

新派繪畫的拼合／裝置：臺灣在巴西聖保羅雙年展的參展脈絡 1957-1973

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蔣伯欣 著

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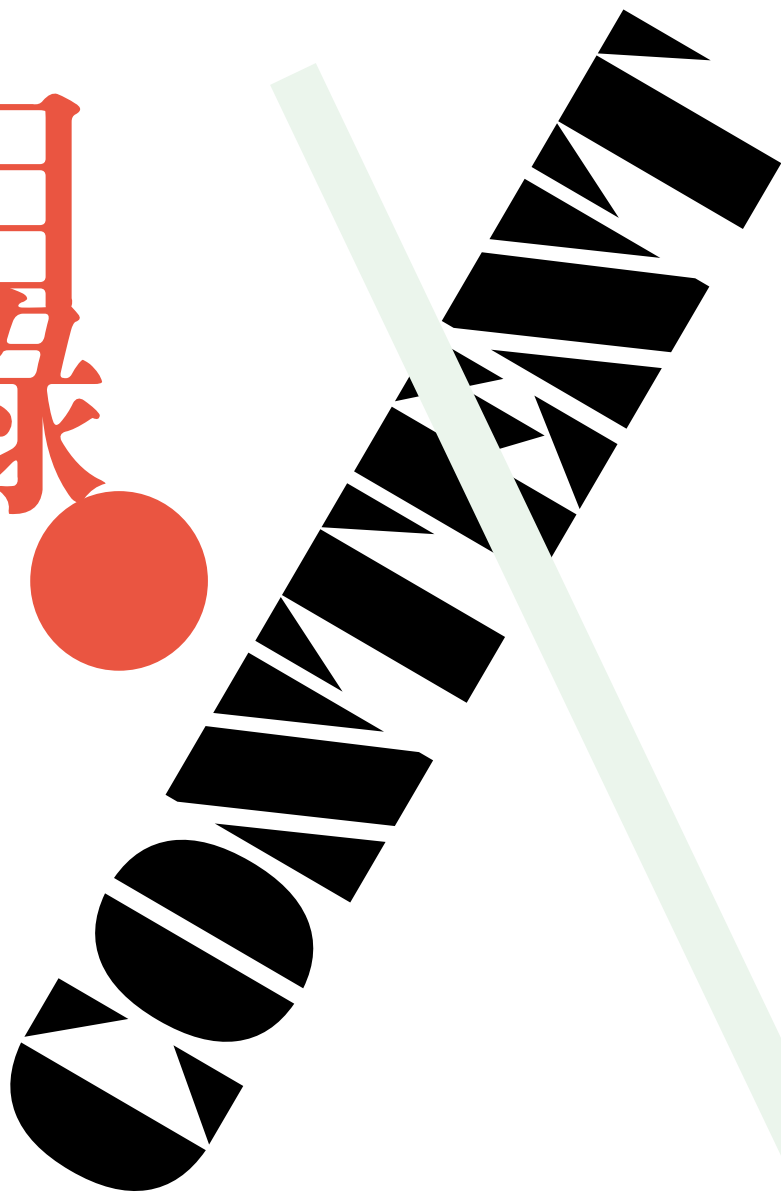
蔣伯欣 著

Combine and Install the “New Painting”:

Taiwan Art in São Paulo Biennial (1957-1973)

by Chiang Po-Shin

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文●蔣伯欣

TVAA 叢書主編

「臺灣當代藝術展覽史」(Contemporary Exhibition Histories of Taiwan)書系的提出，意味著系統化、脈絡式地回應當前國內外對當代藝術與策展專業意識(contemporary curatorship)及其方法的高度關注，也標誌著今日當代藝術發展與跨領域知識生產的方法論轉向。展覽史不同於博物館學的陳列、蒐集的技術實務操作，也不同於藝術史學科關注風格形式或作為圖像媒介的作品物件，因此，挖掘藝術的展覽歷史，更需要從跨學科的視角檢視展覽機制，同時也是從當前的課題出發，批判地思考當代展覽如何成為一生產各種意識與課題的知識平台。

近年來，國內外藝術界與學界對當代藝術策展及其歷史，已展開多方面的回顧與探索，反思展示的詩學與政治，尤其是 2005 年獨立策展人史澤曼(Harald Szeemann)去逝後，即有三本相關專書的出版，包括《Harald Szeemann: Exhibition Make》(2006)、《Harald Szeemann: With, by, through, because, towards, despite》(2007)、《Harald Szeemann: Individual Methodology》(2008)等，對於獨立策展的基本概念與個人方法論如何由史澤曼操作成形，做了蓋棺論定後的基本整理探究，策展人所藏檔案由美國蓋帝研究所(The Getty Institute)收購後，未來應會有持續的研究問世。

2008 年，策展人 Hans Ulrich Obrist 集結 11 位 1960 年代以來的重要策展人訪談所出版的《策展簡史》(A Brief History of Curating, 2008)，初步回顧當代藝術策展的脈絡。同一年，從事展覽研究的藝術史家 Bruce Altshuler 於 2008、2013 年分別出版兩本重要展覽檔案式的文獻書籍《沙龍到雙年展：製作藝術史的展覽(Salon to Biennial-Exhibitions That Made Art History (1863-1959))》與《雙年展及其後：製作藝術史的展覽(Biennials and Beyond-Exhibitions That Made Art History (1962-2002))》，選擇西方現當代藝術史上的重要展覽，蒐集展覽的原始文件、圖片、照片、報導等檔案，成為兩巨冊的展覽檔案彙編。

不同於純檔案式的彙編，2010 年起，著名的藝術期刊 Afterall 開始出版「展覽史」(Exhibition Histories)系列叢書，以個別專書，逐本蒐集並探討具全球藝術史里程碑意義的當代藝術展覽。迄今已出版《大地魔術師》、《第三屆哈瓦那雙年展》、《第 24 屆聖保羅雙年展》、《文化行動》等八冊展覽史專書。書中收錄第一手資料如策展論述、報導評論、展示作品、圖錄畫冊等，但與檔案彙編最大的差異是，展覽史系列專書強化了展覽研究的專文撰寫，也收錄了部分參展藝術家訪談，為展覽史研究提供堅實的基礎資料。

相較於西方，臺灣的相關出版極其有限，實有必要從歷來的美術展覽作一系統性的檢視。目前所見出版，

除了早期黃冬富撰寫的《臺灣全省美展國畫部門研究》（1988）為碩士論文改寫出版，書中包含歷屆參展者與入選者的表格清冊，王行恭曾編《臺灣畫家東洋畫圖錄》、《臺灣畫家西洋畫圖錄》兩冊（1992），彙集了臺府展入選的臺灣人畫家作品圖版，皆為早期文獻考察式的代表。近年來，已有蕭瓊瑞、林明賢與筆者共編的《臺灣美展 80 年研究》、《臺灣全省美展文獻彙編》（2009，國美館出版）、黃冬富的《南部展研究：五〇年代高雄的南天一柱》（2018，高美館出版），以上皆為針對現代藝術及沙龍式展覽的檔案研究。

而針對當代藝術與雙年展興起後的策展意識，2000 年，筆者曾發表有關九〇年代台北雙年展及其相關策展之學術論文，倡議以個案研究（case study）的比較研究，來探討臺灣與亞洲相關區域的當代藝術發展歷程。此後學界亦陸續有相關單篇論文發表，尤以國內案例研究的學位論文較為可觀。近年來，當代展覽史的考察專著，則有 2015 年策展人呂佩怡主編《臺灣當代策展二十年》一書做過嘗試。該書以五篇訪談，結合十個展覽的回顧式評論成書，帶動了國內對於展覽史的討論，但由於相關第一手檔案的付之闕如，公部門美術館的檔案尚未建置，民間檔案亦未能搜齊，當代展覽史研究仍有待進一步開拓。

2018 年，研究者鄭雯仙以獨立研究、出版了《風動：南臺灣新風格展覽檔案紀錄 1986-1997》，以數篇專文

評論，結合參展藝術家與從業人員的訪談的檔案彙編。與《臺灣當代策展二十年》不同的是，《風動》聚焦於「南臺灣新風格展」扎實地搜集自 1986 年代以來的相關檔案及一手史料，包括臺南市立文化中心的公文檔案、出版畫冊、作品圖版，也訪談了相關策展人與藝術家，已具有「研究（評論）－檔案－訪談」的基本規模。

本次叢書的出版，則是我們為了延續、深化當代展覽史研究，發起團隊「臺灣藝術田野工作站」（Taiwan Visual Art Archive, TVAA）加以規劃、主編「臺灣當代藝術展覽史」的系列叢書。我們希望發揮民間研究者的能量，以團隊在基層搜集史料，耕耘民間的美術史。當代藝術發展過程中，策展早已是臺灣與世界藝術接軌的重要平台，以展覽及其論述帶動藝術史已成常態，其趨勢發展，更顯出研究的重要性。期盼本書系能為當代藝術史拋磚引玉，激發更多不同的研究視角，豐富藝術史及展覽史的內涵。

本書的完成，感謝以下人士的支持（按首字筆畫排序）：

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Chief Editor's Preface

● Chiang Po-Shin
Chief Editor of TVAA

The release of the series *Contemporary Exhibition Histories of Taiwan* signals a systematic, contextual response to heightened interest in current domestic and international contemporary art, contemporary curatorship and its methods, while also marking a methodological turn in contemporary art development and cross-disciplinary knowledge production. The history of exhibitions differs from the technicality and practice of display and collection in museology, and diverges from the focus on style, form, and artwork in the medium of images in art history. Therefore, surveying the history of art exhibitions requires a cross-disciplinary perspective in understanding the mechanism of exhibitions, and an approach based on current issues, which critically contemplates how contemporary exhibitions become knowledge platforms in producing various consciousnesses and issues.

In recent years, the domestic and international art community and academia have continued to review and explore contemporary art curation and its history, reflecting on the poetics and politics of display, especially after the passing of late independent curator Harald Szeemann in 2005, with the publication of three volumes Harald Szeemann: *Exhibition Make* (2006), *Harald Szeemann: With, by, through, because, towards, despite* (2007), and *Harald Szeemann: Individual Methodology* (2008), which organize and explore basic concepts of independent curating and the personal methodology of Szeemann's practice. The curator's archives and library were acquired by The Getty Research Institute, and continues to be studied today.

In 2008, curator Hans Ulrich Obrist gathered the interviews of 11 important curators starting from the 1960s in *A Brief History of Curating* (2008), mapping the context of contemporary art curation. The same year, Bruce Altshuler, an art historian focused on exhibition research, published two important volumes *Salon to Biennial-Exhibitions That Made Art History (1863-1959)* and *Biennials and Beyond-Exhibitions That Made Art History (1962-2002)* in 2008 and 2013 respectively, with a selection of important exhibitions in the history of Western modern and contemporary art, collecting original documents, images, photographs, publications and reviews in a compilation of exhibition archives.

In contrast to archival compilations, the acclaimed art journal *Afterall* began publishing the series *Exhibition Histories* in 2010, collecting and discussing milestones in contemporary art exhibitions with individual volumes. Nine books have been published thus far, including *Making Art Global (Part 2): Magiciens de la Terre*, *Making Art Global (Part 1): The Third Havana Biennial 1989*, *Cultural Anthropophagy: The 24th Bienal de São Paulo 1998*, and *Exhibition as Social Intervention: 'Culture in Action' 1993*. The books contain archival and primary materials composed of curatorial discourse, reviews, works, and catalogues, with strength in research-led critical perspectives and interviews of participating artists, providing substantial information for further research.

Relative to the West, related publications in Taiwan have been limited, making it necessary to conduct a systematic review of past fine arts exhibitions. Current available publications, aside from Huang Dong-Fu's *Research on the Department of Guohua Chinese Painting of Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibition*, which was rewritten and published from his master's

thesis, contains a list of exhibitors and participants, while two editions of *Taiwan Painters' Tōyōga Catalogue* and *Taiwan Painters' Western Painting Catalogue* (both 1992), edited by Hsin Kong Wang, include works from Taiwanese painters selected for the *Taiwan Sōtoku-fu* Governmental-General of Taiwan Fine Arts Exhibition, all of which are representative of early archival surveys. I have also co-edited *A Retrospective on the 80 Years Taiwan Arts Exhibition and Literature Compilation of Taiwan Provincial Fine Arts Exhibition* (2009, published by National Taiwan Museum of Fine Art) with Hsiao Chong-Ray and Lin Ming-Hsien, while *The Study of Southern Taiwan Art Association* (2018, published by Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts) by Huang Dong-Fu, all conduct archival research on modern art and Salon exhibitions.

In regards to contemporary art and curatorial awareness after the rise of biennials, I have published academic papers in 2000 on the Taipei Biennial in the 1990s and related curatorial exhibitions, advocating for a comparative study of case studies, in exploring the development of contemporary art in Taiwan and regions in Asia. Since then, successive papers have been published, with dissertations on domestic case studies in the majority. More recently, curator Lu Pei-Yi initiated an investigative volume on the history of contemporary exhibitions in 2015, titled *Contemporary Art Curating in Taiwan 1992-2012*. Composed of five interviews, with retrospective reviews of ten exhibitions, the book stimulated domestic discussions on the history of exhibitions. However, due to the lack of relevant primary materials, insufficient public art museum archives, and incomplete private archives, there is still much to be done in the field of contemporary exhibition history.



In 2018, researcher Cheng Wen-Hsien independently researched and published *Moving Wind: Modern Art Style of South Taiwan, 1986-1997* with several essays, combined with archival compilations of participating artists and staff. Distinct from *Contemporary Art Curating in Taiwan (1992-2012)*, *Moving Wind* centers on the “Modern Art Style of South Taiwan,” collecting relevant archives and primary materials since 1986, including gongwen official documents of the Tainan Municipal Cultural Center, published catalogues, images, and interviews of relevant curators and artists, with a scope of “research (review)-archive-interview.”

This series plans to extend and deepen the research of contemporary exhibition history through the installment of “Taiwan Visual Art Archive” (TVAA). We hope to amplify the work and energy of folk researchers in collecting historical materials at the grassroots level. In the development of contemporary art, curating has long been an important platform in connecting Taiwan with the world. It is common to propel art history through exhibition and discourse, and this development highlights the importance of research. We hope this book will serve as inspiration for contemporary art history, enliven different research perspectives and enrich art history and exhibition history.

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本書的嘗試，為匯編臺灣參加巴西聖保羅雙年展歷程的研究與檔案。本書的文字內容，原為筆者 2004 年提交博士論文的部分章節，最早係為國立歷史博物館（以下簡稱「史博」）委託研究計劃——「寓形宇內復幾時：國立歷史博物館與戰後臺灣現代藝術發展」的部分研究成果。2002 年一月一日我國《檔案法》通過施行後，各政府機關依法須公開各機關檔案供外界使用，檔案的開放對於戰後臺灣美術史研究，形成莫大的助益與挑戰，筆者即由此進入史博使用塵封已久的公文檔案，並結合國史館、教育部、外交部等相關部會檔案展開研究。撰寫期間，承史博前館長黃光男博士、展覽組戈思明主任支持，潘台芳女士、韋心澄女士、李素真女士、陳彩鳳女士等諸位館員協助調閱檔案，以及旅居中南美洲二十餘年的外交官藝評人曾長生博士協助翻譯葡文資料，特此致謝。

該論文曾在 2006 年九月，發表於國立臺灣美術館主辦的「區域與時代風格的激盪——臺灣美術主體性學術研討會」，並收錄於 2007 年國立臺灣美術館的研討會論文集及館刊。由於流通量少，發行管道受限，多年來少為國人所知。然而，在近年探討當代藝術的國際研討場合上，筆者曾多次被他國學者詢及台灣與世界當代藝術界的接觸過程、相關課題及研究成果，基於巴西聖保羅雙年展的歷史與重要性，深覺有必要再予以更新並以雙語出版。

為拓展國內外藝術界與學界對此段臺灣藝術發展之認知，本書除在既有研究基礎上改寫、勘誤並擴充文字內容，亦全面蒐集、增補聖保羅雙年展參展歷程之一手檔案，包括

原版葡萄牙文之圖錄畫冊，以及歷屆參展藝術家及其作品清冊。由於年代久遠，諸多參展作品已不復存在，故本書編輯過程中，亦全面檢視參展藝術家的個人畫冊、相關出版品，報紙文獻，美術館典藏品，盡可能蒐集參展作品及展覽紀錄文件之圖版，並以第一手史料補正既有出版品之勘誤，以期建構臺灣藝術史與世界藝術史之共振關係。

本專書名稱為：「新派繪畫」的拼合 / 裝置：臺灣在巴西聖保羅雙年展的參展脈絡（1957-1973）」，探討由國立歷史博物館徵選臺灣藝術家參加巴西聖保羅雙年展的活動，自 1957 年第四屆起，迄 1973 年第 12 屆為止，期間共八屆 17 年。以國家之名，毫不間斷參加一外國舉辦的展覽，歷時之久，參加人數之多，可說是臺灣美術史上極為少數的案例。本書即以此為中心，以作品及相關藝術檔案、展覽畫冊、該館與相關部會的檔案、報紙評論、與藝術家手稿及書信等一手史料，探討此階段美術的時代風格與主體性課題。

在本書中，首先將考察史博承辦聖保羅雙年展相關活動的背景與過程，以及此展如何在展覽機制與藝術家之間，引導出一主流的藝術風格。其次，審視此種風格在現代繪畫運動的位置，從參展作品考究觀看主體如何在展覽脈絡下具體成形。最後，由藝術作品的呈現方式，探討時代風格在展覽實踐、外交政策與文化主體位置的意涵。經由對此一案例的探討，將從作品的生產與接受，重新理解作品在戰後藝術史的詮釋座標，並嘗試提出一理解戰後臺灣美術的途徑與架構。

Author's Preface

This book attempts to research and archive Taiwan's participation in the São Paulo Biennial in Brazil. The text was originally part of the author's PhD thesis, submitted in 2004, from the research project "How long may we live: National Museum of History and the development of post-war art in Taiwan," commissioned by the National Museum of History (hereinafter referred to NMH). After the implementation of the "Archives Act" on January 1, 2002, all governmental agencies were required to permit public access to their archives. This access greatly benefited and challenged the study of post-war art history in Taiwan. The author was able to access the archives of sealed official documents, in combination with the archives of Academia Historica, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other relevant ministries. During this period, I am thankful for the support of Former Director of NMH, Dr. Huang Kuang-Nan and Head of the Exhibition Department, Mr. Ge Sz-Ming, along with museum staff Ms. Pan Tai-Fang, Ms. Wei Hsin-Ying, Ms. Lee Su-Chen, Ms. Chen Tsai-Feng and others, for their assistance in reviewing the archives, as well as art critic and diplomat Dr. Pedro Chang-Shen Tseng, who has lived in Central and South America for more than 20 years, for his kindness and aid in translating Portuguese materials.

This paper was published on the occasion of the symposium "Collision between Regions and Styles of Times: Academic Conference on Subjectivity of Taiwanese Art,"

organized by the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts in September 2006, and included in the collected papers and museum journal in 2007. However, due to limited circulation and distribution, it was seldom known. Nevertheless, in recent international seminars on contemporary art, I have been asked repeatedly by scholars from other countries about the engagement between Taiwan and the contemporary art world, and based on the history and importance of the São Paulo Biennial, I felt it necessary to update and publish this text bilingually.

In addition to rewriting, amending, and expanding text on existing research, this book also comprehensively collects and adds to the archives of the São Paulo Biennial, including original Portuguese catalogues as well as a list of participating artists and their works, for the purpose of expanding the understanding of Taiwanese art development. Given the passing of time, many exhibits no longer exist. Thence, during the editing process of this book, I have also reviewed the catalogues of participating artists, related publications, reviews, press clippings, and museum collections, and have included as much as possible to establish a resonance between Taiwan art history and the world.

Titled "*Combine and install the "New Painting": Taiwan Art in São Paulo Biennial(1957-1973)*", this book explores the participation of Taiwanese artists in São Paulo Biennial in Brazil, selected by National Museum of History. Spanning 8 editions over the course of 17 years, starting from the 4th edition in 1957 to the 12th edition in 1973, it is rare in the history of Taiwanese art in its uninterrupted length

and expansive participant involvement as representatives in a foreign country. This book emphasizes this feature and discusses contemporary style and subjectivity during this time with primary materials such as works, documents, catalogues, museum and ministerial archives, reports, press clippings, artist manuscripts and letters.

We will first review the background and process of São Paulo Biennial, hosted by National Museum of History, and the forged mainstream art style created between exhibition mechanism and artists. After which, we will examine the placement of this style in modern painting and the formation of subjectivity through artworks in an exhibition context, and lastly, we will probe the meaning of style in exhibition praxis, foreign policy and cultural subjectivity through the display of artworks. Through this case study, we hope to understand the interpretation and reading of artworks in post-war art history from its production and acceptance, and propose a path and structure for understanding Taiwanese art after the war.

「新派繪畫」 的拼合/裝置： 臺灣在巴西聖保羅雙年展的 參展脈絡 (1957-1973)

CHINA

LIN SHENG YANG

O Professor Lin Sheng Yang é chamado “o pioneiro de Taiwan” (Formosa). Estudou pintura na Nacional de Belas Artes de Hangchow, China, e, na École des Beaux Arts de Paris. Dominando a pintura chinesa e da ocidental, procurou, durante longas pesquisas e experiência, amalgamar as duas num novo estilo, para exprimir a mais antiga filosofia taoísta através da pintura. O resultado é o nascimento de uma nova arte, descrita pelos críticos chineses como “abstração simbólica”.

Pinta com notável originalidade, buscando seus temas principalmente na ópera chinesa, já de per si uma arte altamente simbólica na forma. As máscaras usadas por seus personagens e seus movimentos e gestos são sinais simbólicos, de significado especial. Transfere-os o professor Lin para a tela, interpretando-os de modo deleitável. Por meio de símbolos engenhosos, cria composições vividas, pureza de cores, subtilidade de tons, formas e traços audaciosos, conta, de forma abstracta, histórias da ópera chinesa. Como procura, persistentemente, dar expressão às tradicionais virtudes chinesas de amor, bondade, cavallerismo, lealdade, devoção filial, é às vezes qualificado de “pintor nacionalista”.

Percorreu a

由國立歷史博物館徵選臺灣藝術家參加巴西聖保羅雙年展的活動，自1957年第四屆起，迄1973年第12屆為止，期間共八屆17年。以國家之名，毫不間斷參加一外國舉辦的展覽，歷時之久，參加人數之多，可說是臺灣美術史上極為少數的案例。本書即以此為中心，以作品及相關藝術檔案、展覽畫冊、該館與相關部會的檔案、報紙評論、與藝術家手稿及書信等一手史料，探討此階段美術的時代風格與主體性課題。首先將考察史博承辦聖保羅雙年展相關活動的背景與過程，以及此展如何在展覽機制與藝術家之間，引導出一主流的藝術風格。其次，審視此種風格在現代繪畫運動的位置，從參展作品考覈觀看主體如何在展覽脈絡下具體成形。最後，由藝術作品的呈現方式，探討時代風格在展覽實踐、外交政策與文化主體位置的意涵。經由對此一案例的探討，本文將從作品的生產與接受，重新理解繪畫作品在現代藝術運動的詮釋座標，並嘗試提出一理解戰後臺灣美術的途徑與架構。

新派繪畫、極端新派、抽象繪畫、拼合裝置、國立歷史博物館、巴西聖保羅雙年展、現代性、戰後臺灣美術、臺灣當代藝術史、展覽史

1959

第五屆巴西聖保羅雙年展畫冊封面

Cover of the 5th São Paulo Biennial Catalogue, 1959



26



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1961

第六屆巴西聖保羅雙年展畫冊封面

Cover of the 6th São Paulo Biennial Catalogue, 1961



1963

第七屆巴西聖保羅雙年展畫冊封面

Cover of the 7th São Paulo Biennial Catalogue, 1963



30

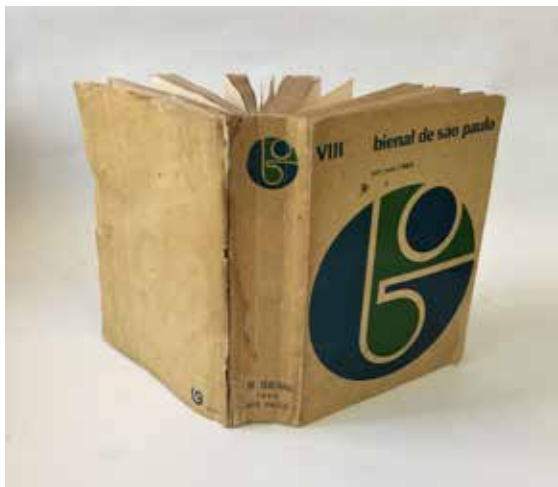


31

1965

第八屆巴西聖保羅雙年展畫冊封面

Cover of the 8th São Paulo Biennial Catalogue, 1965



1969

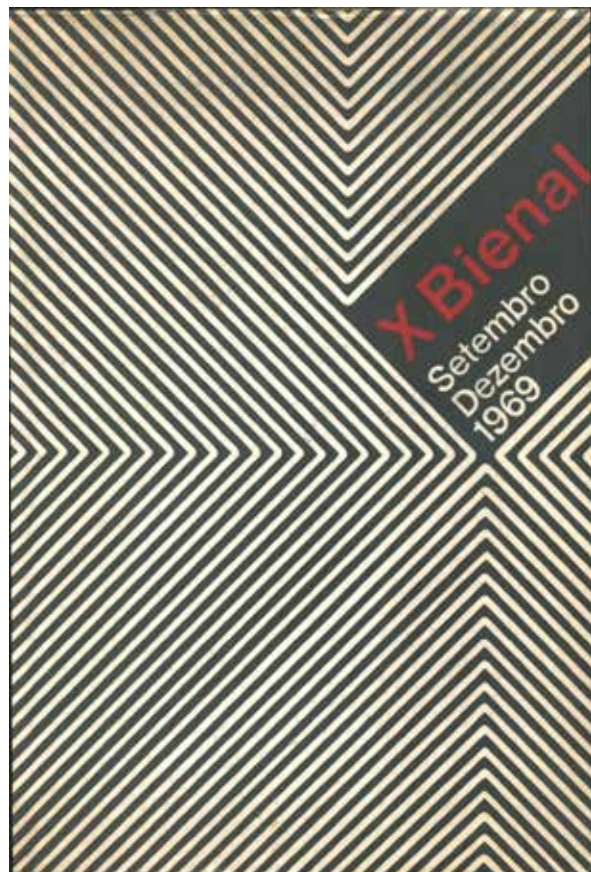
第十屆巴西聖保羅雙年展畫冊封面

Cover of the 10th São Paulo Biennial Catalogue, 1969

34



35



1951



第一屆聖保羅雙年展畫冊封面
Cover of the 1st São Paulo Biennial Catalogue, 1951

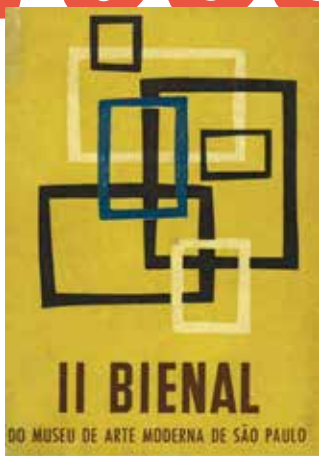
1955



第三屆聖保羅雙年展畫冊封面
Cover of the 3rd São Paulo Biennial Catalogue, 1955

36

1953



第二屆聖保羅雙年展畫冊封面
Cover of the 2nd São Paulo Biennial Catalogue, 1953

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1957

第四屆聖保羅雙年展畫冊封面

Cover of the 4th São Paulo Biennial Catalogue, 1957



1967

第九屆聖保羅雙年展畫冊封面

Cover of the 9th São Paulo Biennial Catalogue, 1967



38

1971

第十一屆聖保羅
雙年展畫冊封面

Cover of the 11th
São Paulo Biennial
Catalogue, 1971

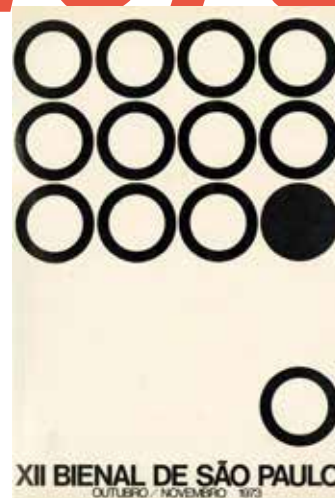


39

1973

第十二屆聖保羅雙年展畫冊封面

Cover of the 12th São Paulo Biennial
Catalogue, 1973





第 8 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展會場實況。

Exhibition site of the 8th São Paulo Biennial at
Ciccillo Matarazzo Pavilion©Athayde de Barros/
Fundação Bienal de São Paulo/ Arquivo Histórico
Wanda Svevo

時代風格與主體性

在論及繪畫作品的時代風格(period style)時，藝術史研究者可能會從作品畫面上視覺形象之間的結構來分析，以判斷一件繪畫作品是否具有時代風格的特徵，通常這些研究也被視為斷代或鑑釋學(connoisseurship)的基礎工作。藝術史學者經常強調，作品風格與圖像等藝術形式的演變歷程，應該作為藝術史研究的核心與基礎，這種工作隱含著一種提問：某件作品的風格，是否與某個特定的時代風格相同？其圖像是否可以從更廣闊的文化史環境，獲得聯繫與詮釋的佐證？誠然，基礎工作相當重要，但無論從作品內緣分析、或由外在社會文化背景的考察途徑，幾乎都避開了有關繪畫物質性基礎的種種提問與設想，以及觀者（包括研究者與創作者）在面對一件真實作品時的「經驗性問題」；意即觀者所面對的不僅是作品上的視覺圖像，同時也是負載圖像的作品物件(image-bearing object)。¹

在探討 1960 年代臺灣美術的時代風格時（當時政府通用「中國」表述），研究者必定會問：「什麼是『中國現代畫』風格」。這個問題，與「什麼是一件『中國現代畫』作品」的問題意識不盡相同，處理方法也有差異。當我們要回答「什麼是一件『中國現代畫』作品」時，處理的將不只是時代風格的問題，還包括時代風格所涉及的主體化(subjectification)歷程；風格與風格間的轉化，圖像與圖像間的影響，皆無法脫離

形構作品觀看主體的視覺性與物質性。就視覺形象的物質性(materiality of visual image)而言,傳統的藝術史研究似乎很少考慮作為繪畫載體的物質媒介,如掛軸、手卷、屏風等在繪畫創作過程所扮演的角色;也較少從物質的視覺性(visibility of object)入手,檢視作品在展示脈絡與物件蒐藏秩序中的位置,研究者眼中的「作品」,也就成為一幅幅如同畫冊、圖錄、幻燈片等印刷品一般、漂浮於作品物件之上靜待分析的圖像。

因此,以作品為中心、並結合視覺性與物質性考察的研究途徑,不啻為一理解觀看主體形構歷程的方法。如同藝術史家 Michael Baxandall 所言:一幅 15 世紀的繪畫是同時代社會關係的寫照。畫家、贊助人,與他們之間的合約,共同構成了作品周邊的社會網絡,贊助人與畫家之間可能保持委託、訂製、寄寓、社團等各種形式的贊助方式,繪畫的生產與接受,無不受到這些贊助方式背後的信仰、習俗、法律所制約;Baxandall 即根據 15 世紀中產階級觀看繪畫的「時代之眼」(period eye),重新觀察他們在繪畫作品看到的信仰、慾望與恐懼。² 因此,從時代之眼的角度來看,從作品在贊助與展示的物質基礎,可探討觀看主體在物質文化體系中涉及的種種權力操作:包括藝術門類的劃分、形式與媒材的界定、審美價值與風格內涵的判斷、贊助與獎勵的等第與報酬等;亦可觀察作品物質媒介的製作,如何形成同時代作品共有的結構特徵與再現形式,以判別國家與文化機制的運作軌跡及其鏡映主體。³ 由此可以窺見,研究者對於主體與風格的問題意識之間,其實交錯著彼此相互探詢的視線。

以本書的課題:藝術展覽的脈絡而言,當前則隨著國際策展的趨勢興盛,而產生了以當代性的視角,回探藝術展覽史的研究取徑。此種「複數展覽史」(histories of exhibitions)強調多重軸線的敘事脈絡,著重將策展視為多面向的晶體檢視其各種課題的操作軌跡。在此,作品分析不同於傳統藝術史的風格分析或圖像學,亦非簡化反映論式的藝術社會學,而是將作品置於展覽脈絡下探討其生成與轉化的過程,尤其在全球視角下檢視其文化轉譯(或誤譯)的深層意涵。

從這個角度出發,本書以史博徵選藝術家參加巴西聖保羅雙年展的過程為例,來重探 1950 年代後期至 1970 年代初期臺灣美術的時代風格與主體性,或可作為饒富意涵的方法取徑之一。由史博徵選藝術家參加巴西聖保羅雙年展的活動,自 1957 年第四屆起,迄 1973 年第 12 屆為止,期間共八屆 17 年。以國家之名,毫不間斷參加一外國舉辦的展覽,歷時之久,參加人數與作品之多,可說是臺灣美術史上極為罕見的案例。⁴ 無論當時藝評的關注,或藝術史論者的回顧,基本上都認為此展對於戰後臺灣現代繪畫運動確實產生了引導性的作用。⁵ 但是,對於聖保羅雙年展究竟引導出何種作品風格,一般論者卻多以「抽象」、「現代」等籠統概念含括之,該展如何影響本地繪畫運動的過程,亦受限於零星的報章報導史料,而未能具體描述。在戰後臺灣資訊封閉的環境下,這些概念是創作者基於強烈求知慾而自域外引進,當時未便以嚴謹的學術態度加以檢視,仍有待美術史學者以各種方法釐清其內涵。

史博創館時設定的任務，係以視覺方法建構中國國族的歷史。在指定的博物館建築物中，以想像國族的文物秩序，編排視覺的空間體系。史博從復原殘破的遷臺文物開始，將象徵國族中心的國寶填入展示空間，而缺乏實物原作的部分，則請藝術家依照文獻或照片複製，並大量製作各種影片、畫片與郵卡發行推廣。⁶複製國寶及觀視展覽，亦使參與史博國族建構工作的藝術家，接收到藝術傳統中從未有過的視覺與觸覺經驗，並透過 1950 年代史博與美國新聞處的合作，傳播冷戰時期的現代藝術及其意識形態？這些物質性的經驗如何轉化到藝術家的創作之中？是否形成一獨特的知覺模式，我們能否從具體的脈絡窺見藝術家對此知覺模式的創作實踐歷程？對於以上論題，巴西聖保羅雙年展可能是一個非常適合探究的案例。⁷

本書以下將從相關一手史料，包括巴西與我國的展覽畫冊、報紙評論報導 文獻、以及史博外交部、教育部往返的公文等檔案，考察史博承辦參加聖保羅雙年展相關活動的背景與過程，以及此展如何在展覽機制與藝術家之間，引導出一主流的藝術風格。其次，審視此種風格在現代繪畫運動的位置，從參展作品分析觀看主體如何在展覽脈絡下具體成形。最後，由藝術作品的呈現方式，探討時代風格在展覽實踐、外交政策與文化主體位置的意涵。



國立歷史博物館於 1955 年開始營運，最初以「國立歷史文物美術館」為名，為植物園內建於 1916 年的一幢木造建築。

The "National Museum of History" was established in 1955. It was initially named the "National Museum of Historical Artifacts and Fine Arts", as a wooden building located in the Botanical Garden.



↖《國立歷史文物美術館 展品概說》
(1956年7月)封面。

↖Cover of *National Museum of History: Collections' panorama*, July 1956.



←《國立歷史文物美術館 展出文物簡介》第一期(1956年3月)封面。

←Cover of *National Museum of History: Panorama of Cultural Relics in Exhibition*, 1st issue, March 1956.



↑史博與美國新聞處合辦的《美國版畫展覽》封面(1956年)。

↑Cover of *American Graphic Art Exhibition*, organized by NMH and USIS, 1956.

從複製品探尋民族特色與現代性

1956 年五月間，巴西政府應聖保羅市現代美術館之請，邀我國參加 1957 年舉辦的第四屆巴西聖保羅雙年展，駐巴西大使館電文建議外交部，或可考慮選送佳作參加聖保羅雙年展，以收文化宣傳之效；隨後，外交部便將電文轉送教育部，由部長批示責成史博負責辦理。⁸ 隔年一月，史博先向師大藝術系師生徵求作品，再登報公開徵求油畫、水彩、雕塑、木刻等四類作品，並組織以師大、政工幹校教授為主要成員的評審委員會，評審委員包括廖繼春、孫多慈、林聖揚、馬白水、袁樞真、楊英風、林克恭、方向、陳洪甄等人。⁹

在全無經驗的情況下，館方尚須極力瞭解巴西展場面積、裝運貨櫃尺寸以規定作品尺幅，因此，首次參展的組織方式、評審條件、徵選作品風格等，均以大學院校的美術系師生為核心，未及提出明確的徵選方向。從臺灣第一次參加巴西聖保羅雙年展開始，駐巴西大使館便密切注意中共對此展的態度，並且數度發電要求國內各相關機構，提供聖保羅雙年展舞臺設計、建築等各類作品或模型，而作品與模型並不限於現代繪畫一類。¹⁰ 除了約佔總數三分之二的評審特約作品外，參展的 28 件作品中，也大致包含了當時畫壇的幾種主要系統，油畫如楊啟東的《廟內》與張義雄的《魚》，雕塑如陳夏雨的《裸女》與楊英風的《仰之彌高》，木刻則有強調「戰鬥性」、「反共復國」的



1951 年第一屆巴西聖保羅雙年展覽會場。
Exhibition site of the 1st São Paulo Biennial,
1951. ©Folhas/ Fundação Bienal de São Paulo/
Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo

具象作品。¹¹ 同是入選藝術家的席德進，在看完作品出國前的預展之後，發表了這樣的感想：

當我看了這卅件將送往巴西作品之後，自己就覺得萬分羞愧(本人有兩件作品在內)，在文物館中，我們祖先的美術遺跡，清清楚楚地襯托在我們的作品旁邊，顯得我們的作品黯然失色了。混亂、迷失，沒有自己的風格，沒有民族的特色。這樣的作品要想在世界畫壇上被人重視，是很難的，作一個中國藝術家，應該對著這光輝燦爛的歷史文物深思，深思。¹²

席德進期盼藝術家能「對著這光輝燦爛的歷史文物深思，深思」，但又將作品缺乏民族風格的原因，歸因於「中國人看不到自己的古代的好作品與真蹟所致」。其實此時史博內可供藝術家深思的，並非光輝燦爛的歷史文物、而是靈光消逝的複製品，儘管如此，仍可在參與徵件的報名登記表中，見到席德進所期盼的思考傾向。這群藝術家一致表示，由於受到西方現代藝術「反自然主義」「注重心理活動」的啟發，進一步欲研究本質與之相通的中國傳統藝術。自述中提及的研究對象，包括甲骨文及鐘鼎文(李元佳)、金石文字(蕭明賢)、漢代石刻(歐陽文苑)、陶器刺繡及民間木刻(夏陽)、敦煌壁畫(陳道明及吳世祿)等。這些藝術家，再加上當時已赴西班牙求學的蕭勤、以及較集中探討超現實主義的霍學剛一共八人，即早期東方畫會的八位成員。



席德進，〈參加巴西國際美展作品觀後〉，《聯合報》六版，1957年3月4日。
Shiy De-Jinn, "After participating the São Paulo Biennial", *United Daily News*, 6th page, 4th March, 1957.

雖然東方諸子之中，僅有李元佳《作品 A》、蕭明賢《構成》二件畫作入選，但不難發現，他們自述的各種研究對象，與史博各陳列室的複製品內容大致雷同。本屆展覽開幕後，駐巴西大使館傳回蕭明賢《構成》獲名譽獎章(Honorable Mention)的消息，並略述聖保羅展場作品之風格：「展品無論雕塑或繪畫，均屬極端現代化。油畫幾全係抽象派、立體派、野獸派、超現實派等，普通人難以欣賞。」¹³蕭明賢此作應收入史博館藏，他在徵件登記表的檔案曾自述：

現代繪畫已從西方原有的自然主義傳統中解脫出來，注重繪畫的本質，從色和線作自由的發揮，而與我國的藝術在理則上有許多相同的地方，抽象繪畫則與我國文字的抽象美更屬相同。余數年來專心研究，從金石文字及其他中國線形作研究基礎，以求表現我國特殊之氣質。¹⁴

另可發現另一位東方成員李元佳的自述內容，幾乎與蕭明賢完全相同，但文筆更為清晰，由此或可推知李元佳《作品 A》與蕭明賢《構成》的思考脈絡：

現代藝術是反自然主義、注重心理活動的表現，故其含有暗示、象徵、抽象諸屬性，抽象繪畫即為其中最具直接表現作風，其主要理則，實與我國金石文字之抽象美相溝通。余數年從我國甲骨文、鐘鼎文中尋找表現吾國抽象藝術之特色，以求賦予我現代性之要素、而民族性的特色及現代之精神。¹⁵

從複製文物中探尋民族特色與現代性，是此時畫家最主要的實驗目標。此段自述係填寫於1957年二月，同年11月，東方畫會舉辦了第一次聯展，而畫會則是在前一年11月，受到東方諸子全員入選教育部全國書畫展的激勵而成立。部分成員入選參加聖保羅雙年展前後，作品又接連獲派參加1956年12月的泰國慶憲節國際商品展覽會，並入選了1957年九月的第四屆全國美展。無論是教育部全國書畫展、泰國慶憲節國際商品展覽會或全國美展，均由政府主辦，多以「全國」或「代表中國」之名籌組，其展出內容對於正亟思尋找「民族性特色」的青年畫家而言，無疑具有鼓勵兼而引導的作用。

東方諸子參加的泰國國際商展「中國館」分為工商產品、文物展品兩大類。文物展品部分除了現代書畫外，也包含了史博的文物照片、及包括銅器、陶器、漆器、名勝建築、平劇演員的數十件模型。¹⁶類似的配置方式，也在史博第二度參加聖保羅雙年展時再度重現，雖然首度參展獲獎的蕭明賢作品為抽象風格，聖保羅雙年展亦強調「現代藝術」，但史博欲以編排中國藝術系譜空間、達成文化宣傳之外交企圖仍未稍減。1959年的第五屆聖保羅雙年展，史博除徵件競獎及邀請近人書畫部分外，同時複製了青銅禮器七件、兵器24件，影印古畫六件、以北京為主的建築圖繪十餘件參展，而刊載於雙年展畫冊的序文，亦以介紹此批文物複製品為主。¹⁷之所以送出數量如此龐大、卻不見得與雙年展「現代藝術」題旨相符的作品，主要原因在於國共雙方的參展代表權之爭。

1959 年一月，駐巴西大使李迪俊電告外交部，中共預備以「中國四千年藝術」之名申請參加聖保羅雙年展，而當地政界媒體及主辦單位均以藝術無國界為由，主張蘇俄及中共亦有參展自由。李迪俊一方面籲請巴西外交部拒絕中共參加，另一方面電請臺灣速決參展，隨後教育部便決定參展，以「力阻匪共插足」。¹⁸當時，中共準備運出大宗展品表現「中國四千年藝術之演進」，使雙年展策展人頗思接受，巴西外交部文化科長於是建議，臺灣若能在競賽展覽以外另參加一「特種有系統之展覽」，則此展必可收阻擋「匪共插足」之效。¹⁹李迪俊亦認為，以政治理由反對中共參加藝術展覽並非長遠上策，根本之道在於提高臺灣的參展品質，方能持續維繫「代表中國」的參展權。因此，史博送出的展品以複製品佔 57 件最多，而提供現場觀者的展品說明資料，亦強調必須「對於中國悠久偉大之文化加意介紹」「對於目前反共抗俄之國策，以及國人淬歷奮發反共必勝之信心，滲入紹介」，並特別指出建築圖繪中「金門莒光樓」一件之反共意涵。²⁰

然而，以大量古畫文物複製品參展，除了達到排除中共參展之目的以外，其實並無法從內涵上與巴西當代藝術界展開實質、深入的對話，從當地藝評人 Flexa Ribeiro 撰寫的文章中，僅見極度化約、異國奇觀式的興趣，²¹複製品也被派赴巴西擔任觀察員的現代畫家林聖揚視為「美中不足」「未能達預期之成功」。²²他實地觀展後指出，參加競獎部分的藝術家受限於「畫面過小作品過少，稍嫌散漫」，不比其他國家如英國，僅選派三名藝術家的六十餘件作品，既可集中評審注意力、又能營造出展場的巨大氣勢而獲獎。



↑↑ 1957 年開始此地即作為巴西聖保羅雙年展的展場，Jose Moscardi 攝。

↑↑ The São Paulo Biennial has been taking place here since 1957. Photo by Jose Moscardi.

↑ 1957 年第四屆巴西聖保羅雙年展會場大廳，圖為弗朗茲·魏斯曼和赫梅林多·菲亞明希之作品。

↑ The Brazilian hall at the 4th Biennial of 1957, with works by Franz Weissmann and Hermelindo Fiaminghi. ©Fundação Bienal de São Paulo/ Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo

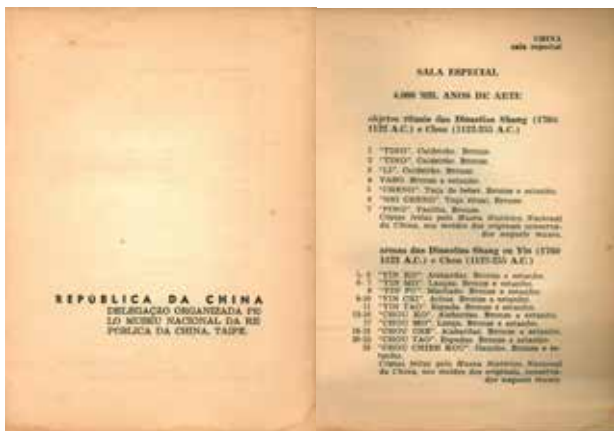
林聖揚同時也提及，各國多派有代表協助佈置。而在臺灣展覽現場中，卻因巴西主辦單位的規劃失當，致使部份作品「凌空懸掛」，甚至「風吹時搖晃不定易於損壞」，最後在大使李迪俊向雙年展秘書長要求後才得以改善，由此也暴露出當時史博僅在國內徵選作品、未能派員赴巴西親自參與展場規劃布置所造成的侷限。²³

在巴西的葡文圖錄中，僅收錄蕭勤的《作品B》一作，長度超過一公尺，已是參展作品清單中尺寸最大的一幅。²⁴ 本屆臺灣則是以秦松的版畫《太陽節》，二度獲得榮譽獎，雖然此獎並非大會主要獎項，仍鼓舞了在國內從事現代繪畫的青年畫家，甚至將此視為現代繪畫運動的一大勝利。雖然，確實有多位青年畫家或評論家陸續在報紙上倡議參加巴西聖保羅雙年展的重要性，但由內部的籌備過程來看，現代繪畫風格之所以能在此一代表國家參加的雙年展中蔚為主流，並不全然是由藝術家向博物館等藝術機制挑戰成功後爭取而來，相反地，更多是由駐外使館要求外交部，再由史博主動、積極地向畫家徵求而產生的。此種弔詭，可充分反映出冷戰時期意識形態的運作過程。



1959 年巴西聖保羅雙年展對中國展場之評論文章。

Flexa Ribeiro, "Na Bienal de Arte de São Paulo: Motivações Sôbre a Arte Chinesa," Jornal do Commercio, 8th November, 1959.

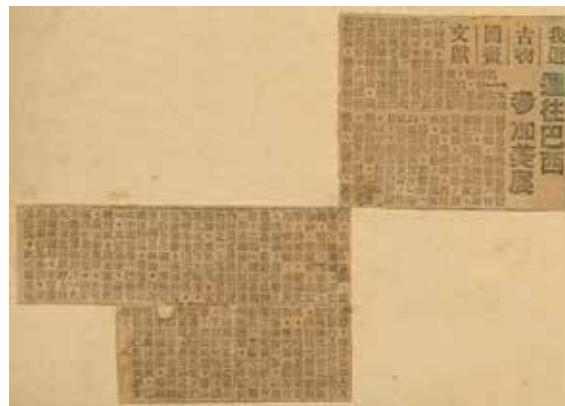


↑↑第五屆巴西聖保羅雙年展葡文畫冊內頁〈中華民國展出作品清單〉。

↑↑Inside page of the 5th São Paulo Biennial catalogue, "Work list of the Republic of China".

↑楊英風於第五屆巴西聖保羅雙年展展出作品《大地回春》之文獻。

↑Archive of work *Spring in the Air* by Yang Yu-yu, exhibited in the 5th São Paulo Biennial.



↑↑1959年參加第五屆聖保羅美展新聞剪報。

↑↑Press clips of participating the 5th São Paulo Biennial, 1959.

↑林聖揚，〈巴西國際藝展 我獲甚大成功〉，《中央日報》八版，1960年2月21日。

↑Lin Sheng-yang, "My great success in the São Paulo Biennial", *Central Daily News*, 8th page, 21st February, 1960.

極端新派繪畫

如前所述，在促請臺灣政府盡速參展時，巴西大使李迪俊便已電告展場上外交戰的實況：「且我如不參加，匪共難免趁機插足，因文化上巴西固不斷與蘇俄及匪共接觸也，再者與展繪畫，以**極端新派**作品（表現派、抽象派、立體派、超現實派等等）最受歡迎」。²⁵開始籌辦後，李迪俊更向史博長包遵彭指出：「巴西藝壇完全為**極端新派**盤據，.....寫實派作品不受重視」，並指名若以他在雜誌《中外畫報》上所見的胡奇中、蕭勤兩人作品風格參展，將「頗合藝展脾胃」。²⁶另外，在同年4月15日討論籌展事宜的往返信件中，李迪俊也向包遵彭詢問，史博使用的「現代畫」一詞，易與特別展覽中的「現代書畫」混淆，因此他以「新派畫」區隔之。以外交人員而非藝術領域之專業，竟對藝術潮流與時代風格如此敏銳，並不斷以電報、信函明確要求徵選「新派繪畫」之風格，李迪俊可謂確實掌握了雙年展的徵選要旨。對此，館長包遵彭也從善如流，於是在第五屆史博徵選聖保羅雙年展的公告上明定：參加作品須為「極端新派」。²⁷

李迪俊數度向史博推薦《中外畫報》上刊載的繪畫作品圖版，足見其對現代藝術潮流的觀察極為敏銳，而他從巴西拍回的電文也被史博館員姚谷良（夢谷）與程其恆，提供給青年畫家參考，可知史博對青年畫家的幫助。在〈遏阻共匪對自由世界的文化滲透活動〉一文中，劉國松引用了上述多份電文以「證實我們與



胡奇中刊於《中外畫報》的作品之一：《貓》，油彩・夾板，尺寸不詳，1958。

Hu Chi-Chung, *The Cat*, oil on cardboard, dimensions unknown, 1958. Published in *The Cosmorama Pictorial*.

共匪在巴西的文化戰中，打了一個大勝仗，同時也說明我政府選送現代畫是為了爭取此一戰爭的勝利。」同時，他也向國民黨政府呼籲：

鼓勵青年藝術家，培植青年藝術家，他們需要政府的領導，他們需要政府的團結，他們是對付共匪文化統戰的一支鋼鐵隊伍，他們有輝煌的戰績，他們也會在國際藝壇上為國爭得不少榮耀。²⁸

在「對付共匪文化統戰」的目標下，臺灣二度參加聖保羅雙年展的1959年，便已確立了「新派繪畫」的徵選方向，而在參加徵選的作品登記表上亦可發現，藝術家或者特意註明「對新派繪畫推崇倍至」或「甚表推崇」；或者註明前後兩次參加徵選時的風格差異，以示其「新」。例如：「當時出品是舊派，新派作品本人雖常習作，但從未出品展覽，此作品是最近之作。」²⁹經由明定公告、領表填寫的過程後，「極端新派」的繪畫風格，開始在畫家對聖保羅雙年展的藝術知識系譜中劃出了一個新的領域，而對館方來說，新派繪畫則是包括表現派、抽象派、立體派、超現實派的繪畫風格，為了「宣揚我國藝術之成就」「防止匪黨之混入」的政策需求而須持續參展。³⁰同年，史博另承辦了巴黎國際青年藝展的徵選活動，此屆參展中，蕭明賢的《作品 501》被使館公使稱許為「富有中國情調、含有強有力之深刻意境」。展覽結束後，旅法畫家朱德群亦撰寫觀察報告供外交部、教育部與史博參考，朱文雖批評此屆整體水平並不理想，但他同時比較了佔「百分之七八十的抽象繪畫」與共產集團「有

形」作品，並將抽象繪畫與創作自由聯繫起來，鼓勵國內青年畫家擺脫物體形象的拘束。³¹

「新派繪畫」的徵件方向確立後，史博便在1961年第三度主辦徵選時，進一步改變了徵選制度。首先，徵件分為兩階段，初選階段中，可由現代畫會或藝術機構推薦一至三人進入複選，或由史博從各現代畫會聘請之評審評選之。到了複選階段，館方再另請專家作最後決定。時值畫會運動風起雲湧的階段，史博可說是在「中國現代藝術中心」與「秦松事件」之後，回應了現代畫會的需求，並在某種程度上釋出了官方資源，使畫會成員有參與籌備的機會。³²但反過來說，以入選代表國家的榮譽誘導創作者，也等於將畫會成員的創作，編入國家機器的控制範圍內。最後共有純粹畫會、臺中美術研究會、聯合水彩畫會、四海畫會、長風畫會、綠舍美術研究會、散沙畫會、藝友畫會、東方畫會、現代版畫會與五月畫會推出候選代表與評審，但其中的東方畫會未派候選代表，純粹畫會與綠舍美術研究會皆棄權推派評審，其原因不明，頗值得深究。



史博徵件公告「參加作品須為極端新派」。〈國立歷史博物館公告〉，《中央日報》一版，1959年2月11日。

The Open call for "Radical New Works". Announcement of the NMH, *Central Daily News*, 1st page, 11th February 1959.

第六屆徵選制度的另一項改革，是明確指出了徵選範圍限定在油畫、水彩、版畫等「現代畫」，史博將前兩屆徵求的「木刻」改為「版畫」，並刪除了雕塑一類，部分水墨畫作則納入水彩一項，使徵求範圍更加集中於「現代畫」，巴西大使館於前屆提出「極端新派」的建議，極可能是修正媒材項目的主因。1961年一月，大使館電告外交部兩項建議，一為擴大徵選範圍至海外畫家，二為參展作品「篇幅宜大，以往均嫌太小，不夠氣魄，不能引人注意。作品宜嚴格選擇，件數不宜過多，最好以廿至卅為限」。³³ 聖保羅市藝術館的展場實況，在島內並不容易見到，策展者只能憑空想像。

由於史博過去只負責徵件，未曾派員赴巴西實地勘查場地，不知作品尺幅足以影響展場的視覺效果，甚至可能決定了獲獎機會，但從此屆開始，史博也意識到作品內容並非獲獎唯一的因素，參展作品尺幅與件數等展示問題，繼而成為評審徵選的焦點。1960年七月，大使館電告教育部、史博等單位，建議「宜仿各國通例，以三數知名作家為限，件數15幅至20幅已足，尺寸亦須較大，以期易於引起注意」。³⁴ 1961年二月，大使館又直接電告史博參展作品「最好不超過20幅，如能較大尤佳」。³⁵ 尺幅大、件數少且集中個別畫家，成為大使館在外交與藝術戰場最前線的基本需求，但在後方的國內評審，卻無法充分體認這些需求的迫切性，選人或選作品的爭議不斷。最後本屆總件數雖然減少，但個別藝術家出品件數均未超過四件，並以顧福生作品，三度獲得榮譽獎收場。³⁶



圖為李錫奇入選第六屆聖保羅雙年展《夢的輪奏曲 91》（後改為《夢的 91》）。

Image of Rondo of Dream 91 (renamed Dream 91) by Lee Shi-Chi, selected in the 6th São Paulo Biennial.



第六屆聖保羅雙年展報導：〈我選藝術精品參加巴西藝展〉。

Press of the 6th São Paulo Biennial, "The selected works for São Paulo Biennial".



↑〈巴西聖保羅國際藝展 顧福生獲榮譽獎〉，《聯合報》八版，1961年12月14日。

↑“Ku Fu-Sheng won Honorable Mention at the São Paulo Biennial in Brazil”, *United Daily News*, 8th page, 14th December 1961.

← 1961年，張大千作品展示於巴西聖保羅雙年展的現場一景（圖片引自王之一，《我的朋友張大千》，臺北縣，漢藝色妍，1993）。

← Chang Ta-Chien's work shown at the São Paulo Biennial in 1961 (credits to Wang Zhiyi, *My Friend Chang Ta-Chien*, Taipei County, Han Yi Se Yan, 1993).

四

現代性與國族主義的拼合裝置

（一）、抽象風格與民族傳統

1963 年的第七屆聖保羅雙年展之後，史博的徵選作業開始進入較為穩定的階段。由於經歷過 1961 至 1962 年間由劉國松、徐復觀掀起的現代藝術論戰，畫壇上對於抽象繪畫已不再一味排斥，論戰在輿論媒體間也造成了抽象即現代的印象；尤其 1962 年加入廖繼春、孫多慈、虞君質、張隆延等教授的五月畫會，以「現代繪畫赴美預展」之名進入史博國家畫廊展出，館方應當也感受到現代繪畫運動日漸高漲的聲勢。因此第七屆聖保羅雙年展的參展序文，也首度針對競獎作品提出論述，文中先將現代中國畫壇分為「保守的寫實」與「急進的抽象」兩種趨向，並描述了國內抽象藝術的發展情形：

一批向新的青年藝術家們，為了不耐寫實的約束，乃迎頭趕上這嶄新的路子，擺脫因襲的桎梏，從具體的事物上抽出其屬性，純然用思維來創造無可名之形。……新興抽象藝術的激流，已促使具象藝術的創作者不斷做一種變形的嘗試。而抽象藝術的創作者亦復儘量攝受民族傳統的氣質。如「高簡空曠」「古樸鈍拙」之類精神的顯現，黑白調子與金紅色彩之被運用。³⁷

此文可說是總結了史博自 1959 年以來，不斷篩選、統合「極端新派」繪畫風格的初步成果。館方在讚揚抽象藝術接受民族傳統的同時，不免也受到國內畫壇論述的影響，落入了「抽象」與「具象」二分的簡化邏輯，雖然形式主義確實是當時畫家主要的美學主張，但抽象、具象的二分，無疑將過去由大使館指定徵選的各種「極端新派」——包括表現派、抽象派、立體派、超現實派等各式新派繪畫風格——侷限於「新興抽象藝術」一派，以相對於其餘保守的具象及寫實。於此，畫家縱然懷有與形式主義不同的美學思考，也只能被編排入展覽機制所設定、由具象到抽象的形式演進脈絡，作品內容則一概以「民族傳統」的框架略述統攝，畫家以實驗技法運用傳統的意涵因而被擱置了。

在更能掌握徵選方向的同時，第七屆史博也廢除了現代畫會推薦的徵選方式，改設五人組成的選展委員會；兩人由館方指派，三人由藝術家選出，後者須具有參加聖保羅雙年展的經歷，一種類似沙龍的內部晉升制度隱然成形。史博又將徵選類別改為繪畫、版畫、雕刻、塑造等四類「現代畫」，並規定「每人參選不得多於五件」，油畫畫幅最長不得超過 180 公分（另補充規定：「巨幅作品可捲疊不致妨礙裝箱運輸者盡量放寬其限制」）。顯然逐漸成形的官方沙龍暫以平均分配為原則，仍不考慮選派個別藝術家以大型、多件作品參展，而以入選者每人一件作品參展，使得整體展場效果顯得瑣碎又不一致，此屆巴西葡文畫冊亦僅收錄劉國松作品一件《動中之靜》，最後由張杰的水彩作品《停車場》，四度獲榮譽獎。



駐巴西大使館人員於 1963 年第七屆中國展區合影。
The embassy staff to Brazil took a group photo at the 7th China Pavilion in 1963.

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↓ 1963 年第七屆中國展場實況，牆上為張杰的《停車場》一作，榮獲本屆榮譽獎。
↓ Exhibition site of the 7th São Paulo Biennial. The image on the wall is the Honorable Mention work “Parking Lot” by Zhang Jie.



1963 年，劉生容及其第 7 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展的參展作品《時間與空間》。

Liu Sheng-Yung and his work “Time and Space”, the 7th São Paulo Biennial, 1963.

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基於連續四屆參展皆未能奪取大獎的結果，使得1965年史博辦理第八屆徵選時便刻意慎重，館長包遵彭在評審委員會前便先行召開會議，期使「更進一步使我國藝術家發揮高度才能，問鼎國際藝壇」。³⁸然而在具體徵選辦法上卻未有太大的突破，除了剔出雕刻、塑造，另增圖案設計一類外，僅決定可由評審推薦，並增加入選者參展作品數目。³⁹最後，多數入選者仍以一件參展，導致包括韓湘甯、吳昊與陳庭詩等多位藝術家均表示參展意願低落，而邀請部分歷屆參展者加入評審的舉措，也引發落選者對於評審過度集中於特定畫會成員的質疑。⁴⁰最後評選結果，由陳道明（五件）、莊喆（五件）、吳昊（三件）、楊英風自羅馬寄回作品四件、史博送展二件及其他六人各一件作品（如江漢東的《女與貓》、李錫奇的《告別91-3》）由國內送件參展，本屆亦有香港重要水墨畫家呂壽琨寄送《雨後》參展，以及原為師大教授、此時已旅居巴西的藝術家林聖揚直接在當地送件參展，於中國展區專室展出18件作品。卻因展覽制度變革、無人向巴西主辦單位提名，連續獲榮譽獎的紀錄遂告中斷，而在以「大」為特色的聖保羅展場中，臺灣參展作品的尺幅也相形失色。⁴¹



↓ 廖修平攝於1963年「今日畫展」，身後為參加1963年第七屆聖保羅雙年展之作品。

左圖為同系列之作品之一：
《墨象連作》，石版，
55X39.8公分，1962年。

Photo of Liao Shiou-Ping at the "Today Taiwan" exhibition, 1963. The work behind Liao participated in the 7th São Paulo Biennial, 1963. (Left) Image of work *The Art of the Ink Series* is one of the same series, lithograph, 55 x 39.8 cm, 1962.





嚴克仁，〈巴西聖保羅的國際藝術展〉，《聯合報》八版，1965年11月18-19日。

Yan Keren, "The São Paulo Biennial in Brazil", *United Daily News*, 8th page, 18-19th November 1965.

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1965年，楊英風自羅馬寄作品四件至巴西參展、史博自台灣送展二件。圖中為楊英風在羅馬工作室與其1965年第八屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品《虛靜觀其反覆羅字第18號》、《虛靜觀其反覆羅字第25號》。

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Image of Yang Yuyu with the 8th São Paulo Biennial selected works *Infinito Susseg virsi del vouto Immobile R18* and *Infinito Susseg virsi del vouto Immobile R25* at his studio in Rome. Yang Yuyu sent four pieces of works from Rome to Brazil while NMH sent two in 1965.



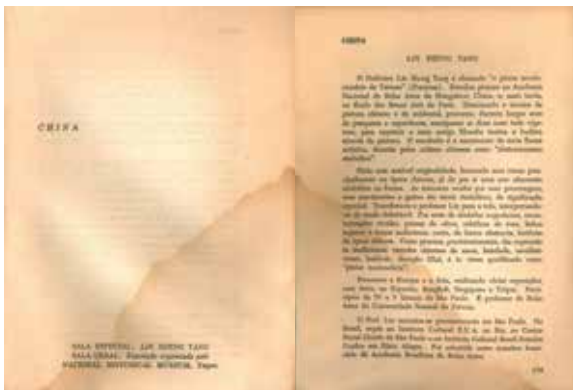
李錫奇與第八屆聖保羅雙年展參展作品《告別 91-3》、巴西駐華大使合影。

Photo of Lee Shi-Chi, the 8th São Paulo Biennial selected work *Good Bye 91-3* and Brazilian Ambassador to ROC.

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1965 年第八屆巴西聖保羅雙年展葡文畫冊之林聖揚簡介。

The introduction of Lin Sheng-Yang, Portuguese catalogue of the 8th São Paulo Biennial, 1965.



1965 年第八屆聖保羅雙年展中國—林聖揚專區實況。

Image of Lin Sheng-Yang's exhibition site at the 8th São Paulo Biennial.

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（二）、氣魄雄渾的拼合裝置

對於展場效果不佳的問題，史博顯然在籌辦參加1967年第九屆聖保羅雙年展之前便已有所檢討。1966年11月，館方先發函外交部要求駐巴西大使館，盡力探詢是否可從評審的公關人事方面「加強運用」，並向大會交涉增加展場面積；大使館則電覆：展場面積全視各國參展作品尺幅與件數而定，歷屆臺灣參展數少，「亦鮮有巨幅者」，反而數度臨時請旅巴畫家出品以補足展場空間。⁴²大使館的回報，可能激勵了史博銳意變革的決心，改採以先指定邀請藝術家、再由藝術家自行提出五至八件作品參展的徵選方式，作品尺幅也可擴大為60至100號。館方並首度詳細明定參展人與作品的條件：

- 一、具有踏實之藝術修養基礎與歷程，並曾有作品發表，可資考慮者。
- 二、洞悉國際現在藝術創作內容與趨勢，其作品非以著重模擬為事者。
- 三、其所創作須能就其深厚之基礎，發展為具有新境界新技法之新作品，並須氣魄雄健而能顯示中華文化之特質者。⁴³

在參展作品的數量、尺幅皆有變革的進展下，史博也盡力描繪所期待徵選出的作品要件。但所謂「氣魄雄健而能顯示中華文化之特質」並無法單從字面上讀取其具體意涵，展覽序言只簡略交代了神秘主義、潛在的宗教意識與中國禪學，亦未明言專指特定的參展作品，僅可從參展的劉生容作品略窺其潛在關聯。⁴⁴



中華民國參加第10屆聖保羅國際雙年展中文圖錄封面。

Cover of the Chinese catalogue for the ROC's participation in the 10th São Paulo Biennial.

因此，第九屆聖保羅雙年展的參展論述僅可視為一個國家道德意識的開端，更詳細的界定與解釋，則要等到 1969 年的下一屆。1969 年，史博首度印製中英文畫冊，同時在徵選參加第十屆聖保羅雙年展的簡章中，規定「作品之作風及其內涵」，必須合於以下條件：

- 一、現代作品，風格極端新穎者。
- 二、為參展人最新最富思想者。
- 三、能夠代表民族特性，氣魄雄渾，且能鼓勵觀眾積極向上，心氣安定、志節崇高之精神者。
- 四、能夠適應國際思潮，甚至領導國際思潮者。⁴⁵

這四項作品要件的來由，源自 1966 年史博向駐巴西大使館探詢獲獎要領未得，遂派出觀察員于還素親赴聖保羅展場考察後之心得。在第九屆的展場上，于還素除了向大會秘書提議，由臺灣提供一獎項以介入雙年展的評審決策機制之外，也詳細考察會場的作品與空間配置，並在 1968 年史博的第十屆參展籌備會上將心得發表供作參考。⁴⁶ 根據他的觀察，巴西聖保羅雙年展國際參展作品具有的特徵包括：「一、幅面大、數量多，作風新（有勇氣及魄力）。二、能代表民族的氣魄，並使生於混亂世界的觀眾，產生安定的感覺。三、須為國際性。四、大幅畫可採拼幅及捲軸裝潢俾利裝運。」在于還素的建議下，油畫徵選尺寸大幅放寬，僅規定超過一百號者須為「拼合裝置」，捲軸長度不得超過 180 公分、而寬度則以四公尺為限。

「拼合裝置」是此屆徵選制度中的新發明，係指畫幅超過規定、須以二幅以上拼合者，「須用中國國畫『合錦』式之拼合方法，不得用硬質邊框」（第六款）。除了畫作裝潢的術語功能外，「拼合裝置」亦可謂一種國家文化主體在展覽機制中的多重隱喻；它不僅意謂著在經歷了六次徵選作業的反覆嘗試，終於在親睹見證展場與參展作品後，尋得一較有把握接近國際雙年展作品水平的參展風格，更意謂著在長期追求「拼合」現代性與國族主義的努力後，開始在策展論述上產生較為具體的審美要求。儘管與清晰完整的美學論述仍有差距，但「拼合裝置」所要求的尺幅大、數量多、合錦式拼合，已為此屆評審（于還素、林克恭、劉國松、郭軻、廖繼春、楊英風、姚夢谷、王宇清）及畫家如入選十件的劉國松（以評審免審查參展）、六件的廖修平、四件的馮鐘睿、及一件的李建中所採用，而將多件「拼合裝置」作品連接成二至三公尺長的畫幅，亦成為 1969 年第十屆參展作品的一大特色。

作品四要件及「拼合裝置」的徵求風格，也延續至 1971 年第 11 屆的參展作品中。⁴⁷ 參展作品包括多幅「拼合裝置」：劉庸的《山中有何物？》（二合一）、劉國松的《子夜的太陽 NO.4》（七合一）、《子夜的太陽 NO.5》（五合一），以及陳庭詩的《平旦（甲）》（三合一）、《平旦（乙）》（四合一）、《瞬息之流光》（四合一）、《曉》（四合一）等。其他的參展作品如曾培堯的畫作，即使不在裱框形式下追求拼合，作品內容亦有結合不同畫面的表現。史博印製的圖錄封面與內刊作品圖版，亦多有拼合意味，甚至，對外發出的新聞稿更特意強調「有超過 100 號二幅拼



劉國松，《子夜的太陽 NO.5》（五合一），水墨、拚合裝置，153X377.5公分，1970。1971年第11屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。劉國松文獻庫提供。

Liu Kuo-Sung, Midnight Sun No.5 (set of five panels), ink and installation, 155X377.5 cm, 1970. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971. Courtesy of the Liu Kuo-Sung Archive.

李建中與其參加巴西聖保羅雙年展的拚合卷軸作品，1969年攝（圖片引自許忠英編，《李建中現代畫派》，臺北，藝術生活開發，2004，頁15）。

Li Jianzhong photographed with his combined scroll for the São Paulo Biennial in 1969, credits to Xu Zhongying (ed.), The Modernist painter Li Jianzhong, Taipei, Yishu Shenghuo Kaifa, 2004, p.15).



合或為捲軸者為數不少，足見國內外畫家重視該項展覽之一般」。但到了1973年第12屆，拼合裝置風格已不再列入徵選要點中，此屆徵件由館方先行擬定候選人名單，再票選出參展者，並規定作品「不得小於100號」、「以八至十幅為原則」。換言之，本屆僅維持尺幅大、件數多的原則，作品內容亦只要求最新穎，已不見前屆註明的審美要求。⁴⁸此此屆籌備期間（1971至1973年），接連的外交挫折，使臺灣代表「中國」的國際地位動搖，中文圖錄已較往年縮減版面，本地的現代畫家也相繼出國發展，所票選出的代表如韓湘甯、彭萬墀等人，均以身在海外、另有展約在身而推辭參展邀約，故而最後由廖修平、顧重光等四位更年輕的畫家參展。

此屆也是臺灣參展的最後一屆，運作多年、欲以介入評審機制爭取大獎的任務終展露曙光，大會決定邀請政戰學校美術系主任林克恭出任評審。然而史博僅注重參展作品的尺幅大、件數多，卻無法就早已非世界當代藝術主流的抽象風格提出深入論述，展覽序言亦與歷屆相仿，仍維持諸如東西方文明對比、中國自然觀及宇宙觀的抽象基調；⁴⁹在當代藝術重鎮的巴西聖保羅雙年展中，抽象畫家難以與當代藝術潮流對話的情況可想而知，即便由國人出任評審也難以使力，競逐大獎的計劃終告無功而返。



↑林克恭返台後於史博演講其評審經歷之實況。

↑Lim Kac-Keong gave a speech on the jury experience at NMH after returning to Taiwan.

→〈巴西聖保羅國際藝術展 聘林克恭為評審員〉。

→“The São Paulo Biennial invites Lim Kac-Keong to serve on the jury.”





←黃朝湖，〈評參加巴西聖保羅國際藝展作品〉，《聯合報》六版，1963年5月16日。

←Huang Chau-Hu, "Comment on works that participating in the São Paulo Biennial", *United Daily News*, 6th page, 16th May, 1963.

↓莊喆，〈一個誠懇的願望 寫在參加聖保羅及巴黎國際美展入選作品預展之後〉，《聯合報》六版，1963年5月18日。

↓Chuang Che, "A sincere wish written after participating in the preview of selected works at the São Paulo and Paris Biennial", *United Daily News*, 6th page, 18th May, 1963.



中華民國參加第 12 屆聖保羅國際雙年展中文圖錄封面。

Cover of the Chinese catalogue for the ROC's participation in the 12th São Paulo Biennial.

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結論

1974年八月，臺灣政府與巴西正式斷交，聖保羅雙年展的主辦單位不再提供展覽章程給史博，無異否決了臺灣代表中國參展的機會。駐巴西大使館撤離後，等於也失去了瞭望聖保羅雙年展的前哨站，從此更無外交人員可在前線為國察探消息、支援佈展。在一場長達八屆17年的戰役中，由史博與駐巴西大使館建立連線，外交、教育兩部會居間策應協調，兩兩平行的四個單位，形成傳輸現代性與國族主義的遠距機制，相關單位人員可謂克盡職守，其一體兩面的目標，是阻止「匪共插足」，也是宣揚國家文化。為了在全球極富盛名的雙年展上佔有「中國」的主體位置，國家展覽機器不得不逐步調整策展方向，徵選聖保羅雙年展所標榜的「現代藝術」。對於入選的國內藝術家來說，個人作品能代表國家、躍上國際舞臺，在海外藝術資訊極為封閉的年代裡尤其可貴，因而策展機制徵求之風格，往往成為藝術家競相仿效揣摩的創作依據，入選得獎也成為國內現代繪畫運動的指標。⁵⁰

從歷屆檔案可知，此一運作方式，由駐巴西大使館發動，電文寄送報名簡章給外交部後，再轉教育部決定參展與否，最後交付史博執行公開徵選。徵選的評審每屆或有差異，時而請美術院校推薦、時而請畫會推薦，也有史博自行決定邀請名單的情況，而變動更顯著的則是徵選內容，總結歷屆徵選參展的作品風

格來看，初期先是史博的複製品成為畫家創作時仿效的對象，隨後以大使館傳回雙年展的「極端新派」方針為依歸，繼之倡導接受具有民族傳統風貌的抽象藝術，最後朝向尺幅大、多件拼合的連作形式發展，結合現代性與國族主義的拼合裝置，構成了此階段時代風格的主要形式。從文化政治的角度來看，如果說抽象表現主義是美俄冷戰與麥卡錫主義下的產物，作為自由世界向共產鐵幕的宣傳利器，那麼臺灣的抽象繪畫，則是國共鬥爭延伸到外交戰場後不斷實驗改良的藝術裝備。「氣魄雄渾」「志節崇高」的美學表現，並非只是藝術家心靈的單純反映，可說是在國家機器的操作下，結合「極端新派」「拼合裝置」的徵求方針而生的產物。

由策展過程來看，史博最初將參加聖保羅雙年展的活動，視同代表國家參加其他外國商展，重點在於宣揚國家文化形象，而「新派繪畫」之所以能在現代繪畫運動中扮演為主流方向，是由駐外使館為了在外交上佔據「中國」的主體位置，要求外交部與史博主動向畫家徵求而形成。在主辦單位的展示策略與規範下，藝術家既要迴避、超脫政治干擾的恐懼，作品內容也朝向寄託自然宇宙的信仰與祭儀，故此階段抽象風格的生成與盛行，自有其本地特殊的社會條件，不宜單方面從美國的現代化理論或文化殖民的角度視之。

綜合以上所述可知，史博策劃此項徵選活動，其意義並非一般論者所認知的單純競賽性質，而是在複

雜的政治角力與政策需求下所策劃出的贊助型展示，論者所習稱的「中國現代畫」風格，以及參展後期製作的拼合裝置作品，可謂充滿了多重的視覺隱喻功能：在國內預展時，被視為一瞭望國際當代藝術風格的窗口；在巴西聖保羅的展場上，則成為隔出另一政治與外交運作空間的屏風；參展歷程的後期，又以巨幅連作的拼合裝置，打造成折射繪畫現代性與反照主體形象的鏡屏，同時也遮蔽了海外當代藝術的現象。那麼，鏡屏中的視象，究竟是不是屬於我們真正的實象？或許，這是研究者在面對時代風格與主體性時，心中必須不斷往還的叩問。

¹ 此處的觀點請參見：Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996, pp. 9-16.

² 此處的觀點請參見：Michael Baxandall, *The Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: a Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

³ 請參照拙著，〈雙重鏡反的文化主體：從展覽機制看近代臺灣的國家與美術〉，《今藝術》第126期，2003年3月，頁64-69。〈이중 반사된 문화 주체—전람회 제도에서 본 근대 대만의 국가와 미술〉，《한국근대미술사학》(Journal of Korean Modern Art History) 第15期，2005年12月，頁243-262。

⁴ 另一個可比較的案例，是臺北市立美術館自1995年起參與威尼斯雙年展的歷程，迄今已超過20年。

⁵ 此階段美術史的代表性研究，參見蕭瓊瑞，〈五月與東方：中國美術現代化運動在戰後臺灣之發展（1945-1970）〉，《臺北市：東大圖書股份有限公司，1991。

⁶ 參見筆者博士論文第三章：拙著，〈近代臺灣前衛美術與博物館建構：一個視覺文化史的探討〉，輔仁大學比較文學研究所博士論文，2004。史博創建的概略經過，可參見館方相關簡介及館史出版品，但此一過程牽涉甚廣，筆者將另文探討。

⁷ 2005年11月18日，史博曾以成立50週年之名，舉辦「戰後臺灣現代藝術發展：兼談國立歷史博物館的角色扮演」學術研討會，邀請數篇論文，內容包括藝術家的回顧、藝評家的再評論及學者的探討，均為頗有見地的一家之言，然未見結合藝術作品與一手史料的研究成果發表。

⁸ 駐巴西大使館航郵代電，巴字第2325號，1956年5月22日。收入外交部檔案，《聖保羅美展》，檔號：172-3/3324-1，1956。目前所見檔案中，並未顯示臺灣政府參與此展的最高決策者，但包遵彭在1968年發給駐巴西大使館與外交部的公文中曾述及：「卷查是項雙年國際藝展，于第五屆首次邀請我國參展時，本館曾向層峰力陳如不參展，必將授予大陸共匪滲透參加之弊害。」所謂「層峰」，應指當時總統蔣介石或其周邊人士。參見外交部代電，〈關於巴西邀請我參加一九六七年聖保羅第九屆藝術展覽事〉，外56情二00035號，1967年1月4日。收入外交部檔案，《巴西聖保羅藝展》，檔號：172-3/3231，1967。

⁹ 〈國立歷史文物美術館公告〉。《中央日報》1版，1957年1月21日。參見國立歷史博物館檔案，《國際展覽（巴西藝展）》，檔號：100013，1957。由研究組主任姚谷良草擬、館長包遵彭核准的評審名單中，原將李仲生列為名單之首，但最後李仲生卻未參與評審。參見姚谷良，〈應徵巴西聖保羅現代藝術館展品審查委員〉，總收文號：0450000253，1957年2月2日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《國際展覽（巴西藝展）》，檔號：100013，1957。

¹⁰ 參見駐巴西大使館航郵代電，〈關於我參加聖保羅藝展事〉，1957年3月25日。收入外交部檔案，《聖保羅美展》，檔號：172-3/3324-1，1957。

¹¹ 極少發表作品的陳夏雨，應是受邀參展、而非自行送件參選。楊三郎《臺灣古屋》一作，便因為尺幅過大無法裝箱，臨時撤回未展。參見陳夏雨，〈陳夏雨致國立歷史文物美術館函〉，收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《國際展覽（巴西藝展）》，檔號：100013，1957。

- 12 席德進，〈參加巴西國際美展作品觀後〉，《聯合報》6版，1957年3月4日。
- 13 駐巴西大使館航郵代電，〈關於我參加聖保羅現代藝術館第四屆兩年季國際藝展事〉，巴字第2706號，1957年10月17日。收入外交部檔案，《聖保羅美展》，檔號：172-3/3324-1，1957。
- 14 蕭明賢，〈應徵巴西聖保羅市現代藝術博物館第四屆二年季國際藝術展覽會登記表〉，1957年1月28日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《國際展覽（巴西藝展）》，檔號：100013，1957。
- 15 李元佳，〈應徵巴西聖保羅市現代藝術博物館第四屆二年季國際藝術展覽會登記表〉，1957年2月2日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《國際展覽（巴西藝展）》，檔號：100013，1957。
- 16 參見杭立武，〈中泰文化交流：中華民國參加泰國慶憲展覽獻辭〉，《中外畫報》6期（1956年12月），頁10-11；國立歷史文物美術館，〈為請增加參加泰國國際展覽製作模型費部份之預算由〉，發文字號：45史美字第313號，1956年10月19日。收入國立歷史文物美術館檔案，《泰國商展經費》，檔號：500038，1956。
- 17 Pao Tseng-Peng, "Sala Geral," 5^a Bienal de S. Paulo, São Paulo: Museu de Moderna, 1959, pp. 126-127.
- 18 外交部致駐巴西大使館354號電抄件，〈我決參加本屆聖保羅雙年展希力阻匪共插足由〉，1959年1月29日。收入外交部檔案，《聖保羅美展》，檔號：172-3/3324-1，1959。

- 19 駐巴西大使館航郵代電，〈參加聖保羅第五屆兩年季現代藝展事〉，發文字號：外48情2字第002238號，1959年2月17日。收入外交部檔案，《聖保羅美展》，檔號：172-3/3324-1，1959。
- 20 本屆132件展品中，有獎競賽部分41件、無獎展覽的現代書畫共計34件。
- 21 Flexa Ribeiro, "Na Bienal de Arte de São Paulo: Motivações Sobre a Arte Chinesa," Jornal do Commercio, 8 de November de 1959.
- 22 林聖揚，〈林聖揚致包遵彭函〉，1960年1月22日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《五屆巴西藝展》，檔號：100079，1960。林聖揚另將他的觀察發表於《中央日報》，但同時冠上「巴西國際藝展 我獲甚大成功」的標題，與內文的諸多批評頗不相稱，文末提及的「抵制共匪」「以揚國譽」或為下標題者的主要考量。參見林聖揚，〈巴西國際藝展 我獲甚大成功〉，《中央日報》，1960年2月21日。
- 23 參見鄭健生，〈為我參加聖保羅第五屆現代藝展事，呈請 鑒察由〉，正字第162號，1959年10月23日。收入外交部檔案，《聖保羅美展》，檔號：172-3/3324-1，1959。
- 24 史博檔案中的徵選作品清單，標示此作尺寸為110公分見方，但由葡文圖錄可見，此作並非正方畫幅。另翻查蕭勤個人畫集，可見此作尺寸標為140×65公分，名稱也改為《繪畫-AJ》，可能係因當時蕭勤已赴歐洲，作品由歐洲逕寄巴西聖保羅市，史博未及親自詳查丈量作品，或者單純筆誤。參見「蕭勤 Hsiao Chin」編輯委員會編，《蕭勤 Hsiao Chin》（臺北：帝門藝術中心，1996），頁90。

- 25 粗體為筆者所加。國立歷史文物美術館，〈為巴西聖保羅現代藝術館主辦之第五屆國際藝展事，呈請鑒核示遵由〉，發文字號：47博研字第307號，1958年10月7日。收入國立歷史文物美術館檔案，《巴西藝展》，檔號：100032，1958。
- 26 粗體為筆者所加。李迪俊，〈李迪俊致包遵彭函〉，1959年3月20日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《巴西藝展》，檔號：100032，1959。
- 27 〈國立歷史博物館公告〉，《中央日報》一版，1959年2月11日。
- 28 劉國松，〈遏阻共匪對自由世界的文化滲透活動〉，《公論報》，1961年11月28日。
- 29 如畫家吳兆賢、鄭世鈺的登記表，參見國立歷史博物館檔案，《五屆巴西藝展》，檔號：100029，1958。
- 30 外交部，〈關於第六屆聖保羅國際藝展事〉，巴西使49字第282號，1960年7月5日。收入外交部檔案，《聖保羅美展》，檔號：172-3/3324-1，1960。
- 31 參見外交部，〈我參加巴黎國際青年藝展事〉。收入外交部檔案，《巴黎國際青年藝展》。檔號：172-3/3329，1959。
- 32 1960年三月，原準備提供場地，供17個現代畫會舉辦「中國現代藝術中心」成立大會的史博，卻在有關單位壓力下，臨時取消了活動場地的提供。當天並發生秦松畫作遭檢舉有「倒蔣」之嫌，而被館長包遵彭命人取下查封的事件。參見蕭瓊瑞，《五月與東方：中國美術現代化運動在戰後臺灣之發展（1945-1970）》，頁305-312。目前所見，並無明顯史證，可解釋此事件與1961年聖保羅雙年

展改採現代畫會推薦徵選的方式有直接關聯，但史博確曾發函，要求主導成立「中國現代藝術中心」的楊英風提供現代畫會名單。楊英風，〈楊英風致王宇清函〉，1961年1月9日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《巴西六屆現代藝展》，檔號：100115，1961。

- 33 教育部，〈為聖保羅第六屆現代藝展事〉，來文字號：臺50文1986號，1961年2月20日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《巴西六屆現代藝展》，檔號：100115，1961。
- 34 駐巴西大使館航郵代電，〈關於第六屆聖保羅國際現代藝展事〉，來文字號：巴西使49字第282號，1960年7月5日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《巴西六屆現代藝展》，檔號：100115，1960。
- 35 駐巴西大使館航郵代電，〈關於參加聖保羅第六屆雙年國際現代藝展事〉，來文字號：巴西使50字第561號，1961年2月24日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《巴西六屆建築展》，檔號：100116，1961。
- 36 〈巴西聖保羅國際藝展 顧福生獲榮譽獎〉，《聯合報》八版，1961年12月14日。
- 37 王宇清草擬，〈中華民國參加一九六三年巴西聖保羅市第 屆國際藝展序言〉（草稿），發文字號：52臺博研字第286號，1963年7月20日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《巴西七屆藝展》，檔號：100242，1963。

- 38 何新祥紀錄，〈國立歷史博物館承辦參加第八屆聖保羅市雙年季國際藝術展覽評審委員會第一次會議記錄〉，1965年2月6日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《八屆巴西藝展》，檔號：100297，1965。
- 39 本屆評審包括：王宇清、李仲生、林克恭、郭柏川、郭軻、廖繼春、張隆延、姚夢谷、劉國松、秦松。
- 40 胡永，〈遙望聖保羅現代藝術雙年展〉，《聯合報》八版，1965年3月13日。另有畫家吳隆榮致函館長包遵彭，表達對於評選不公的遺憾。
- 41 嚴克仁，〈巴西聖保羅的國際藝術展〉，《聯合報》八版，1965年11月18-19日。
- 42 外交部致駐巴西大使館354號電抄件，〈我決參加本屆聖保羅雙年展希力阻匪共插足〉，1959年1月29日。收入外交部檔案，《聖保羅美展》，檔號：172-3/3324-1，1959。
- 43 張新芳紀錄，〈國立歷史博物館籌辦參加巴西聖保羅市第九屆國際雙年藝展第一次籌備會議記錄〉，1967年2月28日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《第九屆巴西聖保羅藝展》，檔號：1/401，1967。
- 44 國立歷史博物館，〈中華民國參加巴西聖保羅市第九屆國際藝展序〉，收入國立歷史博物館檔案，《巴西九屆美展》，檔號：1/470，1967。
- 45 國立歷史博物館，〈中華民國參加巴西聖保羅市第十屆國際藝術展覽徵選展品簡章〉，1969年1月16日。收入國立歷史博物館檔案《巴西十屆藝展（一般）》，檔號：1/545，1969。

- 46 國立歷史博物館檔案，《于還素出國案》，檔號：1/570，1967。于還素同時也拍攝了展場幻燈片預備供國內畫家參考，並在歸國後發表了一篇觀展紀要。參見于還素，〈出席巴西聖保羅國際雙年美展會紀要〉，《幼獅文藝》30卷3期（1969年3月），頁53-61。
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- 49 王宇清，〈前言〉，《中華民國參加巴西聖保羅市第十二屆國際雙年美展展品目錄》，臺北：國立歷史博物館，1973。未編頁碼。
- 50 這種由國際展覽傳輸的「依賴的現代性」，對臺灣美術發展的影響深遠，於今猶然。

Combine and install the “New Painting”: Taiwan Art in São Paulo Biennial (1957-1973)

Abstract

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From 1957 to 1973 the National Museum of History (NMH) selected Taiwanese artists for participation in the 4th to the 12th São Paulo Biennial, in a total of eight editions of the history in which so many Taiwanese artist participated in an overseas exhibition in the name of Taiwan as a country for so many years. This paper focuses on this event and explores the period style and subjectivity of the art during this period based on the artworks, archives of the NMH and the relevant government departments, as well as first-hand historical data, such as artist's writing and letters. First, I will trace the background history of NMH involvement in the activities related to São Paulo Biennial, and how the Biennial led to an emergency of mainstream artistic style through the interaction between the exhibition mechanism and artists. Second, I will examine the position of this style in the modern painting movement and analyze the exhibits to find out how the visual subject was formed in the exhibition context. Last, I will explore the significance of the period style in terms of curatorial practice, foreign policy and cultural subjectivity by looking at the mode of presentation of the artworks. By analyzing the production and reception of the works in this case study, this paper reexamines the co-ordinates for interpreting painting in the modern art movement and attempts to propose a method and structure for understanding postwar Taiwanese art.

Keyword

National Museum of History ("NMH"), San Paulo Biennial, New painting, "Radical New Painting", abstract painting, conjoining/piecing together/installing, presentation modernity, postwar Taiwanese art, Taiwanese art history

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I

Period style and subjectivity

When discussing the period style of painting, art historians may analyze the structure of visual forms on painting to find out if it possesses the characteristics of the period style. Such studies are also considered the basics of periodization or connoisseurship. Art historians often stress that the development of the style and iconography of works should be the core and basics of art historical research. Such kind of work involves questions like whether the style of a certain work conforms to a certain period style, and whether its iconography can be placed into and explained by a wider cultural historical context. While fundamental work is certainly important, the immanent analyzes of a work or an analysis taking into account the external socio-cultural background all but avoids questions and assumption about the material basis of painting, and the viewer's (including the scholar's and the artist's) experience of confronting a real work, that is, viewer confronts not only the visual image of the work, but also an image-bearing object.¹

For instance, when dealing with the period style of Taiwanese art in the 1960s, the scholar will ask: "what is the style of modern Chinese painting?". This question is not exactly the same as asking "what is a work of modern Chinese painting?", and the way of answering them is different. When we have to answer the question "what is a work of modern Chinese painting", we are not only dealing with the question of period style, but also with the process of subjectification involved in the period style. The change from

one style to another and influence of one image on another linked with the visibility and materiality that constitute the visual subject of the work. In terms of the materiality of visual image, it seems that traditional art historical studies seldom consider the role of the material medium that carries the painting, such as the handscroll or screen in the process of painting. They also rarely examine the place of the work in the context of presentation and the order of collection of objects in terms of the visibility of the object. In the eyes of the scholar, the “work” has become an image that floats above the image-bearing object awaiting analysis, like the printed image in the books and catalogues or slides.

Thus, analyzing the works and combining it with the study of their visibility and materiality seem to be a viable way of understanding the process of the formation of the visual subject. As art historian Michael Baxandall points out, a 15th century painting is the deposit of a social relationship at the time. The painter, the patron and the contract between them constituted the social network around the work. The patronage could be in the form of a commission, an order, employment at a live-in artist or institutional patronage. The production and reception of painting were regulated by the beliefs, customs and laws behind such forms of patronage. With the “period eye” with which the middle class of the 15th century looked at paintings, Baxandall observed the beliefs, desires and fears they saw in the painted works.² By looking at material basis of the works in the context of patronage and presentation with the “period eye”, we can explore the various operations of power associated with the visual subject in the material and cultural system, including the classification of the categories of art, the definition of form and medium, the assessment of aesthetic

value, style and meaning, patronage and reward. We can also observe how the processing of the material media of the work produced the same structural characteristics and form of representation manifested by other contemporary works, in order to trace the operations of national and cultural mechanisms as well as the subjectivity it mirrored.³ Thus, when the scholar is viewing the work as a kind of mirror, he is shifting between questions of subjectivity and style.⁴

Using art painting as a starting point, this paper will discuss the NMH’s selection of artists for the São Paulo Biennial as a viable way of reexamining the period style and subjectivity of Taiwanese art from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. From 1957 to 1973, the NMH selected Taiwanese artists for participation in the 4th to the 12th São Paulo Biennial, in a total of eight editions of the Biennials over a span of seventeen years. It is the one and only example in Taiwanese art history in which so many Taiwanese artists participated in an overseas exhibition in the name of Taiwan as a country for so many years. Both contemporary art reviews and recent commentators looking back on this event basically agree that this Biennial exerted a shaping influence on the postwar Taiwanese modern painting movement.⁵ But as to what kind of style the São Paulo Biennial helped to shape, most commentators merely categorize it as “abstract” or “modern” or under some other general term. Due to inadequate historical data, the influence of the Biennial on the local painting movement has not been fully explored. During the postwar period, it was difficult to obtain information from outside in Taiwan. Concepts like those mentioned above were introduced by artists who were hungry for knowledge without critical examination, and would still need to be clarified by art historians.⁶

The NMH's founding mission was to construct a history of the Chinese nation through visual means. In the designated museum building, the space was organized to the imagined chronology of the artifacts of the nation. The NMH started by restoring the damaged artifacts that were moved to Taiwan and filling the exhibition space with the national treasure symbolizing the center of the nation. Where the original objects were missing, artists were invited to create replicas based on documents or photos. The NMH also produced various films, painted pictures and postcards to promote the artifacts.⁷ The question is, how did artists fit into the public exhibition system of the NMH with their own works in order to create a consciousness of modernity, and is it possible to trace artists' visual expression and viewers' reception of modernity in terms of the change in the material conditions? Furthermore, how did such visual expression tie up with the expression of the national identity at the time? To answer the above questions, it may be highly appropriate to study the case of the São Paulo Biennial.⁸

Based on first-hand historical data, this paper will trace the background and history of the NMH's involvement in the activities related to the São Paulo Biennial, and how the Biennial led to the emergence of a mainstream artistic style through the interaction between the exhibition mechanism and the artists. Second, it will examine the position of this style in the modern painting movement and analyze the exhibition to find out how the visual subject was formed in the exhibition context. Last, it will explore the significance of the period style in the terms of curatorial practice, foreign policy and cultural subjectivity by looking at the mode of presentation of the artworks.

II

Seeking national traits and modernity in replicas

In May 1956, the Brazilian government invited Taiwan to participate in the 4th São Paulo Biennial in 1957 at the request of the museum of modern art, São Paulo. Founded in 1951, the São Paulo Biennial was the second large-scale international art Biennial established after the Venice Biennial.⁹ Our embassy in Brazil liaised with our ministry of foreign affairs, suggesting sending select work to the São Paulo Biennial for the sake of cultural propaganda. The ministry of foreign affairs referred the message to the ministry of education, and the ministry of education charged the NMH with the task of organization.¹⁰ In January in the following year, the NMH first turned to the teachers and students of the art department of the National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU) for works, and subsequently placed an advertisement in a newspaper calling for four categories of works, including oil painting, watercolor, sculpture and woodcut. A jury was set up that was mainly made up of professors of the NTNU and the political Cadre School.¹¹ With no previous experience to draw on, the NMH had to stipulate the size of works by referring to the size of the exhibition space in Brazil and the size of the cargo containers. For this premiere, the NMH had to rely on the fine arts departments of the universities for suggestions about the organization, judging criteria and style of the works to be selected, and did not set any concrete guidelines itself.¹² About two-thirds of the commissioned works were provided by the jury members themselves, while the 28

works that were shown at the biennial represented various main trends of the contemporary art scene. Oil paintings included Yang Qi-Dong's Inside the temple and Chang Yi-Hsiung's Fish. sculptures included Chen Hsia-Yu's Female nude and Yang Yuyu's Esteemed dignity, while woodcuts were represented by "militant", "anti-communist" realistic works.¹³ After seeing the preview of the works before they were sent abroad, Shiy De-Jinn, one of the selected artists, voiced his opinion:

*"After seeing these 30 works that are to be sent to Brazil, I felt extremely ashamed (I have two works among them) . In the artifacts gallery, our own works pale by comparison with the artistic relics of our ancestors with which they are juxtaposed. Chaotic, lost, without their own distinctive style and devoid of national traits. It is hard for such works to be accorded a place in world painting. As Chinese artists, we should take a deep look at these glorious historical artifacts."*¹⁴

While Shiy De-Jinn suggested artists should take a deep look at these glorious historical artifacts", he blamed the works' lack of national traits on the fact that "Chinese do not have the chance to see good works and authentic piece by their ancients". actually, what the NMH had on show at the time were not glorious authentic pieces, but only replicas with a faded aura. Even so, in the submissions of artists who respond to the call for works, one can detect the tendency that His Te-Chin was hoping for. All these artists stated that they were inspired by the "anti-naturalistic tendencies" and the "emphasis on psychological activities" in western modern art to further study traditional Chinese art which has a similar essence. The objects of study mentioned in the artists'

statements included oracle bone inscriptions and inscriptions on ancient bronzes (Li Yuan-Chia) , inscriptions on ancient bronzes and stone tables (Hsiao Ming-Hsien) , Han stone carvings (Ouyang Wenyuan) , pottery, embroidery and folk woodcuts (Hsia Yan) , Tun-huang murals (Chen Tao-Ming and Wu Shilu) etc. Together with Hsiao Chin who had gone to study in Spain and Huo Xuegang who focused on surrealism, the them were the early members of the Ton-Fan Group.

Among the members of the Ton-Fan Group, only Hsiao Ming-Hsien's *As in Art: Complete* and Li Yuan-Chia's *As in art* were selected. But it is not difficult to see that the objects of their study were similar to the categories of replicas displayed in the galleries of the National Museum of History. After the biennial opened, our ambassador to Brazil sent news that Hsiao Ming-Hsien's *As in Art: Complete* had received an Honorable Mention. He also briefly described the style of the works in the São Paulo Biennial: "The works, whether sculptures or paintings, are extremely modern. Almost all of the oil paintings are executed in an abstract, cubist, fauvist or surrealist style, which ordinary people will find hard to appreciate."¹⁵ While Hsiao Ming-Hsien's work no longer extant, we have the application by Li Yuan-Chia, another Ton-Fan member, which is almost identical to Hsiao's statement, but written in a more lucid style. From it, we can infer the concept behind Li Yuan-Chia's *As in art* and Hsiao Ming-Hsien's *As in Art: Complete*:

"With its anti-naturalistic tendencies and emphasis on psychological activities, modern art has such attributes as suggestion, symbolism and abstraction. Abstract painting is its most direct expressive style.

*Its main principles have something in common with the abstract beauty of Chinese inscriptions on ancient bronzes and stone tables. For some years, I have sought the characteristics of our abstract art in Chinese oracle bone inscriptions and inscriptions on ancient bronzes in order to endow my work with the essence of modernity, our national traits and the modern spirit.”*¹⁶

Seeking national traits and modernity in replicas of Chinese artifacts was the main experimental goal of painters in this period. The above statement was written in February 1957. In November of the same year, the Ton-Fan Group organized by the Ministry of education. After the works of some of its members were selected for the São Paulo Biennial, Ton-Fan painters were sent to the international commodity Fair celebrating Thailand’s Constitutions Day in December 1956, and also included in the 4th National Fine Art Exhibition in September 1957. The National Painting and Calligraphy exhibition, the exhibition at international commodity fair and the national Fine Art exhibition were all organized by the government. Two of them carried the word “national” and the other exhibition was supposed to “represent China”. The themes of these exhibitions no doubt encouraged and guided the young painters who were eagerly searching for “national traits”.

The Ton-Fan artists were presented at the Chinese pavilion at the international commodity fair in Thailand showcasing both industrial products and art exhibits. Apart from modern works of painting and calligraphy, the art exhibits also included photography of the artifacts at the NMH, bronzes, pottery and lacquerware as well as dozens of models of architecture and Peking opera characters.¹⁷ A

similar set-up was used for the second exhibition organized by the NMH for the São Paulo Biennial. Even though Hsiao Ming-Hsien won an Honorable Mention with an abstract work in the previous biennial and the São Paulo Biennial was centered on “modern art”, the NMH continued with its efforts to use ancient Chinese art for diplomatic purposes and cultural propaganda. For the 5th São Paulo Biennial in 1959, in an addition to issuing a call for entries and commissioning work for painting and calligraphy from artists, the NMH sent replicas of seven bronze ritual vessels and twenty-four weapons, facsimiles of six ancient paintings and some ten drawings of architecture mainly found in Peking. The introduction published in the biennial catalogue was also focused on these reproductions.¹⁸ The main reason for sending this vast amount of works that seemed to have little to do with the biennial “modern art” theme was the competition between nationalist china and communist china for the right to participate.

In January 1959, our ambassador to brazil Li Dijun telegraphed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to say that the PRC was preparing to apply to take part in the São Paulo Biennial with an exhibition under the title “4000 years of Chinese art”, and that local politicians and the organizer were included to concede the Soviet Union and the PRC the right to participate on the grounds that art had no borders. While urging Brazil’s Ministry of External Relations to turn down the PRC’s request, Li Dijun telegraphed Taiwan for a quick decision to participate. Subsequently, our Ministry of Education made the decision to take part “to prevent the Communist form gaining a foothold”.¹⁹ At the time, the PRC proposed to ship out a large number of exhibits to show the development of 4000 years of Chinese art, which

were quite tempting to the curators of the biennial. The cultural secretary of Brazil's Ministry of External Relations suggested that Taiwan could organize a "specific and systematic exhibition" outside the competition category. Such an exhibition would certainly "prevent the communists from gaining a foothold",²⁰ Li Dijun also expressed the view that in the long run, opposing the PRC's participation in art exhibitions for political reasons was not the best policy. Instead Taiwan could only retain the right to "represent china" by raising the quality of the works presented. In the end, the NMH sent 57 reproductions, which made up the largest proportion of the exhibits. For the captions of the exhibits, emphasis was placed on "introducing the long history of the great Chinese culture" and "drawing attention to our anti-communist and anti-Soviet government policy and our people's faith in the ultimate victory over communism". The anti-communist implications of the Jyugguang Tower in Kinmen shown in the architectural drawing were also highlighted.²¹

Nevertheless, apart from achieving the goal of excluding the PRC from the biennial a large number of reproductions of ancient paintings and artifacts did not help to bring about a concrete, in-depth dialogue with Brazil's contemporary art scene, and local reviews were oversimplified and only showed an interest in the exoticism of the pieces.²² Lin Shengyang, a Taiwanese modern painter living in Brazil, criticized the reproductions as "unsatisfactory" and "less successful than expected".²³ He also pointed out that artists who took part in the competition category failed to attract attention because of the "small size of their paintings and the small number of works shown". The UK, on the contrary, was able to win prizes by showing some 60 works by three artists,

which managed to draw the jury's attention and create a powerful effect in the exhibition venue.²⁴

The Portuguese catalogue only included Hsiao Chin's *Work B*. Over 1m tall, it was already the largest work in the list of exhibits.²⁵ In this year's biennial, Chin Sung won the second Honorable Mention for Taiwan with his work *Sun Festival*. Even though it was not a main prize, it was very encouraging to young Taiwanese modern painters, who saw it as a major victory for the modern painting movement. But judging from the preparation process, the modern painting style became the mainstream style representing Taiwan in the biennial not so much because the painters won the day against the art institutions like the NHN, but because our embassy urged the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the NHM the actively call for such submissions from painters.

III

"Radical New Painting"

As mentioned above, in urging the Taiwanese government to make a quick decision to participate, our ambassador to Brazil Li Dijun described the diplomatic battle in the telegram: "If we decide not to participate, the Communists would size the chance to gain a foothold, since Brazil has had frequent cultural contacts with Soviet Russia and the PRC. As for the painter presented at the exhibition, radical new works (expressionism, abstraction, cubism, surrealism etc.) are the most popular."²⁶ After preparations began, Li Dijun pointed out to Pao Tsun-Peng, director of the NMH,

that the Brazilian art scene is dominated by the radical new art...while realistic works are not highly regarded.” He also said that sending works in the style of Hu Qizhong and Hsiao Chin which he had seen in the magazines would be “very” much to the taste of the biennial.²⁷ As a diplomat, he showed a surprising grasp of art trends and contemporary style, so much so that he repeatedly sent telegrams and letters requesting the selection of works of “New Painting”. Clearly, Li Dijun had a precise understanding of the biennial criteria of selection and Pao Tsun-Peng followed his advice. As a result, the NMH’s notice calling for submissions to the 5th São Paulo Biennial specified that the entries must be “Radical New Art”.²⁸

Li Dijun repeatedly recommended the plates of paintings published in The Cosmorama Pictorial to the NMH, showing his familiarity with contemporary art trends. Even the telegram he sent from Brazil to provide to the young painters for reference by NMH’s staff such as Yao Guliang and Chen Qiheng—a measure of how the NMH assisted and supported young painters. In his article “Stopping Communists Cultural Infiltration of the Free World”, Liu Kuo-Sung quoted several of the above-mentioned telegram to “prove that we won a huge victory over the communists in the cultural war in Brazil and show that our government sent modern paintings to the biennial for the sake of securing that victory.” He also called on the National government to:

“Encourage young artists and nurture young artists. They need the government’s leadership. They need the government’s solidarity. They are a strong army for countering the Communists’ cultural propaganda. They

have achieved brilliant successes and they will win much glory for our country on the international art scene.”²⁹

With the objective of “countries the Communists cultural propaganda”, Taiwan established the aim of selecting “New painting” for its second attendance at the São Paulo Biennial in 1959. In their applications, artists stressed either their “high regard for New Painting” or the stylistic difference between the works they entered for this and the previous biennial to highlight their “newness”, with statements like “those works were created in the old style. While I have been practicing the new style for some time, I have never shown it in an exhibition. This work is my most recent piece.”³⁰ After being named in the notice and written about in artist’ submission, the “Radical New Painting” style became associated with the São Paulo Biennial in the artist’s mind. For the NMH, “New Painting” including the painting styles of expressionism, abstraction, cubism and surrealism, with which Taiwan should continue to participate in the biennial for the sake of “advertising Taiwan artistic achievements” and “preventing the Communists’ infiltration.”³¹

After the direction of “New Painting” was established, the NMH further modified the selection system when it organized submission for the biennial for the third time in 1961. The selection was divided into two stages. In the initial stages, each modern painting society or art institution could recommend one to three artists to enter the final selection, or the artists could be selected by a jury set up by the NMH with members from different painting societies. In the second stage, the final selection would be made by experts invited by the NMH. It was a time of great activity for painting societies. After the affairs of the “Chinese Modern

Art Center " and the "Chin Sung incident", the NMH responded to the demands of the modern painting societies and allowed their members to participate in the selection.³² On the other hand, by tempting artists with the honors of representing Taiwan, the government could bring the works of members of painting societies under the control of the state machinery. In the end, candidates and jury members were nominated by the Purist Painting Society, the Taichung Art society, the United Watercolor Society, the four seas Artists associations, the Chang Feng Painting Society, the Lu She Art Society, the Loose Sand Painting Society, the Art Friends Painting Society, the Ton-Fan Group did not nominate any jury members. The reasons are unknown and worth looking into.

Another reform in the selection method for the 6th São Paulo Biennial was limiting the categories to "modern painting", including oil painting, watercolor and print. The NMH changed the "woodcut" category in the previous two biennials to "print", canceled the "sculpture" category, and put some ink works under the "watercolor" category, so that the entries would be focused in the area of "modern painting". The call for "radical new art" made by our embassy in Brazil in the previous biennial was most probably the main reason for the change in the media requirements. In January 1961, our Embassy telegraphed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to make two suggestions: one was broadening the candidates to include overseas painters, the other was to send works that were "perfeably" large-sized. The past entries are too small and not impressive enough to attract attention. The works should be carefully chosen and their number should not be too large, preferably from 20 to 30 at most.³³ As it was difficult to visualize in Taiwan

the actual exhibition venue at the Museum of Modern Art, São Paulo, the Taiwanese organizers could only resort to guesswork.

Previously, the NMH only concentrated on organizing the entries and did not send staff to inspect the exhibition venue on the spot in Brazil. As a result, they did not know that the dimensions of works would affect the visual effect in the exhibition venue and possibly the chance of winning as well. But from the 6th Biennial, the NMH began to realize that the content of works was not the only factor for winning. Thus, the dimensions and number of works became the focus of the jury. In July 1960, our embassy wrote to the Ministry of Education and the NMH, suggesting that they should "follow the example of other countries and choose a few famous artists and 15 to 20 preferably large works in order to attract attention".³⁴ In February 1961, the embassy wrote again to the NMH saying that the works to be sent "should number less than 20 and be preferably large in size".³⁵ Large dimensions, few works and concentration on a few artists were the basic requests of our embassy which stood at the front line of the battlefield of diplomacy and art. But the jury members at the rear did not fully understand the urgency of these requests and argued incessantly about whether to choose artist or works. In the end, the total number of works for this biennial was reduced, but each artist showed no more than four pieces. Ku Fu-Sheng's work won the third Honorable Mention for Taiwan.³⁶

IV

Conjoining modernity and national characteristics

A. Abstract style and national tradition

After the 7th São Paulo Biennial in 1963, the NMH's selection exercise entered a more stable stage. Following the debate on modern art started by Liu Kuo-Sung and Xu Fuguan that lasted from 1961 to 1962, painters no longer blindly rejected abstract painting. The debate also led the media to equate abstraction with modern art. In 1962, the Fifth Moon Group, which the professors Liao Chi-Chun, Sun Duoci, Yu Junze and Chang Long-Yen had joined, exhibited at the NMH as part of the preview of a modern painting exhibition to travel to the US. The NMH could probably feel the growing momentum of the modern painting movement. Hence, the introduction written for Taiwan's participation in the 7th São Paulo Biennial contained a discussion of the entries for the first time. After naming the two tendencies "conservative realism" and "radical abstraction" in the modern Chinese painting scene, the writer described the development of abstract art in Taiwan:

"Impatient with the constraints of realism, a group of young painters seeking innovation catches up with this new approach, breaking with conventions and extracting the properties of concrete things, using their pure imagination to create nameless forms...The current of the new abstract art has prompted figurative artist to carry out experiments of distortion. Abstract artists, on

the other hand, try to incorporate the essence of their national tradition, such as expression of a "lofty, simple and sublime" spirit or an "archaic and plain manner, and the use of black and white tones and gold and red colors." 37

This text summed up the initial result of the NMH's attempts at picking out and unifying the "Radical New Painting" style since 1959. While praising abstract for its reception of the national tradition, the NMH could not help but apply the simplified logic of the opposition between "abstract art" and "figurative art" under the influence of Taiwanese art criticism. While formalism was not doubted the chief aesthetic concern of painters at the time, opposing abstract art to figurative art meant that the "Radical New Art" that our embassy recommended selecting, including new painting styles such as expressionism, abstraction, cubism and surrealism, would now be limited to "new abstract art", as opposed to conservative figurative art and realism. Even though artists might have other aesthetic art established by the exhibition mechanism. As for the content of works, it was interpreted predominantly in terms of the "national tradition", while the significance of artists using experimental techniques to express traditional meaning was ignored.

While establishing a clearer direction of selection, the NMH abolished the selection method of nomination by modern painting societies for this year's biennial. Instead, a selection committee of five members was set up, with two members appointed by the NMH and three members chosen by artists who has previously participated in the São Paulo Biennial. A kind of internal promotion system resembling

a salon came into being. The NMH also changed the categories to four types of “modern art”, including painting, print, sculpture and modeling, and stipulated that “each artist may enter up to five works”. The width of oil paintings should not exceed 180 cm (restrictions would be relaxed for huge works that could be folded and cased up for shipping). The official salon that was gradually evolving would adopt the principle of equal sharing for the time being, and would not consider sending a single artist with several large works. Since each artist selected was represented by one work only, the overall effect in the exhibition venue was fragmentary and not unified. Liu Kuo-Sung’s work was the only Taiwanese work included in the Portuguese exhibition catalogue, while Zhang Jie’s watercolor, *Parking Lot* won the Honorable Mention for Taiwan.

After Taiwan participated in four consecutive São Paulo Biennials without winning any major prizes the NMH became particularly cautious when it organized the selection exercise in 1965. Director Pao Tsun-Peng called a meeting before the selection committee met, expressing the hope of “further helping our artists to triumph in the international art scene by demonstrating their enormous talent.”³⁸ Nevertheless, there was no major breakthrough in the selection method. Apart from canceling the categories of sculpture and modeling and adding the category of pattern design, the only other changes were allowing jury members to make nominations and increasing the number of works that could be entered by each selected artist. But, ultimately, most of the selected artists entered one work only, causing artists such as Han Hsiang-Ning, Wu Hao and Chen Ting-Shib to indicate their lack of inclination to participate. Regarding the invitation of past participants to serve on the

jury, artists who were not selected questioned the fact that some painting societies were overly represented.³⁹ In the end, Chen Tao-Ming (five works), Chuang Che (five works), Wu Hao (three works), Yang Yuyu (six works) and six other artists (one work each) were selected. But due to the change in the exhibition system, no nominations were put forward to the Brazilian organizer, thus terminating Taiwan’s record of winning Honorable Mentions in entries were also put in the shade.⁴⁰

B. Majestic “combined works”

Apparently, the NMH reviewed this before organizing Taiwan’s participation in the 9th São Paulo Biennial in 1967. In November 1966, the NMH wrote to our Ministry of Foreign Affairs asking our embassy in Brazil to explore the possibility of “increasing” the lobbying of the jury and the size of the exhibition space. The embassy replied that the size of the exhibition space depended entirely on the dimensions and numbers of works entered by each country. In the past, Taiwan did not enter a large number of works, and they were “rarely huge in size”. In fact, more than once, they had to invite Taiwanese painters living in Brazil to provide works to fill up the exhibition space.⁴¹ The embassy’s reply may have spurred the NMH to introduce radical reforms. This time, they decided on the artists to be invited first, who would then propose five to eight works to be entered. The size of works allowed could now range from size 60 to 100. The NMH also set down the requirement for artists and works for the first time:

1. Possess a solid artistic foundation and background and have exhibited works that can be taken into consideration.

2. Are familiar with the content and trends of contemporary international artistic based on their solid foundation.
3. Such works should also be powerful and imposing and be able to demonstrate the unique character of Chinese culture.⁴²

Apart from changes to the number of entries and dimensions of works, the NMH also tried to name the qualities of the works that it expected to select. However, it is difficult to understand precisely what it meant by the words “powerful and imposing and be able to demonstrate the unique character of Chinese culture”. The introduction to the exhibition merely referred brief to mysticism, potential religious meanings and Chinese zen, without pinpointing any specific entry. We can only identify some such associations in the entry submitted by Liu Sheng-Jung.⁴³ Thus, the exhibition introduction for the 9th São Paulo Biennial can only be seen as the beginning of a national consciousness. We have to look to the following biennial in 1969 for more detailed definitions and explanations, when the NMH published a Chinese and English catalogue for the first time. In the document calling for entries to the 10th São Paulo Biennial, it specified that the “style and content of works” must meet the following requirements:

1. Modern works in a radical new style.
2. The most recent and meaningful works of the artist.
3. Able to express the national character. Powerful and majestic works that are inspiring, comforting and noble in spirit.
4. Works that keep abreast with international trends, or are even ahead of international trends.⁴⁴

These four requirements were outlined as a result of the NMH sending an observer Yu Huansu to inspect the exhibition venue of the São Paulo Biennial on the spot, after it failed to get trips on how to win prizes from our Embassy in Brazil in 1966. Apart from suggesting to the biennial secretary the donation of a prize by Taiwan in a bid to influence the biennial jury’s decision, Yu Huansu also carefully studied the works and the allocation of space in the exhibition venue. He reported on his findings at the meeting of the NMH’s preparatory committee for the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1968.⁴⁵ According to his observations, the works at the biennial showed the following characteristics: “1. huge in dimensions, large in number and new in style (bold and daring); 2. able to represent the national spirit and comfort viewers in a chaotic world; 3. international; 4. Large paintings can be in the form of combined works or mounted as a scroll to facilitate transport.” On Yu Huansu’s recommendation, oil paintings submitted could now be much larger in size. However, works larger than size 100 should be in the form of “combined works”, while the height of scrolls should not exceed 180 cm, and their width should not exceed 4 m.

The designation “combined works” (“pin he zhuang zhi”) was a new invention of the selection process for the 10th Biennial. It referred to oversized works which should be made up of at least two panels mounted together. “They should be used.” (clause 6) Apart from referring to a method of mounting, the term “pin he zhuang zhi” (piecing together/ installing) can also be seen as a multiple metaphor for the strategies of a country trying to assert its cultural identity in an exhibition mechanism. It suggests that after six selections exercises, the Taiwanese finally found a style of

presentation that could measure up to the standard at an international biennial based on an eyewitness account of the exhibition venue and entries. It also suggests that after prolonged efforts of “conjoining” modernity and national characteristic, they came up with more specific aesthetic requirements in the curatorial discourse, even though it was a long way from being a clear and unified aesthetic discourse. The requirement of large dimensions, large number of works and the “he jin” method of mounting were met by several painters selected for this biennial, including Liu Kuo-Sung (ten entries), Liao Shiou-Peng (six entries), Fong Chung-Ray (four entries) and Li Jiazhong (one entry). Combined works that were two to three meters wide were another distinguishing feature of the entries for the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969.⁴⁶

The works selected for the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971 also met the four above-mentioned requirements and several of them were “combined works”.⁴⁷ They included Liu Yong’s *Wonderful Cloud* (set of two panels), Liu Kuo-Sung’s *Midnight Sun No.4* (set of seven panels) and *Midnight Sun No.5* (set of five panels), as well as Chen Ting-Shi’s *Daybreak I* (set of three panels), *Daybreak II* (set of four panels), *Instantaneous* (set of four panels) and *Dawn* (set of four panels). Even for works which did not consist of separate panels mounted together, the composition showed the combination of different types of imagery. The sample principle applied to the cover of the catalogue published by the NMH and the plates inside. The press release highlighted the fact that “there are quite a few works over size 100 made up of two works mounted together or mounted as scrolls”, a sign of the importance attached to the exhibition by painters at home and abroad”. But by the 12th Biennial

in 1973, “combined works” were no longer a requirement in the selection process. This time, the NMH made a shortlist of candidates, who were then elected by ballot. Entries were required to be “no smaller than size 100” and their numbers should be around “eight to ten”. In other words, only the requirement of large dimensions and large number of works needed to be met, while the content of works was required to be as innovative as possible. The other aesthetic requirements of past biennials were not mentioned.⁴⁸ During the preparations for this biennial (1971-1973), Taiwan suffered a series of diplomatic defeats and its claim to represent “China in the international arena was increasingly challenged. The Chinese catalogue was reduced in size. Moreover, some local modern painters, such as Han Hsiang-Ning and Peng Wanchi who were selected, had gone abroad. They declined the invitation to participate with the excuse that they had other exhibition commitments. In the end, four younger painters, including Koo Chung-Kuang, were sent.

It was the last time Taiwan participated in the São Paulo Biennial. Its efforts to take part in the jury decision to increase the chance of winning major prizes for years finally came to some fruition, when the organizer invited Lim Kac-Keong, head of the fine arts department at the political warfare college, to serve on the jury. However, the NMH merely emphasized the need for large-sized works and large numbers of entries, and failed to provide an in-depth discourse on the abstract style which was no longer the mainstream of international contemporary art. As in the past, the exhibition introduction reiterated the difference between eastern and western civilizations, and the abstract tendencies in the Chinese conception of nature and worldview.⁴⁹ Despite having one of its national serving on

the jury, Taiwan eventually failed to win any major prizes at the important venue of contemporary art, the São Paulo Biennial.

V Conclusion

After Taiwan and Brazil broke off diplomatic relations in August 1974, the organizer of the São Paulo Biennial stopped sending its exhibition prospectus to the NMH, which meant that Taiwan could no longer represent China at the biennial. With the closure of our Embassy in Brazil, we also lost an outpost for observing the São Paulo Biennial and Taiwan had no more diplomats on the front line that could send back information and support the setting up of the exhibition. In the course of eight biennials, a battle that lasted seventeen years, the NMH and our Embassy in Brazil worked close together, with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education as go-betweens. These four institutions set up a mechanism for broadcasting modernity and our nationalism abroad. Their staff worked conscientiously at achieving the dual purpose of preventing the Communists from “gaining a foothold” and promoting our culture. In order to establish the Chinese identity in a world-renowned biennial, our exhibition machinery had to select “modern art” that was the biennial trademark. In those days when access to information was difficult, it was a great opportunity for the selected artists to be able to represent our country with their works on an international stage. Thus, artists were eager to produce works in the style

that the selection committee was looking for and the selected and winning entries also became reference points for the modern painting movement in Taiwan.⁵⁰

To sum up the style of works selected for the biennial over the years, artists first modeled themselves on the replicas at the NMH, and later followed the style of radical new art at the biennial based on the information provided by our Embassy. Afterward, they advocated abstract art with elements of traditional Chinese art, and finally moved towards the creation of large works and serial works. Combined works fusing modernity and national characteristics became the chief form of works of this period. In terms of cultural politics, it abstract expressionism was a product of the Cold War between the US and the USSR as well as McCarthyism, a propaganda weapon for the free world to use against communism, then Taiwan’s abstract painting was a tool that was being experimented with and improved upon in the diplomatic war between Nationalist and Communist China. Aesthetic qualities such as “powerful and majestic” and “noble in spirit” were not merely the reflection of the artists’ character. Instead, they were the products of the policy of selecting “radical new art” and “combined works” under the control of the state machinery.

Judging by the manner of the preparations, the NMH initially regarded participation in the São Paulo Biennial as the same as participating in some overseas commodity fair of Taiwan in order to promote our cultural image. The dominating role that “New Painting” came to play in Taiwan’s modern painting movement was in fact the result of our embassy’s request to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the NMH to call for such works from artists, as part of

its efforts to maintain our “China” status diplomatically. But due to the organizer’s exhibition strategies and practices, artists had to avoid and transcend political interference. As a result, their works tended to explore themes like cosmic beliefs and rituals. The development and popularity of the abstract style during this period had its unique social factors at home, and should not be seen one-sidedly as the result of the influence of American modernist theories or cultural colonization.

To sum up the above, the NMH’s selection exercise was not merely competitive in nature as generally thought. What it organized was in fact a kind of sponsored show due to policy requirements amid complex political rivalry. The so-called “modern Chinese painting” style and the combined works created for the later editions of the biennial can be seen as multiple visual metaphors: during their preview in Taiwan, they were a window through which one could survey the period style of international art; in the exhibition venue in São Paulo, Brazil, they became a screen that set apart another space of political and diplomatic maneuvers; in the later biennials, the huge combined serial works formed a sort of mirror reflecting the modernity of painting and the image of subjectivity. But was the image in the mirror a true reflection of our image? Maybe that is something that scholars should keep asking themselves in confronting questions of period style and subjectivity.

This paper is part of the results of the research project “The Development of Modern Art in Postwar Taiwan: with a particular focus on the role of the National Museum of History” commissioned by the National Museum of History (“NMH”). With the implementation of the Archives Act

on January 1, 2002, government departments are required to open up their archives to the public. The opening up of government archives is of great benefit and poses a tremendous challenge to the research in postwar Taiwanese art history. I was able to peruse the dusty historical documents and files of the NMH as well as the relevant files at the Academia Historical, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to carry out my research. During the writing of this paper, the NMH’s former director Dr. Huang Kuang-Nan chief curator Mr. Ge Siming offered me their support, while curators Pan Taifang, Wei Xinying, Li Suzhen and Chen Caifeng as well as their clerk Lai Junjie helped me to locate and put together the files. I would also like to thank Mr. Zeng Chansheng, a diplomat who lived in the Central and South Americas for more than 20 years, for helping me to translate the Portuguese documents. This paper was delivered at the “Collision between Regions and Style of Time: The Academic Conference on the Subjectivity of Taiwanese Art” organized by the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts in September 2006. I am indebted to Professor Joyce C.H Liu for her insightful comments, which inspired me to revise and further develop this paper.

- 1 See Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting*, Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1966, pp. 9-16.
- 2 See Michael Bexandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- 3 See my article "Mirrors of Doubly Reflective Subject: Understanding Modern Taiwan and its Art through the Exhibition Mechanism", in *ARTCO*, No. 126, March 2003, pp.64-69. 〈이중 반사된 문화 주체-전람회 제도에서 본 근대 대만의 국가와 미술〉. 《한국근대미술사학》 (Journal of Korean Modern Art History) , No.15, December 2005, pp.243-262.
- 4 Regarding the issues of the visually of objects and visual materiality, I became aware of the serve limitations of my observations of works from another time (1960s) in my study of Chen Tin-Shih's modern prints commissioned by the Taipei Fine Art Museum in 2002. This sense of limitation was particularly strong after I visited the painter's studio to examine his works and personal effects. Afterward, I began to seek possible ways round this problem in art historical methodology.
- 5 For a representative study of this period of art history, see Hsiao Chiong-Rei, *Fifth Moon and Ton-Fan Group-The Development of the Chinese Art Modernization Movement in Postwar Taiwan, 1945-1970*, Taipei: Dong Da Publishing CO., 1991.
- 6 For discussions on the modernity of Taiwanese art in the 1960s, see my articles "An Aesthetic and Art Historical Commentary on 'The Avant-garde: The Development of Taiwanese Art in the 60s'" in *Modern Art*, No.112, February 2004, pp.34-41 and "The Journey of National Treasure': Memories of Catastrophes, Imperial Imagination and the Palace Museum", *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly*, Vol.30, No.9, February 2002, pp.227-264.
- 7 See Chapter 3 of my doctoral dissertation "Avant-Garde Art and the Formation of Museum: A Study and Cultural History of Visuality in Modern Taiwan", PhD dissertation of the Graduate Institute of Comparative Literature, Fu Jen Catholic University, 2004. For a brief history of the founding of the NMH, see the relevant museum's introductions and publication. This is a complicated issue that I will discuss in a separate paper.
- 8 On November 18, 2005, the NMH commissioned several papers for the symposium "The Development of Modern Art in Postwar Taiwan: with a particular focus on the role of the National Museum of History" on the occasion of its 50th anniversary. They included artist's reminiscences, critics comments and scholar's studies. While they offered illuminating insights, there were no research papers that combined the study of artworks with first-hand historical data.
- 9 See Kuo Chien-Hui, "The Triangular Relationship between the National Museum of History, Radical New Art and the São Paulo Biennial", paper for the symposium "The Development of Modern Art in Postwar Taiwan: with a particular focus on the role of the National Museum of History".
- 10 Airmailed official message from our Embassy in Brazil, May 22, 1956, in: Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "São Paulo Biennial", File no.: 172-3/3324-1, 1956. It is not clear from the files available who were the highest decision-makers for Taiwan's participation in this biennial. But in an official letter that Pao Tsun-Peng sent to our Embassy in Brazil and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1968, he wrote: "when we

were first invited to participate in the fifth edition of this international art biennial, we put it strongly to the top that if we forego the opportunity, it would give the Chinese communists a chance to infiltrate and participate." "The top" probably refers to the then President Chiang Kai-Shek or his aides. See official message from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Regarding the invitation from Brazil to participate in the 9th São Paulo Biennial in 1967, January 4, 1967, in: Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "São Paulo Biennial", File no.: 172-3/3231, 1967.

- 11 Notice of the National Museum of History, Central Daily News, p.1, January 21, 1957. This year's jury included Liao Chin-Chun, Sun Duoci, Lin Shengyang, Ma Pai-Sui, Yang Yuyu, Lim Kac-Keong, Fang Hsiang, Chen Hongzhen etc. See the Archives of the NMH, "International Exhibition (São Paulo Biennial)", File no.: 100013, 1957. Lee Chun-shan was originally at the top of the jury list drawn up by head of the research department Yao Guliang, "Members of the jury for selecting entries for the Museum of Modern Art, São Paulo", February 2, 1957, included in the Archive of the NMH, "International Exhibitions (São Paulo Biennial)", File no.: 100013, 1957.
- 12 Ever since Taiwan first participated in the São Paulo Biennial, our Embassy in Brazil kept close tabs on the ROC's attitude towards this exhibition. It also sent several messages to the relevant organizations in Taiwan requesting stage design and architectural works or models for exhibition at the biennial, instead of just modern paintings. See airmailed official message from our Embassy in Brazil, "Regarding our participation in the São Paulo Biennial", in: Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "São Paulo Biennial", File no.: 172-3/3324, 1957.
- 13 Chen Hsia-Yu who seldom exhibited his works was probably invited to participate instead of submitting works on his own initiative. Yang Sanlang's work *Taiwanese old House* was withdrawn at the last minute because it was too large to be cased. See Chen Hsia-yu, "Chen Hsia-yu's letter to the National Artifact Museum", in: Archives of the NMH, "International Exhibitions (São Paulo Biennial)", File no.: 100013, 1957.
- 14 Shiy De-Jinn, "Preview of the works to be sent to the São Paulo Biennial", *United Daily News*, p.6, March 4, 1957.
- 15 Airmailed official message from our Embassy in Brazil, "Regarding our participation in the 4th São Paulo Biennial hosted by the Museum of Modern Art", October 17, 1957, in: Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "São Paulo Biennial", File no.: 172-3/3324-1, 1957.
- 16 Li Yuan-Chia, "Application for participation in the 4th São Paulo Biennial hosted by the Museum of Modern Art", February 2, 1957, in: Archives of the NMH, "International Exhibition(São Paulo Biennial)", File no.: 100013, 1957.
- 17 See Hang Liwu, "Sino-Thai Cultural Exchange: address on the ROC's participation in the Fair celebrating Thailand's Constitution Day", *The Cosmorama Pictorial*, No.6, December 1956, pp.10-11; National Artifacts Museum, "Request for an increase in the budget for the production of models for the international exhibition in Thailand", October 19, 1956, in: Archives of the National Artifact Museum, "Budget for the commodity Fair in Thailand", File No.: 500038, 1956.
- 18 Pao Tseng-Peng, "Sala Geral," 5ª *Bienal de S. Paulo*, São Paulo: Museum de Moderna, 1959, pp. 126-127.

- 19 Transcript of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' No.354 message to our Embassy in Brazil, "Our decision to participate in this year's São Paulo Biennial to prevent the Communists from gaining a foothold", January 29, 1959, in: Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "São Paulo Biennial", File no.: 172-3/3324-1, 1959.
- 20 Airmailed message by our Embassy in Brazil, "Regarding our participation in the 5th São Paulo Biennial", February 17, 1959, in: Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "São Paulo Biennial", File no.: 172-3/3324-1, 1959.
- 21 Out of the 132 exhibits in this year's biennial, 41 works were included in the competition category, while 34 works of modern paintings and calligraphy were exhibited outside competition.
- 22 Flexa Ribeiro, "Na Bienal de Arte de São Paulo: Motivacoes Sobre a Arte Chinesa," *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 de November de 1959.
- 23 Lin Sheng-Yang, "Lin Sheng-Yang's letter to Pao Tsun-Peng", January 22, 1960, in: Archives of the NMH, "The 5th São Paulo Biennial", File no.: 100079, 1960. Lin also published his thoughts in *Central Daily News*, under the title "Taiwan Scored a Great Success at the Brazilian International Art Exhibition", which is rather inconsistent with the criticisms made in the article. But references to "thwarting the Communists" and "enhancing our national prestige" at the end of the article may have been the main reason for choosing the title. See Lin Sheng-Yang, "Taiwan Scored a Great Success at the Brazilian International Art Exhibition", *Central Daily News*, February 21, 1960.
- 24 Lin Sheng-Yang also mentioned that many other countries had sent representatives to assist in setting up the exhibition. In the Taiwan exhibition area, however, due to poor planning by the Brazilian organizer, some works were "hung in mid-air" and could be "easily damaged when blown by the wind". Finally, the situation was only improved after our ambassador Li Dijun spoke to the biennial secretary. See Zheng Jiansheng, "Requesting your attention in respect of our participation in the 5th São Paulo Biennial", October 23, 1959, in: Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "São Paulo Biennial", File no.: 172-3/3324-1, 1959. Lin's paintings of this period were dominated by distorted depictions of characters of Peking opera. His observations also revealed the limitations resulting from the NMH's failure to send staff to design the exhibition layout in addition to selecting works.
- 25 In the list of entries in the NMH's archives, the dimensions of this work are given as 110 x 110 cm. But as evident in the Portuguese catalogue, it is not a square format. According to Hsiao Chin's own monograph, this work is 140 x 65 cm, and its title was changed to *Painting—AJ*. Maybe Hsiao had already left for Europe and the work was sent from Europe directly to São Paulo, so that the NMH could not measure the work itself, or they could simply be miswritten. See *Hsiao Chin*, ed. By the Hsiao Chin editorial committee, Taipei, Dimensions Art Center, 1996, p.90.
- 26 Bold type was added by me. National Artifact Museum, "Requesting your attention in the matter of the 5th São Paulo Biennial hosted by the museum of Modern Art, São Paulo", October 7, 1958, in Archives of the National Artifact Museum, "São Paulo Biennial", File no.:100032, 1958.
- 27 Bold type added by me, Li Dijun, "Li Dijun's letters dated April 15 in the same year discussing the preparations for the exhibition, Li Dijun pointed out to Pao Tsum-Peng that the term "modern painting" used by the NMH might be confused with "modern painting and calligraphy" in the special exhibition. Thus, he used the term "New Painting" to distinguish between the two.
- 28 "Notice of the National Museum of History", *Central Daily News*, p.1, February 11, 1959.
- 29 Liu Kuo-Sung, "Stopping the Communists' Cultural Infiltration of the Free World", *Taiwan Tribune*, November 28, 1961.
- 30 See the application by the painter Wu Zhaoxian or Zheng Shiyu, Archives of the NMH, "The 5th São Paulo Biennial", File no.: 100029, 1958.
- 31 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "About the 6th São Paulo Biennial", July 5, 1960, in: Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "São Paulo Biennial", File no.: 172-3/3324-1, 1960. In 1959, the NMH undertook the selection for the International Young Artist's Exhibition in Paris. In this exhibition, Hsiao Ming-Hsien's *Work No.501* was praised by our ambassador as being "rich in Chinese flavour and possessing a powerful expression". After the exhibition was over, Chu Teh-Chun, a painter living in Paris, also wrote a report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education and the NMH for reference. In his article, he also described the overall standard of the exhibition as being unsatisfactory. But at the same time, he compared the "abstract paintings that accounted for 70 to 80% of the works" with the "figurative" works of the Communist bloc, linking abstract painting with creative freedom and encouraging young Taiwanese painters to free themselves from the forms of objects. See the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Our participation in the International Young Artist's Exhibition in Paris", in: Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 172-3/3329, 1959.
- 32 In March 1960, the NMH was to provide the venue for seventeen modern painting societies to hold the inaugural meeting of the Chinese Modern Art Center. But under pressure of the relevant authorities, the provision of the venue was canceled. On that day, Chin Sung's painting was accused of containing anti-Chiang innuendos, and was ordered by director Pao Tsun-Peng to be taken down. See Hsiao Chiong-Rei, *Fifth Moon and Ton-Fan Group—The Development of the Chinese Art Modernization Movement in Postwar Taiwan, 1945-1970*, pp.305-312. There is as yet no historical evidence to prove a direct link between this incident and accepting nominations from modern painting societies for the selection for the 1961 São Paulo Biennial. Nevertheless, the NMH did write to Yang Yuyu, who initiated the founding of the Chinese Modern Art Center, and asked him to provide a list of modern painting societies. Yang Yuyu, "Yang Yuyu's letter to Wang Yuqing", January 9, 1961, in: Archives of the NMH, "The 6th São Paulo Biennial", File No.: 100115, 1961.
- 33 The Ministry of Education, "About the 6th São Paulo Biennial", February 20, 1961, in: Archives of the NMH, "The 6th São Paulo Biennial", File No.: 100115, 1961.
- 34 Airmailed official message from our Embassy in Brazil, "About the 6th São Paulo Biennial", July 5, 1961, in: Archives of the NMH, "The 6th São Paulo Biennial", File No.: 100115, 1960.
- 35 Airmailed official message from our Embassy in Brazil, "Regarding our participation in the 6th São Paulo Biennial", February 24, 1961, in: Archives of the NMH, "The 6th São Paulo Biennial", File No.: 100116, 1961.
- 36 "Ku Fu-Sheng won Honorable Mention at the São Paulo Biennial in Brazil", *United Daily News*, p.8, December 14, 1961.
- 37 Drafted by Wang Yuqing, "Introduction to the ROC's participation in 1963 7th São Paulo Biennial in Brazil" (draft), July 20, 1963, in: Archives of the NMH, "The 7th São Paulo Biennial", File No.: 100242, 1963.

- 38 Minutes taken by He Xinxiang, “Minutes of the first meeting of the selection committee formed by the NMH for the participation in the 8th São Paulo Biennial”, February 6, 1965, in Archives of the NMH, “The 8th São Paulo Biennial”, File NO.: 100297, 1965.
- 39 Hu Yong, “Looking at the São Paulo Biennial”, *United Daily News*, p.8, March 13, 1965.
- 40 Yan Keren, “The São Paulo Biennial in Brazil”, *United Daily News*, p.8, November 18-19, 1965.
- 41 Transcript of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ No.354 message to our Embassy in Brazil, “Our decision to participate in this year’s São Paulo Biennial to prevent the Communists from gaining a foothold”, January 29, 1959, in: Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “São Paulo Biennial”, File no.: 172-3/3324-1, 1959.
- 42 Minutes taken by Zhang Xinfang, “Minutes of the NMH’s first preparatory meeting for the participation in the 9th São Paulo Biennial in Brazil”, February 28, 1967, in: Archives of the NMH, “The 9th São Paulo Biennial”, File No.: 1/401, 1967.
- 43 NMH, “Introduction to the ROC’s participation in the 9th São Paulo Biennial in Brazil”, in: Archives of the NMH, “The 9th São Paulo Biennial”, File No.: 1/470, 1967.
- 44 NMH, “Call for entries for the ROC’s participation in the 10th São Paulo Biennial in Brazil”, January 16, 1969, in: Archives of the NMH, “The 10th São Paulo Biennial (General)”, File No.: 1/545, 1969.
- 45 Archives of the NMH, “Yu Huansu’s overseas visit”, File No.:1/570, 1967. Yu also took slides of the exhibition venue for local artists’ reference and summarized what he saw at the exhibition in an article. See Yu Huansu, “A summary of my vision to the São Paulo Biennial in Brazil”, *Youth Literary*, vol.30, No.:3, March 1969, pp.53-61.
- 46 Other works included Koo Chung-Kuang’s oil painting combined with serigraph.
- 47 NMH, “Selection method for the ROC’s participation in the 11th São Paulo Biennial in Brazil”, November 18, 1970, in: Archives of the NMH, “The 11th São Paulo Biennial in Brazil”, File No.: 1/780, 1970.
- 48 NMH, “Main criteria for the ROC’s participation in the 12th São Paulo Biennial in Brazil”, February 27, 1973, in: Archives of the NMH, “The 12th São Paulo Biennial in Brazil”, File No.: 1/970, 1973.
- 49 Wang Yuqing, “Introduction”, *Catalogue of the ROC’s participation in the 12th São Paulo Biennial in Brazil*, Taipei, NMH, 1973, unpagged.
- 50 Such “modernity” communication by overseas exhibition has had a far-reaching influence on the development of Taiwanese art, and it is still the case today.

1957-1973 參展藝術家 作品與 圖錄

The List of participating
artists and their works in
1957-1973

134



135

1957

第四屆巴西聖保羅雙年展

參展藝術家清單及作品

The List of participating artists and
their works at the 4th São Paulo
Biennial in 1957.

1 金潤作 舊街 / 油畫 2 林聖揚 海角天涯 7
小女 / 油畫 4 廖繼春 窗邊靜物 / 油畫 5
林克恭 夕照 / 油畫 6 孫多慈 台灣古東
方淑女 7 楊進 賣鵝者 / 油畫 9
蕭明賢 構成 / 油畫 10 張義雄 油畫
魚 / 油畫 11 李元佳 作品 A / 油畫
12 郭柏川 蝦與魚 / 油畫 13 馬白 晨 /
水彩 14 趙春翔 廟內 / 水彩 16 席
德進 台北街景 / 水彩 17 張朝暉
上漁歌 / 水彩 18 陳洪甄 朝暉
小橋流水、載欣載奔 / 木刻 19 楊
英風 偉大的領袖人像、童餐 / 木刻 20 方
周瑛 春滿人間 / 木刻 21 楊英風
仰之彌高、憧憬 / 雕塑 22 陳
雨 _ 裸女 / 雕塑 23 陳夏

1 Jin Run-Zuo_Old Street, oil on canvas 2 Lin
Sheng-Yang_Haiden, oil on canvas 3 Yuan Chu-
Jhen_The Seaside, oil on canvas 4 Liao Chi-
Chun_Still Life at the Window, oil on canvas 5
Lim Kac-Keong_At Sunset, oil on canvas 6 Sun To-
Tzu_Beauty, oil on canvas 7 Yang San-Lang_Old
Dutch House, oil on canvas 8 Shiy De-Jinn_Goose
Seller, oil on canvas 9 Hsiao Ming-Hsien_As in Art:
Complete, oil on canvas 10 Chang Yi-hsiung_Fish,
oil on canvas 11 Lee Yuan-Chia_As in Art, oil on
canvas 12 Kuo Po-chuan_Prawns and Fish, oil on
canvas 13 Ma Pai-sui_Haze, watercolour on paper 14
Chao Chung-Hsiang_Morn, watercolour on paper 15
Yung Chi-Tong_Temple Interior, watercolour
on paper 16 Shiy De-Jinn_Street Scene in Taipei,
watercolour on paper 17 Chang Chieh_Fishing
Boat on the Sun-Moon Lake, watercolour on paper 18
Chen Hong-Gien_Tower at Sunrise/Landscape/
Eventide, woodcut 19 Yang Yin-Feng_At the back
Stage/Way to the Field, woodcut 20 Fang Shiang-
President Ching Kai-shien/Kids Party, woodcut 21
Chou Yang_Spring is coming, woodcut 22 Yang Yin-
Feng_Statue Representing one of Chinese Gods,
Professor of might/Statue Representing Human
Weakness(debravity),sculpture 23 Chen She-Yi_
Nude, sculpture

→李元佳，《作品A》，油畫，65X87公分，1957。1957年第4屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→Li Yuan-Chia, *As in Art*, oil on canvas, 65x87cm, 1957. Entry at the 4th São Paulo Biennial in 1957.

↘陳夏雨，《裸女之一》，雕塑，54.5X18.2X12.7公分，1944。1957年第4屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立臺灣美術館典藏。

↘Chen Hsia-Yu, *Female Nude*, sculpture, 54.5X18.5X12.7cm, 1944. Entry at the 4th São Paulo Biennial in 1957. National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts collection.

↗→楊英風，《仰之彌高》，銅，尺寸不詳，1956。1957年第4屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。財團法人楊英風藝術教育基金會提供照片。

↗→Yang Yuyu, *Esteemed Dignity*, bronze, dimensions unknown, 1956. Entry at the 4th São Paulo Biennial in 1957. Courtesy of Yuyu Yang Art Education Foundation.

→→張義雄，《魚》，油畫，尺寸不詳，1957。1957年第4屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→→Chang Yi-Hsiung, *Fish*, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, 1957. Entry at the 4th São Paulo Biennial in 1957.





↑周瑛，《春滿人間》，木刻版畫，28.7X39.8公分，1949。1957年第4屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立臺灣美術館典藏。

↑Chou Yang, *Spring Reigns Everywhere*, woodcut, 28.7X39.8cm, 1949. Entry at the 4th São Paulo Biennial in 1957. National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts collection.

↗孫多慈，《東方淑女》，油畫，85X99公分，1954。1957年第4屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↗Sun To-Tzu, *Beauty*, oil on canvas, 85X99cm, 1954. Entry at the 4th São Paulo Biennial in 1957.



→席德進，《賣鵝者》，紙上水彩，79X79公分，1956。1957年第4屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立歷史博物館館藏，財團法人席德進基金會授權。

→Shiy De-Jinn, *Goose Seller*, watercolor on paper 79X79cm, 1956. Entry at the 4th São Paulo Biennial in 1957. NMH collection. Authorized by Shiyi De-Jinn Foundation.





↑蕭明賢，《構成》，油畫，114X73.5公分，1957。1957年第4屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立歷史博物館館藏。

↑Hsiao Ming-Hsien, *As in Art: Complete*, oil on canvas, 114X73.5cm, 1957. Entry at the 4th São Paulo Biennial in 1957. NMH collection.

↙楊三郎，《臺灣古屋》，油畫，35X43公分，年代未詳。1957年第4屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立歷史博物館館藏。

↗Yang San-Lang, *Old Dutch House*, oil on canvas, 35X43cm, age unknown. Entry at the 4th São Paulo Biennial in 1957. NMH collection.

→廖繼春，《窗邊靜物》，油彩・畫布，71X58公分，年代未詳。1957年第四屆巴西聖保羅參展作品。國立歷史博物館館藏。

→Liao Chi-Chun, *Still Life at the Window*, 71X58cm, age unknown. Entry at the 4th São Paulo Biennial in 1957. NMH collection.



1959

第五屆巴西聖保羅雙年展

參展藝術家清單及作品

The List of participating artists and
their works at the 5th São Paulo
Biennial in 1959.

由於本屆檔案無英文名冊可對照，故譯名採用葡文畫冊中的翻譯
Since the lack of the English List that could be corresponded in
5th biennial, the name of artwork translated from the Portuguese
painting album.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1 林克恭 - 路 / 油畫 | 2 林聖揚 - 長板坡 / 油畫 | 1 Lim Kac-Keong - Rua, oil on canvas | 2 Lin Shen-Yang - A Localidade Estratégica de Chang Pan Po, oil on canvas |
| 3 林聖揚 - 空城計 / 油畫 | 4 林聖揚 - 五指山 / 油畫 | 3 Lin Shen-Yang - O Estratagema da Cidade Vasia, oil on canvas | 4 Lin Shen-Yang - A Montanha dos Cinco Dedos, oil on canvas |
| 5 馮鍾睿 - 五月 / 油畫 | 6 曲本樂 - 建築 / 油畫 | 5 Feng Chen-Tsun - Maio, oil on canvas | 6 Chu Peng-Lo - Construção, oil on canvas |
| 7 胡奇中 - 三月的陽明山 / 油畫 | 8 尚文彬 - 建築 / 油畫 | 7 Hu Chi-Chung - A Colina de Tangmin Shan em Março, oil on canvas | 8 Shang Wen-Pin - Construção, oil on canvas |
| 9 陳道明 - 歸去來兮 / 油畫 | 10 陳道明 - 少女與魚 / 油畫 | 9 Cheng Tao-Ming - Volta ao Lar, oil on canvas | 10 Cheng Tao-Ming - A Moça e os Peixes, oil on canvas |
| 11 蕭明賢 - 構成 1959 / 油畫 | 12 蕭明賢 - 作品五 / 油畫 | 11 Hsiao Ming-Hsien - Composição No. 509, oil on canvas | 12 Hsiao Ming-Hsien - Composição em Preto, 1959, oil on canvas |
| 13 溫學儒 - 夢 / 油畫 | 14 溫學儒 - 作品 / 油畫 | 13 Fu Shun-Chi - Pintura, oil on canvas | 14 Wen Hsu - Ju - Sonho, oil on canvas |
| 15 李元佳 - 作品 / 油畫 | 16 歐陽文苑 - 內部的 / 油畫 | 15 Chang Chin-Chang - Começo de Primavera, oil on canvas | 16 Li Yuan-Chia - Construção, oil on canvas |
| 17 歐陽文苑 - 橫著的形 / 油畫 | 18 歐陽文苑 - 星座之歌 / 油畫 | 17 Huang Ko-Chuan - Meditação, oil on canvas | 18 Ouyang Win-Yuan - Cenário Interior, oil on canvas |
| 19 吳昊 - 夢 / 油畫 | 20 吳昊 - 船 / 油畫 | 19 Ouyang Win-Yuan - Uma Visão Lateral, oil on canvas | 20 Hsia Yang - Passeio do Sentimento, oil on canvas |
| 21 劉國松 - No.1959-4 Composition / 油畫 | 22 劉國松 - No.1959-11 Composition / 油畫 | 21 Hsia Yang - A Canção das Coonstelacões, oil on canvas | 22 Wu Hao - Sonho, oil on canvas |
| 23 蕭勤 - 作品 A / 油畫 | 24 蕭勤 - 作品 B / 油畫 | 23 Chuang Chi - Barcos, oil on canvas | 24 Liu Kuo - Sung - Composição No.1959-4, oil on canvas |
| 25 李錫奇 - 夜 / 版畫 | 26 李錫奇 - 水鄉 / 版畫 | 25 Liu Kuo - Sung - Composição No.1959-11, oil on canvas | 26 Hsiao Chin - Obra A, oil on canvas |
| 27 秦松 - 冬天的太陽 / 版畫 | 28 秦松 - 太陽節 / 版畫 | 27 Hsiao Chin - Obra B, oil on canvas | 28 Li His-Chi - A Noite, printmaking |
| 29 江漢東 - 鄉曲 / 版畫 | 30 江漢東 - 神話 / 版畫 | 29 Li His-Chi - Terra das Aguas, printmaking | 30 Chin Sung - O Sol do Inverno, printmaking |
| 31 陳庭詩 - 陣雨 / 版畫 | 32 施驊 - 悲劇 / 版畫 | 31 Chin Sung - Festival do Sol, printmaking | 32 Kiang Han-Tung - Canção folclórica, printmaking |
| 33 張杰 - 漁歌 / 水彩 | 34 何瑞雄 - 作品 / 水彩 | 33 Kiang Han-Tung - Mitos, printmaking | 34 Chen Ting-Shih - Aguaceiro, printmaking |
| 35 楊啟東 - 靜物 / 水彩 | 36 楊英風 - 自由 / 木刻 | 35 Shih Hua - Tragédia, printmaking | 36 Chang Chieh - Cântico dos Pescadores, watercolour on paper |
| 37 楊英風 - 大地回春 / 雕塑 | | 37 Ho Jui-Hsiung - Obra, watercolour on paper | 38 Yang Chi-Tung - Natureza Morta, watercolour on paper |
| | | 38 Yang Ying-Fon - Companheiro, woodcut | 39 Yang Ying-Fon - Liberdade, woodcut |
| | | 39 Yang Ying-Fon - A Volta da Primavera, sculpture | |



↑蕭勤，《作品B》，油畫，140X65公分，1959。1959年第5屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑Hsiao Chin, Obra B, oil on canvas, 140X165cm, 1959. Entry at the 5th São Paulo Biennial in 1959.

→秦松，《太陽節》，木刻版畫，75X45公分，1958。1959年第5屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→Chin Sung, Festival do Sol, woodcut, 75X45cm, 1958. Entry at the 5th São Paulo Biennial in 1959.



↑林聖揚，《空城計》，油畫，65X92公分，1959。1959年第5屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑Lin Sheng-Yang, O Estratagema da Cidade Vazia, oil on canvas, 65X92cm, 1959. Entry at the 5th São Paulo Biennial in 1959.

↗林聖揚，《長坂坡》，油畫，80X110公分，1957。1959年第5屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↗Lin Sheng-Yang, A Localidade Estratégica de Chang Pan Po, oil on canvas, 80X110cm, 1957. Entry at the 5th São Paulo Biennial in 1959.

→陳庭詩，《驟雨》，木刻版畫，60.5X40公分，1959。1959年第5屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立臺灣美術館典藏。

→Chen Ting-Shih, Aguaceiro, woodcut, 60.5X40cm, 1959. Entry at the 5th São Paulo Biennial in 1959. National Taiwan Museum of Fine Art collection.



1961

第六屆巴西聖保羅雙年展

參展藝術家清單及作品

The List of participating artists and
their works at the 6th São Paulo
Biennial in 1961.

1 劉國松 昨天 / 水彩 2 劉國松 從韓
橫看藤老油畫 3 劉國松 寧畫 4 韓湘寧
枯前 / 寧端生 5 韓湘寧 6 韓湘寧
湘末顧福畫 7 蕭仁徵 8 蕭仁徵 9 蕭仁徵
顧油畫 10 蕭仁徵 11 蕭仁徵 12 蕭仁徵
仁畫 B / 版畫 13 陳庭詩 14 陳庭詩
畫畫 15 陳庭詩 16 李錫奇 17 李錫奇
錫奇 18 李錫奇 19 胡奇中 20 胡奇中
傾訴於 91 / 版畫 21 胡奇中 22 胡奇中
的 91 / 版畫 23 王無蓮 24 張大千
油畫 25 胡奇中 26 胡奇中 27 胡奇中
21 胡奇中 22 胡奇中 23 王無蓮
胡邪花 / 國畫

1 Liu Kuo-Sung_Yesterday, watercolour on paper 2 Liu Kuo-Sung_Changing Scenes of Elusive Mountains, watercolour on paper 3 Liu Kuo-Sung_Withered Vines, Old Trees, and Crows, watercolour on paper 4 Han Hsiang-Ning_The fine Day, oil on canvas 5 Han Hsiang-Ning_Festivity, oil on canvas 6 Han Hsiang-Ning_Before Down Fall, oil on canvas 7 Han Hsiang-Ning_Finality, oil on canvas 8 Ku Fu-Sheng_Revelation, oil on canvas 9 Ku Fu-Sheng_Lost, oil on canvas 10 Ku Fu-Sheng_Overcharged, oil on canvas 11 Hsiao Je-Cheng_Disaster, watercolour on paper 12 Hsiao Je-Cheng_Mournful Crying, watercolour on paper 13 Chen Tin-Shih_Engraving B, printmaking 14 Chen Tin-Shih_Engraving C, printmaking 15 Chen Tin-Shih_Engraving E, printmaking 16 Li His-Chi_To Think of Old Time, printmaking 17 Li His-Chi_preading, printmaking 18 Li His-Chi_Dream, printmaking 19 Hu Chi-Chung_Painting 60-2, oil on canvas 20 Hu Chi-Chung_Painting 60-20, oil on canvas 21 Hu Chi-Chung_Painting 60-21, oil on canvas 22 Hu Chi-Chung_Painting 61-1, oil on canvas 23 Wucius C.K. Wong_Voyage in Spring, ink on paper 24 Chang Dai-Chien_Lotus, ink on paper

↓蕭仁徵，《哀鳴》，水彩，54.5X39.4公分，1961。1961年第6屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↓Hsiao Jen-Cheng, Mournful Crying, water colors, 54.5X39.4cm, 1961. Entry at the 6th São Paulo Biennial in 1961.

→韓湘寧，《崩潰之前》，油畫，143.5X98.5公分，1960。1961年第6屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。M+，香港。©Han Hsiang-Ning 館典藏。

→Han Hsiang-Ning, Pre-Collapse, oil on canvas, 143.5 × 98.5cm, 1960. Entry at the 6th São Paulo Biennial in 1961. M+, Hong Kong. © Han Hsiang-Ning

→→韓湘寧，《末端》，油畫，155X99公分，1960。1961年第6屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。M+，香港。©Han Hsiang-Ning 館典藏。

→→Han Hsiang-Ning, Terminus, oil on canvas, 155 × 99cm, 1960. Entry at the 6th São Paulo Biennial in 1961. M+, Hong Kong. ©Han Hsiang-Ning



→韓湘寧，《祭》，油畫，142X74公分，1961。1961年第6屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→Han Hsiang-Ning, Festivity, oil on canvas, 142X74cm, 1961. Entrt at the 6th São Paulo Biennial in 1961.





← 胡奇中，《繪畫 6020》，油畫，128X88 公分，1960。1961 年第 6 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

← Hu Chi-Chung, Painting 6020, oil on canvas, 128X88cm, 1960. Entry at the 6th São Paulo Biennial in 1961.

↓ 胡奇中，《繪畫 6001》，油畫，136X94 公分，1960。1961 年第 6 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↓ Hu Chi-Chung, Painting 6001, oil on canvas, 136X94cm, 1960. Entry at the 6th São Paulo Biennial in 1961.



↓ 張大千，《荷花》，水墨，尺寸不詳。1961 年第 6 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↓ Chang Dai-Chien, Lotus, ink on paper, dimensions unknown. Entry at the 6th São Paulo Biennial in 1961.

→ 顧福生，《露》（後改名《人》），油畫，114X48 公分，1961。1961 年第 6 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立臺灣美術館典藏。

→ Ku Fu-Sheng, Revelation (renamed Figure), oil on canvas, 114X48cm, 1961. Entry at the 6th São Paulo Biennial in 1961. National Taiwan Museum of Fine Art collection.

↘ 李錫奇，《夢的 91》，版畫，111x 84 公分，1961。1961 年第 6 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↘ Lee Shi-Chi, Dream, engraving, 111x84 cm, 1961. Entry at the 6th São Paulo Biennial in 1961.



參展藝術家清單及作品

The List of participating artists and their works at the 7th São Paulo Biennial in 1963.

1 彭萬墀 啞 / 繪畫 2 馮鍾睿 叢林裡 1 Peng Wants_Dumb, painting 2 Fong Chung-Ray_Painting 1963-11, painting 3 畫癸卯十一 / 繪畫 3 莊喆 叢林裡 3 Chuan Che_Grove Zone, painting 4 地帶 / 繪畫 4 劉予迪 誰在時間 4 Liu Yu-Ti_Who Lives Never End in the Time, painting 5 不朽 / 繪畫 5 胡奇中 繪畫 5 Hu Chi-Chung_Painting 6308, painting 6 繪畫 6 高仁洞 / 繪畫 6 Davis J. Kao_Hole, painting 7 門神 / 繪畫 7 曾培堯 繪畫 7 Tseng Pei-Yao_The Door God, painting 8 畫 9 劉生容 時間與空間 / 繪畫 8 Chiang Shian-El_Dilapidated, painting 9 Liu Sheng-Yung_Time and Space, painting 10 劉國松 第二號作品 / 繪畫 10 Liu Ku-Sung_Quietness in Motion, painting 11 孝遊 第五一 / 繪畫 11 Shu Hsiao-Yew_Painting No.2, painting 12 天園 將蕪胡不歸 / 繪畫 12 Yang Chin-Tien_Painting A 35-1, painting 13 田園 繪畫 13 溫學儒 誠 13 Wen Sue-Ju_Field Without a Trimmer, painting 14 獻 / 繪畫 14 王家誠 青的抒情 / 繪畫 14 Wang Chia-Cheng_Consecrating, painting 15 繪畫 15 楊啟東 少女與貓 / 繪畫 15 Yang Chi-Tong_Blue Lyric, painting 16 張杰 車 / 繪畫 16 Wu Long-Rong_Young Girl and Cat, painting 17 張杰 廖修平 墨象年代 / 版畫 17 Chang Chieh_Motor Pool, painting 18 Wu Hao_Prayer, printmaking 19 版畫 19 庭詩 里程碑 / 版畫 19 Liao Shiou-Ping_The Figure of mk, printmaking 20 陳庭詩 里程碑 / 版畫 20 Chen Ting-Shih_Golden Age, printmaking 21 方向緣 / 版畫 21 楊英風 牛 / 雕塑 21 Fang Shiang_Milestone, printmaking 22 Lee Shuh-Fu_Predestined connection of evil, printmaking 23 楊英風 牛 / 雕塑 23 Yang Ying-Feng_Ox, sculpture



↑ 劉國松，《動中之靜》，水墨，56.5 X 119.4 公分，1963。1963 年第 7 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。劉國松文獻庫提供。

↑ Liu Kuo-Sung, *Quietness in Motion*, ink on paper, 56.5 x 119.4cm, 1963. Entry at the 7th São Paulo Biennial in 1963. Courtesy of the Liu Kuo-Sung Archive.

→ 劉生容，《時間與空間》，油畫，162X130cm，1963。1963 年第 7 屆聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→ Liu Sheng-Yung, *Time and Space*, oil on canvas, 162X130cm, 1963. Entry at the 7th São Paulo Biennial in 1963.



1965

第八屆巴西聖保羅雙年展

參展藝術家清單及作品

The List of participating artists and
their works at the 8th São Paulo
Biennial in 1965.

- 1 明歸油英畫號字反虛楊版壯望 16 森畫孩 22 女油慶
陳來畫風 7 版 18 號 12 莊成畫 15 山現 19 吳鳥 25 梁奕 24 焚油畫
道懷吧 5 楊版 8 號 25 羅觀 15 莊語 18 吳昊 21 後 24 李繪畫 A/版畫
明念 / 陳虛英畫 8 號 25 羅觀 15 莊語 18 吳昊 21 後 24 李繪畫 A/版畫
冰的畫明觀 8 號 25 羅觀 15 莊語 18 吳昊 21 後 24 李繪畫 A/版畫
冷老 4 其虛英畫 9 號 26 羅觀 15 莊語 18 吳昊 21 後 24 李繪畫 A/版畫
的友陳靈反靜風 9 號 26 羅觀 15 莊語 18 吳昊 21 後 24 李繪畫 A/版畫
眼 / 道性覆觀 9 號 26 羅觀 15 莊語 18 吳昊 21 後 24 李繪畫 A/版畫
淚油明之羅其虛靜風 10 號 27 羅觀 15 莊語 18 吳昊 21 後 24 李繪畫 A/版畫
/ 畫 3 馬 / 第覆觀 10 號 27 羅觀 15 莊語 18 吳昊 21 後 24 李繪畫 A/版畫
油 3 馬 / 第覆觀 10 號 27 羅觀 15 莊語 18 吳昊 21 後 24 李繪畫 A/版畫
畫 3 馬 / 第覆觀 10 號 27 羅觀 15 莊語 18 吳昊 21 後 24 李繪畫 A/版畫
2 道兒 6 楊版 11 號 13 仰 17 孩子 / 油小畫
陳道 7 楊版 11 號 13 仰 17 孩子 / 油小畫
陳道 7 楊版 11 號 13 仰 17 孩子 / 油小畫
1 陳 Tao-Ming_Cool Tear, watercolour on paper 2 Chen Tao-Ming_Think of my Old Friend,
watercolour on paper 3 Chen Tao-Ming_Return, watercolour on paper 4 Chen Tao-Ming_Horse
and Child, oil on canvas 5 Chen Tao-Ming_Love of Spirit, oil on canvas 6 Yang Ying-Feng_Infinito
Susseg virsi del vouto Immobile R2, printmaking 7 Yang Ying-Feng_Infinito Susseg virsi del vouto
Immobile R3, printmaking 8 Yang Ying-Feng_Infinito Susseg virsi del vouto Immobile R18, printmaking 9 Yang Ying-Feng_Infinito
Susseg virsi del vouto Immobile R25, printmaking 10 Yang Ying-Feng_Infinito Susseg virsi del vouto Immobile R26, printmaking 11 Yang Ying-Feng_Infinito
Susseg virsi del vouto Immobile R27, printmaking 12 Chuang Che_Painting 1, painting 13 Chuang Che_Painting 2, painting 14 Chuang Che_Look up, painting 15 Chuang Che_Appearance, painting 16 Chuang Che_Language of Mountain, painting 17 Chuang Che_Language of Forest, printmaking 18 Wu Hao_Child, printmaking 19 Wu Hao_Wooden Doll, oil on canvas 20 Wu Hao_Boy and Bird, oil on canvas 21 Chen Ting-Shih_Roaring, printmaking 22 Lui Shou-Kwan_After Rain, painting 23 Chiang Han-Tung_The Girl and Cat, painting 24 Lee Shi-Che_Good Bye 91-3, oil on canvas 25 Liang Yi-Feng_Painting A, printmaking 26 Wong Sazer_Giant, oil on canvas



↖ 吳昊，《小孩和鳥》，油畫，91X67.5公分，1964。1965年第8屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↖ Wu Hao, *Boy and Bird*, oil on canvas, 91X67.5cm, 1964. Entry at the 8th São Paulo Biennial in 1965.

← 楊英風，《虛靜觀其反覆羅字第18號》，版畫，140X140公分，1965。1965年第8屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。財團法人楊英風藝術教育基金會授權。

← Yang Yuyu, *Infinito Susseg virsi del vouto Immobile R18*, engraving, 140X140cm, 1965. Entry at the 8th São Paulo Biennial in 1965. Courtesy of Yuyu Yang Art Education Foundation.



↑ 江漢東，《女與貓》，版畫，86.2X59.4公分，1965。1965年第8屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立歷史博物館典藏。

↑ Chiang Han-Tung, *The Girl and Cat*, engraving, 86.2X59.4cm, 1965. Entry at the 8th São Paulo Biennial in 1965. NMH collection.

→ 呂壽琨，《雨後》，紙上繪畫，178.5X97.5公分，1965。1965年第8屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立歷史博物館典藏。

→ Lui Shou-Kwan, *After Rain*, painted on paper, 178.5X97.5cm, 1965. Entry at the 8th São Paulo Biennial in 1965. NMH collection.



1967

第九屆巴西聖保羅雙年展

參展藝術家清單及作品

The List of participating artists and
their works at the 9th São Paulo
Biennial in 1967.

1 林克恭 畫 2 林克恭 畫 3 林克恭 畫 4 林克恭 畫
5 林克恭 畫 6 林克恭 畫 7 林克恭 畫 8 林克恭 畫
9 林克恭 畫 10 林克恭 畫 11 林克恭 畫 12 林克恭 畫
13 林克恭 畫 14 林克恭 畫 15 林克恭 畫 16 林克恭 畫
17 林克恭 畫 18 林克恭 畫 19 林克恭 畫 20 林克恭 畫
21 林克恭 畫 22 林克恭 畫 23 林克恭 畫 24 林克恭 畫
25 林克恭 畫 26 林克恭 畫

1 Lim Kac-Keong, 'Truth', oil on canvas 2 Lim Kac-Keong, 'Bewildered', oil on canvas 3 Lim Kac-Keong, 'Ice Fields', oil on canvas 4 Lim Kac-Keong, 'Contest', oil on canvas 5 Hu Chi-Chung, 'Painting 6714', oil on canvas 6 Hu Chi-Chung, 'Painting 6716', oil on canvas 7 Hu Chi-Chung, 'Painting 6718', oil on canvas 8 Hu Chi-Chung, 'Painting 6719', oil on canvas 9 Hu Chi-Chung, 'Painting 6720', oil on canvas 10 Lu Shun-You, 'Joyfulness', oil on canvas 11 Lu Shun-You, 'To Cut', oil on canvas 12 Lu Shun-You, 'To Revolve', oil on canvas 13 Lu Shun-You, 'Longevity', oil on canvas 14 Lu Shun-You, 'The Dark', oil on canvas 15 Lu Shun-You, 'The Happiness', oil on canvas 16 Lu Shun-You, 'The Emoluments', oil on canvas 17 Lu Shun-You, 'To Invade', oil on canvas 18 Shiy De-Jinn, 'Chinese New Year', oil on canvas 19 Shiy De-Jinn, 'Chinese Festival', oil on canvas 20 Shiy De-Jinn, 'Washing Board', oil on canvas 21 Linus Chao, 'Rains in Spring', watercolour on paper 22 Linus Chao, 'Seashore of Hokkaido', watercolour on paper 23 Linus Chao, 'Waves', watercolour on paper 24 Yang Ying-Feng, 'Hilarity', sculpture 25 Yang Ying-Feng, 'Creation', sculpture 26 Yang Ying-Feng, 'Mundane', sculpture

劉生容，《壽》，油彩、金紙、畫布，160X128.5公分，1967。
1967年第9屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立臺灣美術館典藏。

Liu Sheng-Yung, Longevity, oil and gold leaf on canvas, 160X128.5cm, 1967.
Entry at the 9th São Paulo Biennial in 1967. National Taiwan Museum of Fine Art collection.



1969

第十屆巴西聖保羅雙年展

參展藝術家清單及作品

The List of participating artists and
their works at the 10th São Paulo
Biennial in 1969.

1 朱德群 構成 311 號 / 油畫 2 朱德群 構成 312 號 / 油畫
3 朱德群 構成 313 號 / 油畫 4 朱德群 構成 314 號 / 油畫
5 朱德群 構成 315 號 / 油畫 6 朱德群 構成 316 號 / 油畫
7 朱德群 構成 317 號 / 油畫 8 朱德群 構成 318 號 / 油畫
9 朱德群 構成 319 號 / 油畫 10 朱德群 構成 320 號 / 油畫
11 朱德群 構成 321 號 / 油畫 12 朱德群 構成 322 號 / 油畫
13 朱德群 構成 323 號 / 油畫 14 朱德群 構成 324 號 / 油畫
15 朱德群 構成 325 號 / 油畫 16 李朝進 繪畫
6909 / 油畫 17 李建中 作品第三號 / 水彩及臘染 18 歐陽文苑
內部的風景 / 油畫 19 林聖揚 馬群 / 繪畫 20 林聖揚 馬群 / 繪畫
21 林聖揚 馬群 / 繪畫 22 林聖揚 馬群 / 繪畫
23 林聖揚 馬群 / 繪畫 24 劉國松 何者地球 (一) / 油畫
25 劉國松 何者地球 (二) / 油畫 26 劉國松 何者地球 (三) / 油畫
27 劉國松 何者地球 C / 油畫 28 劉國松 中秋節 / 油畫
29 劉國松 元宵節 / 油畫 30 劉國松 不朽的月亮 / 油畫
31 劉國松 日落江湖白 / 油畫 32 劉國松 寒山平遠 / 油畫
33 劉國松 赤壁 (D) / 油畫 34 郭勳 無題 A / 油畫 35 郭勳
無題 B / 油畫 36 郭勳 無題 C / 油畫 37 郭勳 無題 D / 油畫
38 郭勳 無題 E / 油畫 39 潘朝森 牧童的惡夢 / 油畫
40 姚慶章 生長 (一) / 油畫 41 姚慶章 生長 (二) / 油畫
42 姚慶章 生長 (三) / 油畫 43 吳炫三 質 44 吳隆榮 火雞計 / 油畫
45 吳隆榮 天鵝群 / 油畫 46 顧重光 白色語 / 油畫及絹印
47 顧重光 紀念碑 / 油畫 48 顧重光 靜寂之園 / 油畫及絹印
49 廖修平 星星 / 銅版畫 50 廖修平 春節 / 銅版畫
51 廖修平 門 / 銅版畫 52 廖修平 鏡 / 銅版畫
53 廖修平 春夏秋冬 / 銅版畫 54 廖修平 福祿雙全 / 銅版畫
55 馮鍾睿 繪畫 1969-1 / 水墨、水彩、油畫 56 馮鍾睿 繪畫 1969-2 / 水墨、水彩、油畫
57 馮鍾睿 繪畫 1969-3 / 水墨、水彩、油畫 58 馮鍾睿 繪畫 1969-4 / 水墨、水彩、油畫
59 謝孝德 沸鼎之中 / 油畫

1 Chu Teh-Chun Composition No.311, oil on canvas 2 Chu Teh-Chun Composition No.312, oil on canvas 3 Chu Teh-Chun Composition No.313, oil on canvas 4 Chu Teh-Chun Composition No.314, oil on canvas 5 Chu Teh-Chun Composition No.315, oil on canvas 6 Chu Teh-Chun Composition No.316, oil on canvas 7 Chu Teh-Chun Composition No.317, oil on canvas 8 Chu Teh-Chun Composition No.318, oil on canvas 9 Chu Teh-Chun Composition No.319, oil on canvas 10 Chu Teh-Chun Composition No.320, oil on canvas 11 Hsiao Ming-Hsien Composition No.321, oil on canvas 12 Hsiao Ming-Hsien Composition No.322, oil on canvas 13 Hsiao Ming-Hsien Composition No.323, oil on canvas 14 Hsiao Ming-Hsien Composition No.324, oil on canvas 15 Hsiao Ming-Hsien Composition No.325, oil on canvas 16 Lii Chau-Chin Painting 6909, oil on canvas 17 Lii Chau-Chin Painting 6912, oil on canvas 18 Li Chieh-Chung Painting 3, watercolour, wax dye 19 Lin Sheng-Yang Hourse group, painting 20 Lin Sheng-Yang Hourse group, painting 21 Lin Sheng-Yang Hourse group, painting 22 Lin Sheng-Yang Hourse group, painting 23 Lin Sheng-Yang Hourse group, painting 24 Liu Kuo-Sung Which is Earth? I, oil on canvas 25 Liu Kuo-Sung Which is Earth? II, oil on canvas 26 Liu Kuo-Sung Which is Earth? III, oil on canvas 27 Liu Kuo-Sung Which is Earth? C, oil on canvas 28 Liu Kuo-Sung Mid-Autumn Festival, oil on canvas 29 Liu Kuo-Sung Lantern Festival, oil on canvas 30 Liu Kuo-Sung A Moon for All Seasons, oil on canvas 31 Liu Kuo-Sung White All over when Sun Sets, oil on canvas 32 Liu Kuo-Sung Frosty Hills Afar, oil on canvas 33 Liu Kuo-Sung Red Cliff D, oil on canvas 34 Kuo Lucas-Jen Untitled A, oil on canvas 35 Kuo Lucas-Jen Untitled B, oil on canvas 36 Kuo Lucas-Jen Untitled C, oil on canvas 37 Kuo Lucas-Jen Untitled D, oil on canvas 38 Kuo Lucas-Jen Untitled E, oil on canvas 39 Pan Chaur-Sen Cowboy's Bad Dreams, oil on canvas 40 Yao Ching-Jan Growth A, oil on canvas 41 Yao Ching-Jan Growth B, oil on canvas 42 Yao Ching-Jan Growth C, oil on canvas 43 Wu Shiuan-Shen Substance 44 Wu Lung-Jung Turkey, oil on canvas 45 Wu Lung-Jung Flock of Suans, oil on canvas 46 Koo Chung-Kuang White Langue, oil on canvas, screen printing 47 Koo Chung-Kuang Monumeng, oil on canvas 48 Koo Chung-Kuang The Land of Silence, oil on canvas, screen printing 49 Liao Shiou-Ping The Stars, etchings 50 Liao Shiou-Ping Festival of Spring, etchings 51 Liao Shiou-Ping Gate, etchings 52 Liao Shiou-Ping Mirror, etchings 53 Liao Shiou-Ping Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, etchings 54 Liao Shiou-Ping Happiness and Mosesuty, etchings 55 Fong Chung-Ray Painting 1969-1, oil on canvas 56 Fong Chung-Ray Painting 1969-2, oil on canvas 57 Fong Chung-Ray Painting 1969-3, oil on canvas 58 Fong Chung-Ray Painting 1969-4, oil on canvas 59 Hsieh Hsiao-De In the Boiling Cauldron, oil on canvas

→劉國松，《不朽的月亮》，
水墨、壓克力、紙上拼合，
170X170 公分，1969。1969 年第
10 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作
品。劉國松文獻庫提供。

→Liu Kuo-Sung, *A Moon for all
Seasons*, ink and acrylic with collage
on paper, 170X170cm, 1969. Entry at
the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969.
Courtesy of the Liu Kuo-Sung Archive.

→→顧重光，《靜寂之園》，
油畫、絹印，149X190 公分，
1969。1969 年第 10 屆巴西聖保
羅雙年展參展作品。

→→Koo Chung-Kuang, 1969, *The
Land of Silence*, oil and silk screen on
canvas, 149X197cm, 1969. Entry at the
10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969.



→朱德群，《構成》，油畫，尺
寸不詳，1968。1969 年第 10 屆
巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→Chu Teh-Chun, *Composition*, oil on
canvas, dimensions unknown, 1968.
Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in
1969.

→→李建中，《作品第 3 號》，
水彩、臘染，272.5X285 公分，
1969。1969 年第 10 屆巴西聖保
羅雙年展參展作品。

→→Li Chien-Chung, *Painting-3*,
watercolor and wax dyeing,
272.5X285cm, 1969. Entry at the 10th
São Paulo Biennial in 1969.





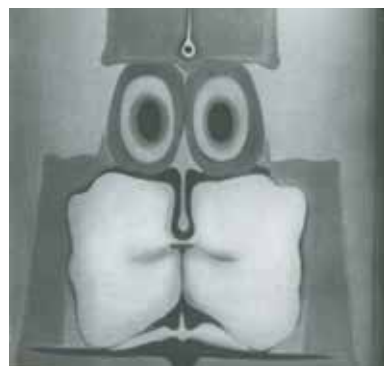
↓ 姚慶章，《生長 2》，油畫，160X160 公分 1969。1969 年第 10 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↓ Yao Chin-Jan, *Growth B*, oil on canvas, 160X160cm, 1969. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969.



↓↓ 李朝進，《繪畫-6909》，複合媒材，142X109 公分，1969。1969 年第 10 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↓↓ Li Chau-Chin, *Painting-6909*, mixed media on canvas, 142X102cm, 1969. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969.

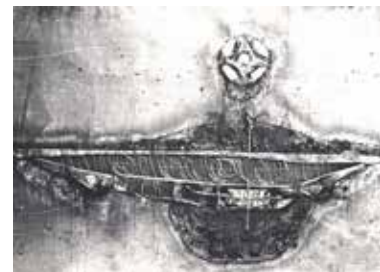


↑↑ 吳炫三，《質》，複合媒材，165X105 公分，1969。1969 年第 10 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑↑ Wu Shuan-Shun, *Substance*, mixed media, 165X105cm, 1969. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969.

↑ 郭勑，《無題 5》，油畫，222X222 公分，1969。1969 年第 10 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑ Kuo Jen, *Untitled No.5*, oil on canvas, 222X222cm, 1969. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969.



↗ 廖修平，《春夏秋冬》，蝕刻金屬版，各 43X43 公分，1968。1969 年第 10 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↗ Liao Shiou-Ping, *Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter*, etching, 43x43cm each, 1968. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969.

→ 馮鍾睿，《繪畫 1969-2》，水墨，152X122 公分，1969。1969 年第 10 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→ Fong Chung-Ray, *Painting 1969-2*, ink on paper, 152X122cm, 1969. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969.





廖修平，《星星》，蝕刻金屬版，46X46公分，1967。1969年第10屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

Liao Shiou-Ping, The Stars, etching, 46X46cm, 1967. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969.



劉國松，《地球何許 C》，油畫，150 X78.5 公分，1969。1969年第10屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。劉國松文獻庫提供。

Liu Kuo-Sung, Which is Earth? C, oil on canvas, 150 X78.5 cm, 1969. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969. Courtesy of the Liu Kuo-Sung Archive.



劉國松，《寒山平遠》，水墨，150 X371 公分，1969。1969年第10屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。劉國松文獻庫提供。

Liu Kuo-Sung, Frosty Hills Afar, ink on paper, 150 X371 cm, 1969. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969. Courtesy of the Liu Kuo-Sung Archive.



劉國松，《中秋節》，水墨、壓克力、紙，157.5X85.9公分，1969。1969年第10屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。劉國松文獻庫提供。

Liu Kuo-Sung, Mid-Autumn Festival, ink and acrylic with collage on paper, 157.5X85.9 cm, 1969. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969. Courtesy of the Liu Kuo-Sung Archive.

劉國松，《元宵節》，水墨、壓克力、紙，157.5X85公分，1969。1969年第10屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。劉國松文獻庫提供。

Liu Kuo-Sung, Lantern Festival, ink and acrylic with collage on paper, 157.5X85 cm, 1969. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969. Courtesy of the Liu Kuo-Sung Archive.



↑潘朝森，《牧童的惡夢》，油畫，116X91公分，1969。1969年第10屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑Pan Chaur-Sen, Cowboy's Bad Dreams, oil on canvas, 116X91cm, 1969. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969.

→謝孝德，《沸鼎之中》，油畫，178X178公分，1969。1969年第10屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→Hsieh Hsiao-De, In the Boiling Cauldron, oil on canvas, 178X178cm, 1969. Entry at the 10th São Paulo Biennial in 1969.



1971

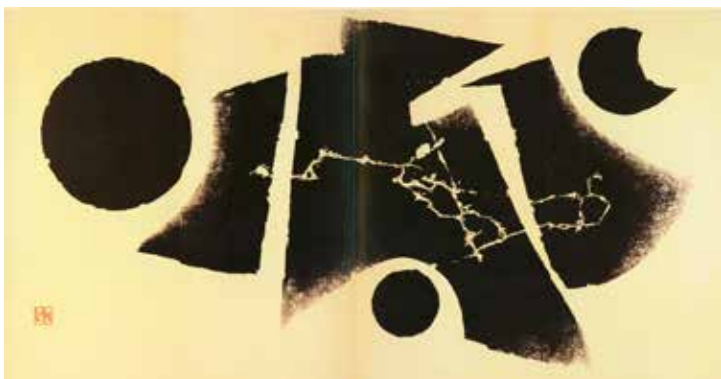
第十一屆巴西聖保羅雙年展

參展藝術家清單及作品

The List of participating artists and
their works at the 11th São Paulo
Biennial in 1971.

1 謝孝德 祭典 / 油畫 2 林克恭 組合 / 油畫 3
李安隆 靜思 / 油畫 4 曾培堯 生命-708 / 油畫 5
李朝進 生命-七一〇一 / 油畫 6 李朝進 生
命-七一〇三 / 油畫 7 李朝進 生命-七一〇五 /
油畫 8 李朝進 生命-七一〇六 / 油畫 9 吳炫三
判斷的批判 / 油畫 10 吳炫三 物理的同情 / 油
畫 11 郭軻 心扉 / 繪畫 12 郭軻 我思故我在 /
繪畫 13 郭軻 構成及其他 / 繪畫 14 郭軻 生即
樂 / 繪畫 15 潘朝森 春之默 / 油畫 16 李建中
東方與西方文明 (1971) / 油畫 17 李建中 白熱化
的辯論 / 油畫 18 顧重光 春節 I / 油畫 19 顧重光
春節 II / 油畫 20 廖修平 中秋節 / 版畫 21 廖修平
月球之外 / 版畫 22 廖修平 星星節 / 版畫
23 廖修平 門與藝術家 / 版畫 24 劉國松 子夜
的太陽 / 繪畫 25 劉國松 子夜的太陽 / 繪畫 26
劉國松 月之蛻變之 2 / 繪畫 27 劉國松 月之蛻
變之 157 / 繪畫 28 劉國松 月之蛻變之 16 / 繪
畫 29 劉國松 月之蛻變之 63 / 繪畫 30 劉國松 月
之蛻變之 19 / 繪畫 31 劉國松 月之蛻變之 44 / 繪
畫 32 劉國松 月之蛻變之 59 / 繪畫 33 劉國松
月之蛻變之 65 / 繪畫 34 劉庸 飛瀑 / 水彩 35 劉
庸 奇妙的雲 / 水彩 36 劉庸 山中何所有 / 水彩
37 周瑛 憶 / 版畫 38 陳庭詩 平日 (甲) / 版畫
39 陳庭詩 平日 (乙) / 版畫 40 陳庭詩 瞬息之
流光 / 版畫 41 陳庭詩 破曉 / 版畫

1 Heish Hsia- De_ Worship, oil on canvas 2 Lim Kac-Keong_
Combination, oil on canvas 3 Li An-Long_ Meditation, oil on
canvas 4 Tseng Pei-Yao_ Life 708, oil on canvas 5 Li Chau-Chin_
Painting 7101, oil on canvas 6 Li Chau-Chin_ Painting 7103,
oil on canvas 7 Li Chau-Chin_ Painting 7105, oil on canvas
8 Li Chau-Chin_ Painting 7106, oil on canvas 9 Wu Shiuan-
Shun_ Critique of Judgment, oil on canvas 10 Wu Shiuan-
Shun_ Sympathie Physique, oil on canvas 11 Kuo Lucas-Yen_
The Entities of my Mind, painting 12 Kuo Lucas-Yen_
I Am so I Think, painting 13 Kuo Lucas-Yen_ Composition and
etc., painting 14 Kuo Lucas-Yen_ The Life is Growing so the
Happiness will be Felt, painting 15 Pan Char-Sen_ The Silence
of Spring, oil on canvas 16 Li Chien-Chung_ Oriental and
Western Civilization, oil on canvas 17 Li Chien-Chung_ The
Dispute became White Hot, oil on canvas 18 Koo Chung-
Kuang_ Festival of Spring I, oil on canvas 19 Koo Chung-Kuang_
Festival of Spring II, oil on canvas 20 Liao Shiou-Ping_ Festival
of Moon, printmaking 21 Liao Shiou-Ping_ Beyond the Moon,
printmaking 22 Liao Shiou-Ping_ Festival of Stars, printmaking 23
Liao Shiou-Ping_ Gate and Artist, printmaking 24 Liu Kuo-
Sung_ Mid-night Sun, painting 25 Liu Kuo-Sung_ Moon's Metamorphoses 2,
painting 26 Liu Kuo-Sung_ Moon's Metamorphoses 15, painting
27 Liu Kuo-Sung_ Moon's Metamorphoses 16, painting 28
Liu Kuo-Sung_ Moon's Metamorphoses 63, painting 29
Liu Kuo-Sung_ Moon's Metamorphoses 19, painting 30 Liu
Kuo-Sung_ Moon's Metamorphoses 44, painting 31 Liu Kuo-
Sung_ Moon's Metamorphoses 59, painting 32 Liu Kuo-Sung_
Moon's Metamorphoses 65, painting 33 Liu Yung_ Cataract, watercolour
on paper 34 Liu Yung_ Wonderful Cloud, watercolour on paper
35 Liu Yung_ What is there in the Mountain, watercolour on
paper 36 Liu Yung_ Remembering, printmaking 37 Chen Ting-
Shih_ Daybreak I, printmaking 38 Chen Ting-Shih_ Daybreak II,
printmaking 39 Chen Ting-Shih_ Instantaneous, printmaking 40
Chen Ting-Shih_ Dawn, printmaking 41



↑ 陳庭詩，《瞬息之流光》，版畫、紙本，124X240 公分（四合一），1971，1971 年第 11 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑ Chen Ting-Shih, 1971, *Instantaneous*, print on paper, 124X240 cm (set of four panels), 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.

↙ 劉庸，《山中何所有》，水墨，105X90 公分（二合一卷軸），1971。1971 年第 11 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↙ Liu Yung, 1971, *What is there in the Mountain*, ink on paper, 105 X90 cm (pair of scrolls), 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.

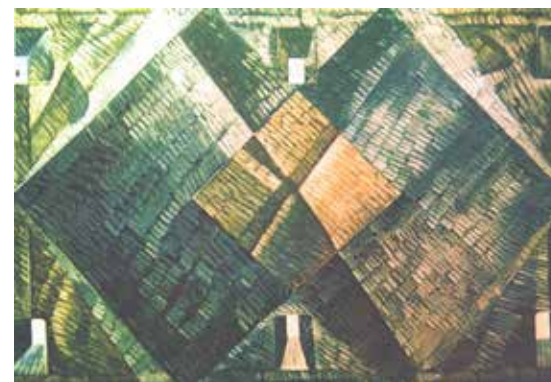


↓ 曾培堯，《生命 708》，油畫，91X116.5 公分，1970。1971 年第 11 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↓ Tseng Pei-Yao, *Life 708*, oil on canvas, 91X116.5cm, 1970. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.

↓↓ 吳炫三，《判斷的批判》，油畫，162X112 公分，1971。1971 年第 11 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↓↓ Wu Shiu-an-Shun, *Critique of Judgment*, oil painting, 162X112cm, 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.





↑ 李安隆，《靜思》，油畫，145X112公分，1971。1971年第11屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑ Li An-Long, *Meditation*, oil on canvas, 145X112cm, 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.

→ 李建中，《東方及西方的文明》，複合媒材，91x117公分，1971。1971年第11屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→ Li Chien-Chung, *Oriental and Western Civilization*, mixed media on canvas, 91X117 cm, 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.



→ 李建中，《白熱化辯論》，複合媒材、畫布，116X91公分，1971。1971年第11屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→ Li Chien-Chung, *The Dispute Became White Hot*, mixed media on canvas, 116X91cm, 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.



↓ 李朝進，《繪畫—7106》，複合媒材，120X106公分，1971。1971年第11屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↓ Li Chau-Chin, *Painting-7106*, mixed media on canvas, 120X106cm, 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.



↓ 周瑛，《憶》，版畫，116.7X91公分，1971。1971年第11屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↓ Chou Yang, *Remembering*, engraving 116.7X91cm, 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.





←林克恭，《組合》，油畫，130X97公分，1971。1971年第11屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立歷史博物館典藏。

←Lim Kac-Keong, *Combination*, oil on canvas, 130X97cm, 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971. NMH collection.

→郭勃，《構成及其他》，油畫，145.5X112公分，1970。1971年第11屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立臺灣美術館典藏。

→Kuo Jen, *Composition and etc.*, oil on canvas, 145.5X112cm, 1970. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971. National Taiwan Museum of Fine Art collection.



↘廖修平，《星星節》，蝕刻金屬版，80X57公分，1971。1971年第11屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立歷史博物館典藏。

↘Liao Shiou-Ping, *Festival of Star*, etching and aquatint, 80X57 cm, 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971. NMH collection.

↓陳庭詩，《平坦（甲）》，版畫，182.5X91.5公分（三合一），1971。1971年第11屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↓Chen Ting-Shih, *Daybreak I*, engraving, 122.5X182.5cm (set of three panels), 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.





↑劉國松，《月之蛻變之 65》，水墨，79.5X79.5 公分，1971。1971 年第 11 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。劉國松文獻庫提供。

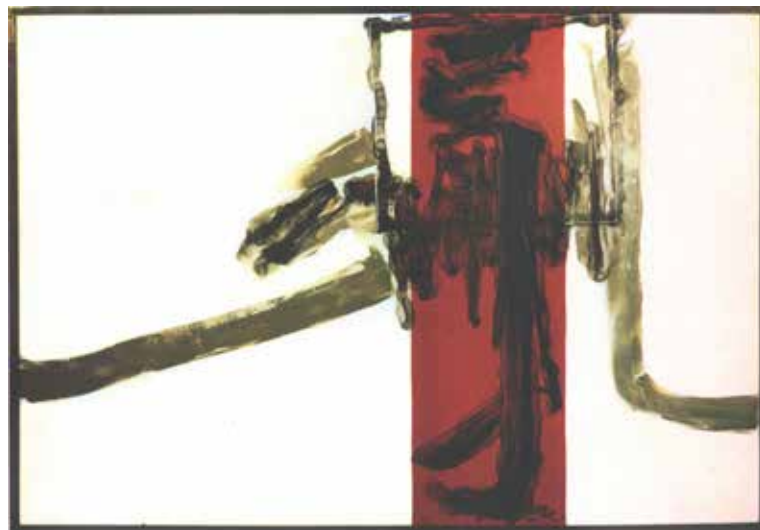
↑Liu Kuo-Sung, *Moon's Metamorphoses 65*, ink on paper, 79.5X79.5cm, 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971. Courtesy of the Liu Kuo-Sung Archive.

↗潘朝森，《春之墨》，油畫，145.5X112 公分，1971。1971 年第 11 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↗Pan Chau-Sen, *The Silence of Spring*, oil on canvas, 145.5X112cm, 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.

→謝孝德，《祭典》，油畫，100X160 公分，1971 年第 11 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→Hsieh Hsiao De, *Worship*, oil on canvas, 100X160cm, 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.



↑顧重光，《春節 II》，油畫，162X112 公分，1971。1971 年第 11 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑Koo Chung-Kuang, *Festival of Spring 2*, oil on canvas, 162X112cm, 1971. Entry at the 11th São Paulo Biennial in 1971.

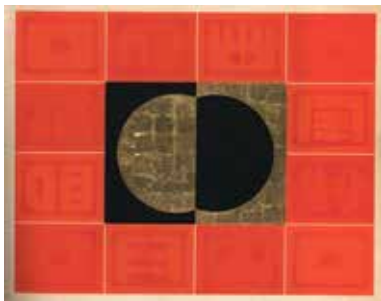
1973

第十二屆巴西聖保羅雙年展

參展藝術家清單及作品

The List of participating artists and
their works at the 12th São Paulo
Biennial in 1973.

- | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|---|--------|
| 1 吳炫三 雙胞胎的一生 / 油畫 | 2 吳炫三 東 | 1 Wu Shiuan-Shun The Twin's Life, oil on canvas | 2 |
| 大西洋的原野 / 油畫 | 3 吳炫三 遺失的記憶 / | Wu Shiuan-Shun The Plain of the East Atlantic, oil on | canvas |
| 3 吳炫三 遺失的記憶 / | 4 吳炫三 海邊 / 油畫 | 3 Wu Shiuan-Shun The Lost Memory, oil on | canvas |
| 4 吳炫三 海邊 / 油畫 | 5 吳炫三 記憶的 | 4 Wu Shiuan-Shun At Seashore, oil on canvas | 5 |
| 5 吳炫三 記憶的 | 6 吳炫三 以前的城市 / 油畫 | 5 Wu Shiuan-Shun Portrait from Memory, oil on canvas | 6 |
| 6 吳炫三 以前的城市 / 油畫 | 7 吳炫三 倩影 / 油畫 | 6 Wu Shiuan-Shun City of Yesterday, oil on canvas | 7 |
| 7 吳炫三 倩影 / 油畫 | 8 吳炫三 倩影 / 油畫 | 7 Wu Shiuan-Shun Dreaming Seeking, oil on canvas | 8 |
| 8 吳炫三 倩影 / 油畫 | 9 莊喆 風景 1 號 / 複合媒材 | 8 Wu Shiuan-Shun Girls' figures, oil on canvas | 9 |
| 9 莊喆 風景 1 號 / 複合媒材 | 10 莊喆 風景 2 號 / 複合媒材 | 9 Chuang Che Landscape 1, multi-media | 10 |
| 10 莊喆 風景 2 號 / 複合媒材 | 11 莊喆 風景 3 號 / 複合媒材 | 10 Chuang Che Landscape 2, multi-media | 11 |
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| 15 莊喆 風景 7 號 / 複合媒材 | 16 莊喆 風景 8 號 / 複合媒材 | 15 Chuang Che Landscape 7, multi-media | 16 |
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| 18 莊喆 風景 10 號 / 複合媒材 | 19 廖修平 相對 / 繪畫 | 18 Chuang Che Landscape 10, multi-media | 19 |
| 19 廖修平 相對 / 繪畫 | 20 廖修平 連結 / 繪畫 | 19 Liao Shiou-Ping Encounter, painting | 20 |
| 20 廖修平 連結 / 繪畫 | 21 廖修平 白天 / 繪畫 | 20 Liao Shiou-Ping Coupling, painting | 21 |
| 21 廖修平 白天 / 繪畫 | 22 廖修平 陰陽 / 繪畫 | 21 Liao Shiou-Ping Day, painting | 22 |
| 22 廖修平 陰陽 / 繪畫 | 23 廖修平 希望 / 繪畫 | 22 Liao Shiou-Ping Ying Yang, painting | 23 |
| 23 廖修平 希望 / 繪畫 | 24 廖修平 喜悅 / 繪畫 | 23 Liao Shiou-Ping Hope, painting | 24 |
| 24 廖修平 喜悅 / 繪畫 | 25 廖修平 新希望 / 繪畫 | 24 Liao Shiou-Ping Joy, painting | 25 |
| 25 廖修平 新希望 / 繪畫 | 26 廖修平 新希望 / 繪畫 | 25 Liao Shiou-Ping Life Cycle, painting | 26 |
| 26 廖修平 新希望 / 繪畫 | 27 廖修平 新希望 / 繪畫 | 26 Liao Shiou-Ping New Hope, printmaking | 27 |
| 27 廖修平 新希望 / 繪畫 | 28 廖修平 新希望 / 繪畫 | 27 Liao Shiou-Ping Counter Part, printmaking | 28 |
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| 29 顧重光 K046 / 油畫 | 30 顧重光 K047 / 油畫 | 29 Koo Chung-Kuang K046, oil on canvas | 30 |
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| 32 顧重光 K052 / 油畫 | 33 顧重光 K053 / 油畫 | 32 Koo Chung-Kuang K052, oil on canvas | 33 |
| 33 顧重光 K053 / 油畫 | 34 顧重光 K054 / 油畫 | 33 Koo Chung-Kuang K053, oil on canvas | 34 |
| 34 顧重光 K054 / 油畫 | 35 顧重光 K056 / 油畫 | 34 Koo Chung-Kuang K054, oil on canvas | 35 |
| 35 顧重光 K056 / 油畫 | 36 顧重光 K059 / 油畫 | 35 Koo Chung-Kuang K056, oil on canvas | 36 |
| 36 顧重光 K059 / 油畫 | 37 顧重光 K017 節日 / 油畫 | 36 Koo Chung-Kuang K059, oil on canvas | 37 |
| 37 顧重光 K017 節日 / 油畫 | 38 林克恭 春暉 / 油畫 | 37 Koo Chung-Kuang K017 Festival, oil on canvas | 38 |
| 38 林克恭 春暉 / 油畫 | | 38 Lim Kac-Keong Sun of Spring, oil on canvas | |



↑ 廖修平，《相對》，壓克力、金箔、畫布，122X153 公分，1973。1973 年第 12 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

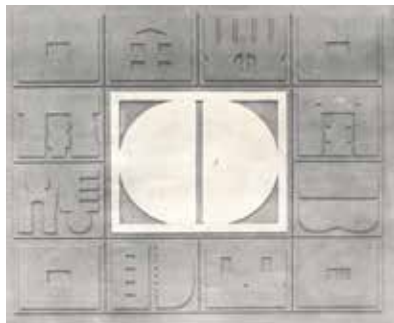
↑ Liao Shiou-Ping, *Counter Part*, acrylic and gold leaf on canvas, 122X153cm, 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.

↗ 廖修平，《希望》，壓克力、木板浮雕，102X122 公分，1973。1973 年第 12 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↗ Liao Shiou-Ping, *Hope*, acrylic on wood, 102X122cm, 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.

→ 廖修平，《陰陽》，壓克力、木板浮雕，122X122 公分，1973。1973 年第 12 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→ Liao Shiou-Ping, *Ying Yang*, acrylic on wood, 102X122cm, 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.

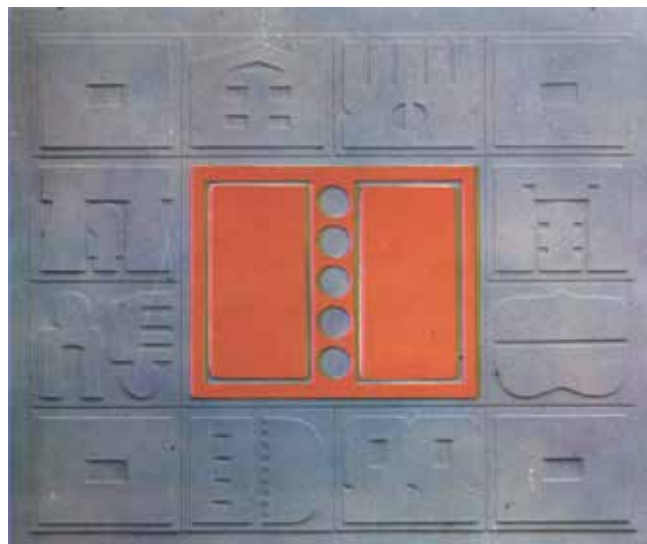
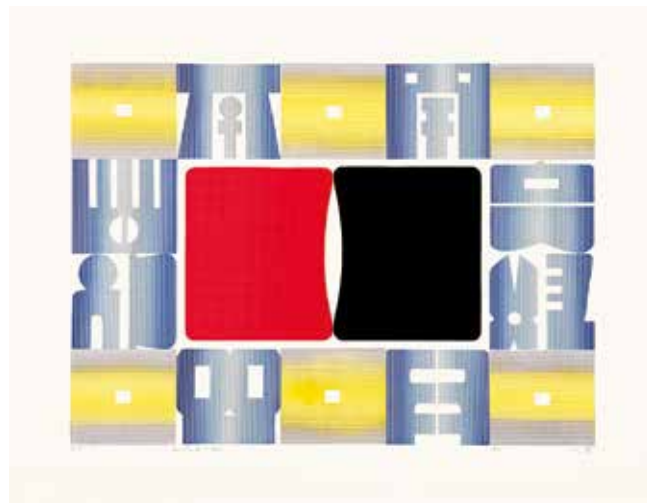


→ ↑ 廖修平，《相對》，蝕刻金屬版，51X69 公分，1972。1973 年第 12 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→ ↑ Liao Shiou-Ping, *Counter Part*, etching, 51X69cm, 1972. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.

→ 廖修平，《喜悅》，壓克力、木板浮雕，102X122 公分，1973。1973 年第 12 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→ Liao Shiou-Ping, *Joy*, acrylic on wood, 102X122cm, 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.





↑↑吳炫三，《海邊》，油畫，128X163公分，1973。1973年第12屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑↑Wu Shuiuan-Shun, *At Seashore*, oil on canvas, 128X163cm, 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.

↑吳炫三，《夢尋》，油畫，130X162公分，1971。1973年第12屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑Wu Shuiuan-Shun, *Dream Seeking*, oil on canvas 130X162cm, 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.

↗吳炫三，《雙胞胎的一生》，油畫，113X163公分，1973。1973年第12屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↗Wu Shuiuan-Shun, *The Twin's Life*, oil on canvas, 113X163cm, 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.

→吳炫三，《記憶的肖像畫》，油畫，130X162公分，1971。1973年第12屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

→Wu Shuiuan-Shun, *The Portrait from Memory*, oil on canvas, 130X162cm, 1971. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.





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↑↑莊喆，《風景二號》，水油彩，174X125公分（含框），1972。1973年第12屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑↑Chuang Che, Landscape 2, mixed media, 174X125cm (with frame), 1972. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.

↑莊喆，《風景四號》，水油彩，170X115公分（含框），1973。1973年第12屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑Chuang Che, Landscape 4, mixed media, 170X115cm (with frame), 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.



↑莊喆，《風景五號》，水油彩，179X89公分（含框），1973。1973年第12屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品，國立歷史博物館典藏。

↑Chuang Che, Landscape 5, mixed media, 179X89cm (with frame), 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973. NMH collection.



↑↑莊喆，《風景七號》，水油彩，108X176公分（含框），1973。1973年第12屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑↑Chuang Che, Landscape 7, mixed media, 108X176cm (with frame), 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.

↑莊喆，《風景九號》，水油彩，124X84公分（含框），1973。1973年第12屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑Chuang Che, Landscape 9, mixed media, 124X84cm (with frame), 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.

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↑ 顧重光，《K054》，油畫，107X163 公分，1973。1973 年第 12 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↑ Koo Chung-Kuang, K054, oil on canvas, 107X163cm, 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.



↗ 顧重光，《K049》，油畫，107X163 公分，1973。1973 年第 12 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↗ Koo Chung-Kuang, K049, oil on canvas, 107X163cm, 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.

↗→ 顧重光，《K053》，油畫，107X163 公分，1973。1973 年第 12 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

↗→ Koo Chung-Kuang, K053, oil on canvas, 107X163cm, 1973. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.

← 顧重光，《K017 節日》，壓克力顏料，106X146 公分，1972。1973 年第 12 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。

← Koo Chung-Kuang, K017 Festival, acrylic and candle smoke, 106X146cm, 1972. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973.



↓ 林克恭，《春暉》，油彩、三夾板，63.5X89 公分，約 1950。1973 年第 12 屆巴西聖保羅雙年展參展作品。國立歷史博物館典藏。

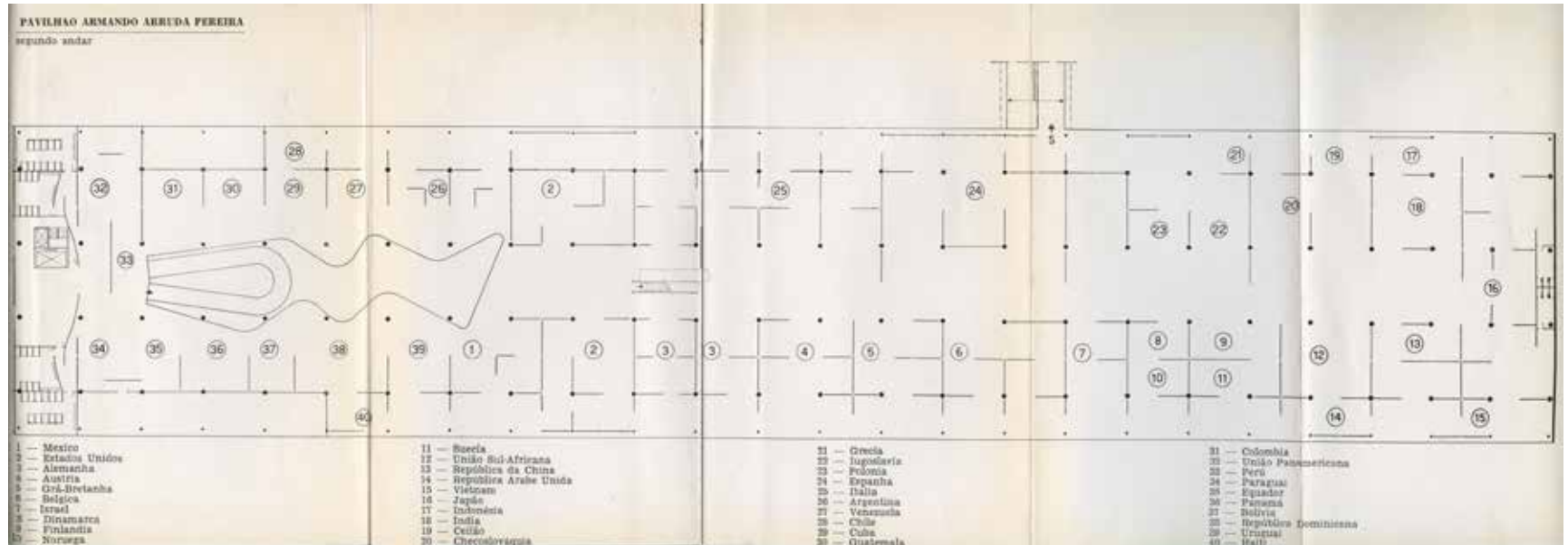
↓ Lim Kac-Keong, Sun of Spring, oil on plywood, 63.5X89cm, c.a.1950. Entry at the 12th São Paulo Biennial in 1973. NMH collection.



第五屆巴西聖保羅雙年展二樓平面圖

2nd floor layout of the 5th São Paulo Biennial.

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新派繪畫的拼合 / 裝置

臺灣在巴西聖保羅雙年展的參展脈絡 1957-1973

發行人 鄭雯仙

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Taiwan Art in São Paulo Biennial (1957-1973)

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