what had been changed are the styles of creation and the logic behind these styles. This study aims to analyze the aesthetic rules that formed through the nativist art movement. Through the forms regulated by these rules, we attempt to explore the sources of creating ideas in modern academic paintings.

Keywords: hyperrealism, Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibition, pleinairism, academicism, genre paintings, generation

I. Introduction

In the 1970s, the nativist literature movement had broken the limitations of writing. It was seen as the issue of cultural censors. The nativist movement of art was not about politics. Yet, it had brought certain promises to Taiwanese art and changed the development of art cultures.

In the mid-1960s, the so-called literary realism appeared in the Taiwanese literary circle. *Literature Quarterly* (文學季刊), edited by Tian-Cong Yu (尉天驄), had become one of the most significant journals for the gathering of writers. In the 1970s, literary realism had been found in the works by nativist writers. Major nativist writers, such as Ying-Zhen Chen (陳映真), Chung-Ming Huang (黃春明), Zhen-He Wang (王禎和), Tuoh Wang (王拓), Qing-Chu Yang (楊青矗) and so on, had been sparking in the literary circle.¹

The over-westernization of modernism had been criticized by Ying-Zhen Chen, Tian-Cong Yu and so on. At the beginning of the 1970s, the poets of the new generation promoted reflections from the inside as they came across internal and external issues in the poetic circle. External critics, such as Jie-Ming Guan (關傑明) and Wen-Biao Tang (唐文標), had created a trend due to this situation.

Jie-Ming Guan, professor of English Literature at Singapore University, published “The Predicament of Modern Chinese Poetry” (中國現代詩的困境) and “The Dreamland of Modern Chinese Poetry” (中國現代詩的幻境) on the *China Times*’ literary supplement (《中國時報》人間副刊). In these two articles, Guan indicates the over-westernized new poetry in Taiwan can be seen as colonial literature.² He addresses his opinions on three poetry collections, namely *Modern Chinese Poetry* (1955-1965) (中國現代詩選 (1955-1965)) edited by Wei-Lien Yeh (葉維廉), *Selected Essays on Modern Chinese Poetry* (中國現代詩論選) edited by Mo Chang (張默), Ya Hsien (痲弦) and Luo Fu (洛夫), *Compendium of Modern Chinese Literature Poems* (中國現代文學大系 (1950-1970)) Volume 1 and 2 edited by Luo Fu. Guan believes that the internationalism and cosmopolitanism are sugarcoated in the name of China. The Chinese factors are rarely seen. He also criticizes on modernist poets such as Luo Fu, Wei-Lien Yeh, Shan Yeh (葉珊), Di Bai (白荻), Qin Shang (商禽) and Chou-Yu Cheng (鄭愁予).³

After Guan’s criticisms, Wen-Biao Tang (唐文標), a guest professor at National Taiwan University, had started supporting Guan’s viewpoints and published “Inspect Ourselves First” (先檢討我們自己吧) in the name of “Chun-Mei Shih” (史君美). On the review volume of *Dragon Race* (龍族), Tang published “When, Where, and Who: On Classical Poetry and Modern Poetry” (什麼時候什麼地方什麼人——論傳統詩與現代詩) in July, 1973. In August, he also published “The Decline of Poetry” (詩的沒落) and “The Fossilization of Modern Poetry” (僵斃的現代詩) on volume 1 and 2 of *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly* (中外文學) and *Literary Season Monthly* (文季). In September, he published “The Sun Is Setting in the West” (日之夕矣). The massive coverage and fierce criticisms in a short period of time had lit the fire on the poetic

1. Chih, Huan-Der (池煥德). “Taiwan”: *An Arena for Symbolic Struggle --A Discourse Analysis of the Polemics on Self-Consciousness of Taiwanese* (「臺灣」：一個符號鬥爭的場域：以臺灣結／中國結論戰為例), Taichung: Graduate Program of Sociology at Tong-Hai University, 1997, pp. 27-8. Bi-Chuan Yang (楊碧川), *Dictionary of Taiwan History* (臺灣歷史辭典), Taipei: Chengwei Publishing (前衛出版社), 1997, p. 334.
2. Chang, Shung-In (張雙英). *History of 20th-Century Taiwanese New Poetry* (二十世紀臺灣新詩史), Taipei: Wunan Publishing (五南圖書), 2006, p. 146.
3. Gu, Yuan-Qing (古遠清). *History of Modern Poetry in Taiwan* (臺灣當代新詩史), Taipei: Wenchin Publishing (文津出版社), 2008, p. 70. Jeng-Yan Chen (陳政彥), *A Study on “Modern Poetry Polemics” in Postwar Taiwan* (戰後臺灣現代詩論戰史研究), Taoyuan: Department of Chinese Literature at National Central University, 2007.

circle. Even the well-reputed critic Ji-An Xia (夏濟安) could not avoid the fire. Even Yan-Shu Yen (顏元叔), an advocate of Guan, also wrote articles to criticize Tang. Yen called it as “Wen-Biao Tang Incident” (唐文標事件) in the Vol. 5 No. 2 of *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly*.⁴ There have been plenty of research about the process and results of the nativist literature debates, such as Shung-In Chang’s (張雙英) *History of 20th-Century Taiwanese New Poetry* (二十世紀臺灣新詩史) and Jeng-Yan Chen’s (陳政彥) *A Study on “Modern Poetry Polemics” in Postwar Taiwan* (戰後臺灣現代詩論戰史研究), but we will not discuss further here.

Compared with the literary field, was there any nativist movement in art field? If there was, what was the range of it? How many artists had participated in this movement? Or this was just a movement within the press media, a movement on paper. From the perspective of art history, the quality and quantity of Taiwanese nativist art are really in need of reevaluation.

In the 1970s, the nativist movement had been initiated in the cultural circle, just as the movement of art modernization of the last generation. It has been 40 years if we take the first public exhibition of hyperrealism as the beginning of the art nativist movement. On 8th November, 1975, the oil painting “Sequential Cropping of Bananas” (香蕉連作) was the first hyperrealistic work that was publicly exhibited in Taiwan.⁵ In the 1970s, the nativist movement of art had developed two crucial directions, namely hyperrealism (also known as photorealism) and Nativist realistic paintings.

In February, 1971, “American Master of Nativist Realism—Andrew Wyeth,” an introduction about Andrew Wyeth, was published on the first volume of *Lion Art* (雄獅美術). It had become the iconic trend for the younger generation with its vivid effects and nativism. Andrew Wyeth (1917-1996) was a vibrant artist in the 1950s. He finished his most famous painting “Christina’s World” in 1948. This work was once reported by *Reader’s Digest*. We may find the combination of real objects and past memory or associations to create the unpredictable touching feelings in Andrew Wyeth’s works. He also took the change of seasons as a metaphor of life’s ups and downs. In his works, there is always a melancholic ambiance. Objects, such as a dark room, an attic, agricultural tools, ironware, canvas, woods and stones, dry grass, the suspensions on the wall, dead deer hung on a tree, are all full of loneliness. This creative style of depicting common objects in real life fits the nativist appeal of Taiwanese art circle in the 1970s. It created a new creative direction of Taiwanese nativist art. It aroused the audience’s memories and commemoration towards the lands. It is another creating direction of nativist art. The press coverage had made it a trend of art. Many artists had hence included antiques in their works, creating a style of depicting nativist objects and landscapes in details.

Hyperrealism was promoted by Hsiao-De Hsieh in the academia after he returned to Taiwan. It has become a trendy painting style of the new generation. There is no specific director of nativist realism. The nativist movement of art had been promoted in the academia. The promotion of these two techniques had become a turning point of the Taiwanese art development. It has changed the direction of Taiwanese art.

4. Chen, Jeng-Yan (陳政彥). *A Study on “Modern Poetry Polemics” in Postwar Taiwan* (戰後臺灣現代詩論戰史研究), Taoyuan: Department of Chinese Literature at National Central University, 2007. Yuan-Qing Gu (古遠清), *History of Modern Poetry in Taiwan* (臺灣當代新詩史), Taipei: Wenchin Publishing, 2008, p. 72.
5. Then, Yeou-Jui Cho (卓有瑞) held his first solo exhibition at United States Information Agency on 13th December, including 15 huge paintings of “Sequential Cropping of Bananas” (香蕉連作). The promotion of hyperrealism in Taiwan started from the academic promotion by Hsiao-De Hsieh (謝孝德) as he returned to Taiwan in 1973. Yeou-Jui Cho had led the trend of neo-realism with the explicit technique in his hyperrealistic paintings.

Why were there no parallel results in the actual development of Taiwanese nativist art and nativist literature debates? Why were the developments of literature and art different?

Since the essences of literature and art are different, they are bound to have different results in terms of their expressions and effects. Regarding this, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, a phenomenological philosopher, has explicit explanations in his *The Prose of the World*.⁶ He addresses that language as a communicative medium is a fixed pattern gradually developed by cultures. We can only use this medium without changing it. This is different from the flexible regulation of art mediums. In any language, there is always something similar. Different from artists, writers “can only think in a certain language, yet every artist attempts to reconstruct their own language.” It indicates that the literal works constructed by languages, the common property, returns to the field of common properties. Also, literal works cannot exist without languages. “The changes that literal works have brought to languages are still recognizable after the manipulations of the writers.” “The experience of artist changes as it transits to the successor.”⁷ It indicates that languages of the past are not covered by new languages; they are included in them, whereas paintings “remain silence.”⁸

Languages contain a certain number of symbols. With some key implications, the symbols can be reorganized into any new implication and be spoken in the same language.⁹ Languages are explicit. No ideology exists in terms. “No terms exist in certain pure ideology.”¹⁰ Leading us towards things, languages make us forget about the existence of languages. They use limited symbols to express thoughts or things whose number is uncertain. These symbols are selected to reorganize the new things we intend to express accurately.¹¹ “Languages” contain all the buds with all possible implications. Our thoughts are meant to be spoken by languages. “Any implication in people’s experience contains a language. Take the children Jean Piaget mentions as an example. In their eyes, the sun contains the name of it.”¹²

Artists and writers go through the same adventures in their own ways and with their own considerations.¹³ There are obvious differences between them. Maurice Merleau-Ponty quotes André Malraux and mentions that it is their own styles that artists seek in the paintings. An artist needs a lot of time to learn the techniques of expressing everything before they can speak in his voice.¹⁴ This is different from the training of writers. Also, there is no norm for artists as there is for writers. Artists from the latter generations do not know about the differences. The artists can never tell “what is from themselves; what is from things; what has already existed in their previous works; what is new; what is learned from the masters; what is themselves. They find no meaning about it.”¹⁵ In other words, there is no specific norm for art creation. In science, there is accumulated knowledge, whereas paintings remain indefinable.¹⁶ In the history of Taiwan, the shifts of literary norms have not been obvious. However, there are various shifts of art norms. The characteristics of these two mediums undoubtedly lead to different results.

From the long-term effects of communication, literature is relevant to the history; and art is not

6. Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *The Prose of the World*, trans. Da-Chun Yang (楊大春), Beijing: Commercial Press (商務印書館), 2005.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

limited by generations. From the temporal perspective, the attitudes to languages and paintings are quite the opposite. “Despite the fact that paintings depict the outlines of the characters’ clothes, furniture and goods vividly and might imply some historical environment, they show their attractiveness in a certain dreamy and eternal moment. After many centuries, we can easily return to the painting without knowing its cultural and historical background.”¹⁷ Writing requires understanding before realizing its most enduring implications. If *Les provinciales* does not represent the theological debates in the 17th century, it tells us nothing. If *Le rouge et le noir* does not show the dark side of the Bourbon Restoration, it also tells us nothing.¹⁸

II. Genre Paintings at the Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions

The greatest art competitions and awards in the recent history of Japan started from Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions. The opening of the first Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibition on Oct 25th, 1907 can be seen as the beginning of official exhibitions. Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions had been held annually from 1907 to 1918. In 1919, it was reorganized and held by the newly established Imperial Art Academy. It was then renamed as Imperial Exhibition, which had been held from 1919 to 1935. In 1935, the Imperial Art Academy was reorganized again. In that year, Imperial Exhibition did not take place. In 1936, Japanese Ministry of Education had again been responsible for the official exhibitions. Such exhibitions were renamed as New Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibition (1936-1944). In 1946, it was renamed as Japan Art Exhibition after war. Japan Art Exhibitions had been held annually except for 1923 (the Great Kantō earthquake), 1935 and 1945 (Pacific War). It has been held for over a hundred years since its establishment in 1907. Although the content always follows the trends, yet the style of it has not changed much.

Since the end of the Edo period, Japanese artists have applied the Western painting techniques into Japanese paintings. The modernization of Japanese art is established on the ground of “civilization and enlightenment.” By sending students to study art in Europe and setting up institutions of art education and official salons, the unified aesthetic values have formed. A major set of judgmental criteria of aesthetic values has also been established. At the end of the Meiji period, the main ideology was the eclecticism of the Eastern and Western arts. Namely, they took a positive attitude towards gaining knowledge about the western world while tended to be conservative in aesthetics—striving to maintain the traditional chōnin culture originated from Edo period.

From the beginning of the Meiji period to the start of the Taishō period (c. 1866-1915), the academy was neither based on neoclassicism nor pure impressionism. Naturalism was set to be its foundation in combination of the Japanese impressionism which focuses on light and color changes. As for the selection of subjects, impressionism emphasizes on sketches. It takes the common objects in real life as subjects and designs the ideal composition. As a result, it is not the faithful representation of nature.

Regarding aesthetics, the paintings of the Japanese or Western departments in both Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibition and Imperial Exhibition can be categorized into aestheticism. The creating techniques of impressionism are based on sketches. The subjects are about our daily lives. What the paintings present are reality rather than something fictional.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

On the other side, the taste of official salons was decided by the art committee members. Underlying the creating thoughts and techniques of expression, there is not only aesthetic values but a set of judgmental criteria of aesthetic values. For example, the creating techniques used by Kuroda Seiki, a reviewing committee member of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions, belong to Japanese impressionism. He believes that the task of paintings is not merely representing nature faithfully. “If we just paint what we see, I think there will be something missing.”¹⁹ Therefore, to pass his review, artists must apply impressionist techniques. Richly detailed depiction is not always the right way. A qualified painting must possess something more than representing the nature. The set of creating rules based on such creating ideology then became the academicism in art schools at that time.

From 1893 to 1910, Kuroda Seiki had been the icon in the circle of Western paintings. It was the time for Japanese impressionist artists. Most of the artists were members of the White Horse Society. They had been influencing Japanese art before the 1920s. Not later than the beginning of the 1920s, by virtue of the training and guideline in education and salons, “the Japanese Western paintings” and “the Western Japanese paintings” had become the standards of judgment for academic paintings. (The Meiji restoration is like the May Fourth Movement in China. Its regulations for art include localism, namely the depictions of daily lives.)

As for Japanese paintings, Okakura Kakuzō was the first person addressing specific reformative strategies in the 1880s. Idealism led by Kakuzō and Naturalism passed down by Maruyama-Shijō had become two main streams of Japanese paintings from the end of the Meiji period to the Shōwa period. However, there are some common features in them, including the establishment of science and sketching the objects in the real Nature. In the Meiji period, the reformative spirits refer to the infusion of the East and the West, using the West to assist the East, imitating the style of Western paintings and learning from the traditional art.

In his *History of Art Criticism in Taiwan* (臺灣美術批評史), Tung-Shan Hsieh points out four standards of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions and Imperial Exhibitions:²⁰ the first refers to on-site sketches. That is to say, the works must come from actual observations. The second is the ability of sketches or verisimilitude. The subjects must be accurate and artists must obtain great sketch skills for depicting objects realistically. The third is the color expression. The light and atmosphere might change the look of objects, yet their intrinsic colors cannot be ignored. The fourth refers to the expression of emotions. Other than the visible objects, the paintings also need something that does not exist in the appearance of the depicted objects. The last also means the emotions the artists have towards the nature in their creating process. It is also the individualities of the works. The judgment criteria based on these four formal requirements not only established the standard of evaluation for the Japanese official exhibitions and Taiwan Governor Art Exhibitions but also the four principles of teaching in art schools. These four requirements are the targets of the opposing artist groups at the beginning of the 20th century. They believed that these are also the dogmas of academicism.

They had also limited the style of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions. Since “the works

19. Quotes of Kuroda Seiki. *History of Japanese Exhibitions I*, Editorial Committee of History of Japanese Exhibitions, Tokyo: Korinsya, 1980, p. 333.

20. Hsieh, Tung-Shan (謝東山). *History of Art Criticism in Taiwan* (臺灣美術批評史), Taipei: Hungyeh Publishing (洪葉文化事業公司), 2005.

must come from actual observations,” the objects being observed were always things in the artists’ life. As a result, the subjects of “genre paintings” had formed, including still lifes, landscapes, characters, daily lives, historical stories or legends.” Genre paintings were actually the major style in the development of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions. There was even a category called “genre paintings of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions”. In Japan, the critical awareness of academicism gradually lost its total domination after the NIKA Exhibition led by Togo Seiji occupied some space in the Imperial Exhibition. In Taiwan, the indicators of evaluation for art exhibitions had been “academicism” after war. Its influence remained dominant until the 1960s.

III. Realistic Style at the Beginning of the Post-War Period

The realistic paintings of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions had been promoted by the “Three Youngsters in the Taiwan Fine Arts Exhibition” (臺展三少年) after they became famous in the first Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition in 1927. They passed on the realistic style.

The styles and creating values of Taiwanese art remained as they were under the Japanese governance, especially on the Western and Eastern paintings. During this period, the Western and Eastern paintings remained as the pleinairism of Taiwan Fine Art Exhibitions. The subjects are mainly daily lives. The style of Taiwan Fine Art Exhibitions carried on the tradition of the Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibition. The aesthetic values of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions also remained. The aesthetic values had produced the mentioned “genre paintings of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions,” despite the fact that the artists are all Taiwanese. From the period of the Japanese governance to the Mingguo period, the identities of nativist subjects in paintings or sculptures had changed. During the period of the Japanese governance, it was named “localism.” The local includes Japan and Taiwan. During the Mingguo period, it was renamed as “nativism,” which refers to mainland China and Taiwan.

The first Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibition took place in Zhongshan Hall, Taipei, on October 22nd, 1946. At the beginning of Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibitions, the works of genre paintings were mostly created by artists who studied in Japan and their students. Their works are mostly under the influence of pleinairism. Few show expressionism. Before 1970, so-called impressionist and classicist works are rare in Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibitions.

IV. Debates of Art

The first art debate happened at the end of the literary debates. As Xun Jiang (蔣勳) was the editor of *Lion Art*, he organized the “Special Volume of Overseas Chinese Artists” (海外華裔藝術家特輯) in the 93th volume (published in November, 1978) of *Lion Art*.²¹ Jiang became the chief editor of *Lion Art* in 1978. He expanded the content of *Lion Art* to photography, architecture, music, movie, drama, dance and literature. *Lion Art* had transformed into a general literary publication. It then became another commentary channel for nativist supporters. This is the assembly of nativist movement supporters of different art forms. These cross-field sections had influenced the art field at that time. They had become the outset that literary

21. Tsai, Hong-Ming (蔡宏明). “Nativist Literature with Great Adaptability—Nativism in Art” (適生力極強的鄉土文學——美術中的鄉土), *Taiwanese Literature* (臺灣文藝), Vol. 105, 1987, pp. 5-6.

debates percolated through other liberal arts fields.²²

In *Special Volume of Overseas Chinese Artists*, the editor takes Wou-Ki Zao (趙無極), Wen-Chung Chou (周文中) and Ieoh-Ming Pei (貝聿銘) as examples. He indicates that if the ultimate goal of artists is to gain reputation abroad, it is a sick phenomenon. “Your culture would get lost in such an exaggerated thought of vanity. The local culture can never be accumulated this way.” This long-organized special volume took young artists in Taiwan as subjects at first, aiming for the new generation to “cultivate and fertilize the Chinese culture of this generation.” However, the editor’s report also mentioned “do not get satisfied with their own reputation overseas. Younger generations of Chinese worship the cultures of Paris or New York. Without confidence, they have left this part of Chinese art history blank.” This comment was then responded by Shih-Jhen He (賀釋真) and a group of Chinese artists in Paris.²³ This “Chinese Artists Event” was the only debate in the art circle of the 1970s. Its focus was not on the creating subjects but the validity of post-colonialism.

V. The Nativist Art Movement

The timing of the introduction of realistic techniques in Taiwanese art happened to be the same generation of literature localization. But these two forms were barely related to each other. The introduction of techniques was related to two art magazines: *Lion Art* and *The Artists*, both established at the beginning of the 1970s.

In February, 1971, the first volume of *Lion Art* was published. In the first volume, there is an introductory article about Andrew Wyeth, “Master of American Nativist Realism—Andrew Wyeth”, which was edited by Cheng-Kuang Ho (何政廣). Andrew Wyeth’s works are delicate and lyric. They are about the country landscapes of America. In the nativist trend of the 1970s, he was titled the “Master of Nativist Realism”. In 1972, Hsiang-Ning Han’s (韓湘寧) introduction about the hyperrealistic paintings in New York was published in *Lion Art*. In August, Li-Fa Hsieh’s (謝里法) *On Photography Going on the Path of Paintings* (論攝影走向繪畫的路) also introduces this new form of paintings. In 1974, Yao-Tsung Ho (何耀宗) published *Today’s Realism* (今日的寫實主義). It has specific arguments on hyperrealistic paintings. Cheng-Kuang Ho (何政廣) published the book *Master of American Nativist Realism—Andrew Wyeth* (魏斯——美國懷鄉寫實大師) and wrote an elaborate introduction about Andrew Wyeth in *Lion Art*. In 1974, Hsiao-De Hsieh introduced this new art from New York. Relevant articles and works were also published in *Lion Art*. Many artists had started artistic creation of this type and promoted it in schools. Hence, it had become a new creating trend. In Sheng-Chiu Liu’s (劉聖秋) master’s essay *A Study of Taiwanese Local Fine Art during [the] 1970s* (七〇年代臺灣鄉土美術之研究), he mentions that the photographic techniques were widely adopted. Both Qi-Mao Li (李奇茂) and Chung-Kuang Ku (顧重光) created buffalos and ancient buildings by observing the subjects at different angles with the help of cameras. “It gets rid of the traditional limitations and reflects the social reality.” As a result, many artists started imitating this technique and hyperrealism was thus localized.

Hyperrealism was an art style that was popular in the 1970s, and it is also known as photographic realism. It takes photos as the reference, and objectively and clearly represent the image on the canvas. As

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

Chuck Close said, “my main purpose is to translate the photographic information to painting information.” The vividness it reaches is almost like a photo. Photographic realism uses cameras to collect visual materials, and creates realistic paintings based on photos. It was popular in New York at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. The dependency on photography was inspired by TV and movies, and it was the product of urban lifestyle, the “artificial nature”. The iconic artists of photographic realism include Philip Pearlstein, Chuck Close, Don Eddy, Richard Estes and so on. “Photographic realism has the unique feature of using objective and vivid depictions based on the photos. Artists take photo images first and transform them on the canvas.” Its theory is based on the distance theory in modern philosophy. It believed the traditional realism is imbued with the author’s subjective passion. It is a sort of subjective realism or cultural realism. Thus, the possibility of being understood by the audience is smaller. Using the common eyes (camera) to observe and reflect without any subjective emotions, it can be understood by more people and spread farther. Therefore, the works of photographic realism seem stiff and aloof. They reflect the style of naturalism. Also, by enlarging the sizes of common objects, it creates expressive aesthetic and psychological effects.²⁴

VI. Reformation of Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibitions

The reformation of Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibitions in 1973. Since the first Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibition in 1946, it had formed a conservative strength that limited the improvement of Taiwanese art. The disadvantages formed over the years includes: 1) the judges are subjective and in lack of objective standards; 2) after the cancellation of review exemption, it is hard to be promoted to judges. 3) the awards are no longer attractive to artists; 4) after there had been more and more exhibition organizations, the authority of Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibition had getting weaker; and 5) Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibitions tended to be like salons with biased subjects. In the 27th preparatory meeting, the new committee member and judge Hsiao-De Hsieh addressed the disadvantages for discussion. After many discussions, it resulted in the structural change of judges in 1974. The results showed as follows: the preparatory meeting would consist of the directors and representatives from major art groups and provincial educational institutions. The senior judges since the first exhibition would be replaced. They would be consultants without directly involving in the judging process. As for the recruitment of judges, art groups would recommend candidates first. Then the responsible organization would choose and report the proper judges to their supervisors. Only after approval may a panel of judges be set up. Judges will be partially replaced every year. The structure of judging panel underwent major transformation in 1974.²⁵ The second department of Chinese paintings was canceled. Yu-Shan Lin (林玉山) was the only Taiwanese judge. It was an surprise attack on the original style of Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibitions as well as the artistic path of the Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibition. At first, the evaluation of Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibitions was the same as Taiwan Fine Art Exhibitions, which was an imitation of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions.

In 1975, Hsiao-De Hsieh published Neorealism (新寫實主義). In the same year, Yeou-Jui Cho’s work “Sequential Cropping of Bananas” was exhibited in the first National Oil-Painting Exhibition (全國油畫展). It was the first hyperrealistic work exhibited publicly. Then, Cho held his first solo exhibition at United States Information Agency on 13th December, including 15 huge paintings of “Sequential Cropping of

24 See the explanation of photographic realism on Baidu Baike (Retreived on February 16th, 2010).
25. Since the 28th exhibition in 1974, the second department of Chinese paintings was canceled. Yu-Shan Lin was the only Taiwanese judge.

Bananas”. Cho had led the trend of neo-realism with the explicit technique in his hyperrealistic paintings.

The development of nativist art leads to the recognition of realism and the nativist subjects. The Youth Painting Competition (青年繪畫比賽, renamed as the Lion Art New Artist Award [雄獅美術新人獎] in 1978) held by *Lion Art* in 1976 had promoted the trend of nativist art. It was the first painting competition held by a private organization among other official exhibitions such as Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibitions and National Art Exhibitions in the 1970s.²⁶ The judges of the Lion Art New Artist Awards preferred realism with nativist subjects. The three winners of the awards in 1978, Ming-Chang Hsieh (謝明錫), Wen-Ping Wang (王文平) and Chien-Yu Chan (詹前裕), all took nativist art as the subjects.

The prosperous situation of nativist art in 1978 can be seen as its growing period. Artists of water color, oil-paintings and even ink-wash paintings all “took their cameras to capture the landscapes that fit the nativist principles. They sketch with their skills on cotton paper and create the brand-new ink-wash nativism” as Tsai-Chin Ni (倪再沁) mentioned.²⁷

In 1979, National Youth Art Exhibition (全國青年畫展) was held by Guangfu Bookstore (光復書局) in cooperation with *The Artists* publisher. Theme-based competition is one of its features, and it was set to be “life and the environment” that had close relation with nativist art. The winners included Chin-Taa Yuan (袁金塔), Wu-Lin Han (韓舞麟), Chen-Yu Chang (張振宇), Ching-Yzen Hon (洪敬雲), Ming-Chu Huang (黃銘祝) and Rong-Yuan Hsieh (謝榮源). Water-color paintings were the major works featured in this exhibition, and most of them were of “nativist realism.”

If we look at the classification of subjects, we can see that there were many pan-nativist artists in the 1970s, including artists who created in the style of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions and took local objects as their subjects. In “Nativist Literature with Great Adaptability—Nativism in Art” (適生力極強的鄉土文學——美術中的鄉土), Hong-Ming Tsai (蔡宏明) suggests that Kuo-Jen Shen (沈國仁) and Chien-Houng Lee (李薦宏) expressed the local landscapes in Taiwan with different techniques. As for gouache paintings, artists such as Chih-Chu Lin (林之助), Yu-Shan Lin (林玉山), Shen-Chou Hsu (許深洲), Chin Chen (陳進), Hui-Kun Chen (陳慧坤), Ou-Po Huang (黃鷗波) and Tsao-Ju Tsai (蔡草如) often captured images from real life and the local landscapes. Many artists of the second pleinairism generation were born during the period of Japanese governance, such as Ping-Tang Chang (張炳堂), Chau-Chu Ho (何肇衢), Shou-Ying Wang (王守英) and Rui-Fu Chen (陳瑞福). Artists who were born after war were categorized as nativist artists, such as Tung-Yuan Chen (陳東元, 1943-), Mao-Huang Tseng (曾茂煌, 1934-), Ming-Che Huang (黃銘哲, 1948-), Ming-Chang Hsieh (謝明錫, 1955-), Lai-Hsing Chen (陳來興, 1949-), Ming-Chu Huang (黃銘祝, 1956-), Chin-Taa Yuan (袁金塔, 1949-), Hsin-Yi Su (蘇信義, 1949-), Kuo-Chu Wang (王國柱, 1945-).²⁸

VII. Comparisons of Painting Styles

In general, there has been two major categories of creating styles since the 1970s. There are many sub-categories as well. The first category is sketching paintings. No matter the subjects are taken indoor or

26. Ni, Tsai-Chin (倪再沁). *A Cultural Perspective on Taiwan Art* (臺灣美術的人文觀察), Taipei: Lion Publishing (雄獅出版社), 1995, p.27.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

outdoor, artists will not make big modifications to the paintings once they leave the sketching site. This is the style of many senior artists as they are creating landscape sketches. The artists of this kind insist on the presence of paintings. It is similar to the aura defined by Walter Benjamin. The second category is photo-to-painting creation. Even if there is any modification to the paintings, the original images on photos will not be changed. Many photorealistic artists in latter generations applied this technique as well. Moreover, many landscape sketch artists finished their first drafts on site and completed their creations by sketching or looking at the photo. The photo-to-painting artists also took photos as references and added more details that do not exist in the photos. That is to say, there are many variables in these two painting categories. However, the current trend shows that most sketch artists are artists of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions. Their average age is over 60, and their population decreases year by year. The situation of photo-to-painting artists is the opposite. The age has decreased over the years with an increase on the population. In short, there is almost no artist who sketches first before they create their actual works.

There was something new on the techniques of expression during the nativist movement in the 1970s. Except for the original style of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions, there were also flat-color application or spray paint of American super realism²⁹ and the tempera technique of the nativist realistic artist Andrew Wyeth (1917-1996) for the new generations to learn from. As the nativist literati paintings, the new implication photorealistic artists expressed is that “it allows the silent culture to break out from the fatal loop.”³⁰

VIII. Techniques and Creating Forms

An artist always applies a certain medium to create his subject matter in a desired form. The subject matter he selects is in conjunction with the form he applies. Works created in this way express the content as the artist desires. This is the major task of an artist, and this is a well-known fact. Everyone recognizes the “medium” (i. e. oil-painting). The image shows the subject matter (i. g. Guishan Island, Yilan). In contrast, the form is always silent and only talks to the expert. The “content” is always unpredictable. Sometimes even the artist does not know whether he wants to express the image of “an isolated island on the ocean” or “the fairy mountain on the sea”. An artist of paintings or sculptures needs to take care of mediums, forms, subject matters and contents.

Most nativist art researchers focus on the interpretation of subject matters and contents without mentioning the mediums. Forms are like literature. They are hidden in the work. They hide their real identity, so it is hard to induce or ask in public. That’s why many researchers avoid questioning about the forms. However, the advocates of the nativist art movement are possible to be this invisible “form.”They changed the issues of the reality in Taiwanese art from the inside. From this perspective, we will attempt to understand the creating form in the nativist art movement and all the standards it had established.

In 1680, Henri Testelin published *A Collection of Admonitions*. It is a collective book compiled

29. Photorealism is a genre of art that encompasses painting, drawing and other graphic media, in which an artist studies a photograph and then attempts to reproduce the image as realistically as possible in another medium. Although the term can be used broadly to describe artworks in many different media, it is also used to refer specifically to a group of paintings and painters of the United States art movement that began in the late 1960s and early 1970s. (Wikipedia, 20 March 2016).

30. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

and published by Testelin in Paris.³¹ It is a book of that formulates art specifications. *A Collection of Admonitions* includes all understandings of art theories in the 17 century,³² in which the composition, sketch, expression of emotions, lighting and colors are set to be the primary standards of art creation. Before the 17th century, a perfect artwork should also include perspective and anatomy. From the perspective of modern art, these five requirements can be categorized into four, in which lighting and colors are seen as one. Ever since the emergence of impressionism, it is obvious that lighting is not a must when judging art creation.

The style includes three major elements, namely plastic elements, figurative elements and manner of working. Manner of working is a way of organizing plastic elements and figurative elements. It is the core of creating a certain style. First of all, we discuss plastic elements and manner of working to analyze the differences between the artists of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions and photorealistic artists.

The painting style of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions include four standards: the first refers to on-site sketches. That is to say, the works must come from actual observations. The second is the ability of depicting realistically—composition. The artist must represent the objects accurately. The third is the color expression. The light and atmosphere might change the look of objects, yet their intrinsic colors cannot be ignored. The fourth refers to the expression of emotions. Other than the visible objects, the paintings also need something that does not exist in the appearance of the depicted objects. The last also means the emotions the artists have towards the nature in their creating process. It is the personalities of the works. These four standards, namely sketch, composition, colors and the expression of emotions, had not changed much from the early Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions to the mid-Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibition (c. 1975).

Ever since the 1970s, photorealism has replaced realistic portraits, and obvious changes had occurred to these four standards.³³ Sketch, composition, colors and the expression of emotions respectively stand for observation, organization of figurative elements, integration of intrinsic color and lighting, as well as arrangement of sketches, compositions and colors. In the creating process of photorealistic paintings, the subject sketched is the flat photo. It is not the on-site sketching in the definition of sketch. The three-dimensional subjects with lights and shades are transformed to two-dimensional object images, resulting in the elimination of the sketching ability. However, its verisimilitude surpasses that of on-site sketching. There is no obvious difference between on-site sketching and photo sketching on their compositions (organization of figurative elements). As for colors (integration of intrinsic colors and lighting), artists capture real colors, lighting and the sense of presence in on-site sketching. In photo sketching, colors lose its expression to the reality since the intrinsic colors and lighting are flat and fictitious. Regarding the expression of emotions (arrangement of sketches, compositions and colors), it can be achieved in both photo sketching and on-site sketching. However, the object image can be hard to change when sketching, and the range of expression are limited.

31. Li, Hong (李宏). *Brief History of Western Art Theories* (西方美術理論簡史), Chongqing: Southwest China Normal University Press (西南師範大學出版社), 2008, p.86.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Matrix calculations are very important in science. The basic calculations of matrix include addition, subtraction, multiplication, conjugate and conjugate transpose.

In general, the expression of on-site sketching is not as detailed as photo sketching. The authenticity of photo sketching tends to be flat. The expression of lighting and shadows of photo sketching is not as good as on-site sketching. On-site sketching shows better expression of emotions than photo sketching. In the matrix that consists of A (sketch), B (composition), C (colors) and D (expression of emotions), it is obvious that A is disappearing rapidly; B is increasing; C is enhancing virtual quality, whereas the verisimilitude is decreasing; and D is decreasing. The demerits caused by the verisimilitude of photo sketching do not only exist in Taiwan. In a post-industrialization period, the images have been virtualized, threatening the humanity of paintings. This is the situation happening in the world.

There exists a certain dialectical relationship between photo sketching and on-site sketching. The emergence and development of photorealism are no doubt connected to replacing or even extinguishing the realism of on-site sketching. The relationship between photorealism and the realism of on-site sketching is as the dialectical development that Georg W. F. Hegel defines:

The common things consist of the basics. Therefore, the forwarding and moving objects shall not be seen as the flowing from one object to another. In every phrase, contents of common things will be increased constantly. Nothing is lost or left behind because of the forwarding movement of the dialectical process. Instead, they are enriched and fulfilled by the results.³⁴

We can say that the development of Taiwanese realistic paintings is a process that has been enriched and fulfilled by the results. New realistic paintings enrich their contents out of the development of social lives and the advancement of the culture.

IX. Issues of Methodology

The icons in Taiwanese nativist art were the first generation after war, including artists such as Yao-Zhong Wu and Wu-Hsiung Lai. In the 1970s, there were also some nativist artists of the new generation. They can be divided into academic artists such as Bing-Xi Shi (施並錫), Song Xi (奚淞), Ching-Tu Weng (翁清土), Wu-Lin Han (韓舞麟), Ming-Chang Hsieh (謝明錡) and Ming-Chang Huang (黃銘昌). Non-academic artists includes Ming-Che Huang (黃銘哲), Meng-Te Chou (周孟德) and Lung Chen (陳隆). They were active between the end of 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. Both nativist art and nativist literature take subject matters from daily lives. They both have the tendency to take materials from the country scenes.

The tendency reflects the fact that artists born during the period of the Japanese governance are artists of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions. They emphasize the importance of on-site sketching and their personal sentiments on the sketched subjects. Artists of the first generation after war, such as Wu-Lin Han (1947-), Bing-Xi Shi (1947-), Shu-Ming Chen (1948-), Hsin-Yi Su (1949-), Ching-Yzen Hon (1951-), Ming-Chang Huang (1952-), Jia-Hong Lai (賴佳宏, 1957-), ought to be artists of Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibitions. However, their styles varied as they were instructed by senior artists or they have changed their styles at a certain point. Artists of the new generation (born after the 1980s) are

34. Pi, Daojian (皮道堅). “Issues of Methodology in Research of Chinese Art History” (中國美術史研究中的方法論問題), *Collections of Theoretical Criticism on Modern Chinese Art Theories—Daojian Pi* (中國現代美術理論批評文叢—皮道堅卷), ed. Dazhen Shao (劭大箴), Beijing: Shanghai People’s Art Publishing House (人民美術出版社), 2011, pp. 9-10.

more of image makers instead of traditional artists. We will then discuss issues about different historical periods, styles and generations to understand the actual distribution.

X. Historical Periods

The duration of every generation varies as the tempo of social shifts changes. Some generations last longer in history, some shorter. We have to figure out the turning point on the historical curve by close examination.³⁵ Time is the unit of historical development. However, concerning the historical description, the most accurate measure is not necessarily the shortest time unit. Instead, it is the thing that reflects the essence of an event the most.³⁶ Some things do not have a specific starting date (i.g. the nativist art movement). If we discuss a historical fact as a single subject, there is an accurate time tag. However, if we see it as a political and cultural movement, the date is just an obvious but not accurate tag. The causes and results of a movement can be more complicated than the historical event itself. The consequence of an event can be demonstrated more if we look at it by the unit of one decade, instead of one year. For example, the paintings of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions had been popular in Taiwan for 60 years from 1927 to the beginning of the 1980s, which had nothing to do with the replacement of regimes. The new generation after the 1980s entered either the nativist or post-modern period.

XI. Styles

Origins and artistic schools. In *The Phenomenology of Painting*, Nigel Wentworth, a British scholar of modern art, mentions the formation of painting schools, suggesting that “the techniques of an artist come from imitating their teachers, other artists and works they come across in life.”³⁷ As they learn from a teacher, they are learning painting techniques of a certain school. The specific instruction on the usage of tools or materials “stands for the particular practice of a certain period and a certain painting school. It is described as a paradigm for artists to learn and create within.”³⁸

A paradigm is formed by an individual artist, which is then imitated by other artists.” Some artists blindly create in this paradigm and create tedious and highly derivative works. Other artists transform it into something entirely different.”³⁹ Popular trends exist in every era.” Artists attempt to develop different styles and absorb the things they need.”⁴⁰ As Taiwanese artists developed paintings schools parallel to American realism, they had also changed the paintings styles demonstrated in these paintings schools. By doing so, they had gradually formed different tradition. For example, we might find similar expressions of modeling or lighting and shadows of Andrew Wyeth in the nativist realistic works of Taiwanese art.

35. Bloch, Marc. *Apologie Pour l’Histoire ou Métier d’Historien*, trans. Hesheng Zhang (張和聲), Beijing: Beijing Normal University Press (北京師範大學出版社), 2014, p. 154.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
37. Wentworth, Nigel. *The Phenomenology of Painting*, trans. Hongyu Dong (董宏宇) & Chunchen Wang (王春辰), Shanghai: Jiangsu Publishing House, 2006, p. 164.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

XII. Generations

The issue of generations. Generations are the main theme of historical description. The definition of contemporaries refers to people born in the same social environment, such as the Suzhou people born at the end of the 14th century or the people born in Taiwan during the post-war baby boom. People of the same generation must be under similar influence, particularly when they are not mature enough to have fixed ideology.⁴¹ Their behaviors show certain distinguishable features. Among people of different generations, they also show common features even when they have opposite opinions. They reflect the same behavioral features as they argue about an issue on the opposite sides. This is what we call “the same impressions in the same era bring up the people of the same generation.”⁴² Artists of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions, Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibitions and photorealism belong to three generations. They might not be the same generation by age. Yet, their understanding of art can be seen as the same generation. Some subjects are divided by generations, such as the history of art schools and ideologies.⁴³ If we divide schools of Taiwanese art by generation, there are at least three generations of Western mediums. There are also three generations of Chinese mediums, namely literati paintings, new literati paintings and avant-garde ink wash paintings. The division of generations is irrelevant to the change of regimes.

The temporal tempo of “generations.” The nativist-realistic artists are not people of the same generations as photorealistic artists. Although some of the latter are older than the former, their ideologies are different. One generation cannot penetrate to another. Under the same influence, individuals have different reactions.⁴⁴ In the history of Taiwanese art, there is a starting point of the idea “one generation.” For example, people born after war might be people who grew up under the same environment. In this group of people, however, their character may vary as they have different sentiments towards things. People with mature thoughts are of the previous generation. People with normal maturity are of the present generation.⁴⁵ The classification of the nativist artists of the second generation refer to people that were not under Japanese education after war. By this time, Taiwanese paintings were not dominated by Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions. They are the first generation of genre paintings of Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibitions, using a different creating standards unlike senior artists.

XIII. Principles of Classification

When classifying realistic paintings of different generations, we attempt to find the identity among them. The realization of identity involves the ignorance of multiple characteristics. Only one typical characteristic will be picked out. For example, A gets picked out among A, B, C, D and E because it has the typical characteristic.⁴⁶ Take nativist realism as an example. The style of Ming-Chang Hsieh is closest to the typical feature. Then, multiple characteristics of a thing are ignored and combined as one. For example, A, B, C, D and E are brought into one. In the style of photorealism, the style of Chung-Kuang Ku might be closest to one. His static sketches of hyperrealism includes many common features of Taiwanese

41. Bloch, p. 153.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Hegel, Georg W.F. *The Logic of Hegel*, Vol. 2., trans. Di Huang (黃昀) & Peiyu Chang (常培育), Beijing: China Social Science Press, 2007, p.115.

hyperrealism, such as taking photos as references, no brushes, enlarging the scale and having no texture as a photo (i.g. the works by Zhao-Hong Chen 陳昭宏).

Every art is various or different. The differences of art come from the inherent features of art and the difference of art’s appearance. There are different characteristics in realistic paintings of each generation.⁴⁷ Take nativist realistic paintings as an example. There is a variety of diversity of dimensions produced by differences. In this kind diversity, different objects function in their own way. They are not affected by the relationship with other objects. This relationship is external rather than internal. The styles of nativist art differ. However, the difference does not affect another. The difference then becomes comparison, a third party and a notion.

XIV. Quality and Quantity

The quality and quantity of nativist art in Taiwan. In his The Logic of Hegel, Hegel mentions that being contains the three phase: Quality, Quantity and Measure.⁴⁸ First, we discuss Quality. Quality is the character identical with being. Being is existence. Existence is unperceptive, insensible and unimaginable. It is the pure thought, the abstract being. Existence needs to go through the dialectical process of Becoming to be the real existence. Negativity inheres in quality. Quality is Being-for-another—an expansion of an object. Compared to other objects, quality refers to Being-by-self.

If we go on to consider determinate Being as a determinateness, we get in this way what is called Reality.⁴⁹ We speak, for example, of the reality of a plan or a purpose, meaning thereby that they are no longer inner and subjective. In the same sense the body may be called the reality of the soul, the law the reality of freedom, the world altogether the reality of the divine idea, and art is the reality of images. One of the conditions of achieving reality is the correspondence of objects and notions. For example, the reality of Nativist realistic paintings exists when the paintings correspond to the notions of “nativist realistic paintings.” The quality of Taiwanese nativist art is a sort of existence. The existence is concertized into reality after becoming. The reality is transformed into images by the artists, so it is beyond the pure thought.

Being Determinate is one of the features in Hegel’s philosophy. He believes there are always two sides of a thing because the becoming of things is the normal state in the universe. Becoming is the logic of things’ birth and death. Everything contains contradictions or opposite attributes. Things do not just appear. The disappearance of things is also normal. The birth and death of things is a dialectical method. The results shows that a pure nonexistence (a nonexistence in existence) is also a pure existence (an existence in nonexistence).

Determinate Being is the unification of Becoming. It is the being of things at the moment, such as burning, life cycles, walking and drawing. Becoming is the unification of existence and nonexistence. In the unification, the differences between existence and nonexistence affect each other. It is an unstable state. Becoming is the basic characteristic of every existence. The ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus once said: “All is flowing.” On the other side, Determinate Being is the becoming of the unified form.

47. *Ibid.*, p.117.
48. *Ibid.*, p.85.
49. *Ibid.*, p.91.

Determinate Being is there and so and one-sided and finite. The character of photorealism is not only there and so but also one-sided and finite. It inheres Becoming. It will not solve the creating methods of realistic paintings in Taiwanese art once and for all.

Then it is the issue of essence. What is the essence of nativist realistic paintings? Essence reflects the Being of an object.⁵⁰ The point of view given by the Essence is the standpoint of Reflection. It inheres in the objects. Its Being only exists in people’s reflections. Essence does not exist by itself. Everything has its Essence, which is constant. However, in the Being of nativist realistic paintings, there is no reality. To humans, the internal Essence can only be proven and be aware of by the external reality. During the reflection process, Essence emerges in people’s thoughts through Ground, Identity and Difference.

“Nativist realistic paintings” is just a common notion in the history of Taiwanese art. In order to prove a painting to be nativist realism, we can only confirm the possible Being by “what is not a nativist realistic painting” (Difference). Then, we prove its determinateness by Identity. In this reflection, “nativist realistic paintings” is the Ground of this dialectic. In the history of Taiwanese art, there seem to be many paintings that are not “nativist realistic paintings.” People do not define modernist paintings or genre paintings by the senior artists nativist realistic paintings since the notion did not exist before the nativist art movement. Nativist realistic paintings are Being Determinate in the historical process. Determinate Being is the Becoming of the unified form. The Essence of nativist realistic paintings is any painting other than non-nativist-realistic paintings created during a certain historical period. Therefore, only works of nativist realism created in the 1970s can be considered nativist realistic. Works created in the former or latter period in the history of Taiwanese art cannot be titled nativist realistic paintings.

“Nativist realistic paintings” are art created during a certain historical period. The art is just a product of Being Determinate as Georg W. F. Hegel stated. Its content changes with the history. According to this definition, the Quantity of “nativist realistic paintings” is not a logical issue of infinity. We can even rule out the unlimited extensions from the reviewers using the definitions of art historians. For example, is “Nearby Yuanshan” (圓山附近) by Hsueh-Hu Guo (郭雪湖) in 1928 a “nativist realistic painting”?

Next, we discuss the issue of Quantity. Quantity is the character external to being and does not affect being at all. In other words, Quantity has nothing to do with its being. Whatever the size is, a house remains what it is. However, the increase or decrease of Quantity changes the character of Quality. As some Quality measure exceeds a certain limit, there will be no Quality anymore. Quality is not extinguished. Instead, it is replaced by another kind of Quality, just as how water changes into gas. The changing process of measures then shifts from the simple quantitative change to qualitative change.⁵¹ “Nativist realistic paintings are a notion created by the unification of Quality and Quantity. The notion can be seen as something with a measure. As the Quantity of a notion increases or decreases, the qualitative change takes place, such as the degree of metal oxidation, the temperate change of water and the differences of pitches during the changing process of measures. Due to the simulations from the art circle, the Quantity of nativist realistic paintings had increased. It then changed the quality. The notion then does not match the reality.

Only when the notion corresponds to the reality will it be a valid notion. If the notion in the whole

50. *Ibid.*, p.112.

51. *Ibid.*, p.109.

and in their part does not correspond to the “reality,” then this relation is unreal. The notion of the whole must contains the part. If the whole notion is divided into many parts, then the whole stops being a whole. If so, the partial objects are the untrue Being.⁵² The term “untrue” does not signify that the thing to which it is applied is non-existent. “A bad state or a sickly body may exist all the same, but these things are untrue, because their notion and reality are out of harmony.”⁵³ After the fad of the nativist movement, many of the surrealist elements had been put in realistic paintings. Although they are local subjects, their styles are no longer the complete notion as nativist realism defines. After the 1980s, modernism had emerged in Taiwan. The whole notion of nativist realistic paintings was divided into many parts. Some artists created nativist realistic paintings with neo-expressionism. As the whole and the parts cannot function regularly, the nativist realistic paintings are untrue. At the end of the nativist realistic movement, the quality was changed due to the increase of quantity. Nativist realistic paintings thus initialed the next process of Taiwanese art.

XV. Historical View of Art

Daojian Pi, a modern Chinese art critic, suggests that

... the art practice is an ongoing history of dialectical development. In this dialectical development, people gradually establish and improve their knowledge about special principles. This developmental process is not only historical but also dialectical. “One part of it is formed, the other part is produced.” In the art field, the perception and awareness of people towards beautiful objects are formed, and the art works are then produced.⁵⁴

Pi’s viewpoint is the deviation of materialism. It is also the historical viewpoint of art development that Marxists believe in.

Man’s perceptual experience reflects on nature and artworks. The result is the unification of the form and the content. The integration of forms and contents constitutes the content of art history. As Pi states,

The human activities in the art field are two non-stop pursuits. One is to reform nature. In the practical activities of the artificial and human productive fields, rational factors accumulate, enriching human perceptions and humanity towards the nature and the society. As a result, the range of art subjects expands.⁵⁵

On the other side, “the art forms created for the first pursuit also enrich and complete themselves gradually.”⁵⁶ These two pursuits feature a dialectical relationship of unifying opposite attributes. The former is expressed through the content of art, and the latter is expressed through the form of art.⁵⁷ We can see the history of art as processes that shift from contents to forms and vise versa.⁵⁸ The essential contradiction of art development is the contradiction between contents and forms. Their exchanging has constituted the ever-changing developmental process in art history. This process is not only long but also slow. Also, the

52. *Ibid.*, p.135.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Pi, p. 8.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

development of forms tends to be slower than the development of contents.⁵⁹ The greatest significance of nativist realism in the 1970s for the history of Taiwanese art is the improvement of forms. In the innovating process of forms, a new expression emerges in Taiwanese art.

Georg W. F. Hegel once defined the law of the objects’ dialectical development, suggesting that:

...the common things consist of the basics. Therefore, the forwarding and moving objects shall not be seen as the flowing from one object to another. In every phrase, contents of common things will be increased constantly. Nothing is lost or left behind because of the forwarding movement of the dialectical process. Instead, they are enriched and fulfilled by the results.⁶⁰

Taiwanese realistic paintings can be seen as the history of philosophical knowledge. It is replaceable. Yet, replacement needs to be based on the original basics. Its development thus enriches and fulfills itself by the results. Taiwanese realistic paintings enrich their contents out of the development of social lives and the advancement of the culture.

XVI. Conclusion

In the modernization processes around the world, most countries introduced modern paintings from Europe, paintings after the Renaissance in particular. Due to different situations of colonization, the Western paintings were introduced in Asia through different channels at different times. India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, the Philippines all introduced the European painting tradition from their colonist countries. China and Japan sent students to Europe to learn about Western art.

Like other cultural techniques, artists have to learn from the experts and pass down the tradition. The Western paintings in Taiwanese art were learned from Japan at the beginning of the 20th century. From the 1920s to the 1970s, the creating style and techniques of Taiwanese art are the imitations of Japanese art. The style and techniques had lasted for at least two generations. After 1970, the promotion of mass media and the increase of students overseas had helped the introduction of American and international realism. The notions or techniques of this Western culture had been popularized and become another style after Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions. There were more methods of expression for artists to choose from ever since. It also changed the Edo-period taste of the citizens.

In terms of quality, Taiwanese nativist art absorbed and exceeded the creating standards of Japanese Ministry of Education’s Art Exhibitions. It had transformed into a more fulfilling art which enhances the development of Taiwanese art. As for quantity, after the development and changes of nativist paintings in the last forty years, there are only a few paintings that meet the standards of nativist paintings in history. As generations change, the so-called nativist paintings are disappearing into history.

59. *Ibid*, p. 9.
60. *Ibid*, pp. 9-10.

臺灣鄉土美術中的國族想像與框架

Imagination of Nationhood and the Framework
of Nativist Art in Taiwan

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摘要

七〇年代鄉土美術運動強調鄉土題材的發掘與鄉土精神的發揮，透過視覺藝術來進行本土文化認同工程，以呼應鄉土文學運動與文化運動。然而，這一段美術運動雖然觸及鄉土，雖然描繪臺灣景象，雖然表現臺灣精神，卻和戰後本土化的美術發展以及臺灣意識似乎不能等同評論或完全銜接起來。美術鄉土運動中的中國想像與中國文化框架，讓這一段鄉土美術論述的意涵跳脫其字面指涉，關涉美學中差異與霸權的意識形態鬥爭，可說是另類的鄉土、另類的本土，包含和諧與衝突，想像與限制的二律悖反情況。本文將以筆者過去的研究案例來整理、呼應這個觀察。擴大而言，臺灣的藝術創作與藝術書寫是否有著國族想像與框架的因素，不論視為干擾或助力，是臺灣藝術史研究中可以過濾或考慮的一部分，也導引著方法論與理論的思考方向。特別提醒的是，將國族概念應用於藝術史的討論在過去是傳統藝術史學的小眾或分支，也容易被誤解為過度政治意識形態考量，但若和當代吾人所重視的文化認同概念連繫，這樣的討論就有新的意涵的可能性。

關鍵詞：鄉土美術運動、文化認同、鄉愁、本土、國族、框架

一、鄉愁是否羈絆？

月前，諾貝爾文學獎得主高行健於師大發表新書《美的葬禮》，表示他對中國如今已無鄉愁羈絆。他認為擺脫是一種超越，也如同文化認同，無需留戀。¹ 鄉愁有無可能忘卻？文化認同有無機會擺脫成為「流亡」狀態？² 歷史遺忘是一種傷痕顯現還是自然進程？這些都是當代文化認同理論所關照的問題，不過，文化認同理論已經朝向複數化、能動性、可被質疑與接合的新思維，此時，擺不擺脫鄉愁已無關宏旨了。高行健標舉「沒有主義」，最終還是需要藉助水墨表現與特定文化主題為載體，宣稱不帶鄉愁、不思認同反而顯得些許勉強。序言：「《美的葬禮》對當今社會批評的同時，同樣遠離否定之否定二十世紀以來藝術革命的模式，而是在重新認識傳統文化的前提下，回到審美」。³ 姑且不論「否定之否定」的弔詭與辯證性，這種態度傾向回歸／迴轉，不是拋棄，不是離散。反倒是「否定」（negation）的態度和前述文化認同理論的思辯狀態有異曲同工之處。另外，如果喜歡中國（不論政治或其他因素），去國多年後堅持思鄉與認同又如何？如果不再留戀（也是不論政治或其他因素），無妨瀟灑走一回，再尋找新居住上幾年，當個逍遙的「文化遊牧者」（nomad）或「文化寄居蟹」。關鍵字是動詞「喜歡」，而不是那個客體「中國」。有時，鄉愁只是藉口，真正的目的是標定現在的位置與未來路徑的主體（個人或集體），這是一個價值評估與文化反思性的策略作為。Anderson所發展的概念「想像社群」（the imagined community）⁴，或Hobsbawm的「被發明的傳統」（the invention of tradition）⁵ 挑戰傳統的認知，在在說明了人們和文化的關係，是可取可捨，可連可斷，可縮可放，端看個人在時空脈絡下的決擇。

文化認同的問題可否瀟灑走一回，似乎有稍微肯定的答案，但擺脫文化認同成為無需文化認同的人士是不是可能？「誰需要文化認同」是一種召喚，在匱乏時刻更顯困頓與需要。數百年臺灣政權不斷翻轉，文化認同危機更為凸顯，例如：亞細亞的孤兒，臺灣意識，臺灣認同，本土化等等。⁶ 因此，報端出現Hanreich建議現今臺灣社會在理性運作與自由選擇之下定調「文化認同不重要」⁷，這恐怕是不容易理解與不容易操做的命題，因為沒嚐試過主體性滋味的人群無法想像或體會擁有者的「瀟灑走一回」狀態，其實，他們的渴望主體與認同多於擺脫它們。因為，

當我們談「臺灣美術主體性」時，似乎表明有這麼一個主體性危機存在著。審視歷史，長久以來臺灣邊緣性的角色促動臺灣的意識，因此主體性危機一直是內含於臺灣主體性的追尋過程之內，這種情形常見於殖民地與第三世界地區。危機感讓原本的運作更為緊密連繫起來，

1. 楊媛婷，〈諾貝爾文學獎得主高行健：我對中國已無鄉愁〉，《自由時報》，2016年5月31日，<http://ent.ltn.com.tw/news/breakingnews/1714644>。
2. 高行健，《沒有主義》。臺北，聯經，2001年。「我所以甘心流亡，毋須迴避，只因為尋求表達的自由。我表述，我才存在。」、「流亡的處境促使作家成熟，促使作家必須對藝術、對語言態度嚴肅……」、「一個充分意識到自己的人，總在流亡。」頁123、165、172。
3. 高行健，《美的葬禮》，臺北，臺灣師範大學，2016年，頁9。
4. Anderson, Benedict. 1983. Imagined Communities—Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London and New York: VERSO.
5. Hobsbawm, Eric. 1983. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." in The Invention of Tradition, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1-14.
6. 廖新田，〈臺灣美術主體性的想像與扶擇〉，2010年，收錄於《藝術的張力：臺灣美術與文化政治學》，臺北，典藏，2010年6月。
7. Hanreich, Herbert. 2016/5/20. "Cultural identity's unimportance". Taipei Times. <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2016/05/20/2003646660/3>

自成體系，內部因而強化其團結為一致對外的單位。……宣稱主體的存在價值與意願通常有其背後的目的與動機，其中之一就是「不確定性」（uncertainty）。在這之中，一種自我關係與他我關係的再確認與再洗牌。……主體性語言常常是一種警告的語言、一種頓悟的語言、一種呼喊的語言、一種危機的語言、甚至是一種救亡圖存的語言；由此看來，主體性的論述可以看成是策略性的論述，企圖「撥亂反正」。⁸

上述的推論，如果對照政治大學選舉研究中心「臺灣民眾臺灣人／中國人認同趨勢分佈」（2015年12月），受訪者中近六成認為自己是臺灣人，認同自己是中國人的比例不到半成的；回顧1995年認同自己是臺灣人有二成五，兩成認同自己是中國人，兩者尚不分軒輊，二十年間的變化，用戲劇化來形容真是並不為過。倒是擁有雙重認同者一直是主流，維持在三成和五成之間，呼應了文化認同是可以複數化的看法。⁹ 美術展覽方面，對照筆者的調查發現，1988年到2009年，國美館使用「臺灣」124次而「中國」只有4次；北美館（1983-2007）使用「臺灣」63次而「中國」是14次，文化認同的版圖移轉是明顯的、變遷上有其意義的。¹⁰

不過，必須承認，鄉愁的囁嚅不盡然甜美，有時是壓力的來源，可讓人惆悵、失落甚至成為驅策的力量。當鄉愁成為美學與風格，其感染力可能成為集體的認同壓力，另一方面對遠走他鄉者而言則形成了召喚、規範甚至是霸權，涵納（inclusion）與排斥（exclusion）於焉作用。高行健的美學抵抗、疏離是可以理解的，更何況離鄉多載，離散人（diaspora）身分已成為常態。少小離家老大回，鄉音雖不改歲月卻催人老；主客已異位，鄉愁也質變。

從藝術純粹性與創作自由，筆者可以理解。因為藝術的過度政治化是藝術的危機：「認同與主體的問題性突顯了兩者的矛盾：一方面，鄉土思潮的驅力促動藝術朝向在地的關懷，並抵擋現代化或外來勢力的破壞。藝術更可從鄉土的滋養得到慰藉，發展特殊的表現形式，這是鄉土寶貴之處。另一方面，藝術創作若過度的以社會為考量，恐將淪為藝術政治化甚至商業化的境地。」¹¹將國族概念應用於藝術史的討論在過去是傳統藝術史學的小眾或分支，也容易被誤解為過度政治意識形態考量，但若和當代吾人所重視的文化認同概念連繫，這樣的討論就有新的意涵的可能。Michalski 仔細剖析國族藝術(national art)在理論上有其悠久歷史，一些藝術史學者都留下了探討的紀錄，如 Heinrich Wölfflin 於1931年發表的《義大利與德意志形式感》(Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl)。風景畫、歷史畫是探索國族藝術的重要主題，特別是鄉土作品成為形構國族藝術有力的材料，其中，抵抗與認同是核心的作用，目的在透過情感的召喚訴諸「想像的共同體」，形塑一種獨特風格與主題的視覺藝術語言。¹²

以上的陳述與推論，在七〇年代臺灣鄉土美術發展似乎有雷同的條件。本土再現與鄉土美學並

非命定，在正面表述之外，有著可茲探討的問題性。拙文〈近鄉情怯：臺灣近現代視覺藝術發展中本土意識的三種面貌〉探索本土與現代的結合的意涵，是新本土，是重新表述的本土，不是樸素的本土；換言之，沒有原汁原味的本土，本土總是與時俱進，具備調適機制：

整體來說，一九七〇年代臺灣美術的鄉土運動和社會的脈動更為密切，地方認同的需求因著外在環境的壓力而更為強烈。在危機意識中，回歸鄉土的呼聲讓審美的眼光投注在自己朝夕生活的土地上，訴求是特定的、操作的，任何可能凝結臺灣信心、抵抗外來勢力的表現都是值得讚揚與肯定的。筆者認為在抵抗之外，對本土表述的重新界定更是美術鄉土運動的核心。席德進、洪通、朱銘、鄉土寫實新秀、第一代畫家分別將普普、歐普、文人畫、民間藝術、素人藝術、照相寫實、印象派引進七〇年代鄉土運動的美術創作中；文藝界人士分別就反西化、反抽象與反學院以及追求鄉土理想造型、社會現實主義、文化造型等論述再次顯示本土意識的實質並非固定的一灘靜水，而是流動的河，朝向遙遠的認同與主體的大海流去。¹³

本土是好的，對藝術創作而言不可或缺，但過度強調本土，反而解消了它的積極功能。本土也是一種危機意識，深怕在外來文化的衝擊下喪失自我，但它卻需要外來文化的對照、刺激，甚至藉助外來文化而重獲新生。由此可見，本土情結有其根本的矛盾。……七〇年代鄉土主義激發了美術鄉土議題的探討，但成功的例子是融合中西、接納傳統與現代的席德進與朱銘，不是洪通或直接引進西方的照相寫實主義，美術的鄉土主義論述也招來僵化的批判。……本土的概念凝聚了認同，認同的內涵形構了主體，在選擇、涵納與排斥的過程中，說明「本土有純粹的本質」是一種迷思或誤解。¹⁴

鄉土美學轉而為霸權論述的案例，在筆者〈美學與差異：朱銘與一九七〇年代的鄉土主義〉中剖析了這種作用力與反作用力。¹⁵

上述的討論處理了文化認同與主體性之內部概念結構的糾葛，強調臺灣美術中文化位置的游移（也是猶疑）與不確定性。我曾用「近鄉情怯」比喻這種情境：「一個不安的靈魂找到了可以安歇的處所，它滿意極了，到頭來卻發現它是在一列向前疾駛的火車上，它還是欣慰極了，因為它同時擁有過去和現在、記憶和理想。認同是一段追尋歸屬的過程，近鄉情更怯。」不過，臺灣美術鄉土運動中比較少分析「國族」在其中所扮演的角色，是輕是重，其概念功能尚待進一步論定。本文的問題意識是：七八〇年代的臺灣社會，鄉土或本土的概念在國族的框架下的意涵為何？是否不同或相同於臺灣鄉土美術？這裡，筆者要指出框架是必要的，它提供了文化參照或參考座標，做為詮釋的依據。然而，藝術框架也是限制的，「框限」了美學論述與思考在特定的範圍之內（端看「中華臺北」一詞的複雜問題就可明白）。更關鍵的是，框架是可以設定的，沒有一定要非得怎麼樣的框架或超然的框架。本文一開始質疑高行健的沒有主義、不再有鄉愁困擾的主張，其實是以「後設思

8.同註6，〈臺灣美術主體性的想像與抉擇〉，頁41-42。

9.政治大學選舉研究中心，〈臺灣民眾臺灣人／中國人認同趨勢分佈〉，http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/pic.php?img=166_9dddbf3a.jpg&dir=news&title=%E5%9C%96%E7%89%87（2016年6月1日瀏覽）。

10.廖新田，〈臺灣的視覺再現：臺灣近現代美術的文化地理學想像〉，《臺灣美術》99期，2015年，頁4-21。

11.廖新田，〈近鄉情怯：臺灣近現代視覺藝術發展中本土意識的三種面貌〉，2008年，收錄於《臺灣美術四論：蠻荒／文明，自然／文化，認同／差異，純粹／混雜》，臺北，典藏，頁149。

12.Michalski, Sergiusz，〈藝術史，其方法與國族藝術之問題〉（‘Art History, its Methods and the Problem of National Art’），2006年，收錄於曾曦淑主編，《藝術與認同》，臺北，南天，頁39-55。

13.廖新田，〈近鄉情怯：臺灣近現代視覺藝術發展中本土意識的三種面貌〉，2008年，收錄於《臺灣美術四論：蠻荒／文明，自然／文化，認同／差異，純粹／混雜》，臺北，典藏，頁149。。

14.廖新田，〈臺灣的視覺再現：臺灣近現代美術的文化地理學想像〉，《臺灣美術》99期，頁149-150。

15.廖新田，〈美學與差異：朱銘與一九七〇年代的鄉土主義〉，2008年，收錄於《臺灣美術四論：蠻荒／文明，自然／文化，認同／差異，純粹／混雜》，臺北，典藏。

考」的必要性來審思文化認同能否擺脫與重建的問題。「後設思考」亦如遊戲規範，最終促成了預設的結果（或革命行動，如果不接受設定框架的話）。而鄉土美術中的民族框架如何影響鄉土創作、形塑鄉土論述，是本文的焦點。

二、隱微而被忽略的國族語境：斷面觀察

在臺灣鄉土美術論述中，從洪通、朱銘出發，¹⁶ 延伸到席德進、鄉土寫實、照像寫實，發展出相當多的鄉土和本土的論述，質量均有可觀，¹⁷ 但中國文化因素則是比較少被分析的部分。「國族」語言往往以「中國／華」、「中國／華人」、「中華民族」、「中國／東方文化」、「傳統」等詞表示，其反對的觀念是「反西方」、「反洋化」，遙遙呼應1971年臺灣退出聯合國後反美帝與對抗西方霸權的社會自覺運動。關於國族，理論上，後殖民主義學者如Homi K. Bhabha認為國家一如敘述，無其本源，只有在心中實現¹⁸，顯現其建構性的特質，和前述文化認同的流動性、複數化相通。關於想像，Anderson所發展的概念「想像共同體」，藉由印刷資本主義、交通系統、人口調查、地圖、歷史建構等機制促成共同體的想像基礎，並非一般的認知的隨想。本文的理論基礎即是建立在這種知識競爭的觀點上。

國族論述是七〇年代鄉土運動中被視為理所當然的語境框架或認同目標，換言之，被自然地鑲嵌在文本中做為討論的參照。余光中〈鄉愁四韻〉（1974年3月）可為代表之作：「給我一瓢長江水啊長江水 那酒一樣的長江水 那醉酒的滋味是鄉愁的滋味」。這首由楊弦和胡德夫譜曲，於1975年在中山堂演唱的民歌，第二三四段還有海棠紅的燒痛鄉愁、雪花白的等待鄉愁以及臘梅香的鄉土芬芳。最耳熟能詳的是1978年〈龍的傳人〉，美國正式和臺灣斷交和中共建交之際，是1971年中華民國臺灣退出聯合國後，一連串衝擊的最大打擊。歌詞中充滿祖國的遙念與想望：

遙遠的東方有一條江 它的名字就叫長江

遙遠的東方有一條河 它的名字就叫黃河

16. 洪通熱起於主持中國時報海外專欄的高信璽。高刊登了抨擊現代詩的文章，並為文主張詩人應拋棄晦澀的語言，回到真實的土地，和民衆共呼吸。洪通的畫吻合了他的理想，1972年7月發表〈洪通的世界〉並引介紹雄獅美術主編，因而促成1973年4月該雜誌「洪通專輯」的推出。1976年3月13日洪通於臺北美國新聞處舉行畫展，高信璽於展覽前一天開始在「人間副刊」連續刊載六天，吸引大批好奇民衆參觀。洪通的起落，可參考洪米貞（2003）《靈魅，狂想，洪通》。「朱銘木雕藝術特展」於1976年3月14日至3月27日國立歷史博物館展出，展覽時間只比洪通晚一天。中國時報人間副刊於3月19日至3月23日刊載朱銘，晚洪通報導三天。因著兩人傳奇的出身、鄉土議題和媒體呈現類似而成為共同的話題，1976年3月底至4月《雄獅美術》月刊發起「朱銘·洪通個展徵稿」，6月該刊發表的五篇文章，觀眾給予不同評價。
17. 國內關於七〇年代臺灣美術的探討論著如下：《反思：七〇年代臺灣美術發展》，臺北，臺北市立美術館，2004年；蕭瓊瑞，〈本土認知與美術教育〉，收於《島嶼測量——臺灣美術定向》，臺北，三民，2004年，頁57-105；以及〈在激進與保守之間——戰後臺灣現代藝術發展的重新檢視〉（1945-1983），收於《正言世代：臺灣當代視覺文化》，臺北，臺北市立美術館，2004年，頁42-69；劉永仁，〈鄉土自覺與突破學院神話→七〇年代臺灣美術奇葩〉，《聯合文學》233，2004年3月，頁64-65；曹筱玗，〈認同與回歸——七〇年代本土意識下繪畫的產製與通路〉，《藝術家》335，2003年4月，頁481-485；楊繡綾，《從雄獅美術看七〇年代鄉土美術發展之結構與限制》，臺灣師範大學美術研究所碩士論文，2000年；黃海鳴，〈懷舊與鄉愁〉，收於《複數元的視野——臺灣當代美術1988-1999》，高雄，山藝術文教基金會，1999年，頁35-39；盛鑑，〈邊界的批判：以洪通的藝術為例論臺灣藝術論述中關於分類與界限的問題〉，中央大學藝術學研究所碩士論文，1997年；蔣勳，〈回歸本土——七〇年代臺灣美術大勢〉，收於《臺灣美術新風貌》（1945-1993），臺北，臺北市立美術館，1993年，頁32-37；梅丁衍，〈談臺灣鄉土寫實中現代意識的盲點〉，《雄獅美術》246，1991年8月，頁88-89；林惺嶽，〈鄉土運動的勃興〉，收於《臺灣美術風雲40年》，臺北，自立晚報，1987年，頁183-240。（以上資料，被引用於文章者將列入參考書目，其餘不再重複。）
18. "Nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully encounter their horizons in the mind's eye", Bhabha, Homi K., 1990. "Introduction", Nation and Narration. London & New York: Routledge.

雖不曾看見長江美 夢裡常神遊長江水

雖不曾聽見黃河壯 澎湃洶湧在夢裡

〈少年中國〉原詩作者蔣勳，1976年經李雙澤詞曲改編，也充滿濃濃的中國鄉愁：

我們隔著迢遙的山河 去看望祖國的土地

你用你的足跡 我用我遊子的鄉愁 你對我說

古老的中國沒有鄉愁 鄉愁是給沒有家的人

少年的中國也不要鄉愁 鄉愁是給不回家的人

懷鄉帶來奮鬥的動力，是正面而積極的。作為一位創作者，席德進對本土的認知與在藝術上的呈現，是出於主體的認同與藝術需求的考量——他稱之為「呼喚」與「凝固」。¹⁹ 他說（底線為筆者所加）：

我要自己成長起來。從中國的文化背景中，從臺灣的氣候中，從中國人深厚的民族感情中脫孕出來。於是我走向民間。從這個鄉村，到那個村莊，坐在小鎮上，巷衢裏，看那古老的桓牆上的斜陽，坐在古屋的陰影裡。

這種對鄉土的熱望是中西文化衝擊體驗下的真摯感受。在熾烈的地方認同衝動下，席德進的本土情結在藝術表現上是抓取未來（對臺灣藝術國際化而言，西方藝術總是以一種未來式存在著。臺灣藝術將朝向那個「理想」邁進，儘管對西方來說，它也許正在發生、或剛結束）、過去（臺灣民間活力與中國藝術的人文質素），融匯於當下的臺灣本土，並且總是以朝向新的方向為終極目標，他說：

我們要把傳統推向現代。這要我們對過去歷史，及現代精神充分的了解與透徹的明晰。……現代的來臨，是無法抗拒的，古文化的消失，也無法挽回。用我們的傳統去開拓現代吧！使現代感染一些我們傳統的優越。……做一個中國現代畫家，被迫要將五千年文化作一個結算，來把他推向科技時代的浪潮裡，與西方文化溶匯。²⁰

以上這些都是浪漫的呼喚，因此態度是軟調、溫柔的；用懷鄉的想像力營造文化認同。然而，它也可以變成是壓迫的力量，形成美學規範用以區隔差異。

蔣勳1978年3月擔任《雄獅美術》主編揭橥「文藝的、民族的、現實的」路線，就是典型的鄉土與民族聯繫的例子。蔣勳強烈的民族訴求用來批評朱銘不夠鄉土、海外創作者不夠民族，對向西方文化看齊者嗤之以鼻，甚至使用「封建餘孽」與「假洋鬼子」等語抨擊海外藝文工作者，²¹ 宣稱「絕不做西方的三流貨色的買辦」，「不寄養在西方文化的屋簷下」等等強烈的語言。1978年11月的「華裔藝術家特輯」引發「藝術主體」與「主體文化」的爭辯，特別是藝術生產的時空效果及其正當性的問題。他以異常嚴厲的措辭檢討華裔藝術家對臺灣與華人的貢獻，把握住民族的原則就是藝文美學的判準：

這三十年間，我們以趙無極、周文中、貝聿銘做我們藝術後學者最高目標的現象倒是非常特

19. 席德進，〈我的藝術與臺灣〉，《雄獅美術》2期，1971年，頁17。

20. 席德進，《席德進水彩畫集——我畫·我想·我說》，臺北，作者自行出版，1977年，頁12-13、16。

21. 蔣勳，〈怎樣「賣」！〉，1977年，收於尉天聰主編，《鄉土文學討論集》，1980年，臺北，遠景，頁483-485；〈灌溉一個文化的花季〉，《鄉土文學討論集》，1980年，臺北，遠景，頁30-50。

別的。藝術的主體竟然是不斷外流出去，去豐富其他民族的文化，而讓自己的文化主體迷失在這種浮誇的虛榮心理上，使本土文化永遠累積不了成果。……不要徒然用他們在異國的聲名來滿足自淫以為因此就證明了「中國文化的偉大」，到頭來，結果是一代一代年輕的中國人，遙拜著巴黎或紐約，一代一代的中國青年在毫無民族自信的情況下讓這一段的中國藝術史成為空白。²²

蔣勳認為貝聿銘對中國藝術沒有積極貢獻：

可以說貝聿銘先生完全為資本家服務。大家要求貝氏來做這件事，是不可能的，他完全是外國經濟、社會環境下造就的建築師，他的成就是那個文化的評價，他與中國的關係是很薄弱的，他在中國前期的教育訓練就是準備離開，趙無極、周文中都一樣。²³

一篇談論趙無極的訪談紀錄，蔣勳說：

趙無極與周文中都跟這個時期中國的新藝術無關，拿他們來滿足「中國人揚名世界」的虛榮感是不必要的，拿他們來勉勵後學的青年，提供一條到「世界」、「國際」之路，更只是我們民族自信衰落至極的反映。²⁴

蔣勳強烈民族與現實主義態度激起旅居巴黎藝術創作者們的反彈。在〈本土文化與外來文化〉的巴黎座談中，對這種過度僵化的鄉土中國刻板教條導向排洋仇外的態度表示不滿：

一味用仇視的態度，就會苛責他們太「中國」的作品為「出賣東方文化」，太「西化」的作品又要罵為「忘本崇洋」了。
我覺得「鄉土」如果指定是「誠懇地表現我們今天中國人的心聲」，我是贊成的。一面倒的崇洋不用說是不成的，一味躲在故舊裏，也沒有人贊成。但是一味排洋更不是辦法。
我們不需要人為地先弄出一個大前提，定出一條中國藝術發展的路，凡是不合這條路的藝術就要排斥打倒。²⁵

在最後一期的〈編輯報告〉上，蔣勳仍相當堅持他所揭櫫的現實與鄉土的理想與使命：

雄獅革新迄今已經一年了。革新第一期（85期）的序言中標示出來「民族的」與「現實的」原則，這一年中十二期都在努力堅持著，各方面的阻撓打擊都是當初所未曾料到的，但是，也更知道：堅持民族的原則，堅持關心現實，原來是甚為艱鉅的工作，需要有更多願意為重建本土文化的朋友警覺而勇毅地幹下去，甚至我們自己，惑於長期民族自信的淪喪，有時也或多或少地無意間鼓勵著崇洋媚外的惡習。²⁶

另外一位鄉土文學評論者許南村序謝里法的〈跟阿笠談美術〉（1975年12月於《雄獅美術》連載）中，認為臺灣的視覺藝術應和鄉土文學一樣走向現實主義的創作路線，並對五、六○年代的現代藝術創作無視於群眾與社會的需求，盲目追求西方潮流感到不滿。他說：

三十年來，臺灣的畫家心中從來沒有過這些民眾，卻一直引頸西望，……在他們充數的畫布

上，沒有活生生的，為生活勞動著的人；沒有社會；沒有具體的現實生活；沒有臺灣；沒有中國；沒有為民族的解放、國家的獨立而艱苦奮的弱小貧困國家的精神面貌；沒有激盪人心的急變中的世界……。三十年來，臺灣無數的畫家，甘為他人做最卑賤的俳優臣妾，卻對芸芸的、勞動的、從無美術生活的安慰的同胞，不屑稍假辭色。²⁷

綜觀以上言論，民族與現實主義成為鄉土藝術的兩個重要的美學指標，持著「漢賊不能兩立」的邏輯：民族與西化路徑的二元對峙，而蔣勳1978年3月擔任《雄獅美術》主編揭櫫的階序是民族的（中國的）加上現實的（社會的）、文藝的（美學的）：先有民族的意識結合階級生活的關照，最後才是美的感知成果，順序似乎不能顛倒。

三、鄉土美術論述的框架與超越

綜觀七○年代的視覺的鄉土主義，論述的內容是相當豐富而深刻的，雖然規模沒有文學來得大。藉著挪用，鄉土文學的現實主義確實體現在少數的藝術創作者身上。透過鄉土文學的反覆界定與辯證，視覺的現實主義也隱然成形。高信彊、尉天驄、許南村、王拓、朱西寧、施叔青、孫慶餘、唐文標等人雖「玩票性」地介入視覺表現論述，但也相當反映了文學鄉土主義的現實的、民族的、階級的、反帝與反資本主義的觀點或取向。蔣勳參與鄉土文學討論，更直接主導藝術雜誌的編選。從他對朱銘的藝術批評及其他文論，反映出一種民族的與現實的美學觀，加上「封建餘孽」與「假洋鬼子」的批判，構成對朱銘「背離」本土主題與轉向抽象的批評基調。他把這一套模式檢視海外藝術家身上——沒有在地創作的人對民族文化沒有直接實質的貢獻。從更廣泛的角度而言，這是從個人認同到文化認同與民族認同的錯亂與扭曲。這是相當「致命」的推論，這種論點將自身與對方逼上無法相容的絕路。在當時國家與社會內憂外患的艱難處境下，鄉土主義的現實主義因此是實質地在地的創作；描述性的、寫實的反映在地生活和普通人悲歡離合的心聲是最佳選擇。這樣堅決、單一而純粹的承諾與志業導致作品表現的批評均質與同質，致過於霸權與意識型態取向。文化的內外區隔與交流在此似乎沒有一絲空間可以轉圜，排斥與涵納的機制在現實主義美學中嚴厲的執行著。因此，誤解與對立在運動的熱情中滋長。藝術的鄉土主義是封閉或開放的概念？「鄉土」是一個動態的概念，它處於當下，想像、模塑過去，並展望未來。「鄉土」也是複合的概念，在臺灣現代美術發展的過程中，任何追求純粹的、原汁原味的、刻板的「鄉土」，其結果是負面多於正面。評論者以理論的假設對創作者的作品加以詮釋並有所期待，和他們自身所追求的藝術理想是不同的軌道。鄉土主義的現實主義和朱銘的鄉土題材創作交遇，是歷史的偶然；交集過後分道揚鑣反而才是必然。筆者認為，一個開放性的評論架構重新思考七○年代的鄉土美學是必要的。做為藝術理論思考的核心與創作的指標，美學是否與如何容忍差異，以及美學是否以意識型態的操作作為批評的基礎，而扭曲了美學批評的中立客觀與創作上的自由，是這個命題所延伸出來的更值得探討的

22. 蔣勳，〈朱銘回來了！——記朱銘第二次國內個展〉，《雄獅美術》92期，1978年，頁24-29。

23. 陳惠民整理，〈I. M. PEI不是我們的〉，《雄獅美術》93期，1978年，頁113-115。

24. 孔容生，〈郭振昌蔣勳奚松談——趙無極〉，《雄獅美術》93期，1978年，頁28。

25. 琨妮、賀釋真整理，〈本土文化與外來文化〉（巴黎座談會），《雄獅美術》96期，1979年，頁72-78。

26. 雄獅美術，〈編輯報告〉，《雄獅美術》96期，1979年。

27. 許南村，〈臺灣畫界三十年來的初春——序 謝理法：「跟阿笠談美術」〉，1977年，收於尉天驄主編，《鄉土文學討論集》，臺北，遠景，頁146。

議題。²⁸

法國社會學者涂爾幹（Émile Durkheim, 1858-1917）指出：

我們從經驗得來的一些確定了的東西就排列在這個框架中。這個框架的作用，是當我們想起，或者說看到這些東西的時候，它們互相之間的關係就一目了然了。……框架高於內容，它主宰內容。這是因為它的來源不同。它不是個人經驗的綜合，它是為了滿足共同生活的緊急需要而產生的。這才是它最主要的作用。²⁹

由此推論，當框架扮演主宰的角色，不能只是視為外顯的形式，而是能影響內容的界定工具。貢布里希（E. H. Gombrich）也說：

框架，或稱邊緣，固定了力場的範圍，框架中的力場的意義梯度是朝著中心遞增的。我們的這種組合牽引感是如此之強，以致於我們想當然地認為，圖案的成分都應該是朝著中心的。換句話說，力場本身產生了一個引力場。」³⁰

可見，框架是有約制力的。甚至，框架和概念都是有壓力的，形成了不可預期的負面發展。³¹民族架構下的臺灣鄉土美術論述，和純粹現實主義下的鄉土，因為意識形態的考量以及文化框架的設定，藝術批評因而有對峙的情況，不但成為藝術政治化的辯論，也是「藝術為生活」或「藝術為自身」的辯論。框架是重要的，一旦確定，它將成為觀看的與思維的基本調性，如筆者〈從自然的臺灣到文化的臺灣：日據時代臺灣風景圖像的文化表徵探釋〉所論，殖民臺灣時期熱帶地方色彩界定了臺灣的地景再現的方式及其殖民者的關係。是命名（naming）的作用帶動了範疇與體系的運作，期待與自我實現都圍繞於此。³²框架也促成臺灣圖像的文化的地理學意涵的變遷，在美術作品中析理出日本／臺灣，中國／臺灣，臺灣／荷蘭（國際）的挪移現象，因為特定的地理觀對創作的作用而轉化在作品中。³³美學框架也讓美術鄉土運動中文藝界人士用來限縮朱銘創作自由的美學霸權。³⁴中國框架也可讓臺灣水墨的本土化發展引來大陸學者無根與混亂的評價。³⁵框架是一個可以將想像予以實現的計劃，引此有著「相信就得救」的應允效果，是虛構也是現實，端看其實踐與否。而美術史書寫框架的正常化與否或經典化（canonization）過程就構成了藝術史的內容。³⁶以上的反思都是過去筆者在數篇研究所得到的觀察，其實並無「框架意識」，如今以之啟動來聯繫這些研究，竟然可以有如此的呼應，形成一條「言之成理」的故事軸線，其實頗為意外，至於是否形成另一種型態的意識形態，也是值得細究之處。當然，這裡也明顯地透露出本論文之限制：需要全面檢視臺灣鄉土美術歷程中國族因素在其中可能運作的「細節政治學」。總的來說，美術發展的框架考察，有

28. 本段改寫自〈美學與差異：朱銘與一九七〇年代的鄉土主義〉結論。

29. Durkheim, Émile著，芮傳明、趙學元譯，《宗教生活的基本形式》，臺北，桂冠，1992年，頁414-415。

30. 貢布里希（E. H. Gombrich），范景中、楊思梁、徐一維譯，《秩序感——裝飾藝術的心理學研究》，長沙，湖南科學技術出版社，2003年，頁172。

31. 高士明主編，〈當代藝術：表述、介入還是創造？第三屆廣州三年展專題討論會〉，《第三屆廣州三年展讀本2》，澳門，澳門出版社有限公司，2008年，頁130-162。

32. 廖新田，〈從自然的臺灣到文化的臺灣：日據時代臺灣風景圖像的文化表徵探釋〉，《歷史文物》126期，2004年，頁16- 37。

33. 廖新田，〈臺灣的視覺再現：臺灣近現代美術的文化地理學想像〉，《臺灣美術》99期，2015年，頁4-21。

34. 廖新田，〈美學與差異：朱銘與一九七〇年代的鄉土主義〉，2008年，收錄於《臺灣美術四論：蠻荒／文明，自然／文化，認同／差異，純粹／混雜》，臺北，典藏。

35. 廖新田，〈就《臺灣前衛藝術的主流化及其危機》一文與陳明先生商榷〉，《藝術國際》，2011年6月7日，http://review.artintern.net/html.php?id=16980（2016年6月1日瀏覽）。

36. 廖新田，〈「尋常」與「例外」：臺灣美術史書寫架構的因素探討〉，《臺灣美術》96期，2014年，頁4-15。

朝向方法論的強烈意味，至少是研究假設的暗示。因此，這一段美術運動雖然觸及鄉土，雖然描繪臺灣景象，和戰後本土化的美術發展以及臺灣意識似乎不能完全銜接起來，可說是另類的鄉土、另類的本土。另言之，我們或可尋得對照組加以比較，去掉國族框架的臺灣美術會是甚麼樣貌？藝術詮釋鼓勵或樂見進入「地方知識」的關係，³⁷由內而外地考察，現今臺灣美術的本土化論述如何看待這個「內鍵」於七〇年代的「中國他者」（或謂同質的異質性），都是值得一再深究的議題與問題。

37. 克利弗德·吉爾茲（Clifford Geertz）著，楊德睿譯，《地方知識：詮釋人類學論文集》，臺北，麥田，2002年。

Abstract

The nativist art movement of the 1970s emphasized the development of nativist subjects and spirits. Identity of local cultures was realized through visual arts in order to correspond to the nativist literature and cultural movement. Although this art movement was about nativism, scenes in Taiwan and the expression of Taiwanese spirits, it seems unable to be criticized along with or be connected to the art development and the Taiwanese awareness in post-war localization. The imagination of China and the framework of Chinese culture in the nativist art discourses indicate more than their literal meanings. They are about the aesthetic differences and conflicts of the hegemonic ideology. It can be seen as the alternative nativism and localism. It includes opposite rules such as harmony and conflicts and imaginations and limitations. In this study, we will review my previous case studies to correspond to the mentioned observation. In general, the factors of imagination of nationhood and the frameworks in the creation and writing of Taiwanese art can be considered a part of studies on Taiwanese art history whether they are seen as disturbance or enhancement. They also affect the direction of methodologies and theories. In the past, nationhood applied in the discussion of art history used to be a minor subject in traditional historiography of art. It is easily misinterpreted as a political ideology. However, when nationhood is connected to the notion of cultural identity, it gives new implications to such discussions.

Keywords: nativist art movement, cultural identity, nostalgia, localism, nation, framework

I. Is Nostalgia a Bridle?

Recently, Xingjian Gao (高行健), the winner of the Nobel Prize in literature, had published his new book *Requiem for Beauty* (美的葬禮). He mentioned that he is no longer stuck in his nostalgia for China. He believes that breaking away from nostalgia can be seen as transcendence. Also, he believes that we do not have to recall cultural identities with nostalgia.¹ Can nostalgia be forgotten? Can cultural identities get into “exile”?² Is historical oblivion the emergence of scars or a natural process? These are issues considered in cultural identity theories. However, those theories have become a new ideology that is pluralized, dynamic, doubttable, and connectible. At this time, it does not really matter whether we can get rid of nostalgia or not. Although Gao advocates “none-ism,” it is inevitable to apply water-ink expressions and a particular cultural subject as a vehicle. That’s why it seems slightly far-fetched to have nostalgia-free and identity-free claims. Gao put in the preface that “as *Requiem for Beauty* criticizes modern society, it also avoids the negation of negation regarding the patterns of art revolution since the 20th century. It takes us back to aesthetic appreciation with the premise of knowing the traditional cultures again.”³ If we set the dialectics and paradox of “the negation of negation” aside, this attitude tends to be reunifying and revolving. It is not abandon or diaspora. The attitude of negation is similar with the speculation of cultural identity theories aforementioned. Moreover, if an individual fancies China (regardless the reasons behind), what is their identity as they insist on nostalgia after leaving China. If they no longer recall China with nostalgia (without considering their reasons again), they might as well live in a new country and be a happy cultural nomads or hermit crabs. The keyword is the verb “fancies,” not the object “China.” Nostalgia is sometimes just an excuse. The real goal is to mark the present location and the subject (individual or collective) of the future route. It is a strategic behavior of value evaluation and cultural reflection. Benedict Anderson’s “the imagined community”⁴ or Eric Hobsbawm’s “the invention of tradition”⁵ had challenged the traditional understanding. They have proven that the relationship between humans and cultures is disposable and breakable, depending on the choices people make in the context of time and space.

There might be a certain answer to the issue of being with or without cultural identities. Yet, is it possible for anyone to get rid of cultural identities and no longer need one? “You need cultural identity” is a calling. It is even more obvious when you are baffled and have nothing. Over the centuries, the regimes in Taiwan had changed constantly. The crisis of cultural identity is thus more obvious. There are terms such as the orphan of Asia, Taiwanese awareness, Taiwanese identity, localization and so on to point out the crisis.⁶ Therefore, Herbert Hanreich suggests that Taiwanese consider “cultural identity unimportant”⁷ with their rationality and freedom of choice. This is a difficult question that is hard to understand. People who never

1. Yang, Yuan-Ting (楊媛婷). “Xingjian Gao, Winner of the Nobel Prize: I Have No Nostalgia for China,” *The Liberty Times*, 2016, <http://ent.ltn.com.tw/news/breakingnews/1714644>.
2. Gao, Xingjian (高行健). *Non-ism* (沒有主義), Taipei: Linking Publishing (聯經), 2001. “I am content even in exile. I do not hide for seeking speech freedom. I speak, therefore I am.” “The exile has made writers mature. They are forced to be serious about arts and languages....” “One with great self-awareness is always in exile.” pp. 123, 165, 172.
3. Gao, Xingjian. *Requiem for Beauty* (美的葬禮), Taipei: National Taiwan Normal University (臺灣師範大學), 2016, p. 9.
4. Anderson, Benedict (1983). *Imagined Communities—Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: VERSO.
5. Hobsbawm, Eric (1983). “Introduction: Inventing Traditions.” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terdenace Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-14.
6. Hsin-Tien Liao (廖新田), “The Imagination and Choice of the Subjectivity in Taiwanese Art,” (臺灣美術主體性的想像與抉擇) collected in *Tension in Arts: Art and Cultural Politics in Taiwan, Taipei* (藝術的張力：臺灣美術與文化政治學) Art & Collection Group Publishing (典藏), 2010.
7. Hanreich, Herbert, 2016/5/20, “Cultural identity’s unimportance”, *Taipei Times*. <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2016/05/20/2003646660/3>

know about subjectivity can never imagine that they can actually choose to get rid of subjectivity. In fact, they long for subjectivity more than getting rid of it, due to the fact that:

When we mention “the subjectivity of Taiwanese art,” it seems to indicate there is such a subjectivity crisis. The marginalized status of Taiwan had promoted the Taiwanese awareness. The crisis of subjectivity has always been part of the pursuit of Taiwanese subjectivity. This situation often happens in colonized countries and the Third World countries. The sense of crisis connects them even closer and results in a new system. The internal system is thus enhanced and becomes a unified community. There are always purposes and motivations behind the will of claiming the value of subjectivity. “Uncertainty” is one of them. It is the confirmation and exchange of self and other relationships. The language of subjectivity tends to be a language of warning, enlightenment, shouting, crisis and even salvation. Hence, the discourse of subjectivity can be strategic, aiming to “bring order out of chaos”.⁸

We then compare with the investigation “Taiwanese/Chinese Identification Trend Distribution in Taiwan (December, 2015)” (臺灣民眾臺灣人 / 中國人認同趨勢分佈) conducted by Election Study Center at National Chengchi University. The study showed that almost 60% of the interviewees identified themselves as Taiwanese. Only less than 10% of them identified themselves as Chinese. But back in 1995, only 25% of the interviewees identified them as Taiwanese. About 20% of them identified themselves as Chinese. The changes in these 20 years cannot be more dramatic. On the other side, people with double identities have always been the mainstream. Around 30% to 50% of them identify themselves as both Taiwanese and Chinese. It corresponds to the notion that cultural identity can be pluralized.⁹ We cross-compared art exhibitions from 1988 to 2009 and found out that National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts used the term “Taiwan” for 124 times and “China” for 4 times only. During 1983-2007, Taipei Fine Arts Museum used “Taiwan” for 63 times and “China” for 14 times. The shift of cultural identity was obvious and meaningful.¹⁰

However, nostalgia can also be the source of stress. It makes people depressed. It can also be the drive for people. As nostalgia becomes aesthetics and a style, its influence can be the collective stress of identity. On the other side, for migrants, it is the call, the norm, and even the hegemony. It contains inclusion and exclusion. The aesthetic resistance and isolation of Gao are understandable. Leaving one’s home country for years, the common state of them is the identity of diaspora. As one returns to his home country after many years, the subject and objects are dislocated. The nostalgia has changed in quality as well.

We can understand this from the purity of arts and freedom of creation. It can be a crisis for art if it is overly politicized: “the issue between identity and subjectivity magnifies the contradiction between them. On one side, nativist thoughts had motivated arts to focus more on local subjects and resist modernization and external powers. Art can be enriched by nativism and develop its particular form of expression. This is the value of nativism. On the other side, if there is too much social consideration in artworks, it might be

trapped in art politicization and even commercialization.”¹¹ In the past, nationhood applied in the discussion of art history used to be a minor subject in traditional historiography of art. It is easily misinterpreted as a political ideology. However, when nationhood is connected to the notion of cultural identity, it gives new implications to such discussions. When studying theories of national art, Sergiusz Michalski found art historians have studied on this matter for a long time, such as Heinrich Wölfflin’s *Italien und das deutsche Formgefuehl*, published in 1931. Scenery and historical paintings are significant topics when we discuss national art. Nativist works are the materials that form national art in particular. Its core functions include resistance and identity recognition. It aims to build an imagined community through emotions and form a language of visual arts with particular styles and subjects.¹²

There seems to be similar conditions in the development of Taiwanese nativist art in the 1970s based on the arguments and inferences above. The reappearance of localism and nativist aesthetics were not destined. There are some issues worth discussing other than the direct descriptions. In my study “Hesitating to Approach the Homeland: Three Facets of Native Consciousness in the Development of the Modern Taiwan Visual Art,” I discusses the implication of combining localism and modernism. It is the new localism, the restated localism. It is not the modest localism. In other words, there is no original localism. It is always improving and adjusting with time.

In general, the nativist movement of Taiwanese art in the 1970s was closely related to the social context. The need of local identity was more intense due to the pressure from the external environment. Due to a sense of crisis, the demand for returning to nativism had allowed the aesthetic appreciation to be focused on the land we live in. The demand was specific and operational. Any possible expression that enhances the Taiwanese confidence to resist the foreign powers was praised and approved. I believe that the redefinition of localism was the core of the nativist art movement. De-Jin Xi (席德進), Tung Hung (洪通), Ming Ju (朱銘), rising artists of nativist realism and artists of the first generation had introduced pop art, Op art, literati paintings, folk art, naïve art, photorealism and impressionism into the art creation of the nativist movement in the 1970s. Through discourses such as anti-westernization, anti-abstractism, anti-academism, the pursuit of ideal modeling of nativism, social realism and cultural modeling, people of literary and art circles attempted to address that the reality of local awareness is not static. Instead, it is dynamically flowing to the identity and subjectivity.¹³ Localism is indispensable to art creation. However, if we overly emphasize on localism, its positive function is then eliminated. Localism is also crisis awareness for fear of losing ourselves due to the introduction of foreign cultures. Yet, localism needs foreign cultures to be compared with, stimulated and even revived. Therefore, the issue of localism contains fundamental contradictions. Nativism of the 1970s had brought up the discussion about nativist art. The successful examples are De-Jin Xi and Ming Ju, who combined the East and the West, traditions and modernity, but not Tung Hung (洪通), who introduced photographic realism directly from the West. Also, the discourses of art nativism were criticized as being fossilized. Localism forms identity. Identity then forms subjectivity. In the process

8. Hsin-Tien Liao, “The Imagination and Choice of the Subjectivity in Taiwanese Art,” pp. 41-42.

9. Election Study Center at National Chengchi University, “Taiwanese/Chinese Identification Trend Distribution in Taiwan” (臺灣民眾臺灣人 / 中國人認同趨勢分佈), http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/pic.php?img=166_9dddbf3a.jpg&dir=news&title=%E5%9C%96%E7%89%87 (Retrieved on June 1st, 2016)

10. Liao, Hsin-Tien. “The Visual Representation of Taiwan: The Imagination of Cultural Geography of Modern Taiwanese Fine Art after the Second World War,” *Journal of National Taiwan Museum of Fine Art (臺灣美術)*, Vol. 99, 2015, pp. 4-21.

11. Liao, Hsin-Tien. “Hesitating to Approach the Homeland: Three Facets of Native Consciousness in the Development of the Modern Taiwan Visual Art” (近鄉情怯：臺灣近現代視覺藝術發展中本土意識的三種面貌), collected in *Four Theses of Taiwanese Art: Barbarianism/Civilization? Nature/Culture? Recognition/Difference? Pureness/Hybridity (臺灣美術四論：蠻荒／文明，自然／文化，認同／差異，純粹／混雜)*, Taipei: Art & Collection Group Publishing, 2008, p. 149.

12. Michalski, Sergiusz. “Art History, its Methods and the Problem of National Art,” collected in *Art and Identity*, ed. Shai-Shu Tzeng (曾曬淑), Taipei: Nantien Publishing (南天), pp. 39-55.

13. Liao, Hsin-Tien. “Hesitating to Approach the Homeland: Three Facets of Native Consciousness in the Development of the Modern Taiwan Visual Art,” p. 149.

of selection, inclusion and exclusion, it is obvious that “localism has a pure essence” is a myth or misunderstanding.¹⁴

I have analyzed the action and reaction as nativist aesthetics became the hegemonic discourses in my study “Aesthetics and Diversity: Ming Ju and the Nativism of the 1970s.”¹⁵

The discussion above is about the internal structure of cultural identity and subjectivity, focusing on the cultural shifts and uncertainty of Taiwanese art. This situation is like when we are hesitating to approach the homeland, a mood that I describe in my study. “An insecure soul has found a place to settle down. Yet, the place turns out to be a rushing train. The soul is still content because it has the past and the present, the memory and the ideal. Seeking for an identity is a process of pursuing the place you belong. You will get more hesitating when you approach one.” However, there are only few studies that discuss the role of nationhood in the nativist movement of Taiwanese art. Its function and significance need to be further discussed. This study aims to discuss the significance of nativism or localism under the framework of nationhood in the Taiwanese society of the 1970s. Is the significance different from or equivalent to Taiwanese nativist art? I need to point out that it is necessary to have a framework since it provides cultural references for interpretation. However, an art framework is also a limit. It limits aesthetic discourses and thoughts within a certain range (the complication can be seen from the dispute over the term “Chinese Taipei”). More crucially, a framework can be set. There is not a fixed or transcendent framework. The reason why we questioned Gao’s non-ism and his claim of getting rid of nostalgia is to have meta-thinking about whether cultural identity can be abandoned and reconstructed. “Meta-thinking” is similar to rules of a game that help accomplish the preset results (or revolutionary actions, if there is no framework). The focus of this study is to discuss how the national framework in nativist art affects nativist art creation and forms nativist discourses.

II. Subtle and Ignored National Context: Sectional Observation

There are plenty of studies that discuss nativism and localism from the perspective of Tung Hung,

14. Liao, Hsin-Tien. “The Visual Representation of Taiwan: The Imagination of Cultural Geography of Modern Taiwanese Fine Art after the Second World War,” pp. 149-150.
15. Liao, Hsin-Tien. “Aesthetics and Diversity: Ming Ju and the Nativism of the 1970s” (美學與差異：朱銘與一九七〇年代的鄉土主義), collected in *Four Theses of Taiwanese Art: Barbarianism/Civilization? Nature/Culture? Recognition/Difference? Purenness/Hybridity*, Taipei: Art & Collection Group Publishing.

Ming Ju, De-Jin Xi,¹⁶ nativist realism and photorealism.¹⁷ However, the cultural factors of China have rarely been analyzed. Nationhood tends to be expressed by the terms such as “China/Chinese” (中國 / 華), “China/ the Chinese” (中國 / 華人), “Chinese nation” (中華民族), “China/Eastern culture” (中國 / 東方文化) and “traditional.” The notions they oppose are “anti-westernism” and “anti-westernization.” These terms actually correspond to the social awareness movement of opposing the US and the Western hegemony after Taiwan’s withdrawal from the United Nations in 1971. Theoretically, scholars of post-colonialism, such as Homi K. Bhabha, believe that nations, like narratives, lose their origins only fully encounter their horizons in the mind’s eye.¹⁸ The constructive characteristic corresponds to the dynamic and plural characteristics of cultural identities. The notion “imagined community” developed by Anderson is not a random imaginary thought. Imagined community is created through print capitalism, transportation, censuses, maps, construction of history and so on. The theoretical ground of this study is established on this viewpoint of knowledge competition.

The discourse on nations was seen as the contextual framework or goal of identity in the nativist movement of the 1970s. In other words, they appeared naturally in the texts as the references of discussion. Kwang-Chung Yu (余光中)’s “Four Rhymes of Nostalgia” (鄉愁四韻, 1974) can be seen as the iconic work: “Ah, give me one ladle of Yangtze River water, Yangtze River water, that wine-like Yangtze River water. That taste of getting drunken is the taste of homesickness.” This is a folk song composed by Hsien

16. The trend of Tung Hung was initiated Hsin-Chinag Kao (高信彊), an overseas columnist of *The China Times* (中國時報). Kao posted a column criticizing modern poems, claiming that poets should be more down to the earth, abandon the obscure language and be more popularized. Hung’s paintings corresponded to his ideal. He published the article “The World of Tung Hung” in July, 1972. He even introduced it to the chief editor of Lion Art which published the Tung Hung Album in their April volume in 1973. Hung held an exhibition at United States Information Agency on March 13th, 1976. From the day before the exhibition, Kao had started writing about the exhibition on the literary supplement of The China Times for six days in a row. Out of curiosity, many people went to the exhibition. See Mi-Jen Hung’s (洪米貞) Charms and Fantasy: Tung Hung (靈魅・狂想・洪通, 2003) for more information about Hung’s rise and fall. From March 14th to 27th, The “Special Exhibition of Ming Ju’s Wood Carving Art” (朱銘木雕藝術特展) was held at National Museum of History only one day later than Hung’s exhibition. However, the literary supplement released the news three days later than Hung’s exhibition from March 19th to 23rd. Due to their legendary backgrounds, the issues of nativism and their similarities in press coverage, Lion Art initiated an event calling for articles about Ju’s and Hung’s solo exhibitions from the end of March to April. In June, five articles had been published. The audience gave different comments about them.
17. Studies about Taiwanese art in the 1970s can be found as follows: *Reflections of the Seventies: Taiwan Explores its Own Reality* (反思：七〇年代臺灣美術發展), Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 2004. Chong-Ray Hsiao (蕭瓊瑞), “Local Identity and Art Education” (本土認知與美術教育) collected in *Island Survey—Orientation of Taiwanese Art* (島嶼測量——臺灣美術定向), Taipei: San Min Book (三民), 2004, pp. 57-105. “In-between Radicalism and conservatism—Review of the Development of Modern Taiwanese Art after War (1945-1993)” (在激進與保守之間——戰後臺灣現代藝術發展的重新檢視) (1945-1983)), collected in *Contemporary Taiwanese Art in the Era of Contention* (正言世代：臺灣當代視覺文化), Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 2004, pp. 42-69. Yung-Jen Liu (劉永仁), “Nativist Awareness and the Breakthrough of the Academies—Icons of Taiwanese Art in the 1970s” (鄉土自覺與突破學院神話 七〇年代臺灣美術奇葩), *Unitas* (聯合文學), Vol. 233, 2004, pp. 64-65. Saiau-Yue Tsau (曹筱玥), “Identity and Return—Production and Channels of Paintings under Local Awareness in the 1970s” (認同與回歸——七〇年代本土意識下繪畫的產製與通路), *The Artists* (藝術家), Vol. 335, 2003, pp.481-485. Hsiu-Ling Yang (楊繡綾), *Composition and Limitations of the Development of Navist Art in the 1970s from the Perspective of Lion Art* (從雄獅美術看七〇年代鄉土美術發展之形構與限制), Master’s Thesis of Graduate Institute of Fine Arts at National Normal University, 2000. Hai-Ming Huang (黃海鳴), “Homesickness and Nostalgia” (懷舊與鄉愁), collected in *Visions of Pluralism, Contemporary Art in Taiwan* (複數元的視野——臺灣當代美術1988-1999), 1988-1999, Kaohsiung: Mountain Arts, Culture, and Education Foundation (山藝術文教基金會), 1999, pp.35-39. Kai Sheng (盛鎧), *The Criticism on the Margin of Art—Taking Hong Tong as An Example* (邊界的批判：以洪通的藝術為例論臺灣藝術論述中關於分類與界限的問題), Master’s Thesis of Graduate Institute of Art Studies at National Central University, 1997. Xun Jiang (蔣勳), “The Return to the Local—Major Trend of Taiwanese Art in the 1970s” (回歸本土——七〇年代臺灣美術大勢), collected in *The New Look of Taiwan Art* (1945-1993) (臺灣美術新風貌), Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1993, pp.32-37. Dean-E Mei (梅丁衍), “Blind Spots of Modern Awareness in Taiwanese Nativist Realism” (談臺灣鄉土寫實中現代意識的盲點), *Lion Art* (雄獅美術), Vol. 246, 1991, pp.88-89. Hsin-Yueh Lin (林惺嶽), “The Emergence of Navist Movements” (鄉土運動的勃興), collected in *Forty Years of Taiwanese Art* (臺灣美術風雲40年), Taipei: *Independent Post* (自立晚報), 1987, pp.183-240. (The references above will be listed in the Reference section as they are cited in the study.)
18. “Nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully encounter their horizons in the mind’s eye.” Bhabha, Homi K., 1990, “Introduction”, *Nation and Narration*. London & New York: Routledge.

Yang (楊弦) and De-Fu Hu (胡德夫) and performed at Zhongshan Hall in 1975. The lyric also mentions the burning homesickness for the blood-stained begonias, the snowflake white’s waiting and the mume-flower fragrance of the motherland. The most famous song is *Heirs of the Dragon* (龍的傳人) of 1978, when the United States ended official relations with Taiwan and allied with the People’s Republic of China. The lyric is full of the recollections towards the mother country:

In the Far East there is a river, its name is the Yangtze River.
In the Far East there is a river, its name is the Yellow River.
Although I’ve never seen the beauty of the Yangtze, in my dreams I miraculously travel the Yangtze’s waters.
Although I’ve never heard the strength of the Yellow River, the rushing and surging waters are in my dreams.

The Poem “The Young China” (少年中國) was created by Xun Jiang and was later revised by the composer Shuang-Ze Li (李雙澤). The song is also full of nostalgia:

There are mountains and rivers between us as I look at the motherland.
You tell me with your foot prints while I am having my nostalgia as a migrant.
There is no nostalgia in the old China. Nostalgia is for people without a home.
There is no nostalgia in the young China. Nostalgia is for people who never go home.

The motivation derives from nostalgia is positive and constructive. As a creator, De-Jin Xi’s local recognition and art expression were based on the consideration of the identity of subjectivity and the needs of arts. He called them “calling” and “cohesion.”¹⁹ He mentioned (underlines are marked by the author):

I have to grow up by myself. I have to stand out from the background of Chinese culture, the climate in Taiwan, the deep national sentiments of the Chinese. So I went to the people. I went from this village to that village. I sat in the town, in the alley. I saw sunset from the broken wall. I sat in the shadow of an old house.

The passion for nativism is the sincere feelings under the cultural shocks between China and the West. With the passionate local identity, Xi expressed his localism by gasping the future (For the internationalization of Taiwanese art, the Western art always exists in the future tense. Taiwanese art is heading towards that “ideal.” Even the ideal is just happening or finished for the western world.) and gasping the past (The vibrant folks and the cultural characteristics of Chinese art). By integrating the future and the past with the present Taiwanese localism, a new direction has emerged as the ultimate goal. He said:

We are pushing the traditions towards modernity. To do so, we need to fully understand the history of the past and the modern spirits. You cannot resist the arrival of modernity. You cannot hold back the disappearing ancient cultures. Use the traditions to explore the modernity! Let the modernity be affected by the superiority of our traditions. As a modern Chinese artist, he is forced to settle up with

19. Shiy, De-Jinn (席德進), “My Art and Taiwan” (我的藝術與臺灣), *Lion Art*, Vol. 2, 1971, p. 17.

the culture of 5,000 years and push it into the waves to technologies and the Western cultures.²⁰

What mentioned above are just romantic appeals. Therefore their tones are soft and gentle. They create cultural identity using the imagination of nostalgia. Yet, it can also be the compelling strength and aesthetic norms to spot the differences.

When Jiang was the chief editor of *Lion Art* in March, 1978, the “literal, national and realistic” direction is the typical example of connecting nativism and nations. With a strong national appeal, Jiang criticized Ju for not being nativist enough and the artists overseas for not being national enough. He even used the terms “feudalists” and “fake westerners” to attack artists overseas.²¹ He used radical languages such as “do not be the agent of those western third raters” and “don’t live under the roof of the western culture”. In the “Special Volume of Chinese Artists Overseas” (華裔藝術家特輯) in November, 1978, there are debates about “subjectivity of art” and the “culture of subjectivity. “The debates were especially about the temporal and space effects and the validity that art creates. Jiang used stern terms to criticize the contribution that Chinese artists overseas make to Taiwan and the Chinese. He believes that the national principles are the criteria of literary aesthetics.

It is very special that we set Wou-Ki Zao (趙無極), Wen-Chung Chou (周文中) and Ieoh-Ming Pei (貝聿銘) as the ultimate goal for the later generations of artists to pursue in these thirty years. It seemed that we lost the subjectivity of art to enrich the culture of other nations. Our cultural subjectivity was then lost in such vanity. As a result, there had been nothing accumulated for the local culture. Do not be satisfied with their reputation in foreign countries and think they had proved “the significance of Chinese culture. “ In the end, generations of young Chinese worship Paris or New York. Chinese youth had left this historical period of Chinese art blank without any national pride.²²

Jiang believes that Ieoh-Ming Pei had no positive contribution to Chinese art,

He works all for capitalists. It is impossible for Pei to make contribution to Chinese art. He is an architect nourished in a foreign economy and society. His achievement is the foreign reputation. He has a shallow relationship with China. His training in China was for getting ready to leave, so was Wen-Chung Chou and Wou-Ki Zao.²³

In an interview record about Wou-Ki Zao, Jiang mentioned:

Both Wou-Ki Zao and Wen-Chung Chou have nothing to do with the new Chinese art. It is not necessary to feel the vanity just because they are “Chinese with world-wide reputation.” If we take their experience to encourage the young artists to “go into the world” or “be international,” it just

20. Shiy, De-Jinn, *De-Jinn Shiy’s Water Color Painting Collection—I Paint, I Think, I Speak* (席德進水彩畫集——我畫・我想・我說), Taipei: Self-publication, 1977, p. 12-13, 16.
21. Jiang, Xun. “How to ‘Sell’”, 1977, collected in *Collections of Discussion on Nativist Literature* (鄉土文學討論集), ed. Tian-Cong Wei (尉天聰), Taipei: Vista Publishing (遠景), 1980, pp. 483-485. “Irrigating the Blossom of Cultures” (灌溉一個文化的花季), *Collections of Discussion on Nativist Literature*, Taipei: Vista Publishing, 1980, pp. 30-50.
22. Jiang, Xun. “Ming Ju Is Back! Notes on the Second Solo Exhibition of Ming Ju” (朱銘回來了！——記朱銘第二次國內個展), *Lion Art*, Vol. 92. 1978, pp. 24-29.
23. Chen, Hui-Min(陳惠民). “I.M. PEI Isn’t Ours” (I. M. PEI不是我們的), *Lion Art*, Vol. 93, 1978, pp. 113-115.

reflects that our national pride has been fallen to the bottom.²⁴

Jiang’s intense attitude to nationalism and realism had evoked negative repercussions of artists in Paris. In the forum “Local and Foreign Cultures” (本土文化與外來文化) in Paris, they expressed their disapproval of the attitude to anti-westernization for its over-fossilized nativism.

Being judged with a hostile attitude, these artists overseas were criticized for “betraying the Eastern culture” as their works showed the Chinese characteristics. If their works were too “westernized,” they would be condemned for their “forgetting their roots and worshiping the West”.

I approve nativism if it “sincerely expresses the thoughts of modern Chinese people. “No one approves the complete westernization. On the other side, no one would approve if we always hide in our traditions. It is just not the best solution to show complete resistance to the Western cultures.

We don’t need to address an assumption and regulate a road for Chinese art to develop and exclude arts that do not fit this road.²⁵

In the editor’s report of the last volume, Jiang still insisted on his ideal and mission of realism and nativism:

It has been one year since the reformation of *Lion art*. In the preface to the first volume after reformation (85th volume), it addresses the principles of “nationhood” and “realism. “ We had been insisting on these principles the last twelve months. We did not expect all the obstacles and attacks. However, we also learned that it was actually a hard task to stick to the national principles and reality. It takes many friends who are willing to reconstruct localism to accomplish this ideal. Even ourselves, confused by the sinking of national pride, sometimes encouraged the evil habits of worshiping the Western cultures without knowing it.²⁶

In his preface to Li-Fa Hsieh’s (謝里法) “Talk about Art with A-Li” (跟阿笠談美術) (published on *Lion Art* in December, 1975), Nan-Tsun Hsu (許南村), a reviewer of nativist literature, believes that visual arts should go on the creating route of realism as nativist literature does. He also mentions his disapproval of modern art of the 1960s as it ignored the needs of the people and society and blindly pursued the Western trends. He stated:

Over the last thirty years, Taiwanese artists showed no concern for the people. They only looked at the Western world... On their canvas, we do not see any laborer. We do not see the society. We do not see the real life. There is no Taiwan. There is no China. There is no liberation of the nation. There is no scene about the diligent minors who lead a hard life due to the independence of the country. There is no ever-changing world that inspires us. Over the thirty years, numerous Taiwanese artists were content with being other culture’s slave without even caring about the common life, the labor, the

24. Kong, Rong-Sheng (孔容生). “A Talk between Cheng-Chang Guo and Song Xi” (郭振昌蔣勳奚淞談——趙無極), *Lion Art*, Vol. 93, 1978, p. 28.
25. Ni, Kun (琨妮) and He, Shih-Jhen (賀釋真). Local and Foreign Cultures (本土文化與外來文化) (Forum held in Paris), *Lion Art*, Vol. 96, 1979, pp. 72-78.
26. “Editor’s Report” (編輯報告), *Lion Art*, Vol. 96th, 1979.

people who live without the comfort of arts.²⁷

In sum, nationhood and realism had become two aesthetic indicators of nativist art. Its basic logic is that “the legitimate government does not coexist with rebels”: the binary opposition of nationalization and westernization. While Jiang was the chief editor of *Lion Art*, he believed the order of significance is the nation (China), reality (society), literary culture (aesthetics): we have to combine the awareness of the nation with considerations of life before achieving perceptual results of aesthetics. The order cannot be the other way around.

III. Framework and Transcendence of Nativist Art Discourses

Looking at the visual nativism of the 1970s, its discourses were diverse and significant despite the fact that its scale was smaller than literary nativism. By means of appropriation, realism of nativist literature was embodied by few artists. With repetitive definitions and debates of nativist literature, the visual realism has formed. Hsin-Chinag Kao, Tian-Cong Wei, Nan-Tsun Hsu, Tuoh Wang (王拓), Hsi-Ning Chu (朱西寧), Shu-Ching Shih (施叔青), Ching-Yu Sun (孫慶餘) and Wen-Biao Tang (唐文標) “amateurishly” brought up discussion about visual impressions, yet they also reflected the viewpoints or dimensions of nativist literature’s reality, nationality, hierarchy, anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism. By directing the editing of the art magazine, Jiang also participated in the discussion of nativist literature. From his criticisms about Ju and others, we can see the aesthetics of nations and reality. The judgments such as “feudalists” and “fake westerners” were used as he criticized Ju’s betrayal to the local subjects and the application of impressionism. The basic pattern of criticism had hence been constructed. He then applied this pattern of criticism to artists overseas who do not use local subjects in their work, saying that they have no real contribution to the culture of the nation. Extensively speaking, this is the confusion and distortion from his personal identity to cultural and national identity. This is a “deadly” deduction that forces himself and others to a dead end without being compatible with each other. At that time, there were both internal and external difficulties of the nation and society. Nativist realism refers to the real local works that descriptively and realistically reflect the local lives and the minds of the locals. This kind of affirmative, unified and purified promises and tasks were reflected in the homogeneous criticisms expressed by works. It tended to be hegemonic and ideological. There seemed to be no space for communication between national and international cultures. The system of exclusion and inclusion had been executed strictly in realistic aesthetics. Therefore, misunderstandings and oppositions grew amidst the passion of the movements. Is art nativism a closed or open notion? “Nativism” is a dynamic notion that exists in the present, imagines the past and looks into the future. “Nativism” is also a complex notion. Pursuing the pure, original and fixed “nativism” in the development of modern Taiwanese art usually leads to more negatives results than the positive ones. Reviewers interpreted and put expectations on artworks based on the theoretical assumptions. However, the interpretations and expectations tend to be different from the ideals of art that artists have been pursuing. It was a historical coincidence that nativist realism encountered the nativist subjects of Ju. It is inevitable for them to drift away after their encounter. I believe there shall be an open structure of criticism for the reevaluation of nativist aesthetics in the 1970s. The extended issues is whether and how can aesthetics respect diversity as it is the core of art theories and the indicator of art creations? Moreover,

27. Hsu, Nan-Tsun (許南村). “The Spring after Thirty Years in Taiwanese Art—Preface to Li-Fa Hsieh’s ‘Talk about Art with A-Li’” (臺灣畫界三十年來的初春——序 謝理法：「跟阿笠談美術」), collected in Collections of Discussion on Nativist Literature, ed. Tian-Cong Wei, Taipei: Vista Publishing, 1977, p. 146.

can aesthetics twist the neutral objectivity and freedom of creation by ideological operation?²⁸

French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) indicated:

Certain things that we have learned from experience are arranged in this framework. The function of the framework is for us to see the correlation between these things as we think of or see them. The framework is superior to the content. It rules the content. It is because they come from different sources. It is not the composition of personal experience. It exists to satisfy the urgent needs of our common lives. This is its main function.²⁹

That is to say, the framework is not only an explicit form but also a tool of definition that affects the content. Similarly, E. H. Gombrich mentioned:

The framework, or the border, fixes the range of a force field. The meaningful gradient increases progressively towards the center of the field of the framework. The traction within the composition is so strong that we affirmatively believe that the elements of the images go towards the center. In other words, the field creates a field of traction.³⁰

It is obvious that the framework has the power of constraints. There is pressure within the framework and the notions that forms unexpected negative development.³¹ Discourses about Taiwanese nativist art under the structure of the nation and discourses about nativism in pure realism frequently conflict with each other due to ideological considerations and the setting of the cultural framework. They had not only become the political debates, but also debates of “art for our lives” or “art for ourselves”. It is important to have the framework. Once the framework is certain, it becomes the basic tone of appreciation and thoughts. As I discuss in “From the Nature to the Culture of Taiwan: Interpretations of Cultural Symbols in Taiwanese Scenery Images during the Japanese Governance” (從自然的臺灣到文化的臺灣：日據時代臺灣風景圖像的文化表徵探釋), localism during colonization in Taiwan has defined the relationship between the representation of Taiwanese landscapes and the colonist. The function of naming initiated the operation of the categories and systems. All the expectations and self-realization are about the operation.³² The framework also promoted the shift of the geographical significance of cultures in Taiwanese images. The shifting phenomena between Japan/Taiwan, China/Taiwan, Taiwan/Netherlands (internationality) have been analyzed in artworks. The specific geographic views on creation had transferred in artworks.³³ The framework of aesthetics also allowed the artists in the nativist movement to limit the creating freedom and

28. This passage is revised on the basis of the conclusion of “Aesthetics and Diversity: Ming Ju and the Nativism of the 1970s.”

29. Durkheim, Emile. *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (宗教生活的基本形式), trans. Chuan-Ming Rui (芮傳明) & Xue-Yuan Zhao (趙學元), Taipei: Lauréat Publications (桂冠), 1992, p. 414-415.

30. Gombrich, E. H. *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (秩序感——裝飾藝術的心理學研究), trans. Jing-Zhong Fan (范景中) & Si-Liang Yang (楊思梁) & Yi-Wei Shu (徐一維), Changsha: Hunan Science & Technology Press (湖南科學技術出版社), 2003, p. 172.

31. Gao, Shi-Ming (高士明). “Modern Art: Description, Intervention or Creation? Project Discussion of the Third Guangzhou Triennial” (當代藝術：表述、介入還是創造？第三屆廣州三年展專題討論會), The Third Guangzhou Triennial Reader 2 (第三屆廣州三年展讀本2), Macao: Macao Publishing House (澳門出版社有限公司), 2008, pp. 130-162.

32. Liao, Hsin-Tien, “From the Nature to the Culture of Taiwan: Interpretations of Cultural Symbols in Taiwanese Scenery Images During the Japanese Governance” (從自然的臺灣到文化的臺灣：日據時代臺灣風景圖像的文化表徵探釋), *Bulletin of NMH* (歷史文物), 2004, pp. 16-37.

33. Liao, Hsin-Tien. “The Visual Representation of Taiwan: The Imagination of Cultural Geography of Modern Taiwanese Fine Art after the Second World War,” *Journal of National Taiwan Museum of Fine Art*, Vol. 99, 2015, pp. 4-21.

aesthetic hegemony of Ju.³⁴ The framework of China allowed Chinese scholars to give comments such as “rootless” and “chaotic” on the local development of ink-wash paintings in Taiwan.³⁵ The framework is a project that realizes imaginations. It has the approving effect of “being saved once you believe it.” Whether it is virtual or real depends on the practices. The process of normalization or canonization of the writing framework of art history has constituted the content of the art history itself.³⁶ The reflections above are observations I gained from several studies. There is not really any framework awareness. It surprises me that these studies correspond to each other as I applied the “framework” to connect them. Whether another ideology has been formed during the process is also another issue to be discussed. This is also the limitation of this study. The elaborate politics behind the factor of nation in the nativist art development in Taiwan needs to be reviewed holistically. In conclusion, the framework examination of art development is seemingly methodological, or at least shows indication of research assumptions. The art movement is about nativism and the depiction of scenes in Taiwan. Yet, it cannot be linked to the art development of localization and the Taiwanese awareness after war. It is the alternative nativism and localism. In other words, it is possible for us to look for a control group and see what Taiwanese art would be like without the framework of the notion. The integrated discussion of art interpretations and “local knowledge” should be encouraged.³⁷ How the present discourses of localism in Taiwanese art see the “Chinese other” (or the homogeneous heterogeneity) built in 1970s is another issue worth investigating repeatedly.

34. Liao, Hsin-Tien. “Aesthetics and Diversity: Ming Ju and the Nativism of the 1970s” (美學與差異：朱銘與一九七〇年代的鄉土主義), collected in *Four Theses of Taiwanese Art: Barbarianism/Civilization? Nature/Culture? Recognition/Difference? Purenness/Hybridity*, Taipei: Art & Collection Group Publishing.

35. Liao, Hsin-Tien. “Disucssion with Ming Chen on The Popularization and Crisis of Taiwanese Avant-Garde Art” (就《臺灣前衛藝術的主流化及其危機》一文與陳明先聲商榷), *Artintern* (藝術國際), 2001, <http://review.artintern.net/html.php?id=16980> (Retreived on June 1st, 2016).

36. Liao, Hsin-Tien. “‘Normality’ and ‘Exception’: Exploring Factors of the Framework in Writing Taiwanese Art History” (「尋常」與「例外」：臺灣美術史書寫架構的因素探討), *Journal of National Taiwan Museum of Fine Art*, Vol. 96, 2014, pp. 4-15.

37. Geertz, Clifford. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (地方知識：詮釋人類學論文集), trans. De-Rui Yang (楊德睿), Taipei: Ryefield, 2002.

外來者或內在者？ ——七〇年代臺灣風景畫環境經驗 建構問題探析

Insider or Outsider? An Analysis of Issues Involved in the
Creation of the Environmental Experience for Taiwanese
Landscape Paintings in the 1970s

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摘要

二戰之後，臺灣脫離日本殖民地的身分，重返中國統治的軌道，然而，五十年之久的時間斷隔造成兩大族群融合的極度困難，而種種衝突的產生，與二者之間巨大的文化落差密切相關。亦即，已然成為現代工業文明國家的臺灣，接受仍處於封建農業落伍社會中國的治理，原已需要時間加以調適，然而高壓控制及醜化，更造成彼此隔閡的擴大。不論是作為內在者的本省人，亦或是作為外來者的外省人，同樣可以稱之為失去國家／土的「政治難民」，缺乏戰後急速變遷環境經驗的浸染與調適，基於對地方認同的差異所導致的撕裂傷痕，存在於社會的不同角落之中，並成為引爆日後各種抗爭的導火線。

在美術上，一九五〇年以來歷時二十餘年的正統國畫論爭，及其所掀起的文化主權爭奪，無疑是此種問題在畫壇上白熱化的結果，外來者對於地方性的漠視、壓抑與地方感的匱乏，更造成臺灣歷史探索長達半世紀的空白。隨著七〇年代鄉土主義思潮的勃發，臺灣意識及追求臺灣主體性的需求逐漸增高，繪畫創作，尤其是風景畫更如實反映此種時代趨勢，藝術家莫不透過對鄉里、地方等的重新探索，形塑出具地方性、地方認同價值的美術風貌。本文即透過對戰後歷史的重新梳理，特別針對環境經驗建構之議題，檢視七〇年代風景畫背後所隱藏的土地自覺、地方感重塑等問題，藉以釐清其在臺灣美術史上的特殊時代意義。

關鍵詞：去日本化、再中國化、外來者、內在者、地方性、地方感、環境經驗、土地認同

一、分與合的選擇——戰後文化衝突與美術環境的變遷

位處東亞邊陲的臺灣，進入近代之後，基於其所處地理位置，數百年來身處西方、中國及日本等帝國主義侵略宰制的困境，尤其是在戰爭頻繁的十九世紀以降，由於改換代所帶來的劇烈政治變遷，導致發展土地歸屬感、主體意識等的困難，而所謂「國家／土／族」自我認同（national identity）的形塑，更可謂這片土地居住者最晦澀難理的課題。迄於二戰結束，國民黨政府失據大陸，臺灣卻諷刺地在所謂由「光復」口號所架構的「勝利」氛圍下重返祖國，然而，不斷惡化的「省籍矛盾」，造成有形無形衝突的日益擴大，此種矛盾，不僅被認為是引發社會最深刻裂痕之導因，同時成為撕裂祖國夢的最後稻草。然值得慶幸的是，隨著獨裁政權一元文化支配批判聲浪的興起，以及民主化的不斷深化，朝向自由而多元發展的大環境變遷，更進而形塑出所謂的「複合式族群政治」（ethno politics）以及多重族群社會型態，為戰後臺灣威權教條的環境帶來鬆綁的機會。¹

國民黨政府，被視為是臺灣歷史上出現的第一個「遷占者國家」（settler state），其中，移居者集團（settler group）被賦予較本土集團（native group）更優越的地位，為了建立國家基準，前者必須行使其強制力及政治威權、對後者進行穩固式的統治，以及保持其自身團結並與國家成為一體的狀態。²

事實上，戰後初期，臺灣曾經歷經一段現代文化重建的實驗性時期，意指企圖透過魯迅思想的傳布，移植五四運動注重民主及科學的新精神，達成「去日本化」及「再中國化」一石兩鳥的雙重目的。不過，遺憾的是，隨著二二八事件及戒嚴等事件的發生而黯然落幕，接著，並由國民黨所主導的三民主義文化運動所取代，臺灣社會環境的「再中國化」，已被移花接木式地轉為純粹的「國民黨化」。³在由陳儀擔任主任委員的臺灣調查委員會1945年3月公布的「臺灣接管計畫綱要」中，曾在第一通則中開宗明義指出：「接管後之文化設施，應增強民族意識，廓清奴化思想」，反映接管之後首要任務「去日本化」及「再中國化」一體兩面的關係，同時將殖民地時期所受影響汙名化、醜化為「奴化」、「毒化」，例如：

臺灣過去在帝國主義者高壓統治之下，……在文化思想上散播了無數的毒素，使臺灣同胞日日受其麻醉與薰陶，對祖國觀念模糊，逐漸離心，以遂「日本化」和「皇民化」的目的。⁴雖然，戰後初期曾出現對日本文化世界性價值抱持優越評價的說法，甚至認為可以成為各省模範，然而在仇日情緒日盛的背景下，本省人已淪為身染思想毒素的一群，亟需被加以廓清並接受國民黨的文化再教育。⁵

有關本省人接受奴化指控的問題，臺灣當時最重要的藝術史家及評論家王白淵，曾撰文大力反擊，例如在1946年初〈告外省人諸公〉一文中即說：

1. 若林正文著，洪郁如、陳培豐等譯，《戰後臺灣政治史：中華民國臺灣化的歷程》，臺北市，國立臺灣大學出版中心，2014年，頁3。
2. 同上註，頁101-102。
3. 黃英哲，《「去日本化」「再中國化」——戰後臺灣文化重建1945-1947》，臺北市，麥田城邦文化出版，2007年，頁149-180。
4. 佚名，〈肅清思想毒素〉（社論），《新生報》，1945年12月17日。引自黃英哲，前引書，頁206。
5. 另參考廖新田，〈臺灣戰後初期「正統國畫論爭」中的命名邏輯及文化認同想像（1946-1959）：微觀的文化政治學探析〉，收入林明賢主編，《美麗新視界——臺灣膠彩畫的歷史與時代意義學術研討會論文集》，臺中市，國立臺灣美術館，2008年，頁151-153。

臺省本是一個富有秩序的社會，……臺省在其各方面，既有具備近代民主社會建設的諸條件。許多外省人，開口就說臺胞受過日人奴化五十年之久，思想歪曲，似乎以為不能當權之口吻，我們以為這是鬼話，除去別有意圖，完全不對。……臺胞雖是在日本高壓之下，但竟受過高度資本主義的洗禮，很少有封建的遺毒，在這一點我們以為臺胞可以自慰。⁶

可以想見，對被汙名醜化的本省人來說，日本人現代化統治帶來的成果甚為豐碩，包含社會秩序的建立、民主自由與高度經濟發展，並無外省人所謂的奴化事實，更無中國清代三百年來的封建遺毒，認為是外省當權者別有用心將臺人自權力中心排除的藉口。事實上，從王白淵的分析中不難理解，國民黨鬼話連篇式的「去日本化」政策的最終目的，一方面是企圖透過權力的重新分配弱化本省人的政治地位，使其甘於自新及屈從，另一方面，則可說是藉由「再中國化」的正當化，對本省人進行「再奴化」的操控。

此外，臺籍知識分子對於「奴化說」的反擊或「再中國化」意見的商榷尚不僅如此，例如，認為中國「國內現在的習俗思想，未必全可以為我們的模範。……現代中國人的生活，為汙穢、浪漫、懶惰、頹廢」，遠不及曾接受日本化臺灣社會之萬一，「必須以整齊、清潔、簡單、樸素的原理進行改進」。在此種正反意見的交互辯論過程中，更有趣地出現要求外省人「臺灣化」的說法：我們不但不要「中國化」，而且積極要求外省人士中不少份子來個「臺灣化」。……無論在本省或者外省，我們的生活的改進的目標，應當是在於如何達到富強的國家民族的生活。若是配合著這個目標，無論它是英美的，或是日本的，都應當攝取而活用之。若是違背這個目標，無論它是數千年來的道地中國傳統，也必須把它打破剷除。⁷

這個提議，透過容納世界各國的優點，破除狹隘中國民族主義，並藉以重新建構富強國家及改善生活為目標，故而，部分外省人的「臺灣化」，只不過既以防範大中國沙文主義的氾濫，以臺灣為價值核心，創造出具有世界性視野的現代化社會。

本省人「中國化」與外省人「臺灣化」的建議，可以說是破除不對等待遇、防止本省人遭受「再奴化」操控的可行方法，同時，亦是一種追求平等、相互學習以及跨越族群、身分及階級差異的民主手段，並在此基礎上尋求「世界化」的可能途徑。雖然此種由本省菁英所提出的融合式建議，具有相當的建設性及理想性，然而，最終不被當權者接受並加以實現的原因，仍在於上述「奴化說」的惡意醜化所致。根據王白淵的分析，當時拜日本工業化之賜已然相當進步的臺灣，與處於次殖民地農業社會性格及限於抗戰困苦中的中國相較，其優劣落差不言而喻，亦即，從戰後兩地社會現況來說，臺灣遠較中國更為先進、優越，無怪最後會提出「從低級的社會組織，來接受高度的社會組織，當然是不容易的」⁸這樣的結論。由此可知，「奴化說」只能說是國民黨政府刻意隱藏本省人與外省人之間巨大文化優劣差異，並用來箝制人心的遮羞布。自此以往，臺灣與中國社會已然失去調和的機會，所謂「不但沒有縮短距離，反而是越走越遠，背道而馳」⁹，自此走向更為極權專制的「中國一國化」復辟道路，階級及族群間的矛盾衝突亦日益嚴重。

戰後之初的「奴化說」等醜化言論，同時影響當時的臺灣美術界，一九五〇年代初期引發的「正統國畫論爭」即與此論具有直接的關聯。該論爭前後持續二十餘年，影響至鉅，可以說是動搖戰後美術發展最劇，以及造成本省、外省畫家群體分裂的主因。五〇年代以來的幾年之間，由本省外省藝文界人士聯合舉辦的幾場美術座談會，原本在於尋求兩個群體合作的可能，最終卻以無疾而終的方式收場。一如一開始劉獅即說：「希望我們與他們中間的隔閡能夠趕快消釋，否則這種對立的現象會影響我們的新興藝術運動的。」¹⁰在其口中，「我們」、「他們」或「對立」等詞彙帶有政治階級歧視，反映戰後不同族群之間存在嚴重文化隔閡的事實，即便如此，尋找消弭隔閡或如何合作的方法卻刻不容緩。會議中，劉獅曾使用一如「現在還有許多人以日本畫誤認為國畫，……實在可憐復可笑」、「拿人家的祖宗自己來供，這總是個笑話」或「時間可以漸漸將錯誤的引導為正確」等尖酸刻薄的偏激言論，來諷刺臺籍畫家及日本畫，尤其是「可憐」、「可笑」、「錯誤」等言詞，不僅暴露中國沙文主義霸權思想，更反映其透過醜化手段藉以讓「奴化說」在美術界成立的政治目的。

與劉獅的偏激醜化言論相對，幾位外省文化界人士卻能就事論事，平心看待日本畫的優點，甚或進而討論美術未來發展之問題，甚為難得。例如：「要研究日本畫好不好，是不是值得我們去學。」（王紹清）、「一個民族的藝術文化，必有其特點。與其專指責臺胞學日本畫之不當，不如先研究一番所謂日本畫者，究有什麼優點。」（雷亨利）¹¹、「我不會批評國畫與日本畫的是與非，但我以為應該看用筆、技法及作品的好壞作為評價。」（郎靜山）、「藝術的未來，將會在同一路線上發展而交流的，現在日本畫與西畫已有聯繫，將來國畫與西畫亦無多大分別。」（孫多慈）等等。¹²這些持平而客觀的意見，無疑提供了戰後美術進行真誠交流、合作及融合的大好機會，緩和並導正劉獅的歪曲論調，然而，最終卻無法阻擋作為政治正確表態的反共反日情緒，並在所謂「再中國化」及「推行祖國文化」的口號運作下，淪為毫無討論價值的夢幻泡影。

此外，臺籍藝術家如林玉山、盧雲生等人，在有關回應此議題的座談會上亦有諸多發揮，對於內地人動輒批判本地畫家的不實影射表示不滿，透過擴大何謂國畫的討論議題，彰顯臺灣文化主體價值，並提出「寫生」做為改正傳統國畫弊病的方法，提早開啓國畫「在臺現代化」的序幕。例如，林玉山曾說：「雖然本省繪畫的歷史尚淺，……但說來，亦是臺灣所產生的富有地方性的獨創美術。」¹³尤其是盧雲生的論析則更為具體：

日據時代臺灣人所學的繪畫滲入新的筆法和西畫融合起來，取入熱帶光線和地方色彩合成的，別自形成了一種風格，這固然不是純然的日本畫，所以當時日人不視為日本畫而稱為「灣製畫」。這是一種鄉土藝術、臺灣藝術，已創成獨特的畫境。¹⁴

可以想見，本省畫家自稱為中國人，並將本省國畫視為祖國繪畫延長的說法，可以被認為是一種對「中國化」身分的自主性接納；反之，要求外省畫家理解日治時期以來「灣製畫」地方特色的建

6. 王白淵，〈告外省人諸公〉，《政經報》2卷2期，1946年1月25日，頁1-2。

7. 佚名，〈中國化的真精神〉（社論），《民報》，1946年9月11日。引自黃英哲，前引書，頁215-216。

8. 王白淵，〈在臺灣歷史之相剋〉，《政經報》2卷3期，1946年2月10日，頁7。

9. 黃英哲，前引書，頁220。

10. 本刊特約作家，〈一九五〇年臺灣藝壇的回顧與展望〉，《新藝術》1卷3期，1951年，頁54。

11. 本刊特約作家，〈一九五〇年臺灣藝壇的回顧與展望〉，《新藝術》1卷3期，1951年，頁54-55。

12. 佚名，〈中國畫與日本畫問題〉，《新藝術》1卷4期，1951年，頁76。

13. 佚名，〈美術運動座談會〉，《臺北文物》3卷4期，1955年，頁13。

14. 佚名，〈美術運動座談會〉，《臺北文物》3卷4期，1955年，頁14。

議，不僅突顯戰前臺灣繪畫現代化的獨特價值，更可說是提升戰後美術「臺灣化」的必要性，並藉以解決上述國族意識形態無謂紛爭的抗衡力量。

藉由以上討論，我們可以說，戰後初期臺灣社會上不同族群間衝突的開啓與惡化，來自於環境經驗的缺乏以及重塑新環境對話契機的喪失所致。而以「再中國化」為導向的文藝發展，在極度缺乏「在地化」、「在地經驗」的潤滑與支持之下，成為脫離土地的政治幽靈，而美術上分與合的選擇，更成為戰後文化衝突中最為諷刺的劇碼。

二、兩種失去「國家／土」的人——「無地方性」與「地方」意義的崩解

臺灣近代美術史上，走出中國、西方及日本等殖民統治，嘗試建構自身主體性與身分價值的「在地化」、「在地經驗」，一如上述，已在日治時期開始萌芽，林玉山所謂「臺灣所產生的富有地方性的獨創美術」或是盧雲生「這是一種鄉土藝術、臺灣藝術，已創成獨特的畫境」（即「灣製畫」）的說法，即其明證。此種特殊價值觀的建立，可以說是臺灣在各種有形無形帝國主義的監控影響之下，作為一個「地方」所獨自醞釀而成的。華裔人文地理學者段義孚指出：

地方是一種特殊的物體，它並非像一般有價值的物品般可以攜帶或搬動，但卻可以說是一個「價值的凝聚」，乃人類居停的「所在」。¹⁵

換句話說，地方可以說是居停該地者價值凝聚之場所，地方之價值遠遠超越一般消耗性物品，成為可以積存記憶並形塑認同的條件基礎。此外，地方更是「價值、養育和支持的焦點所在」、具有「安定和永恆的意象」，人類無法永遠脫離地方而獨立存在，失去地方，則終將成為「漂泊無依、無地自容」的個體。¹⁶

從此種角度言之，形塑「地方」，具有積極地建構和消極地避免自我喪失等兩大功能。地方感的形塑，必須經歷特殊化及地理化等不同過程始能完成，同時，透過長期感受累積環境經驗，藉以營造屬於個人或集體的記憶、意義。¹⁷林玉山及盧雲生等人口中所反映的強烈臺灣價值，為何在戰後才出現的原因，可以解釋為，是在作為偶然訪客的外來者（outsider）的突然出現後，因為「有了競爭和敵對，才更提高了自我的統一感和認同感」¹⁸等自然產生的結果，同時，並在此過程中形塑內在者（insider）的地方認同及自身價值、存在意義。遺憾的是，戰後以來臺灣社會的兩大族群，亦即來自中國舊社會的外來者，與接受日本現代化啓蒙的內在者之間，長久處於一種極不對等的權力關係之中，前者以正統、天朝子民自居，後者卻被前者刻意分化為相對弱勢及臣服其下的「敵國奴化者」，在地對話契機一瞬即失，造成地方意識形塑的匱乏，中國價值遠遠凌駕於臺灣價值之上，長達半世紀之久。

有趣的是，就戰後臺灣社會所謂的「地方」觀念來說，對於同樣失去原有「國家／土」不同族群的認知可能相當不同。亦即，對外來者的外省人來說，臺灣附屬於中華民族或中華民國之下，不

僅未曾以任何獨立的方式或命名代表後者，更因接受後者的「拯救」（所謂「光復」淪陷區）而得以脫離殖民地的「不潔」身分；反之，對內在者的本省人來說，臺灣雖然提供延續中華民族或中華民國國祚命脈的土地與國家所在，卻因接受後者的統治而頓時陷入二重殖民的困境。如此一來，「地方」可能光明美好，亦可能同時是剝削壓迫，關於此問題，西方文化地理學者提姆·克雷斯威爾（Tim Cresswell）曾說：

我們居住的這些地方（偏愛的房間、鄰里、國族），事實上都可以分析為社會產物，是社會各部分之間持續鬥爭的政治結果與工具。¹⁹

一如戰前具有獨立文化價值的地方概念，此時已成為動輒得咎的爭論所在，「地方」作為一種政治結果或社會化工具，其危險性不言可喻，外來者得以以絕對性的政治優勢，對內在者尋求「原生的」地方再認同進行霸凌，同時藉由同質化的手段，造成地方感、地方認同的不斷侵蝕甚或喪失，並進而走入「無地方性」（placelessness）的困境。

「無地方性」的問題，首先由西方人文地理學者愛德華·瑞爾夫（Edward Relph）於1970年代提出，他認為地方經驗具有內在性（insideness）及外部性（outsideness）等兩種特質，一個人「內在於一個地方，就是歸屬並認同於它，你越深入內在，地方認同感就愈強烈。」²⁰反之，外部性導致地方疏離或「無地方性」的產生，地方內化經驗的匱乏，更造成停居者無法形塑歸屬及認同感，並與地方建立真實的關係，「因為新的無地方性不容許大家成為存在的圈內人」。²¹缺乏地方經驗、認同真實性的停居者，無法「替自己的存在負責」，更缺乏對存在形式的「完整體認和接納」。²²他接著說：

透過一些過程，或者更精確的說是透過「媒體」，直接或間接鼓舞了「無地方性」，從而傳播了對地方的不真實態度，也就是削弱了地方認同，以致地方不僅看起來很像，感覺相似，還提供了同樣枯燥無味的經驗可能性。²³

換句話說，新的外來者各種形式的入侵，包含利用思想、教育及語言等媒介或傳播工具，模糊地方的真實性，導致地方的均質化及其認同的稀釋或喪失，故有利於對該地的政治管控。

此種「無地方性」，正可謂戰後臺灣社會或美術界最顯著的時代特質，其原因來自上述兩種族群之間「國家／土」的雙重喪失而起。也就是說，作為「地方」概念的臺灣，從原本等同於日本，一瞬間轉而成為等同於中國之同時，已不可迴避的產生認同上的混淆，在以中華民族或中華民國為絕對依歸的政治倫理之中，並無法容納、妥協「既是日本又是中國」雙重認同的存在，故說「去日本化」與「再中國化」具有一體兩面的邏輯關係。此種看似合理卻極其荒謬諷刺的是，首先，提供土地及國家所在的內在者，突然成為需要接受再教育的「敵國奴化者」；其次，進步的工業文明社

15. Yi-Fu Tuan（段義孚）著，潘貴成譯，《經驗透視中的空間和地方》，臺北市，國立編譯館，1998年，頁10。

16. Yi-Fu Tuan（段義孚）著，潘貴成譯，《經驗透視中的空間和地方》，頁25。

17. Yi-Fu Tuan（段義孚）著，潘貴成譯，《經驗透視中的空間和地方》，頁29。

18. Yi-Fu Tuan（段義孚）著，潘貴成譯，《經驗透視中的空間和地方》，頁160。

19. 提姆·克雷斯威爾（Tim Cresswell）著，徐苔玲、王志弘譯，《地方：記憶、想像與認同》，臺北市，群學出版公司，2006年，頁84-85。

20. Relph E.. Place and Placelessness (London: Pion Limited, 1976), p.49. 引自提姆·克雷斯威爾（Tim Cresswell）著，徐苔玲、王志弘譯，前引書，頁74-75。

21. 提姆·克雷斯威爾（Tim Cresswell）著，徐苔玲、王志弘譯，前引書，頁75。

22. Relph E.. Place and Placelessness (London: Pion Limited, 1976), p.78. 引自提姆·克雷斯威爾（Tim Cresswell）著，徐苔玲、王志弘譯，前引書，頁74。

23. Relph E.. Place and Placelessness (London: Pion Limited, 1976), p.90. 引自提姆·克雷斯威爾（Tim Cresswell）著，徐苔玲、王志弘譯，前引書，頁75。

會，轉由落後的農業專制社會所治理；最後，對同樣失去「國家／土」的不同社群來說，本省人及外省人都可以說是戰爭遺存的「政治難民」，其身分應屬「平等」，同樣需要彼此交換或重新形塑共有的地方認同及全新的土地經驗，然而一如上述，此種契機，卻在戰後最初基於文化沙文思想的集權控制而胎死腹中。

「地方」概念的侵蝕與喪失，導致「無地方性」的產生，另外亦突顯出外來者與內在者身分命名邏輯反轉的荒謬，也就是說，外來者因為掌握權力而成爲新的內在者，原本的內在者卻成爲必須被監控的外來者，在結果上，一如戰後數十年間，臺灣被國民黨統治者強加指稱爲「自由中國」、「反共堡壘」或「復國基地」等所見，以國家、軍權或種族等觀念爲其核心的意識形態堆砌而成的政治術語、口號響徹雲霄，已導致地方自身意義的模糊與曖昧，並促使此處所有的居停者失去對土地身分進行真正的意識、認知、積累及意義重構的能力，逼迫所謂的「地方性」脫離原來的生活、實踐及居住空間等脈絡，並使其淪爲純粹的「地方政治」產物。²⁴

不論是對外來者或內在者來說，「無地方性」或「地方」意義的崩解，造成地方歸屬感的不確定，最終可能導致自我的全然喪失。文化地理學者麥克·克朗（Mike Crang）強調說：

基本的生活地理，並非壓縮於一系列的地圖格網座標中，而是超越了區位（location）觀念，也超出了區爲科學的範疇。極為重要的一點是，人群並不只是定出自己的位置，更由地方感來界定自我。……地方成爲人群與社區之間長期共同經驗的支柱。空間「歷久」之後，轉變爲地方。這些空間的過去與未來，連結了空間內的人群。²⁵

長久居住於某個空間之後，對該空間即產生所謂的「地方」感知，空間內之人群得以藉此形成自我意識，區隔與其他空間居住者的差別，並非只是確認自己所在的區位而已，同時，由「地方」所積累而來的真實經驗，更成爲維繫人群與空間關係最重要的憑藉。另一方面，從戰後政治環境變遷的角度來說，「地方性」、「地方感」、「土地認同」的匱乏與抹除，不僅可以說是一種徹底的地方政治的產物，同時，更反映外來者在被征服的內在者身上伸張族群優越性的軌跡，藉此紓緩失去故國家園的恐懼，並與種族復興、國家興亡產生強大連結。²⁶

三、有關「地方」的協商——考古、歷史平反與「再次回家」

形塑臺灣戰後真正的地方意識、地方認同，一如上述，未及在光復之初得以立即展開，不過，猶如在上述美術界人士的對話中所見，跨越狹隘的國族主義以消弭歧見的努力，應被視爲其對環境經驗摸索的先聲。王白淵作爲當時臺籍文化菁英中最具思想批判力的個例，其見解值得特別關注。他說：

臺灣光復後，不光榮的殖民地已經過去，再度回到祖國的懷抱，五十年來之政治上民族上的歧見，隨之消滅，臺灣美術界亦和其他部門一樣，從黑暗中跳出來，大大地發揮其使命。²⁷

在本文中，王白淵除了以符合統治者政治正確期待的口徑，對過去歷史進行輸誠式的自我批判之

外，並透過愛國思想的鼓吹，期待消弭彼此歧見以獲得平等對待的渴望，不言而喻。儘管如此，值得注意的是，文中他經常將中國與臺灣並置，例如「我們臺灣的美術家，個個都有抱負一個遠大高超的希望」、「恢復我們中國獨有的藝術」²⁸，顯示雙重的地方認同，不過並不如林玉山或盧雲生般清晰，只能說是一種普遍化的說法而已，深究其目的，可以知道是用來呼籲美術界團結，透過合作致力文化建設，並藉以創造未來的新文化。

林玉山可謂戰後省展國畫部本省籍評審中的長青樹，其爲人一言九鼎，爲畫壇所敬重，即便是意見相左，仍得以和黃君璧、溥心畬等人分庭抗禮。一九八五年，在回顧省展創辦四十週年的文章中，他再次提及戰後數十年間外省、本省畫家無法跨越的地理及文化鴻溝說：

中原傳統畫家中，部分作家不了解地方性繪畫之優點，視不同表現之風格爲異端之作，難免有意見分歧之障礙。其實「本省作家」，生長於海島環境，擁有亞熱帶之衝激氣質，可以隨時代與生活環境演變湧出新潮，不願固守一成不變的止水狀態。直到現在，許多青年已在無形中逐漸形成多彩多樣的個別風格，突破傳統範圍，似不能再以傳統的派別來規範。²⁹

文中，他特別強調彼此分歧的主因，在於外省人對臺灣地方性價值的不理解或曲解，明白指出由於環境經驗的缺乏，成爲兩大族群間長久存在交流障礙的事實。此外，他認爲臺灣亞熱帶的地理因素能夠創造出較具調和性、推陳出新的藝術形式，不似中國大陸有如止水般的封閉，故而能不斷突破傳統束縛，形成多元化的藝術樣貌。(圖1)



圖1 林玉山，〈一林寒意〉，膠彩，145 × 80.5 cm，1948，國立歷史博物館藏。

28. 王白淵，〈臺灣美術運動史〉，《臺北文物》3卷4期，1955年，頁43。

29. 林玉山，〈省展四十年回顧展感言〉，收入臺灣省政府教育廳編，《全省美展四十年回顧展專集》，臺中，臺灣省政府教育廳，1985年，頁6-7。

由此可知，臺灣特殊地理環境所形塑出來的「地方性」藝術，不僅不會成為障礙，更可說是帶動中國傳統繪畫進步、走向現代化以及形塑時代、生活特徵的重要動力，部分將此優點視為「異端」的外省畫家，其實才是阻礙交流或扭曲事實的真正禍因。接著又說：「美術之演變是隨時代之潮流或受地域環境之影響，所以本省美術有地方性之特殊表現，這亦是合情合理。」³⁰他認為決定一個時代美術風貌發展的條件，在於時間性和空間性等兩大因素，日治時期以來的臺灣繪畫，已將上述兩種因素巧妙融合，因此形塑出兼具「時代性」及「地方性」特色的藝術形式，與奴化無關。此種說法，不僅更加細膩而深入地梳理、演繹三十年前的見解，同時更反映出作為一位傳統媒材畫家宏觀的現代視野及胸襟氣度。

根據過去臺灣美術史研究者的歷史理解，一九五〇年代迄於六〇年代的戰後美術發展，最主要的議題在於「民族性」、「世界性」的形塑與調和，例如，謝里法即曾以擁護現代藝術甚力的學者虞君質為例，說明此種時代動向：

這時期青年畫家們倡導「現代畫」的思想內容，可從虞君質（美學教授）寫的〈祝中國現代藝術中心的誕生〉一文中，揣摩出一些大略的傾向。最重要的是他強調藝術具有「民族性」與「世界性」的雙層性格，在文章裏他指出：「一位優秀的藝術家都應該是民族的詩人同旗手；應該在血液裏跳躍著民族生活的脈搏；……可是從另一方面看，凡是真正的自由的藝術，從來就不是閉關自守與外來思想或形式脫節的東西，……凡具有鮮豔奪目的民族色彩的藝術，往往也必能在世界藝壇上放射出不平凡的炫目的光芒。」……可以說反映了這個階段年輕畫家在創作中所思考的課題。³¹

虞君質的心理喊話，不僅對銳意走出傳統束縛、追求藝術自主的年輕藝術家產生鉅大的激勵，更對中國美術走向世界化的行動發揮催生效應。謝里法雖然認為戰後以來藝術家仍陷於「民族性」與「世界性」糾纏不清的泥沼之中，不過也承認此條路向「為臺灣的『現代畫會』塑造了一個珍貴的雛形」³²，對虞君質所倡導的觀念並無太多批判之處。

然而，仔細分析虞君質言辭中所反映的，卻有極大的漏洞與偏曲，亦即「地方性」與「時代性」的全然匱乏，處在與林玉山看法完全平行、無交集的狀態。虞君質等人不重視地方及時代特徵在現代美術創作上所扮演的重要性，只能說是受到當時常見的「東西二元論」思想的影響所致，目的在促使中國藝術走向世界文化體系，關心的並非臺灣。³³這種現象，誠如旅法藝術家陳英德的直白批評所見般地，戰後初期的現代繪畫運動藝術家們，只專注於「中國的（東方的）」及「世界的」價值呈現，事實上，對關懷臺灣這塊土地的人來說，「他們的藝術，與臺灣這個現實並不搭調」³⁴，陷入一種脫離地方的窘境。

美術史學者郭繼生認為，戰後文化界對於臺灣本土的關心，到了1970年代之後才真正開始，特

別反映在本土意識的發展以及對「臺灣文化主體性」的追求等兩點之上。³⁵此種關心，源自於七〇年代鄉土運動思想的興起，臺灣美術史研究者李欽賢更指出，其主要效應有三：（一）如大夢初醒般嚴厲地批判狂熱的現代主義者，（二）指向曾在這塊土地上辛勤耕耘的草根人物，蔚成重估臺灣歷史的風潮，以及（三）日據時代風雲際會的畫壇主流，再度受到肯定。³⁶湮沒於戰後歷史深淵數十年的畫家，終得以一一「出土」，重見天日。

1970年代，謝里法早已透過「出土」的方式，挖掘曾經一度消失在戰後歷史洪流中的臺灣藝術家，並提及當時真實感受說：

正當眾人對海外藝術思潮熱切嚮往的當時，我回頭來問起早已遺忘了的五十年前畫壇舊事，對方無不因我這行徑感到費解，也著實給他們帶來莫大困擾，他們和我一樣對臺灣美術的過去所知無幾呀！³⁷

他形容此種串聯日治時期五十年美術發展工作的方法，是利用「長年積累的斷簡殘篇」所完成的，與其身處海外的思歸之情、面對臺灣歷史空白的惶恐等有關。在其成名之作《日據時代臺灣美術運動史》的改版序文中，他更改口提到「舉用『臺灣』兩個字為這個島嶼的文化活動定名」、刻意強調「以臺灣為立足點，建立史的視野」³⁸的重要性。此種態度及撰史角度上的轉變，與其彰顯臺灣地方性及文化主體價值密切相關，來自於文化使命感的驅使而起，其研究成果更被認為是「提供了許多人開始建構臺灣藝術傳統的基礎」。³⁹

對於長久被忽視的臺灣自身歷史的重新梳理，逐漸帶動對戰後以來外來者與內在者不平等權力關係的批判，例如，美術史學者李渝即說：

中國畫界的中原霸權傾向，例如在臺灣「戰後」早期水墨家看不起膠彩畫家，和現在大陸畫家看不起臺灣畫家上所見，仍舊是很明顯的。……一個社會在政（治）、社（會）上與中原的分治，使臺灣繪畫逐漸形成自己的條件和特性。它與中原風格的關係是對等性的，而非附屬性。⁴⁰

李渝的反省，可以說是來自於對臺灣這片土地主體價值的重新認同，以及對中國文化霸權長期控制導致扭曲歷史真實的一種反抗而起，她甚至建議將臺籍藝術家廖繼春、李石樵及郭雪湖等人，置於與張大千或李可染相「對等」的歷史位置。更為重要的是，李渝重構的臺灣戰後美術史觀中所呈現的地方條件與特性，正是得以脫離中國附屬地位，並與其等視齊觀的主要原因。換句話說，地方文化主體的形塑，與自身條件與特性的有無息息相關，其說法較符合林玉山所謂的「地方性」與「時代性」。

李渝的史觀重構，對臺灣內在者被戰後國族主義貶抑為「奴化」身分的說法具有平反作用，然而，卻無法在短期內解決中國外來者排斥「地方性」以及產生「地方認同」的問題。段義孚指出：

對一地方的抽象知識可在極短的時間內便獲得，如果人有藝術家的眼光，環境的視覺素質便

30. 林玉山，〈省展四十年回顧展感言〉，收入臺灣省政府教育廳編，《全省美展四十年回顧展專集》，頁7。

31. 謝里法，〈從沙龍、畫會、畫廊、美術館：試評五十年來臺灣西洋繪畫發展的四個過程〉，《雄獅美術》140期，1982年，頁41-42。

32. 同上註，頁43。

33. 參考拙著，〈廢除「國畫」之後——戰後臺灣水墨畫「東亞文化共同體」思想之形成〉，《臺灣美術》104期，2016年，頁57-61。

34. 陳英德，〈臺灣美術百年：尋追自我身分所面對的困境〉，收入蔡昭儀主編，《臺灣美術百年回顧學術研討會論文集》，臺中市，國立臺灣美術館，2001年，頁158。

35. 郭繼生，〈戰後臺灣的美術與社會〉，《高雄歷史與文化》第2輯，1995年，頁238。

36. 李欽賢，《臺灣美術歷程》，臺北市，自立晚報，1992年，頁178。

37. 謝里法，〈臺灣出土人物誌——被埋沒的臺灣文藝作家〉，臺北市，前衛出版社，1988年，頁5。

38. 謝里法，《日據時代臺灣美術運動史》，臺北市，藝術家出版社，1998年，頁4-5。

39. 郭繼生，〈戰後臺灣的美術與社會〉，《高雄歷史與文化》第2輯，頁239。

40. 李渝，〈民族主義·集體活動·自由心靈〉，收入郭繼生編，《當代臺灣繪畫文選1945-1990》，臺北市，雄獅美術出版社，1991年，頁412。

在瞬息間被記錄下來，但對地方的感覺便需要較長的時間，它是漂浮的和非戲劇化的許多經驗，日復一日，年復一年長期累積演化而成。⁴¹

換句話說，「地方感」（sense of place）的形塑必須仰賴大量的時間或世代積累，始能完成，相同地，「地方性」的認知或對地方的附著，難以迅速獲得。地方經驗與時間遷流的關係，與生命週期密切相關，成年人遠較幼兒更不易「再一次回家」，正與外來者為何難以如內在者般擁抱原生土地的道理一樣。⁴²

對停居地「地方性」的漠然與缺乏附著性，容易導致「無地方性」現象的出現，其形成與危機，主要與近代以來的工業化、戰爭、殖民、中央集權或外來者的大量移動及介入等因素造成地方崩解有關，在結果上，內在者及其所屬土地的疏離不可避免，同時，不論是在文化或階級地位上，與外來者之間更形成難以流通的壁壘，缺乏用來連結自我與他者雙重意識、經驗的「第三空間」（third-space）。⁴³一如謝里法或李渝的真實告白所見，疏離、「地方感」的匱乏與自我的再發現雖然仍相互交纏，然隨著1970年代土地意識的興起，以及一九八〇年代末期臺灣社會走向解嚴，外來者與內在者的態度逐漸趨於一致與協商，致力於對過往一切的重新探索、挖掘與再定位，共有的地方認同及全新的土地經驗的形塑因而成為可能，並藉由重構文化主體價值的過程，產生自我與他者的融合契機。

四、何謂七〇年代臺灣美術？——風景畫環境經驗之建構

在極度的政治壓抑以及族群矛盾中匍匐前行的臺灣戰後美術，究竟如何跨越上述困境，並進而形塑出林玉山所謂的「時代性」與「地方性」？外來者與內在者身分的互換或再次形構，建立在何種根植於居住土地而起的地方認同之上？戰後數十年特殊的環境經驗，將對兩大族群造成何種心理及實質上的影響，並進而使其創造出全新的人文或地理景觀？以下，本文將透過對戰後，尤其是所謂「鄉土主義」思潮最為風行的1970年代風景畫形質之變的探討，回應上述提問，並試圖就其中可能分析的視覺證據，進行具有美術史意義的詮釋。

一般而言，學界對於七〇年代美術發展的定調，一如在藝術家及藝評家林惺嶽的意見中所反映的，走向鄉土認同的傾向或形成鄉土文化運動，具有外、內部兩方面的原因，亦即當時連續的外交挫敗與孤立無援的國家局勢，以及來自美術上的反現代主義。⁴⁴臺灣美術史學者蕭瓊瑞即說：

對這個時期的年輕人而言，五、六〇年代以來高唱的現代主義、西方思潮，都被一種來自土地的深情所暫時淹沒。同年十月，國民政府在聯合國的席位，被中共取代，……臺灣在退此一步即無死所的情形下，開始進行深刻的反思與再出發，於是引發了所謂的「鄉土運動」。

「鄉土文學」在文學上，是一次累積了相當豐富的思想辯論與實質作品成果的重要運動；但

在美術方面，則始終處於一種意識模糊，甚至成果薄弱的狀況。⁴⁵

蕭瓊瑞認為鄉土主義藝術家的創作手法，「基本上是採取一種照相寫實的手法，擷取農村、漁村、或是都會街角一隅為場景，表現一種精細凝視，又帶著感傷情懷的風格」⁴⁶，具有此種風格傾向的美術界鄉土運動，並未如預期地產出與文學界相稱的成果。他說：

七〇年代後期興起的鄉土寫實風潮，無法形成一個較為明確而重要的美術史定位，其原因主要在於這些扮演時代代表性角色的年輕藝術家，並沒能在當時創作出真正具有強烈個人風格及分量足夠的重要作品；未來史家論及這段歷史，又如何能夠提出足以傳世的時代創作？⁴⁷

蕭瓊瑞所謂不具「強烈個人風格」以及缺乏「分量足夠的重要作品」的意思，雖不甚清楚，但從文脈來理解，大概可以知道是指藝術家採取過於單一雷同的風格技法、構圖視角或內容主題，故而在美術史上的意義，僅能說是「文化反思的作用，顯然多於實質作品的提出」而已，「深度的精神內涵」⁴⁸嚴重不足。

藝術學研究者呂清夫對美術上鄉土主義的看法，雖然具有可與蕭瓊瑞相補充的負面評價，例如「鄉土運動在藝壇來說，並非自發的，而是居於文壇的主導之下」、「『照片』寫生取代實地寫生，弄得大家幾乎已經分不清廣告畫、外銷畫、插畫、寫實畫的分別在那裡」等等⁴⁹，不過，亦有重新對過去因抽象藝術而被忽視的老畫家賦予正面評價的功能，以及發掘「本省題材」的貢獻。特別值得注意的是，呂清夫認為鄉土藝術對本土的貢獻，關鍵在於其是否為「本省的題材」。換句話說，臺灣花卉植物、人物或山水等的描繪，是成就此種藝術地方性價值最重要的根據。與此種意見相呼應，林惺嶽亦認為：

綜觀鄉土運動在美術方面的最大意義，不是樸素藝術家的抬頭，而是形成一種普遍關注自己生存土地的時代氣候，影響了美術運動的主流人物，調整心態去重估現代化的思考模式。⁵⁰

換句話說，與蕭瓊瑞的意見不同，林惺嶽認為美術上的鄉土主義仍存在積極的時代意義，透過對現代主義藝術家歷史功過的重新評估，提升對自身土地文化的關懷，對文化菁英來說，「價值觀的追尋與自主性的確立」最為重要，所有的信念都應「建構在生於斯長於斯的土地上」。⁵¹

此種透過鄉土動的累積所形塑的自主意識，已然成為七〇年代美術發展最重要的核心價值，其中，臺灣更成為所有價值的交集與中心，所謂「關注自己生存土地的時代氣候」的說法，更直接呼應、繼承了林玉山於一九八〇年代中期所提出的意見。亦即，臺灣獨特地方藝術風格的呈現，不外乎是融匯「時代性」及「地方性」而成的產物，不論是外來者或內在者，即便戰後環境經驗仍不斷持續變遷，此種核心價值成為建構文化主體性必要條件的事實，並不會有任何改變。

45. 蕭瓊瑞，〈撞擊與生發——戰後臺灣現代藝術的發展（1945-1987）〉，收入林明賢主編，〈撞擊與生發——戰後臺灣現代藝術的發展（1945-1987）〉，臺中市，國立臺灣美術館，2004年，頁37。

46. 蕭瓊瑞，〈撞擊與生發——戰後臺灣現代藝術的發展（1945-1987）〉，收入林明賢主編，〈撞擊與生發——戰後臺灣現代藝術的發展（1945-1987）〉，頁37。

47. 蕭瓊瑞，〈撞擊與生發——戰後臺灣現代藝術的發展（1945-1987）〉，收入林明賢主編，〈撞擊與生發——戰後臺灣現代藝術的發展（1945-1987）〉，頁38。

48. 林明賢，〈戰後臺灣現代美術風貌（1945-1987）〉，收入林明賢主編，〈撞擊與生發——戰後臺灣現代藝術的發展（1945-1987）〉（前引書），頁10。

49. 呂清夫，〈藝術本土化與現代化思潮之研究〉，《藝術史的軌跡》上冊，臺北市，國立歷史博物館，2001年，頁171-173。

50. 林惺嶽，林惺嶽，〈臺灣美術自主意識的崛起及其未來〉，收入郭繼生主編，〈臺灣視覺文化：藝術家二十年文集〉，頁248。

51. 林惺嶽，〈臺灣美術自主意識的崛起及其未來〉，收入郭繼生主編，〈臺灣視覺文化：藝術家二十年文集〉，頁248。

41. Yi-Fu Tuan（段義孚）著，潘貴成譯，前引書，頁177。

42. 同上註，頁178-179。

43. 麥克·克朗（Mike Crang）著，王志弘等譯，前引書，頁226。

44. 林惺嶽，〈臺灣美術自主意識的崛起及其未來〉，收入郭繼生主編，〈臺灣視覺文化：藝術家二十年文集〉，臺北市，藝術家出版社，1995年，頁248。

在大陸來臺的外省風景畫家中，最能將臺灣與中國元素巧妙融合並予以地方化的，以席德進最具代表性。美術史研究者鄭惠美曾以「臺灣山水・中國意境」的說法，來概括他的晚期水彩畫風。鄭惠美認為在臺寫生經驗，尤其是受到本地的陽光、空氣特殊地理元素的激發，席德進早在來臺之初即已建立描寫臺灣真實自然的企圖。⁵²席德進對臺灣鄉土題材的偏好，可謂來臺外省畫家之僅見，當他旅居歐美時，在給友人莊佳村的信函中，不時吐露此種土地孺慕之情。

例如「我常想念臺灣，那些彩色強烈的廟宇，那些剛健的防風樹，雄偉的中央山脈，我的精神中仍渴求它們的支持，使我的藝術才不致軟弱」⁵³、「我愛上了臺灣，……有時甚過想家」⁵⁴、「我離開自己的國土，像無法在別處生根（藝術上的），我需要自己的土地來滋養我」⁵⁵、「我將來要用我的熱忱在臺灣再生活、再創造，我要使臺灣不朽。」⁵⁶（圖2）這些言論真情流露，反映其對臺灣土地的眷戀，地方性已成為其個人生命及創作深處最根本的支柱及來源，而其融合臺灣鄉土景物主題與中國水墨山水渲染技法、氣韻美學的調和性作法，已十足反映在臺生活中所建構的環境經驗、地方意識與土地認同。



圖2 席德進，〈林安泰古厝〉，水彩，55.6 × 76.2 cm，1970年代，國立臺灣美術館藏。

52. 鄭惠美，〈臺灣山水・中國意境——席德進晚期水彩畫風之形成〉，《現代美術》第45期，1992年，頁20。
53. 席德進，《席德進書簡——致莊佳村》，臺北市，聯經出版公司，1987年，頁75。
54. 席德進，《席德進書簡——致莊佳村》，頁15。
55. 席德進，《席德進書簡——致莊佳村》，頁105。
56. 席德進，《席德進書簡——致莊佳村》，頁135。

席德進風景畫創作在地化的個案，或許具有過於突出而鮮明的個人色彩，但絕非孤例。例如，擅長東北岸海景及海濤表現的水墨畫家傅狷夫，一生致力於臺灣山海風光的描繪，評論者以「拋棄杜撰山水，既身在臺灣，就畫臺灣的真山真水」等評語，對其畫藝讚譽有加。⁵⁷（圖3、4）一如在席、傅二人的案例中所見，透過對臺灣風景長時間的親身感受，地方化得以深入人心，此種主客深刻交融的情況，反映外來者與內在者身分界線的跨越，地方價值、土地自覺已內化為藝術家創作意識一部分的事實。

值得反思的是，隨著1970年代臺灣鄉土主義思想的興起，本土及地方意識逐漸強化，尤其是到了解嚴之後，臺灣社會呼籲重新建構自身文化主體性的需求，更日益高漲。然而，從戰後刻意壓抑臺灣土地認同所造成的「無地方性」以及「地方」意義的崩解，朝向族群共融，甚至是對鄉土主義與地方性的彌補、追求之後，臺灣美術將往何處去？藝術家及藝評家倪再沁，對未來發展的問題提出以下警告說：



圖3 傅狷夫，〈大里濟聲〉，水墨設色，112 × 57.2 cm，1971，臺北市立美術館藏。



圖4 傅狷夫，〈塔山初霽〉，水墨設色，90 × 180 cm，1970，臺北市立美術館藏。

57. 李欽賢，《臺灣美術之旅》，臺北市，雄獅圖書公司，2007年，頁126。

回顧將近一個世紀的臺灣美術，我們不能不憂心忡忡，臺灣美術像失根的蘭花一般，沒有把根紮在土壤裡，而臺灣意識的淡薄，也使我們的民族風格那麼怯弱，……世紀末的臺灣美術，正在興廢繼絕的轉捩點上，是懷抱臺灣意識，像墨西哥一樣勇敢地吸收、轉化、再生，還是繼續在淡水、九份、埔里……的桃花源中孤芳自賞？⁵⁸

可以知道，美術的發展必須隨著時代的變遷而產生異動與調節，如何磨合時代與地方問題之間的裂隙，將成為其中關鍵。尤其是紮根於土壤之中，並且透過不斷地吸收、轉化及再生，建構出融合地方與自我在內的土地認同，可以說是七〇年代以來臺灣美術最重要的時代任務，而在此過程中，環境經驗的有無，則變得更為舉足輕重。

58. 倪再沁，〈臺灣美術中的臺灣意識〉，收入葉玉靜編，《臺灣美術中的臺灣意識》，臺北市，雄獅美術出版社，1994年，頁210。

Insider or Outsider? An Analysis of Issues Involved in the Creation of the Environmental Experience for Taiwanese Landscape Paintings in the 1970s

Shi-Ming Bai

Abstract

Formerly a Japanese colony, the island of Taiwan returned to Chinese rule following the end of WWII. However, fifty years of separation led to many confrontations and made it extremely difficult for the two main ethnic communities in Taiwan to blend together as one nation due to significant cultural differences. Taiwan had already emerged as a modern, industrial and civilized economy before its retrocession. The Taiwanese people needed time to adjust to the arrival of a Chinese government from the backward, feudal, agriculturally-based mainland. However, the highly oppressive new regime chose to slander native Taiwanese people, which only distanced the two ethnic communities from each other even further. Both native Taiwanese people (insiders) and mainland Chinese settlers (outsiders) were “political refugees” who had lost their country and land in the war. Yet both groups failed to adjust to the rapidly changing postwar environment. Their differences in place identity created wounds that existed in various corners of the society, which later set off a series of confrontations.

These issues also spread into the art world, as evidenced in the over two decades of debate over what constitutes as orthodox Chinese art and the resulting contention over cultural dominance. The indifference and suppression of locality consequently produced a gap in Taiwan’s art history. Later, the emergence of the native movement in the 1970s as well as an increasing demand for Taiwan’s subjectivity and awareness of its roots were reflected in art and particularly landscape paintings. Artists sought to re-explore and re-discover local towns and neighborhoods and in the process developed an art style that incorporated locality and place identity. This essay is an attempt to retell the Taiwan postwar art history, with particular emphasis on issues related to environmental experience. The concept of land awareness in the landscape painting of the 1970s and the re-shaping of a sense of place during that period of time are also discussed in order to highlight the significance of that particular period in Taiwan’s art history.

Keywords: de-Japanize, re-Sinicize, insider, outsider, locality, sense of place, environmental experience, identification with the land

I. Choosing between Separation and Integration: Post-war Cultural Clash and Changes in the Art Environment

The island of Taiwan sits at the edge of East Asia. Due to its geographic location, for the last several hundred years the island has been invaded and ruled by imperialists from the western world, by mainland China, and Japan. Since the 19th century, the island’s modern history has been particularly marked by frequent warfare. Dramatic political changes in rulership made it difficult for Taiwan to develop a sense of belonging to the land and self-consciousness. The issue of “national identity” with regard to “country/land/race” has been a complicated one for all of Taiwan’s inhabitants. The end of WWII brought the defeated Nationalist party from mainland China to Taiwan. Ironically, Taiwan was “restored” to its mother country amidst an atmosphere created by wartime “victory”. However, ethnic conflict between new immigrants and local residents continued to deteriorate. An increasing number of both visible and invisible clashes between the two communities emerged. This was not only considered as the cause of profound divide within the society, but also the ultimate cause that tore the homeland dream apart. Nonetheless, thanks to the waves of criticism against dictatorship and cultural monism as well as progress in democracy, Taiwan gradually developed into a free and diverse society. The result was something known as “ethno politics” (politics that preserve ethnic identity) and a multi-ethnic society that allowed the highly authoritarian system in Taiwan’s early postwar years to move towards liberalism.¹

The Chinese Nationalist Party government was regarded as the first “settler state” in Taiwan’s history. The “settler group” in the new rulership enjoyed a more superior status compared to the “native group”. In order to establish Taiwan’s sovereign status, it was necessary for the settler group to enforce its political dominance over the native group through authoritarian rule. It was also essential for Chinese Nationalist Party government to ensure solidarity within the party and to maintain the party’s unity with the state.²

As a matter of fact, in the early postwar years, Taiwan went through an experimental period during which time there was an attempt to reconstruct modern culture through the distribution of Chinese writer Lu Xun’s (鲁迅) ideology, also the new spirit that once embodied the May 4th Movement in China, and the Movement’s emphasis on democracy and science. It was a dual-purpose attempt: to uproot Japanese culture (去日本化) and to re-implant Chinese culture (再中國化) in Taiwan. Unfortunately, the attempt failed following the February 28th Incident and the declaration of martial law. It was later replaced by the Three Principles of the People Culture Movement, supported by the ruling Nationalist party. The restoration of Chinese culture in the social context was cunningly and secretly replaced by “Chinese Nationalist Party Culture”.³ Chen Yi (陳儀), chairman of the Taiwan Investigation Committee (臺灣調查委員會), he announced the “Outline Plan for the Assuming Control of Taiwan” (臺灣接管計畫綱要) in March, 1945. The Plan clearly stated that as a general rule, “cultural facilities following Taiwan’s assumption shall enhance national identity and eliminate all thoughts of enslavement.” The first priority after assuming control would be getting rid of Japanese influences and simultaneously reinstating Chinese culture. At the same time, colonial influences were accused of as “poisonous” for and “enslavement” of the Taiwanese

1. Masahiro, Wakabayashi. *Taiwan’s Postwar Political History: A History of the Republic of China in Taiwan* (戰後臺灣政治史：中華民國臺灣化的歷程). Trans. Hung Yu-Ju (洪郁如) and Chen Pei-Feng (陳培豐). Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2014, p.3.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.
3. Huang, Ying-Che (黃英哲). *Uprooting Japan, Re-implanting China: The Cultural Reconstruction in postwar Taiwan, 1945-1947* (「去日本化」「再中國化」——戰後臺灣文化重建1945-1947). Taipei: Rye Field (麥田出版), 2007, p.149-180.

people:

In the past, the oppressive imperialist regime...spread countless poisonous thoughts and ideas in Taiwan. Taiwanese people were seeped in and intoxicated by colonial influences day and night. It was meant to alienate Taiwanese people from their homeland and to make them forget about their roots so as to make them followers of the Japanese culture and subjects of the Japanese emperor.⁴

The worldly value of Japanese culture received favorable comments from some commentators for a time in the early post war years. Some even believed that it could be a model for all Chinese provinces. Nonetheless, due to the increasingly anti-Japanese sentiment at the time, native Taiwanese were regarded as people infected with toxic ideas and in urgent need for ideological cleansing and cultural re-education by the Nationalist party.⁵

In spite of this, Wang Bai-Yuan (王白淵), one the most influential art historian and critic at the time, wrote essays to vehemently contradict the accusation that the colonizers attempted to enslave native Taiwanese people. His article “To the Gentlemen from the Mainland” (告外省人諸公) in early 1946 argued that,

The province of Taiwan is an orderly society...In many ways the province is well-established as a modern democratic society. Many mainland Chinese say that Taiwanese people have wrong ideas because they were enslaved by the Japanese for fifty years, therefore they could not hold power. This is nonsense. This is utterly wrong unless there are other intentions...Despite the oppressive Japanese rule, Taiwanese people have nevertheless been immersed in a highly capitalist system. There are few traces of feudalism in Taiwan. Of that we can be proud of our people.⁶

In fact, Japanese colonial regime achieved excellent results in terms of Taiwan’s modernization, including ensuring social order, freedom, democracy, and advanced economic growth. For native Taiwanese, there was no “enslavement” as alleged by mainland Chinese immigrants, nor were there any traces of feudalistic legacy from the three hundred years rule of the Qing dynasty. These were considered as excuses for mainland-born rulers to exclude Taiwanese people from the center of power. Those who held power had ulterior motives for pushing locals out of political circles. From Wang’s analysis it could be gathered that the Chinese Nationalist party’s “uproot Japan” policy was merely a pack of lies. There were two ultimate goals. On one hand the Chinese Nationalist government intended to redistribute power and cripple the political status of native Taiwanese so that the latter would be willing to turn over a new leaf and submit to the new government. On the other hand it was an intention to justify the “re-implanting China” policy and to manipulate and “re-enslave” native Taiwanese people.

In fact, there was actually more discussions among Taiwanese intellectuals with regard to “re-implanting China” and dismissals of the “enslavement” statement. For example, some believed that China’s

4. Anonymous. “Rooting out Poisonous Thoughts” (肅清思想毒素). *Taiwan Shin Sheng Daily News*(新生報). 1945.12.17. Huang, op.cit., p.206.
5. Liao, Hsin-Tian (廖新田). “Cultural Identity in The Controversy over Orthodox Chinese Painting in Early Postwar Taiwan (1946-1959): A Microscopic Analysis of Cultural Politics” (臺灣戰後初期「正統國畫論爭」中的命名邏輯及文化認同想像 (1946-1959)：微觀的文化政治學探析). Ed. Lin, Ming-Hsien (林明賢). *New Visions: Collected Papers on the Historical Significance of Taiwan’s Gouache Paintings* (美麗新視界——臺灣膠彩畫的歷史與時代意義學術研討會論文集). Taichung: National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts, 2008, pp.151-153.
6. Wang Bai-Yuan, “To the Gentlemen from the Mainland” (告外省人諸公). *The Political and Economic News* (政經報), 2(2), 1946.1.25., p. 1-2.

“domestic customs and ideas were perhaps not all suitable as our model...The Chinese nowadays live a filthy, romantic, decadent, and idle life.” Their way of life lags far behind the Taiwan society under Japanese colonial rule. “It must be improved by following the principles of cleanness, orderliness, simplicity, and modesty.” Interestingly, in the course of this interactive debate in which both sides exchanged positive and negative opinions, it appeared that some advocated for the “Taiwanization” of mainland Chinese immigrants.

We not only reject the “implanting China” policy, but also demand that many mainland-born Chinese should embrace “Taiwanization”...Regardless of which province we’re from, the purpose of living should be to improve and achieve a quality of life enjoyed by prosperous and strong nations and countries. For this purpose, we should learn from and make flexible use of all influences, whether it’s from the U.K, U.S., or Japan. Anything that is against this goal should be overturned and eradicated, even if it’s thousands of years of Chinese tradition.⁷

It was proposed that Taiwan should break free from narrow-minded Chinese nationalism and take lessons from the strong points of countries all over the world. The goal should be to improve quality and life and to rebuild a thriving and mighty country. Therefore, the “Taiwanization” of some mainland-born Chinese served only as a precaution against overflowing Chinese chauvinism. The real aim was to create a modern society with a global vision and with Taiwan at the core of its values.

The idea that native Taiwanese could be “Chinalized” and mainland Chinese immigrants could be “Taiwanized” was a viable option to confront unequal treatment and avoid the “re-enslavement” and manipulation of Taiwanese people. At the same time, it also signified a pursuit for equality, for learning from each other, and a democratic approach to overcome racial, status, and class differences. It served as the foundation for a feasible path in search of “worldliness”. Although this proposal for ethnic integration, raised by native Taiwanese elites, was both constructive and ideal, it was ultimately declined by the authorities. The reason that made it impossible to come true was because of the malicious slandering of the “enslavement argument”. According to Wang’s analysis, there was an evident gap between Taiwan and China at the time. Taiwan was already rather advanced thanks to industrialization under Japanese colonial rule. In contrast, China had just went through a brutal war and still very much of a hypo-colony and an agricultural community. In other words, if we consider the current state of the two societies after the war, Taiwan was much more advanced and superior compared to China. It was then no surprise that Wang concluded “it was not easy for a higher-level social organization to accept a lower level regime.”⁸ Judging from his conclusion, it could be gathered that the “enslavement argument” was merely the Nationalist government’s attempt to conceal the huge cultural disparity between native Taiwanese and mainland Chinese. It was their “fig leaf” to hide an unwelcome truth and their way of controlling people’s minds. From then onwards, the Taiwanese and the Chinese communities had lost a chance to integrate. “Not only did they not shorten the distance between them, but went further and further apart in opposite directions.”⁹ Since then, the Nationalist government chose a more totalitarian dictatorship upholding the “one China, one Nation” policy. The conflict between different social class and ethnic communities became increasingly worse.

7. Anonymous. “The True Spirit of Chinalization” (中國化的真精神). (Editorial). *Taiwan People News* (民報), 1946.9.11. Huang, op.cit., pp.215-216.
8. Wang Bai-Yuan, “At Odds with History” (在臺灣歷史之相剋). *The Political and Economic News*, 2(3), 1946.2.10., p.7.
9. Huang, op.cit., p.220.

Slandering talks of “enslavement” in the early postwar years also affected Taiwanese art circles at the time. The “authentic Chinese painting debate” in the early 1950s was directly related to the former argument. The debate lasted for over twenty years and had a huge impact. It had the most impact in the development of art in the early postwar years. It also served as a dividing factor that set mainland Chinese and native Taiwanese painters apart. Mainland Chinese and native Taiwanese artists joined forces to organize a number of art forums in the years following the 1950s. Originally, they wanted to know if the two communities could work together. However, in the end their efforts proved to be futile. It was like what Liu Shih (劉獅) claimed at the beginning, “the misunderstanding between us and them should disappear as soon as possible. Otherwise this antagonism will damage our emerging new art movement.”¹⁰ In his words, terms such as “we” and “them” and the “antagonism” suggest discrimination between political classes. It also reflects the fact that there was severe cultural misunderstanding between the ethnic communities after the war. Even so, time was pressing for ways to foster cooperation and eliminate misunderstanding. In the meeting, Liu argued that “there are still many people nowadays who consider Japanese painting as Chinese painting....This is both pathetic and ridiculous. Worshipping someone else’s ancestors is nothing but a joke.” He also commented harshly that “time will gradually guide the wrongs to the rights”. He used these sarcastic, extremist points of view to mock Taiwanese painters and their Japanese-style paintings. The words he chose to describe their behavior, for example “ridiculous”, “pathetic”, and “wrong” not only exposes his Chinese chauvinistic supremacist thinking, but also reflect this politically-minded goal to affirm the “enslavement argument” by attacking the reputation of native artists.

Compared to Liu’s extreme criticism, several other mainland Chinese intellectuals were able to discuss the issue in a more matter of fact manner and admitted the strengths of Japanese-style paintings. Furthermore, they even went on to talk about the future course of development of fine art. This was rather rare and invaluable. For example, Wang Shao-Ching (王紹清) commented that we should “examine the quality of Japanese-style paintings and decide if there’s something to learn from.” Lei Henry (雷亨利) argued, “there must be some specialties in a nation’s art and culture. Rather than accusing the inappropriateness of our Taiwanese compatriots practicing Japanese style art, why not first study what are the merits of the so called Japanese paintings.”¹¹ Lang Ching-Shan (郎靜山) declared, “I will not criticize the rights and wrongs of Chinese and Japanese-style paintings. But I believe that art should be assessed based on the techniques adopted, the brushwork, and the quality of the work.” Sun Duo-Ci (孫多慈) remarked, “in the future, art will develop on the same course and communicate with each other. Now Japanese-style painting and western-style painting have begun to exchange ideas. In the years to come there will not be much difference between Chinese painting and western painting.”¹² These fair, objective views undoubtedly offered an excellent opportunity for different schools of art to sincerely exchange ideas, collaborate, and integrate with one another in the postwar period. It was a chance to mitigate and to rectify Liu’s the distorted arguments. However, they failed to resist the politically correct anti-communist, anti-Japanese sentiment. The call for “replanting China” and “promote the culture of our motherland” predominated and the aforementioned impartial views were ultimately reduced to idealistic bubbles.

In addition, Taiwanese artists such as Lin Yu-Shan (林玉山) and Lu Yun-Sheng (盧雲生) also responded by voicing their views at forums that talked about these issues. They expressed their grievances

against the false accusations and insinuations frequently raised by mainlanders. Hence, they aimed to expand the definition of Chinese painting and to highlight the value of Taiwan’s cultural subjectivity through their discussions. They also suggested that “drawing from life” could make up for what was lacking in traditional Chinese paintings. This kicked off the modernization of Chinese paintings in Taiwan. Lin once mentioned that “although the history of Taiwanese paintings is short....It is produced in Taiwan. It has a unique style of its own with a rich local flavor.”¹³ Lu’s analysis was even more concrete:

The art practiced by Taiwanese painters under Japanese occupation blended new brushwork and western painting skills. It merged tropical light and local colors to create its own unique style. It was not pure Japanese painting. So at the time the Japanese did not see it as Japanese painting, but called it “Taiwan-made painting”. It was local Taiwanese art with its own distinct artistic flavor.¹⁴

Therefore, it could be said that for native Taiwanese painters to identify themselves as Chinese and to argue that Chinese paintings made in Taiwan were a continuation of traditional Chinese art signified their acceptance of the “Chinese” identity. On the other hand, if mainland-born Chinese artists could acknowledge the local colors of Japanese-style “Taiwanese style Japanese paintings” (灣製畫), not only would it highlight the unique value of the advanced status of prewar Taiwanese art, but also reinforces the need to “Taiwanize” postwar art. Achievement in this respect will solve the unnecessary conflict between the aforementioned dispute in ideology and national identity.

Based on the above, it could be concluded that the conflict between different ethnic communities began and intensified due to the lack of environmental experience and understanding of the new circumstances. There were also opportunities to reestablish dialogue with the new environment that were missed. The emphasis on “re-implanting China” in arts and culture took place without the support of “localized experience”. Art and culture were thus political phantoms separated from the land. The choice between separation and incorporation became a most ironic drama on the stage of postwar cultural confrontations.

II. The Two Communities who Lost Their “Country/Land” : “Placelessness” and the Disappearance of a Definition of “Place”

As previously mentioned, the attempt to abandon colonial rule by China, Japan, and other western forces, to discover cultural subjectivity, and identity in Taiwan’s contemporary art history had actually germinated in the Japanese colonial era. Evidences of the intention to produce “local experiences” and to “localize” art could be found the comments of Lin Yu-Shan and Lu Yun-Sheng. Lin believed that “Taiwan has an original art style that is rich in local colors” while Lu mentioned “this is a form of native art. Taiwanese art has created a distinctive artistic flavor for itself.” (i.e. Taiwanese style Japanese paintings) This exclusive point of view was cultivated thanks to Taiwan’s status as an independent “place, despite both visible and invisible influences of imperialism. The Chinese cultural geographer Tuan Yi-Fu (段義孚) pointed out that,

Place is an exceptional substance. It is not like other objects of value that could be moved or carried

10. Freelance Writer. “Retrospection and Outlook of Taiwan’s Art Circle, 1950” (一九五〇年臺灣藝壇的回顧與展望). *New Art* (新藝術), 1(3), 1951, p. 54.
11. Freelance Writer. “Retrospection and Outlook of Taiwan’s Art Circle, 1950”. *New Art*, 1(3), 1951, p. 54-55.
12. Anonymous. “The Issue of Chinese Paintings and Japanese-Style Paintings” (中國畫與日本畫問題). *New Art*, 1(4), 1951, p. 76.

13. Anonymous. “Forum on Fine Art Movement” (美術運動座談會). *Taipei Cultural & Historical Relics* (臺北文物), 3(4), 1955, p.13.
14. *Ibid.*, p.14.

around. Yet it could be described as a “concentration of value” and a “location” where human beings stay and live in.¹⁵

In other words, a place is where the values of those who stay and live in the area comes together. The importance of a place far surpasses general consumable resources. Furthermore, a place is “where value, care, and support lies” and “represents stability and eternity”. Human beings will never be able to exist on its own without a place. An individual without a sense of belonging to a place shall become “lost and wandering with nowhere to turn to”.¹⁶

From this aspect, a “place” serves two major functions, both to actively construct a sense of self and to passively avoid a loss of identity. A sense of place will only be complete after going through certain circumstances and geographic changes. It also needs to accumulate environmental experience through its immediate surroundings for an extended period of time in order to create personal or collective memory and significance.¹⁷ There’s one possible reason why the highly intensive Taiwanese values voiced by Lin and Lu and others appeared only after the war. It was because the sudden arrival of an “outsider” who happened to stumble across the island naturally brought “competition and confrontation, and in turn raised our sense of unity and identity”.¹⁸ At the same time it helped “insiders” to build a sense of identity with local surroundings and to recognize the value of its own existence. Unfortunately, the two main communities in the postwar Taiwan society, i.e. the outsiders from the old society in China, and the insiders who had been enlightened by modernization under Japanese colonial rule, had long been caught in an unequal distribution of power. The former group claimed to be the legitimate subjects of the imperial court. They also claimed that the latter group was “enslaved by the enemies” and deliberately disadvantaged and belittled them. Thus the opportunity for dialogue was immediately lost. The result was a lack of place identity and the fact that Chinese values domineered over Taiwanese values for half a century.

Interestingly, the perception of the so-called “place” in postwar Taiwan was different for the same communities that all lost their country/land. For the mainland-born Chinese outsiders, Taiwan was part of the Republic of China or the Chinese race. To them, Taiwan itself had never existed as an independent country or in any other name. Furthermore, the Republic of China “saved” Taiwan from an “impure” state as a Japanese colony (hence the so-called “restoration” of enemy occupied area). However, for native Chinese insiders, Taiwan served as the land and country for the Chinese race and the Republic of China to extend their existence. The arrival of the Chinese rulers meant the island became a colony once again under a different government. Therefore, the glory and the promise of the new circumstances could at the same time become oppressive and exploitative. Regarding this issue, the western cultural geographer Tim Cresswell once observed,

The places we live in, such as our favorite room, neighborhood, and country, could in fact be defined as social products. They are the political consequences and tools of continuous struggle between different sections of the society.¹⁹

15. Tuan, Yi-Fu (段義孚). Trans. Pan Gui-Cheng (潘貴成). *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (經驗透視中的空間和地方). Taipei: National Institute of Translation and Compilation, 1998, p.10.
16. *Ibid.*, p10.
17. *Ibid.*, p.29.
18. *Ibid.*, p.160.
19. Cresswell, Tim. Trans. Hsu Tai-Ling (徐苔玲), Wang Chi-Hung (王志弘), *Place: A Short Introduction* (地方：記憶、想像與認同). Taipei: Socio Publishing, 2006, pp. 84-85.

The concept of place that once stood for unique cultural values before the war was now the center of debate. It was obviously extremely dangerous to see “place” as a political outcome or social tool. Outsiders use their absolute political supremacy to brutally treat the “native” sense of place sought by insiders. Homogenization of placed led to increasing loss of sense of place or place identity and in the end fell into a difficult position, i.e. “placelessness”.

The idea of “placelessness” was first presented by western cultural geographer Edward Relph in the 1970s. He suggested that there were two modes of place experience: insideness and outsideness. “Insideness is the degree of attachment, involvement, and concern that a person has for a particular place. The more profoundly inside a place a person feels, the stronger his or her identification with that place.”²⁰ On the other hand, outsideness is when a person feels alienated from place. Here, people feel some sort of separation between themselves and place. And because they are unable to immerse themselves in the experience, they fail to create attachment and identification with their surroundings. “The new placelessness does not allow us to exist as an insider.”²¹ Strangers without place experience and an authentic sense of place cannot “be responsible for their existence”. Also, they do not have a “complete awareness and acceptance” of the form of existence.²² He went on to say that:

Directly or indirectly encouraging the idea of “placelessness” through some processes, or more specifically through “media”, an authentic sense of place is being gradually overshadowed by a less authentic attitude. The result is casual eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardized landscapes that results from insensitivity to the significance of place.²³

In other words, new outsiders adopted various forms of invasion, from ideas to education and language as well as other forms of medium and communication, so that a place would seem less authentic. This led to the homogenization of place and the dilution and loss of identity, thus making it easier for the newcomers to exert political control.

This mode of “placelessness” was perhaps the most significant feature in both the art world and the Taiwanese society at the time. It was caused by the twofold loss of the two main ethnic communities, i.e. the loss of country and land. In other words, the concept of “place” for Taiwan was originally the equivalent of Japan. In the instant this changed to China, it inevitably created confusion in identity. But this confusion was both unaccepted by the Chinese people and the the political ethics of the Republic of China that demanded absolute supremacy. They could not take on a dual identity that recognized both Japan and China. Therefore, “uprooting Japan” and “re-implanting China” were actually two sides of the same thing. The situation seemed logical yet ridiculously ironic. Firstly, the insider that provides land and a place for the nation suddenly became someone “enslaved by the enemies” and in need of re-education. Secondly, the rulership of an advanced industrial civilization abruptly changed hands and fell into a dictatorial government from a backward agricultural society. Lastly, both mainland Chinese and native Taiwanese people were “political refugees” left behind by the war. Both lost their country and land. Their position should be equal. Both needed to exchange or to re-shape their collective place identity and a brand new land experience. However, as described above, this opportunity was lost in the cultural chauvinism and

20. Cresswell, op.cit., pp.74-75.
21. *Ibid.*, p.75.
22. *Ibid.*, p.74.
23. Cresswell, op.cit., p.75 .

centralization of state power in the early postwar years.

While the concept of “place” was being attacked, “placelessness” appeared. The situation also signified the absurdness of how outsiders and insiders exchanged status when the newcomers moved in. The outsiders were the new insider because of the power they hold. The insiders became outsiders who were put under surveillance. For several decades after the war, Taiwan was the “free China”, the “fortress of anti-Communism”, and the “base for restoration of state” to the Nationalist party. There were resounding calls of political terminology and propaganda all over the island. An ideology with the state, military powers, and ethnic beliefs at its core was imposed, leading to the obscurity and ambiguity of place identity and significance. It meant that none of those who inhabit the place were able to rebuild consciousness, awareness, and purpose of the landscape. The so-called “sense of place” was detached to its original being and the place it inhabits and became nothing more than the product of “local politics”.²⁴

For both outsiders and insiders, the sense of belonging to a place was uncertain due to the disintegration of “place” or “placelessness”. In the end, it could lead to the absolute disappearance of self identity. The cultural geographer Mike Crang claimed that:

The basic geography of life is not something compressed within a series of mapped grids and coordinates. It is more than the idea of location itself and covers more than the scope known as science. Mostly importantly, people not only position where they are from their locations, but also define themselves from the sense of place....Place is the pillar of long time shared experience between people and community. Space that has gone through an extended period of time becomes place. The past and future of a place connects the people within that space.²⁵

Living in a place for an extended period of time produces the so-called perception of a place. People within that space manage to form a self-identity that distinguishes them from other inhabitants in the same space. The difference in self-identity not only serves to affirm one’s location, but is also being relied upon as the key that holds the spatial relationship between people and place together. Also, if we look at the issue from changes in the political environment after the war, the removal of a “sense of place”, “place identity”, and “locality” from our experiences was not only the product of local politics inside out, but also revealed how outsiders expressed their group superiority over the insiders they conquered. It was their way to alleviate the anxiety of losing their home and motherland and to establish a strong connection between ethnic renaissance and national revival.²⁶

III. Negotiating “Place” : Archaeology, Historical Vindication and “Coming Home”

As mentioned above, place identity and local awareness did emerge immediately after Taiwan’s restoration. Yet it could still be observed from the dialogue between prominent figures in the art world described above those attempts to overcome narrow-minded nationalism and differences in opinion marked the first signs in exploring environmental experience. As one of the most outstanding critical thinkers

24. *Ibid.*, p.65.

25. Crang, Mike. Trans. Wang Chi-Hung (王志弘). *Cultural Geography* (文化地理學). Taipei: Chu Liu Book Company, 2008, pp. 136-137.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

among native Taiwanese elites, Wang Bai-Yuan’s viewpoints were particularly worth noting. He argued that,

Taiwan has returned to the arms of its motherland. It has put its inglorious colonial past behind. Political and racial differences for the last fifty years have now been wiped out. Taiwan’s art world now emerges from the dark along with other parts the society to accomplish its mission.²⁷

In addition to speaking in a manner that was consistent with what the authorities expected in terms of political correctness, it could be observed from the essay that Wang Bai-Yuan surrendered to the government by criticizing history. It was obvious that he wished to be treated equally by advocating patriotism and ironing out differences of opinion. Nevertheless, it was worth noting that in his essay he frequently placed China and Taiwan at equal positions. Statements such as “us Taiwanese artists, we each have an ambitious hope” and “to restore China’s unique art” revealed his identification with both places.²⁸ His arguments were at most general comments and not as straightforward as Lin Yu-Shan or Lu Yun-Sheng’s viewpoints. Nevertheless, upon closer examination it could be seen that his aim was to call for unity in the art world. It was his intention to appeal to the art community to collaborate and to dedicate their efforts in cultural construction in order to invent a new culture for the future.

As a native Taiwanese artist, Lin was a long-standing figure in the Chinese painting category at the provincial exhibitions after the war. He was also an authoritative figure and well respected in the art world. In spite of their difference in opinion, he was regarded as an equal to master artist such as Huang Jun-Bi (黃君璧) and Pu Hsin-Yu (溥心畬). In an article he wrote for the forty year anniversary of the provincial exhibition in 1985, he once again commented on the unbreakable geographical and cultural gap between mainland Chinese and native Taiwanese painters during the decades after the war,

Some mainland Chinese artists who practice the traditional painting style are not familiar with the merits of local painting. They regard different expressive styles as against the tradition. This inevitably created a barrier between the different styles and a conflict of opinions. In fact native Taiwanese artists who grew up on the island surrounded by sea are impulsive by nature thanks to the subtropical climate, which allowed them to bring out new trends with the changing times and surroundings. They refuse to embrace rigidity and sameness. As of now, many young artists have quietly developed diverse individual styles that breach tradition. It seems as if we can no longer categorize their styles by applying the traditional boundaries.²⁹

In his article he stressed that the main reason for the disagreements lied in the mainland Chinese community’s misunderstanding or misinterpretation of Taiwan’s local values. He specifically pointed out the absence of environmental experience as the barrier between interaction and communication of the two major ethnic communities. In addition, he also maintained that Taiwan’s subtropical climate would be able to create new art forms that blend and innovate over time, unlike mainland China, which he referred to as still waters that shuts out the outside world. Therefore, He considered Taiwan as a place that is capable of

27. Wang, Bai-Yuan. “Forum on Fine Art Movement”. *Taipei Cultural & Historical Relics*, 3(4), 1955, p.27.

28. *Ibid.*, p.43.

29. Lin, Yu-Shan. “Thoughts on the Forty Years Retrospective Exhibition of the Provincial Exhibition” (省展四十年回顧展感言). Ed. Taiwan Provincial Government Department of Education. *A Retrospective Exhibition of Forty Years of the Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibition* (全省美展四十年回顧展專集).Taichung: Taiwan Provincial Government Department of Education, 1985, pp. 6-7.



Image 1, Lin Yu-Shan, “A Chill in the Woods” , 1948, Gouache, 145×80.5 cm, collection of the National Museum of History

breaking through constraints posed by age-old traditions to bring out diverse new art styles. (Image 1)

It can thus be concluded that art with a “place identity” shaped by Taiwan’s unique geography was not an obstacle but an important force driving the progress and modernization of traditional Chinese art. This identity also marked the times and everyday life. The mainland Chinese artists who considered this advantage as “unorthodox” twisted the truth. They were in fact the real barrier that stood in the way of exchange and interaction. Lin went on to say that, “the evolution of art is affected by popular trends and geographical environment. It makes sense that Taiwanese art is special in its presentation of the place.”³⁰ He argued that time and spaces are the two major factors that determine the development of the artistic style at a particular period in time. Taiwanese art during the Japanese colonial era skillfully blended these two factors together. The result was art that featured both “contemporariness” and “locality”. It had nothing to do with enslavement. His comments were an in-depth analysis and interpretation of observations made some thirty years ago. Moreover, his words highlighted the macro modern view and the open-mindedness of an artist who practices art using traditional sources of material.

According to the historical understanding of Taiwan’s fine art historians in the past, the main theme in

30. *Ibid.*, p.7.

postwar art history in the 1950s up until the 1960s was the fusion and shaping of “national character” and “worldliness” in art. The artist Hsieh-Li Fa (謝里法) once quoted the academic Yu Jun-Zhi (虞君質), who was an avid supporter of modern art, as an example to explain this trend:

We could perhaps observe a general tendency of what the young artists were thinking from Yu’s (art professor) article “In Celebration of the Birth of China Modern Art Center” (祝中國現代藝術中心的誕生). From his writings we come to understand the concept of “modern painting” advocated by young painters at this time. The most important point he made was that art should be both “national” and “global”. He wrote, “An excellent artist should be the poet and bearer of a nation, should be pulsing with the life of his/her nation in his/her blood...But looking at this from another angle, real free art is never something that shuts itself out from the outside world. Nor does it lose contact with foreign ideas and forms....All brilliant, eye-catching art that reflects the colors of a nation would undoubtedly shine gloriously in the global art world.” In a way this revealed the issues young painters pondered over at this point in time.³¹

Yu Jun-Zhi’s psychological propaganda was a huge encouragement for young artists who were determined to free themselves from traditions and limitations and keen to pursue artistic autonomy. His words also stimulated Chinese art’s move to the world. Hsieh believed that many postwar artists were still mired in the debate over “national character” and “worldliness”. Nevertheless he also admitted that this course of development “created a precious prototype for the Modern Painting Society” in Taiwan”.³² He did not have too many negative things to say about the ideas Yu supported.

Yet if we closely examine Yu’s comments, we would find many gaps and untruthful presentation of facts, i.e. the non-existence of “locality” and “contemporariness”. Yu’s views ran parallel to Lin Yu-Shan’s beliefs. There was no intersection or common ground between the two. Yu was unconcerned about the significance of local and contemporary characteristics in modern art. It could be argued that this was influenced by the “East West Dualism” thinking at the time. The goal was to drive Chinese art into the global cultural system. Taiwan was not part of their concern.³³ The artist Chen Ying-Te (陳英德), a long-time resident of France, frankly criticized that the modernist painters in the early postwar period merely focused on presenting “Chinese (oriental)” and “global” values. In fact, in the eyes of those who cared for the island, “their art was out of tune with the reality in Taiwan”.³⁴ It had lost touch with the land.

According to the art historian Kuo Chi-Sheng, it was not until the 1970s that the postwar cultural circles began to notice native Taiwan. Evidences include the progress of the native consciousness and the pursuit for Taiwan’s cultural subjectivity.³⁵ The shift of attention was rooted in the native movement that

31. Hsieh, Li-Fa (謝里法), “From Salons, Art Societies, Galleries, to Fine Art Museums: The Four Stages in the Development of Western Painting in Taiwan over the Past Fifty Years” (從沙龍、畫會、畫廊、美術館：試評五十年來臺灣西洋繪畫發展的四個過程). *Lion Art* (雄獅美術), Vol: 140, 1982, pp.41-42.

32. *Ibid.*, p.43.

33. Bai, Shi-Ming. “After the Abolishment of the “Chinese Painting”--The Formation of the “East Asian Cultural Community” in Ink Paintings in the Postwar Period” (廢除「國畫」之後——戰後臺灣水墨畫「東亞文化共同體」思想之形成), *Taiwan Art* (臺灣美術), Vol: 104, 2016, pp. 57-61.

34. Chen, Ying-De (陳英德). “A Hundred Years of Taiwan Art: The Dilemma in the Search for Self Identity” (臺灣美術百年：尋追自我身分所面對的困境). Ed. Tsai, Chao-Yi (蔡昭儀). *Collected Papers from the A Hundred Years Retrospection of Taiwan Art Seminar* (臺灣美術百年回顧學術研討會論文集). Taichung: National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts, 2001, p.158.

35. Kuo, Ji-Sheng (郭繼生). “Art And Society in Postwar Taiwan” (戰後臺灣的美術與社會), *Kaohsiung History and Culture* (高雄歷史與文化), Vol: 2, 1995, p. 238.

emerged in the 1970s. The art historian Li Cin-Hsien (李欽賢) pointed out that its impact could be observed from three aspects: (1) the rise of modernists who harshly criticized the status quo as if they’d just woken up from a dream; (2) the focus on grassroots figures who once worked hard on this land, which made re-examining Taiwan’s history a fashionable trend; (3) master artists from the colonial period were recognized and valued once again for their contribution.³⁶ Artists who had been sidelined and “buried” in the decades after the war were “re-discovered” and came out from the shadows.

In the 1970s, Hsieh was among those who found the Taiwanese artists who had once disappeared from history and forgotten by all in the early post war years. He recalled his experience back then.

Just when most people were highly enthusiastic and eager to learn about foreign art trends, I turned around to ask about long-forgotten events that took place fifty years ago. It usually made the other person confused as to why I’d do that. It also made them very frustrated. Like me, they know very little about Taiwan’s art history.³⁷

He explained how he tried to describe how Taiwanese art developed in the fifty years under Japanese occupation. He claimed that it took “little bits and pieces accumulate over the years.” As a long-time expatriate, he was anxious about the blanks in Taiwan’s history. In the preface to his updated edition of his masterpiece, *A History of Taiwanese Art Movement under Japanese Occupation* (日據時代臺灣美術運動史), he modified his previous comments and stressed the importance of “using the term ‘Taiwan’ to name cultural events that took place on the island” as well as the significance of “establish a historical perspective with Taiwan as the standpoint.”³⁸ This change in attitude and perspective in his writing of history was closely related to the demonstration of Taiwan’s locality and cultural subjectivity. It was driven by his sense of cultural mission. His research results were considered by many as “providing the basis for many others to start building Taiwan’s artistic traditions”.³⁹

His retelling of Taiwan’s history, which had been overlooked and neglected for a long period of time, gradually drove others to challenge the unequal distribution of power between insiders and outsiders after the way. For example, the art historian Li Yu (李渝) once stated,

The hegemony of mainland Chinese artists and Chinese art, for example, Chinese ink painters looked down on gouache painters in the early postwar years, is still quite evident today. Yet the political and social divide between Taiwan and the mainland allowed Taiwanese art to gradually develop its own features and character. It stands on an equal footing with mainland Chinese style rather than being attached to it.⁴⁰

Li’s reflections were based on her identity with the subjective value of Taiwan. It was a revolt against the long-standing dominance of Chinese culture and the mispresentation of historical facts. Li went on to

36. Li, Chin Hsien (李欽賢). *Taiwan’s Fine Art History* (臺灣美術歷程). Taipei: Independence Evening Post, 1992, p.178.
37. Hsieh, Li-Fa. *Biographies of Forgotten Taiwanese Writers* (臺灣出土人物誌——被埋沒的臺灣文藝作家). Taipei: Avanguard Publishing, 1988, p. 5.
38. Hsieh, Li-Fa. *A History of Taiwanese Art Movement under Japanese Occupation* (日據時代臺灣美術運動史). Taipei: Artist Publishing, 1998, pp. 4-5.
39. Kuo, Chi-Sheng. “Art and Society in Postwar Taiwan”, *Kaohsiung History and Culture*, Vol: 2, 1995, p. 239.
40. Li, Yu (李渝). “Nationalism, Collective Activity, Free Spirit” (民族主義·集體活動·自由心靈). Ed. Kuo, Chi-Sheng. *A Selection of Contemporary Taiwanese Painting 1945-1990* (當代臺灣繪畫文選1945-1990). Taipei: Lion Art, 1991, p. 412.

suggest that Taiwanese artists such as Liao Chi-Chun (廖繼春), Li Shih-Chiao (李石樵), and Kuo Hsueh-Hu (郭雪湖) should be placed on the same historical status as Chang Da-Chien (張大千) and Li Ke-Ran (李可染). More importantly, the local features and circumstances featured in Li’s reconstructed historical perspective of postwar Taiwanese art were the main reasons for Taiwan to separate itself from Chinese art. It was longer be a subordinate of China and would be regarded as on a par with Chinese art. In other words, the cultural subjectivity of a place is established through the existence of its distinctive features and conditions. This argument was closer to Lin Yu-Shan’s idea of “locality” and “contemporariness”.

Li’s reconstructed historical views were a vindication for the “enslavement” accusations of nationalists over Taiwanese insiders. However, it could not solve issues such as the Chinese outsiders’ rejection of “locality” and their lack of “place identity” in a short period of time. With regard to this, Tuan noted,

Abstract knowledge of a place could be obtained in a fleeting moment. For those with an artistic eye, the visual quality of an environment is taken down in an instant, yet the feeling for a place requires more time to develop. It is the accumulation of many floating and non-dramatic experiences and has to be built over time, day after day, year after year.⁴¹

This meant that a sense of place has to be fostered over an extended period or accumulated generation after generation for it to be complete. Similarly, it is difficult to build attachment to a place or gain perception of a place in a short period of time. Place experience and the movement of time are closely related to the cycle of life. It is much harder for grown-ups to “return home” just as it is complicated for outsiders to embrace land as their own as insiders would do.⁴²

Indifference and lack of attachment to the place of inhabitanace tend to lead to “placelessness”. This is a crisis and an issue caused by industrialization, war, colonization, centralized power, and mass immigration of new settlers. The direct consequence is separation of insiders from the land they inhabit. At the same time, it builds a high wall between insiders and outsiders with regard to both culture and social class. There is no “third space” in which to connect the two modes of awareness/experience, i.e. self and others.⁴³ Just as Hsieh Li Fa and Li Yu (李渝) observed, although alienation and the lack of a sense of place and rediscovering oneself were still evident in our surroundings, it was increasingly possible to establish collective place identity and new land experience. Thanks to increasing awareness of land in the 1970s and the lift of martial law in the late 1980s, outsiders and insiders finally adopted an attitude that made it possible to reach consensus and agreement. Both groups dedicated their efforts to rediscover, investigate, and redefine the past. Through the process of reconstructing cultural subjectivity, the chance to blend self and other appears.

IV. Taiwanese Art in the 1970s: Creating an Environment for Landscape Painting

The road forward for postwar Taiwanese art was a stumbling one due to excessive political suppression and ethnic conflict. How did art in Taiwan overcome the aforementioned challenges and move on to mold what Lin Yu-Shan referred to as “sense of time” and “sense of place”? How did the “outsider” and “insider”

41. Tuan, op.cit., p.177.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.
43. Crang. op.cit., p.226.

identities interchange and reconstruct? What kind of local identity rooted in the land we live on formed the basis of postwar art? How did the unusual circumstances in the decades following the war affect the mainland Chinese and native Taiwanese communities emotionally and physically to create an entirely new cultural and geographic landscape in the artworks at the time? This essay is an attempt to answer these questions through possible visual evidences, particularly through the investigation of changes in form and substance of landscape paintings from the 1970s, during which time “native art” was at its peak. The goal is to provide meaningful interpretation from an art history point of view.

Generally speaking, in academic circles, art in the 1970s is defined as part of the native cultural movement or at least leaned towards local identity. This was reflected in the views of artists at the time and the art critic Lin Hsin-Yueh (林惺嶽). The reason for this was two-fold. Externally, Taiwan suffered a series of diplomatic setback and was increasingly isolated in foreign affairs. Internally, there was anti-modernism in art.⁴⁴ The Taiwan art historian Hsiao Chong-Ray (蕭瓊瑞) mentioned that:

For the young people of this era, what was once fashionable in the 1950s and 1960s, such as modernism, western ideas, were temporarily covered up and drowned by a sense of passion for the land. The Nationalist government’s seat at the United Nations was replaced by communist China in October that year.For Taiwan, another step back would mean the end, thus deep self-examination was launched for a new start, resulting in the so-called “native movement”. In literature, the “native literature” movement was important because it accumulated rich and thoughtful debate as well as an abundance of real works in one single move. But in art, the “native movement” remained ideologically obscure and produced no real results.⁴⁵

Hsiao maintained that the creative approach of native artists “is basically a photorealistic approach that captures scenes from a farming village, a fishing village, or an urban corner. It is meticulous observation but with a sentimental style.”⁴⁶ Unfortunately, this particular stylistic approach that represented the native movement in art did not produce similar results in art as it did in literature. Hsiao mentioned that:

The native realism movement that emerged in the late 1970s did not manage to establish for itself a distinct and critical position in art history. The main reason was because the young artists who played key roles at the time were not able to create works of sufficient importance and distinctive personal style. If there’s no masterpiece, how could future historians come up with comments and essays that could be passed on to later generations? ⁴⁷

It was not exactly clear what Hsiao meant by a lack of “works of sufficient prominence” and “intensely personal style”. Nonetheless, judging from the context, it could be gathered that Hsiao was referring to the singularly identical styles, techniques, perspectives, subject matter, and content among artists. From an art history point of view, it could be said that “the purpose of cultural reflection obviously outweighed the making of actual work” and therefore seriously inadequate in “profound spiritual content”.⁴⁸

The art researcher Lu Ching-Fu’s (呂清夫) opinion of nativism in art complements the Hsiao’s

negative views. For example Lu commented that, “the native movement did not happen spontaneously in art. It took place under the direction of literature circles”. He also claimed that, “photo sketches replaced drawing from life. No one knows the difference between advertising painting, trade painting, illustrations, and realistic paintings.”⁴⁹ He also acknowledged senior artists who had once been overlooked. He believed that they explored “provincial subject matter”. One thing worth noting was Lu believed that the key contribution of native art was its “provincial subject matter”. In other words, the depiction of Taiwan’s flowers, plants, people, and landscape, was the critical element that defined its value in locality. In this respect, Lin Hsin-Yueh shared the same view,

Generally speaking, the significance of the native movement in art was not the emergence of naïve artists, but the formation of an atmosphere that pays attention to the land we live in. The movement left an impression on the leading figures of art movements and changed their views of the modern way of thinking.⁵⁰

In other words, Lin held a different view compared to Hsiao. Lin believed that there was still a positive meaning to the native movement in art. He was also of the opinion that it was possible to see that modernist artists showing concern for their own land and culture by re-evaluating their contributions and mistakes from a historical perspective. For those cultural elites, “searching for values and establishing autonomy” was of utmost importance.⁵¹

This individual consciousness shaped and accumulated through passion for the land became the most important core value of fine art in the 1970s. Taiwan was the center and the intersection point of all values. The statement “timely concern for the land we live in” was a direct response and a continuation of Lin Yu-Shan’s viewpoint, which he presented in the mid-1980s. Lin maintained that Taiwan’s distinctive local flavor was nothing more than the combined product of “contemporary” and “local” features. Although the postwar environment changed persistently, the fact that this core value was a prerequisite to establish cultural subjectivity remained true.

Amongst the mainland born Chinese artist who relocated to Taiwan, the landscape painter Shiy De-Jinn (席德進) was perhaps the most representative due to his skillful blend of Taiwanese and Chinese elements and artful creation of local scenes. The art historian Cheng Hui-Mei (鄭惠美) once concluded that Shiy’s watercolors later in life portrayed “Taiwanese landscape through Chinese artistic conception.” She argued that Shiy was inspired by the sun and the air and distinguishing local geographic elements in his outdoor sketches. It was obvious that Shiy intended to capture the island’s natural scenery as soon as he arrived in Taiwan.⁵² His preference for native themes was exceptional and exclusive amongst the new mainland Chinese immigrant painters. His yearning for the island was frequently mentioned in the letters he wrote to his friend Chuang Chia-Cun (莊佳村).

For example, he once claimed that, “I often long for Taiwan, the intense colors of the traditional temples, the resilient windbreak tress, and the majestic Central Mountain Range. In my heart I still crave for the spiritual

44. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

48. Lin, Ming-Hsien (林明賢). “Modern Art in Postwar Taiwan” (戰後臺灣現代美術風貌 (1945-1987)). Lin. op.cit., p.10.

49. Lu, Ching-Fu (呂清夫). “A Study on the Localization of Art and Contemporary Thinking” (藝術本土化與現代化思潮之研究). *A Trace of Art History* (藝術史的軌跡). Vol: I. Taipei: National Museum of History, 2001, pp. 171-173.

50. Kuo, op. cit., p. 248.

51. Kuo, op. cit., p. 248.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 20.



Image 2, Shiy De-Jinn, “Lin An Tai Historical House and Museum” , 1970s, Watercolor, 55.6×76.2 cm, collection of the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts

support they offer so that my art may not be powerless and weak”⁵³, “I am in love with Taiwan...sometimes I miss it even more than home”⁵⁴, “I left my homeland. It seems as if I could not take roots (with respect to art) elsewhere. I need nourishment from my own country”⁵⁵, “I will re-live my life and re-create my works in Taiwan through my passion and enthusiasm. I will make Taiwan eternal.”⁵⁶ (Image 2) These comments revealed the artist’s true feelings and his sentimental attachment to the land. Local elements were the ultimate source and the fundamental backbone of Shiy’s life and art. His artistic approach show a harmonious blend of native Taiwanese themes and scenery and traditional Chinese ink and wash brushwork as well as the Chinese aesthetics of spirit resonance. His style fully presented his life experiences in Taiwan, his sense of place and identification with the land.

Shiy’s landscape paintings featured a highly identifiable personal style as well as intensely local colors. He was not the only one. For example, there was also the Chinese ink and wash painter Fu Chuan-Fu (傅狷夫), known for his presentation of the north east coastal scenery and crashing waves. He dedicated his whole life to the depiction of the mountain and the seas of Taiwan. Art commentators praised his works with

53. Shiy De-Jinn (席德進), *Letters to Chuang Chia-Cun* (席德進書簡——致莊佳村). Taipei: Linking Publishing Company, 1987, p.75.
 54. *Ibid.*, p.15.
 55. *Ibid.*, p.105.
 56. *Ibid.*, p.135.



Image 3, Fu Chuan-Fu, “Waves Crashing in Dali” , 1971, Ink and Color on Paper, 112×57.2 cm, collection of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum



Image 4, Fu Chuan-Fu, “First Snow in Mt. Ta” , 1970, Ink and Color on Paper, 90×180 cm, collection of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum

remarks such as, “he gave up fabricated landscape. Since he is in Taiwan, he will paint the real mountains and real waters in Taiwan.”⁵⁷ (Image 3 and 4) The artworks of Shiy and Fu were the result of their personal experience of Taiwan’s scenery over an extended period. Their art touched others profoundly because they captured local flavors. The deep integration of host and guest elements reflects the breaking of boundary between outsiders and insiders. The value of a place and the self-awareness of the land had internalized to become part of the artists’ creative consciousness.

It should perhaps be noted that the emergence of the native movement and related ideas in the 1970s, local awareness and consciousness continued to strengthen. After the lift of the martial law, there was an increasingly popular call in the society to rebuild Taiwan’s cultural subjectivity. Fine art in Taiwan went through the obvious attempt to suppress feelings for the land in postwar Taiwan, resulting in a lack of “sense of place”, to the loss of a definition for “place”, and later to ethnic fusion and the search for and the making up for the damages made to nativism and sense of place. Where should Taiwanese art go from here? What lies in its future? The artist and art critic Ni Tsai-Chin (倪再沁) warned:

Looking back at the past hundred years or so of Taiwanese art, we cannot help but feel anxious. Art

57. Li, op.cit., p.126.

in Taiwan is like a rootless orchid flower. Without its roots firmly tucked into the ground, our national style is weak and timid and suffers from a lack of awareness for our own country....Taiwanese art is standing at a critical turning point towards the end of a century. It could rise or it could fall. Should we embrace awareness for our own culture and boldly absorb, transform, regenerate like Mexico, or should we continue to indulge in isolation and self-admiration of small town Tamsui (淡水), Jiufen (九份), and Puli (埔里)?⁵⁸

The evolution of art inevitably shifts and adjusts with changing times. The key is how art harmonizes and solves contemporary and local issues. Art must be rooted in the native soil. It has to constantly absorb, transform, and regenerate itself in order to build identification with the land and with itself and to establish a sense of place. It could be said that this was the most important task assigned to art in Taiwan following the 1970s, and it is in the course of art’s development that the existence of worldly experience plays a decisive role.

58. Ni, Tsai-Chin (倪再沁), “The Taiwan Consciousness in Taiwan Art” (臺灣美術中的臺灣意識). Ed. Ye, Yu-Ching (葉玉靜). *The Taiwan Consciousness in Taiwan Art* (臺灣美術中的臺灣意識). Taipei: Lion Art, 1994, p. 210.

不受治理的藝術： 國家視野之外的七〇年代臺灣美術

The Art of Not Being Governed:
Seeing Taiwanese Art in the 1970s beyond a State

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摘要

本文試圖透過現代國家視野之外、不受現代市場治理的藝術這個觀點，重新檢視七〇年代臺灣美術的整體特質，並參照六〇年代的初始化條件，以事件化的切片，文分七節，分別討論包括學主體構造的出現、翻譯運動與回返真實的時間性構造、《藝術手記》和《雄獅美術》與國家視野／市場經濟的夾纏、七〇年代國家語境之外的臺灣現代主義、吳耀忠與七〇年代藝評思想重估、七〇年代寫實主義繪畫的不受治理內在平面、不受治理與現代國家視野之外的憂鬱，企圖以幾個事件的切片，將臺灣美術長期以來爭議的幾個美學議題：主體性、翻譯、寫實主義、現代主義加以重新評估，並提出國家視野、不受治理這兩個新的詮釋觀點，為七〇年代臺灣美術的當代美學意涵，描摹出一個美術思想運動的輪廓。

關鍵詞：國家視野、不受治理、主體性、翻譯、寫實主義、現代主義

「不受治理的藝術」原來是一本書的名字，「國家視野」也是一本書的名字，作者都是政治學與人類學家詹姆斯·斯科特（James C. Scott）。第一本書是2009年出版的*The Art of Not Been Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*，談論東南亞高地Zomia陸塊的流動部落與遷徙人群，逃避現代國家與資本主義治理的歷史，包含他們如何在創製現代國家的計畫中離散、在戰爭與流亡的稅收管理中折衝，又如何與現代資本主義的人力資源集中與管理制度抗衡。第二本書出版於較早的1998年，是Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed，討論現代國家的大型農林發展計畫和社會工程為何失敗，如何破壞環境與驅趕不受歡迎的少數，透過現代科學的意識型態、獨裁集權政體和軟弱的公民社會，製造出極端現代主義的巨大失敗。

使用「不受治理的藝術」和「國家視野」來討論1970年代的臺灣美術，並不代表本文要仿照斯科特，採取傳統意義下的政治學與人類學立場進行研究，而是首先涉及到本文採取的是「國家視野之外」的回望視角，是對於七〇年代臺灣美術不受國家治理的周邊狀態的「迴訪」（revisit），特別是經歷了1990年代之後的臺灣藝術主體性論爭，隱然代表國家藝術意志的現代美術館、雙年展、現代藝術學院體制確立，與近年來相關於「折射現代性」的日治時期臺灣美術史研究，掙扎於臺日之間認同的「地方色彩」分裂視野之後，立足今日，東南亞各地區紛紛仿效歐美現代藝術體制，建立國家與市場的視野，就此而言，從當代藝術在「國家」與「市場」的雙重管理體制之下，種種趨向製造現代國家與構造自由市場的論述話語之下，本文嘗試回望與迴訪七〇年代臺灣美術的「詞與物」——論述與作品，探索那些在「國家視野之外」而「不受治理」的藝術論述、發表平臺與作品樣態。

相對「國家視野之外」與「不受治理」的藝術而言，當然就會有進入「國家視野」與「受到治理」的藝術論述、發表平臺與作品樣態，這中間，究竟如何釐清「國家視野」與「受到治理」的範圍與變化，就成了本文的挑戰。特別是當這中間的界限常常游移而模糊，不時呈現在七〇年代的臺灣美術環境中，以及究竟何謂「臺灣美術」，也從中國論述中漸漸脫勾，在鄉土與前衛的關懷中，開始不斷重新被界定的時候，本文選擇「七〇年代臺灣美術」這樣的主題範圍，正是因為從今天的藝術世界來看，七〇年代臺灣美術處於「之間」（in-between）的狀態，恐怕遠遠超過六〇年代獨大的「五月」與「東方」美學體制，也超過八〇年代以後，現代美術體制漸次建立其藝術場域與判準的美學體制的極端現代性走向，七〇年代的臺灣美術，在中國與臺灣之間，在鄉土與現代之間，在菁英與大眾之間，在本土語言與翻譯之間，在學院與非學院之間，在大眾媒體與圈內傳言之間，在體制與無體制之間，本文嘗試從國家與市場之外、逃避折衝國家與市場治理、抗拒國家與市場機制的視野，來看待七〇年代的臺灣美術。

一、國家視野之外的學主體構造

首先，本文假設「七〇年代的臺灣美術」中，存在著某種不為當時的國家視野所看見、所承認的學主體構造，這種主體構造雖然可能在日治時期帝國的視野所看見，但是，其多重主體構造的整

體性，並不能完全被看見，而「七〇年代的臺灣美術」，恰好是出入在兩個國家視野的縫隙之間，使得這種學主體的構造得以被瞥見。最好的例證與代表七〇年代的「主體事件」之一，便是畫家陳澄波的「重新出土」。1979年11月，陳澄波的妻子張捷籌畫了「陳澄波遺作展」，於臺北春之藝廊展出油畫40多幅。我們將在這一節，透過陳澄波的作品，與「現代國家」的若即若離關係，探索這種學主體構造的特殊性。

李淑珠教授在《表現出時代的「Something」——陳澄波繪畫考》一書中，曾提出以聖戰美術的日臺脈絡，重新理解陳澄波繪畫中「社會寫實」的多層意涵，特別是他畫中作包含中國、日本、臺灣三地「現實世界」的多重現實表現，刺激我思考著這樣的「多重現實」表現過程中，饒富深意的主體流變狀態及其美學意涵，以及畫家在現代國家視野之外的多重主體構造。《表現出時代的「Something」——陳澄波繪畫考》一書中，有多處引用黃琪惠的碩士論文《戰爭與美術——日治末期臺灣的美術活動與繪畫風格（1937.7-1945.8）》進行詰辯，這些論辯十分精彩，除了涉及史實、史料與作品的解讀外，就美學的觀點而言，也涉及了論辯背景中關於「戰爭畫」與「聖戰美術」的分類與範圍討論，亦即「地方色彩」的表現，究竟與「聖戰美術」有沒有直接關聯？在更深的層次上，這些論辯觸及了一個二戰末期非常糾結的臺灣畫家主體性的問題：

黃琪惠將上述臺人畫家的作品與飯田實雄等在臺日人畫家的作品相較之後，得出了結論：在臺日人畫家因應時局的態度與表現遠比臺籍畫家積極與多元化，因為相對於在臺日人畫家的「民族因素」，臺人畫家「並非具有日籍畫家般的民族熱情而積極活動，但是他們仍然採取配合當局的活動方式，而且，他們創作的畫風偏向以熟練技術描寫後方的時局景觀」。……然而，在臺日人畫家與臺人畫家表現上的差異，單以民族的差異——「大和民族」的日本人、「漢民族」的臺灣人——來予以區分、解釋的論點，真的妥當嗎？

問題是，依據王秀雄、謝里法、蕭瓊瑞、顏娟英等史家的看法，戰時的諸多臺灣畫家，甚至像鹽月桃甫這樣的畫家，被認為是但求表面配合時局與政策，作品中「每每在舊形式裡點綴一、二象徵戰爭的事物而勉強應付」（謝），或者是「輕描淡寫……迎合時局」（顏），「無戰時內涵，徒冠上戰時標題」（王），他們被認為是象徵性地配合時局，而且背後似有民族因素的情感支撐，令其對戰局「冷漠」。黃琪惠的研究十分具有開創性，但結論卻可以說反映了與上述幾位史家同樣的觀點。與此相對的，李淑珠卻從黃琪惠的研究基礎上，多所延伸與檢視，且質疑這樣的結論與歸因。

由於這樣的問題涉及了運用「民族情感」與國家視野進行美術史的詮釋，甚至也呼應後來被李淑珠所批評的因白色恐怖及其平反過程所突顯的「祖國愛」論述，對二戰時處於臺灣、甚至過境臺灣的諸多畫家的戰時心境、美學思考與主體狀態，李淑珠在她的研究中舉出了許多可以議論之處。因此，本節將集中於檢視這個論辯的核心論點，並從主體性和美學政治的觀點，提出關於不同型態的主體性反思與有待議論的美學政治觀點，以釐清「七〇年代臺灣美術」討論的美學基礎。

在閱讀黃琪惠研究的過程中，最令我感到驚訝的是，整個「新體制」的積極操作。日本二戰時最有代表性的聖戰美術畫家藤田嗣治，早在1940年搭船返回日本時，即曾在7月「利用輪船停泊臺灣的時間遊覽臺北，並且接受記者訪問，提及他巴黎空襲時的可怕經驗。」他回國不久後，立刻成為從軍畫家，開始積極製作戰爭畫。同年稍早的4月，我所查閱過，由陸軍美術協會將聖戰美術展

後集結出版的《聖戰美術》一書，已由軍人援護會臺灣本部以慰問戰傷將兵為目的，而分贈給全臺的海陸軍醫院。過了不久，1941年2月底，這本畫冊中的九十件聖戰美術作品即大規模引進臺灣，於3月份與「時局恤兵展覽會」的其他展品巡迴展出。

另外，戰爭期間被軍方動員的從軍畫家，路經臺灣前往前線搜集畫材的比例也令人咋舌。例如：1941年初，和田三造、辻永前往安南前線，往返皆經臺灣，在返程時，和田三造即被聘為該年府展的審查員。1942年之後，「新體制」更為鞏固，海陸軍慎重派遣的知名畫家絡繹前往南洋製作戰爭記錄畫，使他們旅經臺灣的現象更加頻繁。這些人包括藤田嗣治、山口蓬春、向井潤吉、小早川篤四郎、伊原宇三郎、伊勢正義、鶴田吾郎、宮本三郎等等，這些人大多曾來臺寫生，或曾擔任官展審查員，停留時，皆發表戰地寫生感言。以1942年6月12日從昭南島（中南半島）搜集畫材完畢，由香港搭飛機返日而路過臺灣的藤田嗣治為例，他接受了記者的訪問而發表了如下的感想，涉及了帝國對於臺灣的定位：「戰後的昭南島建設，應迅速實行日本文化。從地理與氣候看來後臺灣為文化中心，使馬來人留學本島，本島也迅速往南方發展。」這番話分明就是以臺灣為「南進基地」的國策相呼應，在這個「新體制」中，臺灣是日本文化指導南方發展的前進基地。讀到黃琪惠的這些研究成果時，我才恍然大悟，稍稍了解為什麼鶴田吾郎、藤田嗣治的戰爭畫中，有那麼多大幅關於香港、菲律賓、新加坡、印尼、馬來西亞的戰爭記錄畫，兩人也對高砂義勇隊的戰場表現有所著墨，特別是我在〈轉向或流變：戰爭畫所開啓的主體性問題〉一文中所提到的，藤田嗣治在1945年畫的《薰空挺隊敵陣中的強行著陸奮戰》。其實，鶴田吾郎早在1933年就曾經來臺舉辦個展，當時即對臺灣原住民留下了接觸經驗。於是，他在1943年完成在高雄州部落的畫材調查搜集工作後，不久便完成了《スタンレー山脈の高砂族輸送隊》、1944年完成了《志願兵に別れ告げる台灣人》，目前為東京近代美術館無限期借貸收藏。

舉出上述的戰時臺灣畫壇萬端事實的一小部分，當然一方面突顯我個人過去所知的狹隘，另一方面，也想要重提鶴見俊輔在《戰爭時期日本精神史：1931-1945》一書反覆討論的精神「轉向」，其中一個欠缺進一步考慮的面向，就是「十五年戰爭」體制對於日本以外、特別是殖民地知識份子的直接影響究竟是什麼情形。就此而言，似乎正指向了李淑珠在書寫觀點上與黃琪惠的區別。簡言之，即是兩人對於「十五年戰爭」的新體制在臺灣畫壇所造成的影響，特別是精神構造上的影響，有相當不同的理解。我認為，這涉及她們對「主體性」與「美學政治」的不同立場，特別是對國家視野之外的多重主體構造的不同看法。

首先，李淑珠認為黃琪惠關於「戰爭畫」與「聖戰美術」的分類與範圍，欠缺對「灣畫」、「地方色彩」在戰爭動員時期扮演的角色做更深的反思，因此會對府展相關作品與軍國主義的深密關係，做出過於表面化的解讀。李淑珠指出，即使是陳澄波，在當時都畫了不少時局畫，如《日本二重橋》、《參道》、《鳥居》、《大後方之樂》與《雨後淡水》，可惜目前只餘《日本二重橋》和《雨後淡水》可供考察，其餘三幅皆下落不明。她反覆要論證的是，無論是林玉山的《雄視》（府展第1屆東洋畫部）、蔡雲巖的《雄飛》（府2東）、林玉山的《待機》（府2東）、《歸途》（1944）、陳永堯的《小軍使》（府6東）、呂鐵州的《旭》（府3東），或者是陳敬輝的《朱胴》和《馬糧》（府4東）、李石樵的《庭院前的孩子們》、《唱歌的孩子們》（現名《合唱》）、張

李德和的《扶桑花》（府3東），其實都不只是生活風景或硬加上時局名字的繪畫，而是整個戰爭體制動員下的繪畫，就美學政治的角度而言，「地方色彩」本來就是日本動員殖民地臺灣畫壇的核心表現方式。

爲了證明這一點，在方法論上，在報紙資訊之外，李淑珠運用了非常多戰時日本的歌曲、小說、廣告圖案、鈔票圖案、皇民劇，做爲戰時文化生產體制的佐證，並且在日本「彩管報國」戰爭畫的類型對比下，與當時臺灣的大眾媒體中的意識型態宣傳元素、官方宣傳手冊論述的呼應關係，同時強調偏向「地方色彩」的臺灣殖民地繪畫在戰時的變質過程，與幾次在臺的大型戰爭畫展的普及性、在臺日人繪畫團體與臺灣美術奉公會與軍事體制的近密關係、府展作品開始明顯出現靠向戰時「新體制」的畫題等線索，李淑珠企圖說明的是，不論是不是臺籍畫家，鶴見俊輔意義下面對十五年戰爭體制的整體「轉向」，早已深入到不僅僅是表面的畫題選擇，而是透過日本官方「地方色彩」的美學政治設定，臺灣畫家以不能直接上前線進行戰爭記錄畫的殖民地角度，透過臺灣的戰時生活描述和日本佔領地的畫展與寫生交流，來參與這種戰爭體制，扮演其被設定的「大後方的職責」。簡單地說，李淑珠更強調這種整體文化生產體制，讓畫家們無所遁逃的嚴密性與臺灣畫家的從屬性。這便是現代國家暨帝國主義式的文化治理構造。

其次，更爲微妙的討論，在李淑珠與黃琪惠的論述中，分別指向了當時臺灣畫家們的主體性，何去何從。這裡涉及兩種型態的主體性哲學。黃琪惠在論文的結尾，把焦點指向臺陽美術協會與創元美術協會在戰爭時期的潛在競爭關係。她認爲，在戰爭的局勢下，「日籍畫家的表現顯得朝氣蓬勃，而且他們逐漸形成主導畫壇勢力。」這樣的說法，似乎假設了戰爭體制對殖民地畫家並沒有差別對待，對其戰時的任務亦沒有特殊設定。「官展由提倡地方色彩立場，轉變爲配合時局而鼓勵時局色彩的表現，審查員也不再大聲疾呼地方色彩的重要性……臺籍畫家自豪的地方色彩表現，相形失色……加上府展推薦畫家日趨定型化的安逸表現，故而其整體表現頗受畫壇人士的批評。」這樣的論理觀點，並沒有從整體文化生產體制的戰爭動員化，去進行批判性的思考，換句話說，臺籍畫家似乎是因爲沒有「民族熱情」，而「在原有的畫風基礎上描繪時局景觀與生活的主題。」（頁105）這種觀點是否有過度拘泥於「風格論」的藝術評論框架，失去了對「十五年戰爭」體制的限制與這種體制對殖民地畫家的整體塑造做進一步考慮的問題存在，值得深思。

相較於黃琪惠認爲，「反觀創元美協的日籍畫家的活動與表現……已在畫家的民族熱情以及當局推展聖戰美術潮流下，由追求前衛藝術轉向創作無實地經驗的戰爭畫」這樣靜態與單一化主體性的看法，李淑珠把焦點指向陳澄波的「新寫實」多重精神構造，也就是我所謂的國家視野外的孿主體或多重主體構造，如何表現在《我的家庭》（1930）中的無產階級「世界思潮」繪畫論、《日本二重橋》（1939-40）、《雨後淡水》（1944）中的「日本皇國思想」畫，以及《慶祝日》（1946）的慶祝「中華民族主義」復歸祖國畫，不僅體現出陳澄波繪畫表現中的「Something」，以強烈多變的抒情風格來追逐呈現「時局」，突顯其「社會寫實的情懷」與包含中國、日本、臺灣三地的「現實世界」（頁149），其實也一再隱含著某種「孿主體」式的主體性思維。所謂的「孿主體」，指向一種邊界模糊、情感強烈、不斷流變的主體狀態。在法國哲學家瓜達里的思想中，孿主體性代表著一種從受害、受挾持的主體狀態，生出特殊的能力與視點，因此反而得以生產出非傳

統類型化的主體樣態的主體性。猶如被神或靈所挾持的薩滿或乩童，因爲被神靈指定辦事，不得逃脫，而生出其特有的現場辦事能力。殖民地的畫家如陳澄波者，很有可能在日本殖民經驗、日本留學經驗、中國經驗與臺灣故土經驗的相互擠壓之下，在十五年戰爭之前與之後的繪畫表現中，已跳脫了單一穩定國家民族認同的能力，甚至完全不以國家的視野來看待藝術的使命，在美學政治上，更敏銳於在不同的國體與時局之間，維持其繪畫美學上的洞察力與表現性。這便是本文主題「不受治理的藝術」的主體性意涵。

衡諸林玉山的《獻馬圖》（1943）、藍蔭鼎的「國民精神總動員」宣傳手冊封面設計與宣傳漫畫、李石樵的《合唱》（1943）、楊（佐）三郎的《船隊航向南方》（1944）、蔡雲巖《我的日子》（男孩節，1943）在戰爭前後不同國體間的斷裂表現，特別是林玉山與蔡雲巖作品中在戰前戰後的國旗改畫的情形，此中當然有其不得已被逼迫因應的壓力，但對比之下，陳澄波似乎是在此種種斷裂中，藉由其強烈的抒情筆調，少數能夠維持「孿主體」的多重變化，而終能在戰爭動員的「轉向」與「流變」過程中，在整個時代悲劇與巨大軍國與帝國雙重體制的裂縫中，稍顯其美學精神連續性的一位體制穿透者。

就此而言，1979年底的展覽與「出土」，可以說是一個孿主體的美學事件，代表七〇年代的臺灣美術，具有某種超出國家視野、勇於挖掘不受國家與市場治理的藝術的動能，對於「臺灣藝術主體性」有一種完全不同於1990年代的視野。所以本節以倒敘法爲開端，說明這種孿主體精神構造的露出。

二、國家視野之外的時間性：從六〇年代的翻譯運動到尋求另一種真實的回返

即便是前衛藝術也會退隱，成爲過去；同時，它亦會自未來回返於我們的當下，重新由新的藝術形式定位。這種奇特的時間性，在哈爾·弗斯特（Hal Foster）的《真實的回返》（*The Return of the Real*）一書中，用以討論美國1960年代以降的新前衛藝術（neo-avant-gardes），包括低限主義與普普藝術，與1930年代歐洲歷史前衛運動（avant-gardes）淵源的複雜關係。弗斯特在1980年代養成爲藝評者，他由當下回望，令此當下交叉在垂直歷史縱深與水平社會界域間，豁然展開，使得三〇年代、六〇年代與其寫作當下的八〇年代末，形成了一種詭異的時間迴圈，在此迴圈中，三個時間點粘扣在一起，彷彿過去的從未真正過去，在當下徘徊，而未來亦勾纏著過去之魂魄，不斷噴湧出新未來。所謂的「當下」，就像兩眼視網膜成像的位差，不過是視差（parallax）與後延的行動（deferred action）。本文看待七〇年代臺灣美術的時間構造，亦基於這樣的藝術時間性，問題的重點在於，這種視差的時間性是否存在於國家的視野之外，不受治理？

從兩眼網膜位差到歷史站立點的位差，從2016年的今天，本節試圖以六〇年代《劇場》季刊的翻譯運動及這種翻譯驅力帶來的七〇年代回返真實的時間構造，以描繪七〇年代臺灣美術論述平臺《雄獅美術》、《藝術家》出版的前世狀況。1965到1968短短三年，如天際彗星劃過1960年代臺灣文藝小雜誌星群的《劇場》季刊，其九期刊本與相關展演行動的評論，在當下之我的眼裡紛紛殞落爲碎片，各自折射著它們歐美日的影劇前衛源頭，其參照關係之複雜度，有如萬花筒般的折射，其

中某些瞬間膨脹、向四方炸開的煙花，映照出七〇年代臺灣美術雜誌的基本性格與時間構造，那是一種既想朝向世界進行翻譯，又想回歸鄉土回返真實的多重時間構造。

單就產生視差的立足點而論，與佛斯特討論的美國六〇年代最大的不同，就是臺灣的現代主義文學藝術風格，相較之下，與卡夫卡、杜象或畢卡索並沒有那麼深的歷史演化淵源，其社會文化脈絡又處於脫離日本殖民、籠罩在國府威權侍從政體的白色恐怖陰影下，同時，六〇年代遍地烽火的美蘇冷戰格局、越戰、嬉皮運動、學生運動、左派暴動與中國文化大革命，無不影響臺灣的國際命運，但臺灣社會對左派相關訊息卻幾乎完全被隔離，或至少處於被過濾的精神格局之下，成就了一種精神隔離下的視差。臺灣的時間性籠罩在威權國家的時間性之下，受制於冷戰格局的肅殺，而全無社會革命的可能。這種視差所開顯的時間結構，首先讓我們看到了一堆由四面八方折射而來的無身體的器官，無力行動的知識份子，被閹割的恐懼，以及身處其間的蒼白孤絕與尖叫。

「我們都陽萎了，我們所有的努力只營建了一座陽萎的城。」這是劉大任在《劇場》雜誌第一次演出的節目單上「演出之前」的一句話。在《劇場》第四期的〈演出之後〉，他對於臺灣文藝界新起捕逃藪——「現代主義」文字及其「玄學主義」風格提出批判，他說：「我們的『現代』是什麼呢？當我們的經濟結構剛剛走出農業社會時代，我們卻抄襲著一些西方的精神壓抑感與人格分裂症。我們喜歡從這個雛形的『現代都市』底一些形象中去追索、印證、模仿（大多數人稱之為創造）我們間接從翻譯的或未經翻譯的文件上得來的概念。」劉大任從他所在的當下，看出了一種「進口代理式的現代感覺結構」，透過抄襲、模仿、翻譯其西方源頭得到基礎，於是他說：「我們現在的『現代』是個外來語。」劉大任所沒有說出的，正是我們在現代威權國家的時間視野下，追求的是一種翻譯的現代國家計畫，這個大型計畫的時間運轉中，排除了國家視野之外的種種可能。

《劇場》雜誌就像是六〇年代大規模閹割恐懼中，一聲劃破孤絕的尖叫。這種進口代理、甚至被強迫傾銷而來的現代時間結構，指向某種無奈的集體發展結構，就像菊池裕子（Yuko Kikuchi）在《折射的現代性：殖民臺灣的視覺文化與認同》導論中，以「折射現象」指涉此精神結構：

從殖民現代性的框架中，浮現了關鍵的理論理念『折射』（refraction）。這本文集的焦點是現代性的轉移與挪用。……在物理學中，光的折射描述的是光束的路徑被轉換，造成方向的改變。這本文集我們使用折射，要指涉的是歐美殖民主義的觀念與實踐具有可轉移的特質，特別是日本殖民主義，本身即是採用了、折射了歐洲的殖民主義。雖然這裏有許多篇幅都在檢視臺灣藝術與手藝所含藏的日本基礎，然而主要的焦點並非日本的影響，否則論述會受制，進入原創與模仿的關係論辯裏，我們的焦點其實是這個折射現象本身，外來的理念，扭轉了在地人民的創造發明，朝向新的方向，這些方向就在地脈絡而言有其特定意義。」¹

現代國家的時間構造，在文化生產上透過翻譯的運動，扭轉了在地人民的創造發明，在這當中，如同上一節陳澄波的多重主體構造所示，藝術的時間性與國家的時間性，隱然成為對峙之局。

劉大任並不是沒有體認到這一點，雖然他不贊成《劇場》雜誌同仁選擇演出《等待果陀》，但是，他似乎不得不承認，如此「純西方的堅硬而不易消化的產品，通過了中國的手與眼，通過了中

1.Yuko Kikuchi, ed., *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007, p.9.

國意志與思維，也是中國的了。……假使我們的『現代』必得這麼來，那麼，來吧！」因此，若把殖民現代性的折射現象視為「原創模倣」的問題，無異再一次造成觀視者的自我貶抑與創傷——他者永遠是源頭、而吾人註定為副本，劉大任也深知，這種認識方式無濟於事，於是，問題轉變為：「如何觀測這個折射作用，這個視差之壑？我們能在國家的視野之外，捕捉到這個時間性的構造嗎？」

對於《等待果陀》的演出經驗本身，劉大任與陳映真給予了「神奇」和「感動」的評語，劉大任原本質疑的西方中國、原創模仿、原本翻譯的問題，彷彿在演出行動的剎那暫時得到消弭，「那麼，來吧！」好似兩個不可能勾連在一起的環節，突然在這個演出經驗中粘扣起來，如莫比斯環一般，連接了本來分屬於兩個不同層面的經驗結構。由於這種時間性，並不單純是線性時間過去的回返，而是外部他者的過去與當下轉移換位至「我們」的當下，成為折射的現代性襲奪後的視差與延後行動。如果視差的時間結構，就是在兩個原本極度異質的點面之間，找不到任何中介，卻突兀地發生經驗上的聯結，那麼，面對此視差之壑（parallax gap）的演出者，不得不戴著外部他者傾銷而來的怪異鏡片，一邊行動，一邊觀看自我、他人與世界，在折射的視差、襲奪的主體中，一邊孤絕地要求自己「我們該把鏡片拭乾淨」，一邊在執行演出動作中，發出無聲的尖叫。

如果由上述折射與視差的時間經驗中可以萃取出一種認識論，視差即有可能做為一種批判認識的系譜學方法，這種方法的焦點，關注的是批評模式的挪移與歷史實踐的折射：關鍵在於，如何與某些屬於他者過去的事件重新聯結，或與外來的實踐模式突然產生連結，進而支持當下的事件，令其脫離當時熟悉的實踐模式，甚至發展出新的脫聯實踐模式？就《劇場》雜誌的脈絡而言，當時在劉大任與陳映真批判代理外來、脫離現實的現代主義文學風格的前提下，《劇場》雜誌與歐美日前衛運動／新前衛重新組裝方式有所不同。《劇場》雜誌以其特異編裝的論述重新設定了藝術與理論的關係，也重新設定了臺灣藝術世界的場域地圖，直指特屬於臺灣的當下現實。這現實中包含了三重的視差型認識論：（一）透過翻譯運動來認識藝術世界。翻譯電影與戲劇藝術的劇本、評論與相關理論系譜，成就一種外來語式的、理論先行的藝術實踐模式，這一點的確與當時臺灣現代文學思想界的翻譯運動唇齒相依，但重點不同；（二）藉由影劇視覺文化觀點擴展藝術世界。與原來的各種藝術模式幾乎完全斷裂，電影學與劇場學的系譜在臺灣具有陌異性，翻譯使這些系譜脫離了歐美日脈絡，也讓臺灣當時的藝術場域突然由文學與繪畫雕塑等熟悉的範疇脫殼而出，在大眾影劇視覺文化的基礎上，提供有距離的實驗電影與劇場語言，企圖跳脫架上畫傳統，反諷當時已漸次成形的大眾視覺文化；（三）以回返真實取代階級意識型態批判。除了外來語式的大眾視覺媒體批評語言準備外，《劇場》雜誌規畫出的藝術實踐，似乎不僅僅指向實驗電影或複合媒材的實驗，重要的是它轉向一個擴充了的「文化」領域，以此來發展跨社會領域的橫向實踐，也就是處於視覺藝術與視覺文化模糊交界地帶的社會向度。我認為這種回返真實的要求，隱然計劃了七〇年代視覺文化場域中回歸物質底層與鄉土，這也正是七〇年代臺灣美術論述平臺《雄獅美術》、《藝術家》出版的前世狀況。換句話說，其藝術的力道不在於特定媒材或複合媒材的理念闡述與實踐，而在於其「回返真實」的實踐邏輯——《劇場》雜誌的成員後來或投入商業設計、文化海報或書籍設計、或投身商業電影，回返商品邏輯的真實，或投身電視工作，以鄉土文化與特定底層人物為報導對象。

邱貴芬在〈翻譯驅動力下的臺灣文學生產——1960-1980現代派與鄉土文學的辯證〉一文中，首先就從政治視差的角度，提出了現代派「西化」與鄉土文學「回歸鄉土」之間的張力，呼應了前文討論劉大任評論中的「外來語」問題。邱貴芬認為，其實雙方都涉及「現代性敘述」脈絡裡「文化翻譯」的課題，她稱之為「翻譯驅動力」，我直接稱之為「翻譯驅力」。這裡要補充的是，1960年代之前臺灣的電影論述不能說一片空白，事實上，臺灣導演與高松豐次郎早在日治時期就已建立電影王國、辯士文化。麻煩的是，在二戰後遭到巨大的斷裂命運，包含電影評論語言上的根本斷裂。由於政治視差的關係，甚至在國家視野下時間斷裂的經驗本身，在當時都是難以被談論的，遑論思考其中的連續性問題。就此而言，若把焦點轉至戲劇領域，1950年代反共愛國劇的表演形式只是一個語言僵化、美學政治化的症狀。在這些失語與語言僵直化的精神結構中，文化語言如何重新進行翻譯與翻修，就成為六〇年代「翻譯驅力」部署的基本時間課題，文學的翻譯當然是其中重要的一環，但電影和戲劇的個別作品與批評語言，也亟需要系統性的譯介與挪用。與邱貴芬的觀點有些不同的是，我認為六〇年代是臺灣二戰後文化翻譯運動的起始點，這些翻譯超出了技術知識與戰爭需求，志文出版社新潮文庫張清吉的故事就是這個文化翻譯運動的最佳樣本，七〇年代正是這個翻譯運動初步開花結果的時代。

新潮文庫最早出現關於電影評論的譯書，第一本是1973年九十一號曹永洋翻譯的《電影藝術：黑澤明的世界》，曹永洋先前曾是《劇場》的譯者；接下來便是1976年第一四八號劉森堯翻譯的《電影藝術面面觀》，兩種翻譯皆晚於《劇場》雜誌的譯介；1965年的「雷奈：《去年在馬倫巴》、《廣島之戀》、《穆瑞兒》」、「當代一〇〇導演」、「安東尼奧尼」、「黑澤明」專輯，《羅生門》、〈現代電影與思想〉、〈紀錄方式與真實性〉、「費里尼：《甜美生活》」；1966年「美國地下電影」、「高達專輯：《斷了氣》、《小兵》」、「英國電影」；1968年《電影筆記》、「作者論」專輯、楚浮。另一方面，《劇場》在劇本與戲劇理論方面，亦是最早開始譯介阿爾多（Artaud）、熱內（Genet）、尤涅斯科（Ionesco）、貝克特（Beckett），包含《等待果陀》在華語世界的最早演出。然而，我們的重點不只是为了以專技化的角度，思考《劇場》在電影與戲劇方面翻譯的先導位置，而是視之為「翻譯驅力」下的一個文化翻譯運動。

有趣的是，這個現代思想的文化翻譯運動，是由一位漁民與三輪車伕出身的愛書人張清吉和醫科生林衡哲等人促成。由新潮文庫第一號《羅素回憶集》（1967）開始，我們可以看到1960年代的文化翻譯運動包含了哲學、存在主義哲學與小說、歐美日俄文學、精神分析論述的引入，而這個起點，與《劇場》的存在是共時發生的。因此，我們至此可以大膽推論，《劇場》乃是一場文化翻譯運動中的一環，它呼應著其他文化思想領域正在發生的翻譯行動，企圖透過翻譯運動來運用視差、重新為藝術世界繪製圖譜。它設定的領域是翻譯電影與戲劇藝術的劇本、評論與相關理論系譜，無意間，這種小眾的集體行動成就一種外來語式的、理論先行的藝術實踐模式，這一點的確與當時臺灣現代文學思想界的翻譯運動相呼應，也與七〇年代臺灣美術的論述平臺《雄獅美術》、《藝術家》，所具有的基本時間構造相符。從哲學的角度思之，這種翻譯行動，本即屬於凝視存有學差異的哲學行動，《劇場》同仁企圖發現不同的普遍性（Universal）範疇語言，在國家的時間視野之外，來面對眼前正在發生的藝術時間視差。

但是，從科學視差的角度言之，為什麼需要特別在戲劇與電影的領域中，特別強調「雷奈」、「當代一〇〇導演」、「黑澤明」、「費里尼」、「安東尼奧尼」、「美國地下電影」、「高達」、「作者論」、「楚浮」、「沃荷」、「凱吉」、「凱普羅」、「阿爾多」、「熱內」、「尤涅斯科」、「貝克特」、「皮藍德婁」這些特定的名字呢？他們在1960年代臺灣藝術學的領域中有什么特殊性（Particularity）呢？對我而言，邱貴芬和賴瑛瑛的六〇年代研究若能並置在一起思考，或許我們會產生觀點上的化學變化。賴瑛瑛的《臺灣前衛：六〇年代複合藝術》非常仔細地從藝術學的角度爬梳了《劇場》雜誌的社會文化政經脈絡與個別作品的展演情形，但是，我認為黃華成的1965年的「反劇」——《先知》與第二年的「反藝術」展演——「大臺北畫派1966秋展」和《大臺北派宣言》，似乎不能切割開來看，若單從「複合藝術」的角度來評論，就會切割了這兩件作品的可能聯結，簡單的說，用「複合藝術」這個範疇，可能恰好框限了我們去了解《劇場》編輯與作者屬於「反藝術」的非藝術脈絡思考。我的意思是說，將《劇場》本身視為一個奠基於視差的藝術時間抗衡計畫，一個當代影像與劇場藝術的作品／話語資料庫建構行動，它企圖抗衡的是國家視野下的現代化時間構造，而不是把焦點集中在展出與個別作品。如同沃荷的「工場」的變形版在當代藝術上的豐富意涵，《先知》與「大臺北畫派1966秋展」，亦可以視之為一個集體「工場」的系列作品，不同於沃荷的單一文化明星式的操作，若把它們放在《劇場》這個「工場」的系列集體藝術活動脈絡來看，就容易勾勒出一個藝術領域中集體文化翻譯的行動輪廓。在五月、東方之外，在現代化的國家與市場時間之外，它企圖展開另一種時間構造。

我們以黃華成為例。首先，在藝術上崇拜沃荷的黃華成，顯然已經進入反對存在主義的狀態，《宣言》第5條：「不可過份標榜某一心得，像『存在主義』那樣小題大作。」這種「後存在主義」的思考狀態，究竟指向何處，這是本文感興趣的焦點。其次，與上述「反藝術」並行的是，跨領域的藝術學思考，《宣言》第19、20、28條：「不許把藝術（小說、戲劇、電影、繪畫、etc.）當做飯碗……把藝術當一整體看待，找出它們的相互關係，在它們各方面展露你的才識。……把藝術當一門科學研究。」就此而言，我們不得不說，這裡所謂的科學，似乎包含《劇場》的翻譯行動對藝術評論與論述的嘗試，但這種「科學」，主要還是在展現一種藝術的態度，而不是單純的成規技巧。（見《宣言》第30條：「把藝術當技術看待，錯誤從此開始。」）因此，《宣言》第60條：「如果藝術妨害我們的生活，放棄它。」第62條：「在目前，大眾反而是藝術的障礙。」都指涉了某種特定的藝術態度，而不只是物質材質的實驗追尋。然而，這裡的「生活」與「大眾」有沒有什麼具體的指涉呢？難道「我們的生活」與「大眾」的生活是某種完全不同質的「生活」？就這種特殊的「生活」而言，《劇場》所實踐的文化翻譯行動，除了明顯藉由「外來語」抗拒我們在上節詳細描述的戒嚴政治／美學體制的「陰萎」精神結構外，另一方面，《劇場》要求的「生活」似乎抗拒著另一種屬於「大眾」的生活，那就是邱貴芬已注意到的：「一九六〇年代的臺灣常民社會正經歷一場劇烈的語言和音像文化符碼的傳播變革。」除了六〇年代每年近百部的臺語片、黃梅調電影與中影健康寫實電影，主流電影實為《梁山伯與祝英台》（1963）與《養鴨人家》（1964）之外，柯裕棻在〈電視與現代生活：電視普及化過程中的「國」與「家」，1962-1964〉這篇論文中指出，臺灣的電視機從1962年的4400台年產量在兩年間跳躍至1964年的36000台左右，甚至在1965年達到

行政院主計處的62434台，經濟部並在1963年估計五年內國內市場有推廣至四十萬台的可能。

然而，相關的電視評論與論述，卻似乎只有《電視週刊》與《聯合報》有相關「社會教化與休閒結合的家庭機器」的討論，而未有對此媒體本身的視覺特質的批判性討論，值得注意的是，柯裕棻認為，「電視機在普及化初期引發了強勢的國家理性與日常生活之間的張力」，換句話說，左派理想主義者陳映真、錯亂者楊蔚的臺灣，冷戰格局中的左右對立，只是《劇場》雜誌現代性姿態的一種視差詮釋，另一種重要的視差詮釋，即是電影與電視文化所代表的「主流論述逐漸從戰備動員意識轉變為追求生活的享受和休閒」，「國」的角色與「家」的角色漸漸分離，在這個視覺文化萌芽與直接轉譯的脈絡中，《劇場》最早開始譯介另類影劇的視覺文化觀點，擴展了藝術與「生活」世界的接壤，呈現了針對「大眾」視覺文化的批判姿態與批評話語準備。這些翻譯與原來的各種藝術模式幾乎完全斷裂，而屬於普普、電影學與劇場學的另類思考，跳脫文學與繪畫雕塑等知識份子「大眾」熟悉的範疇，形成更具「整體」性的藝術／生活理念，拉開這種「藝術／生活」與「大眾」視覺文化的間距。

但是，相應於影像上的轉譯實驗，我認為《劇場》雜誌雖然翻譯了「殘酷劇場」，卻並沒有任何這方面的劇本創作或演出的嘗試，這是個奇特的身體懸欠，代表臺灣現代視覺文化的轉譯與批判，在時間構造上，遠遠早於現代「身體文化」的轉譯批判，雖然我們無法在此深入討論，不過，臺灣八〇年代的小劇場運動與前衛劇場運動，似乎與《劇場》在這方面的翻譯遙遙呼應，形成臺灣小劇場史上的有趣的視差現象與延遲行動。

最後，從政治視差的角度來看《劇場》雜誌，對照於電影電視文化強力主導的大眾文化，它似乎更注意到影像塑造社會的革命可能，而非文學式的訴求，更非國家視野的訴求。在戒嚴體制的嚴厲意識型態控制與經濟條件受限的狀態下，這種影像力量的社會施用，顯然無法直接訴求義大利新寫實、高達式或真實電影的時間脫臼、影音分離美學形式，白景瑞寫實電影理想的受挫、陳耀圻在1968年的被捕，可視為體制對潛伏影像力量的去勢動作。就此而言，對照白景瑞1964年的寫實敘事風格的短片《臺北之晨》、陳耀圻從美新處借到的《北方的南努克》等片，我們回頭看陳耀圻在《劇場》第三期大篇幅討論「直接電影」、「真實電影」與紀錄片的複雜歷史與理念，《劇場》同仁1966與1967兩次的實驗電影創作發表會，迴響不小的莊靈的《延》，以及陳耀圻在1967年於植物園和耕莘文教院播放《劉必稼》的盛況，我們可以推論，在「民主臺灣聯盟案」後、在釣魚臺事件後、在臺灣退出聯合國後，避開冷戰恐共的精神結構，以「回返真實」（return to the Real）取代從不曾真實出現的階級意識型態與影像社會批判，將成為七〇年代以後影像創作特質和基本的藝術時間構造。《劇場》的實驗短片與電影論述可以說為此造了一個溫床。除了外來語式的大眾視覺媒體批評語言準備外，與諸種「文學小雜誌」（呂正惠語）的路線鬥爭過程不同的是，《劇場》雜誌規畫出的藝術實踐路線，在戒嚴體制暴力、國際情勢丕變與商業視覺文化的夾殺下，頗具象徵性的中斷在1968年。然而，除了說因為這種「多重夾殺」而不得不然的轉向，仍有話說回來的餘地。誠如黃美序在《中華現代文學大系·戲劇卷》所言，1970年代以後臺灣劇作家的數量突然下降到個位數，甚至更低：「這一現象也的確和電影、電視的興起有關，不過主要的似不是這兩種新興的媒體拉走了觀眾，而是它們拉走了劇本的創作者和其他的舞臺藝術家。」就此而言，我所謂的「回返真

實」之路，包含了「家庭」、「電視」、「大眾電影」、「報紙副刊式的評論」所構成的「新真實」，這是一個擴充中的、由文字轉向以視覺文化為主導的「文化」領域，《雄獅美術》、《藝術家》正是在這樣的視覺文化構造下生成的七〇年代臺灣美術論述平臺。

於是，在七〇年代，我們看到受了陳耀圻影響的張照堂，在1971年製作了中視《新聞集錦》MTV式的臺灣鄉土鄉影像，固然，同年臺灣退出聯合國、發生保釣運動，當時知識青年強調參與政治、回歸鄉土，可能影響了張照堂，但畢竟在影像材質自身在表現上的美學可能，《劇場》所開關的「影像言路」與「影像思路」系譜，與此「回歸真實」的潮流，不能不說有某種時間構造上的關係。從後來張照堂等人製作的《芬芳寶島》（1975）與《六十分鐘》（1978）紀錄片來看，影像的思考，至此暫時放棄了它的獨立製片模式，直接進入了媒體世界，尋求在「真實」中的存活。這種「回返真實」的實踐邏輯，也讓我們看到《劇場》雖然結束，但它的成員如黃華成、邱剛健、莊靈、陳耀圻，紛紛回返電影、電視、廣告設計等視覺文化下「資本主義文化邏輯的真實」，等待穿越這「商品真實」的機會。若不計在美國芝加哥藝術學院教授戲劇導演學的陳清風，《劉必稼》、《延》和《赤子》意味下的「生活影像之真實」之延續，在《劇場》結束後的下一個十年，將不得不以文化工業體制做為生存後盾，建構其實踐策略，這將是一條迥然不同的「回返真實」之路。

三、《藝術手記》、《雄獅美術》與國家視野問題

蔣勳在1979年的《藝術手記》前言提到一個很重要的想法：「臺灣目前的文化問題，事實上繼續著鴉片戰爭以來的封建餘孽與假洋鬼子槍爭執的問題，努力的重點還是持續著反封建、反帝國主義，五四以來一貫的工作。」（《藝術手記》，頁十一）參照當時東海哲學系早期有徐復觀、牟宗三、唐君毅，他們當時面對的是中國文化的花果飄零問題。雖然蔣勳在《藝術手記》特別突出了本土、鄉土和原鄉的問題，但他相當程度上也強調中國、漢文化、漢民族的民族文化意識，特別是在文人精神的部分。另外，在《雄獅美術》的〈鹿港民俗才藝競賽專訪〉這篇文章，蔣勳直接提到「鄉土運動」的問題。他說之前以《文星》雜誌為核心的全盤西化運動，以「五月畫會」和「東方畫會」為主的抽象畫，翻譯現代評論和電影的《劇場》雜誌，推介西洋現代主義戲劇，和《現代文學》雜誌所推介的西洋現代文學，其實是西化的、學院的、專業的；「鄉土文化運動」則是反全盤西化的文化潮流，蔣勳在此標舉原則是「民族的、平民的、普及的」，這裡「民族的」主要是指漢民族，也就是以中國文化為主體的，矛盾的是，蔣勳也提到了臺灣原住民。如果從現代國家和現代商業文化的視野來看，所謂「平民的、普及的」在內涵上其實為的是反對商業文化，我覺得「平民的、普及的」需要被進一步討論。

我的參照點是印度的迪佩什·查卡拉巴提（Dipesh Chakrabarty）在做的庶民研究，若比較蔣勳所謂的寫實主義，或者說「平民的、普及的」原則，跟庶民研究所講的庶民，究竟有什麼不同，以及相關的知識生產過程有什麼不同，這涉及到臺灣現代主義的難題：民族主義與國家視野的存廢。另外一篇關於文化造型運動概念的文章，在〈當前文化造型的難題〉這篇文章，蔣勳提到在第六十五期《雄獅美術》裡文化造型工作，有人說美的工作再也不為西方服務，蔣勳回應說，在民族

走向獨立，民族文化從舊有的僵持的型式，外來的殖民壓力中掙扎圖存的時候，不能忘記殖民力量最好寄生的地方，是一個社會本身如死水般停滯的地方。（《藝術手記》，頁九十八）如果這是對社會革命的強調，對國家視野的抗拒，可能太過，我們或許可以理解為某種回返真實的訴求。

蔣勳在當時也意識到殖民的問題，在1960、1970年代對後殖民想法的肇始階段，蔣勳顯然並沒有缺席，他談民族的問題，可是他的解藥是寫實主義，所以他在〈當前文化造型的難題〉這篇文章提問道我們的寫實主義內容是什麼？他回答的第一句話是說，「拿西方文藝復興做例子」，這是一個跡象，在之前的一篇文章談人體造型的問題，廣義來說也是個文化造型工作的時候，他其實談的是達文西，以及學院如果可能跳脫出文藝復興以西方人體為基礎的素描，是不是能拿中國人的身體做為石膏來素描。但是石膏跟素描這個框架，從文藝復興以來的這樣一個美術或認識論的框架，對他來講是一個不可去除的古典主義的基礎，所以我覺得他的文人主義或文人精神，就現代主義的問題角度來講，他是企圖把它連接到西方的古典主義，特別是達文西，或者是說文藝復興的脈絡。以這個脈絡去對抗西方現代性的現代主義的主張，成為蔣勳關於寫實主義的主張內涵。根據這個基礎，鄉土文學，鄉土跟原鄉的問題，也漸次打開其寫實主義的內涵，但是這個寫實主義的優位就像查卡拉巴提所講的，基本上是西方歷史的時間進程，只是它沒有直接推到西方現代性的位置，而是推到更根源的現代問題的起源，亦即西方文藝復興時期的認識論跟藝術典型。這種訴求是否將跳接到某種現代國家的美學視野，值得深思。

在談全面的文化造型運動的時候，蔣勳提到：「臺灣原有的漢民族傳統，一九四九年以後由中原大陸帶來的影響，日本五十年殖民的遺留，臺灣少數民族的文化特色，以及這一二十年間美日商業文化夾帶進來的現代主義的病態文化……」（《藝術手記》，頁109）簡單地說，現代主義對他來講是病態的文化，面對這一個屬於「臺灣的現代主義」的問題，蔣勳也了解臺灣有複雜的文化個性，他希望透過《雄獅美術》帶動起來的文化造型檢討活動，擴大變成一個全面性的文化運動。上述引用這幾段話，或許可以做為引子，在這個基礎上去思考1970年代的文化造型運動的問題，以及它跟臺灣現代主義起源的狀態，這裡面有幾個有趣的問題值得思考。首先就是它跟中國文化之間無法切斷的關係。依此觀察蔣勳到现在的發展，可看到三個部分仍在延續，一是跟中國文化的關係，二是他當時所說與媚俗商業化之間的關係，第三個是文人生活態度的問題。我覺得蔣勳的獨特性，在於把這三個側面和他對回歸鄉土的主張結合在一起，而且，他成功地做了一件事情，就是跳出大學的體制來實現他的主張，我覺得他這方面頗有先見。

其中，讓我覺得比較值得再觀察的是，跟文化工業或商業平臺的接軌部分，也就是把個體獨特性或浪漫精神跟商業平臺的接軌，在這當中，我比較看不出這是一個寫實主義的實踐，所以，我覺得他當時講的「普及的跟平民的」，相較於查卡拉巴提所做的庶民研究，似乎在此有所差異。

針對1970年代的文化造型運動，其中知識份子的自我定位，我會用兩個字來區分其自我定位，一個是padagogic（教育的），第二個是performative（述行的），我覺得《雄獅美術》所做的工作，基本上跟後來被《夏潮》雜誌提出的批評很接近。《雄獅美術》基本上從事的是一個教育學的工作，一個繼續中的翻譯運動，《雄獅美術》對現代主義的主張，似乎是從啓蒙的知識份子或是菁英文化的角度去進行的。他們對商業文化的那種厭惡，或者對學院化的厭惡，基本上是一種教育學上

的理想，他們的浪漫主義展現在對於文化的分析性態度，引介各種先進的、文藝復興的或現代的好文化，或者是本土的朱銘、洪通。對他們來講，很多時候帶有著分析性的態度，把它知識化，拉開一定的距離，這樣的知識化生產模式，跟第二個層面，亦即查卡拉巴提提到現代大學或博物館的述行的功能有所不同。

然而，像《雄獅美術》這樣一個平臺，它畢竟有一定程度的performative（述行性），總之這個performative就是它跟某種執行的、實踐的狀態有關，它其實生產著某種感覺，不完全是在展現高位的分析能力。如果教育學的分析態度預設了一個現代性或現代主義的進程，而在臺灣不管是原住民文化，或是漢文化或是原鄉文化，其實都還沒達到精緻化、現代或理想的寫實主義的程度，那麼，真正要精緻化可能要靠《雄獅美術》的這些編輯，或是蔣勳本身把它精緻化。這樣一來，一定程度反而會把知識分子菁英化，失去其創造感覺的述行位置。但無論如何，我覺得七〇年代的蔣勳到目前為止仍有一個地方有先知之明，就是反學院，今天我們會坐在這邊，進行研討會，有時候會產生一種悲哀，因為它經常是全球化格局下進行的一種知識生產，它本身的侷限非常的大，可是印度的知識分子特別注意到這一個問題，所以他們對庶民的研究，是與大學有一定的距離跟獨立性，相對獨立於學院的知識生產格式。可是我認為蔣勳的performative是有待補充的，他在七〇年代離開《雄獅美術》的這個非學院的知識生產平臺之後，所謂的寫實主義的主張，恐怕就漸漸轉向他個人的文人精神的樣態去了，他並沒有真正有意識的去構造一個國家視野外的實踐平臺，當然，在白色恐怖與商業文化雙重影響下，我們沒有苛責任何人的立場，這本來就是1970年代左翼的存在難題。

至於他所提出的「臺灣的現代主義」這個問題，我覺得是相當糾結的，不論是現實主義或寫實主義，其最後的參照點是什麼？無可避免的最後還是回到庫爾貝（Gustave Courbet）或是杜米埃（Honoré Daumier）這些人。換句話說，能不能斬掉西方這些根源？或者尋找另外的知識參照架構？其實我們知道歐美的現代主義直接間接影響到臺灣，但是能不能扭轉這樣的參照系？為我們自己的老百姓和學生生產出一些我們覺得有感覺的，基於我們共同記憶的文化造型？我覺得這個工作在知識生產和文化生產方面，其實蔣勳似乎是靠一己之力持續在做，所以蔣勳的美學，最後似乎是回到中國文化與希臘羅馬的雙重根源去找這些文化知識的原型。當時的洪通跟朱銘對他來講，他可能只看到了現代商業化的陷阱，也就是現代國家視野的陰影，可是對於本土或原鄉的文化造型，他如何進一步的去做挖掘或生產？或是他覺得已經沒有根柢可尋了？如何構築一個平臺讓這樣子的人物可以安身立命且不被商業所汙染的位置？我比較期待的是，用一種述行的態度，或是去創造一個不同的平臺，去面對八〇年代即將出現的專業分工的問題，或是學院，面對後來被陳傳興所批評的學院式現代主義。

依據padagogic和performative的區分，如果說七〇年代的蔣勳停留在前面那種教育的態度的話，顯然就是一個啓蒙的態度，這部分蔣勳是清楚的，因為他提的是像五四運動的這樣一個原型。但是如果真要延續五四運動或寫實主義，為什麼他不能檢討馬克思或毛澤東主義？很簡單，因為1970年代不能檢討這些思想內容。如果他當時真的做下去，那他或許不會停留在文藝復興或五四運動的原型，而可能更直接談論毛澤東主義或是臺灣的社會主義的實踐問題。或許直接被送綠島改造。這是七〇年代的思想難局。那麼，究竟該怎麼走？如果他真的強調個體的獨特性的話，我覺得蔣勳又不

太像是西方的那種現代主義所假設的個人主義。在中國文化或和文化裡面的個人，有一種不同的說真話方式，不時興在日記裡面去進行告白或懺悔，這完全不同於西方的個人主義，而是個人的獨特性加上文人精神，或許他會想要從裡面找到某一種不同於西方現代性的文化根源，一種盡量不被國家視野收編的立足點，再加上原鄉跟鄉土的部分。

對我來講，現在重新思考1970年代的臺灣美術，一方面是蔣勳有贈予我們一些內容，他提醒我們一些可以做的事情，現在也不是做任何評價和選擇的時候，只是，我們現在可以思考怎麼做？就我們的當下而言，仍然包含著一些1970年代的文化實踐要素，它已經深深的植入我們的當下存在，我們正在裡面活著，我們如果不要去追文藝復興或五四運動，或是西方現代性的東西，我們如果不是站在知識分子或學院的內部分析性的去思考這個問題，而是在述行的層面上去帶動一種新的思考造型，或是一種文化的造型，我們必須要做一些事情，對抗七〇年代以後出現的資本主義商業文化，還有國家視野下的官方體制、學院的問題，在這個前提下，七〇年代不缺大眾教育的態度，可是當時欠缺的是在知識生產的過程，更進一步的在述說過程中直接去生產一種新的感覺，這種感覺，如果是寫實主義的評論，它應該是築基於我們的某一種共同記憶，這個記憶是可以跳脫出西方現代性，或與之交纏共構，具有更開放的生產性。重新談1970年代，或許對我們來講我們是在找尋共同的記憶，蔣勳的聲音，就那個聲音本身，從1970年代開始迴盪到現在，是一種共同的記憶，但它的確有可能成為國家視野的危險。所以在談蔣勳做為方法的時候，我期待看到的是這個聲音，它能夠貫穿個體特性、視覺上面的寫實主義的主張，蔣勳在此的確有一種打開臺灣現代主義的肇始力量。但是，如同《藝術手記》、《雄獅美術》與國家視野漸漸產生的夾纏關係，蔣勳似乎並沒有尋找到文人性與國家視野的明確距離。

四、重估七〇年代：臺灣藝術中的現代主義起於何時？

被稱為現代主義的各種發明，在此刻，已經變成了我們當下新穎卻固著的形式。如果我們必須要突破後現代主義對於非歷史化的固著，我們就必須要從這個世紀中廣大邊緣地帶被忽略的作品中搜尋並另立起另一個傳統，這個傳統要獻身努力的，並不是某種可加以剝削利用的、對於過去的非人化書寫，而是為我們眾人之願，貢獻自身於一個現代的未來，在其中，共同體可以重新被想像。

——雷蒙·威廉斯（Raymond Williams），
〈現代主義起於何時？〉（When Was Modernism?）

印度藝術學者與策展人吉塔·卡普爾對於雷蒙·威廉斯的引用，一開始即言明，印度知識份子身處於第三世界，雖致力於處理其複雜文化的內面，卻也堅決相信感覺結構與物質介面乃是意義彰顯的條件，因此，印度知識份子十分關注藝術形式與社會形構間的關聯，以及以此奠基的文化史傳承，以便在晚期資本主義與後現代主義設定下的「新帝國主義」形勢中，求得生存。就此而言，印度的共產主義運動一直透過合理、世俗的民族主義，支持著無法回頭的現代化計畫，也支持宗教信仰上的少數與女性。問題是，這種民族主義與對現代化計畫的支持，多少程度不同於「現代國家」

與「現代資本」的視野？雖然印度左翼，在民族主義基本教義派日益壯大、甚囂塵上的反動走向下，可能是目前唯一組織化而講著現代性話語的運動者，但是對第一世界來講，這是相當弔詭的狀態：在後現代話語的挑戰下，文化體制與歷史的「現代」早已從馬克思主義的手中出走多時，但卡普爾卻提醒我們，對於第三世界來說，這類發展過程上的強制性異常狀態，卻是我們必須經常牢記於心的：「其實，在這裡的現代，沿著歷歷在目的社會主義軌道，持續被置放得適得其所。」就本文的主旨而言，這裡的潛台詞就是社會主義與國家視野和資本主治理下的世界，究竟要採取什麼樣的距離。

如果按照陳光興在〈印度做為方法〉一文，談到臺灣的世界觀應思考由「歐美做為方法」魔咒般的參照架構轉換出來，那麼，其中一種可能的世界觀參照架構即是印度，在此，卡普爾提醒我們：「印度的共產主義運動與左翼運動，幾乎是『目前唯一組織化而講著現代性話語的運動者』」，意即其帶有批判性的世界觀，能夠掌握到整個現代世界運作的物質條件基礎，而與國家主義、民族主義、資本主義的思考有所區別。相形之下，臺灣的左翼運動組織，如同紀錄片《如果我能夠死一千次——臺灣左翼紀事》中所言，早已在六〇年代結束以前，即被白色恐怖肅清殆盡，如此一來，七〇年代以後的現代性話語，亦即緊緊聯結著藝術形式與社會形構間物質條件的社會主義思考風格，可以說在組織上已經去頭、腰斬、無以為繼，這個悲劇的重要線索之一，即是吳耀忠在七〇年代的藝術表現。因此，我認為，在今天重新尋找吳耀忠的繪畫道路，本身即是「印度做為方法」的一種視差方法。

卡普爾繼續說，印度現代主義的主要表現，在於其歷史與社會向度，這是許多後殖民處境下的現代主義的共同特徵。但是，對於已經發展到極致的歐美現代主義而言，歐美人士對於這種歷時性一點都不感興趣，代之以「新事物乍現的崇高」（sublimity of the new）來拒斥對於歷史社會的歷時性（diachronicity）關注。這種對於「新」的強調，卡普爾舉的例子是由克列門·葛林伯格（Clement Greenberg, 1909-1994）的崇高現代主義論述，轉向讓·弗杭索瓦·李歐塔（Jean-François Lyotard, 1924-1998）的後現代主義論述。晚期現代主義的藝術強調絕對的形式要素，葛林伯格透過作品中赤裸的視覺性，找到其美學上的精神投注平面，李歐塔強調的則是物質性與過程片斷具有的降神作用，因此拒絕歷史再現的表徵，因為，那太容易流於與地方性聯結，變成某種國族認同的符徵。因此，對於卡普爾而言，印度的藝術家或許只有到了被稱為後現代紀元的今天，才達到了所謂的完全的現代。「能夠與嶄新之物對質，而不流於對傳統的辯護；既能以文化原子化的形式保有自主性，又能夠與在地社群或放逐者的迷失板塊進行浪漫的聯結。」以此來重新理解七〇年代臺灣美術的格局，或許值得借鏡。

就此而言，卡普爾認為，在印度，一個已經成熟的現代主義，意味著可以接受影像的去人文化（dehumanize）與離中心化（decentralize）；意味著透過藝術史的反身性而變得更有自我意識；意味著超越原創性的問題叢結，而克服影響的焦慮。

從參照第三世界後殖民狀態的世界觀出發，如果我們採取上述的「現代主義」論述，那麼，我們可能需要重新界定臺灣七〇年代現代詩論戰、鄉土文學論戰中的「現代主義」中的現代。若視「現代主義」的唯一源頭與參照點為西方現代主義，兩次論戰中的「現代主義」或「現代派」，顯

然在堅持西化與反傳統之餘，即與當時國民黨官方的意識型態或依附性強的自由主義意識型態合拍。但這樣付出的論述代價，是否讓我們在文學藝術領域討論的「臺灣現代主義」，已經預先自我去頭，落入從來就不可能成熟的位置，也不可能完成其對世界史的自我意識，換句話說，從一個歷史封閉性的論述角度來使用「臺灣的現代主義」，論者會說：臺灣的現代主義已經結束了，結束在不夠格成為現代、不具充分現代性的鄉土文學論戰中，現代主義是屬於紀弦、余光中、現代派詩社，是屬於《劇場》雜誌、五月東方、照像寫實或抽象派的形式主義美學主張者。

其中一例就是表現在呂正惠《戰後臺灣文學經驗》的〈現代主義在臺灣：從文藝社會學的角度來考察〉一文，將現代主義、民族主義與現實主義完全對立起來，認為「臺灣現代主義的西化與反傳統是沒有『根』的，是不可能以民族主義和現實主義作基礎的。」如果我們現在參照卡普爾所提出的印度的現代主義道路，第三世界的現代主義道路，卻赫然是由共產主義、左翼知識份子與社會主義構築出來的道路，那麼，即便臺灣的共產主義與社會主義者在三〇年代與五〇、六〇年代有過兩次滅絕，吳耀忠的繪畫，是否除了「現實主義」這樣的觀看角度，還可能用印度式的「現代主義」觀點，重新詮釋其現代美學意識的評論空間呢？

陳芳明在他的《殖民地摩登：現代性與臺灣史觀》自序〈摩登與後摩登臺灣〉一文中，提議重新檢討這些貌似源自西方的語彙，他說：

在戰前被捲入摩登，在戰後被捲入後摩登的臺灣，形塑了一種異質的新文學。這樣的文學作品，有的被標籤為寫實主義，有的被命名為現代主義，最近又出現了後現代主義。這些不同的文學表現，並不能簡易地與西方的寫實主義、現代主義、後現代主義等同起來。因為，臺灣作家縱然借用了這些外來的思潮，卻在創造過程中融入自己特有的歷史經驗。在臺灣產生的現代主義作品，就不能逕稱為西方現代主義的學舌或模仿，而應該注意到現代主義開始出現在地化的傾向。這種在地化的現代主義，絕對是臺灣式的。……臺灣現代主義，是接觸現代性以後的產物。

與卡普爾對「現代主義」的理解異曲同工地合鳴，陳芳明將「現代主義」這個語彙放在世界史的構造下，試圖重新鑄造它，但他也明確指出，現代性並不是由臺灣社會歷史內部孕育出來的，而是日本殖民體制強制植入臺灣社會的結果。他區分了臺灣知識份子與日本殖民者所認識的現代性，截然不同，或者更好的說，前者認識的是具有強烈精神解放意涵的「現代性」，其落實結果化為現代主義；而日本殖民者所理解的現代性是為了有效開發島上資源，以利其資本主義往南擴張的意圖，其結果為參照第一世界歐美架構、具有高度文化優越論的「現代化」論述。相對而言，臺灣人的現代性，具備強烈的批判精神。那麼，臺灣藝術的現代主義，我們仍要將它限定在葛林伯格式的形式主義美學中，視之為一種風格論嗎？這樣一來，我們的「現代主義」思維，豈不是直接受限於歐美現代藝術的歷史經驗與美學框架，難道，我們不可能像印度知識份子一樣，在抗拒西方中，仍能提出屬於我們自身的「現代主義」系譜思維？

就此而言，我們若追問：「臺灣藝術的現代主義起於何時？」無異是要求追溯上述對於早期現代、資本主義、殖民主義與帝國主義的批判精神的歷史系譜，並不能簡單地將它等同於一般對臺灣文學與藝術史上「現代主義」的界定方式。或許，它更是一種國家視野之外、抗拒國家治理的藝

術，一種不受治理的整體藝術。如果我們將吳耀忠透過繪畫，透過他對李梅樹古典寫實主義的批判性承襲，並站在社會主義立場加以轉換，雖然刻意遠離藝術市場規律，卻仍能投入具有開創在地藝術史意識的畫廊經營策畫運作思考，同時，將其畫作視為禮物，餽贈給社運傾向的文友與社運者，令畫作轉置於大量印刷的泛左翼書籍封面、雜誌封面上，這種對殖民文化遺緒、國家治理、資本主義市場與形式主義美學（抽象風潮）批判性的態度、並將畫布框架轉置於文化產物的出版物視覺介面上，可不可以說是臺灣藝術現代主義的重要實踐？

五、吳耀忠：七〇年代藝評思想狀況重估

接下來，我想要利用吳耀忠的繪畫發展的幾個點，重新思考面對吳耀忠作品時所呈現的七〇年代藝術評論思想狀況。包含謝里法、蔣勳、陳傳興、蕭瓊瑞的幾種相關評論書寫，並據以重新檢討吳耀忠繪畫的現代性。

首先，吳耀忠1960年畫的《芳苑》，和馬內（Édouard Manet）1879年的作品《在溫室裡》（*Dans la serre*）在構圖上形成的強烈親緣關係，讓我在乍見時感到十分驚訝。深藍色的長凳做為畫面主要表現侷促空間的框架，隔絕了椅後無景深如壁毯的植物區，女孩手中的黃色陽傘，握傘的手臂，對此長凳構成的狹窄空間具有一定程度的尺標作用，女孩鋪開在椅面上的裙與褶，都在表現椅面所造成的短淺景深，甚至人物視線往畫面投射，也在強化這種畫面空間短淺的效果。但吳耀忠與馬內不同的是，馬內的光線安排與淺景深，產生出某種近距離的劇場效果，但吳耀忠的光線佈置則表現較長的景深與有縱深的光線，椅後的粉紅花朵，重覆了畫面女性上身小碎花襯衫，與周圍的植物所受的光，顯示著較長的深度，膝蓋以下的腿部空間與陰影，也有較多的透視表現，不似《在溫室裡》如此侷促與迫近觀者。這種比較，讓我想起了傅柯（Michel Foucault）《馬內的繪畫》（*La peinture de Manet*）一書中，對於馬內繪畫的「現代性」的討論。

傅柯透過馬內繪畫討論的「現代性」，指向三個方面：（一）馬內處理油畫空間的物質特性，在量體、高度、寬度這些方面，通過畫面封閉式的空間結構，反身指向油畫本身框架的平面性質，猶如蒙德里安（Piet Mondrian）的抽象線條與畫面肌理的相互指涉關係；（二）在光線的佈置方面，馬內不再採取表現性的內光，而是採用外部來的實光，這種實光甚至超越了印象主義強調的室外自然光，而包括了室內的人造投射光線與觀眾凝視的目光，以及並置多重光源系統；（三）馬內利用矛盾錯亂的觀者與畫的位置，形成觀者在物理上不可能的尷尬處境，猶如《奧林匹亞》（*Olympia*）的安排，使觀者侷促不安地面對畫中女性的直視目光，陷入曖昧的中產階級道德不檢點之處境。

我們在1960年的《芳苑》構圖上，並沒有充分感受到吳耀忠要挑戰油畫空間的物質性，或者刻意挑釁中產階級的審美目光，反而與其師李梅樹同時期的《沉思》（1959）、《小憩》（1959）有類似的主體人物空間構造，但不同之處在於，《芳苑》的背景像是個花園，較接近李梅樹1935年《小憩之女》的長景深空間構造，但景框拉得較《小憩之女》為近，至少小腿下半截均不可見，人物的量體變大了，背景的交待較為模糊。就此而言，同時期的《黃衣》倒是與《沉思》、《小憩》

在構圖上更爲類似，膝蓋以下的空間，均刻意截去，形成相當貼近畫面主角的室內近景。

另外一張估計爲六〇年代初的同時期繪畫，但目前只存留檔案照片的《看畫少女》（筆者暫名），構圖上保留了畫中角色的小腿以至足跟，但有趣的是，坐在沙發椅上的她，手上拿著一張畫，正在凝神觀賞，白色褶裙腳邊，地上放著另外兩張畫。手上那一張，經過放大、轉正、比對，可確認為印象派畫家雷諾瓦（Renoir）在1878年的畫作《夏彭提耶夫人及其小孩保羅與喬傑特》（*Madame Charpentier and Her Children Paul (at her knee) and Georgette*），地上較爲清晰的前張，經過放大、轉正、比對，亦可確認為雷諾瓦1881年的畫作《在露臺上》（*On the Terrace*）。類似的手法，我們在其師《小憩之女》、《沉思》兩幅畫中，都可以看到引梵谷的作品入畫，而《小憩》中還引用了國畫作品入畫。

從吳耀忠六〇年代初期繪畫馬內、雷諾瓦的直接間接引用，讓我們感受到，這種引用與馬內在《左拉》（Zola）肖像中引用日本浮世繪入畫，掛在牆上，似乎有所不同。首先，從1960年代的吳耀忠回推至1880年代的馬內，起碼有八十年的時間差，或文化時差，就繪畫史上的現代性與現代主義的發生時段而言，這就是陳芳明所謂的「遲到的現代性」（belated modernity）。日本有覺於此危機，從1860的明治維新、1905年擊敗舊俄，透過「脫亞入歐論」，成爲東方新興的現代殖民帝國之後，便一定程度地克服了這種時差與其中隱含的視差，成功地與歐美視框齊頭並進，跳脫不停追趕的「歷時的現代性」，漸漸能參與以第一世界爲視框的「共時的現代性」，而不論是吳耀忠或是其師李梅樹，都是一定程度上受到日本將臺灣整編到其現代化運動的潮流影響。因此，依據謝里法著作《日據時代臺灣美術運動史》和林麗雲的研究，自黑田清輝至岡田三郎助以降，先是印象主義在日本的落地生根晚了法國將近二十年，再經過本土化的過程，可以推定，「李梅樹承襲自老師岡田的畫技並非源自法國的印象派，而是融合法國印象派和日本浮世繪的外光寫實技法。」換句話說，在臺灣本土成長養成的吳耀忠，六〇年代的人物肖像，有相當程度是由於「遲到的現代性」所造成的畫面內部「折射馬內」、「折射雷諾瓦」，這種「折射的現代性」，除了師承影響之外，如其畫面中所示，閱覽來自進口或翻譯的印刷畫冊，必不可少。

接下來問題是：我們將如何看待這種源於「遲到的現代性」所造成的「折射現代性」？我們將如何看待透過印刷畫冊與師承關係而得來的現代性，及其在實踐過程中構成的現代主義？

謝里法曾在1991年的〈七十年代政治史觀的藝術檢驗——《日據時代臺灣美術運動史》改版序〉一文中進行自我批判，強調「整本書寫盡是『沙龍』內的『故事』，把畫室內的『故事』、畫家如何在畫室裡工作的一面遺落了，結果畫家的創作理念和藝術素養反而很少記述下來。」因此，如果謝里法對方法論與藝術史評論的思考，認為其過於關切沙龍與競賽之上層階級與民族主義的拒日立場，而我們可以加以延用以推論其不足的話，那麼，吳耀忠六〇年代參與獲獎的省展、臺陽美展，只是其美術活動的一種「帝展」模式的再現，應該重視的反而是獲獎底層的畫會友誼、師承關係、藝術理念與藝術涵養的來源。

這個時候，我們就不得不注意到吳耀忠年表，相較於七〇年代白色恐怖氛圍及其後所遭受的政治牢獄之災，幾件前行的生平事件：一是1950年在成功初中初識陳映真並結爲好友；二是1961年插班考進師大藝術系，與陳映真秘密研讀三〇年代中國左翼文化運動與舊俄時期革命藝文運動的相

關作品，兩人不僅是好友，更成爲革命同志；三是1962年完成作品《陳映真畫像》，日後成爲陳映真小說《夜行貨車》的書封畫作；四是1967、1968兩年，作品《屋簷下》、《芥川龍之介》、《卡謬》分別發表於《文學季刊》雜誌第二期、第五期、第六期。

我想回到這篇文章最早提出的一個命題：「藝術評論可否視爲一種思想運動？或者某種思想方法上的創作？」這裡的「藝術評論」包含了兩層意思：一是一般認識論下，偏於學科建制式的藝評寫作，亦即對於藝術品、藝術家與社群相關內容的評論；第二層意思，較接近我列舉吳耀忠六〇年代幾件生平事件的原意，那就是說，藝術創作本身作爲評論，或者藝術創作與評論行動平行並列，令雙方產生思想運動上的交互效應。就後者而言，被呂正惠譽爲「將來的臺灣現實主義文學的先驅」的《文學季刊》雜誌（1966-1970），做爲一種文學與圖像創作本身做爲對文學、藝術本身的評論，同時做爲對文化、歷史與社會的評論平臺與機器，我們必須肯定吳耀忠的畫作，在六〇年代末期，即已深深在內容與形式上，嵌合於此集體宣訴的思想文藝雜誌機器平臺上了。

《屋簷下》、《芥川龍之介》、《卡謬》這些作品，以及其後數以百計的書封、雜誌封面、書系封面，絕大多數都涉及到對文化、社會、歷史、政治與藝術的評論，同時，透過李志銘《裝幀臺灣——臺灣現代書籍設計的誕生》一書所述，吳耀忠讓自己的畫作大量以書封、雜誌封面形式問世，更有在意識型態上抗拒「私有財產制」、強調「繪畫的民眾化」的批判思想爲基底。因此，視之爲「一種思想運動」或「某種思想方法上的創作」，應不爲過。

如果依此線索，檢視陳瑞樺在書畫冊《尋畫——現實主義畫家吳耀忠》一書的序文中對吳耀忠創作進行的分期，則陳之分期似乎是以風格論與題材論爲其評論主軸，而不是突顯吳耀忠的內在思想運動。陳瑞樺說：

以入獄及出獄為分隔點，吳耀忠畫作可分為寫實主義時期及現實主義時期，前期是他師從李梅樹學習到師大美術系就讀這段期間的畫作，主要表現是功底紮實的人物及風景畫；後期則經常以勞動及庶民生活為題材，表現出濃厚的社會主義思想。

但在同樣一小節，通過陳映真1978年的吳耀忠專訪，陳瑞樺也引用了吳耀忠反對繪畫成爲私有財產的明確思想，這就是「繪畫的民眾化」與「大量印刷式繪畫」的特殊實踐道路。讓我再次引用同一段話：

畫在一切藝術中，怕是最具有私有財產的性質。用框子一框，掛在堂皇的客廳中，成為財產，且有投機性的市場。繪畫的民眾化首先必須打破它在需求上的稀少性；版畫、蝕刻、平版印刷提供了繪畫作品之大量生產的可能性。因此，在充分把握印刷美學的基礎上，繪畫作品的大量印製，是一條有意義的道路。我的畫並不怎麼樣，但從來沒有以讓少數人收藏為高的想法。封面設計使我實現了一部分願望。

就此而言，我認為「寫實主義」與「現實主義」的風格論區分之不當，有兩個理由：一、「現實主義」這個語詞來自文學評論與文學史的翻譯realism，吳耀忠本身與一般論者，在美術史的脈絡裡，並不使用這個翻譯語詞，而是用寫實主義／realism這個中英互譯對子，這涉及文學史與美術史評論語境的差異，吳耀忠在同一個訪談中，也提到：

寫實主義不應該只研究形體、光線和色彩，還應該有內容的問題。這只要想起歷史上的寫實

主義畫家和米勒、杜米埃、高爾培、柯洛維茲、伊利亞·列賓就很明白了。寫實主義的重要條件是人和歷史的密切連帶感。在寫實主義中，人和社會、民族，甚至整個世界，都有了鮮明而積極的關聯。因此，它不從不可理解的個人內在的葛藤去看世界，而從民眾共同的要求和願望去認識世界。

因此，我認為重點在於我們如何重新去構造「七〇年代寫實主義繪畫的融貫平面」，一種不受治理的藝術，重新去思考吳耀忠透過寫實主義繪畫的變化歷程所展現的現代性思維和現代主義作法，而不是反覆地再以簡單的風格論和題材論來切割他的思想融貫平面；二、吳耀忠在訪談中提出的「寫實主義」，其實是一種藝術創作的認識論方法，是要「從民眾共同的要求和願望去認識世界」的一種藝術認識論，而不是一種風格或限於特定的內容題材，這種藝術認識論，明顯在他的六〇年代的藝術實踐中，即已開展其根苗，由學院與競賽展覽體制跳出，轉而嵌合到思想文藝評論機器平臺的運作中。到了七〇年代出獄後，這種由原本翻譯、轉置歐美源頭的現代主義繪畫印刷物，變成爲將自身的繪畫轉置於本土文藝知識青年的思想文藝評論印刷物上，透過大量印刷來展示其畫作，流變爲民間藝術評論體制中的重要視覺環扣，這種寫實主義，即便改換爲「現實主義」這個稱謂，仍舊需要釐清的是它的左傾思想、它面對現代世界的批判態度：也就是說，它是否是一種特屬於第三世界的現代主義繪畫實踐？它是否更接近卡普爾所謂的，具有批判性的世界觀，能夠掌握到整個現代世界運作的物質條件基礎，並且特別具有歷史和社會的向度，卻能夠持平面對新事物，超越原創性的迷障，克服影響的焦慮？

六、不受治理的藝術：七〇年代寫實主義繪畫的融貫平面

蔣勳在〈回歸本土——七〇年代臺灣美術大勢〉一文中，曾討論了不同層次的「寫實」。從謝孝德、許坤成帶有批判性的照相寫實主義，到一般「西方商業揶揄或浪漫唯美之間，缺乏深刻的與現實對話的能力。」這裡指的應該是一般的照相寫實或普普技法意義下的寫實。在此背景下，吳耀忠被蔣勳視爲七〇年代中期出獄後，「寫實主義的再復興」潮流中相當值得一提的人物，蔣勳也注意到吳耀忠「爲當時遠景出版社圖繪一系列：臺灣工人的勞動作品，多以單色油畫構成近於素描的人物畫，近於柯勒維茲的畫風。」但是，他的簡單分析還是落在風格論與題材論的範疇裡，並沒有特別突顯吳耀忠反繪畫商品化、大量印刷式繪畫與「繪畫的民眾化」的批判性訴求，特別是這種訴求裡帶有的不受治理的融貫平面。

不過，蔣勳對不同層次的「寫實」的詮釋，有擴大的趨勢，除了學院穩定的構圖與主題上的社會性之外，他認為七〇年代晚期透過個人觀點去描寫臺灣的土地、人與風景面貌的陳來興、邱亞才與鄭在東，也屬於「寫實」的新方向。就此而言，我們想要進一步了解的是：蔣勳這篇藝術評論中的「寫實主義」，究竟意謂著什麼呢？

就其通篇所論的「席德進爲首的回歸本土」、「素人藝術家洪通等陸續出現」、「雄獅美術雜誌臺灣民間藝術專題」、「雄獅美術介紹日制時代活躍於臺灣的畫家」、「朱銘總結了七〇年代的本土素人民俗與寫實路向」，以及前論中「寫實的不同層次」，這些走向對於蔣勳來說，「以席德

進作代表，七〇年代是一個重新認同臺灣的美術潮流，是經過西方、現代化的渦漩迷失潮流後的再反省。」這種認同儘管有國際局勢的外在壓力，但是，不同於老一輩畫家，也不同於六〇年代的美國文化翻譯，七〇年代具有「失去以後的再獲得」的意義，從反省學院危機的民俗圖像、素人藝術家的民間藝術高度活力，到經歷西方現代化後開始擁抱、面對眼前如畫的江山，加上謝里法與雄獅美術雜誌推動的日據時期臺灣美術史寫作和前輩畫家的重新引介出土，這裡的「寫實」，似乎早已溢出了風格、題材範圍，這裡的「本土」也不單單指涉臺灣島內，而是具有歷史批判意識，是對日本帝國殖民的現代化經驗、美國資本主義的現代化後殖民構造與國民黨冷戰格局意識型態所掩蓋的「本土」與「現實」，重新加以揭露，重新加以摹寫，突顯不受國家治理的現代性格。從印度的參照架構來看，這其實是一種「臺灣藝術的現代主義」思想運動、藝術性的評論行動。

我認為，上述這種站在第三世界立場的歷史批判意識，即所謂的「臺灣藝術的現代主義」，之所以是不受治理的藝術，是一種抗拒國家視野的藝術視野，是因爲，它既抗拒資本主義的商品化潮流（繪畫做爲商品），但卻不拒絕文化工業商品（如書籍雜誌）在一般民眾層次的流通；既對於日本殖民帝國框架保持批判的民族主義距離，又不輕易丟棄其現代化經驗植入的世界史結構意識；既強調一般民俗意義下的臺灣本土，又不輕易忽略國際主義意義下的無產階級鄉土與勞動者本土。或許，這才是七〇年代寫實主義繪畫不受治理的內在融貫平面，也才是蔣勳苦口婆心所欲指出的七〇年代的「認同」與「反省」。在此，吳耀忠的「寫實主義」繪畫實踐，就其實踐不受治理的純粹程度上來說，可以做爲七〇年代寫實主義內在融貫平面的一個指標性藝術家。

與此相對，蕭瓊瑞在《戰後臺灣美術史》連載五的〈鄉土運動與現代藝術生活化〉一文，與演講「臺灣的誕生」的結論指出，七〇年代臺灣美術對「傳統」的吸納是延續六〇年代「現代主義」的原有思維，「臺灣」成爲取代「中國」的新本土，這個「新本土」，包括前輩畫家的發掘與再詮釋。在這裡，值得論辯的是，這種對傳統的「吸納」，是否打開了更廣闊的傳統、更廣闊的歷史批判與反省脈絡？這種較爲全面的歷史批判與反省，前輩畫家的重新介紹出土，藝術的民間化與民眾化，較之六〇年代的國畫現代化過程中，對於膠彩畫傳統的批判，是否更具有非美國式的現代主義、而是更接近印度式的第三世界原樣現代主義？而這種正在深化的第三世界式的現代主義，其危機之一，是否正是過度地將「本土」限制在民族主義與國家視野解釋下的地理上的「本土」，而不是左翼思想世界史構造下的無產階級本土或全世界庶民階級的本土？從這個角度來看吳耀忠的繪畫思想構造，益發讓我們覺得的確有某種「臺灣藝術的現代主義」漸漸在七〇年代成形，只不過，我們的藝術評論者的「現代主義」，在模糊運用中，似乎不是參照臺灣文學史的「現代主義」用法，就是參照美國葛林伯格的形式主義的、去歷時性的美學意義下的「現代主義」，而欠缺鑄造「臺灣藝術的現代主義」特有意涵的覺識與決心。

最後，讓我引用陳傳興的〈「現代」匱乏的圖說與意識修辭——一九八〇年代臺灣之「前」後現代美術狀況〉一文中對七〇年代的評論作結。我要特別指出的是，在陳傳興的這篇文章中，不知爲什麼，七〇年代是缺席的，是「曲折」的，甚至是被省略未說明的。就此而言，我這篇文章亦可視爲對陳傳興這篇重要藝術評論文章的回應。關於臺灣藝術的現代主義的「疑惑課題」，陳傳興是這樣說的：

……明顯地可以看出八〇年代初期之藝術狀況在臺灣從其創作形式和追尋的思維方式、理想是具體而微地重視、變奏了六〇年代的臺灣現代主義。……八〇年代初的現代主義不是「批判」，學習與傳遞的方式，也不再是透過「複製」圖像的幻想慾望而是透過學院教育師承、見證、訓練實踐；簡單地說八〇年代初的現代主義是一種「學院現代主義」，它將六〇年代的虛幻、強烈慾望的那種「想像現代主義」（或者說「野蠻現代主義」）加以馴化，「制度」與「權力」的關係取代了先前的「批判」（與「冒險」）。……從六〇年代到八〇年代初，經過七〇年代的曲折，臺灣美術界走過的路徑明確地可以看出是一條「現代主義」的連續途徑從虛無蠻荒荊棘中逐漸走出來的道路。這點是否是現代主義本土化的明證？既是也不是。是，因為它已被制化，滲入制度內化成為其構成成分。不是，因為這個「現代主義」被制化的過程並非是經過思辨、辯論與矛盾抗爭而完成的，欠缺歷史性；此也即是在臺灣對於「現代主義」這個問題從未有過正面澈底的討論與思索，更不用談「現代主義」曲折具現的矛盾過程是、曾經是、將是以什麼方式呈現在此地的疑惑課題。

引用如此長的一段話，實在是很想了解陳傳興對「臺灣現代主義」的七〇年代曲折道路，是否能正面的描述。介於六〇年代的「想像現代主義」、八〇年代的「學院現代主義」之間，在七〇年代這個制度尚未真正確立（新藝術學院、美術館時代）的時候，是否經過吳耀忠的藝術實踐，可以稱得上是「經過思辨、辯論與矛盾抗爭而完成的」某種臺灣藝術的現代主義，它不僅不缺少歷史批判性，同時也預見了藝術市場的出現、藝術商品化的命運與終極的抗拒策略。就方法論而言，本文的書寫過程中，更願突出吳耀忠不受國家治理的「肯定性」或「創造性」的批判或藝術性的評論，以之為「現代主義本土化」或「臺灣藝術的現代主義」的現實化樣態，而不是單純去突出「現代匱乏」狀態，否則，按照這種「匱乏邏輯」，我們是否可能陷入對於「反現代」態度的關切，而無法將問題拉回到「臺灣藝術的現代主義」的本土化與現實化樣態的研究。

雖然陳傳興本人早在1992年《憂鬱文件》序言末尾憂心忡忡的提問：「反現代」態度為何盤據在「臺灣主體性」、「主體意識」的思維模式中，變成一種反理性、反啓蒙的態度？但是，他的藝術評論中，真正關切的問題，仍然是「現代性」、「延遲現代性」，以至於「臺灣的現代主義」問題。他在這篇序言的末尾提出了六個重大的「臺灣現代性」的問題，讓我以這篇文章目前既有的寫作成果，嘗試一一簡要地回應這六個問題，並以此做為本文的初步結論吧！

（一）什麼原因讓「現代性」在此地需要如此長的延遲才以矛盾的「主體意識」方式出現？我的答案是：如陳芳明所提示，對臺灣而言，「現代性」本來即為外來強制植入的經驗結構，連臺灣的殖民母國日本都長期憂心「延遲的現代性」，不願停留在「歷時現代性」，希望快速追趕成為與歐美「共時的現代性」，那麼，參照印度學者的思考，第三世界國家的「延遲現代性」，必得透過社會與歷史的反省批判或藝術創作式的評論，才有可能逐步加以釐清。矛盾的「主體意識」只是第三世界國家自我覺察過程的一部分，「超越原創性的問題叢結，克服影響的焦慮」，才是其主體意識漸趨成熟的表徵，而其成熟的最重要表徵之一，即是不受現代國家與現代市場的治理。

（二）如此長的延遲之另一個意義是社會「現代化」和文化之「現代性」的巨大割裂，雖然原本在

西方「現代化」和「現代性」的發展先天上即已是不對稱和割裂交混的離離合合，但卻從未有過如此大的延遲割裂現象，這是否是臺灣特有的文化區域現象？我的答案是：如印度從事庶民研究與後殖民研究的學者所示，這不是臺灣特有的文化區域現象，而是所有被殖民、或再殖民的第三世界地區，都有這種巨大的「現代化」與「現代性」延遲與割裂現象，本文在視差所帶有的時間結構中，已加以分析。

（三）由「延遲現代性」到「反現代」態度這之間的機制過程中「文化抗拒」如何運作，生產「認識誤解」和「既抵斥又迎合」的態度？我想說的是：如果我們將參照架構轉換到印度，而不是停留在歐美或日本，印度是透過宗教信仰上的基本教義派進行文化抗拒，而臺灣這方面的普世宗教或儒教在結合學院主義與資本主義之後，很可能就形式封閉性、不具反省批判性的知識權威主義，既利用現代啓蒙、理性與烏托邦思想所開拓的學院機制，又透過封閉性的、不面向世界的教育、訓練、實踐，遂行其「反現代」的態度。從吳耀忠的例子來說，他對五月、東方抽象形式主義的批判，對於前輩老畫家的古典寫實主義的批判，以至於陳傳興的評論對六〇年代想像現代主義、八〇年代學院現代主義的批判思考，一定程度上，都指向某種具有批判此類文化抗拒的思想姿態，總結這種思想姿態的內在平面，本文認為它是一種不受現代國家視野、市場視野治理的姿態。

（四）不可否認地，政治經濟因素自然會影響且干擾到「現代性」的形成，但只是作為眾多因素之一，基本上，「主體性」是能動且自主地。為何將這種主動自主性逆轉成依附在政治經濟因素上面的「被動性」？這種否定，具有什麼樣政治意義？除了「主體性」之外，其他的「現代性」特徵和元素，如「啓蒙」、「理性（至上）」、「烏托邦」等等在臺灣此地這種特殊的「延遲現代性」過程中將會以什麼樣形式發生變化？我的回應是：帝國主義與驅動帝國主義進行殖民的資本主義擴張過程，是讓所有第三世界國家不得不接受「現代性」，卻不得不犧牲其主體性的基本原因。臺灣的主體性意識論爭發生於八〇年代，這涉及到意識深層的認同問題。透過吳耀忠的例子，我認為臺灣始終需要釐清其在世界史構造中的特殊位置，唯有認清臺灣本身存在的第三世界屬性，也就是回歸到一定程度的社會主義道路上，對其存在的物質條件、社會形式與藝術表現形式之間進行反覆的釐清，才有可能正面面對「延遲現代性」本身所可能具有的優勢與機遇，進行主體的投入的創造，這個釐清的過程，或許沒有止境，正因為如此，臺灣美術的主體性，較偏向一種多重主體的變主體結構。

（五）從歷史層面觀照，臺灣曾經經過兩段不同面貌、不同特質和策略的「現代化」，日本殖民政治、國民政府，這種歷史性對於造成「現代性」延遲有什麼樣的意義？我認為，從吳耀忠的經歷來看，其師承李梅樹，來自參照歐美架構的日本殖民帝國主義，這種殖民主義的基底，如陳芳明所言，乃是資本主義的擴張狀態，是一種流露出文化優越論的「現代化」思維，反而逼使臺灣的知識份子產生了具有批判性的、不受治理的「現代性」思維；而國民政府對於自身退守來臺，已落入第三世界的新秩序中而無所自覺，除了在文化藝術方面試圖汰除日本殖民文化，復因其受到美蘇冷戰世界結構所迫，進行白色恐怖統治，把具有世界史構造意識、能夠操持現代性話語的所有社會主義思想者、共產主義思想者清掃殆盡，因此，國民政

府時期的「現代化」，主要形成的一個現代國家的製造計畫，是對於國家視野的構造計畫，也是對美國在政治經濟與文化上的依賴結構，使得延遲現代性無法轉換為主動的可能優勢。

（六）最後，美學層面上，「延遲現代性」所牽引出的心理、精神上的欠缺之慾望經濟如何運作出憂鬱圖像空間。憂鬱作為另一種「透視」來彌補、替代延遲所生出之匱乏？在藝術領域內的憂鬱症兆是何種形式？

七、結論：不受治理與現代國家視野之外的憂鬱

以吳耀忠的藝術經驗來看，1962年的作品《長夜》，或許最能作為「憂鬱文件」的藝術表徵，在美學上，他充分消化了馬內的《草地上的午餐》鮮明的模特兒腿部擺放姿勢與《陽臺》中三位模特兒的手部擺放位置。但是，吳耀忠畫中的畫家（或知識份子）卻視線緊閉，手部苦惱地按住頭部，呈現往內部的鬱結狀態，而不是像馬內一定程度上嘲諷中產階級空洞的身體姿態，馬內的這些畫中人物眼神均飄向畫外，或直視觀者，對畫家而言，或者他只想呈現身體姿勢在二度平面佈置上的無意義狀態，並無根本意味上的憂鬱，或許根本的冷漠才是馬內的現代性的基調。然而，臺灣藝術的現代主義卻不是在這個基調上發展起來的。「延遲現代性」最容易引發第三世界知識份子與藝術家的速度焦慮與原創焦慮，因此，憂鬱如《長夜》所示，籠罩四面八方，難以祛除。但在《長夜》創作的同時，1962年的吳耀忠，一方面已漸漸展開其畫作裝配於畫籍和雜誌封面現代裝禱的道路，另一方面，卻因為政治牢獄令他在1975年出獄後酗酒無法自拔。這是多麼深沈的抑鬱狀態啊！然而，我認為我們最終不可能由他的酗酒與抑鬱狀態來解釋他出獄後一系列書封繪畫創作的成就，而是反過來，我們可以從他透過大量印刷的書籍雜誌封面裝禱，而非單純賣畫或辦個展，以展示他的畫作，來看到吳耀忠的現代主義、社會主義藝術思想道路，也可以看到這條道路在臺灣近現代史上一貫的崎嶇難行。唯其難行，反而讓我們感受到吳耀忠的繪畫實踐，為臺灣藝術的現代主義開闢了一條替代道路，透過印度學者迪佩什·查卡拉巴提（Dipesh Chakrabarty）所謂的「替代」、「偽裝」，或許有上百個不同的、潛藏在臺灣美術史暗巷中的吳耀忠，在延遲現代性作為一種創造性的「機遇」中，勉力成就了一種新形式的現代主義／寫實主義藝術實踐，由於這種替代道路具有不受治理的特質，在國家的視野之外，另闢蹊徑，使我們無法視之為藝術上的匱乏，而應視之為特屬於臺灣藝術現代主義的起源狀態。

The Art of Not Being Governed: Seeing Taiwanese Art in the 1970s beyond a State

Jow-Jiun Gong

Abstract

This study aims to review the overall characteristics of Taiwanese art in the 1970s beyond modern states and not being governed by the market. By taking the initial condition of the 1960s as reference, I divided the study into seven sections by event. These include the appearance of twin subjects, translation movement, the temporal structure for the return of the real, the tangle between *Art Notes* (藝術手記)/*Lion Art* (雄獅美術) and state’s perspective/market economy, modernism in Taiwan in the 1970s beyond national contexts, a review on art criticism by Yao-Zhong Wu (吳耀忠) and others in the 1970s, the ungoverned plane of immanence in realist paintings in the 1970s, the depression of not being governed and the perspective beyond modern states. I reviewed the long-lasting aesthetic issues such as subjectivity, translation, realism and modernism, and put forward two new points of view, the perspective of modern states and not being governed. By doing so, I aim to outline a movement of art ideology that addresses the modern aesthetic significance of Taiwanese art of the 1970s.

Keywords: perspective of modern states, not being governed, subjectivity, translation, realism, modernism

The Art of Not Being Governed and Seeing Like a State are both books written by James C. Scott, a politician and anthropologist. The book *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* was published in 2009. It discusses the hill tribes and human migrants in Zomia, which is a huge mass in mainland Southeast Asia, and how they avoid modern states and capitalist governance. In detail, the book argues how the tribes were lost in the plan of organizing modern states; how they repulsed in the management of wars and taxes; and how they fought against management system of human resources in modern capitalization. The latter, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* was published in 1998. In this book, Scott analyzed why the development of massive forests and social constructions in modern states failed; how to destroy and evict the unwanted minors; and how to create an epic failure of extreme modernism through the ideology of modern science, totalitarian regimes and weak civic societies.

I discuss Taiwanese art in the 1970s through the art of not being governed and perspective of modern states, but it does not mean that this study takes the traditional political and anthropological point of view as Scott did. The retrospective way of seeing beyond modern states is a revisit to Taiwanese art in the 1970s that was not governed by the state. After the debate over subjectivity in Taiwanese art in 1990s, the system that represents the nation’s art ideology was established, including museums of modern art, biennales and modern art academies. The recent studies of Taiwanese art under Japanese rule show the modernity of refraction. It is a perspective that struggles between the nativism of Taiwan and Japan. Up to date, countries in Southeast Asia had imitated the institutes of modern art in Europe and America and established their perspectives of nations and markets. The modern art is under the dual management system of nations and markets, and tends to approach the discourses about modern states and free markets. This study aims to revisit the terms and objects of Taiwanese art, namely the discourses and works, in the 1970s in a retrospective way. We aim to explore the art discourses, publication platforms and work forms that are beyond nation-state visions and not being governed.

Since there is art that is outside the vision of nation-state and not being governed, there are also art discourses about the vision of nation-state and being governed. The challenge of this study hence refers to how to clarify the ranges and shifts of the nation-state visions and being governed. Especially in the Taiwanese art environment of the 1970s, the boundary could be shifting and blurry. The definition of Taiwanese art had also been disconnected from the Chinese discourses. Researchers have also started redefining nativism and avant-garde. The reason why we have chosen the Taiwanese art in the 1970s as our subject is that it is in an in-between state from the present art perspectives. It is far beyond the dominating aesthetic systems that Fifth Moon Group (五月) and Ton-Fan Group (東方) in the 1960s. It is unlike the aesthetic system with extreme modernity in the 1980s as the aesthetic systems and criteria had been established. Taiwanese art in the 1970s is in-between China and Taiwan, nativism and modernism, elites and the mass, native languages and translations, academies and non-academics, mass media and rumors, and systems and non-institution. This study attempts to examine Taiwanese art in the 1970s from the perspective beyond modern states, the struggles of nation and market governance and the resistance of nation and market mechanisms.

I. The Structure of Twin Subjects beyond the Perspective of Modern States

First of all, this study hypothesizes that there used to be a twin subjects structure in Taiwanese art of the 1970s not seen and recognized by the perspective of modern states at the time. The subjectivity

may have been seen by the empire perspective during Japanese governance; however, the integrity of the multiple-subjectivity structure was not seen. Taiwanese art in the 1970s happened to exist between the perspectives of two modern states, resulting in the discovery of the twin subjects structure. The best example or the event of subjectivity in the 1970s is the reappearance of artist Cheng-Po Chen (陳澄波). In November 1979, Chieh Chang (張捷), wife of Chen, organized the posthumous exhibition of his works. Over 40 oil paintings by Chen were exhibited in Spring Gallery (春之藝廊), Taipei. In this section, we'll discuss the particularity of twin subjects through the uncertain relationship between Chen's works and the modern states.

Professor Su-Chu Li (李淑珠) reinterprets the multi-implication of social reality in Chen's paintings through the holy war art under the Japan-Taiwan context in her book *Showing "Something" about the Time—A Study on Chen-Po Chen's Paintings* (表現出時代的「Something」——陳澄波繪畫考). Li focuses particularly on the expression of multiple realities about the real words in Chen's paintings regarding China, Japan and Taiwan. It had inspired me to think about becoming of such subjectivity, the aesthetic significance and the multiple subjectivity structure of the artists beyond the perspective of modern states in their expressions of multiple realities. Many arguments in this book are quoted from *War and Art: Art Activities and Painting Styles During 1937-1945 in Taiwan* (戰爭與美術——日治末期臺灣的美術活動與繪畫風格 (1937.7-1945.8)), the master's thesis of Chi-Hui Huang (黃琪惠). These debates are quite impressive. Not only are they about the interpretation of historical facts, historical materials and works, they also list the categories and ranges of war paintings and holy war art. Does the expression of nativism have anything to do with holy war art? In further implication, these debates address an issue of subjectivity that Taiwanese artistes struggled with at the end of World War II.

After some comparisons between the works done by Taiwanese and Japanese artists in Taiwan, Huang concludes that Japanese artists' attitude toward the political situation tended to be more open, positive and diverse. Compared to the ethnic factors that the Japanese artists had, "the Taiwanese artists were less passionate and positive about their nation. Still, the Taiwanese artists created in line with the authorities. They also tended to depict the image of the political situation in the home front with their skillful techniques." ... However, is it really proper to argue and distinguish the expression differences between the Japanese and Taiwanese artists just by their race—Yamato people and Han people?

According to historians such as Hsiu-Hsiung Wang (王秀雄), Li-Fa Hsieh (謝里法), Chong-Ray Hsiao (蕭瓊瑞) and Chuan-Ying Yen (顏娟英), many Taiwanese artists during WWII were just cooperators of the political situation and policies at that time on the surface. "There are only a couple of objects about war in their works" (Hsieh). The Taiwanese artists "depicted the war with a delicate touch just for catering to the political situation" (Yen)." Their paintings have nothing but the mere titles about the war" (Wang). They are regarded as metaphorically catering to the political situations with emotional ethnic factors. Yet, they were actually aloof about the war. Huang's study is very innovative, but her conclusion reflects the same point of view as the mentioned historians. On the contrary, Li's study can be seen as not only an extension but also a review of Huang's. Moreover, she questions Huang's conclusion and attribution.

Huang's argument is interpreted through the national sentiment and perspective of modern states. It also responds to the love for the motherland argument derived from the White Terror and its political rehabilitation. Li criticizes such argument. In her study, Li addresses many debatable arguments about the mind state, aesthetic thinking and subjectivity state of artists who lived in or passed by Taiwan during

WWII. In this section, we'll focus on reviewing this core argument. The different subjectivity reflections and debatable aesthetic politic perspectives in different forms are also addressed from the viewpoint of subjectivity and aesthetic politics to clarify the aesthetic ground of Taiwanese art in the 1970s.

When reading Huang's study, what seemed to be the most astonishing to me is the prompt operation of the new system. The most significant holy war artist Tsuguharu Foujita was interviewed by the journalist on his way back to Japan in July 1940 as he visited Taipei when his ship was making a brief stop in Taipei. He mentioned the terrible experience about the air raid in Paris he had went through. Shortly after his return to Japan, he had started his career as a soldier artist, creating war paintings enthusiastically. In April, the book *Holy War Art* (聖戰美術) was compiled and published by Army Art Association (陸軍美術協會), and Soldier's Support Association (軍人援護會) gave all to the armed force hospitals for expressing sympathy for the wounded soldiers. Soon after this, 90 holy-war art works in this painting album were introduced to Taiwan at the end of February, 1941. They were exhibited in the Army Rewarding Exhibition (時局恤兵展覽會) along with other works in March.

There had been an impressive amount of Japanese soldier artists who were mobilized by the army and passed by Taiwan on their way to collect painting materials in the frontier. For example, Sanzo Wada and Hitsuji both passed by Taiwan as they went to and returned from the frontier of Vietnam. On his way back, Wada was hired as the reviewer of Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition. After 1942, the new system had been firmly established. The armed forces sent famous artists to the South Pacific to create paintings and record the war. Hence, these artists passed by Taiwan even more frequently. Most of the artists, such as Tsuguharu Foujita, Hōshun Yamaguchi, Mukai Junkichi, Kobayakawa Tokushiro, Ihara Usaburo, Ise Masayoshi, Gorō Tsuruta and Saburo Miyamoto had come to Taiwan to sketch or serve as the reviewer of official exhibitions. They all published their thoughts about sketching in the battlefield during their stay. Take Foujita for example. After he collected the materials for paintings from Indochina on June 12, 1942, he passed by Taiwan on his way back to Japan. He was interviewed by the journalist and addressed his opinion about Taiwan's position to Japan: "The post-war development of Indochina should be implemented with Japanese culture. The back of Taiwan should be the cultural center judging by its geography and climates. It allows Malays to study in Japan. We can also develop towards the south as soon as possible." Such discourse responds to the policy that takes Taiwan as the base of going south. In the new system, Taiwan was the base that led Japanese culture to the south. As reading the study results of Huang, I suddenly realized why Tsuruta and Foujita created so many war paintings about wars in Hong Kong, the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia. The performance of the Takasago Volunteers can also be seen in their paintings. It is most obvious in *The Landing and Fighting of Takasago Volunteers in the Enemy Front* (薰空挺隊敵陣中の強行著陸奮戰) by Foujita, as I mentioned in my article "Shifting and Flowing: The Subjectivity Issue in War Paintings (轉向或流變：戰爭畫所開啓的主體性問題)." In fact, Tsuruta had come to Taiwan for his solo exhibition in 1933. At that time, he had access to the Taiwanese aborigines. After he finished the material collection in tribes in Kaohsiung State in 1943, he created *Takasago Transport Unit on Mountain Stanley* (スタンレー山脈の高砂族輸送隊). In 1944, he finished *Formosans Bidding Farewell to Their Volunteer* (志願兵に別れ告げる臺灣人), which is currently collected by the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo permanently.

On one side, describing one part of the facts in the Taiwanese art field during WWII has made me realized how narrow my knowledge used to be. On the other side, I wish to address the repeatedly mentioned spirit of shifting in the book *History of Japanese Psychology in Wartime: 1931-1945* by

Tsurumi. One dimension that has not being furthered considered is how the Fifteen Year War system had impacted intellectuals outside Japan, especially elites in Japanese colonies. This points out the perspective differences between Li and Huang. In short, they have different arguments about how the new system the Fifteen Year War had impacted the Taiwanese art circle, especial its spiritual structure. I reckon the differences are derived from their different standpoints about subjectivity and aesthetic politics, especially the multiple-subjectivity structure of the perspective beyond modern states.

First of all, Li believes that Huang’s classification and ranges made about war paintings and holy war art do not have deeper reflections about the role of Taiwan paintings and nativism during the War Mobilization. Therefore, she tends to have superficial interpretations about the deep relationships between works of Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition and militarism. Li then addresses that even Chen had created many paintings about the political situation such as *Niju-Bashi in Tokyo* (日本二重橋), *Sandō* (參道), *Torii* (鳥居), *Joy of the Home Front* (大後方之樂) and *Tamsui after Rain* (雨後淡水). Unfortunately, only *Niju-Bashi in Tokyo* and *Tamsui after Rain* are still being preserved, but the rest had gone missing. She addressed the following paintings as examples: Yu-Shan Lin’s (林玉山) *Outfacing* (雄視) (Japanese Painting Category of the 1st Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition), Yun-Yen Tsai’s (蔡雲巖) *Soaring* (雄飛) (Japanese Painting Category of the 2nd Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition), Yu-Shan Lin’s *Waiting for a Chance* (待機) (Japanese Painting Category of the 2nd Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition) and *On the Way Home* (歸途, 1944), Yong-Yao Chen’s (陳永堯) *Little Parlimentaire* (小軍使) (Japanese Painting Category of the 6th Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition), Teng-Chu Lu’s (呂鐵州) *Sunrise* (旭) (Japanese Painting Category of the 3rd Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition), Ching-Hui Chen’s (陳敬輝) *Red Trunk* (朱胴) and *Horse Food* (馬糧) (Japanese Painting Category of the 4th Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition), Shih-Chiaou Lee’s (李石樵) *Children in the Yard* (庭院前的孩子們) and *Singing Children* (唱歌的孩子們) (currently as *Chorus* [合唱]) and Te-Ho Chang Lee’s (張李德和) *Hibiscus* (扶桑花) (Japanese Painting Category of the 3rd Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition). She repeatedly addresses that those paintings are not just moments of life in the name of the current political situation, but the paintings under the mobilization in war. From the perspective of aesthetic politics, nativism is the core expression of Japan’s mobilization in their colonies.

To prove that nativism was the core expression during Japanese governance, Li offered evidences of cultural-production system in wartime such as songs, novels, images of advertisements and bills and the *kominka* drama of Japan. With the comparison of the Japanese dedication to the nation by color pictures, Li shows the connection between campaign factors of Taiwanese art ideology in mass media and the official campaign brochures, the transformation process of the nativist paintings in the colony Taiwan, the popularization of huge war painting exhibitions, the close relationships among the Japanese art organizations in Taiwan, the Taiwanese art organizations and the militarist system, and the catering of subjects to the new system shown in works exhibited in Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition. By addressing these clues, Li attempts to illustrate the “shifting” of the Fifteen Year War was not merely the change of painting subjects. Through the aesthetic politics of nativism in wartime, the Taiwanese artists could only depict the life at war by participating in the exhibitions in the Japanese colonies instead of recording the war in the frontier. It is their duty of home front. In short, Li focuses more on the system of cultural production and its strictness that the artists could only obey and be submissive. This shows the cultural-governance structure of modern states and imperialism.

The second point can be subtler. Discourses of Li and Huang both address the question regarding the subjectivity of Taiwanese artists. It refers to two forms of subjectivity philosophy. At the end of the

study, Huang addresses the competitive relationship between Tai-Yang Art Society (臺陽美術協會) and Chuang-Yuan Art Society (創元美術協會) during the war. She mentions that under the circumstance of wars, “the Japanese artists were more vibrant and had become a leading power in the art circle.” This argument seemingly assumes that there is no discriminatory act experienced by the artists in the colonies and they did not have particular tasks in the war.”The organizers of Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition had changed their attitudes from promoting nativism to encouraging the expression of current political conditions. The reviewers no longer pointed out the importance of nativism... The expressions of nativism that the Taiwanese artists were proud of had become tarnished by comparison... Also, the featured artists of Taiwan Governor Art Exhibition had not showed improvement in their works. Their general performance had hence been criticized by the art circle.” This kind of arguments didn’t have critical thoughts from the war mobilization of integrated cultural production. In other words, it means that the Taiwanese artists “depicted the landscapes and life of the current situation with their original painting style because they had no ethnic passion.” (p. 105) We have to think about whether such a point of view is confined to art-style reviews, ignoring issues such as the limitation of the Fifteen Year War and the influence of it on the artists in Japanese colonies.

Huang’s argument tends to be static and simplified. She mentions that “the activities and expressions of Japanese artists in Chuang Yuan Art Association... With the ethnic passion and the trend of holy war art promoted by the government, they had shifted from perusing avant-garde arts to creating war paintings despite the fact that they did not have any war experience.” On the other side, Li points out the multiple psychological structures of Chen’s nationalism. This is the twin subjects and multiple subjectivity structure beyond the nation-state vision that I have mentioned. Also, the structure had been realized through the proletariat painting theory of the world thoughts shown in *My Family* (我的家庭, 1930), the Kimiko’s thoughts in *Niju-Bashi in Tokyo* (1939-40), *Tamsui after Rain* (1944) and the sentiment of returning to the mother country shown in *Celebration Day* (慶祝日, 1946). These works have shown “something” in Chen’s painting expressions. They express the current situation through his lyrical style in order to depict the real world of China, Japan and Taiwan and the mood of social realities (p. 149). Moreover, it contains certain thoughts of “twin subjects.” The so-called twin subjects refer to a subjectivity state with blurry boundaries and strong emotions that are shifting constantly. French philosopher Félix Guattari believes that twin subjects indicates a state of subjectivity that shifts from being injured and held in hostage to having particular ability and vision. By doing so, the non-traditional subjectivity will then be generated. Twin subjects can be seen as shamans or mediums hold captive by the spirits. They cannot escape but to finish the deed asked by the spirit. They hence grow special abilities. Artists in colonies such as Chen may have a multiple national identity in their paintings before and after the Fifteen Year War under their tangled experience during Japanese colonization, studying abroad in Japan, living in China and Taiwan. They may not even see the mission of art from the nation-state vision. As for aesthetic politics, they still had their own observation and expression of art in-between different nations and political situations. This is the subject of this study, the subjectivity implication in art of not being governed.

The fracture expressions in different nations before and after wars can be seen through works such as Lin’s *Handing over Horses* (獻馬圖, 1943), In-Ting Ran’s (藍蔭鼎) campaign brochure covers and comic books for National Spiritual Mobilization Movement (國民精神總動員), Li’s *Chorus* (1943), San-Lang Yang’s (楊（佐）三郎) *Ships Sailing Due South* (船隊航向南方, 1944), Tsai’s *My Day* (我的日子, Children’s Day, 1943). They are especially obvious when we look at the recreation of the flags in Lin and Tsai’s paintings before and after wars. Indeed, they were forced to correspond to certain conditions. On the

contrary, Chen seems to be one of the artists who still showed the multiple changes of twin subjects through a lyric style in all the fractures. He also showed the continuity of his aesthetic spirits in the dual system of time tragedy and imperialism during the process of transformation.

The reappearance and exhibition at the end of 1979 can be seen as a aesthetic event of twin subjects. It represents that Taiwanese art in the 1970s went beyond a certain nation-state vision. It developed the dynamic art that was not being governed by the nation-state and the market. The subjectivity of art was different from the 1990s. In this section, we’ve explained the appearance of the spiritual structure of twin subjects in a retrospective way.

II. The Temporality beyond the Perspective of Modern States: From the Translation Movement in the 1960s to Searching for Another Return of the Real

Even the avant-garde art retires and becomes the past. Meanwhile, it also returns from the future to the present and relocates its orientation by new art forms. This peculiar temporality is used in Hal Foster’s *The Return of the Real* to discuss the relationship between avant-garde movements in the 1930s and the neo-avant-garde after the 1960s, including minimalism and pop art. In the 1980s, Foster had become an art critic. He revisited the past from the present. The present was then crossed with the vertical history and the horizontal social dimensions. The vision had become clear. A weird temporal loop of the 1930s, 1960s and 1980s had formed. In this loop, these three periods of time tangled together as if the past had never passed. The past lingered at the present. The future was also tangled with the past and the new future emerged in between. The so-called “present” is like the disparity in retinal imaging. It is just the parallax and the deferred action. We also look at the temporal structure of Taiwanese art in 1970s based on such art temporality. The question is whether the parallax-like temporality is not being governed and exists outside the vision of nation-state.

We analogize the disparity of historical standpoints to the retina parallax. In this section, we aim to discuss the temporal structure of returning to the real in the 1970s driven by the translation movement and drives of the quarterly *Theater* (劇場) in the 1960s. By doing so, we attempt to depict the background of the generation before the publications regarding Taiwanese art in the 1970s, such as *Lion Art* and *The Artists*. In just three years, from 1965 to 1968, the quarterly *Theater* and its nine volumes of reviews about performances seemed to have become fragments that refract their origins of drama avant-garde in Europe, America and Japan. The complex relationship among its references can be seen as the refraction of a kaleidoscope. Some of the fragments explode towards everywhere and reflect the basic characteristics and temporal structure of the Taiwanese art magazines in the 1970s. It is a multiple temporal structure that focused on translation while returning to nativism at the same time.

From the perspective of parallax, the modernist art in Taiwan, compared to America in the 1960s that Foster discussed, was not directly related to Franz Kafka, Marcel Duchamp and Pablo Picasso in history. Its social and cultural contexts were isolated from Japanese colonization and under the shadow of the White Terror. Meanwhile, the Cold War, the Vietnam War, the hippie movement, the student movement, the left-wing unrest and the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s also had affected the destiny of Taiwan. Nevertheless, the information about the left-wingers was isolated completely, or at least certain parallax in the information screening circumstances was formed at that time. The temporality of Taiwan was under the temporality of authoritarianism. It was limited by the chills of the Cold War without any possibility of social revolutions.

This temporal structure of parallax has shown us images of refracting organs without the body, intellectuals without the strength, terror from being castrated, the paleness, and the loneliness and screams as being in such a situation.

“We are sexually dysfunctional. After all our attempts, we have only built a sexually dysfunctional city.”This is written by Da-Zen Liu (劉大任) in the “Before the Performance” (演出之前) section on the program for the first performance of the Theater magazine. In the “After the Performance” (演出之後) section of the forth volume of Theater, he criticized about the newest trends in the Taiwanese art circle, namely the modernist writing and the style of *Xuanxue* (mysterious learning). He mentions, “What is our ‘modernity’? We just left the time of agriculture-based economy. However, we are intimating the depression and dissociative disorders from the Western world. We like to use some images in this model of a modern city to search for, to prove and to intimate (most people call it ‘to create’) the concepts we have learned from translated or non-translated documents.”Liu saw a “modern sentiment structure that is import-agent-like” from the present he was in. This structure was established based on copying, imitating and translating the Western culture. Hence, he addresses “The ‘modernity’ in the present is a loanword.”What Liu did not mention is that we have been perusing a modern state project of translation under the temporal perspective of modern authoritarianism. In the temporal operation of this huge project, other possibilities outside the nation-state vision are excluded.

The *Theater* magazine is like a scream in the 1960s that broke the lonely silence in the terror of mass castration. This modern temporal structure is import-agent-like and even compelling selling. It focused on some helpless mass-development structure. Yuko Kikuchi refers to this spiritual structure as a refraction phenomenon in the introduction of *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*.

In the framework of colonial modernity, the key theoretical idea “refraction” had emerged. The collection focuses on the shifting and diversion of modernity...In physics, the refraction of light is accomplished by changing the route of light, resulting in the change of its direction. We discuss this collection from the viewpoint of refraction. By doing so, we aim to refer to the shifting feature of the ideas and practices in American and European colonialism. Japanese colonialism was the adoption and refraction of European colonialism. In this collection, there are many articles reviewing the Japanese ground in Taiwanese art and techniques. However, the focus here is not the influence of Japan, or the discourses will be limited to the relation between the original and the imitation. Our focus is the refraction itself. The foreign ideas have twisted the creation and invention of the local people. The ideas create new directions for the locals to head to. These directions have particular meanings to the local context.”¹

The temporal structure of modern states has twisted the creation and inventions of the local people through translation movements in cultural production. As the multiple subjectivity structure of Chen I mentioned in the previous section, the temporalities of art and modern states conflict with each other.

Liu did realize this conflict. Although he did not approve that the staff of the *Theater* magazine perform *Waiting for Godot*, he must admit that the “pure-westernized product that is hard to understand for the Chinese. However, the product is also a Chinese product after going through the Chinese hands,

1 Yuko Kikuchi, ed. *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007, p. 9.

eyes, minds and thoughts... If that is what we need to do to achieve our modernity, then bring it on! “If we see the refraction of colonial modernity as the issue of the imitation of the original, it is like a reminder to the viewers about their self-effacement and trauma that the other is always the source. I am always the imitation. Liu knows that this idea helps nothing. Therefore, the real issues refer to: “How can we observe such refraction and parallax gap? Can we capture the temporal structure outside the nation-state vision? “

On the performance *Waiting for Godot*, Liu and Ying-Zhen Chen (陳映真) made comments such as “amazing” and “touching.” The issues that Liu questioned about, such as the West/East, the original/imitation and the translation of the texts, seemed to have been solved during the performing action.”So, bring it on!” he said. Two seemingly irrelevant segments were suddenly connected in the performance. As if it was a Mobius band that connected two different experience structures. This temporality was not a pure return of the past. It was others’ relocation from the past to “our” present. It was the parallax and deferred action after the modernity refraction. If the temporal structure of parallaxes exists in between two extreme heterogeneous dimensions without any intermediary, the performers of such parallax gap are forced to see things from others’ weird perspectives. To such abrupt experience connections, they can only act while looking at themselves, others and the world. Being in this refraction parallax with missing subjectivity, they can only ask themselves to clarify their visions while screaming silently during the performance.

If the mentioned temporal experience about refraction and parallax attributes to certain epistemology, the parallax is likely to be a method of epistemological genealogy. This method focuses on the shift of critical patterns and the refraction of historical practices: how to support the current incidents, isolate the familiar practice patterns or even develop a new practice pattern by reconnecting it to the events in the past or connecting it to the practices patterns from the outside? In regard to the context of the *Theater* magazine, it was when Liu and Chen criticized the modernist literature being just an agent of foreign cultures that is far from the reality. The *Theater* magazine hence interpreted art differently, unlike the avant-garde/neo-avant-garde movements in Europe, American and Japan. The particular editing and marketing of the *Theater* magazine redefined the relationship between art and theories. It also reset the field map of Taiwanese art and focused on the current reality of Taiwan. This reality includes three parallax epistemologies: the first one refers to **knowing the world of art through translation movements**. Translation of scripts, reviews and related theoretical genealogies for movies and theater arts had become a loanword-like theoretical pattern of art. The pattern was indeed relevant to the translation movement in the circle of modern Taiwanese literature at that time. However, the focuses were different. The second point is in regard to **expanding the art world through the cultural perspective of movies and drama**. The cultural perspective differed from any other art forms in Taiwan. In detail, translation had forced genealogies of filmology and theater arts to form strangeness, and hence they are disconnected from the context of Europe, American and Japan. The art forms at that time were no longer the familiar ones such as literature, paintings and sculptures. Mass visual culture of movies and drama attempted to depart from the traditional frames of paintings through distant experimental movies and theatrical languages. It was sarcasm to the mass visual culture that had been forming gradually. Thirdly, **the criticism of hierarchical ideology had been replaced by the return to the real**. Other than the preparation for the loanword-like critical language of mass media, the art practices of the *Theater* magazine were more than the experiments of experimental movies or composed media. Most importantly, they were involved in an expanded cultural field for the horizontal development of cross-social practices. The horizontal development refers to a social dimension located on the blurry boundary between visual art and visual culture. I believe that the return to the real contains the plan of the return to materials and nativism in the field of visual cultures in the 1970s. This was the situation before

the discourse platforms of Taiwanese art such as *Lion Art* and *The Artists* in the 1970s. In other words, the strength of art is not limited in the expressions or practices of certain mediums or composed mediums. It is about the practical logic of the return to the real. For example, some members of the *Theater* magazine had been involved in commercial design, design of cultural posters or books and even commercial movies with the logic of the return to the real. The others had started working on TV programs and reported local cultures or people in the lower class.

In *The Production of Taiwanese Literature Under the Drives of Translation – The Arguments of Modernism and Local Literature of 1960-1980* (翻譯驅動力下的臺灣文學生產——1960-1980現代派與鄉土文學的辯證), Kuei-fen Chiu (邱貴芬) addresses the tension between modernistic westernization and the return to the local in nativist literature. It responds to the loanword issue as Liu as mentioned above. Chiu believes that both studies address the topic of cultural translation in the context of descriptions of modernity. She calls it the “driving force of translation.” I name it directly as “translation drives.”What I would like to add here is that the movie discourses in Taiwan before the 1960s were not blank. In fact, the Taiwanese directors and Takamatsu Toyojiro had established the kingdom of movies and the sophist’s culture during the Japanese governance. Unfortunately, the culture could not avoid the fate of interruption after WWII, including the fundamental interruption of the critic language for movies Due to the political parallax at that time, even the experience of temporal interruption under the nation-state vision could not be discussed bluntly, not to mention the issue of continuity within. Therefore, as we look at the field of theater arts, the performance form of patriotic-liberal drama of the 1950s was merely a symptom of language fossilization and aesthetic politicization. In the spiritual structure of aphasia and language fossilization, the basic temporal issue about the translation drives in the 1960s refers to the methods of re-translating and revising the cultural language. Literary translation was certainly important, but the works and critical languages about movies and dramas were also in need of systematic translation and application. Different from Chiu’s perspectives, I believe that the 1960s was the initial point of cultural translation movements in Taiwan after WWII. The translation works acted beyond the function of explaining technical knowledge or information in war. The best example of such cultural translation movement is the story of Ching-Chi Chang (張清吉), the owner of ChiWen Publishing House (志文出版社). The 1970s was the time when the translation movements gained certain results.

The earliest translation of movie reviews that the Modern Library (新潮文庫) series published is *Art of Films Akira Kurosawa’s World* (電影藝術：黑澤明的世界) translated by Yung-Yang Tsao (曹永洋) in 1973. Tsao used to be a translator in the *Theater* magazine. Next was *The Cinema as Art* (電影藝術面面觀) translated by Sen-Yao Liu (劉森堯) in 1976. Two translated books were published later than the translation and introduction by the *Theater* magazine. Others include “Alain Resnais: *Last Year at Marienbad*, Hiroshima My Love and Muriel” (雷奈：《去年在馬倫巴》、《廣島之戀》、《穆瑞兒》), “Modern 100 Directors” (當代一〇〇導演), “Michelangelo Antonioni” (安東尼奧尼) “Akira Kurosawa” (黑澤明), *Rashomon* (羅生門), “Modern Movies and Ideas” (現代電影與思想), “How to make Documentaries and Their Authenticity” (紀錄方式與真實性), and “Federico Fellini: *La Dolce Vita*” (費里尼：《甜美生活》) (all published in 1965); “American Underground Movies” (美國地下電影), “Jean-Luc Godard: *À bout de souffle and Le Petit Soldat*” (高達專輯：《斷了氣》、《小兵》) and “British Movies” (英國電影) (all published in 1966); “Notes on Movies” (電影筆記), “Auteur Theory” (作者論) and “François Truffaut” (楚浮) (all published in 1968). In terms of scripts and dramatic theories, the *Theater* magazine was the first publicist that translated works by Antonin Artaud, Jean Genet, Eugène Ionesco and Samuel Beckett. They also organized the first performance of *Waiting for Godot* in Chinese-speaking countries. However, we do

not just discuss the professional skills of the *Theater* magazine in the field of movies and drama. We take those skills as one of the translation drives for the next cultural translation movement.

Interestingly, the cultural translation movement with modern thoughts was initialed by Ching-Chi Chang, a fisher and tricycle rider, and Jer-Shung Lin (林衡哲), a medical student. Ever since the first translation work *Portraits from Memory: And Other Essays* (羅素回憶集, 1967) of the Modern Library series, we have seen the introduction of philosophy, existentialist philosophy and novels, literature from Europe, America, Japan and Russia, and psychoanalytic discourses. The start of the translation movement happened simultaneously as the existence of the *Theater* magazine. Based on the simultaneity, we can deduct that the *Theater* magazine was one part of the cultural translation movement. It responded to other translation actions in other fields of cultural thoughts, attempting **to remap the art world through translation movements by applying the parallax**. The *Theater* magazine published translated scripts, reviews and related theoretical genealogies for movies and drama. Such small collective actions had become a loanword-like theoretical practice of art. They responded to the translation movements in the field of modern Taiwanese literature and thoughts. It also reflected all the basic temporal structure of the discourse platforms of Taiwanese art such as *Lion Art* and *The Artists* in the 1970s. From a philosophical perspective, this sort of translation movement was a philosophical action focusing on the ontological differences. The members in *Theater* attempted to find out different universal categorized languages in order to deal with the temporal parallax of art happening at the present.

However, from a scientific perspective about parallax, why do we need to emphasize on terms such as Alain Resnais, Modern 100 Directors, Akira Kurosawa, François Truffaut, American Underground Movies, Jean-Luc Godard, Auteur Theory, François Truffaut, Andy Warhol, Cage, Cappello, Aldo Lad, Jean Genet, Eugene Ionesco, Samuel Beckett and Luigi Pirandello? What features of particularity did they have for the field of Taiwanese art in the 1960s? If we discuss both Chiu and Ying-Ying Lai’s (賴瑛瑛) studies on the 1960s, there might be some changes to our current points of view. In *Taiwanese Avant-Garde: Complex Art in the 1960s* (臺灣前衛：六○年代複合藝術), Lai combed through the individual performance and their social culture and the political context from the perspective of art in detail. However, I think Hua-Cheng Huang’s (黃華成) anti-theater play “The Prophet” (先知) in 1965 and the anti-art plays “Ecole de Great Taipei Autumn Exhibition” (大臺北畫派1966秋展) and “Manifesto of the Ecole de Great Taipei” (大臺北派宣言) in 1966 cannot be discussed without referring to one another. If we review these two works just from the perspective of complex art, the potential connection between them will be isolated. In short, the term complex art limits our thoughts about the non-art context. As we attempt to understand the editors and authors of Theater, the possibility of them being anti-art may be ruled out. **The Theater magazine can be seen as a time-battling project of art based on the parallax. It was a constructive action for modern images and corpora of theater arts. It attempted to fight with the modern temporal structure under nation-state vision** instead of focusing on individual works. Similar to the implications of the transformation of Andy Warhol’s Factory on the modern art, *The Prophet* and *Ecole de Great Taipei Autumn Exhibition* can be also seen as the series works of a collective factory. They were not the iconic operation of Andy Warhol. If these two series works by the Theater magazine are put in the context of collective art activities, an active outline of collective cultural translation in art field is then formed. It was beyond the Fifth Moon Group and Ton-Fan Group. It was beyond the modern states and temporal structure of markets. It attempted to create another temporal structure.

We will take Huang as an example. First of all, Huang, the worshiper of Warhol, resisted the state

of existentialism. The 5th clause of *Manifesto of the Ecole de Great Taipei* states: “Don’t overly flaunt a certain theory. Don’t make a fuss like the existentialists.” What does the post-existentialism thinking refer to? It is exactly the issue that this study is interested in. Moreover, what paralleled with the anti-art movements was the cross-field art thinking. The 19th, 20th and 28th clauses of the Manifesto indicate: “Don’t treat art (fiction, drama, movies, paintings, etc.) as earnings. Treat it as a whole. Find the inter-relations and show your intelligence in them... Treat art as a science.” We should point out that the so-called science here also includes *Theater*’s attempts on art reviews and discourses in their translation movements. Such science is about expressing an attitude of art instead of art techniques. (see the 30th clause of the *Manifesto*: “If you treat art as techniques, it is your first mistake.”) Therefore, “Give up art if it interrupts our life” (60th) and “At present, the people is an obstacle of art” (62nd) all indicate a certain attitude of art instead of the experimental pursue of materials. Yet, what do life and people specifically refer to? Are our life and the people’s life entirely different? We should discuss the term “life” in particular. The cultural translation movements by the *Theater* magazine aimed to resist the dysfunctional spiritual structure of the political and aesthetic system under the martial law through the loanwords. On the other side, the life that Theater asked for also resisted another kind of life that belonged to the people. As Chiu mentions: “The civic society in Taiwan in the 1960 is experiencing a big media revolution of cultural signs such as languages, audios and videos.” In the 1960s, about one hundred Taiwanese, *Huangmei* (黃梅調) and healthy-realist movies by Central Motion Picture Co. were produced every year. At that time, major movies included *Butterfly Lovers* (梁山伯與祝英台, 1963) and *Beautiful Duckling* (養鴨人家, 1964). Also, as Yu-Fen Ko (柯裕棻) indicates in her article “Television and Modern Life: ‘Nation’ and ‘Family’ in the Installation Process of Television Sets, 1962-1964” (電視與現代生活：電視普及化過程中的「國」與「家」，1962-1964), the number of televisions in Taiwan increased from 4, 400 in 1962 to around 36, 000 in 1964. According to the the report of the Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, there were 62, 434 televisions in Taiwan. In 1963, the Ministry of Economic Affairs estimated the number might reach 400, 000 within five years.

At that time, there were not many reviews and discourses about TV programs. *TV Weekly* (電視週刊) and *United Daily News* (聯合報) did have discussions about the “family machine that combines social education and entertainment.” However, there was no critical discussion about the visual characteristics of such media. Ko believes that “at the beginning of TV popularization, it provoked certain tension between strong national rationality and daily lives.” In other words, the so-called left and right opposition during the Cold War, or the opposition between left-wing idealist Chen and the disordered Wei Yang (楊蔚) in Taiwan, were merely parallax interpretations about modernity by the *Theater* magazine. Another parallax interpretation refers to the fact that after the emergence of movies and TVs, “the major discourses had shifted from mobilization awareness to the pursue of leisure life and entertainment. The role of the nation had drifted apart from the role of the family. At the beginning of visual culture and direct translation, *Theater* was the first publisher that published translation and introductions **about an alternative perspective of visual culture. It expanded the boundary between art and life, showing a critical state and critical language to the mass visual culture**. There was a gap between such translation and the existing art forms. The alternative thinking of pop art, theater arts and filmology broke out from the forms, such as literature, paintings and sculptures which the intellectuals were familiar with. It had become an integrated life-art philosophy which broadening the gap between “art-life” and the “mass” visual culture.

The *Theater* magazine accomplished some translation experiments about visual images. Also, they translated “Theater of Cruelty” (殘酷劇場). However, they did not attempt to create scripts or performances

based on this idea. The situation can be seen as a peculiar physical damage—the translation and criticism of modern Taiwanese visual culture were more advanced than the modern translation and criticism of modern physical culture in the temporal structure. We will not discuss this issue further in this paper. Yet, the little theater movement and the avant-garde theater movement in the 1980s seemed to respond to the translation of the *Theater* magazine. It formed an interesting parallax phenomenon and deferred actions in the history of the little theater movement.

Lastly, we look at the *Theater* magazine from the perspective of political parallax. Compared to the pop culture led by movies and TVs, the *Theater* magazine took notice of the possibility of social revolutions that visual images created. Such possibility is not an appeal of literature or an appeal of nation-state vision. Under the situation of strict ideological control and limited economical conditions in the martial-law system, the social application of such visual strength could not appeal to Italian neo-realism or the aesthetic forms such as temporal dislocations and image-audio desynchronization of Godard. Jing-Rui Bai's (白景瑞) failed attempt on realistic movies and the arrest of Yao-Chi Chen (陳耀圻) in 1968 can be seen as the system's deprivation of potential visual strength. In contrast to Bai's short documentary film *A Morning in Taipei* (臺北之晨) and the movies such as *Nanook of the North* (北方的南努克) borrowed from United States Information Agency by Chen, the direct cinema Chen discusses in the third volume of *Theater*, the complicated history and idea between cinema verite and documentary movies, two screenings of *Theater*'s experimental movies in 1966 and 1967, Ling Chuang's (莊靈) *Life Continued* (延) and the grand occasion as Chen played *Pi-Chia Liu* (劉必稼) in Botanical Garden and Tien Educational Center in 1967 all showed an alternative ideology. After the Alliance for Taiwanese Democracy (民主臺灣聯盟案), the Diaoyu Islands dispute, the withdrawal of Taiwan from the United Nations, the Taiwanese artists had attempted to avoid the spiritual structure of the Cold War. They replaced the unreal hierarchical ideology and social criticisms of images by **the return to the real. The return to the real had become the characteristics of visual creations and art temporal structure since the 1970s.** The experimental short movies and movie discourses of *Theater* had built an incubator for such visual creations. Different from the loanword-like critical language in mass media and some "little literary magazines" (Zhen-Hwei Lu 呂正惠), the fighting course of the *Theater* magazine was disconnected in 1968 due to the martial-law system, the ever-changing international situation and the commercial visual culture. We can say this is the necessary shifting in the multiple limitations. However, it can be interpreted in another way. As Mei-Xu Huang (黃美序) indicates in *A Comprehensive Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Literature in Taiwan: Drama* (中華現代文學大系·戲劇卷), the number of Taiwanese playwrights decreased to less than ten." The phenomenon was related to the emergence of TV and movies. However, it was not that these two new sorts of media that pull the audience away. Instead, they pulled away the existing playwrights and other stage artists." In my definition, my road of returning to the real consisted of family, TV, popular cinema and supplement-like reviews. It is a cultural field that is expanding and shifting from literature to visual cultures. *Lion Art* and *The Artists* were the discourse platforms of Taiwanese art under such structure of visual culture in the 1970s.

In the 1970s, Chao-Tang Chang (張照堂), influenced by Chen, produced *News Collection* (新聞集錦) for China Television Company (CTV). *News Collection* is a MTV-like program that consisted of local images in Taiwan. Indeed, Chang might have also been affected by the withdrawal of Taiwan from the United Nations and the Defend the Diaoyu Islands movement since the intellectuals emphasized on political participation and returning to nativism. Yet, there was a certain relationship of the temporal structure among the aesthetic possibilities of visual materials, the genealogies of visual language and visual thinking established by Theater and the trend of the return to the real. From the documentary films such as

Formosa the Beautiful (芬芳寶島, 1975) and *Sixty Minutes* (六十分鐘, 1978) that Chang produced, we can see that the thinking of visual images had abandoned its pattern of individual production and entered the media world for the survival in the real. The *Theater* magazine may no longer exist. Yet, the practical logic of the return to the real remains as the members of *Theater*, such as Hua-Cheng Huang, Kang-Chien Chiu (邱剛健), Ling Chuang and Yao-Chi Chen, returned to the real of capitalist logic through visual cultures such as movies, TV programs and advertising designs. They were waiting for an opportunity to return to the real of products. We excluded Alan T. Chen here since he was teaching drama directing in School of the Art Institute of Chicago at that time. The continuance of the authenticity in life images in *Pi-Chia Liu*, *Life Continued* and *My Newborn Baby* (赤子) were forced to be supported by the structure of cultural industry in order to construct its practical strategies in the next decade after the end of *Theater*. It was an entirely different way of the return to the real.

III. *Issues of Art Notes, Lion Art* and the Nation-State Vision

Xun Jiang (蔣勳) mentions an important idea in the preface of *Art Notes* in 1979: "The current cultural issues of Taiwan are the existing problem of feudalism and the fake foreigners after the Opium Wars. We should work on what we have been working on since the May Fourth Movement, which is to carry on our anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism actions. (*Art Notes*, p. 11). At that time, there were Fu-Guan Xu (徐復觀), Zhon-San Mo (牟宗三) and Jun-Yi Tang (唐君毅) at the Department of Philosophy of Donghai University. They were facing the issue of the drifting Chinese culture. Although Jiang points out the issue of localism, nativism and homeland in *Art Notes*, he also emphasizes on China, the Han culture and the ethical and cultural awareness of the Han people, especially the literary spirit in them. In the article "Interviews of Lukang Folk Arts Competition" (鹿港民俗才藝競賽專訪) in *Lion Art*, Jiang mentions the issue of nativist movements. He mentions that the westernization movement led by the *Wen Hsing* (文星) magazine, the abstract paintings of Fifth Moon Group and Ton-Fan Group, the western modernist drama recommended by the *Theater* magazine that translated modern reviews and movies, as well as the western literature recommended by the *Modern Literature* (現代文學) magazine, are actually westernized, academic and professional. Cultural movement of nativism, on the other hand, is the cultural trend that opposed full westernization. Jiang focuses on the ethical, civic and common features of it. The ethical feature mainly indicates the Han people. In other words, it is about the Chinese culture. Paradoxically, Jiang also brings up Taiwanese aborigines. From the perspective of modern states and modern commercial cultures, the so-called civic and common features are actually the opposition of commercialization. I think the terms "civic and common" need to be further discussed.

I take the civic studies of Dipesh Chakrabarty as the reference. What are the differences between the realism Jiang mentions (namely the "civic and common" features) and the subaltern in subaltern studies? Moreover, what are the differences in their knowledge production processes? These issues are about the modernist dilemma in Taiwan: the abolition or retention of nationalism and nation-state vision. In another article about cultural modeling, "The Current Challenges of Cultural Modeling" (當前文化造型的難題), Jiang points out that someone mentions in the 65th volume of *Lion Art* that the aesthetic works no longer serve the West. Jiang responds to this statement that as a nation is achieving independence, the ethical culture struggles between the original model and the pressure from the colonist. The people must not forget that the best condition for the colonist strength to grow is when the society stops improving. (*Art Notes*, p. 98). It might not be a focus on social revolutions or the repulse to nation-state vision. We can interpret it as an appeal of certain return to the real.

Jiang was also aware of the issue of colonialism. At the initial stage of post-colonialism in the 1960s and 1970s, He also discussed the ethical issues. His solution for such issues was realism. Therefore, he asked, “what’s our realism all about?” in his article “The Current Challenges of Cultural Modeling.” As he responded, he said “take the Renaissance in the West as an example.” This is a sign. In his previous article about body modeling being a task of cultural modeling, he was actually implying Leonardo da Vinci. He discussed whether we could take the body of the Chinese as the gypsum statues for sketching if the academies break out from the Renaissance’s limitation and stop using the western bodies for sketching. However, the framework of gypsum statues and sketches, namely the framework of art or epistemology, has been an undeniable ground of classicism ever since the Renaissance. From the perspective of modernism, he attempted to connect his literary doctrine or literary spirit to the western classicism, especially to Da Vinci and the context of the Renaissance. The realist claim of Jiang consisted of the opposition of the western modernity and modernism. Based on this ground, the issues of nativist literature, nativism and homeland also opened up the essentials of realism. The superiority of realism is basically the time course of the western history as Chakrabarty mentioned. Only this course did not direct to modernity but the sources of modern issues, namely the epistemology and art prototypes of the Renaissance. It is worth pondering whether such appeal connects to a certain aesthetic perspective of modern states.

When discussing the integrated cultural modeling, Jiang addresses that “the tradition of the original Han people in Taiwan had been affected by China from the mainland, Japan from the 50-year colonization, the Taiwanese minors’ cultural characteristics and the abnormal cultural brought by the commercial cultures of America and Japan...” (*Art Notes*, p. 109) In short, modernism is an abnormal culture to him. When facing the issue of Taiwanese modernism, Jiang also realized the complicated cultural characteristics of Taiwan. He aimed to form an integrated cultural movement through the reviews of cultural modeling initiated by *Lion Art*. The mentioned quotations might be a starting point for us to think about the issue of cultural modeling movements and its relation with the origin of modernism in Taiwan in the 1970s. Regarding this issue, a few intriguing questions are worth thinking about. The first question is its undeniable relationship with the Chinese culture. We can see from the time of Jiang to the present that three dimensions have continued: the relation with the Chinese culture, the relationship with commercialization, and the life attitudes of the literati. The particularity of Jiang lies in his combination of these three dimensions and the claim of the return to the nativism. He successfully realized his claim outside the system of university. This foresight impresses me very much.

I think what needs further discussion is the connection between the cultural industry and the commercial platform. It is the connection among the individual particularity, the romantic spirit and commercial platforms. It is not a practice of realism. I think the common and civic features that he mentions are different from the subaltern studies of Chakrabarty.

In the cultural modeling movement of the 1970s, there were two terms used for distinguishing the self-orientation of the intellectuals: pedagogic and performative. I believe the works that *Lion Art* had done responding to the criticism brought up by the China Tide magazine. *Lion Art* conducted pedagogic works and on-going translation movements. The modernist perspective of *Lion Art* was made from the vision of intellectuals or elite culture. They’re loath towards commercial cultural or academician sterner from a pedagogic ideal. Their romanticism was expressed through the analytic attitude towards cultures and the introduction of good cultures such as the Renaissance, modernity and local cultures such as Ming Chu (朱銘) and Tung Hung (洪通). The analytic attitude and the knowledge development have certain distance. This

mode of knowledge production differs from the performative function of modern universities and museums that Chakrabarty mentioned.

A platform like *Lion Art* includes a certain extent of performative quality. Being performative means it has something to do with the performative and practice status. It does not only express high analytic ability but also produces some sentiments. If there is a process of modernity or modernism in the analytic attitude of pedagogy, and either the aboriginal culture, the Han culture or the nativist culture has not reached the realism with elaboration, modernity or ideal, only the editors or Jiang can enhance their elaboration. It makes the intellectuals superior at a certain level and loses the performative position of sentimental creation. Up to the present, a foresight of Jiang in the 1970s has remained. That is anti-academy. Symposia these days sometimes make me sentimental because they are like knowledge production under the frame of globalization with huge limitations. The Indian intellectuals have noticed this issue. They have departed the studies of the subalterns from the intellectuals. Subaltern studies are in an independent form of knowledge production. However, I think Jiang’s performative disclosure is insufficient. After he left *Lion Art* in the 1970s, the non-academic platform of knowledge production, his claims of realism had turned into his personal literary spirit. He did not construct a practical platform outside the nation-state vision consciously. Under the impact of the White Terror and commercial cultures, we are in no position to blame anyone since it is an existence dilemma for the left-wingers of the 1970s.

The issue of Taiwanese modernism that Jiang addressed is very complicated. Also, what is the reference point of realism and naturalism? Inevitably, we have to bring up artists such as Gustave Courbet and Honoré Daumier. Can we remove the western origins? Can we search for other framework of knowledge reference? We know that Taiwan was under the influence of the western modernism. Yet, can we change such reference? Can we create certain cultural modeling based on our common memories that the Taiwanese people and students can relate to? It seems to me that Jiang worked alone on knowledge production and cultural production. Therefore, the aesthetics of Jiang formed a prototype of cultural knowledge from China, Greece and Rome. At that time, Hung and Chu were traps of modern commercialization and shadows of modern nation-state visions. Yet, how could he search for or produce the cultural modeling of nativism or homeland? Or did he think that there is no origin to search for? How to construct a platform for characters like this to be not polluted by commercialization? I expect to create a platform with the performative attitude in order to overcome the issue of specialization in the upcoming 1980s or to deal with the academic modernism that Chuan-Xing Chen (陳傳興) criticized.

According to the differentiation between pedagogic and performative characteristics, the pedagogic attitude of Jiang in the 1970s shows that he was under the enlightenment of the previous generation. Jiang was aware of this because he brought up the May Fourth Movement as a prototype. If he really wished to carry on the May Fourth Movement or realism, why couldn’t he criticize Marxism or Maoism? The reason is rather simple. He was not allowed to criticize such philosophies. If he had criticized these philosophies, he might not have carried on using the prototype of the Renaissance or the May Fourth Movement. Rather, he would have been discussing Maoism or the practical issues of socialism in Taiwan. By doing so, he could be put into jail in Green Island. This was a philosophical challenge in the 1970s. So what exactly could he do? If Jiang had focused on the particularity of individuals, he should have been shown the promotion of individualism like the assumption of the western modernism. Individuals in the Chinese culture have different ways of confession. They do not confess in their diaries, which is different from the individualism in the West. Instead, they focus on the individual particularity and the literary spirit. They find a certain

cultural origin different from the western modernity, a standpoint excluded in the nation-state vision, and combine it with nativism and homeland.

Rethinking about Taiwanese art in the 1970s does not mean that we have to criticize or make a choice about art. Instead, we can think about our future directions from the content that Jiang had dedicated to us. The present culture includes certain factors of the cultural practices from the 1970s. Those factors have been planted into the present that we live within. We do not discuss issues of the Renaissance, the May Fourth Movement or modernity. We do not analyze the content of such issues from the perspective of intellectuals or academic researchers. We take up a new form of thinking or culture on the performative level. There are a couple of things we can do to oppose capitalization which emerged after the 1970s, the official institutions and the academies. What people needed in the 1970s was not mass education but a process of knowledge production, the performative process that creates new sentiments. If the process is a review of naturalism, then such sentiments should be evoked based on our collective memory that is more productive with or without relations to the western modernity. It might be searching for the collective memory for us to re-discuss the 1970s. The ideas of Jiang have been around since the 1970s. It can be seen as collective memory. Also, it can be seen as a potential nation-state vision. I expect to discuss Jiang beyond the particularity of individuals and the realist claims of visual images. On this ground, Jiang indeed is the initiative strength that opened up the Taiwanese modernism. However, just like the tangling relationships between *Art Notes*, *Lion Art* and nation-state visions, Jiang did not figure out the appropriate boundary between the literati and the nation-state vision.

IV. Reevaluation of the 1970s: When did the Modernism Emerge in Taiwan?

Those so-call modernist inventions have turned into novel yet fixed forms.”If we are to break out of the non-historical fixity of post-modernism, we must search out and counterpose an alternative tradition taken from the neglected works left in the wide margins of the century. This tradition may address itself not to this by now exploitable because quite inhuman rewriting of the past but, for all our sake, to a modern future in which community may be imagined again.” (Raymond Williams, “When Was Modernism?”)

Ranbir Kapoor, an Indian art scholar and curator, addressed this quote and mentioned that Indian intellectuals are devoted to dealing with the complicated cultural dimensions of India as a country in the Third World. They believe that the conditions of meaningful significance are the sentimental structure and object surfaces. Therefore, the Indian elites pay much attention to the relation between art forms and social formation, and the heritage of the cultural history based on this ground. By doing so, they aim to survive under the new imperialism of post-capitalization and post-modernism. The communist movements in India have been supporting the modernization projects, the religious minors and women through reasonable nationalism. However, the support of nationalism to modernization projects differs from the visions of modern states and modern capitalization. Although the left-wingers may be the only organized movement actors who speak modern languages as the growing nationalist fundamentalism and reactionary, to the First World, their situations can be very paradoxical. Marxism has not been the cultural system of modernity for a long time as it is been challenged by post-modernism. Yet, Kapoor attempts to remind us that the compulsive abnormal status of developments in the Third World, and mentioned “In fact, the modernity here is appropriately placed along with the trend of socialism.” The words unspoken in this quote, for the subject of this article, are the discussion over the appropriate distance among socialism, capitalism and

nation-state visions.

In his article “India as Method” (印度做為方法), Kuan-Hsing Chen (陳光興) mentions that the worldview of Taiwan should be transferred from the reference structure of “Europe and America as methods.” The alternative reference can be India. Kapoor reminds us “**the Indian communist and left-wing movements are the ‘only organized movements in the language of modernity.**” “ It indicates that they have the critical worldview that includes all the conditions for modern-world operations. However, they have different thoughts compared to statism, nationalism and capitalism. Comparatively, the Taiwanese left-wing organizations had been removed completely in the White Terror at the end of the 1960s, as described in the documentary *If I Have to Die 1000 Times—The Story of Taiwanese Left-Wing* (如果我能夠死一千次——臺灣左翼紀事). Therefore, the language of modernity since the 1970s has been closely related to the material conditions between art forms and the social formation. The left-wing organization had been removed completely. We can find clues of such a situation from the art expression of Wu in the 1970s. I believe that the recollection of Wu’s paintings can be seen as a parallax way of “India as the method”.

Kapoor then addresses that **the main expression of modernism in India is its history and social dimensions, which are common characteristics of modernism in post-colonialist conditions.** The westerners were not interested in such diachronicity since their modernism has been developed fully. Instead, they refused such social diachronicity of history, claiming it is the sublimity of the new. Regarding the emphasis of the new, Kapoor takes the noble discourses of modernism by Clement Greenberg (1909-1994) as an example. Such discourses then shifted to the post-modernism discourses by Jean-Françoisbnp Lyotard (1924-1998). The late modernist art emphasized on the absolute form factors. Greenberg found the spiritual projection of aesthetics through the naked visuality in his works. Lyotard focused on the seance effect from materiality and the processes. He refused the representation of historical recreation since it tends to be connected with nativism and becomes certain signs of national identities. To Kapoor, the Indian artists did not reach full modernity until the post-modern era.”**To confront the new objects without defending the tradition; and to protect the independence of cultural atomization and have connections between the local communities and the lost lands.**”This quote may be used as a reference to reinterpret the Taiwanese art in the 1970s.

Kapoor believes that a mature form of modernism in India accepts dehumanization and decentralization. It means the reflections of art history help raise self-awareness. It goes beyond the original issues and overcome the anxiety caused by them.

If we take references from the worldview of the post-colonialist Third World and the mentioned discourses about modernism, we need to redefine the modernity of the modernism in the debates of modern poetry and nativist literature in the 1970s. The only reference source of modernism in Taiwan was the western modernism. It is obvious that the modernism and modernity in the 1970s were based on the concepts of westernization and anti-tradition, which responded to KMT’s ideology or the dependent ideology of liberalism. However, the cost of such discourses had put Taiwanese modernism of literature and art into a position with no maturity and no self-awareness of world history. In other words, from the perspective of historical closure discourses to discuss Taiwanese modernism, Taiwanese modernism had come to an end. It is not qualified in regards to modernity. In the debates of nativist literature, modernism refers to formalists of realism or abstractionism such as Hsien Chi (紀弦), Kwang-Chung Yu (余光中),

Modern Poetry Club (現代派詩社), Theater, Fifth Moon Group and Ton-Fan Group.

In Zhen-Hwei Lu’s monograph *Literary Experience in Postwar Taiwan* (戰後臺灣文學經驗), the article “Modernism in Taiwan From a Perspective of Sociology of Literature” (現代主義在臺灣：從文藝社會學的角度來考察) puts modernism, nationalism and realism in opposing positions and indicates that **“there is no root for the westernization and anti-tradition of Taiwanese modernism. It is impossible for Taiwanese modernism to be based on nationalism and realism.”** If we follow the direction of Indian modernism that Kapoor has brought up, we are following the direction constructed by communists, left-wing intellectuals and socialists. The communists and socialists in Taiwan had been completely removed in the 1930s, 1950s and 1960s. If so, does it mean that the paintings by Wu can be reviewed from the perspective of Indian modernism other than realism in order to reinterpret his modern aesthetic consciousness?

In the preface titled “Modern and Postmodern Taiwan” (摩登與後摩登臺灣) of Fang-Ming Chen’s (陳芳明) monograph *Colonial Modernity: Historical and Literary Perspectives on Taiwan* (殖民地摩登：現代性與臺灣史觀), he suggests that we review the terms that are seemingly originated from the West:

New literature of heterogeneity had formed since Taiwan was involved in modernism before war, and post-modernism after war. **Such literary works are labeled as realistic or modernist. Post-modernism has recently emerged. Different literary expressions do not equal to the western realism, modernism and post-modernism. Taiwanese writers may have borrowed the foreign thoughts, yet they combined the unique historical experience in their works during the creating process. The modernist works that are produced in Taiwan should not be considered the imitations of western modernism. We should focus on the localization of modernism.** This kind of localized modernism is definitely Taiwanese modernism... **Modernism in Taiwan is the product of having accessed to modernity.**

Having similar interpretations of modernism as Kapoor, Chen put modernism under the construction of the history of the world and re-coined the word. Yet he also specifically addressed that modernity was not established inside the history of Taiwan. Instead, it was the colonized system from Japan that planted modernism in Taiwanese society. He mentioned that modernity has different implications to the Taiwanese intellectuals and the Japanese colonists. To be more specific, Taiwanese learned modernity with a strong sense of spiritual liberation. They implemented such modernity and resulted in modernism. The Japanese used modernity to develop resources in Taiwan with a capitalist mindset to expand further to the south. It resulted in the cultural superiority of modernity that takes the western structures as references. Comparatively, the modernity of Taiwanese included intense critical spirit. Therefore, should we still see modernism of Taiwanese art through Greenberg’s formalist aesthetics? If so, our modernist thoughts seem to be limited by the historical experience and aesthetic frameworks of the modern art in the West. Is it possible for us to bring up a modernist genealogy that belongs to ourselves while we resist the western culture as the Indian intellectuals did?

“When did modernism originate in Taiwanese art? “If we bring up this question, we must trace back to historical genealogies of early modernism, capitalism, colonialism and imperialism. The modernism in Taiwan cannot be defined in a way as the modernism in Taiwanese literature or art history. Maybe it is a sort of art that is beyond nation-state vision and resists to be governed by the modern states, namely

an integrated art not being governed. We discuss Wu’s paintings and his critical heritage towards Mei-Shu Li’s (李梅樹) classical realism from the standpoint of socialism. It is obvious that Wu avoided the market, but he operated galleries with the awareness of local art history. He took paintings as gifts and gave them to the literati and social movement actors. He printed his paintings on covers of left-wing books and magazines. Such critical attitude towards colonist culture, national governance, formalist aesthetics (trends of abstractism) and the disposition of his paintings from canvas to cultural publications can be seen as an important practice of modernism of the Taiwanese art.

V. Yao-Zhong Wu: Reevaluation of the Art Reviews in the 1970s

In the next section, I will discuss some issues of Wu’s creative developments to rethink the art reviews on Wu’s works in the 1970s. We take related reviews of Li-Fa Hsieh, Xun Jiang, Chuan-Xing Chen and Chong-Ray Hsiao as references. Based on their reviews, we reevaluate the modernity in Wu’s works

The composition of “Fangyuan” (芳苑) by Wu in 1960 is similar to “Dans la serre” by Édouard Manet in 1879. It surprised me at the first glance. The dark blue bench is the main expression of the image. It is the framework for expressing the limitation of the space. It isolates the rug-like plant area. The yellow umbrella and the arm that holds it become the measurement of the narrow space. The girl’s skirt and folds on the chair show the shallow depth of the field. Even the character’s eyesight enhances the effect of shallow depth of the field. There are still some parts of Wu’s composition that are different from Manet’s. The lighting arrangement and the shallow depth of the field in the paintings allow Manet to create a close-up theatrical effect. Wu’s lighting arrangement includes long depth of the field and deep lighting. The pink flowers behind the chair are the repetitions of the floral skirt on the girl. The surrounding plants show a longer depth of the field. The space and shadows below the knees form a perspective view unlike the intimidated feelings the audience receives when appreciating “Dans la serre”. Such comparisons remind me the discussion on modernity of Manet’s paintings in “La peinture de Manet” by Michel Foucault.

There are three dimensions that Foucault discussed through the modernity in Manet’s paintings: first of all, Manet used the object characteristics, such as the mass, height and width, to indicate the plane characteristic of an oil painting within the closed space structure. It is like an inter-reference relationship between the abstract lines and the textures in Piet Mondrian’s paintings. Second, Manet used hard light from the outside instead of the expressive inner glow. The hard light is more than the natural light that impressionism emphasizes. It includes the indoor projection lighting, the eyesight from the audience and the system of multiple light sources. Third, Manet used the disordered positions of the audience and the paintings to form a physically impossible and awkward situation for the audience. We take “Olympia” as an example. The audience confront the direct eyesight of the woman in the panting, resulting in inappropriate morality of the middle class.

In the composition of “Fangyuan” created in 1960, no obvious evidence indicates Wu’s attempts of challenging the materiality of space or provoking the artistic judgments of the middle class in oil paintings. His paintings show similar compositions regarding the objects, characters and space with Li’s “Thinking” (沉思) in 1959 and “Resting” (小憩) in 1959. The different parts refer to the fact that the background of “Fangyuan” is a garden. It is similar to the long depth of field of Li’s “Resting Lady” (小憩之女) in 1935. The depth of field is shallower than it is in “Resting Lady”. Yet, we can only see half of the subjects’ calves in both paintings. Also, they both have bigger mass and blurry backgrounds. The composition of “Yellow

Clothes” (黃衣) is similar to “Thinking” and “Resting”. He intentionally removed the space below the knees and created an indoor close shot near the subject.

There is another painting of Wu’s created in the 1960s. Yet, only the photo copy of “Girl Appreciating a Painting” (看畫少女, named by the author) is preserved. Only half of the subject’s calves are shown in this painting. Interestingly, the girl on the sofa is appreciating a painting in her hand attentively. There are two other paintings on the floor by her white skirt. After scaling, tilting and comparing, the painting on her hand has been proven to be “Madame Charpentier and Her Children Paul (at her knee) and Georgette” created by the impressionist artist Renoir in 1878. The clearer painting on the floor is proved to be “On the Terrace” by Renoir in 1881. Similar techniques are seen in his teacher’s works. In “Resting Lady” and “Thinking”, we can see the reference of Vincent van Gogh. In “Thinking”, Li even introduced works of Chinese paintings.

From the direct and indirect introduction of Manet and Renoir in Wu’s paintings in the 1960s, it is obvious that such introduction is different from the ukiyo-e on the background of Manet’s “Zola”. By comparing Wu in the 1960s to Manet in the 1880s, we can see that there was an 80-year time gap, or cultural gap. In regard to the times of modernity in art history and modernism, this is the so-called belated modernity that Chen mentioned. Aware of this crisis, Japan successfully became a new modern colonist empire and overcame such s time gap and the underlying parallax after Meiji Restoration in 1860, the combat of Old Russia in 1905 through Datsu-A Ron (de-asianization). Japan had successfully caught up with the West and the diachronic modernity. It had started being in the synchronic modernity of the First World. Both Wu and his teacher Li were affected by Japan as Japan had put Taiwan into its trend of modern movements. According to *Art Movement History of Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period* (日據時代臺灣美術運動史) by Hsieh and studies of Li-Yun Lin (林麗雲), impressionism had come to Japan 20 years later than it did in France. It also needed time to localize impressionism. As we discuss the artists from Kuroda Seiki to Okada Saburōsuke, we can assume that Li’s painting techniques were a heritage from Okada Saburōsuke. However, it did not originate from the French impressionism. It was the infusion of French impressionism and the techniques of impressionism and the Japanese ukiyo-e. In other words, the locally educated Wu was affected by such belated modernity as he painted portraits in the 1960s. His paintings show the refraction of Manet and Renoir. Such refraction of modernity came not only from his teacher but also from the imported or translated painting albums.

The next issue is how we see such refraction of modernity caused by the belated modernity. How should we see the modernity that came from painting albums and technique succession, and modernism constructed in the practice process?

In 1991, Hsieh once criticized himself in the “Preface to the Revised Version of *Art Reviews of Political and Historical Views in the 1970s—Taiwanese Art Movement under Japanese Ruling*” (七十年代政治史觀的藝術檢驗——《日據時代臺灣美術運動史》改版序), saying that the whole book is merely about stories in a salon. It is about the stories in a studio. However, it does not address creative processes of the artists in the studio. The creative ideas and art aesthetics are rarely noted. If Hsieh had recognized that his methodology and the thoughts on reviews of art history focused too much on the salons and competitions of the upper class and the anti-Japanese position of nationalism, we can also applied this conclusion on Wu. The prizes Wu won in Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibition and Tai Yang Art Exhibition in the 1960s were only repetitions of the Imperial Exhibition. We should focus on the

implications within the prizes, namely his relationships with the fellow artists, the succession relationship, his ideas about art and the sources of his artistic ability.

We should not neglect some life events of Wu before the White Terror and the prison sentence he served in the 1970s. First, he befriended Chen as he was in Cheng-Kung Junior High School. Second, he entered Department of Fine Arts, National Taiwan Normal University in 1961 and studied the left-wing cultural movements of the 1930s and related works of revolutionary art movements during Old Russian period. They are not only good friends but also comrades in the revolution. Third, he finished Portrait of *Ying-Zhen Chen* (陳映真畫像) and it had become the book cover of Chen’s novel *The Night Truck* (夜行貨車). Forth, Wu’s works *Under the Roof* (屋簷下), *Ryūnosuke Akutagawa* (芥川龍之介) and *Camus* (卡謬) were published in the 2nd, 5th and 6th volumes of *Literature Quarterly* (文學季刊).

I would like to go back to the first question of this article: “Can art reviews be a sort of thinking movements or certain creations of philosophy?” “The art reviews here can be divided into two implications. The first implication refers to the art reviews in a form of subject institutionalization. These are reviews about art works, artists or the community-related contents. The second implication is the reviews about the art creation itself. This is also the intention as to why I listed the life events of Wu in the 1960s. Art creations are art reviews. They interact with each other and make mutual effects in the thinking movements. When mentioning the second implication, we have to bring up Literature Quarterly (1966-1970), which is praised as the future pioneer of realist literature in Taiwan by Lu. It is a review platform and machine of cultures, history and society, mainly reviewing on the effect of literature and image creations to literature and art. We have to approve Wu’s paintings as he had started including such collective thoughts in the contents and forms on such machine-like platforms of literary magazines at the end of the 1960s.

Works like *Under the Roof*, Ryūnosuke Akutagawa and Camus, as well as hundreds of covers of books, magazines and collections, are actually reviews on cultures, society, history, politics and art. Meanwhile, as Chih-Ming Li (李志銘) mentions in his *Book Design in Taiwan—The Born of Modern Book Designs in Taiwan* (裝幀臺灣——臺灣現代書籍設計的誕生), Wu promoted his paintings through mass production of book and magazine covers. Ideologically, he attempted to show his opposition to paintings as the private assets. He aimed to address the critical thinking of the popularization of paintings. Therefore, it is fair to see them as a movement of thoughts or a certain mode of ideology.

If we follow this classification to see the stages that divided by Jui-Hua Chen (陳瑞樺) in the preface to *Searching for Wu Yaozhong’s Paintings: Stories of a Realist Artist* (尋畫——現實主義畫家吳耀忠), we may notice that Chen seemed to divide Wu’s life stages by styles and subjects instead of his inner action of thoughts. Chen suggests:

Using prison sentence as the division point, Wu’s paintings can be divided into naturalism and realism. The former refers to paintings when he was a student of Li and in the Department of Fine Arts, National Taiwan Normal University. During this stage, he mainly created portraits and landscape paintings. In the latter stage, he took labor and civil life as subjects, showing his socialist thoughts.

In the same section, we can see Wu’s particular practice of the popularization of paintings and mass production of paintings through the interview by Chen in 1978 and Chen’s quotation about Wu’s thought of opposing the idea of paintings as private assets. Let me quote the same passage again:

Paintings, among other art forms, have the characteristics of private assets. Frame a painting and hang it in the living room. Here is the asset. It exists in the opportunistic market. The popularization of paintings comes from the breakthrough of the scarcity. Block paintings, etching and lithographic printings offer opportunities for mass painting production. As the printing aesthetics are in control, the mass production of paintings is significant. My paintings are not as impressive. But I never want them to be collections of a few people. The cover designs had made part of my wishes come true.

I think the styles of naturalism and realism are distinguished inappropriately. First of all, naturalism came from the translation of literature review and literature history. Wu and other reviewers did not use this translated term in the context of art history. They used the mutual-translated term “realism.” There are differences between the context of literature and art history. Wu mentioned in the same interview:

Naturalism is not just about the form, light and color. It should also be about the content. The statement can be more understandable when we take a look at the realist artists such as Jean-François Millet, Honoré Daumier, Courbet Gustave, Käthe Kollwitz and Ilya Repin. The requirement of naturalism includes the connections between people and the history. In naturalism, people have vivid and active connections to the society, the race, even the entire world. It does not look at the world from the internal complications of individuals. Instead, it attempts to know the world based on the people’s common demands and wishes.

I think the point is about how we construct “the coherence dimension of realist paintings in the 1970s.” It is the art of not being governed. Instead of repeatedly dividing Wu’s coherence dimensions by styles and subjects, we should rethink about the thoughts of modernity and modernism in the creative process of his naturalist paintings. Next, the naturalism Wu mentioned in the interview is an epistemology of art creations. Such art epistemology allows people to know the world based on the common demands and wishes. It is not limited to certain styles, contents or topics. This epistemology had existed in his art practices since the 1960s. At that time, he left the system of academies, competitions and exhibitions, and started operating the platforms of literature and art reviews. After Wu was released from prison in the 1970s, the modernist paintings on the publications that were translated and dislocated from the European and American origins had shifted into Taiwanese artists’ paintings in the literature publications for the local intellectuals. The local artists showed their paintings through mass production. This shift had become an crucial visual element in the system of art reviews. Naturalism had also been replaced by realism. One thing remains to be clarified is its left-wing thoughts and the critical attitude to the modern world. In other words, is it a painting practice of modernism that belongs to the Third World in particular? Is it closer to the critical view of world addressed by Kapoor that the Third World has the material and conditions to run the modern world yet there are particular history and social dimensions in it? Do people in the Third World treat new things fairly without being trapped by originality and the anxiety of being affected?

VI. The Art of Not Being Governed: Coherence Dimension of Realist Paintings in the 1970s

Jiang discusses different levels of reality in his article “The Return to the Local—Major Trend of Taiwanese Art in the 1970s” (回歸本土——七〇年代臺灣美術大勢). From the critical photographic realism of Hsiao-De Hsieh (謝孝德) and Kun-Cheng Hsu (許坤成) to the common reality between “the western commercial sarcasm and romance. They lacked the ability to communicate with the reality.” The

reality refers to the authenticity in photographs or pop techniques. In this context, Jiang regarded Wu as the icon in the trend of realism’s revival after he was released from prison in the 1970s Jiang also noticed “the series of Wu’s works on the Taiwanese laborers published by Vista Publishing Company (遠景出版社) are mainly monochrome oil paintings like portrait sketches. Those works show similar style with that of Käthe Kollwitz.”” However, this simple analysis is still limited to the regime of styles and subjects. It did not show Wu’s critical purposes, such as the popularization of paintings through the mass production and the opposition to the commercialization of paintings. These purposes are crucial since they contain the coherence dimension of not being governed.

However, Jiang expanded the interpretations of the reality at different levels. Other than the sociality in the composition and subjects of the academies, he believes that the artists who depicted the land, people and views through personal perspectives in the late 1970s, such as Lai-Hsing Chen (陳來興), Ya-Tsai Chiu (邱亞才) and Tsai-Tung Cheng (鄭在東), can be seen as a new direction of realism. We would like to know more about the realism Jiang refers to in this art review.

In this review, Jiang mentions “the return to the local movement led by De-Jin Xi (席德進), ” “the appearance of amateur artists such as Tung Hung, ” “the project of Taiwanese local art published by *Lion Art*, ” “*Lion Art* introduced active Taiwanese artists during Japanese governance, ” “Ming Chu concluded the local folk customs and the directions of the reality in the 1970s.” He also addresses “the reality at different levels.” For Jiang, these directions were represented by Xi. The trend of recognizing Taiwanese art in the 1970s was the reflection after being lost in westernization and modernity.” This recognition had undergone the exterior pressure of the international situations. It was different from the previous generation of artists and the translation of American cultures in the 1960s. In the 1970s, the focus was on the “regaining of what was lost.” It had shifted from reevaluating the local images of academic crises and the vibrant local art of the artists to embracing the present landscapes after modernization. Along with the reappearance of the writing of Taiwanese art history and works by elder artists that Hsieh and *Lion Art* promoted, the reality here was beyond the styles and the subjects. The nativism here does not just refer to Taiwan. It is more about the critical awareness of history. It exposes the nativism and reality from the ideology that American capitalism, the post-colonialism and KMT attempted to covered, in order to show the modern characteristics of being not governed by the modern states. From the reference structure of India, this was a movement of thoughts regarding modernism of Taiwanese art, a review movement of art.

From the Third-World standpoint of historical criticism, the reason why the so-called modernism of Taiwanese art refers to the art of not being governed and a perspective that resists nation-state vision is that it opposes the production trend of capitalism (paintings as products), yet it welcomes communication of products in the cultural industry (e.g. books and magazines). It keeps a critical distance to the Japanese colonist framework, yet it does not abandon its modernity experience and the ideology of world history. It focuses on the nativism in Taiwan through the local common senses, yet it does not ignore the proletariat nativism and nativism of labors in the international sense. Maybe this was the internal coherence dimension of realist paintings of not being governed in the 1970s. It is also the recognition and reflections of the 1970s that Jiang attempted to bring up. From the extent of Wu’s realist painting practice, he can be seen as the iconic artist of the internal coherence dimension in the 1970s in regard to his practices of not being governed.

Hsiao’s “Nativist Movement and Commonization of Modern Art” (鄉土運動與現代藝術生活化) in

the 5th volume of *History of Taiwanese Art after War* (戰後臺灣美術史) and the conclusion in his speech “The Birth of Taiwan” (臺灣的誕生) both indicate the tradition of Taiwanese art in the 1970s carried on the original thoughts of modernism in the 1960ss. Taiwan had replaced China and become the new localism. This new localism includes developments and reinterpretations of the old artists. The real issue here is whether the acceptance of the traditions opened up more extensive traditions, historical criticisms and reflective contexts. This integrated historical criticisms and reflections include the reappearance of old artists, the localization and popularization of arts. It was different from the criticisms about the tradition of Japanese-style paintings in the modernization of Chinese paintings in the 1960s. Is the acceptance different from American modernism? Is it similar to Indian modernism of the Third World? One of the risks about the deepening Third-World modernism is whether nationalism is overly limited to the geographical localness under the explanations of nationalism and nation-state vision instead of the proletariat nativism or plebeian nativism from the left-wing world history. If we look at Wu’s thinking structure in his paintings, we may figure out that modernism of Taiwanese art had been formed in the 1970s. However, the art reviewers took references of modernism either from the history of Taiwanese literature or the modernism with de-diachronic aesthetics that Greenberg’s formalism promoted. The particular indication of awareness and determination that established modernism of Taiwanese art were no where to be seen.

Last but not least, I conclude this section by quoting the review by Chen about the 1970 in his article “Illustrations and Ideological Phrases the ‘Modernity Lacks—ostmodernist Art in Taiwan before the 1980s” (「現代」匱乏的圖說與意識修辭——一九八〇年代臺灣之「前」後現代美術狀況). I want to point out the fact that the 1970s is somehow absent, twisted and even ignored in this article by Chen. On this matter, my study can be seen as a response to this important art review by Chen. When referring to confusion of modernism of Taiwanese art, Chen mentions that:

... It is obvious that the creative forms, ideologies and ideals in Taiwan at the beginning of the 1980s focused on and transformed Taiwanese modernism in the 1960s... Modernism in the early 1980s was not about criticisms. Its instruction and expressions were not copies of images. Instead, it focused on succession, witness, training and practices. Simply put, modernism in the early 1980s was the academic modernism. It tamed the imaginary modernism (or the “barbaric modernism) with vanity and desires in the 1960s. The criticisms (and adventures) had been replaced by the relationships of systems and power... From the 1960s to the early 1980s, Taiwanese art had overcome the obstacles in the 1970s on the way to accomplish modernism. Is this the proof of modernism’s localization? The answer is yes and no. Yes, it is the modernism’s localization since it had been institutionalized into modernism’s components. No, it is not the modernism’s localization. Its institutionalization was not accomplished through debates and the fights against the contradictions. There was no official discussion over modernism in Taiwan, not to mention the twisted and contradicted processes of modernism in the past, present and the future.

By quoting this long passage, I aim to understand whether there is a positive description of Chen regarding the twisted pathway of Taiwanese modernism in the 1970s. Between the imaginary modernism of the 1960s and the academic modernism of the 1980s, the art practices of Wu can be seen as Taiwanese modernism of the 1970s after speculations, debates and contradictions as the institutionalization has not been established (new art academies and museums eras). Such modernism indicated no historical criticism, yet it foresaw the emergence of the art market, the commercialization of art and the ultimate resistant strategies. In regard to the methodology, this study aims to address Wu’s positive or creative criticisms or art reviews that are not

governed by the states. These discourses were the real states of the localization of modernism or modernism of Taiwanese art instead of the reminders of modern deficiencies. If we follow the logic of deficiency, we might be focusing on the attitude of anti-modernism rather than the localization and realization of modernism of Taiwanese art.

At the end of the preface to Chen’s book *Documents of Depression* (憂鬱文件) in 1992, he asks: why does the attitude of anti-modernism become an attitude of anti-rationality and anti-enlightenment and focus on the thinking pattern of Taiwanese subjectivity and the awareness of subjectivity? However, the issues he is really concerned about in his art reviews refer to modernity, deferred modernity and Taiwanese modernism. At the end of his preface, he addresses six major issues about Taiwanese modernity. I attempt to respond to these questions based on the existing research results as the conclusion of this study.

- (1) Why did modernity need such long deferment before showing up as contradicted awareness of subjectivity? As Chen indicates, modernity in Taiwan was the repulsive implementation of external experience. Even Japan, the colonist, had been worried about the deferred modernity and resisted being stuck in the diachronic modernity. They wished to catch up with the western synchronic modernity. If we refer to the logic of the Indian scholar, the diachronic modernity of the Third World must be clarified by historical reflections and art reviews. The contradicted awareness of subjectivity is just a part of self-awareness in the Third World. The mature awareness of subjectivity shows “excellence beyond the original problems and overcomes the anxiety of being affected.” Another mature symptom refers to not being governed by the modern states and markets.
- (2) The long deferment also indicates the huge gap between the modernization of society and the modernity of culture. In the West, modernization and modernity already have shown asymmetry in their developments. Yet, there is never such a huge deferred phenomenon. Is this a particular phenomenon of cultural areas in Taiwan? As the Indian scholar of subaltern studies and post-colonialism studies mentions, this is not a particular phenomenon of cultural areas in Taiwan. The gap between modernization and modernity exists in all colonized or recolonized areas in the Third World. This is analyzed in the section regarding the temporal structure of parallax.
- (3) How did cultural resistance function in the shift from deferred modernity to anti-modernism to form the attitude of knowing misinterpretations and resistance yet catering? Let us assume that we take reference to India instead of Europe, America or Japan. The cultural resistance in India is accomplished through religions by the fundamentalists. In Taiwan, if Confucianism or major religions are combined with academicism or capitalism, it might create a closure form of knowledge authoritarianism with no reflective criticisms. It might make use of the academic system established by the modern enlightenment, rationality and utopian thoughts on one side, and showing the attitude of anti-modernism by avoiding the education, training and practices of the world on the other. To certain extend, the critical thoughts indicate certain cultural resistance. Examples of resistance include Wu’s criticism about the formalism of Fifth Moon Group, Ton-Fan Group, elder artists of classical naturalism, and the imaginary modernism of the 1960s and the academic modernism in the 1980s. To conclude the plane of immanence of about state, I think it is a state not being governed by nation-state or market visions.
- (4) Inevitably, the political and economical factors will affect the formation of modernity. Yet, this is just one of many reasons. Basically, subjectivity is active and autonomic. Why is such active autonomy transformed into passivity affected by political and economical factors? What political indications are implied through such denial? Except for subjectivity, there are other unique characteristics, features and elements of modernity such as inspiration, rationality, utopia in Taiwan. What changes might happen to

the process of deferred modernity? And in what form? The reasons why countries in the Third World must accept modernity and sacrifice their subjectivity are imperialism and the expansion of capitalism. The subjectivity debates of Taiwan happened in the 1980s. These debates were about the recognition of deep consciousnesses. By using the example of Wu, I believe that it is necessary for Taiwan to clarify its special position in the structure of world history. Only when the Third-World characteristics, the object conditions, the social forms and expressive forms of art in Taiwan have been clarified can we figure out the advantages and opportunities included in the deferred modernity. It might be an endless process of clarification. However, it has formed a structure of twin subjects with multiple subjects for the subjects of Taiwanese art.

- (5) From the historical perspective, we can see that Taiwan has undergone two phases of modernity with different forms, characteristics and strategies. What indications did the deferred modernity from the history of Japanese colonization and the KMT government refer to? From Wu's experience, his teacher was influenced by Japanese colonialism and imperialism affected by the structure. The base of colonialism, as Chen indicates, was the expansion of capitalism, a thought of modernity that showed cultural superiority. It forced Taiwanese intellectuals to form critical thoughts of modernity that were not being governed. The KMT government had no awareness about being in the new order of the Third World. They still attempted to get rid of the Japanese culture of colonialism. In the world structure during the Cold War, the government initiated the White Terror to remove the socialists and communists who spoke modern languages and had the awareness of worldviews. Therefore, the modernity for the KMT government was a production project of a modern world. It was a construction plan of nation-state visions. It was also a structure of politics, economics and cultures that is dependent on the US. All these factors had become obstacles for the deferred modernity to shift and become other possible advantages.
- (6) Lastly, in terms of aesthetics, how did the physiological and spiritual deficiency of desires caused by deferred modernity create the image space of depression? Can depression compensate and replace the absence of deferment from another perspective? In what forms are the symptoms of depression in the field of art?

VII. Conclusion: Depression of Not Being Governed and beyond a State

Wu's work *Long Night* (長夜) in 1962 can be seen as the best art expression for "Documents of Depression." He fully absorbed Manet's *The Luncheon on the Grass* and the expressions of the vivid leg gesture and the hand gestures of three models in *The Balcony*. However, the artists (or intellectuals) in Wu's paintings have their eyes closed. Their hand holds their head in agony. It is their internal depression. It is not sarcasms about the hollow body of the middle class. In Manet's paintings, the characters look outside of the canvas or straight at the audience. To the artist, this indicates a not meaningful state of body gestures in two-dimensional settings with no depression. Maybe the aloofness is the tone of modernity for Manet. Yet, modernism in Taiwanese art had not been developed in this way. The deferred modernity caused the intellectuals and artists' anxiety about being speedy and original. They hence had the overwhelming depression that was hard to get rid of as it shows in *Long Night*. When creating *Long Night*, Wu had started his creation of book covers since 1962. On the other side, he had started drinking after he was released from prison in 1975. How deeply depressive he is! However, we cannot explain his achievement on book covers through his drinking habit and depression. Instead, we may see such mass production of book covers rather than solo exhibitions as a way to show his paintings in which we can see the art thinking, modernism and socialism of Wu. It also shows that such path is hard to walk on in the modern history of Taiwan. The

difficulties also allow us to see an alternative way for modernism of Taiwanese art through the painting practice of Wu. As Dipesh Chakrabarty mentions the replacement and disguise of art, there may have been hundreds of Wu's in Taiwanese art history. They achieved another practice of modernism and realism under the destiny of deferred modernity. Such alternative practice contains the characteristics of not being governed. They find an alternative way outside the nation-state vision. It is not a deficient of art. Instead, it is the initiative status of modernism in Taiwanese art.

創造鄉土詩境：
1970年代的臺灣美術與鄉土運動¹

The Creation of Nativist Poetry:
Arts and the Nativist Movement in the 1970s Taiwan

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1. 本文初稿發表於「鄉土・現實・歷史旁白——戰後七〇年代臺灣美術發展學術研討會」時，承蒙評論人楊永源教授提出許多精闢意見，在此謹表謝意。

摘要

一般認為，1970年代的臺灣美術確實受到當時鄉土運動的衝擊與影響，但是對於如何影響，以及影響到什麼程度，則似乎難以定論。甚至，鄉土運動的核心理念究竟有哪些，對比於同時期的鄉土文學，所謂的鄉土藝術又有何不同表現，以及鄉土運動的相關論述到底秉持什麼樣的意識形態，且該如何定位，以上種種問題亦是十分複雜，更讓70年代的臺灣美術與鄉土運動之間的關聯難以釐清。

因此，若要正本清源，勢必要直接面對鄉土運動，就相關論述所關注的議題焦點及其論點主張，廓清其中的理念和價值觀，以及所預設的立場與意識形態。如此才能進一步探討鄉土運動對美術界的影響，或者是比較鄉土文學與鄉土藝術之異同。本文將就鄉土運動當中具有代表性論者的言論加以剖析，探討論述中的文化觀、美學觀與意識形態等問題，以及鄉土運動與臺灣美術的關聯等議題。

關鍵詞：鄉土運動、鄉土文學論爭、現代性、洪通、朱銘、唐文標

一、鄉土運動構成的多元性

一般認為，1970年代的臺灣美術受到當時鄉土運動的衝擊與影響，幾乎可說是不證自明。但是，對於如何影響，以及影響到什麼程度，則似乎又難以定論。甚至，鄉土運動的核心理念究竟有哪些，對比於同時期的鄉土文學，所謂的鄉土藝術又有何不同表現，以及鄉土運動的相關論述到底秉持什麼樣的意識形態，且該如何定位，以上種種問題亦是十分複雜，不易給出明確解答，這更讓70年代的臺灣美術與鄉土運動之間的關聯難以釐清。

因此，若要正本清源，勢必要直接面對鄉土運動，就相關論述所關注的議題焦點及其論點主張，廓清其中的理念和價值觀，以及所預設的立場與意識形態。如此才能進一步探討鄉土運動對美術界的影響，或者是比較鄉土文學與鄉土藝術之異同。以下將就鄉土運動當中具有代表性論者的言論加以剖析，探討論述中的文化觀、美學觀與意識形態等問題，以及鄉土運動與臺灣美術的關聯等議題。

關於鄉土運動的意識形態，廖新田曾提出「鄉土主義」一詞，並加以探討。² 其實本文原先也曾考慮借用，但是這個詞彙目前在學界似乎並不通用，而且「鄉土主義」也容易讓人以為其意涵具有一種明確且一貫的信念。而在1970年代之時，鄉土運動的各種論述，未必有一致且清楚的理念，只是因為有共同反對的對象，而被劃入同一陣營。事實上，鄉土運動的論者們的立場往往並不一致，雖有共同的反對目標，但出發點可能各不相同。

本文所指的鄉土運動，首先當然是指發生於1970年代臺灣的文化運動，其次也包含文學與美術領域的相關影響與變貌，因此不同場域，如文學界、美術界與音樂界等，對於鄉土運動的回應亦有所差別，不同媒材類型的創作所呈現出的「鄉土性」也未必相同。所以鄉土運動並非理念與特色很明確的流派，而毋寧應視為一個集合名詞，且是涵攝各場域之子集合的母集合。

而且，正如歷史上的啓蒙運動或浪漫主義運動等文化運動一樣，鄉土運動固然有其特定的訴求和思想意涵，形成某種類型的論述話語以引導社會行動，試圖解決特定歷史階段的問題；然而，亦如同其他具有廣泛的思想與行動動員力量的運動一般，鄉土運動的內部也必然是充滿著分歧的社會力量與意識形態，而不能簡單地化約成單一面向的思想活動，或目標一致的社會運動。就這個意義來說，鄉土運動絕不僅是一場宣揚特定文藝理念的傳播運動，也不單單是某種民族主義意識形態的展現與動員而已，而毋寧可看作在特定歷史時空下，所匯集在一起的各種歧異的思想論述與藝術表現。當然，它們之所以能集結成一股潮流，甚至在當時即自覺同屬於一陣營內，必然是因對外有共同的論爭對手，以及對內的共同思想公約數以為凝聚，而形成所謂的「運動」。

甚至，當70年代鄉土論述的論者，對他們眼中代表著西化、拋棄傳統的現代主義展開批評，形成對峙之勢的時候，鄉土與現代之間亦有著複雜的對話關係。例如當時一些被劃歸於傾向鄉土文學作家的作品，其實也吸收了一些現代主義的技巧，如李喬、王禎和與陳映真等。表示鄉土運動即使對現代性有所批判，但是反對的程度與緣由，仍有所不同。

因而，若說鄉土運動的構成並非單一性而是多元性，應當較合理且符合歷史實況。唯有從多元

2.見廖新田，〈美學與差異：朱銘與1970年代的鄉土主義〉，收入《臺灣美術四論》，臺北，典藏，2008年，頁89-121。

性出發，我們才能更明晰且立體化地認識鄉土運動。以下，我們將從幾個面向來剖析鄉土運動內部的複雜性，以期廓清其面貌，再進而討論鄉土運動與臺灣美術的關聯。

二、鄉土運動與本土意識

要界定鄉土運動，我們可以由幾組相對的概念出發，如鄉土與本土、鄉土性與現實性、鄉土運動與現代性等。就這些看似相對卻又相關的概念進行探討，或有助於我們理解鄉土運動內部的多元性以及整體的面貌。

首先，關於鄉土與本土這兩個名詞，在1970年代大致是以鄉土出現的頻率要遠高於本土，1980年代之後則相反，本土出現的機會要高過鄉土。而且在70年代時，鄉土與本土往往被視為同義詞，都可指代在地或本地的意思；80年代後，則大抵只有本土才有在地的意思，例如現在若提到臺灣文學也可說成是本土文學，但如果講到鄉土文學則特指70年代所盛行的鄉土文學，或是明顯帶有鄉土色彩的文學作品，絕不會用來當作全稱來代表整體的臺灣文學。由於此種替代現象，有人便認為鄉土所指涉的概念和本土有著根本的差別，並且在80年代後，本土取代了鄉土。如林載爵的看法就頗有代表性：

鄉土是1970年代臺灣共同使用的語言，這個語言存在於《夏潮》、《仙人掌》、《雄獅美術》、《綜合月刊》、《中國論壇》等許許多多的雜誌報刊上，大家在討論時都有一定程度的共同瞭解。……然而，在1980年代本土論興起後……本土取代了鄉土。³

在林載爵看來，「鄉土，作為一種思想類型，它的第一個涵意是被殖民歷史的審視。鄉土陣線極力推動被塵封的日據時代臺灣反抗史的發掘。」且「當『殖民社會』的世界性與全球性成為瞭解臺灣歷史的基礎時，對臺灣社會階級的分析也跟著成為鄉土思想類型的基本內涵。」但是，「經過1977年4月開始的鄉土文學論戰，以及1977年11月的中壢事件，1979年12月的美麗島事件等黨外運動的激化，跨過1980年代以後，這股思想卻橫遭中挫，被另一股完全不同的思想路線取而代之，從思想史的角度來看，這是一個大轉折，以當時的用語來說，就是由鄉土轉為本土。」⁴ 這裡我們姑且不論他所謂的「橫遭中挫」的價值判斷，即揚鄉土貶本土，以及其中潛在的意識形態，僅就其「取代說」加以討論。

雖然林載爵說：「鄉土與本土分別代表了兩種不同的思想類型，各有其內涵。其中中國與臺灣的國家認同的差異是最顯著也最引人注目的，但是如果把鄉土與本土的討論從這個方向出發，或者完全據此立論，則容易掩蓋兩者的思想差別，也會模糊了兩者的思想內容。」但他仍舊是把本土意識看作是外在政治因素，如中壢事件和美麗島事件所「激化」的結果，從而導致「由鄉土轉為本土」。他的外因論不僅稍嫌簡化，而且他其實也還是聚焦於中國與臺灣的國家認同的差異，並認為後者取代前者，以致導致本土取代鄉土。

事實上，早在1964年彭明敏就曾與謝聰敏、魏廷朝起草《臺灣人民自救宣言》，顯示臺灣認同

的政治主張甚至比鄉土運動更早。而且葉石濤於1977年發表〈臺灣鄉土文學史導論〉一文，雖看似仍將臺灣鄉土文學定位作「省籍作家」的區域文學，但是其中一再強調臺灣獨特的歷史經驗，已將臺灣文學與大陸中國做出隱約的區隔，從而使其臺灣意識論的主張與官方的主流論述產生出思想上的差距，甚至也和其他鄉土論者的中國民族主義論述拉開距離。不過，在70年代的鄉土運動中，中國民族意識與臺灣本土意識的立論，儘管有著某種程度的緊張關係，如葉石濤臺灣意識論的提出與陳映真的反駁，然而當時葉石濤選擇不作答覆，其後也未有跟進的討論，正足以證明國家認同雖開始有隱約的分化，但又尚未擴大成論爭的主題。是以，就實際的歷史脈絡而言，兩者在1977年的鄉土文學論爭中，基本上是採取協調的步調，共同面對論辯的對手，即文藝上的現代主義與政治上的官方意識形態，而結成某種類似同盟的關係。至於兩者思想的分化，其實應是後來的（尤其是政治上的）立場所事後追認、詮釋的結果，而非當時實然的狀況，更不能簡單視為一種取代關係。

如果就70年代臺灣美術論述的狀況而言，鄉土與本土的分化則更不明顯。如謝里法於《日據時代臺灣美術運動史》重新改版後的新版序言（作於1991年）中雖然說：「在當時談臺灣美術還只能稱作『中國現代美術』，對『臺灣』故作避諱的環境下，我堅持標明『臺灣』。雖然出版社於出版之前頻頻來函要求更名，最後終於冒著大險維持了原名。」但他也承認：「這是一本70年代寫的書，有這時代特定的歷史經驗和史觀的極限。……70年代的我也一樣只有中國式的思考，中國式的用詞。」⁵ 正表明了此種相容混同的思想狀態。此外，謝里法的《珍重！阿笠——在信中與阿笠談美術》一書的第一版⁶，其序言即由許南村（陳映真）所作，正可看出此種思想上相互「結盟」合作的關係。（圖1）儘管，後來再版重印時，此序言即不復得見，這似乎也象徵或表明了，兩人或兩種立場的分道揚鑣。



圖1 《珍重！阿笠——在信中與阿笠談美術》初版封面，熊秉明木刻版畫。
圖片來源：謝里法，《珍重！阿笠——在信中與阿笠談美術》，臺北：雄獅，1977。

5. 謝里法，《日據時代臺灣美術運動史》，臺北，藝術家，1993年，頁4-5。

6. 謝里法，《珍重！阿笠——在信中與阿笠談美術》，臺北，雄獅，1977年。後易名為《美術書簡——在信中與阿笠談美術》，封面也更換，但同樣由雄獅再版。

社會學家蕭新煌亦曾指出，70年代臺灣知識份子面對當時的現實所產生的危機意識，「的確摻雜著『臺灣意識』與『中國意識』在內，既為臺灣的生存，也為中國的前途，或者更明顯的意涵是說為了中國未來的前途，就得先要確實的關懷臺灣現在的生存問題，在知識份子眼中，這兩者並沒有太多的矛盾及衝突，而是相輔相成的」。因此，「這無疑就是一種以認同臺灣為基礎的『鄉土意識』，或涵稱『臺灣意識』」，而且，「也由於它是以『中國意識』為其張本，所以在那個大原則之下，『臺灣意識』也獲得了知識份子普遍的認可。如果要說『臺灣意識』之能夠得到滋長，而且被接受；外力衝擊下而產生的『民族主義』當是一個很關鍵的媒介。從此，知識份子的覺醒與對現實的關切，就導致了對臺灣社會有較明顯的建構。臺灣不再是模糊不清的意象，也不再只是抽象中國意象下的影子。」是以，蕭新煌認為，「對臺灣的鄉土意識在70年代開始有了公開而『合法』的地位，從此擺脫了前此那種曖昧不清的生涯。」⁷

透過以上的分析，我們大致可以看出，1970年代的鄉土運動儘管並不是一種具有共同思想基礎與一致目標的文化運動，但由於對當時官方意識形態的不滿，而使其具有某種階段性的共識，因而包容了不同的認同取向。固然1980年代以降本土論述的開展，以及臺灣主體意識的確立，也使得不同路線逐漸分道揚鑣。因此，我們應當可以說，鄉土運動的相關論述確實有著相當的多元性乃至異質性，而後也有不同的發展，但在1970年代的文化與政治的語境下，仍應視為同一陣營。

三、鄉土性與現實性

儘管鄉土運動一再強調所謂民族文化特色，藉以和現代主義相抗衡，但是其走向基本上並不同於國粹論式的守舊主張，也不認同藝術創作應以官方文藝政策為張本的作法。鄉土運動中的相關論者，如胡秋原與陳映真等，在思想上或可歸為民族主義者，但當時鄉土文學論爭的主軸並非民族認同的問題。至少，在文學的領域，鄉土運動並非單純訴諸所謂民族精神作為美學標準，反而訴求五四運動以來現實主義的文藝傳統，企圖揭示社會的弊端。然而，恰恰也正是在這一點，鄉土運動和官方主流的文藝論產生了衝突。否則，單純的民族主義論述，必不至於招惹官方之警懼。

1977年4月，王拓發表了〈是現實主義，不是鄉土文學〉一文，隨後引起了所謂的鄉土文學論爭（或稱論戰），直至隔年才停歇。這篇文章主要是為了替鄉土文學正名，認為當時所謂的鄉土文學的主題和重點其實是在於呈現社會現實問題，而非表現地方的鄉土色彩，故應稱為現實主義文學較合理。此文發表後，彭歌則於1977年7、8月間《聯合報》副刊的「三三草」專欄裡，以數篇短論進行反駁，甚至再於同報副刊發表〈不談人性，何有文學〉（1977年8月17-19日）。之後，《聯合報》副刊又接著登出余光中那篇後來極為著名的〈狼來了〉（8月20日），9月份時，《中央日報》也跟進刊登多篇批評鄉土文學的文章，故形成所謂的鄉土文學論爭。⁸

儘管當時的鄉土論述，始終未出現過強烈抨擊政府決策，或具有不見容於當局之鮮明政治意識

形態的主張。我們至多只能說鄉土運動對於社會現實的強調，的確可能會指向對政治現實的批判，而反對鄉土文學的論述也確實指出並強調這種可能性，期使對手有所畏懼或引導官方介入予以壓制（如「狼來了」之說）⁹。這種做法或許多少達到了反鄉土論者預期的效果，促使當時積極介入主導官方意識形態工作的總政戰部主任王昇出面，透過1978年初國軍文藝大會上的演講，「鄭重地勸告」鄉土文學作家「不要無意中被共產黨利用」，使這場論爭趨於平息。¹⁰

由此即可看出鄉土文學觸及的現實性，以及鄉土運動對於社會現實議題的重視，對既有體制可能產生的威脅感，因而使傾向官方立場的作家加以批駁，甚至用「工農兵文學」等字眼形容鄉土文學（如余光中）。但從另一個角度來說，這也顯示鄉土文學與現實主義文學，或說鄉土性與現實性之間，在當時仍有一定的混融性。假如要加以釐清，甚或要特別突顯現實性，則很容易招致打壓。

而且，對於鄉土運動的倡導者來說，現實性與鄉土性的區分，並非重點所在。這主要並非他們畏懼官方的壓迫，而是因為在他們看來，現實性與鄉土性皆有共同的反對對象，即社會現代化所造成的一些惡果。這種現實性與鄉土性的混融現象，在當時的鄉土文學作品也可看到，例如黃春明的小說就有一定的現實性，但是也同時有相當的鄉土色彩，甚至帶有對鄉土性的留戀與讚揚，相對地，宋澤萊的作品，如〈筓仔與貴仔的傳奇〉和〈鄉選時的兩個小角色〉，就有很強的現實性與批判性，小說背景雖然是在鄉村，但是地方色彩幾乎不是重點，更無懷舊的鄉土性表現。至於同時期臺灣美術中的鄉土風，則大致是鄉土性重於現實性。

四、鄉土運動與現代性

大致而言，鄉土運動的論者對於現代性是抱持著疑懼的態度，有的甚至帶有相當的敵意。之所以會遲疑乃至敵視的原因，一方面是來自現實社會的問題，另一方面則是源於文化層面與價值觀問題。1970年代的臺灣由於資本主義化與現代化，造成了不少社會問題，因而許多鄉土文學都對此有所反思，這自然很容易理解。然而，有些鄉土運動論者則對現代性近乎全面排斥，只承認民族文化或歷史性的基礎。所以在1972至74年間的現代詩論爭之時（有人將之視為70年代整體鄉土論爭的「上半場」，而1977年的論爭是「下半場」），一開始只是關傑明在《中國時報》人間副刊上發表了一篇文章，抱怨當時的現代詩「被弄得非驢非馬」、「我們中國的詩人們實在由西方作家們那裡學錯了東西，他們有永遠只是一個學生的危險，永遠只有模仿、抄襲、學舌」，展開對現代詩的質疑與批評。¹¹ 而後唐文標則發動更強烈的一波批判，方引起較廣泛的迴響，因而引發了文壇諸多的議論。是以當時的文學評論界甚至以「唐文標事件」指稱相關之論爭及其影響。唐文標是一位對推動鄉土運動具有相當影響力的評論家，要理解鄉土運動的價值觀與意識形態，唐文標絕對是很重要的關鍵人物，因此以下將特別針對他在1970年代所發表的論述予以討論。

9. 余光中說：「見狼而不叫『狼來了』，是膽怯。問題不在帽子，在頭。如果帽子合頭，就不叫『戴帽子』，叫『抓頭』。在大嚷『戴帽子』之前，那些『工農兵文藝工作者』，還是先檢查檢查自己的頭吧。」余光中，〈狼來了〉，《聯合報》副刊，1977年8月20日。轉引自尉天驄編，《鄉土文學討論集》，編者自出，1978年，頁267。

10. 見尉天驄編，《鄉土文學討論集》，編者自出，1978年，頁848-849。

11. 引自趙知悌編，《文學，休走——現代文學的考察》，臺北，遠行，1976年，頁142。

表面看來，唐文標似乎很重視鄉土文學的現實性，但其實他更重視的乃是鄉土性。而且正是由於他對鄉土性的特殊詮釋，使鄉土性脫離單純鄉土色彩、地域性或懷舊性的意涵，而與現代性相對立。可以說正因為唐文標論述的影響力，使鄉土運動的意識形態更加鮮明而得以壯大，但與此同時也侷限了鄉土運動的思想而致衰退。此處先舉一例，即唐文標對黃春明的小說《看海的日子》（1967）以及改編的同名電影（王童導演1983）的評論：

《看海的日子》……是反美人的造合劇（well-made play），而接近於布萊希特（Brecht）的史詩劇。……它的內容是寫實的，它沒有鄉愁，只憑藉農村場景，寫盡百年來中國——臺灣在轉型期的蛻換，經驗是痛烈的、切身的。今日一樣有人賣兒賣女，一樣逼良為娼，一樣向上爬乃至變心不認親，也許未那麼赤裸裸吧！唯其赤裸裸，《看海的日子》完成了它的寫實主義，農村的落後和溫情、人道和獸性、非德和樸素、努力和放棄、夾纏地顯示中國農民的韌度。¹²

這裡唐文標大力頌揚了《看海的日子》的寫實主義，但又令人不解地說它接近於布萊希特的史詩劇。一般說來，傳統的寫實主義與史詩劇的疏離現代風格，是分屬兩種截然不同的藝術表現範疇，很少有人會將兩者等同視之。而且，不論是原來的小說或改編後的電影，我們都很難找出史詩劇的影子存在。這裡不是要挑唐文標的語病，而是要藉此指明一個現象：許多鄉土運動論者在面對某些文學作品時，似乎常會顯得過於一廂情願，將自己的主觀意識投射於作品之中，導引出於己有利的結論，卻不甚注重作品形式的剖析。

相較於唐文標毫無保留的肯定，其他文學評論家的看法則顯得相當保留，特別是對於故事本身和人物性格的塑造方面。例如，呂正惠便批評說：

十四歲就開始當妓女的白梅，居然在當了十四年妓女之後還保留那麼純粹的「聖女」性格，除了黃春明對鄉土人物有這種信心之外，不知道還有誰會有這種信心。一個年輕的女人，帶著無父的孩子，住在一個偏僻的鄉下，竟然博得村民那麼大的尊敬，這也不能不說是一種奇蹟。即使村民不知道白梅當過妓女，即使他們相信白梅的話，認為小孩的父親已死，白梅還是不容易獲得那種尊敬。甚至連小孩的父親，白梅所偶然接到的客人，都是那麼純樸善良的人。這一切的「聖潔」與「奇蹟」雖然令人不忍苛責，但是，無可否認的，黃春明是以他百分之百的溫情主義去克服鄉土社會面對工業文明的衝擊所產生的種種困難和痛苦。黃春明在他幻想的王國裡，建立了一個絕對不可能實現的「溫情的烏托邦」。

《看海的日子》無疑是可以當作象徵小說來讀，……正是因為它可以看做象徵小說，因此也就更加表示這篇小說在黃春明作品中的典型性，它以典型的方式反映了黃春明面對現代文明的「鄉土哲學」，這種鄉土哲學是完全沒有現實味，完全理想性的。我們很難不說，黃春明是在逃避問題，黃春明沒有真正的面對現代社會的問題。¹³

正是在唐文標看到「寫實」之處，呂正惠卻看到了「溫情主義」與逃避問題的「鄉土哲學」。唐文標評論的失焦，並非因為他對黃春明的過度偏愛，而是源自他對現代文學、現代文化乃至現代

性本身的過度敵視，以致寄望於一種「鄉土哲學」來超克現實的問題。唐文標對現代主義的敵意，在〈詩的沒落〉一文當中，就可鮮明地看出：

二十年來香港、臺灣的新詩，並沒有繼承五四以來新文學改革的傳統，反之，它卻是蔓生在幾個城市的奇種。真的，新詩沒有在五四新文學那廣闊的胸襟中自由成長，也沒有在水流長遠的民族風傳統中得到薰冶。港臺的現代詩走著一條崎嶇的路，它是一個太早熟了的孩子；一個受歐美戰後加速發展下、物質文明衍生的病態哲學，和在困居中那種閉塞和逃避的心理下造成的「天才」兒童。它的成就是畸形的，偏向的，也可以說，前途無路，早該判死刑的了。¹⁴

這裡唐文標連續使用了幾個生物學式的修辭，如奇種、早熟、畸形等等，這當然象徵著在他心目中，港、臺的新詩創作，已背離了有機的民族文化傳統，因而走上了窮途末路。而且亦值得我們留意的是，這種強調有機性，貶抑外來文化的影響，將之視為機械性、物質化甚至病態的看法，正是訴諸生機論式比喻的民族主義文化觀常見的修辭手法，且在唐文標的論述中反覆出現。

在同一時期寫作的〈從「第七封印」開始〉一文中，唐文標針對伯格曼的電影《第七封印》，就曾批評說：「這種電影有什麼意義呢？說穿了它就是二十世紀西方文化所慣說的空談。是非常可恥的。……虛無病原是上世紀傳下來的梅毒，經了二次世界大戰，遂成為今日世界的文化藝術的流行症。」¹⁵ 其中對現代主義的敵視態度，和病理學式的修辭，都更為明顯。

唐文標對現代主義文藝的敵意，並不是起因自國粹論的守舊排外，而是因為在他看來，現代文化帶來的只是物質化與病態的文明而已。若要由此現代性之「病症」解脫，則唯有依靠鄉土性所代表的精神性與健康的民族文化。

此外，1970年代之時較傾向本土立場的葉石濤，雖然跟尉天驄和唐文標有著類似的主張與互通的立場，不過相較之下，葉石濤對現代主義的敵意似乎不那麼強，並不認為歐美現代文學對潛藏的深層心理的探索是一無可取的。事實上在70年代，葉石濤也寫過不少評介歐美日現代文學作家或作品的文章，其中甚至包括惹內的《竊賊日記》與當代作家如德國葛拉斯、義大利卡爾維諾、西班牙塞拉等等的介紹。考慮到這些作家的作品在國內當時都還沒有中文譯本的情形下（他是透過日文知悉的），此類簡短的介紹確實相當難能可貴且具有國際性的視野，這也證明了他其實一直很關注西方現代文學的近況和發展（這些文章多收於葉石濤的《沒有土地，哪有文學》）。

除此之外，葉石濤強調的寫實主義（現實主義）有著更清楚的歷史脈絡與文學系譜的意識；這不僅是因為他對於歐洲及臺灣本地的文學史認識要更深，因而對傳統也更有自覺，也在於葉石濤承續的是系譜明確的臺灣本土文學的寫實傳統，而不像尉天驄、唐文標僅能籲求建立尚未成形的「健康寫實」的民族文學。儘管他們也強調要遙承五四新文學的傳統，但這在當時的臺灣早已被割離（因多數被視為左翼文學而遭禁），且他們對其理解亦稱不上全面，至少不像葉石濤對臺灣文學與世界文學的認識那樣。

由此亦可看出葉石濤與尉天驄、唐文標對於「現實」的不同理解：首先，葉石濤的「現實」有

12. 引自焦雄屏編，《臺灣新電影》，臺北，時報文化，1990年，頁221-222。

13. 呂正惠，《小說與社會》，臺北，聯經，1988年，頁13。

14. 收入唐文標，《天國不是我們的》，臺北，聯經，1979年，頁147。

15. 同前註，頁92。

著一個很明確的歷史與空間的座標點，即臺灣而非存在於文化想像中的中國。針對這種差異，基本上和尉天驄、唐文標站在同一立場的陳映真，便對葉石濤的〈臺灣鄉土文學史導論〉所提示之「臺灣意識」發表過批評。其次，葉石濤強調的是作家以批判的意識或所謂「反對體制的叛逆」來介入現實，並強調此張力的存在對文學的重要性。相對之下，唐文標則近乎天真地認為只要將文學的「根」紮入現實之後就可邁向「詩境」，忽視現實的複雜性，企圖用共同體的生機性來調和矛盾性。

五、唐文標的詩境說

黑格爾曾經把東方式的帝國稱為「不含詩意的帝國」¹⁶，而在白色恐怖下由軍事獨裁統治的國家，更是一個徹底沒有詩意的國家，因為它已經失卻了部落式國家組織中統治者與臣民之間還多少保有的有機聯繫，或儒家式的倫常關係與實際庶民生活的鄉民社會，取而代之的乃是完全沒有詩意的官僚體制與具有現代化裝備的武力。

因此，當1971年國民政府因聯合國大會2758號決議被逐出聯合國，喪失聯合國席位與中國的代表性，進而失去與許多國家的邦交，甚至統治的正當性也因而被懷疑之後，自然只能嘗試注入一些「詩意」，以求挽救合法性危機。鄉土運動對鄉土性與生機性的強調，就是在這樣的背景中出現。如唐文標便說：「詩境不要再築在你的夢裡面了，就在現在我們的這世界裡創造它吧，如果社會上還沒有放它在哪裡。」¹⁷ 當然他這句話本身並沒有很強的政治性，但他的「詩境」之說很明顯地帶有唯意志論的色彩，故強調創造之重要性，甚至期許在現世創造出一種共同體的詩境：

龐大的複雜的社會，常壓小我們的能力，轉過來有無能為力的感覺。急速工業化的改變，常轉換我們視線，甚至夜盲我們的方向。這一切一切，都常使我們錯覺被隔離，被迷失，甚至說被遺棄了。所以有些作家因此追問活著為什麼，追問自己是誰，進而談到自我認同等等抽象的問題，這很好，這是尋求肯定的一種方法。但同時這也是危險的……這些作家常任意把這些問題抽離出來，把我，存在，認同……抽象成一個純粹哲學問題，以為解決了這個問題就可以放諸四海而皆準，人世界果有絕對的純粹的真理。……事實上，我之所以成我，是此時此地的我……這個我是二十世紀七十年代在中國臺灣省的我，他的存在和其他一千四百萬的同胞血肉相關……要尋找一個真正的我，要了解一個存在的我，只有在一千四百萬人的社會中去尋找，去了解，也只有在了解同時代的所想所生活所存在的環境才能了解自己的。¹⁸

換言之，在唐文標看來，現代文化及現代性思維所帶來的只是原子化且相割離的個體，唯有在一個「血肉相關」的共同體當中，主體才能尋得生命意義（只有在了解同時代的所想所生活所存在的環境才能了解自己的）。然而，他也知道傳統的共同體已是失樂園，難以重建，故他祈使能在現世創造詩境，以求化解現實的社會問題。這種創造詩境的想法，正是呂正惠所批評的「鄉土哲

學」，相對地也難怪唐文標會對黃春明的《看海的日子》如此認同。

六、唐文標論洪通

就在1973年4月《雄獅美術》製作「洪通專集」，因而引起一陣討論熱潮之時¹⁹，唐文標也發表了他的看法。對於洪通的創作，唐文標大致上是肯定的。而除了談洪通之外，唐文標更花費相當的篇幅以洪通的「單純」與「樸素」，來對照當時臺北畫壇的「脫水移根」（這又是很典型唐文標式的生機論比喻），發揮他對藝術界的批判。不過，和他對現代詩西化傾向的攻擊略有不同，唐文標這裡批判的矛頭主要指向的是他所謂的「老文人畫」和「幼文人畫」的脫離現實：

……臺北常見的職業畫家只有二種，一是老文人畫，二是幼文人畫。而我看不出有什麼改變的地方。

老文人畫就是那些仍畫著四王的山水，倪瓚的意境的人，他們一脈相承著千百年來的技巧和面貌，畫著那裡皆不存在的山水風景，……事實上，這些古代文人，四體不勤，五穀不分，到那裡皆只是一種「寄生」的動物，……誰也知道，這世界逐漸形成一體，是不能向古代逃的，更不能在享受現代的「方便」之餘，而發思古之幽情的吧？

幼文人畫意識上與老文人畫沒有分別。所謂文人畫本身就是脫離「生產線」，而又不是在社會服務的思想下，一些閒暇文人的消時產品。幼文人畫基本上好像是西洋「抽象畫」的，但是他們沒有那種對藝術的頹廢的衝動，……從某一點來看，這些畫壇只是跟著外國潮流走，他們沒有需要，也絕對與世界藝術沾不上邊。

……

幼文人畫家是聰明的，他們在中山北路的觀光設備中長大，因此，他們表面走向西方抽象的表現手法，而內面卻運用了中國傳統畫的某些技巧。例如說，無限地放大中國畫的暈彩法，或單獨地配搭了中國的山石皴法及一些變形，便成一幅中西合璧的抽象畫！確實，這種畫有一種好處：

外國人看起來像中國畫！

中國人看起來像外國畫。

但是，卻能滿意了外銷的要求，雖然它根本不代表什麼，不代表作者的，也不代表同時代的社會的。²⁰

從唐文標這裡對「幼文人畫」的批評，我們亦可發現，當時的鄉土運動並不一味地訴求復古、守舊，期望回復過往的鄉土世界，但與此同時也不寄望於折衷混合中西文化的藝術表現，能夠走出民族美學的道路。鄉土運動之所以看中洪通，只因其出身及未經學院訓練的背景，因而他們可以將其視作來自未被西方或城市文明「污染」的鄉土藝人，並把洪通的作品看成是具有「鄉土性」的素

16. 黑格爾，《歷史哲學》，王造時譯，上海，上海書店，1999年，頁112。

17. 唐文標，《天國不是我們的》，臺北，聯經，1979年，頁255。

18. 唐文標，《天國不是我們的》，臺北，聯經，1979年，頁196-197。

19. 《雄獅美術》這期「洪通專集」出版後，十天之內立刻再版，可見當時洪通作品受重視的情形。而且，由此亦可知當時的藝術愛好者對洪通確實有主動了解的興趣，非因媒體煽惑之結果。將所謂「洪通熱」完全歸因於人為刻意之炒作，似有簡化歷史之嫌，且過於低估了當時人們對洪通作品的喜好程度。

20. 唐文標，〈誰來烹魚——因洪通而想到的〉，中國時報，1973年6月1-2日。引文略有節略。

樸本質，而對此——也僅對此——加以肯定。（圖2）

在1976年洪通作品首展期間，臺灣文史學界資深學者楊雲萍也曾前往觀賞。楊雲萍認為，縱使洪通的作品不是繪畫的主流，但就算作為一種「支流」，也仍有值得我們注意之處，因此他對畫展上少見美術界專業的畫家前往觀摩，感到遺憾，認為洪通理應獲得他們「由衷的愛護」才對。²¹ 楊雲萍的看法的確很有道理，因為相對於文化界及一般社會大眾的積極迴響，學院中的畫家對洪通畫作的反應，是比較冷淡甚至有些漠視。不過，從另一方面來說，當時美術界的中青輩畫家也有不少人很肯定洪通的藝術，比如藝術家劉其偉、賴傳鑑、謝里法、廖修平和藝評家顧獻樑等人都很讚賞他的畫作。基本上，整體美術界並不特別排斥洪通，只是他的作品藝術性較難以定位，因而常被視為不甚重要的「支流」，甚或被某些極端保守的畫家視作精神狀態不太正常的怪人的塗鴉宣洩。²² 直至《雄獅美術》與《藝術家》積極推介洪通之創作，尤其是當《藝術家》主辦其作品首展，而後獲得正面且廣泛的迴響之時，美術界經此刺激作用，方才真正開始認識洪通藝術的獨創性，並予以嚴肅地對待和討論。

在70年代繁多關於洪通的論述當中，他的作品是否具有「民間性」可能是最受關注的問題，因為此一問題又直接關聯著其藝術定位的問題。²³ 認為洪通的作品確具有民間性，自然以鄉土運動的論述為代表。然而，這種觀點卻有一項未明言的前提，即洪通作品的民間性是相對於學院派的藝術（包括所謂老幼文人畫和西畫）而言。換言之，持這種論點的人士之所以說洪通的藝術來自於民間，乃是有所保留的，其目的只在於攻擊當時某些文藝傾向。

七、朱銘與文化造型運動

1970年代鄉土運動對美術界的影響，除了所謂鄉土寫實風的興盛以外，最著名的兩個代表性事件，當屬朱銘與洪通同在1976年舉辦展覽所引發的熱潮。由鄉土運動的觀點出發，轉而注意並讚賞民俗事物的豐富表現力和美學價值，甚或應用於藝術創作中，作為民族美學的基礎，原本是再自然不過。像德國浪漫主義對於民謠詩歌與地方風土民情的發掘，就是典型的代表。當時鄉土運動的主要推動者雖未主動探訪民間的藝術，但也確實鼓動或擴大了人們對此的注意。

儘管嚴格地說來，朱銘與洪通兩人的創作，都不應算是民俗藝術的作品。朱銘雖曾是木雕師傅，但當他拜於楊英風門下後的創作，就已經脫離了一般民間雕刻的規約與風格。至於洪通，他本身既非民間匠師，其作品的媒材與風格更不屬民俗所有。但不管如何，他們的作品都曾被視為具有特殊的鄉土特色與民間性，而被鄉土運動所肯定。尤其朱銘的《同心協力》（1975）的牛車更被視為典型的鄉土意象，成為70年代鄉土藝術的典範。（圖3）



圖2 洪通，〈無題〉，紙、彩墨，106X77 cm，年代不詳。1970年代許多評論者認為，洪通作品非常有鄉土性或民間性的特色，例如此作近似春聯的紅色底色。

圖片來源：蘇建源編，《狂熱的生命-洪通逝世十年回顧》，臺南：洪通美術館基金會籌備處，1996，頁41。



圖3 朱銘，〈同心協力〉，木雕，330×83×124 cm，1996。

圖片來源：朱銘美術館，網址：http://www.juming.org.tw/opencms/juming/bookwork/study/threeD/threeD_0007.html。

鄉土運動對朱銘的創作最讚賞的一點，並非他的創意或是他曾取材於民間藝術，而是他作品的意識型態。尤其《同心協力》這件以眾人推牛車爬坡前行，以寓示「萬眾一心」、「團結奮發」的雕刻作品，更贏得鄉土論者的極力推崇，甚且也得到當時文化界近乎一致的肯定。例如蔣勳便如此稱頌這件作品：

是的，我願意用「偉大」這個字眼來形容它；因為，我們貧弱而柔靡的文化工作裡，幾乎再

也找不出這樣沈實、樸拙，這樣看了以後一定要直一直自己的背脊、挺一挺胸膛的東西。²⁴

是的，鄉土運動就是這麼讚譽這件《同心協力》，甚至對於這樣「偉大」的作品，這樣「給1975年的臺灣，給重重外交上的挫折敗北之後的臺灣，給開始了十大建設力圖自強的臺灣何等昂揚興奮的精神形象」的佳作，卻為何在中山文藝獎中落選而感到不解，為其抱不平。²⁵ 是的，像《同心協力》這麼投合當局所提倡之「莊敬自強，處變不驚」的意識型態之作，卻未能獲得官方獎項之殊榮，難免讓人感到有些疑惑或不平。是的，只要想到同樣在1975年，藝術界還在發起「恭繪 蔣公畫傳」的行動，就可明瞭當局對藝術的需要只是在於製造個人崇拜的圖騰，而不特別期望塑造「昂揚興奮的精神形象」。

當然，除了意識型態的因素，朱銘的雕刻作品能夠讓人感受到具有「臺灣的中國的美學」的

21. 田濤，〈洪通畫展採訪記〉，《藝術家》11期，1976年4月，頁118-119。

22. 例如，畫家張杰便曾在一場座談會上說：「這種鄉下人關在家裡因精神幻覺所作出的畫是否可稱為藝術？」（見1976年3月17日《中國時報》的報導）不過，在美術界中，公開以如此強烈的態度去質疑、否定洪通作品藝術性的人，基本上並不多，且也少有人出面附和。

23. 相關之洪通論述的文獻資料，盛鑑的碩士論文附有一份彙整之書目可供參考，論文第一章第一節亦有概要的分類和討論。參見盛鑑，《邊界的批判——以洪通的藝術為例論臺灣藝術論述中關於分類與界限的問題》，中央大學藝術學研究所碩士論文，1998年。

24. 蔣勳，《藝術手記》，臺北，雄獅，1979年，頁53。

25. 蔣勳，前引書，頁54。

特質（蔣勳語），也是鄉土運動肯定他的重要原因之一。例如他的《魯智深》（1971）、《正氣》（即《關公像》，1973）等作品，雖取材於傳統民俗圖像，卻又在造型上經過適當的簡化，甚且以朱銘特有之斧劈式鑿痕，更增添了所謂東方「樸拙」美感。儘管當時美術界即有人指出，朱銘的這種表現與其說是東方式的，不如說更近似於現代藝術的造型感²⁶，但對於讚揚他的鄉土運動來說，這正是朱銘來自民間卻又青出於藍的創意所在。不過，某些鄉土運動的鼓吹者對此還是感到有些不安，如蔣勳便擔心朱銘受到學院派的影響，把他「可貴的民間工藝訓練」丟失，「而去拾取一些學院藝術貧乏空洞的理論，一知半解地奉為圭臬」，甚至批評他在1976年個展後創作的太極系列作品，「由於從現實環境抽離開來，失去了廣闊的生活背景，感人的程度已大大減低」。²⁷ 由此亦可看出，對鄉土運動而言，朱銘的可貴之處乃在於他「來自民間」的出身，以及有別於學院風格的表現，還有更重要的是，他能創造出「偉大」的作品，給人「抬頭挺胸」、「昂揚興奮」的感動。因此，鄉土運動最肯定朱銘的，還是像《同心協力》那樣主題鮮明且能積極呼應當下政治意識型態的作品。在另一篇文章〈洪通與朱銘〉當中，蔣勳更再一次讚揚這件作品說：「我們在《同心協力》中，感到也要加入貢獻一把力，共同推這輛中國上山去。同時也在橫貫公路中，巴不得也在開墾的行列，朱銘最好的作品中我們時常有使人共同努力，一齊工作那種群體的建設的慾望。」²⁸

根據蔣勳此文的附記，這篇文章論及朱銘的部分是他與唐文標共同討論，並由其執筆續完，故我們更可確定這種「共同努力、一齊投入群體建設的慾望」，並非蔣勳一人所獨有，而是鄉土運動推動者共同的心願。不過，慾望終歸只是慾望。我們切莫因而認為鄉土運動真的將由藝術轉向投身實際的建設，去把「中國」推上山去；相反地，鄉土運動的用意只是在於喚起想像中的那股齊身投入群體建設的參與感而已。換句話說，鄉土運動並不是要把藝術帶入生活、改造社會，而是意圖將生活——特別是集體行動的生活——給審美化。與其說因為那臺牛車象徵了中國所以是美的，毋寧說因為中國就像一臺眾人推動的牛車所以是美的。

從蔣勳這個「偉壯」的梦想裡，我們正可看出70年代的鄉土運動所期望的民族美學，對集體行動的崇尚與審美化。是以，蔣勳才這麼夢想著促使眾人行動起來共推中國這部牛車。也因為這種「偉壯」的美學觀，使蔣勳無法接受朱銘在創造出《同心協力》這麼偉大的作品後，還回頭去雕鑿「失去廣闊的生活背景」且不能激勵人心的太極系列雕刻。然而，其後朱銘卻放棄偉壯的牛車意象的創作路線，持續製作或翻製太極圖像雕塑，並在藝術市場上獲得高度迴響。

於是，鄉土運動對朱銘的期許便落空了。不過，鄉土運動對自身也沒太高的期許。隨著政治上領導階層接班權力的鞏固，以及鄉土文學論爭當中官方的警示，鄉土運動的行動力——儘管原本就只是精神上的而已——沒多久也就消褪了。從前「同心協力」的人們也不再繼續推展這場運動。曾經「巴不得投入開墾行列」的蔣勳，在1980年代後也逐漸退回到個人的浪漫小天地裡，不再做著偉壯的梦想。一場運動就此落幕，未免令人興嘆歛噓。蔣勳為他自己的文集撰寫序言，回顧先前的文章有感而發所說的話，就某方面而言，適足以作為鄉土運動以及那場為時短暫的文化造型運動的註

腳：「我把一個遙不可及的理想套放在毫無可能改變的現實上，難怪要覺得沮喪疲倦了。」²⁹ 這也說明了鄉土運動理想的空洞性，只能夠空想一些壯美的景象，或期望能與群體融合在一起，和大家同心協力共同作點什麼，去追求想像中的壯烈審美感受，至於要作什麼則不甚了了，也從未仔細規劃。雖然蔣勳在談到文化造型運動時，曾提到「要把由小說帶起的寫實精神更確定、更豐富地在造型美術上發展起來」，但是他只是模糊地提示我們應確立「宇宙觀」與「世界觀」，期許藝術工作者應具有「解釋和改造自己所處世界的意願和實踐」，具體的做法和方案則付之闕如。換言之，一切仍只是「遙不可及的理想」而已。難怪終究會覺得「沮喪疲倦」，而不再編織夢想，或者說，只能將詩境築在夢裡面，而無法在現在的世界裡創造它。³⁰

八、結語：鄉土藝術的非鄉土可能性

漢寶德曾指出：「洪通的畫在藝壇上所引起的最主要興趣，在於它是中國的與民間的。」而在洪通畫中的世界「找中國，找民間，自然有一種素樸的形而上的意味。」他因此認為，這正是洪通的畫會引起學院的藝術界激賞的原因。³¹ 不過，比較正確地說，應是引起鄉土運動激賞的原因，因為藝術界一般還是將其視作一種「樸素藝術」（naïve art），而由形式面肯定洪通的表現。換句話說，鄉土運動基本上還是由尋找「樸素的形而上的意味」的角度來看待洪通，因此認為他太過個人化或視為只是單純的裝飾趣味，因而他們情願給朱銘更高的評價，往他的作品裡「找中國、找民間」。

因此，並不令人意外，1970年代洪通的獨特藝術表現會不太能夠被當時仍充斥著「建立民族美學」之類論調的文藝界所接受或正確理解。相對之下，美術界對洪通新穎獨特的表現卻還比較有所感，因而將其創作積極推介於社會大眾，使這些來自民間的藝術終於在民間獲得廣泛的迴響。1976年洪通作品首展期間，每天都有各行各業的人士前去欣賞，並積極參與回應，對其品頭論足一番。在臺灣美術史上，這種展覽的盛況，即使不是絕後，但至少是空前的。即使單從留下的文字記錄與展場的照片，我們仍能依稀感受到圍繞於整個會場的嘉年華氛圍，即那種民間生活中，大家在共有的生活空間自由對話的歡快氣氛。連帶的，藝術界與文化界在此氛圍的感染下，也不得不正式面對洪通畫藝的刺激，開始重估既有美學判準的價值，重新思考藝術場域邊界之調整的問題。漢寶德即曾有感於洪通的藝術所帶來的啓發作用而說道：

我們需要活力來推動一個傳統的蛻變與發展。我們需要一些強有力的心靈的機器，納入外界的現象，產生出新的意象，供我們反省自己，也供我們尋找新的跡象，以及新的表達途徑。

雖然他們並不一定指出未來的方向，至少，他們的作品應該使我們知道藝術中另有天地。³²

的確如此，洪通確實使我們知道藝術中另有天地，且刺激了當時的藝術界，使他們反省，使他們去尋找新的跡象，以及新的表達途徑。或許那場以「素樸的形而上」立場，尋尋覓覓於「找中

26. 如莊伯和所指出的：「他〔朱銘〕目前大刀闊斧劈砍的寫意作風，如就其傳統的雕花技法基礎上而言，毋寧說是有相當的距離的，也就是說，朱銘接近了現代造型的技法。」見莊伯和，〈朱銘的木雕藝術〉，《藝術家》11期，1976年4月，頁87。

27. 蔣勳，前引書，頁61-62。

28. 蔣勳，前引書，頁71。

29. 蔣勳，《藝術手記》，臺北，雄獅，1979年，序8。

30. 蔣勳，《藝術手記》，臺北，雄獅，1979年，頁100-101。

31. 漢寶德，〈化外的靈手〉，《中國時報》12版，1976年3月12日。

32. 唐文標，〈誰來烹魚——因洪通而想到的〉，中國時報，1973年6月1-2日。引文略有節略。

國、找民間」的鄉土運動退潮之後，我們反而更能正確地理解和貼近洪通的藝術。即使洪通這部「強有力的心靈的機器」早已停止運作，但是他所生產出的意象，卻依然有其新意，繼續挑戰著我們的思維與藝術的界限。

固然洪通受到重視，特別是在1970年代成為一股熱潮，鄉土運動的推波助瀾確實有相當的影響，但是鄉土運動的讚譽，如同前述，其實也有不同的起因，而這也反映了鄉土運動內部意識形態的多元混雜性。如今我們回顧鄉土運動，不僅要更深入理解其異質性，也要以不同的眼光去讀解當時的藝術作品，將其中的潛在可能性給釋放出來，尋得新的天地，不論是否可稱之為詩境。（圖4）



圖4 洪通，〈無題〉，甘蔗板、油彩，60X125 cm，年代不詳。不論洪通的作品是否具有鄉土色彩，其畫作中的空間感之繁複，更有個人獨創性，甚至有拓樸學式的內外交錯感，此作即為一例。
圖片來源：蘇建源編，《狂熱的生命-洪通逝世十年回顧》，臺南：洪通美術館基金會籌備處，1996，頁51。

Kai Sheng

Abstract

Generally speaking, the Taiwanese art scenes in the 1970s were definitely impacted by the Nativist movement but its impact and extent are still unconcluded. It is intricate to define the core of the Nativist movement. It is also complicated to compare Nativist arts to Nativist literature of the same period or to define the ideologies of the discourses in the movement. This makes it difficult to sort through the relations between Taiwanese arts and the Nativist movement in the 1970s.

To trace the origin, it is necessary to examine the topics and arguments mentioned during the Nativist movement and to clarify its concepts, values, standpoints and ideologies. With these, we could discuss the impact of the Nativist movement on the art scenes and compare Nativist literature with Nativist arts. This paper analyzes the speech of significant participants in the Nativist movement and discusses the cultures, aesthetics and ideologies of their discourses and the issues of the correlation between the Nativist movement and Taiwanese arts.

Keywords: nativist movement, nativist Literature Polemic, modernity, Tung Hung, Ming Ju, Wen-biao Tang

1. Special acknowledgement to Prof. Yong-yuan Yang (楊永源), who provided sound advice as a commentator at” Nativeness, Reality and Historic Narration,” an academic conference of the Taiwanese art evolution in the 1970s (鄉土・現實・歷史旁白——戰後七〇年代臺灣美術發展學術研討會), where the first draft of this paper was presented.

I. The Diversity in the Nativist Movement

It goes without saying that Taiwanese arts in the 1970s were challenged and influenced by the Nativist movement but it is difficult to conclude its impact and extent. It is intricate to define the core of the Nativist movement. It is also complicated to compare Nativist arts to Nativist literature of the same period or to define the ideologies of the discourses in the movement. The fact that there are no definite answers makes it difficult to sort through the relations between Taiwanese arts and the Nativist movement in the 1970s.

To trace the origin, it is necessary to examine the topics and arguments in the Nativist movement and to clarify its concepts, values, standpoints and ideologies. Afterwards, we could discuss the impact of the Nativist movement on the art scenes and compare Nativist literature and arts. This paper contains the analyses of the speech of significant participants in the Nativist movement and discusses the cultures, aesthetics and ideologies of their discourses and the relations between the Nativist movement and Taiwanese arts.

Hsin-tian Liao (廖新田) once created the term “Nativism” to discuss the ideologies in the Nativist movement.² It was considered to use the term in this paper but the term was not common in academia and Nativism has the connotation that Nativist ideas were consistent and clear. In the 1970s, the discourses in the Nativist movement did not necessarily share the same clear idea. They were in the same category because of their common opponents. In fact, the standpoints of the Nativists were quite different. Even though they had common opponents, the reasons behind were not necessarily the same.

The Nativist movement in this paper of course refers to the Taiwan’s cultural movement in the 1970s, but it also includes the influences and changes in different fields. Whether it was literature, arts or music, their reactions to the Nativist movement were all different. The nativeness in their works differed as well. The Nativist movement lacked a clear idea or a unified feature so it should not be treated as a collective noun. It is a category consisting of many subcategories.

Just like the Enlightenment and the Romantic Movement, the Nativist movement utilized its appeals and ideas to shape certain discourses, which later led into actions and possible solutions to problems of its historical period. As a movement full of diverse ideas and energetic mobilization, the forces and ideologies were contrasting. To say that the Nativist movement only came with one ideology or one goal would be unrealistic. That said, the Nativist movement did not promote just one specific cultural and artistic idea, nor did it embody and mobilize for just one nationalistic ideology. It should be deemed as an amalgam of contrasting ideas, discourses and arts. Of course their common opponents were the reason why they united and thought they were on the same team. Within the amalgam, there was also a common goal. Thus, the Nativist movement was formed.

With the Nativists’ criticisms to the westernized Modernism, saying it abandoned traditions, there were still complex conversations on nativeness and modernity. Some works of writers categorized as Nativist at the time embodied techniques of modernism, such as Chiao Lee (李喬), Zhen-he Wang (王禎和) and Ying-zhen Chen (陳映真). Even though there were criticisms to modernity, the reasons behind and extent varied.

2. Liao, Hsin-tian (廖新田). Aesthetics and Difference: Ju Ming and the Nativism in the 1970s.” (美學與差異：朱銘與1970年代的鄉土主義), *Four Critiques on Taiwanese Arts* (臺灣美術四論), Taipei: ARTouch (典藏), 2008, pp. 89-121.

It is reasonable and in line with the historical fact to state that the constitution of the Nativist movement was diverse than singular. We could only understand the Nativist movement more thoroughly when we acknowledge the diversity. To clarify the features of the Nativist movement, multiple perspectives were applied to dissect its complexity and to discuss its relations to Taiwanese arts.

II. The Nativist Movement and Taiwanization

To define the Nativist movement, the discussion beings with some opposing terms: *xiangtu* (鄉土) and *bentu* (本土); nativeness and reality; the Nativist movement and modernity. These terms seem opposing yet related. They help us understand the diversity and the entirety of the Nativist movement.

First of all, *xiangtu* and *bentu*. In the 1970s, the term *xiangtu* was used more frequently than the term *bentu*, while in the 1980s, it was the other way around. In the 1970s, the terms were synonymous, both meaning of the local community. After the 1980s, only *bentu* had the meaning. For example, Taiwanese literature can be also referred to as *bentu* literature. However, the Nativist literature specifically refers to the Nativist literary works abundant in the 1970s or literary works with pronounced Nativist tones. It would never be used to refer to Taiwanese literature as a collective term. Because of the above-mentioned, *xiangtu* and *bentu* were considered to have very different meanings. After the 1980s, *xiangtu* was replaced by *bentu*. Here is some significant comments by Linden Tsai-chueh Lin (林載爵).

Xiangtu is a term commonly used in Taiwan in the 1970s. It appeared in *China Tide* (夏潮), *Cactus* (仙人掌), *The Lion Art Monthly* (雄獅美術), *The Scooper Monthly* (綜合月刊), *The China Tribune* (中國論壇), etc. There was a common ground for discussion.... However, after the Taiwanization in the 1980s, *xiangtu* was replaced by *bentu*.³

For Linden Tsai-chueh Lin, “*Xiangtu*, as a genre of thought, means the examination of the colonial history. The Nativists promoted strongly to look into the rebellious Taiwanese history under Japanese rule. When the global and worldwide colonialism serves as a starting point to understand Taiwanese history, the analyses of Taiwanese social classes have also become the essence of the Nativist ideas.” Yet, “the Nativist Literature Polemic in April, 1977, the Zhongli incident in November, 1977 and the Kaohsiung incident in December, 1979, among other political movements all aggravated the Nativist movement. After the 1980s, the Nativists encountered **a major setback**. The movement was replaced by some other distinctive ideas. It was a huge turn in the history of ideas. To put into words at that time, *xiangtu* was transitioning to *bentu*.⁴ Regardless of the judgement and the ideology hidden in the words, “a major setback,” which favors *xiangtu* over *bentu*, the word “replaced” was worth a discussion.

Linden Tsai-chueh Lin stated, “*xiangtu* and *bentu* represent two different ideas, each with its own connotation. The most prominent and note-worthy difference is in the national identities of China and Taiwan. Yet if the discussion of *xiangtu* and *bentu* only focuses on national identities, the differences become blurred, even covered.” That said, Lin still thought that Taiwanization was only “aggravated” by political factors such as the Zhongli incident and the Kaohsiung incident. And it was the reason why “*xiangtu* was transitioning to *bentu*.” His external cause was too simply, which focused on the difference in the national

3. Liao, Linden Tsai-chueh (林載爵). “Nativism before Nativety: the Setback of a Thinking Possibility.” (本土之前的鄉土：談一種思想的可能性の中挫) *Unitas Literary Monthly* (聯合文學), vol.158, Dec 1997, pp. 87-92.
4. *Ibid.* The text was bolded during citation.

identities of China and Taiwan. In his opinion, the Chinese identity was replaced by the Taiwanese, which leads to *xiangtu* replaced by *bentu*.

In fact, A *Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation* (臺灣人民自救宣言) was drafted by Ming-min Peng (彭明敏), Tsung-min Hsieh (謝聰敏) and Ting-chao Wei (魏廷朝) in 1964, which indicates that the political advocate of the Taiwanese national identity was prior to the Nativist movement. *The Introduction to the History of Taiwanese Nativist Literature* (臺灣鄉土文學史導論) published by Shih-tao Yeh (葉石濤) in 1977 defined Nativist literature as an area literature created by writers with Taiwanese ancestry. The article emphasizes the unique historical experience in Taiwan, which subtly differentiated Taiwanese and Chinese literatures. The gap between the Taiwanese ideology and the mainstream ideology by the government widened. Nativists also drifted further away from Chinese nationalists. The Nativist movement in the 1970s caused tension between the Chinese and Taiwanese national identities. Shih-tao Yeh brought up the Taiwanese ideology which was refuted by Ying-zhen Chen. No further responses were made by Shih-tao Yeh and there was no follow-up discussion. Even though it was proven there might be some differentiation in national identities, it had not yet become an issue leading to a heated debate. What really happened in 1977 was that there was some cooperation between the two. They had common opponents, modernism in the art world and the governmental ideology in a political world. Hence, an alliance was formed. The differentiation in their idea, “especially political ideas,” was actually an interpretation by later viewpoints. The opinion was not formed at the time and should not be defined as a replacement.

The differentiation in *xiangtu* and *bentu* was even less prominent in the Taiwanese art scenes in 1970s. In the preface of the new edition of *the History of Taiwanese Art under the rule of Japan* (日據時代臺灣美術運動史) by Li-fa Hsieh (謝里法) writes, “the Taiwanese arts discussed at the time could be only called as modern Chinese art. Under the circumstances, the word “Taiwan” was avoided but I insisted that Taiwan was stated. Even though the publisher mailed me to request to have the name changed before publication, I still took a great risk and kept the original title.” He also confessed, “The book was written in the 1970s, which was confined within the historical experience and perspectives in that specific period... In the 1970s, I also only possessed Chinese ideas and lexicon.”⁵ This explains the mixture and the compatibility of different ideas. Besides, the preface of the first edition of *Adieu! Ali: Arts with Ali by Letters*⁶ (珍重！阿笠——在信中與阿笠談美術) by Li-fa Hsieh was written by Ying-zhen Chen, which indicated the alliance in their ideas. The preface was emitted in the second edition. It sort of stood for the split of the two writers and two viewpoints.



Figure 1: The original cover of the book *Adieu! Ali: Arts with Ali by Letters* was carved and printed on wood by Ping-Ming Hsiung (熊秉明). Source: Hsieh, Li-Fa. *Adieu! Ali: Arts with Ali by Letters*. Taipei: Lion Art, 1977.

5. Hsieh, Li-fa (謝里法). *The History of Taiwanese Art under the rule of Japan* (日據時代臺灣美術運動史). Taipei: Artist Publishing Co. (藝術家), 1993, pp. 4-5.
6. *Ibid.*

Sociologist Hsin-huang Michael Hsiao (蕭新煌) once stated, Taiwanese intellectuals in the 1970s were aware of the crises under the circumstances. “The awareness was mixed with Taiwanese and Chinese ideologies. They aimed at the survival of Taiwan and the prospect of China. Or to be clearer, the future prospect of China depended on the current survival of Taiwan. For these intellectuals, the two did not contradict but complemented each other.” Thus, “Without doubt, the Nativist ideology or the Taiwanese ideology was based on the acknowledgement of Taiwan. With the premise that the Taiwanese ideology served the Chinese ideology, the Taiwanese ideology was acknowledged by most intellectuals. The critical reason why the Taiwanese ideology was nurtured and accepted was the nationalism brought by external forces. Thereafter, the intellectuals awoke and became more attentive to the current events. Taiwanese society solidified and the image of Taiwan was no more blurry nor just a shadow under the abstract image of China.” Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao believed, “the Taiwanese Nativist ideology became public and legitimate in the 1970s. It was no longer ambiguous.”⁷

Followed by the analysis, the rough conclusion would be that even though the Nativist movement in the 1970s was a cultural movement with multiple ideas and goals, they were all upset by the governmental ideology and reached a momentary common consensus. Thus different ideas were all accommodated. The ideas drifted apart little by little after the 1980s where the bentu discourse was developed and the Taiwanese subjectivity got established. It could be stated that diversity or heterogeneity existed in the discourses of the Nativist movement. The discourses also developed differently thereafter. Yet, they were on the same team under the cultural and political circumstances in the 1970s.

III. Nativeness and Reality

Even though the Nativist movement put emphasis on nationality to counteract modernism, it did not conform to the conservative Chinese viewpoints and disagreed that art works should follow the governmental guidelines. Qiu-yuan Hu (胡秋原) and Ying-zhen Chen among other Nativists had more nationalistic ideas. Still the Nativist Literature Polemic did not center on national identities. At least in the field of literature, the Nativist movement did not set nationalism as an aesthetic standard. It appealed to realism, a cultural tradition passed on by the May Fourth Movement in hope to reveal social corruptions. This was the exact reason that there was friction between the Nativist movement and the mainstream cultural viewpoint of the government. Otherwise, the discourses of nationalism by themselves would not set the alarm of the government.

In April, 1977, *It’s Realism, Not Nativist Literature* (是現實主義，不是鄉土文學) by Tuoh Wang (王拓) triggered the Nativist Literature Polemic, which ceased in 1978. The article was to set things straight on Nativist literature. He believed the topics and focuses of the Nativist literature at that time were social issues, not folk cultures. It should be called literary realism. After the publication, in July and August 1977, Ge Peng (彭歌) wrote several essays to refute Wang’s ideas in his column, *Sansancao* (三三草), on *the United Daily News* (聯合報). He even published *There’s No Literature Without Humanity* (不談人性，何有文學) in the supplements of *the United Daily News* (August 17-19, 1977). The famous article, *Here Come the Wolves* (狼來了), by Guang-zhong Yu (余光中) was soon published on the supplements of *the United Daily*

7. Hsiao, Hsin-huang Michael (蕭新煌). “The ‘Nativist Ideology’ of Contemporary Intellectuals: Research on Sociology” (當代知識份子的「鄉土意識」——社會學的考察), *Intellectuals and the Development of Taiwan* (知識份子與臺灣發展), edited by the China Tribune Council of Editors (收入中國論壇編輯委員會), Taipei: Linking Publishing Co. (聯經), 1989, pp. 200-201. It was first published in the China Tribune vol. 265.

News as well (August 20). In September, *the Central Daily News* (中央日報) also published several articles criticizing Nativist literature. The Nativist Literature Polemic thus began.⁸

The discussions of Nativists never strongly criticized governmental policies. Nativists’ political ideologies also conformed to those of the government’s. At most one could say that the emphasis which the Nativist movement put on social issues might lead to criticisms to the government. Arguments against Nativist literature did mention and emphasized the possibility in an attempt to frighten the Nativist opponents and call for governmental intervention and suppression, (such as arguments made in *Here Come the Wolves*).⁹ The outcome more or less met the expectation of anti-Nativists. Sheng Wang (王昇), Minister of the Political Warfare Bureau, who strove to spread the governmental ideology at the time, delivered a speech at a cultural event of the Armed Forces. He “strongly advised” that the Nativists “should not be used unintentionally by the Communist Party.” The speech put the Polemic to rest.¹⁰

The reality and social issues which Nativist literature valued might have threatened the established systems. The writers with the same viewpoint of the government felt urged to criticize. Guang-zhong Yu even used the term “Worker-Peasant-Soldier literature” to describe Nativist literature. From another aspect, this indicates that Nativist literature and literary realism, or one may say nativeness and reality, shared some same attributes at that time. To clarify or to highlight the reality easily led to suppression.

For Nativists, the differentiation of nativism and realism was not the most important. It was not because they feared governmental suppression. For them, nativeness and reality share mutual opponents, which were the undesirable outcomes of modernization. Some literary works are made of Nativist and realist mixture. For instance, novels by Chun-ming Huang (黃春明) has both realist and nativist attributes. They value and praise nativeness. On the other hand, works by Ze-lai Song (宋澤萊), such as *The Legend of Sheng-a and Gui-a* (笙仔與貴仔的傳奇) and *Two Insignificant Characters During the Township Election* (鄉選時的兩個小角色), were sharply critical and realistic. Even though the novels set in rural villages, the focus was neither on folk cultures nor nostalgic nativeness. As for Taiwanese Nativist arts during the same period, emphasis was more on nativeness than reality.

IV. The Nativist Movement and Reality

In general, Nativists had doubts in modernism. Sometimes it was even with deep hostility. One reason for their hesitation or hostility was from social issues. Another was from cultures and values. The modernization and capitalization in the 1970s Taiwan caused a lot of social issues. It made sense that Nativist literature reflected much on the issues. Some Nativists rejected modernism to a point where they only accepted the cultural and historical aspects of it. The polemic on modern poetry between 1972-1974 began

8. Important discussions were compiled into one book: Tian-cong Wei (尉天驄) ed. *Discussion on Nativist Literature* (鄉土文學討論集). Tian-cong Wei (尉天驄), 1978.

9. Guang-zhong Yu writes, “It’s cowardly to see wolves but not to yell ‘Here come the wolves.’ The problem is not the hat but the head. If the hat fits the head, it’s not called ‘putting on a hat’ (to put a label on) but ‘scratching the head’. Before shouting ‘Don’t put a hat on us,’ those ‘Worker-Peasant-Soldier writers and artists’ should check their head first.” Guang-Zhung Yu (余光中). “Here comes the Wolves.” (狼來了) Supplements of *the United Daily News* (聯合報), 20 Aug. 1997. The citation was from Wei, Tien-cong (尉天驄), ed. *Discussion on Nativist Literature*, Tian-cong Wei, 1978, p. 267.

10. Wei, Tien-cong (尉天驄), ed. *Discussion on Nativist Literature* (鄉土文學討論集). Tian-cong Wei (尉天驄), 1978, pp. 848-849.

with an article by Jie-ming Guan (關傑明) on *the China Times* (中國時報). (Some people regard it as the first half of the whole Nativist Literature Polemic in 1970s while see the debate in 1977 as the second half.) Guan complained that modern poetry at the time was “neither fish nor fowl” and that “the things we Chinese poets picked up from western writes were wrong.” His doubt and criticism of modern poetry included that “they are at risk of staying as students forever, who only imitate, plagiarize and mimic.”¹¹ Later sharper criticism came from Wen-biao Tang (唐文標) with greater responses. Discussions were triggered among writers. The polemic and its influence was even named “the Wen-biao Tang incident” by the literary world. Wen-biao Tang was a commentator who deeply influenced the Nativist movement. He is crucial for learning the values and ideologies of the Nativist movement. His arguments in the 1970s will be discussed in the following.

It might seem that Wen-biao Tang valued the reality in Nativist literature. He actually valued more the nativeness. Because of his special interpretation of nativeness, it brought nativeness new connotations other than just being folk, regional or nostalgic. It stood against modernity. Influenced by Tang’s arguments, the ideologies of the Nativist movement became clearer and stronger. Yet, the Nativist movement was also confined by the ideologies and started to decline. For example, Here are Tang’s comments on *A Flower in the Rainy Night* (看海的日子) (1967) by Chun-ming Huang and the film adaptation directed by Tong Wang (王童) (1983).

A Flower in the Rainy Night...is an anti-beauty well-made play, which is close to Brecht’s epic theatre.... Its content is realistic not nostalgic. With the rural scenes, it depicts the changes in the transition of China to Taiwan. The changes were poignant and personal. Nowadays, some children are still sold by their parents. Some people are forced into prostitution. Family was abandoned for personal achievement. It may not be as explicit as in *A Flower in the Rainy Night*. However by being explicit, *A Flower in the Rainy Night* embodies realism and showcases the underdevelopment and the warmth of the rural area. Humanity and barbarity, immorality and austerity, diligence and surrender were interwoven into the resolute Chinese farmers.¹²

Wen-biao Tang praised the realism in *A Flower in the Rainy Night*, but it is confusing that he compared the book to Brecht’s epic theatre. Generally speaking, the traditional realism and the distancing modern epic theatre belong to two distinctive art categories. They are rarely regarded as the same. Whether it is the novel or the film adaptation, there is no hint of epic theatre. I am not trying to find fault with Wen-biao Tang’s words but to specify a pattern. Nativists’ interpretation of literary works might be too wishful and subjective. In order to have conclusions more beneficial to themselves, they misinterpreted the genres of the literary works.

Compared to Wen-biao Tang’s whole-hearted praise, other critics were more reserved on their compliments, especially on the storyline and characters. Here is Cheng-hui Lu’s (呂正惠) criticism.

Baimei (白梅) starts her prostitution at the age of 14. After 14 years of prostitution, she is still as untainted as a sanit. I don’t know who else but Chun-ming Huang has such faith in rustic characters. It is a miracle that a young woman with a fatherless child can earn such respect from the neighbors in a rural countryside. Even if the neighbors do not know Baimei was a prostitute and believe that the

child’s father has been dead, it is not easy for her to win such respect. Even the child’s father, a client that Baimei met by chance, is such an honest and kind person. All these holiness and miracles are irreproachable. Without doubt, Chun-ming Huang used his absolute paternalism to overcome the pain and hardship brought by industrialization. Chun-ming Huang, in his imaginative kingdom, created a “loving utopia” which could never be brought to reality.

A Flower in the Rainy Night is for sure full of symbolism.... The symbolism showcases the typicality in Chun-ming Huang’s works. His works reflect, in a typical way, his Nativist philosophy in the modern world. This philosophy is not realistic at all. It is based fully on idealism. It is noticeable that Chun-ming Huang avoids solving problems and does not face the real issues in modern society.¹³

It is where Wen-biao Tang saw “realism” that Cheng-hui Lu saw “paternalism” and the problem-avoiding “Nativist philosophy”. Tang’s comments were a bit out of place not because of his favoritism for Chun-ming Huang. The issue was at his hostility towards modern literature, modern cultures and modernity. The hostility drove Tang towards the Native philosophy in order to solve problems in reality. Tang’s hostility was shown clearly in his article, *the Decline of Poetry* (詩的沒落).

The modern poetry in the past twenty years in Hong Kong and Taiwan did not adopt the literary reforms introduced by the May Fourth Movement. Instead, Modern poetry became **a rare species populated in few cities**. Really, the modern poetry did not mellow with the literary liberation brought by the May Fourth Movement, nor did it flourish in the long-lasting tradition of folk cultures. There is no foreseen future for the **precocious** modern poetry in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Influence by the development and materialism after World War II, the modern poetry has become **morbid**. Its excellence was caused by confinement and avoidance. Its achievement is **deformed**, misled and uncertain. The modern poetry should have been sentenced to death.¹⁴

Here Wen-biao Tang used several biological terms, such as rare species, precocious and deformed. It shows that in his mind, the modern poetry in Hong Kong and Taiwan was astray from the organic tradition of folk cultures and was reaching to a dead end. It is noteworthy that there was recurring rhetoric in Wen-biao Tang’s arguments. He valued folk cultures, which are organic. He belittled the influence of foreign cultures, which are mechanic, materialistic and morbid.

In the same period, he wrote From the *Seventh Seal* (從「第七封印」開始). In the article, Wen-biao Tang criticizes Bergman’s *the Seventh Seal* saying, “What’s the point of the film? It says nothing, which is common in the Western culture of the 20th century. It is shameful.... The pathogen of voidness is like the syphilis from the last century. Only after World War II did it become an epidemic in global cultures.”¹⁵ His hostility towards modernism and the rhetoric of pathology are both shown here.

Wen-biao Tang’s hostility towards modernism did not come from the traditional and xenophobic nationalism. It is because for Tang, modern culture only comes with materialism and morbidity. To relieve the symptom of modernism, the spirituality of nativeness and a healthy national culture are needed.

In the 1970s, Shih-tao Yeh was more a Nativist. He might share similar ideas and standpoints with

11. Zhao, Zhi-ti (趙知悌) ed. *Literature, Don't Go: Research on Modern Literature* (文學，休走——現代文學的考察). Taipei: Yuanxing (遠行), 1976, p. 142.
12. Chiao, Peggy (焦雄屏) ed. *New Films in Taiwan* (臺灣新電影). Taipei: China Times Publishing Co. (時報文化), 1990, pp. 221-222.

13. Lu, Cheng-hui (呂正惠). *Novels and Society* (小說與社會). Taipei: Linking Publishing Co. (聯經), 1988, p.13.
14. Tang, Wen-biao (唐文標). *Heaven Doesn't Belong to Us* (天國不是我們的). Taipei: Linking Publishing Co., 1979, p.147.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

Cong-tian Wei and Wen-biao Tang but his hostility towards modernism was less deep. He did not find the soul-exploring Western modern literature worthless. In fact, Shih-tao Yeh introduced European, American and Japanese writers and literary works in the 1970s, including German writer, Günter Grass, Italian writer, Italo Calvino, Spanish writer, Camilo José Cela and a novel *the Thief's Journal* by Jean Genet. Considering there was no Chinese translation for these works, (which he got to know in Japanese,) it was surely valuable and international for these introductions. This also proves that he always kept updated with Western literature. (Most of these articles are in Yeh's *There Is No Literature Without Land* (沒有土地，哪有文學).)

Besides, the realism (modernism) that Shih-tao Yeh emphasized was with clearer historical context and literary pedigree. Not only was his understanding of European and Taiwanese literary history deeper but he was more keenly aware of traditions. The realist tradition which Shih-tao Yeh maintained had a distinguished pedigree. On the other hand, Cong-tian Wei and Wen-biao Tang only wished to establish healthy and realistic national literature, which had not yet matured. They hoped to maintain the new literary traditions brought by the May Fourth Movement, but they were already abandoned in Taiwan at the time (because most traditions were considered left-wing literature and banned).

From here, it is noticeable that Yeh's, Wei's and Tang's interpretations of reality were all different. Firstly, Yeh's reality had a clear time and space. His reality was Taiwan not China which only existed in cultural imagination. Ying-zhen Chen who had the same views of Wei and Tang had criticized Yeh's different interpretation of reality, especially Yeh's "Taiwanese ideology" in *the Introduction to the History of Taiwanese Nativist Literature*. Secondly, Yeh emphasized the critical thinking of writers and "rebellion against systems." They could intervene in the reality and the tension caused was of literary importance. In contrast, Tang naively thought, once literature was rooted in reality, poetry would be reached. He neglected the complexity in reality and tried to cover the contradiction with the organic community.

V. The Poetry of Wen-biao Tang

Hegel depicted Oriental empires as "empires without poetry."¹⁶ Taiwan under the military dictatorship during the White Terror was completely non-poetic. In tribes, the ruler was still somewhat in contact with their people. It is similar to the relationships in Confucianism and the plebeian lifestyle in rural communities. All these were replaced at the time by bureaucracy and modern armed forces.

In 1972, Resolution 2758 in the UN withdrew recognition of the representatives of the Republic of China as the legitimate representative of China. ROC was forced to leave the UN and lost its diplomatic relations with many countries. The legitimacy of the government was questioned. Thus poetry was utilized to save its legitimacy. The emphasis on being organic and native was put by the Nativist movement under these circumstances. Wen-biao Tang stated, "Do not build poetic realm in your dream. It should be created in our world if the society has not yet placed it there."¹⁷ His statement was not very political but his poetry was full of voluntarism. He emphasized the importance of creativity and hoped for common poetry created for his era.

The huge and complicated society suppresses our abilities and leaves us powerless. The rapid

industrialization often blurs our vision, sometimes even blinds our ways. All these have us feel isolated, lost or abandoned. Some writers started to ask why I live or who I am. They then discussed some abstract concepts such as self-identification, which is good because it is a way to seek approval. It is also dangerous.... These writers often arbitrarily isolated these issues. They treat I, existence, and identification...these abstract concepts as pure philosophical questions. They think the solutions would apply everywhere and there is the truth in humanity.... In fact, the reason why I am me is that I am here now.... I am in Taiwanese Province, Republic of China in the 1970s. My existence is related to the other 14 million people in my country.... To search the real me and the existent me, we have to look into the society of 14 million people. We need to understand the society, the thoughts, lives, and circumstances of the same era to understand ourselves.¹⁸

In other words, in Tang's opinion, what modern cultures and ideas bring were isolated individuals like atoms. Their meanings only showed in a "related" community. (We need to understand the society, the thoughts, lives, and circumstances of the same era to understand ourselves.) He yet knew that a traditional society was a paradise lost. It could not be rebuilt so Tang hoped to create poetry realm in reality to solve real social issues. The will to create poetry realm was a "Nativist philosophy" that Cheng-hui Lu criticized. It was also the reason why Wen-biao Tang looked up to Chun-ming Huang's *A Flower in the Rainy Night*.

VI. Wen-biao Tang's Comments on Tung Hung (洪通)

In April, 1973, *the Lion Art Monthly* did a special issue on Tung Hung. It provoked heated discussion¹⁹ and Wen-biao Tang joined in with his comments. Overall, Wen-biao Tang was positive on Tung Hung's works. Much of Tang's comment was to compare Hung's "simplicity" and "austerity" to the "stemlessness" in Taipei's art scenes at the time, which Tang criticized. (It is another typical biological analogy of Tang.) His attacks on the westernization of modern poetry were different. His targets were mainly his so-called "old literati painters" and "young literati painters." He criticized how they had drifted from reality.

...There are two kinds of professional painters in Taipei: old literati painters and young literati painters. And there is no novelty in them. Old literati painters still do shan shui paintings of the Four Wangs and apply Zan Ni's aesthetics. The skills and styles have been passed on for hundreds of years and been applied in the unreal scenery of mountains and water.... In fact, ancient literatis had no knowledge in production. They were parasitic animal anywhere.... People should face globalization, not escape into the ancient past. Convenience and ancient deep shallow emotions do not go together. There is no difference in the ideas of young and old literati painters. Literati paintings are unproductive. They are not at the service of the society. Literatis only paint to pass time. Young literati paintings are like western abstract paintings without the dispirited artistic impulse.... The painters just followed the foreign trends without the needs to create. Their arts are far below the international arts.... Young literati painters are smart. They are fully equipped. Their styles are Western and abstract but their skills are traditional and Chinese. For example, they amplify Chinese shading freely, isolate Chinese

16. Hegel (黑格爾). *The Philosophy of History* (歷史哲學). Translated by Zhaoshi Wang (王造時), Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House (上海書店), 1999, p. 112.
17. Wen-biao Tang (唐文標). *Heaven Doesn't Belong to Us* (天國不是我們的). Taipei: Linking Publishing Co. (聯經), 1979, p. 255.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 196-197.
19. The special issue on Tung Hung in *the Lion Art Monthly* had its second printing within ten days. The importance of his works was vital. From this, it is known that art lovers at the time did take an interest in Hung Tung and were not manipulated by the media. It is a bit too unsophisticated saying that Hung Tong fever owed completely to artificial manipulation. Public love to Tung Hung's works was underestimated.

ink lines of mountains or rocks and manipulate some other skills. The paintings catch the essence of Western and Chinese. Indeed, the painting has an advantage. Foreigners see them as Chinese paintings! Chinese see them as foreign paintings. They might meet the needs of export but they do not represent anything, not the painters, the era or the society.²⁰

From Tang’s criticism to “young literati painters”, we know that the Nativist movement did not always appeal to nostalgia and traditions. They did not need to restore the past rural lifestyle but they did hope to have their own national aesthetics that were different from the mixture of Chinese and Western arts. Tung Hung was discussed during the Nativist movement because of his origin. Tung Hung was never professionally trained and never contaminated by Western or urban cultures. He was like a Nativist star and his works truly captured the essence of nativeness. And it is the nativeness and only the nativeness that was acclaimed.



Figure 2: Tung Hung, Untitled, year unknown, 106×77 cm. In the 1970s, many critics thought Hung’s artworks bore obvious nativist and grassroots characteristics. For example, in this work, the background red is resonant with the red used by spring festival couplets. Source: Su, Chien-Yuan ed. A Fervent Life: A Ten-Year Retrospective of Tung Hung (狂熱的生命-洪通逝世十年回顧). Tainan: Organizing Committee of the Tung Hung Arts Fund (洪通美術館基金會籌備處), 1996, p. 41.

When Tung Hung’s works were first exhibited in 1976, Yun-ping Yang (楊雲萍), a senior scholar of Taiwanese literature and history also attended. Yun-ping Yang believed, even if Tung Hung’s works were not mainstream, it is still worthy of our attention as a “branch.” He felt sorry that only few professional painters attended Hung’s exhibition and thought Hong deserved “the loving care” of the painters.²¹ Yang’s opinions made sense because professional painters were indifferent or negligent to Tung Hung’s works. Hung only got attention from scholars and the general public. However, many younger painters appreciated Tung Hung’s art works, such as artists Max Liu (劉其偉), Chuan-chien Lai (賴傳鑑), Li-fa Hsieh, Shiou-ping Liao (廖修平)

20. Tang, Wen-biao (唐文標). “Who to cook fish? Thoughts on Tung Hung.” (誰來烹魚——因洪通而想到的) *The China Times* (中國時報), 1-2 June 1973. The citation is abridged.
21. Tian, Tian (田湉). “Reports on Tung Hung’s Exhibition.” (洪通畫展採訪記) *Artist Magazine* (藝術家), vol.11, April, 1976, pp. 118-119.

and critic Hsein-liang Gu (顧獻樑). The artists did not reject Tung Hung. His art works were more difficult to define so Hung was often deemed as an insignificant “branch”. Some extremely conservative painters even considered Hung’s works as graffiti of a psycho freak.²² *The Lion Art Monthly* and *Artist Magazine* (藝術家) actively introduced Tung Hung’s art works. The professional artists did not start to treat and discuss Hung’s originality more seriously until *Art Magazine* curated Hung’s first exhibition, which were widely discussed and critically acclaimed.

Many discussions on Tung Hung in the 1970s were whether his art works embodies folk arts, because this also brought up the definition of arts.²³ The Nativists found Tung Hung’s works related to folk arts, with an unsaid pretense here. The comparison was made between Hung’s arts and scholarly arts (including old and young literati paintings and western paintings). In other words, there was a hidden reason why they said Hung’s works embodied folk arts. They were trying to criticize some other art forms at the time.

VII. Ming Ju (朱銘) and the Culture-molding Movement

Influenced by the Nativist movement, Nativist realism became popular in the 1970s art scenes. There were two other representative events, Ming Ju’s and Tung Hung’s popular exhibitions in 1976. The Nativist movement drew public attention to folk cultures. Their richness and aesthetics were utilized in art works. They were naturally the basis of national aesthetics. Another typical example is the discovery of folk songs and folklores by German Romanticism. The major promoters of the Nativist movement did not really discover folk arts but they drew attention to folk arts.

Strictly speaking, the art works of Ju and Hung did not count as folk arts. Ming Ju was a woodcarver and a student of Ying-feng Yang (楊英風). His carving skills and styles were not of folk arts. Tung Hung was not a folk artist. His media and styles were not of folk arts at all either. Their works however embodied both native and folk arts, which were valued by the Nativists. The bullock cart in *In One Heart* (同心協力) by Ming Ju (1975) has a typical rural image. It was the model of the Nativist arts in the 1970s.



Figure 3: Ming Ju, In One Heart (同心協力), 1996, Wood, 330×83×124. Source: Juming Museum. http://www.juming.org.tw/opencms/juming/bookwork/study/threeD/threeD_0007.html

22. For example, Chieh Chang (張杰), a painter, once said at a conference, “How can the paintings by a delusional countryman be called art?” (*The China Times*, 17 March, 1976.) However, there were only few artists who questioned and denounced Tung Hung’s arts this strongly in public. And there’s were no follow-ups.
23. Documents on Tung Hung could be found in Kai Sheng’s (盛鎧) master’s thesis. There is rough categorization and discussion in the first chapter of the thesis. Sheng, Kai (盛鎧). “The Criticism on the Margin of Art --taking Hung Tong as an Example.” (邊界的批判——以洪通的藝術為例論臺灣藝術論述中關於分類與界限的問題) MA thesis, National Central University (中央大學藝術學研究所碩士論文), 1998.

What Nativists appreciated was the most Ju’s ideology, not his creativity or his folk materials. People are pushing the bullock cart forward uphill in In One Heart. Unity and collaboration are shown in the sculpture. Not only Nativists but also writers appreciated the art work. Here is how Hsun Chiang (蔣勳) praised the work.

Yes, I would use the word “grand” to describe the work because it cannot be found in our poor and weak culture. It is steady and simple, something that would make you stand tall and be proud.²⁴

Yes, *In One Heart* is a “grand” work that received praises from Nativists. Hsun Chiang writes, “In the diplomatically defeated Taiwan in 1975, the work was spirit-lifting especially when Taiwan was trying to reconstruct itself with the Ten Major Construction Projects.” It was bewildering and unfair that the work did not win the Sun Yat-Sen Cultural Awards (中山文藝獎).²⁵ *In One Heart* embodied the ideology of the government. It is “composed and fearless.” It was perplexing and unfair that it did not win the official award. Yet, paintings of Chiang Kai-shek (蔣公) was still popular in the 1975 art scenes. The government needed arts to create an idol for worshipping, not just to be “spirit-lifting.”

Besides being ideological, Ming Ju’s sculptures realized “the Chinese aesthetics in Taiwan” (by Hsun Chiang). This is why it was valued by Nativists. His *Zhishen Lu* (魯智深) (1971) and *Integrity* (正氣) (also known as *Lord Guan* (關公像), 1973) might be inspired by folk arts but Ju had the forms simplified. With his unique axing carves, Ju created oriental austere beauty. Some artists or critics might find Ju’s works more modern than oriental at that time.²⁶ Still for Nativists, Ju was praised for using his creativity to rise above folk cultures. Some Nativists remained uncertain. For example, Hsun Chiang worried that Ming Ju might be influenced by scholarly arts and lose his “precious training in folk arts.” Chiang writes, “He might learn the empty theories from scholars and take them as creeds without full understanding.” Ju’s Taichi (太極) series after 1976 was criticized by Chiang for being “distant from reality, lost in context and much less touching.”²⁷ For Nativists, Ju’s value was in his “folk” origin and his styles, which was distinctive from scholarly arts. Most importantly, his works were “grand,” “supportive” and “spirit-lifting.” Nativists valued Ju’s *In One Heart* the most because the theme was outstanding and it reflected the government’s ideology. In another article, “Tung Hung and Ming Ju” (洪通與朱銘), Hsun Chiang once again praised the work, saying, “In One Heart” makes us want to make our own contribution to push this China uphill. It also makes us want to cultivate along the long road. Ju’s best works usually bring people together and urge them to strive for achievements together.”²⁸

In Hsun Chiang’s annotation, he mentions the discussion on Ming Ju in the article was made with Wen-biao Tang with the article written by him. We can be sure that not only Hsun Chiang but most Nativists would like arts to “bring people together and urge them to strive for achievements together.” However, it is not as easy to realize dreams. The misconception was that the Nativist movement did convert arts to practical construction and did push “China” uphill. Instead, the Nativist movement only urged people to

participate in public construction in their mind. In other words, the Nativist movement did not bring arts into lives or society. It was trying to make lives—especially collective lives—artistic. The bullock cart was beautiful not because it represented China. The cart was beautiful because China was like a cart pushed by people.

In Hsun Chiang’s “grand” dream, we could see the national aesthetics that Nativists promoted, which was to make collective efforts valuable and artistic. Hsun Chiang dreamed that people could propel the bullock cart, i.e. China. Because of his “grand” aesthetics, Hsun Chiang could not accept the fact that Ming Ju, after In One Heart, created Taichi series which were “lost in context” and not spirit-lifting. Ju abandoned the grand concepts represented by the bullock cart. He made and expanded the Taichi series, which were favored in the art market.

Nativists’ high hopes for Ming Ju were shattered. The Nativists did not have much faith in themselves either. Since the new leader wanted to cement his political power and the Nativists drew governmental attention during the Nativist Literature Polemic, Nativists’ efforts, though only spiritual, failed. Afterwards, people did not promote the movement “in one heart.” Hsun Chiang, who had wanted to “cultivate along the long road,” retreated back to his own artistic world and left the grand dreams behind after 1980s. It was a pity that the movement ended like this. Later, Hsun Chiang was reviewing his old articles in order to write the preface of his prose collection. The sentimental words he wrote could be the short comment on the Nativist movement and the short-lived cultural-molding movement. He writes, “I wanted to bring a far-fetched ideal to the non-changing reality. No wonder I was depressed and tired.”²⁹ It shows how grandiose Nativists were. They wished for a great future where everyone got along and worked together. They were chasing some epic imaginative aesthetic standards, but they did not know what to do. In the end, nothing was planned or done. When it came to the cultural-molding movement, Hsun Chiang once stated, “Novels need to be more realistic and get richer in their aesthetics.” He vaguely hinted that we should establish “an universe” and “a worldview.” He hoped artists to “explain and change their worlds” with providing specific instructions or plans”. In other words, all are but “a far-fetched ideal.” In the end, “depression and fatigue” ensued, dreams were left behind, or in other words, the poetic realm can only be built in dreams not in reality.³⁰

VIII. Conclusion: Non-Nativist Arts within Nativist Arts.

Pao-teh Han (漢寶德) once stated, “Tung Hung’s paintings drew most attention from China and the general public in the art world.” and in Hung’s paintings “Naiveté and Metaphysics are found with Chinese yet folk touch”. He believed this was the reason why Hung’s paintings were appreciated by professional artists.³¹ However, the more accurate reason for Nativists’ appreciation would be that Tung Hung’s style was considered naïve art by the art world. In other words, Nativists interpreted Tung Hung mostly by the “naiveté and metaphysics” in his works. They found his works too personal or just purely decorative. They valued Ming Ju more and found Ju’s works “with Chinese yet folk touch.”

Without surprise, Tung Hung’s arts were too unique to be accepted by the writers in the 1970s. They

24. Chiang, Hsun (蔣勳). *Notes on Arts* (藝術手記). Taipei: Lion Art Books (雄獅), 1979, p. 53.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
26. Po-ho Chuang (莊伯和) states, “His [Ju’s] rugged styles have strayed far from the traditional delicate carvings. In other words, Ju’s skills are more modern.” Chuang, Po-ho (莊伯和). “Woodcarving of Ming Ju.” (朱銘的木雕藝術) *Artist Magazine* (藝術家), vol.11, April 1976, pp. 118-119.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

29. Chiang, Hsun (蔣勳). “Notes on Arts” (藝術手記). Taipei: Lion Art Books (雄獅), 1979, p. preface 8.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.
31. Han, Pao-teh (漢寶德). “Uncivilized Hands.” (化外的靈手) *The China Times* (中國時報), 12 Mar. 1976, p. 12.

only accepted and understood “national aesthetics.” In contrast, the artists appreciated Hung’s uniqueness more and introduced actively his works to the public where it stirred up a wide-ranging discussion. Hung’s first exhibition in 1976 was frequented every day by all walks of life. The viewers not only joined in the discussion but had their own comments. It was unprecedented to have a grand exhibition in Taiwanese art history. The carnival atmosphere still overflows from the documents and photos of the exhibition. Discussions flowed freely among all walks of life. The art and cultural worlds were influenced and started to treat Tung Hung more seriously. They reevaluated the established aesthetic standards and reflected on the definition and adjustment of arts. Pao-teh Han was inspired by Tung Hung arts, saying,

We need vitality to change and redevelop a tradition. We need a strong heart to take in the surroundings and create new meanings for reflection, new paths and new expressions. Even if the future is not clear, at least their works open up another possibility in arts.³²

Indeed, Tung Hung did open up another possibility in arts and stimulated the art world. He had them reflect on themselves, look for new paths and find new expressions. Maybe even after the Nativist movement declined, the emphasis it put on “naiveté”, “metaphysics”, and “Chinese” and “folk” arts, helped us more accurately understand and approach Tung Hung’s arts. Although Hung’s “strong heart” has stopped running, the meanings he created are still distinct and challenging to our ideas and artistic boundaries.

Tung Hung was valued and trendy in the 1970s. Surely, the Nativist movement made its contribution in this. Yet, Nativists all praised Hung from different standpoints, which shows the diverse and complex ideologies within the Nativists. To review the Nativist movement nowadays, discussion and thorough understanding of the movement’s heterogeneity are necessary. With different perspectives, we ought to find the hidden possibilities and new definitions, no matter it could be referred to as poetic realm or not.



Figure 4: Tung Hung, Untitled, year unknown, Oil Paint on Chipboard, 60×125 cm. Regardless the existence of nativism in Hung’s artworks, the complicated space configuration is undoubtedly one of his signature styles. For example, in this figure, the internal and external aspects are topologically interlaced.
Source: Su, Chien-Yuan ed. A Fervent Life: A Ten-Year Retrospective of Tung Hung. Tainan: Organizing Committee of the Tung Hung Arts Fund, 1996, p. 51.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

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