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香港五、六十年代現代主義文藝刊物中的
前衛藝術討論
**Avant-garde Art Discourse in Hong Kong's
Modernist Art and Literary Publications
in the 1950s and 1960s**

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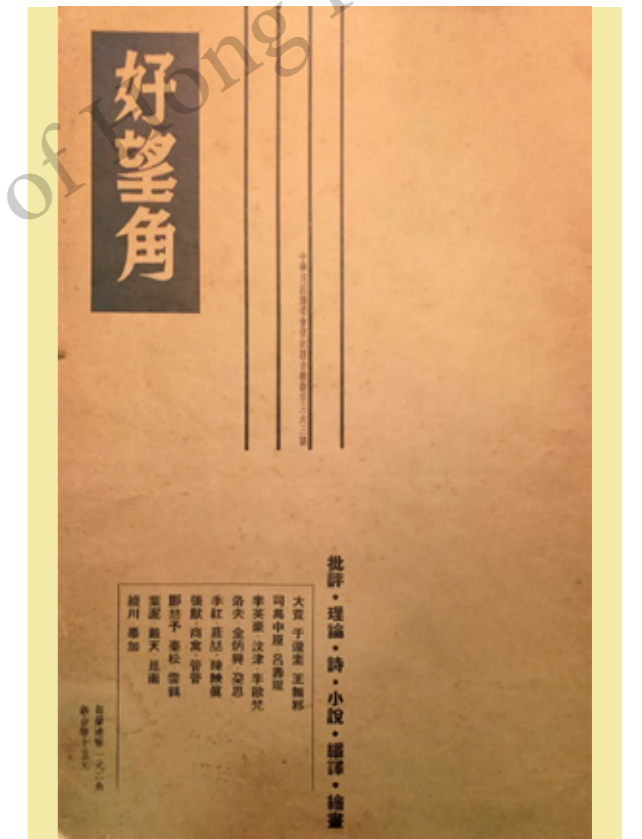
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圖一 Plate 1
《詩朵》Shi Duo



圖二 Plate 2
《新思潮》Hsin Szuchao



圖三 Plate 3
《好望角》Haowangjiao

自1990年代開始，不少語區從各自的文化背景出發，重審前衛 (avant-garde) 藝術於各自語境的意涵和面向。¹ 根據它們的研究，前衛藝術運動雖然崛起自歐美，但當不同的前衛藝術流派從1920年代開始傳至其他地區時，其他地區對前衛藝術的接受、應用和轉化皆各有側重。部分地區的前衛藝術甚至和傳統藝術融合，產生了極具本土特色的前衛藝術。甚至，退一步看，歐美的前衛藝術也不是鐵板一塊，歐美地區的國家也意識到要從自己的語言文化背景去重審前衛的概念。因此，本文希望借鏡於1990年代的前衛藝術重審潮，嘗試以香港五、六十年代幾本較有代表性的現代主義文藝刊物，即《詩朵》(1955)、(圖一)《文藝新潮》(1956-1959)、《新思潮》(1959-

Since the 1990s, many linguistic regions have set off from their respective cultural backgrounds to revisit the significations and orientations of avant-garde art in their respective contexts.¹ According to these researches, although the avant-garde art movement originated in the West, when different avant-garde art schools spread to the other regions in the 1920s, each region reacted with different emphases in terms of acceptance, application and transformation of avant-garde art. Avant-garde art in some regions even integrated with their traditional arts, resulting in avant-garde art with local characteristics. If one took a step back, one could see that even avant-garde art in the West was not that rigid; western countries and regions also acknowledged this idea of reviewing avant-garde art from their own linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, it is this

1 學者Per Bäckström指出，英語在學術界的霸權位置令不同地區的人以為大家對前衛一詞有一個共同的認知，因為大家寫作時都是用avant-garde一詞。但事實上，他考察過日爾曼語系國家 (Germanic-speaking countries)，如美國、英國、波蘭，和羅馬語系國家 (Romance-speaking countries)，如義大利、西班牙、巴西對avant-garde一詞的用法，發現如果把avant-garde，甚至modernism等詞放在不同語系的語言文化脈絡下，不同語區的人對這些詞語的理解都是不同的。關於不同語言地區對前衛一詞的理解和重審，請參看Per Bäckström, "One Earth, Four or Five Words. The Peripheral Concept of 'Avant-Garde'" in *Nordlit: Tidsskrift i litteratur og kultur*, vol.11(1) (May 1, 2007): 21-44。

1 According to Per Bäckström, most people, due to the monopoly of the English language in the academic world, assume that there is a common understanding of the term "avant-garde" when it is used in writing. However, in his research of Germanic-speaking countries, such as United States, United Kingdom, Poland, and Romance-speaking countries, such as Italy, Spain, Brazil, regarding the usage of the term avant-garde, when terms such as avant-garde and modernism are used in different linguistic contexts, different understandings of the terms arise. Regarding the understanding and revision of the term avant-garde in different linguistic regions, see Per Bäckström, "One Earth, Four or Five Words. The Peripheral Concept of 'Avant-Garde'" in *Nordlit: Tidsskrift i litteratur og kultur*, vol.11 (1) (May 1, 2007): 21-44.

1960)、(圖二)《香港時報·淺水灣》(劉以鬯先生主編時期,1960-1962)²和《好望角》(1963)(圖三)為例,³探討香港五、六十年代的現代主義刊物對前衛藝術的討論。當中重點探討前衛藝術如何在香港的本土框架內被接受,以及本地文藝刊物如何借用前衛藝術去思考政治、傳統與現代等議題。本文主要分為兩個部分,第一部分介紹《詩朵》、《文藝新潮》、《新思潮》、《香港時報·淺水灣》和《好望角》等文藝刊物如何理解前衛藝術的概念。第二部分深入討論兩個問題:其一,五、六十年代有份譯介前衛藝術的藝術家如何以東方古典美學,特別是中國古典繪畫的概念,以及莊子和禪學的視野去理解西方的前衛藝術;其二,當時的前衛藝術與政治的關係如何。

一、香港五、六十年代文藝刊物對前衛藝術的理解

十九世紀初,聖西蒙(Henri de Saint-Simon,1760-1825)及與其有密切關係的烏托邦社會主義群體,把「前衛」的軍事比喻引入文藝批評領域,以此來表達他們對社會改革的期盼。⁴自此之後,前衛一詞就被套用在不同的文藝範疇中。⁵與歐洲的情況不同,香港五、六十年代現代主義文藝刊物除了個別文章外,基本上不用前衛一詞。⁶《好望角》第七期的文章,Michel Ragon著、葉泥翻譯的〈抽象藝術之源起與發展〉使用前衛一詞最為頻繁,另外兩篇曾使用過前衛一詞的文章分別是:介紹美國畫家雷·巴里奧(Ray Barrio,1921-1996)的〈巴里奧之畫〉和呂壽琨的自述文章〈離畫〉(圖四)。綜合三篇文章,前衛一詞的用例大概可分為兩種,一種是作為形容詞,即「前衛的XX」,另一種是名詞前綴,如「前衛運動」、「前衛藝術家」、「前衛畫家」、「前衛文學家」。當前衛作為形容詞時,其意思與我們對這個詞的日常使用習慣相似,即新潮的、時興的,如以下文字的用法:

現代美術之最真實的藝術家們,都被一些多少帶點輕率的七嘴八舌的人和誇大的妄想家們包圍著(按:上述的人是指藝評家)。更由於受了他們的連累,人們對於認真的前衛的一切嘗試均投以疑惑與不信任。(粗體為筆者所加之效果)⁷

- 2 本文選取了劉以鬯先生任主編的《香港時報·淺水灣》的時段為研究對象,即1960年2月15日至1962年6月30日。劉以鬯主編《香港時報·淺水灣》期間,把該版改為純文藝副刊,大量刊登外國文藝思潮的介紹、西方文學理論及翻譯作品,以及討論香港文化的文章。
- 3 筆者挑選這幾份文藝雜誌,是因為香港其中一位現代主義代表作家,同時也是香港五、六十年代現代主義運動的重要推手之一崑南先生,於《好望角》的〈代創刊詞〉中說:「八年來我們無畏地先後出版《詩朵》、《新思潮》,參加計劃《文藝新潮》、《香港時報》文藝版〔……〕。」因此,這幾份文藝雜誌一般被視為香港五、六十現代主義運動中較有代表性的雜誌,同時貫穿了香港五、六十年代現代主義運動的重要時刻。參見崑南:〈夢與證物——代創刊詞〉,載《好望角》第一期(1963年3月1日)(香港:現代文學美術協會),頁1。當然,當時不少文藝雜誌也有引介現代藝術,但基於篇幅所限,也為了集中主題,本文就只取了這五份刊物為代表。
- 4 根據卡林內斯庫(Matei Calinescu,1934-2009)的說法,聖西蒙於1820年提出藝術家應與學者、工業家組成菁英集團,共同進行社會改革活動,但把前衛此軍事用語作為一個比喻,就是與他關係密切的烏托邦社會主義團體於1825年提出的。其後,前衛的議題於十九世紀在歐洲變得流行。參見Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity. Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1987): 101-102。
- 5 例如《前衛運動理論》一書的作者波奇里奧(Renato Poggioli,1907-1963)就以前衛一詞去覆蓋二十世紀初期的實驗性的文藝創作。在他的框架下,艾略特(T. S. Eliot,1888-1965)、喬伊斯(James Joyce,1882-1941)、葉慈(W. B. Yeats,1865-1939)等作家被納入為前衛文學家。參見Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde [Teoria dell'arte d'avanguardia]*, trans. Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1968 [1962]): 216-224。
- 6 參見Michel Ragon著、葉泥譯:〈抽象藝術之源起與發展〉,《好望角》第四期(1963年5月5日),頁7;本社:〈巴里奧之畫〉,《好望角》第十一期(1963年9月1日),頁46至47;呂壽琨著:〈離畫〉,《好望角》第三期(1963年4月5日),頁2。
- 7 Michel Ragon著、葉泥譯:〈抽象藝術之源起與發展〉,《好望角》第四期(1963年5月5日),頁7。

article's intention to take as reference the trend of reviewing avant-garde art in the 1990s, and by looking into several representative modernist art and literary publications in Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s, namely *Shi Duo* (1955), (Plate 1) *New Tides of Literature and Arts* (1956-1959), *Hsin Szuchao* (1959-1960), (Plate 2) *Xianggang shi bao · Qianshui Wan* (Chief Editor: Liu Yichang, 1960-1962)² and *Haowangjiao* (1963),³ (Plate 3) to explore the avant-garde art discourse in Hong Kong modernist art and literary publications in the 1950s and 1960s. It focuses on how avant-garde art was accepted within the local framework of Hong Kong, and how local art and literary publications used avant-garde art to reflect on issues such as politics, tradition and modernity. This article is divided into two parts. The first part introduces how the concepts of avant-garde art were understood in art and literary publications such as *Shi Duo*, *New Tides of Literature and Arts*, *Hsin Szuchao*, *Xianggang shi bao · Qianshui Wan* and *Haowangjiao*. The second part discusses in depth two issues: Firstly, how artists in the 1950s and 1960s who translated and introduced avant-garde art understood western avant-garde art in terms of oriental classical aesthetics, especially the concept of Chinese classical painting, and the visions of Zhuangzi and Zen; secondly, the relationship between avant-garde art and politics at the time.

I. The understanding of avant-garde art in Hong Kong's art and literary publications in the 1950s and 1960s

At the beginning of the 19th century, Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825) and the utopian socialist group with which he closely associated had introduced the military metaphor of the “avant-garde” into the field of art and literary criticism to express their aspirations for social reform.⁴ Since then, the term avant-garde has been applied in different areas of art and literature.⁵ Contrary to Europe, Hong Kong's modernist art and literary publications in the 1950s and 1960s, save for a few exceptions, found no usage of the term.⁶ In the seventh

- 2 Here only the period where Liu Yichang acted as chief editor of *Xianggang shi bao · Qianshui Wan* is studied, i.e. from February 15, 1960 to June 30, 1962. When Liu acted as chief editor, the section was reformatted as a purely art and cultural column where a large amount of introduction to western art and literary thoughts, western literary theory and translated works, and Hong Kong cultural critiques were published.
- 3 The reason for this choice of publications: Kun Nan, representative modernist writer of Hong Kong and a major advocator of modernism in Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s, wrote in the preface of *Haowangjiao*, “These eight years, we relentlessly published *Shi Duo*, *Hsin Szuchao*, participated in the planning of *New Tides of Literature and Arts*, the art and cultural column of *Xianggang shi bao*...” Therefore, these few art and cultural publications are generally regarded as the symbol for the modernist movement in Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s, traversing the important moments of the same. See Kun Nan, “Dreams and Exhibits – in lieu of inaugural statement” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 1 (March 1, 1963) (Hong Kong: Modern Literature and Art Association): 1. Of course there were many other art and literary magazines that introduced modern art, but for want of space and desire of a more focused discussion, only these five are referenced in this article.
- 4 According to Matei Calinescu (1934-2009), Saint-Simon proposed in 1820 that artists, together with scholars and industrialists, should form elitist groups to undergo social reformation. But it was the utopian socialist group which he closely associated with that used the military term avant-garde as a metaphor in 1825. Henceforth the issue of avant-garde had become popular in 19th century Europe. See Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1987): 101-102.
- 5 For example, Renato Poggioli (1907–1963), author of *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, used the term avant-garde to summarize the experimental art and literary creations in the early twentieth century. Under his framework, T. S. Eliot (1888-1965), James Joyce (1882-1941), W. B. Yeats (1865-1939) are all considered avant-garde writers. See Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde [Teoria dell'arte d'avanguardia]*, trans. Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1968 [1962]): 216-224.
- 6 See Michel Ragon, Ye Ni (trans.), “The origin and development of abstract art” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 4 (May 5, 1963): 7; Editorial team, “The Painting of Barrio” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 11 (September 1, 1963): 46-47; Lu Shoukun, “Lihua” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 3 (April 5, 1963): 2.

除了形容詞外，更多的用法是名詞前綴。根據三文的用例，「前衛運動」、「前衛藝術家」指的是1920至1930年代西歐和俄國重形式實驗的、構圖被拆解、顏色運用出乎意料、傾向抽象派的藝術運動或藝術家，如俄國的拉里奧諾夫（Mikhail Fyodorovich Larionov, 1881-1964）、貢查勞瓦（Natalia Goncharova, 1881-1962）、塔特林（Vladimir Tatlin, 1885-1953）和馬萊維琪（Kazimir Malevich, 1879-1935）等。⁸ 至於「前衛畫家」的用例是指美國畫家巴里奧，介紹文章認為他是「美國當代前衛畫家」，⁹ 擅長以版畫、水墨畫、素描來進行形式實驗的創作。而呂壽琨的用例「前衛文學家」就指他的朋友，其中一位是寫了《酒徒》的劉以鬯先生（1918-2018）。¹⁰ 〈抽象藝術之源起與發展〉、〈巴里奧之畫〉和〈離畫〉三篇文章，前者是翻譯，後兩者才是《好望角》編輯作者有意識地運用前衛一詞。而這種有意識地運用前衛一詞的例子不多，幾乎是孤例。因此，筆者不禁有一個疑惑，那就是五、六十年代的藝術家是否對歐美的前衛藝術沒有概念呢？答案是否定的。因為當時的翻譯文章使用「前衛藝術家」、「前衛運動」等詞時，其指涉的對象與我們現時對前衛藝術家的理解大致相同，即塔特林和馬萊維琪等人。然而，我們又會發現當時的文藝工作者對前衛藝術沒有一個很確切的理解。原因有二：首先，如果他們對前衛藝術已有一個確切的理解，那當翻譯文章已多番使用前衛一詞時，他們應該也會在自己的評論文章上使用此術語。然而，前衛一詞的自覺使用卻很少。當時的文藝工作者引介西歐一般都認同的前衛藝術流派，如達達主義、超現實主義、抽象表現主義等時，通常會直稱其流派的名字，而不用前衛藝術這個統稱。由此可見，他們尚未有前衛藝術的大局觀。其次，他們未能從語言的差異性原則來確立前衛藝術的概念範疇。根據索緒爾的語言學觀念，語言系統內的各個要素不是孤立地存在，而是彼此互相關連的。語言系統內的各個要素，例如語詞，它們的價值和意義來自它們和其他要素之間的對立而獲得的。¹¹ 而一般而言，前衛藝術的概念主要是透過與現代主義的概念的差異而確立自身，而現代主義則是透過與現代藝術的差異而確立自身。¹² 然而，香港五、六十年代的文藝工作者時常把現代、現代主義混雜不清，有時前衛和現代指向同一個意思——新興。¹³ 故此，我們可以說，當時的文藝工作者很可能對某些特別突出的前衛藝術流派是有認識的，但未能從觀念或原則上把握前衛藝術的概念。

8 「俄國革命以後，由俄國畫家們所創作的抽象藝術，與其他一切的前衛運動相同，在西歐被認為是最激的共產主義。畢加索、布拉克等之立體派於巴黎全盛時期，抽象藝術是離開巴黎而活動的。[……] 但是不久，因為蘇俄宣揚一般大眾最易瞭解的，可以利用為宣傳工具的有敘述性的藝術，所以俄國的前衛藝術家們有的沉默；有的是移居海外。拉里奧諾夫和貢查勞瓦則改行為舞蹈裝飾家而加入了狄亞基萊夫芭蕾舞團；塔特林和馬萊維琪則於默默無名中洗手了。[……] 從蘇聯被放逐的前衛藝術家們，在納粹勝利之同時又被逐出了德國。包豪士被封鎖，加之各藝術的分野，所以其中堅份子也都四散了。結果，格勞皮烏斯，法伊寧曼，毛毫里，那基等都奔往美國。」同上註。

9 本社著：〈巴里奧之畫〉，載《好望角》第十一期（1963年9月1日），頁47。

10 呂壽琨著：〈離畫〉，載《好望角》第三期（1963年4月5日），頁2。

11 例如當我說「我是女性」時，作為句子主詞的「我」之所以有意義，是因為「我」不同於「你」、「他/她/它/牠」。換言之，我是透過與其他五個主詞的差異性而確立意義的。所以，當在我說「我是女性」時，上述那五個要素充當了一個無形的背景，襯托出「我」的意義。請參考費迪南·德·索緒爾著、裴文譯：《普通語言學教程》（南京：江蘇教育出版社，2002年[1916年]），頁102至103。

12 例如布爾格（Peter Bürger, 1936-2017）就認為，歷史前衛藝術（historical avant-garde）和現代主義對藝術的概念，以及藝術於社會所擔當的角色等方面，有根本性的不同。所以他認為兩者是現代藝術發展的兩個階段，而在眾多現代藝術流派中，未來主義、達達主義、早期的超現實主義才是歷史前衛藝術，因為它們企圖用激烈的手法去抵抗商業化的藝術市場，並使藝術實踐進入日常生活。請參考Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde* [*Theorie der Avantgarde*], trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984 [1974])。

13 例如魏子雲就曾在〈「現代」之界說〉嘗試解釋現代和現代主義兩組概念。他說：「按『現代』一詞，當係譯自英文之

issue of *Haowangjiao*, an article written by Michel Ragon and translated by Ye Ni, titled “The origin and development of abstract art,” saw the most frequent appearance of the term avant-garde. Two other articles that used the term were “The Painting of Barrio” which introduced American painter Ray Barrio (1921-1996), and Lu Shoukun’s “*Lihua*” (Apart from Painting). (Plate 4) In these three articles, the use of the term avant-garde can roughly be divided into two types: First as an adjective, such as “an avant-garde XX;” the other as noun prefix, such as “avant-garde movements,” “avant-garde artist,” “avant-garde painter,” “avant-garde writer.” When the term is used as an adjective, its meaning is similar to our common usage of the term, that is trendy and fashionable, such as the following:

The most authentic artists of modern art are surrounded by frivolous people and histrionic paranoids (Note: The above refers to art critics). Moreover, their intervention lead to doubts and mistrust about all serious avant-garde attempts. [Note: writer’s bold text]⁷

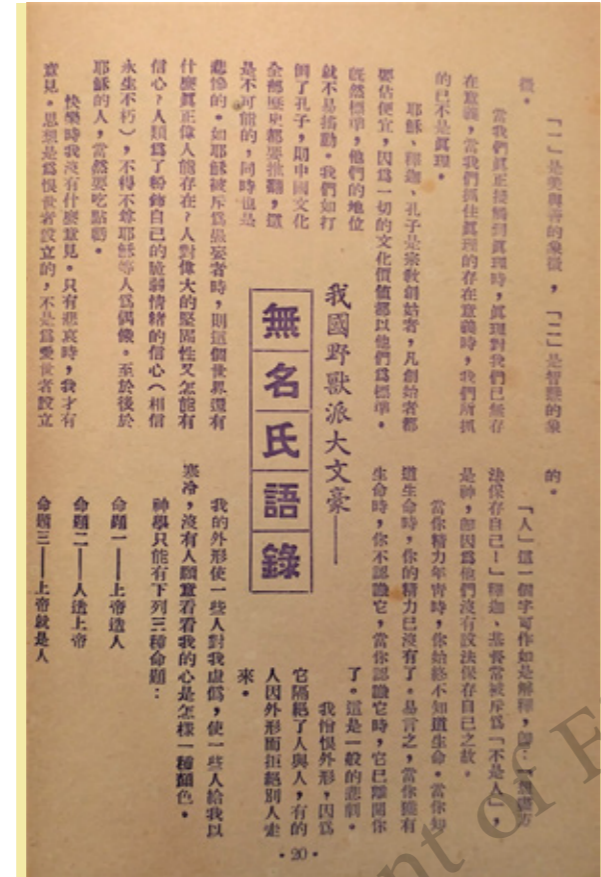
Other than as an adjective, it is more often used as noun prefix. In the three texts referenced above, “avant-garde movement” and “avant-garde artist” refer to art movements or artists in western Europe and Russia in the 1920s and 1930s with an emphasis on formal experiment, deconstruction of pictorial composition, unexpected use of color, and the tendency towards abstraction, such as Russia’s Mikhail Fyodorovich Larionov (1881-1964), Natalia Goncharova (1881-1962), Vladimir Tatlin (1885-1953), Kazimir Malevich (1879-1935), and so on.⁸ As for “avant-garde artist,” referring to American painter Barrio, the article introduced him as “contemporary American avant-garde painter,”⁹ who excelled in experimental creation with print, ink painting and drawing. With Lu Shoukun, “avant-garde writer” referred to his friends, one of whom was Liu Yichang (1918-2018), who wrote *The Drunkard*.¹⁰ Of the three articles, “The origin and development of abstract art” was a translation while in the other two, “The Painting of Barrio” and “*Lihua*,” the use of the term avant-garde was a conscious choice by the editors and writers of *Haowangjiao*. There were not many examples of this conscious use of the term, rendering them almost a unique case. As a result, one cannot help but wonder if the artists in the 1950s and 1960s had no idea about avant-garde art in the West. The answer is negative, for the reason that when terms such as “avant-garde artist” and “avant-garde art” were used in translated texts at that time, they referred to approximately the same things as our current understanding of avant-garde artists, names like Tatlin and Malevich. However, one also sees that the art and literary practitioners at the time did not have a very precise understanding of avant-garde art. There are two reasons for this: Firstly, had they already a concrete understanding of avant-garde art, when the term had been repeatedly used in translated texts, they should also have used this term in their own critical writings. Yet conscious use of the term was rare. When art and literary practitioners introduced avant-garde art schools that were generally recognized in western Europe, such as Dadaism, Surrealism, and Abstract Expressionism, they usually referred

7 Michel Ragon, Ye Ni (trans.), “The origin and development of abstract art” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 4 (May 5, 1963): 7.

8 “After the Russian revolution, abstract art as created by the Russian painters, like other avant-garde movements, were considered in the West as the most radical Communism. When Cubism as led by Picasso, Braque, etc. flourished in Paris, abstract art acted away from Paris... But very soon, since the Soviet Union promoted an art that could be easily understood by the people, an art that was narrative and could be used as a propaganda tool, Russian avant-garde artists either became silent or emigrated. Larionov and Goncharova turned to work in costume and set design and joined the Ballets Russes. Tatlin and Malevich, still unknown, stopped making art... The avant-garde artists exiled by the Soviet Union were again expelled from Germany when the Nazis rose to power. With Bauhaus shut down, and the division of genres, even the core members were dispersed. In the end, Gropius, Feininger, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, all left for the United States.” Ibid.

9 Editorial team, “The Painting of Barrio” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 11 (September 1, 1963): 47.

10 Lu Shoukun, “*Lihua*” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 3 (April 5, 1963): 2.



圖四 Plate 4
 呂壽琨著：〈離畫〉，載《好望角》第三期（1963年4月5日），頁2。
 Lu Shoukun, “Lihua” (Apart from Painting), in *Haowangjiao* Issue 3 (April 5, 1963): 2.

圖五 Plate 5
 〈我國野獸派大文豪——無名氏語錄〉，載《詩朵》第一期（1955年8月1日），頁20。
 “Woguo yeshoupai dawenhao – wumingshi yulu” (The great Fauvist writer in our country – anonymous remarks), in *Shi Duo* Issue 1 (August 1, 1955): 20.

to their individual names instead of the generic term “avant-garde art.” This shows that they had not yet had an overall picture of avant-garde art. Secondly, they failed to establish the conceptual category of avant-garde art based on the principle of linguistic difference. According to Saussure’s theory of linguistics and semiotics, the various elements of a language system do not exist in isolation, but are interrelated. The various elements within the language system, such as vocabularies, their values and meanings are established through their opposition to other elements.¹¹ Generally speaking, the concept of avant-garde art mainly establishes itself through its difference from the concept of modernism, while modernism establishes itself through its difference from modern art.¹² However, the art and literary practitioners of Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s often confused modern and modernism, and sometimes avant-garde and modernity pointed to the same meaning – the emerging.¹³ Therefore, one can say that the art and literary practitioners at that time were likely to have some understanding of some prominent avant-garde art schools, but failed to grasp the idea of avant-garde art conceptually or by principle.

Nevertheless, one has to bear in mind that even in the West, modern, modernism, avant-garde and such like concepts are constructed in retrospect.¹⁴ For example, when one reviews the history of the development of avant-garde art, one finds that when Italian Futurism emerged in the 1910s, the futurists of the time did not use the term avant-garde,¹⁵ even though Italian Futurism is now generally regarded as an important subgenre of avant-garde art. Therefore, although the term avant-garde had not yet become a popular term within the Hong Kong art and literary circle in the 1950s and 1960s, people at that time could not yet clearly define modernism and avant-garde art (in fact, the debate continues till this day), it does not necessarily mean that

11 For example, when I say “I am female,” the subject “I” retains a meaning from and because of the difference of “I” from “you,” or “he/she/it.” In other words, “I” establish meaning through the difference from the other subjects. So, when I say “I am female,” the other four elements constitute an invisible context that highlights the significance of “I.” See Ferdinand de Saussure, Wade Baskin (trans.), *Course in General Linguistics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011[1916]): 91-93.

12 Peter Bürger (1936-2017) believes that there is a fundamental difference between historical avant-garde and modernism in terms of their conceptions of art and its role in society, and are therefore two stages in the development of modern art. Amongst the numerous modern art schools, only Futurism, Dadaism, the early Surrealism are historical avant-garde art, because they aimed at resisting the commercialization of the art market with radical means, and brought artistic practice into the everyday life. See Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde [Theorie der Avantgarde]*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984 [1974]).

13 Wei Ziyun, in his “*Xiandai zhi jie shuo*” (on the boundary of “modern”) tries to explain the two concepts of modern and modernism: “The term *xiandai*, which is translated from the English ‘modern,’ means ‘the recent generation,’ ‘recent era’; narrower translations like ‘the new’ or *modeng*, mean ‘emerging.’ In other words, what we call ‘modern art’ and ‘modern novel,’ ‘modern poetry,’ ‘modern painting,’ ‘modern music,’ etc., are the same as ‘emerging art’ and ‘emerging novel,’ ‘emerging poetry,’ ‘emerging painting,’ ‘emerging music.’... Now the meaning of ‘modern art’ also includes ‘Modernism.’... Thus, some name the various schools in the twentieth century as ‘modernism’ - and call it ‘modern art.’” According to Wei Ziyun, modern art is the emerging art in modernist society, and modernism the generic name for all the art schools and movements arisen in modernist society, which is also called modern art. He did not distinguish between modern art and modernism, but implied at times the latter concept as incorporated in the former. See Wei Ziyun, “*Xiandai zhi jie shuo*,” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 13 (November 1, 1963): 1-2.

14 From Calinescu (1987), to the recent papers published by Philippe Roussin (2010) and Jean-Pierre Cometti (2010), the avant-garde art movement is reviewed in a relatively meta-analytical angle.

15 From 1909-1911, Italian futurism published several manifestoes and statements, namely the manifestoes in *Le Figaro* in February, 1909 and *Poesia* in April, 1909; *Contro Venezia passatista* and *Manifesto dei Pittori futuristi* in 1910, in all of which the term avant-garde was never used. See Anne Tomiche, *La Naissance des avant-gardes occidentales 1909-1922* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2015): 11.

但是，我們同時也要知道，即使在西方，現代、現代主義、前衛等概念也是後來建構的概念。¹⁴ 例如當我們回顧前衛藝術的發展歷史時，會發現當意大利未來主義於1910年代崛起之際，當時的未來主義者其實也不用前衛一詞，¹⁵ 但意大利的未來主義現在一般會被認為是前衛藝術的一個重要流派。所以，雖然前衛一詞於五、六十年代尚未成為香港文藝圈裡的流行用語，當時的人未能清晰界定何謂現代主義，何謂前衛藝術（其實這些概念的界定到今時今日仍然爭論不休），但不代表他們沒有討論相關議題。反之，我們需要處理的是，如果當時的現代主義刊物甚少使用前衛一詞，我們怎樣知道它們如何理解前衛藝術呢？它們的理解與歐美世界的一般理解有何不同之處呢？面對此難題，我們可以做的是回到香港五、六十年代現代主義刊物對歐美現代藝術（modern art）的引介情況，再對比歐美現代藝術自身的發展歷史，以此窺探前者對前衛藝術的理解和接受。

從本文探討的五本現代主義文藝刊物對現代藝術的譯介和評論文章來看（請看附錄一、二、三、四），¹⁶（圖五）它們傾向於介紹那些追求形式實驗，即色彩和形狀可從對象上獨立出來，自身成為審美對象的藝術流派，如立體主義、表現主義、超現實主義和抽象藝術等。例如《文藝新潮》十五期的封面畫家介紹中，出現最多的是立體主義、表現主義、超現實主義和抽象藝術的畫家，¹⁷包括畢加索、¹⁸列哲、¹⁹高思密、²⁰克利、²¹莫迪意安尼、²²

such discussions did not exist. Instead the question here is, if the modernist publications at the time rarely used the term avant-garde, how are we to learn about their understanding of avant-garde art? What is the difference between their understanding and that of the West? Faced with this problem, what can be done is to revisit the introduction of modern western art in modernist publications in Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s, and to compare it to the developmental history of modern art in the West, and in so doing, to probe into the former's understanding and acceptance of avant-garde art.

From the five modernist art and literary publications discussed in this essay (see appendixes 1, 2, 3 and 4),¹⁶ (Plate 5) their translated introductions and reviews of modern art tend to introduce schools and movements that pursue formal experimentation, meaning that colors and forms, independent from the represented object, become aesthetic objects themselves, such as Cubism, Expressionism, Surrealism and Abstract Art. For example, in the cover introduction of painters in the fifteen issues of *New Tides of Literature and Arts*, the most-frequently appeared were Cubist, Expressionist, Surrealist and Abstract painters,¹⁷ including Picasso,¹⁸ Léger,¹⁹ Goldschmitt,²⁰ Klee,²¹ Modigliani,²² Miró,²³ Chagall,²⁴ Braque,²⁵ Kandinsky,²⁶ Mondrian,²⁷ and De Chirico,²⁸ spanning eleven issues in total. (Plates 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4) During the time when Liu Yichang was the chief editor, there were about ten special editorials on modern art in *Xianggang shi bao · Qianshui Wan*, four of which were about abstract painting.²⁹ *Haowangjiao*, which featured a more comprehensive discussion on modern art, shows a similar tendency. Ten in eleven art criticisms were about Cubism, Expressionism,

16 As *Shi Duo* is a new poetry journal, there is no introduction into modern art; only in one article in the first issue the name Fauvism is referenced. See “*Woguo yeshoupai dawenhao – wumingshi yulu*” (The great Fauvist writer in our country – anonymous remarks) in *Shi Duo* Issue 1 (August 1, 1955): 20. In the five samples, *New Tides of Literature and Arts*, *Xianggang shi bao · Qianshui Wan*, and *Haowangjiao* are more long-lived and more comprehensive in terms of content, and thus introduce more thoroughly the development and styles of avant-garde art.

17 Artists in notes 18-28 rarely belonged to a fixed school or career. Some began as Fauvist, then turned to Cubism and Surrealism, then Classicism. Some were artists and painters, sculptors and filmmakers at the same time. I judge their positioning by the editors based on the captioned text and facsimiles of the artworks in the painter's introduction on the front cover.

18 Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), cubist and abstract painter.

19 Fernand Léger (1881-1955), French fauvist, cubist painter.

20 Bruno Goldschmitt (1881-1964), German expressionist engraver.

21 Paul Klee (1879-1940), expressionist, cubist, surrealist painter.

22 Amedeo Modigliani (1884-1920), expressionist painter.

23 Joan Miró (1893-1983), surrealist painter.

24 Marc Chagall (1887-1985), cubist, expressionist painter.

25 Georges Braque (1882-1963), cubist painter.

26 Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), abstract artist.

27 Piet Mondrian (1872-1944), expressionist, cubist, abstract artist.

28 Giorgio de Chirico (1888-1978), surrealist painter.

29 The ten modern art editorial are: “Summary of styles of modern painting,” “Two founders of abstract paintings: Kandinsky and Mondrian,” “The Neo-School of Paris,” “Review of modern art in the last fifty years,” “About abstract painting,” “Surrealist paintings,” “On works, appreciations, and reviews of abstract art,” “The independent and free absolutely individual artistic wisdom,” “Psychoanalysis and art making,” “On the development and the basic theories of modern painting.” See Appendix 3.

『Modern』一字，乃『近代的』，『近世』之解；再狹義些譯成『時新的』或者譯成『摩登』，均無非當作『新興的』之解。換言之，所謂『現代藝術』以及『現代小說』，『現代詩』，『現代畫』，『現代音樂』等等，也就是等於所謂之『新興的藝術』，『新興的小說』，『新興的詩』，『新興的畫』，『新興的音樂』是一樣名詞。[……]現在所謂之『現代藝術』，總還含有『現代主義』(Modernism)的意味在裡面。[……]於是，有人把二十世紀中五彩繽紛的各種主義之流派，就名之為『現代主義』——以『現代藝術』呼之」根據魏子雲的說法，現代藝術是現代化社會的新興藝術，而現代主義是現代化社會中興起的各個藝術流派的統稱，也以現代藝術去稱呼。由此看來，他並沒有嚴格區分現代藝術和現代主義兩組概念，但有時會暗示後者被歸納於前者之中。請參看魏子雲：〈「現代」之界說〉，載《好望角》第十三期（1963年11月1日），頁1至2。

14 從卡林內斯庫（1987），一直到胡桑（2010）與孔梅蒂（2010）等較近期發表的論文，皆是以一種相較為後設的角度重新檢視前衛藝術運動。

15 1909-1911年間，意大利未來主義前後發表了數篇宣言及聲明文章，分別是1909年2月於《費加羅報》(*Le Figaro*)的宣言、1909年4月於《詩歌》(Poesia)的宣言、1910年的〈未來主義者給威尼斯人的言語〉和〈未來主義畫家宣言〉，當中也完全沒有採用前衛一詞。參見Anne Tomiche, *La Naissance des avant-gardes occidentales 1909-1922* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2015): 11。

16 由於《詩朵》是一本新詩詩刊，所以沒有現代藝術的介紹，它只在第一期一篇文章的標題中引用了野獸派的名字。請參見〈我國野獸派大文豪——無名氏語錄〉，《詩朵》第一期（1955年8月1日），頁20。在這五個樣本中，《文藝新潮》、《香港時報·淺水灣》和《好望角》出版的期數最多，內容也最包羅萬有，因而也最全面地介紹前衛藝術的發展和類型。

17 註釋18至28所提及的藝術家很少有固定而單一的所屬流派和職業，某些人可能一開始是野獸派，後來轉向立體主義和超現實主義，再後來變了經典主義。某些藝術家既是畫家，又是雕塑家和電影工作者。筆者主要是根據〈封面畫家介紹〉的畫和內附的小文章，去判斷雜誌編輯對所介紹的藝術家的定位。

18 畢加索 (Pablo Picasso, 1881-1973)，立體主義和抽象派畫家。

19 列哲，今譯萊熱 (Fernand Léger, 1881-1955)，法國野獸派、立體主義畫家。

20 高思密 (Bruno Goldschmitt, 1881-1964)，德國表現主義木刻家。

21 克利 (Paul Klee, 1879-1940)，表現主義、立體主義、超現實主義畫家。

22 莫迪里安尼 (Amedeo Modigliani, 1884-1920)，表現主義畫家。



圖六之一、之二、之三、之四 (見頁164)

Plates 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4 (on P.164)

《文藝新潮》封面及內封面的畫家介紹。

Introduction of painters on the front and inside-front covers of *New Tides of Literature and Arts*.



Surrealism, Abstract Art and Spatialism, in which five were about Abstract Art and Spatialism.³⁰ Comparing the references in the above publications with the developmental history of western modern art, it is not difficult to discern a certain similarity between the former and the mainstream development of western modern art. When compared to Alfred Barr's (1902-1981) hand-drawn chart illustrating the development of modern art made in 1936,³¹ except for the later Spatialism, the art schools and movements promoted by Hong Kong's modernist art and literary publications in the 1950s and 1960s fall basically within the framework of "Abstract Art."

In addition, when critics at the time referred to abstract art, the most commonly used adjectives were fashionable, emerging, and cutting-edge. For example, in Wucius Wong's criticism "Questions on painting in the mid-20th century" in the first issue of *Haowangjiao*, he proposed that abstract painting had been described as a fashionable expression of painters of the younger generation.³² These words that symbolize being at the forefront of the times and cultural thoughts correspond to the original military signification of the term avant-garde - the vanguard in the military. From these descriptive words, combined with the emphasis on certain modern art schools and movements in the modernist art and literary publications in the 1950s and 1960s, one may induce that avant-garde art for those publications refers to those schools and movements that are emerging, that focus on formal experimentation, and which pursue abstractionism. And since the art and literary practitioners held such an understanding of avant-garde art, as opposed to that understood in the specific context of the West,³³ the most frequently introduced art schools and movements were those after the 1930s. The last few issues of *Haowangjiao* introduced Spatialism, which was at its height between the late 1940s and the early 1950s, only a dozen years away from and almost simultaneous with the translated articles in *Haowangjiao*. The same can be said of Barrio's case. Though not found among today's list of avant-garde artists, Barrio had engaged in formal experiments in abstract ink painting in the 1940s, for which his work was published on *Haowangjiao*. Barrio was introduced as "avant-garde artist," implying that his attempt was new and fashionable, and therefore avant-garde.

II. The background of oriental aesthetics

Slightly different from the general definition of avant-garde art in the West, the art and literary publications of Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s focused on the emerging, formal experimentations of abstract art. If

30 The five articles on abstract art and Spatialism are: Wucius Wong, "Questions on painting in 20th Century," Wucius Wong, "The world of abstract painting," Michel Ragon, Ye Ni, (trans.), "The origin and development of abstract art." Yoshiaki Tono, Ye Ni, (trans.), "The Spatialist painters," Lucio Fontana, Ye Ni (trans.), "Manifesto of Spatialism." See Appendix 4 for page number of articles in respective issues.

31 Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Cubism and Abstract Art*, exhib. cat. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1936, in Glen Macleod, "The Visual Arts," in Michael Levenson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 196.

32 "Abstract painting has proved to be the mainstream of mid-twentieth century painting. Any major international modern painting exhibition must include, more than half, abstract paintings... Although abstract painting is not yet universally accepted, it has on the other hand gradually become the fashionable style for the younger painters." Wucius Wong, "Questions on painting in 20th century," in *Haowangjiao* Issue 1 (March 1, 1963): 6.

33 According to Bürger, "historical avant-garde" refers to the politically and socially engaged modern art movements between 1905-1930, i.e. Futurism, Dadaism and the early Surrealism. Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde (Theorie der Avantgarde)*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984 [1974]): 109, note 4. Whereas Tomiche's definition of avant-garde art includes Italian futurism, Russian futurism, Imagism, Vorticism, Cubism, Expressionism, Surrealism, etc. Anne Tomiche, *La Naissance des avant-gardes occidentales 1909-1922*.

米羅、²³夏卡爾、²⁴勃拉克、²⁵康定斯基、²⁶蒙德里安、²⁷奇里訶、²⁸共佔十一期。(圖六之一、之二、之三、之四)《香港時報·淺水灣》劉以鬯主編期間曾做了約十個現代藝術的專題特輯，當中四個關於抽象繪畫。²⁹另一本較為全面介紹現代藝術的文學雜誌《好望角》情況類似，十一篇藝術評論中，十篇關於立體主義、表現主義、超現實主義、抽象藝術和空間主義，於此十篇中，抽象藝術和空間主義又佔了其中的五篇。³⁰對比上述刊物的引介情況和歐美現代藝術自身的發展歷史，我們很容易便會發現前者與西方現代藝術發展的主要路線頗為相似。因為對照巴爾(Alfred Barr, 1902-1981)於1936年做的西方現代藝術演變圖時，³¹香港五、六十年代現代主義文藝刊物所推崇的藝術流派，除了後起的空間主義外，基本上都座落在「抽象藝術」的脈絡之上。

此外，當時的評論人提及抽象藝術時，最常用的形容詞是時髦、新興和新銳。如王無邪於《好望角》第一期的評論文章〈廿世紀中繪畫問題〉中，指抽象繪畫是年輕一代畫家時髦的表達形式。³²這些象徵走在時代和文化思潮前沿的字眼，正好和前衛一詞原本的軍事含意相符——前衛是指軍隊裡走在最前面的先鋒兵種。從這些形容字眼，再結合五、六十年代的現代主義文藝刊物對某些現代藝術流派的側重，我們大概可以理解到，當時的刊物認為前衛藝術就是指那些新興的、重形式實驗的、走抽象路線的藝術流派。而由於當時的文藝工作者對前衛藝術有此等理解，而不是歐美於特定語境下對前衛藝術的理解，³³因此，他們介紹得最多的是1930年代以後的藝術流派。最後幾期的《好望角》介紹的是1940年代末至1950年代初發展最興盛的空間主義，離《好望角》譯介文章的原文出版只相距十多年的時間，幾乎是同步引介。巴里奧的例子也是這樣，巴里奧不是我們今天會列舉的前衛藝術家，但他在1940年代時嘗試以水墨進行抽象畫的形式實驗，《好望角》就刊登了他的水墨抽象畫，並指他是「前衛畫家」，暗示他的嘗試是新潮的，也因而是前衛的。

23 米羅 (Joan Miró, 1893-1983)，超現實主義畫家。

24 夏卡爾 (Marc Chagall, 1887-1985)，立體主義、表現主義畫家。

25 勃拉克 (Georges Braque, 1882-1963)，立體主義畫家。

26 康定斯基 (Wassily Kandinsky, 1866-1944)，抽象藝術家。

27 蒙德里安 (Piet Mondrian, 1872-1944)，表現主義、立體主義、抽象藝術家。

28 喬治歐·德·奇里訶 (Giorgio de Chirico, 1888-1978)，超現實主義畫家。

29 十個關於現代藝術的特輯是：〈現代畫派簡輯〉、〈抽象繪畫兩大奠基人：康定斯基與蒙德里安〉、〈新巴黎畫派〉、〈論五十年來現代藝術〉、〈談抽象畫〉、〈超現實主義繪畫〉、〈論抽象藝術的創作·欣賞與批評〉、〈獨立自由的絕對個人智慧藝術〉、〈精神分析與藝術創作〉、〈論現代繪畫的發展——兼論「現代繪畫基本理論」〉。各個專題的詳細頁碼，請參考附錄三。

30 五篇關於抽象藝術和空間主義的文章如下：王無邪〈廿世紀中繪畫問題〉、王無邪〈抽象繪畫的世界〉、Michel Ragon著、葉泥譯〈抽象藝術之源起與發展〉、東野芳明著、葉泥譯〈空間主義畫家〉、封拿達 (Lucio Fontana, 1899-1968) 著、葉泥譯〈空間主義技術宣言〉。各篇文章的詳細頁碼，請參考附錄四。

31 Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Cubism and Abstract Art*, exhib. cat. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1936), in Glen Macleod, "The Visual Arts", in Michael Levenson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 196.

32 「抽象繪畫已被證實為廿世紀中期繪畫的主潮，任何主要的國際性現代繪畫展覽裡，必有抽象作品佔半數以上。[……] 抽象繪畫雖剛未達至大眾完全接受的階段，但在另一方面則逐漸成為年青一代畫家的時髦形式。」王無邪著：〈廿世紀中繪畫問題〉，載《好望角》第一期(1963年3月1日)，頁6。

33 根據布爾格的說法，「歷史前衛藝術」是指那些在1905至1930年間，有政治、社會參與的現代藝術運動，即未來主義、達達主義和早期的超現實主義。Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde (Theorie der Avantgarde)*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984 [1974]): 109, note 4。而根據湯密殊 (Anne Tomiche) 的《前衛藝術之誕生1909-1922》，前衛藝術指的是意大利未來主義、俄國未來主義、意象派、漩渦主義、立體主義、表現主義、超現實主義等。Anne Tomiche, *La Naissance des avant-gardes occidentales 1909-1922*.

one took a further look at the perspectives and choice of word in their analysis of western abstract art and the abstractionist creations in Taiwan and Hong Kong, one may see Hong Kong's unique vision of avant-garde art.

Based on data, in general Hong Kong's modernist art and literary publications in the 1950s and 1960s tended towards abstract art, while some artists, such as Wucius Wong, Lu Shoukun and Liu Guosong, especially valued Lyrical Abstraction. What is special here is that the background for this preference points to traditional oriental aesthetics, especially that of the Chinese classical painting, and the philosophical thoughts of Zhuangzi and Zen. Critic Zheng Lei pointed out that while Wucius Wong introduced both Geometric Abstraction and Lyrical Abstraction in *Xianggang shi bao · Qianshui Wan*, in his own painting criticisms he preferred the latter,³⁴ for example in his "On Rothko" he postulated that the abstract expressionist painter Mark Rothko (1903-1970) as greater than the action painters because Rothko expresses the "non-self" (where emotions in the painting are not personal), while the action painters always paint with their egos, expressing personal violences or graceful lyricism.³⁵ From the fact that Wucius Wong judged Rothko as greater than the action painters for being "non-self," one can see that Wucius Wong's understanding of abstract expressionism is derived from the traditional framework of oriental philosophy. As Zheng Lei writes, "Whether it is Buddhism's 'all things lack inherent identity (self),' or Zhuangzi to Xie Zhen of Ming's 'to forget both the external world and the self,' they all point to traditional oriental aesthetics."³⁶

In fact, other than Wucius Wong's painting criticisms, there is an example that demonstrates more manifestly the preference for Lyric Abstractionism by the then advocates of abstract art, and their traditional aesthetic background. Under the column "Introduction of young Chinese/Hong Kong artists" in *Haowangjiao*, (Plate 7) an artist engaged in abstract art in Hong Kong or Taiwan is introduced in every issue, such as King Chialun (1936-), Cheung Yee (1936-), Van Lau (1933-), Hon Chi-fun (1922-2019), Lam Chun-fai (1932-2013), Chuang Che (1934-), Liu Guosong (1932-), Han Hsiangning (1939-), etc. (see Appendix 5). Intimately related to the "Modern Literature and Art Association of Hong Kong," most of them have since become important figures in the art circles in Hong Kong or Taiwan. The first two issues introduced King Chialun, who when talking about

34 Wucius Wong, "Two founders of abstract paintings: Kandinsky and Mondrian" in Liu Yichang, ed., *Xianggang shi bao · Qianshui Wan*, July 23 and 24, 1960, P.10 of section 3. For Zheng Lei's argument, see Zheng Lei, *Xianggang xiandaizhuyi wenxue yu sichao* (Hong Kong's modernist literature and thoughts) (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Book Company, 2016): 152-153. Other than *Xianggang shi bao · Qianshui Wan*, Wucius Wong also introduced a few geometric abstract and lyrical abstract artists in his "The world of abstract painting" in *Haowangjiao*.

35 Wu Xiya (Wucius Wong), "On Rothko" in Liu Yichang, ed., *Xianggang shi bao · Qianshui Wan* (August 8, 1960, P.10 of section 3). Shi Man also mentioned the influence of abstract expressionist painters, especially Jackson Pollock (1912-1956) and Paul Klee (1879-1940) on Wucius Wong, Lu Shoukun and even the Taiwanese Fifth Moon Group. See Shi Man, "Gezi, jingshen, duanpian, liefeng: xiandaizhuyi yu zhongguo shanshuihua" (Grid, perspectives, fracture, cracks: Modernism and Chinese landscape painting) in *At the East-West Crossroads: The Art of Wucius Wong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 2006): 8-15.

36 See Zheng Lei, *Xianggang xiandaizhuyi wenxue yu sichao* (Hong Kong's modernist literature and thoughts) (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Book Company, 2016): 153. In fact Wang Guowei in the third principle of his *Renjian Cihua* also distinguishes between the states of "self" and "non-self": "There is a state of the self, a state of the non-self. 'With teary eyes I ask of the flowers but in vain/Red petals fly o'er the swing again and again,' 'Shut up in lonely inn, can I bear the cold spring/I hear at lengthening sunset homebound cuckoos sing,' such is self. 'I'd pick chrysanthemums next to the fence on the east/In the distance the Zhongnan Mountains traverse,' 'Cold waves softly wrinkles/White birds lightly descend,' such is non-self. In the state of the self, one looks from within oneself, and everything is colored by me. The state of non-self looks at the world from the world itself, there is no awareness of the distinction between the self and the world." See Wang Guowei, Xu Diaofu (annotate), *Annotations on Renjian Cihua* (Taipei: Ting-yuan Culture Enterprise Co., Ltd., 2007): 1-2.



圖七 Plate 7
 〈香港現代青年畫家張義、林鎮輝〉，載《好望角》欄目「中國/香港現代畫家介紹」，第二期（1963年3月16日），頁7。
 “Young modern Hong Kong painters Cheung Yee and Lam Chun-fai” under the column “Introduction of young Chinese/Hong Kong artists” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 2 (March 16, 1963): 7.

圖八 Plate 8
 冰川著：〈薩德肯恩之雕塑〉，載《好望角》第一期（1963年3月1日），頁3。
 Bing Chuan, “The sculptures of Zadkine” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 1 (March 1, 1963): 3.

his abstract paintings, alluded to the early Qing painter Shitao's (1642-1707) saying “the rule of no rule is the supreme rule” to illustrate the relationship between technique and the state of “knowing” in painting.³⁷ In Issue Four, when introducing Chuang Che, the rhetoric is similar to that of King Chialun, with a set of keywords such as avant-garde, tradition, abstraction and modernity:

The early works of Chuang Che, on the one hand, demonstrates an “outburst of emotions,” expressing the drama of violent inner reaction to the outside world; mainly through disturbing or smashing lines, concentrated in the instantaneous focus point... delivers the modern man’s “spasmic” sensations... Chuang’s recent works are beyond the real and unreal, “See beyond the image. Disregard its height and weight. That is what one calls intricate.” (quoted from Xie He), he reflects and meditates, takes no action, and using oil paint and other materials, paints union and containment upon the canvas...³⁸

From the citations, one can see the relationship between keywords such as avant-garde, tradition, abstraction and modernity: The abstract style expresses the loss and confusion of the modern man, but to achieve abstraction is not to simply copy the entire set of western artistic techniques, but that one has to return to traditional aesthetics, taking Zhuangzi’s “wuwei” as the core, “see beyond the image,” using different materials to make out of abstraction union and containment. Other than King Chialun and Chuang Che, “Introduction of young Chinese/Hong Kong artists” also introduced the works of Hon Chi-fun,³⁹ Lam Chun-fai,⁴⁰ Han Hsiangning,⁴¹ etc. in the same vein. On the whole, when introducing those who practiced abstract art in these two regions, who later became the representatives of the Modern Taiwan Ink Art Movement or Hong Kong’s New Ink Art Movement, the focus of analysis tends to fall on the innovation of form and material; how the artists integrate different materials into Chinese ink art techniques, such as light-ink strokes, rubbing and printing, and how with such formal expressions they illustrate the mental state of the modern man and the mental imagery structure of oriental classical philosophy.

37 “Starting from sincerity, one eventually approaches the road towards ‘knowing.’ First one must learn all the rules and techniques. Then break the rules, to reach what Shitao calls no rule as the supreme rule... I almost only make abstract paintings now, but I still believe that people who practice abstract painting must have a solid foundation in drawing... Because it is only when you can adroitly control the natural matter’s texture, quantity, form, light and darkness, space and colors, etc., that you can freely express what you think.” King Chialun, “The personal painting experience” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 1 (March 1, 1963): 3.

38 Li Yinghao, “Young modern Chinese painter: Chuang Che” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 4 (April 20, 1963): 8.

39 “If one thinks abstract is ‘new,’ in fact the word abstract has become a cliché. The style of Hon Chi-fun, in his own words, is too ‘sweet’... There is a certain transparency in the use of colors, like in Chinese paintings a spirit and aura is shown in the color and landscape, and like water color, it is vivid and bright.” Editorial team, “The works of a young modern Chinese painters: Hon Chi-fun” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 3 (April 5, 1963): 8.

40 “The works of these two persons-in-charge of the Art Department of the Modern Literature and Art Association of Hong Kong (Note: Cheung Yee and Lam Chun-fai) can be said to possess each their own new style, and a modern spirit... We can trace from it a magical primitive art, the ancient Chinese art of bronze and ceramics, inscriptions and Han engravings, wood sculptures, etc., the style is archaic.” Editorial team, “Young modern Hong Kong painters Cheung Yee and Lam Chun-fai” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 2 (March 16, 1963): 7.

41 “Looking at Han Hsiangning’s abstract painting, one first feels the ambiguous profundity presented in its inner universe... From the confined form and dense color layers, one sees the transformation and fluidity of its union and containment... The composition of Han Hsiangning’s paintings is based on the combination of large color layers and space, seen in its meticulousness and cohesion. Guo Ruoxu’s ‘from heaven and out of hell’ illustrates the former; while the latter can be summed up by Zheng Gangzhong’s ‘to delve into the smallest detail and glimpse into nature through creation,’” Editorial team, “Aozang zhi suo zai” (Where the mystical resides) in *Haowangjiao* Issue 12 (October 1, 1963): 44-45.

二、東方美學的底色

香港五、六十年代的文藝刊物對前衛藝術的理解集中於新興的、形式實驗的抽象藝術，與歐美一般的界定稍有不同。如果我們再進一步看它們分別從甚麼角度和措辭去分析歐美的抽象藝術和台灣與香港的抽象藝術創作，則更能見出香港對前衛藝術的理解的獨特視野。

從數據來看，香港五、六十年代現代主義文藝刊物整體而言偏向抽象藝術，而某些藝術家，如王無邪、呂壽琨、劉國松等，會尤其看重抒情抽象藝術(lyrical abstraction)。特別的是，這份偏重的底色其實是傳統的東方美學，尤其是中國古典繪畫的審美概念，以及莊子和禪學的哲學思想。論者鄭蕾指出，王無邪於《香港時報·淺水灣》有同時引介幾何抽象主義和抒情抽象主義的藝術家，但他自己撰寫的畫評就比較推崇後者，³⁴ 如他於〈關於羅夫果〉一文中就認為抽象表現主義畫家羅夫果(Mark Rothko, 1903-1970)比動作畫家(action painter)偉大，因為羅夫果表達了「無我」的境界(畫中的情感並非個人性)，而動作畫家始終「有我」，表達個人性的粗暴或優美的抒情。³⁵ 從「無我」、「有我」的字眼，從王無邪覺得羅夫果「無我」因而較動作畫家偉大的判斷，我們可以看出王無邪對抽象表現主義的理解，來自於傳統東方的哲學框架，就如鄭蕾所言：「無論是佛教的諸法無我，還是莊子以至明謝榛的『物我兩忘』，都明確指向東方的傳統美學」。³⁶

事實上，除了王無邪的畫論外，有一個例子更明顯地能看出當時推動抽象藝術的參與者偏向抒情抽象主義，以及他們的傳統美學底色。《好望角》有一個欄目叫「中國／香港現代畫家介紹」，(圖七)每期介紹一位在香港或台灣從事抽象派藝術的藝術家，如金嘉倫(1936-)、張義(1936-)、文樓(1933-)、韓志勳(1922-2019)、林鎮輝(1932-2013)、莊喆(1934-)、劉國松(1932-)、韓湘寧(1939-)等(見附錄五)。這些人一般與「現代文學美術協會」關係密切，他們其後也大部分成為了香港或台灣藝術界舉足輕重的人物。第一和第二期介紹的對象是金嘉倫，金嘉倫談及自己的抽象畫時，用清初畫家石濤(1642-1707)的「無法而法，乃為至法」去說技巧與繪畫「通」的境界之間的關係。³⁷ 第四期介紹莊喆時，修辭與金嘉倫的介紹類似，都是扣緊前衛、傳統、抽象、現代等關鍵詞：

34 王無邪文章原文出處：王無邪著：〈抽象畫兩大奠基人：康定斯基與蒙德里安〉，載劉以鬯主編：《香港時報·淺水灣》，(1960年7月23及24日)，第三張第十版。鄭蕾觀點請參考鄭蕾著：《香港現代主義文學與思潮》(香港：中華書局，2016年)，頁152至153。其實除了《香港時報·淺水灣》外，王無邪於《好望角》〈抽象繪畫的世界〉一文也同時介紹幾何抽象和抒情抽象的藝術家。

35 伍希雅(王無邪)著：〈關於羅夫果〉，載劉以鬯主編：《香港時報·淺水灣》(1960年8月8日)，第三張第十版。石慢也曾提及抽象表現主義畫家，特別是波洛克(Jackson Pollock, 1912-1956)和克利等對王無邪、呂壽琨乃至台灣「五月畫會」等的影響。請參見石慢著：〈格子、景深、斷片、裂縫：現代主義與中國山水畫〉，載《東西問道：王無邪的藝術》(香港：香港藝術館，2006年)，頁8至15。

36 鄭蕾著：《香港現代主義文學與思潮》(香港：中華書局，2016年)，頁153。其實王國維在《人間詞話》第三則也分辨了「有我之境」和「無我之境」：「有有我之境，有無我之境。『淚眼問花花不語，亂紅飛過鞦韆去。』、『可堪孤館閉春寒，杜鵑聲裡斜陽暮。』有我之境也。『采菊東籬下，悠然見南山』，『寒波淡淡起，白鳥悠悠下』無我之境也。有我之境，以我觀物，故物皆著我之色彩。無我之境，以物觀物，故不知何者為我，何者為物。」請參見王國維著，徐調孚校注：《校注人間詞話》(臺北：頂淵文化事業有限公司，2007年)，頁1至2。

37 「以誠出發，漸漸地自然會到達『通』的道。起先應學習所有法則，以及技巧。然後再突破所學的法則，達到石濤所謂的無法為至法的地步。[……]我現在作的畫差不多全是抽象畫，但我始終認為作抽象畫者仍然必需堅穩的素描功夫[……]因為當你能純熟控制自然界物體的質、量、形態、光暗、空間及色彩等等後，才可隨心所欲地表達你所想的。」金嘉倫著：〈個人作畫經驗〉，載《好望角》第一期(1963年3月1日)，頁3。

In fact, just looking at the phrases “non-self,” “self/ego,” “rule of no rule as the supreme rule,” “non-action,” “beyond the real and unreal,” “see beyond the image,” one might think that the critic is referring to traditional Chinese painting. However as can be seen from the above citations, they all refer to abstract art. It is true that in today’s artistic terms, the image composition and expression of lines, the intimate relationship between material and spiritual expression, etc., may constitute a common language between Chinese painting and abstract painting. Nevertheless, back in the 1950s and 1960s, artists in Hong Kong comprehended Rothko’s expression of pictorial imageries in terms of the concept of “non-self,” or how the subject of oil paintings often extends beyond the physical object to the spiritual world of mankind in terms of “see beyond the image” by Xie He (479-502) of Southern Qi; and the spatial layout and color distribution in abstract paintings in terms of “beyond the real and unreal.” When one compares them to the other criticisms on western abstract art in the same publications, one realizes that these writers were capable of discussing works or issues of abstract art in western artistic language, such as “The meaning of abstract art” by Kun Nan, “The sculptures of Zadkine” by Bing Chuan, “Questions on painting in 20th century” and “The world of abstract painting” by Wucius Wong.

In other words, although the criticisms all focused on formal experimentation, the art practitioners of the 1950s and 1960s had two kinds of rhetorical expression for abstract art. The first being the expression of the West. See for example the choice of word when Bing Chuan introduced Russian-born French Expressionist and Cubist sculptor Ossip Zadkine (1888-1967): “The symbolic and expressive form of Zadkine’s work is more the combination of ideas than that of materials ... The formation of the shape of the hand (although as broken limbs) is Zadkine’s chief subject... Full of taste for the ancient and the geometrical, it is in fact the most modern...”⁴² (Plate 8) The other reviews abstract art through the lens of oriental aesthetics: “The composition of Han Hsiangning’s paintings is based on the combination of large color layers and space, seen in its meticulousness and cohesion. Guo Ruoxu’s ‘from heaven and out of hell’ illustrates the former; while the latter can be summed up by Zheng Gangzhong’s ‘to delve into the smallest detail and glimpse into nature,’”⁴³ It is true that while some critics would employ the perspective of oriental aesthetics when introducing western avant-garde artists, most often they were expressed in western artistic language. However, when introducing abstract art creations in Hong Kong and Taiwan, almost without exception they were expressed in terms of oriental aesthetics. The reason behind this is probably that the art and literary practitioners at the time hoped that their contemporary abstract artists could learn from the West and achieve in the end the ideal state advocated by oriental aesthetics, such as spirituality, non-action, containment, energy, etc. Therefore, when they discussed western abstractionism and the abstract art creation of their own generation, there is a huge difference in their choices of word.

III. Avant-garde art and politics

Also worth noting in the process of introducing modern art in modernist publications of Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s, is that movements closely related to political and social intervention, such as German Dadaism,⁴⁴ Italian Futurism and Russian Constructivism, were basically ignored; while their names might be

42 Bing Chuan, “The sculptures of Zadkine,” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 1 (March 1, 1963): 3.

43 Editorial team, “Aozang zhi suo zai,” (Where the mystical resides) in *Haowangjiao* Issue 12 (October 1, 1963): 44-45.

44 According to Tomiche, there were two branches of Dadaism. One is Dadaism centered around artists in Switzerland, New York and Paris, represented by Tristan Tzara (1896-1963) and Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968). They basically advocated anti-capitalism and anti-rationality. The other is German Dadaism, represented by Raoul Hausmann (1886-1971), Franz Jung (1888-1963), George Grosz (1893-1959), etc. They actively engaged in politics and believed that art should serve as political propaganda, and some of them subsequently became Communists. See Anne Tomiche, *La Naissance des avant-gardes occidentales 1909-1922* : 28-29.

莊喆早期的作品，一方面表現了一種「情感的爆發」，表現內心對外界反應時強烈的「戲劇性」；主要以擾亂或迸射的線條，濃結於瞬間的集中點 [……] 給出現代人「痙攣式」的感受 [……] 莊氏近作，即超乎虛實，「取之象外，方厭高腴，可謂微妙也」（謝赫語），他靜省凝思，無為而為，運用油彩及其他材料，在畫布上繪出凝和含蘊 [……] 。38

從引文，我們可以看出前衛、傳統、抽象、現代等關鍵詞的關係：抽象的風格是為了抒發現代人的失落與迷茫，但做到抽象不是單純把西方的藝術技巧完全複製過來，而是返回傳統美學，以莊子的無為而為為內涵，「取之象外」，運用不同的物料把抽象做到凝和含蘊。除了金嘉倫和莊喆的例子外，這個「中國/香港現代畫家介紹」的欄目介紹韓志勳、³⁹ 林鎮輝、⁴⁰ 韓湘寧⁴¹ 等人的作品時也是如此。總括而言，介紹這些在台灣和香港從事抽象藝術，後來被歸為台灣現代水墨運動或香港新水墨運動的代表人物時，分析的重點往往集中於形式和材料的革新，看藝術家如何使用不同的原料，融入中國水墨的技法，如擦、皴、拓、印等的表現形式，表達出現代人的精神狀態和東方古典的哲學心象結構。

其實單看「無我」、「有我」、「無法為至法」、「無為而為」、「超乎虛實」、「取之象外」等字眼，我們或許以為論者在評論傳統中國繪畫，然而從上文的引文可知，這些字眼其實全都是用來評論抽象藝術的。誠然，用今天藝術術語來說，線條的圖象結構和表現性、物料與精神表達之緊密關係等，可能都是中國繪畫和抽象繪畫之間的共通語言。然而，回到香港五、六十年代，藝術家卻是用「無我」去理解羅夫果畫面意象的表達。或者，他們用南朝謝赫（479-502）的「取之象外」，去理解抽象繪畫表達的東西往往超出物象，指向人類的精神世界；又用「超乎虛實」去理解抽象繪畫的虛實空間布局和色彩分配。如果我們對比同一批文藝刊物對西方抽象藝術的其他評論時，會發現它們的作者其實完全可以用西方的藝術術語來評論作品或討論抽象藝術的問題，崑南的〈抽象藝術的意義〉、冰川的〈薩德肯恩之雕塑〉、王無邪的〈廿世紀中繪畫問題〉和〈抽象繪畫的世界〉等便是例子。

換言之，雖然評論的重點皆是集中於形式實驗，但五、六十年代的藝術工作者對抽象藝術往往有兩種表達措辭。第一種是西方的表達措辭。如冰川介紹俄裔法國籍表現主義、立體主義雕塑家薩德肯恩（Ossip Zadkine，1888-1967）的措辭：「薩氏作品象徵性及表現性的形，由觀念的組成多於材料方面的結合。〔……〕手的形狀（雖如斷臂殘肢）構造，成為薩氏主要的描繪對象。〔……〕其古拙味和幾何性甚重，其實最是現代的〔……〕。」⁴²（圖八）另一種則是以東方美學去觀照的抽象藝術：「韓湘寧畫形的構結基於大塊色層和空間的組合，以見其嚴密、凝聚。郭若虛所謂『得自天機，出於靈府』，大可借來形容前者；鄭剛中所謂『驅入豪端，窺

38 豪（李英豪）著：〈中國現代青年畫家莊喆〉，載《好望角》第四期（1963年4月20日），頁8。

39 「如果以為抽象就是『新』，實則抽象已成了陳腔濫調的名詞。韓志勳過去的畫風，正如他自己所說是太過『甜』〔……〕用色上有一種透明感，如國畫從色和境上顯現一種特有精神和靈氣，亦如水彩畫著色的明快和爽朗。」本社著：〈中國現代青年畫家作品介紹·韓志勳〉，載《好望角》第三期（1963年4月5日），頁8。

40 「這兩位現代文學美術協會美術部之負責人〔按：張義和林鎮輝〕，其作品可說各具新的風格，以及現代精神〔……〕我們可以從中追溯到富魔幻性之原始藝術，中國古代之鐘鼎銅器、彩陶、碑銘以及漢朝之刻石，木塑等等，風格至為古拙。」本社著：〈香港現代青年畫家張義，林鎮輝〉，載《好望角》第二期（1963年3月16日），頁7。

41 「觀韓湘寧的抽象畫，首先令人直感到的即是其展示內在宇宙的濛冥〔……〕從困抑的形和質重的色層中，見其含蘊的脫變和流動。〔……〕韓湘寧畫形的構結基於大塊色層和空間的組合，以見其嚴密、凝聚。郭若虛所謂『得自天機，出於靈府』，大可借來形容前者；鄭剛中所謂『驅入豪端，窺造化以見天性』，大可用來形容後者。」本社著：〈奧藏之所在〉，載《好望角》第十二期（1963年10月1日），頁44至45。

42 冰川著：〈薩德肯恩之雕塑〉，載《好望角》第一期（1963年3月1日），頁3。

mentioned occasionally in some articles, they were never discussed as individual subject.⁴⁵ In the context of the West and Russia, the relationship between avant-garde art and politics has always been very intimate. For example, Bürger referred to the modern art movements with political and social engagement between 1905 and 1930 as “historical avant-garde.”⁴⁶ Or more broadly speaking, in early twentieth century Europe, all avant-garde movements involved a more or less degree of political engagement. This is not to say that the avant-garde art movements in Europe at that time necessarily had a clear political stance, but that the precursors of avant-garde art movements at that time regarded aesthetic activities as an important part of politics and society, and even considered that art has the ability and legitimacy to intervene in all aspects of human society.⁴⁷ But obviously, the concept of avant-garde art in Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s was depoliticized and tended towards formal experimentation, that is, art that on the basis of modernism, moved from pure style to purely style,⁴⁸ just as King Chialun's notion of abstract art that prompts in the viewers “a resonance purely through style and color, has undoubtedly attained the highest level of plastic arts.”⁴⁹

Many critics and contemporary art and literary practitioners would agree that the most obvious feature of the cultural landscape of Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s, is the clear-cut ideological leftist-rightist opposition. But in the art and literary publications referenced in this essay, some of the editors and writers postulated their “art for art's sake” attitude, and that if one engaged in art with any other objective, art would cease to be art.⁵⁰ Some others, such as Lu Shoukun, said that the purpose of art and all other forms of culture is to lead people to their individual freedom. The purpose of politics is to “protect the existence of individual freedom and independence of all mankind” and “not the oppression or exploitation of art.”⁵¹ Between the two, the former is the belief in the intrinsic value of art, while the latter may have inherited from the “game theory” of Kant and Schiller. According to the “game theory,” when people engage in artistic activities, they are free to formulate their own rules and to follow them. In this game, people not only feel pleasure through the use of imagination to create an imaginary world, but also become a complete human being through the combination of reason and sensibility.⁵²

However, there is another possibility regarding the tension between freedom, art and politics. In recent years, scholars have traced back to how the hegemonic struggle in the Cold War era had shaped modern art into a symbol of “freedom.” For example, Taiwanese scholar Wang Mei-Hsiang points out that the United States

45 One special editorial of *Xianggang shi bao. Qianshui Wan* was “Review of Modern Art in the last fifty years,” written by Lan Juyuan and translated by Kun Nan, with thirteen articles in total. The third and the sixth articles mentioned Futurism and Dadaism. While Futurism was discussed as a single topic, Dadaism was discussed alongside the metaphysic of art and Surrealism. Other than this, there was no article with the above mentioned art schools as title. See Lan Juyuan, Kun Nan (transl.), “Review of Modern Art in the last fifty years. Part 3: Futurism” and “Review of the Modern Art in the last fifty years. Part 6: Metaphysic of art/Dadaism and Surrealism” in Liu Yichang, ed., *Xianggang shi bao. Qianshui Wan* (August 22 and 25, 1961): P.10 of section 3.

46 See Peter Bürger, trans. Michael Shaw *Theory of the Avant-Garde [Theorie der Avantgarde]* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984 [1974]): 109, note 4.

47 Anne Tomiche, *La Naissance des avant-gardes occidentales 1909-1922* : 28.

48 “...this study traces the development of modernism from ‘pure’ style to what one could call ‘purely’ style. It argues that this dialectical transition is inherent to the aesthetics of modernism: in foregrounding its own stylistic surfaces, modernism flirts with a self-destructive narcissism. Where the cultivation of pure style becomes purely style....” Ben Hutchinson, *Modernism and Style* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011): 2.

49 King Chia-lun, “The personal painting experience,” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 1 (March 1, 1963): 3.

50 Ibid.

51 Lu Shoukun, “*Lihua*,” in *Haowangjiao* Issue 3 (April 5, 1963): 2.

52 Lin, Shuyao, *Tujiemeixue* (Pictorial guide to aesthetics) (Taipei: San Min Book Co., Ltd, 1974): 151.

造化以見天性』，大可用來形容後者。」⁴³誠然，部分評論者介紹西方前衛藝術家時也會用東方美學的角度切入，但絕大部分情況是用西方的藝術措辭去表達的。然而，當他們介紹香港和台灣的抽象藝術創作時，無一例外是以東方美學的措辭表達方式。背後的原因應該是，當時的文藝工藝者希望香港五、六十年代從事抽象藝術的藝術家可以取法西方，但最後達到的是東方美學所提倡的境界，如性靈、無為、含蘊、氣韻等。也因此，他們評論西方抽象派和評論自己同代人的抽象藝術創作時，用語上有巨大的差別。

三、前衛藝術與政治

整個香港五、六十年代現代主義刊物對現代藝術的引介過程中，還有一點是值得注意的，那就是與政治和社會介入較有密切關係的德國達達主義、⁴⁴ 意大利未來主義和俄國構成主義基本上都被忽略，它們的名字或者間中會在文章內被提及，但極少成為單章討論的對象。⁴⁵ 於歐美和俄國的語境來說，前衛藝術與政治的關係一直很密切，例如布爾格就稱那些在1905至1930年間，有政治、社會參與的現代藝術運動為「歷史前衛藝術」(historical avant-garde)。⁴⁶ 或者更廣闊地從歐洲二十世紀初期的情況來看，前衛藝術運動或多或少都涉及政治參與。這不是說歐洲當時的前衛藝術運動必然有一個清晰的政治立場，而是說當時的前衛藝術運動者視美學活動為政治社會重要的一環，甚至認為藝術有能力、也有合法性去介入人類社會的所有範疇。⁴⁷ 但明顯地，香港五、六十年代的前衛藝術概念是去政治化的，更偏重形式實驗，即那些在現代主義的基礎上，從純風格 (pure style) 走向純粹的風格 (purely style)⁴⁸ 的藝術，就如金嘉倫認為抽象藝術叫觀眾「純粹由造型、色彩得來發生共鳴，無疑已達到造型藝術的最高境界」。⁴⁹

回想香港五、六十年代的文化格局，不少論者或當時的文藝工作者均認為，它最明顯的特徵就是左右派的意識形態對峙，壁壘分明。但本文選擇的文藝刊物的編輯作者們，部分坦言自己的作畫態度是為藝術而藝術的，並認為如果抱有其他目的去從事藝術，那藝術慢慢地就不再是藝術了。⁵⁰ 部分人，如呂壽琨，就表示藝術，以及其他一切類型的文藝的目的，是為了使人達至個人自由。而政治的目的也是為了「維護全人類個人自由獨立的存在」，

43 本社著：〈奧藏之所在〉，載《好望角》第十二期（1963年10月1日），頁44至45。

44 根據湯密殊 (Anne Tomiche) 的說法，達達主義有兩條路線，一條是以瑞士、紐約和巴黎藝術家為中心的達達主義，代表人物有查拉 (Tristan Tzara, 1896-1963) 和杜象 (Marcel Duchamp, 1887-1968)。他們的主張基本上是反資產階級和反理性。另一條路線是德國達達主義，代表藝術家有豪斯曼 (Raoul Hausmann, 1886-1971)、姜格 (Franz Jung, 1888-1963)、格羅茲 (George Grosz, 1893-1959) 等，他們非常介入政治參與，認為藝術應要為政治宣傳服務，他們當中某些成員後來成為了共產黨員。請參見Anne Tomiche, *La Naissance des avant-gardes occidentales 1909-1922*: 28-29.

45 《香港時報·淺水灣》其中一個專題是蘭居原著、崑南譯的〈論五十年來現代藝術〉，共十三篇。當中第三篇和第六篇提及未來主義和達達主義。未來主義是單篇討論，達達主義是和形而上的藝術以及超現實主義一起被討論。除了這個例子外，基本上沒有以上述的藝術流派為標題的文章。請參見蘭居原著、崑南譯：〈論五十年來現代藝術(三)〉、〈論五十年來現代藝術(六)〉，載劉以鬯主編：《香港時報·淺水灣》（1961年8月22及25日），第三張第十版。

46 參見Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde [Theorie der Avantgarde]*, (transl. Michael Shaw) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984 [1974]): 109, note 4。

47 Anne Tomiche, *La Naissance des avant-gardes occidentales 1909-1922*: 28.

48 "...this study traces the development of modernism from 'pure' style to what one could call 'purely' style. It argues that this dialectical transition is inherent to the aesthetics of modernism: in foregrounding its own stylistic surfaces, modernism flirts with a self-destructive narcissism. Where the cultivation of pure style becomes purely style...." Ben Hutchinson, *Modernism and Style* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011): 2.

49 金嘉倫著：〈個人作畫經驗〉，載《好望角》第一期（1963年3月1日），頁3。

50 同上。

Information Agency had provided financial support to several publications and publishers, including the important journals in Taiwanese literary history, *Literature Review* and *Modern Literature*, with the aim to promote ideas of freedom and democracy through the infiltrating power of books and magazines.⁵³ In other words, in the framework of postwar cultural Cold War, the seemingly "pure" modernist literary publications, with the support of America-funded art and literary system and under the pretense of modernist "depoliticization" and "beyond utilitarianism," had in fact been undergoing an anti-communist propaganda targeted at Chinese intellectuals in Southeast Asia. In addition, "Parapolitics: Cultural Freedom and the Cold War," an exhibition held in 2018 in Berlin, displayed various archival documents, exposing how during the Cold War intellectuals and artists became the main strategic targets in the cultural field, exploring how modernism had quickly become a weapon that would lead to "peace." The audience can see in the exhibition how works produce some kind of politicized imagery through narrative techniques and art forms, extract modern art of the Cold War era from out of its narrow and utilitarian concept, and then create a hypothetical binary opposition: abstractionism that represents the free world and realism that serves the people.

Indeed the concept of avant-garde art in Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s was a depoliticized one which emphasized formal experimentations of abstract art, but this is not to suggest that the modernist art and literary publications referenced in this article were supported by the United States. On the contrary, most of them were self-published art and literary practitioners: *Shi Duo*, *New Tides of Literature and Arts*, *Haowangjiao*. Moreover, if one interprets these pioneer publications in Hong Kong modernist thought as a combination of liberalism and modernist aesthetics, one risks simplifying the complexity of historical changes. However, as Chen Chienchung illustrates with the example of Taiwan, "If one considers that these scholars and writers, who in the love of freedom of artistic and literary creation, carried out their aesthetic revolutions within this atmosphere of America-funded art and literary system, then modernists might not necessarily be liberalists but writers with an ambiguous and multi-layered ideological stance in pursuit of freedom of creation. One must take into account how they achieved an even more complex and multi-layered spiritual state and consciousness of writing amidst the cultures of American support and anti-communism."⁵⁴ Undeniably, if one looks at these publications in the cultural context of Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s, one will see that it was out of a political purpose that these publications chose to introduce modernism and even avant-garde art. For example, in the preface of *New Tides of Literature and Arts* where art and literary practitioners were called upon to join in and "to observe anew the world of all,"⁵⁵ the call was made against the background of a mainland China in political turmoil, of people being manipulated, lost and confused:

*We find ourselves in an unprecedented tragedy, and a new dark age is imminent... Once anxious and confused, in the overwhelming turmoil, groping, shouting, were led and slaughtered; we used to believe that we had found the perfect paradise, were yet deceived again; traps for hearts and evil ways replaced the vision of happiness.*⁵⁶

53 Wang Hsiangmei, "Literary Review and Modern Literature under the U.S. aid literary institution" in *Bulletin of Taiwanese Literature* Issue 25 (December 2014): 69-100. For similar reference see Chen Chuenchung, "USIS" and the re-writing history of Taiwan literature: a study on the publication of Taiwan and Hong Kong's magazines on U.S. Aids under the Literary & Artistic Institutions" in *Bulletin of Chinese* Issue 52 (December 2012): 211-242.

54 Chen Chuenchung, "USIS" and the re-writing history of Taiwan literature: a study on the publication of Taiwan and Hong Kong's magazines on U.S. Aids under the Literary & Artistic Institutions" in *Bulletin of Chinese* Issue 52 (December 2012): 225.

55 Xinchao she (written by Ma Lang), "Fakanci: renlei linghun de gongchengshi dao women de qixia lai!" (Inaugural statement: engineers of the human soul, join our camp!) in *New Tides of Literature and Arts* Issue 1 (February 1956): 2.

56 Ibid.

而「不是對藝術的壓迫或奴役」。⁵¹ 兩種說法，前者是相信藝術的內在價值，後者可能承襲了康德和席勒的「遊戲說」。「遊戲說」認為人在進行藝術活動時，是自由地為自己制定了遊戲規則並加以遵循。在這遊戲中，人不僅運用想像力創造出虛擬的世界而感到愉悅，也融合了理性和感性而成為一個完整的人。⁵²

然而，關於自由、藝術與政治的張力，也有另一種可能性。近年，學者回溯冷戰時期的霸權鬥爭如何將現代藝術塑造成「自由」的象徵。例如台灣學者王梅香指出美國新聞處經濟援助某些刊物和出版社，包括台灣文學史上舉足輕重的《文學雜誌》和《現代文學》，意在利用書刊雜誌的渲染力宣傳自由民主的思想。⁵³ 即是說，在戰後文化冷戰的格局中，一向被視為現代主義的「純」文學刊物，其實是在美援文藝體制的支持下，以現代主義的「去政治」、「超功利」的面貌，針對東南亞華人知識份子進行反共宣傳。此外，2018年10月於柏林舉辦的「旁設政治」展覽，也展出各式檔案文獻，揭露知識分子和藝術家成為冷戰時期在文化上的主要戰略目標，並進一步探討現代主義如何迅速成為一項導向「和平」的武器。觀眾可以在展覽中看到作品如何透過敘事手法與藝術形式來生產某種政治化的意象，把冷戰時期的現代藝術自狹義的、工具化的概念中抽離出來，然後營造出一個假設的二元對立：代表自由世界的抽象主義和服務於人民的寫實主義。

香港五、六十年代的前衛藝術概念的確是去政治化的，更偏重形式實驗的抽象藝術，但筆者絕對無意指本文選擇的現代主義文藝刊物是受了美援體制的支持。反之，本文大部分的研究對象是文藝工作者的同人雜誌，即幾個朋友自資出版的（《詩朵》、《新思潮》、《好望角》）。而且，若把這批帶領香港現代主義思潮的刊物，解釋為一種自由主義思想與現代主義美學的結合，便十分可能簡化了歷史變動的複雜性。不過，就如陳建忠以台灣的例子所說的那樣：「如果我們考量到這些愛好文藝創作自由的學者與作者，正是在美援文藝體制這樣的氛圍中展開他們的美學變革，那麼，現代主義者或許不必然是自由主義者，而是個意識形態曖昧、多重且追求創作自由的作者。必須考慮到的，應是他們如何在美援文化與反共文化間，更複雜、多重的精神狀態與書寫意識。」⁵⁴

的確，如果我們把這些刊物放在香港五、六十年代的文化語境來看，就會看到當時的刊物之所以選擇現代主義，甚至前衛藝術作為引介對象，目的是政治性的。例如《文藝新潮》的發刊詞呼告愛好文藝的同道一起集結到《文藝新潮》的陣營中，「重新觀察一切的世界」，⁵⁵ 呼告的背景是當時中國大陸的政治動蕩，人們被操控，繼而失落與迷惘的畫面：

我們身處在一個史無前例的悲劇階段，新的黑暗時代正在降臨。〔……〕曾經是惶惑的一群，在翻天覆地的大動亂中，摸索過，吶喊過，同時，也被領導過，被屠宰過，我們曾一再相信找到了完美的樂園，又再一被欺騙了，心阱和魔道代替了幸福的遠景。⁵⁶

51 呂壽琨著：〈離畫〉，載《好望角》第三期（1963年4月5日），頁2。

52 林書堯著：《圖解美學》（台北：三民書局，1974年），頁151。

53 王梅香著：〈美援文藝體制下的《文藝雜誌》與《現代文學》〉，載《台灣文學學報》第廿五期（2014年12月），頁69至100。同類型的文章可參考陳建忠著：〈「美新處」與台灣文學史重寫：以美援文藝體制下的台、港雜誌出版為考察中心〉，載《國文學報》第五十二期（2012年12月），頁211至242。

54 陳建忠著：〈「美新處」與台灣文學史重寫：以美援文藝體制下的台、港雜誌出版為考察中心〉，載《國文學報》第五十二期（2012年12月），頁225。

55 新潮社（馬朗執筆）：〈發刊詞：人類靈魂的工程師，到我們的旗下來！〉，載《文藝新潮》第一期（1956年2月），頁2。

56 同上註。

In such a politically dark situation, founder Ma Lang believed that art and literary activities must be re-launched in quest of a new mission with “rationality and conscience,”⁵⁷ that new mission being to promote modernism and to pursue freedom and democracy.⁵⁸ A similar manifesto appeared in *Haowangjiao*, published seven years later. On the front pages of the first three issues of *Haowangjiao* were printed in collage and reverse type part of the “Manifesto of The Modern Literature and Art Association Hong Kong”: “We are in an epoch of hardships, for the overall displacement of the Chinese race at the moment... We have to unite every possible force... together we persevere.”⁵⁹ From which one can see that when the representative modernist art and literary publications in the 1950s and 1960s introduced “avant-garde” and “experimental” art and literature to Hong Kong, it was not only for the purpose of the new, but there existed also purposes that were political and cultural – to find a way out of the political darkness and calamitous Chinese culture through avant-garde art and literature.

One probably should distinguish more carefully between the attitude towards politics of *New Tides of Literature and Arts* and those of the subsequent publications. Founded in 1956, *New Tides of Literature and Arts*'s founder Ma Lang borrowed commercial capital to launch his literary endeavor. According to Leonard Chan, while Ma Lang dedicated himself to literature, “his purpose was political; he decided on modernism in the hope that it would solve political problems.”⁶⁰ Thus, *New Tides of Literature and Arts* might be in a situation similar to that of avant-garde art in Europe in the early twentieth century, that is, art and literature engaging in politics. However, the situation was a bit different when *Hsin Szuchao* and *Haowangjiao* were founded in 1959 and 1963 respectively. Wucius Wong, one of the major participants in both publications, stated that the translation and introduction of the latest western art, and even the subsequent advocacy of the New Ink Movement, were all based on a vision of “cultural re-engineering.” In an article in *Hsin Szuchao* he wrote, “To save China's cultural decline in the past two hundred years, to compensate for the mistakes of the May Fourth Movement [Note: The May Fourth Movement did have its achievements in terms of destruction, but in terms of construction it was far from ideal.], it can only be another revolution after that of the May Fourth (...).”⁶¹ In other words, instead of placing *Hsin Szuchao* and *Haowangjiao* and the artists associated with these art and literary magazines under the framework of the relationship between western avant-garde art and politics, it is more appropriate to place them in the context of the May Fourth tradition and the cultural re-engineering movement, where it is apparent that the acceptance and understanding of avant-garde art echoed the purpose of Chinese cultural re-engineering.

57 Ibid.

58 When Leonard Chan discusses the Hong Kong modernist movements in the 1950s and 1960s, he quotes the retrospect by Ma Lang to explain the two missions of *New Tides of Literature and Arts*: To promote modernism, and the demand for democracy and freedom. See Leonard K. K. Chan, “Hong Kong Modernist Movement in the 1950s and 1960s and Li Yinghao's Literary Criticism,” in *Zhongwai wenxue* Volume 34 Issue 10 (2006.3): 12. Note that many critics have pointed out that *New Tides of Literature and Arts* indeed had close ties with modernism, albeit strengthened subsequently by the interactions between editors and critics. See Chan Tsz Him, *Study of new poetry and cultural activities of Ma Boliang* (Hong Kong: M.Phil thesis of the division of Chinese Language and Literature, Chinese University of Hong Kong Graduate School, 2007): 29.

59 Modern Literature and Art Association of Hong Kong: *Haowangjiao* Issue 1 to 3 (Hong Kong: distributed by Mak Chuen Kee Book Store, March to May 1963.)

60 Leonard K. K. Chan, “Hong Kong Modernist Movement in the 1950s and 1960s and Li Yinghao's Literary Criticism,” in *Zhongwai wenxue* Volume 34 Issue 10 (March 2006): 12.

61 Wucius Wong, “*wenhua zaizao yundong de zhanwang*”(Expectations on cultural re-engineering movement), in *Hsin Szuchao* Issue 1 (May 1, 1959): 6-7.

在如此政治黑暗的情況下，創刊人馬朗認為文藝活動必須重新出發，以「理性和良知」⁵⁷ 追尋新的使命，而那個新使命就是推動現代主義和追求自由民主。⁵⁸類似的宣言也出現在七年後創刊的《好望角》上。《好望角》第一至第三期的頭版以拼貼、反白字體印上〈現代文學美術協會宣言〉的部分文字：「我們處於一個多難的時代，為了我們中華民族目前整體的流離〔……〕我們需要聯結每一個可能的力量〔……〕共同堅忍。」⁵⁹ 由此可見，五、六十年代具代表性的現代主義文藝刊物之所以引入「前衛」的、「實驗性」的文藝至香港，目的並不是單純為了追新，而是有其政治及文化目的——以前衛的文藝為黑暗的政治、為多難的中華文化尋找出路。

或者我們也要仔細區分《文藝新潮》和它之後的刊物對政治的態度。1956年創刊的《文藝新潮》，其創辦人馬朗借取商業餘資以進入文學。根據陳國球的說法，文學誠然是馬朗要獻身之所，「他的目標卻是政治的；他之選擇現代主義的進路，是希望透過這個途徑去紓解政治的問題。」⁶⁰ 由此可見，《文藝新潮》的處境可能與歐洲二十世紀初的前衛藝術的處境類似，即文藝介入政治。然而，去到1959年和1963年創刊的《新思潮》和《好望角》，情況則有點不同。王無邪——《新思潮》和《好望角》的重要參與者之一，指出譯介西方最新潮的藝術，甚至後來推動新水墨運動，都是基於一個「文化再造」的願景。他在《新思潮》的文章中說：「要挽救中國近二百年來文化的走下坡，要補償五四運動的錯誤〔按：五四運動在破壞方面確有其成績，而在建設新的方面，則離理想甚遠〕，只有繼五四的革命來一個再革命〔……〕。」⁶¹ 換言之，與其把《新思潮》、《好望角》，以及圍繞這些文藝雜誌的藝術家放在歐洲前衛藝術與政治關係的框架，倒不如把他們放在上承五四傳統，下啟文化再造運動的脈絡中，這樣更能見出他們對前衛藝術的接受和理解其實呼應著一個中國文化再造的目的。

綜觀而言，從文藝刊物內部來看，香港五、六十年代現代主義文藝刊物對前衛藝術的理解是指那些偏重形式實驗的抽象作品，有去政治化的傾向。去到1960年代，《香港時報·淺水灣》和《好望角》更偏向引入那些把現代性化約成一個純粹密封的世界，一個純粹的形式主義的作品。然而，跳出文藝刊物，從刊物生成的環境來看，有份引介前衛藝術至香港的藝術家卻從來沒有把藝術視為純粹的形式主義，前衛在他們眼中，是文藝如何回應政治現實、回應中國文化改造的工具。此外，所謂「前衛」，其實也暗含傳統的東方審美趣味，部分藝術家是從無我、無法、無為、取之象外等傳統哲學、美學的語言去詮釋和理解抽象繪畫，也因此更能接受這些流派的作品。用東方的傳統直面西方的前衛，其背後很可能仍是回到文化改造的意念之上，即希望香港五、六十年代從事抽象藝術的藝術家可以取法西方，但最後達到的仍是東方美學所提倡的性靈境界。

編按：本文主要討論的研究對象《香港時報·淺水灣》，1960-1962年主編劉以鬯先生在2018年逝世，藉此文向劉先生為香港藝術發展的貢獻致敬。

57 同上註。

58 陳國球探討1950至1960年代香港現代主義運動時，引用以馬朗的回顧來說明《文藝新潮》的兩個使命：推動現代主義，對民主自由的訴求。請參見陳國球著：〈香港五、六十年代現代主義運動與李英豪的文學批評〉，載《中外文學》第三十四卷第十期（2006年3月），頁12。但需要留意的是，不少論者指出《文藝新潮》跟現代主義在客觀上的確有緊密關係，但這種關係同時也是後來在編者、論者的互動下強化的。請參見陳子謙著：〈馬博良新詩及文藝活動研究〉（香港中文大學中文系碩士論文，2007年），頁29。

59 現代文學美術協會：《好望角》第一至第三期（香港：麥泉記書報發行社發行，1963年3月至5月）。

60 陳國球著：〈香港五、六十年代現代主義運動與李英豪的文學批評〉，載《中外文學》第三十四卷第十期（2006年3月），頁12。

61 王無邪著：〈文化再造運動的展望〉，載《新思潮》第一期（1959年5月1日），頁6至7。

Taking everything into account, in term of contents, avant-garde art in modernist art and literary publications in Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s refers to those abstract works that emphasizes formal experimentation, and tends to be depoliticized. In the 1960s, *Xianggang shi bao · Qianshui Wan* and *Haowangjiao* were more inclined towards introducing purely formalist works that reduced modernity into a purely enclosed world. However, if one stepped back and looked from the perspective of the environment in which publications were produced, artists who introduced avant-garde art into Hong Kong had never regarded art as purely formalistic. Avant-garde to them was a tool for art and literature to respond to political reality and Chinese cultural re-engineering. Moreover, the so-called “avant-garde” also implied traditional oriental aesthetics, where some artists interpreted and understood abstract paintings from traditional philosophy and aesthetic language such as non-self, no rule, non-action, beyond image, and therefore accepted such works more readily. Confronting western avant-garde with oriental tradition brings one back to the idea of cultural re-engineering, that is the hope that artists engaged in abstract art in the 1950s and 1960s would learn from the West, but achieve eventually the spiritual realm advocated by oriental aesthetics.

Editor's note: Liu Yichang, chief editor of *Xianggang shi bao · Qianshui Wan*, a publication widely discussed in this essay, passed away in 2018. His contribution to Hong Kong's art development is hereby remembered.

附錄一：《文藝新潮》的封面畫家介紹 Appendix 1: Painters as cover of *New Tides of Literature and Arts*

篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date / Issue	作者/介紹對象/涉及對象 Introduced artist(s)
畢加索《牧神的半身像》 Pablo Picasso, <i>Pastrol's half-length</i>	18/2/1956, 第一期 issue 1, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	立體主義畫家畢加索 Cubist painter Pablo Picasso (1881-1973)
列哲《建設的人們》 Fernand Léger, <i>The Builders</i>	18/4/1956, 第二期 issue 2, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	野獸派、立體主義畫家列哲 Fauvist and Cubist Painter Fernand Léger (1881-1955) 《建設的人們》、《三女像》 <i>The Builders and Three Women</i>
高思密的《Götz von Berlichingen》 Bruno Goldschmitt, <i>Goetz von Berlichingen</i>	25/5/1956, 第三期 issue 3, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	德國表現主義木刻家高思密 German expressionist woodcut painter Bruno Goldschmitt (1881-1964)
瑪蒂斯《塔希提風景》 Henri Matisse, <i>Tabac Royal</i>	1/8/1956, 第四期 issue 4, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	野獸派畫家瑪蒂斯 Fauvist painter Henri Matisse (1869-1954)
保爾·克利《貝利台郊外》、 《落日時的汽輪和航船》、《小兒脫穎而出》 Paul Klee, <i>Suburb, Steamship and Ferry in Sunset, My Stand-out Son</i>	10/9/1956, 第五期 issue 5, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	表現主義、立體主義、超現實主義畫家克利 Expressionist, cubist and surrealist painter Paul Klee (1879-1940)
莫迪里安尼《女像》、《長椅上的裸婦》、 《雕刻家列甫布茲夫婦》 Amedeo Modigliani, <i>Portrait of a Woman, Reclining Nude, Jacques and Berthe Lipchitz</i>	20/10/1956, 第六期 issue 6, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	表現主義畫家莫迪里安尼 Expressionist painter Amedeo Modigliani (1884-1920)
米羅《鬥牛》、《自繪像》、《婦女和星星》 Joan Miró, <i>The Bullfight, Self-portrait, Figure and Star</i>	25/11/1956, 第七期 issue 7, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	超現實主義畫家米羅 Surrealist painter Joan Miró (1893-1983)
魯奧 Georges Rouault	15/1/1957, 第八期 issue 8, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	野獸派、表現主義畫家魯奧 Fauvist and expressionist painter Georges Rouault (1871-1958)
夏卡爾《音樂師》、《走鋼索藝人》、《生日》 Marc Chagall, <i>Musicians, The Tightrope Walker, Birthday</i>	25/2/1957, 第九期 issue 9, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	立體主義、表現主義畫家夏卡爾 Cubist and expressionist painter Marc Chagall (1887-1985)
尤特里洛《梯爾德廣場》、《巴黎萊維南路》、 《蒙瑪特區的風車》 Maurice Utrillo, <i>Square Tertre on Montmartre, La Rue des Abbesses, Les Vieux Moulins de Montmartre</i>	15/4/1957, 第十期 issue 10, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	巴黎學院畫家尤特里洛 School of Paris painter Maurice Utrillo (1883-1955)
勃拉克《鳥與牠的巢》、 《桌上的靜物及吉他》 Georges Braque, <i>Bird and Its Nest, Still Life with Guitar</i>	25/5/1957, 第十一期 issue 11, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	立體主義畫家勃拉克 Cubist painter Georges Braque (1882-1963)

篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date / Issue	作者/介紹對象/涉及對象 Introduced artist(s)
波納爾《巴黎街頭素描》、《裸女》、 《德拉維爾港》 Pierre Bonnard, <i>Sketch for Paris' street scene, Nude, Port of Trouville</i>	1/8/1957, 第十二期 issue 12, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	後印象主義畫家波納爾 Post-impressionist painter Pierre Bonnard (1867-1947)
康定斯基《構圖》、《擴張圖第三三三號》、 《阿拉伯人墳場》 Wassily Kandinsky, <i>Composition, Extended, 333, Arabs (Cemetery)</i>	20/10/1957, 第二卷第一期 Part 2 issue 1, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	抽象藝術家康定斯基 Abstract painter Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944)
蒙德里安《樹》 Piet Mondrian, <i>Tree</i>	1/10/1958, 第二卷第二期 Part 2 issue 2, 封面、封面裡頁 Front and inside front cover	表現主義、立體主義、抽象藝術家蒙德里安 Expressionist, Cubist, and Abstract artist Piet Mondrian (1872-1944)
奇里訶《對無限的鄉愁》、 《一條街的憂悒與神秘》 Giorgio de Chirico, <i>The Nostalgia of the Infinite, Mystery and Melancholy of a Street</i>	1/5/1959, 第二卷第三期 Part 2 issue 3, 封面裡頁 Inside front cover	超現實主義畫家奇里訶 Surrealist painter Giorgio de Chirico (1888-1978)

附錄二：《新思潮》對現代藝術的引介 Appendix 2: Introduction of modern art in *Hsin Szuchao*

作者 Writer	篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date/Issue	介紹對象/涉及對象 Introduced artists
狄吾 Di Wu	最近的畫展 Recent Painting Exhibition	1/12/1959 第9頁 Page 9	Douglas Bland (1923-1975), 呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun (1919-1975), 鄭耀鼎 Kwong Yeu-ting (1922-2011), Ruth Robertson (1905-1998)

附錄三：《香港時報·淺水灣》對現代藝術的引介

Appendix 3: Introduction of modern art in *Xianggang shi bao · Qianshui Wan*

作者/譯者 Writer/Translator	篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date/Issue
十三妹 Shisanmei	我所不懂的畢加索的畫 Those paintings of Picasso that I do not know of	15/2/1960 第三張第十版 ¹ P.10 of section 3 ¹
十三妹 Shisanmei	關於抽象藝術的辯論 Debate on abstract art	1/3/1960
崑南 Kun Nan	抽象藝術的意義 The meaning of abstract art	4/3/1960
馬婁 Ma Lou	現階段法國抽象藝術流派 The current styles of French Abstract Art	29/3/1960
芳心譯 Trans. Fang Shin	現代繪畫的新趨勢 New trends of modern paintings	21/4/1960
伍希雅 Wu Xiya	泛論繪畫中的印象主義與抽象主義 General theories of Impressionism and Abstractionism in paintings	3/5/1960

1 以下的條目均刊登在第三張第十版，所以略去。All the listings hereon appeared on P.10 of section 3.

作者/譯者 Writer/Translator	篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date/Issue
學玄譯 Trans. Xue Xuan	現代畫派簡輯 Summary of styles of Modern painting	31/5/1960
	現代美術續輯：野獸主義、印象主義、後期印象主義、原始主義、形象主義、社會真實主義、新物象畫派、魔術寫實主義、純潔畫派、青騎士畫派 Part II: Summary of Modern Art: Fauvism, Impressionism, Post-impressionism, Primitivism, Figurativism, Social Realism, New Objectivity, Magic Realism, Purism, The Blue Rider	6/6/1960
伍希雅譯 Trans. Wu Xiya	藝術·現代藝術·塞尚 Art·Modern Art·Cézanne	12/6/1960
赫勃脫里德著·伍希雅譯 Herbert Reed (trans. Wu Xiya)	塞尚的創作方法 The creative method of Cézanne	19/6/1960
H·里德著·伍希雅譯 Herbert Reed (trans. Wu Xiya)	現代藝術溯源 The origin of Modern Art	30/6/1960
王無邪 Wucius Wong	藝術的準則·兼談最近的兩個畫展 Criterion of art and two recent painting exhibitions	4/7/1960
學工 Xue Gong	畢加索其人其畫 The paintings and persona of Picasso	9/7/1960
十三妹 Shisanmei	從畢加索的身價談起 Start with the status of Picasso	13/7/1960
懷納·赫夫德暴著·伍希雅譯 Wyner Huffde (trans. Wu Xiya)	保羅克利研究自然的方法 Paul Klee's method of studying nature	16/7/1960
米歇爾·舒化著·伍希雅譯 Michelle Sheffer (trans. Wu Xiya)	抽象繪畫兩大奠基人：康定斯基與蒙德里安 (未完) Two founders of abstract paintings: Kandinsky and Mondrian (Part 1)	23/7/1960
米歇爾·舒化著·伍希雅譯 Michelle Sheffer (trans. Wu Xiya)	抽象繪畫兩大奠基人：康定斯基與蒙德里安 (續作) Two founders of abstract paintings: Kandinsky and Mondrian (Part 2)	24/7/1960
伍希雅譯 Trans. Wu Xiya	現代美國繪畫 Modern American Painting	28/7/1960
伍希雅譯 Trans. Wu Xiya	關於羅果夫 On Rothko	8/8/1960
里德著·伍希雅譯 Reed (trans. Wu Xiya)	梵高·哥庚·秀拉 Van Gogh, Gauguin, Seurat	14/8/1960
雷德著·伍希雅譯 Reed (trans. Wu Xiya)	現代繪畫新世紀的開端 The beginning of Modern Painting Era	8/9/1960
荒木 Huang Mu	畢加索的早期作品 The early paintings of Picasso	17/9/1960
方蘆荻 Fang Ludi	繪畫藝術的印象主義 Impressionism in the art of painting	18/9/1960

作者/譯者 Writer/Translator	篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date/Issue
戴家明譯 Trans. Dai Jiaming	訪問抽象畫家吐比 Interview with Abstract Painter Tobey	22/9/1960
方蘆荻 Fang Ludi	繪畫藝術的後期印象派 (上) Post-impressionism in the art of painting – Part 1	2/10/1960
方蘆荻 Fang Ludi	繪畫藝術的後期印象派 (下) Post-impressionism in the art of painting – Part 2	3/10/1960
史德班著·古偉譯 Steban (trans. Gu Wei)	美國繪畫趨勢與英國抽象藝術 Trend of American painting and British abstract art	10/11/1960
伍希雅譯 Trans. Wu Xiya	立體主義的產生 The Birth of Cubism	30/11/1960
伍希雅 Wu Xiya	新巴黎畫派 The Neo-School of Paris	7/1/1961
伍希雅 Wu Xiya	外面世界的呈現——「新巴黎畫派」畫家簡介之一 The representation of the external world - Introduction of painters of Neo-School of Paris	15/1/1961
伍希雅 Wu Xiya	從紋理到抽象主義——「新巴黎畫派」畫家簡介 From texture to abstractioinism - Introduction of painters of Neo-School of Paris	4/2/1961
何恭上 He Gongshang	本世紀的美國繪畫 The American painting in this century	7/3/1961
青銅譯 Trans. Qing Tong	表現主義畫展和康定斯基 Exhibition of Expressionism and Kandinsky	31/3/1961
瑪瑙譯 Trans. Ma Nao	關於畢加索 About Picasso	1/4/1961
戴家明 Dai Jiaming	美國的繪畫簡介 Introduction of American Painting	22/4/1961
石砂 Shi Sha	現階段的英國畫壇 The current world of British Painting	28/4/1961
王無邪 Wucius Wong	西方的呈現——紐曼連斯城藝術家作品展觀後 The representation of the West – review of exhibition of Nauman <i>liansicheng</i> (transliteration)	19/5/1961
N. Pousette-Dart著·沙苓節譯 N. Pousette-Dart (trans. Sha Lingjie)	藝術作品的抽象觀念 Abstract concepts in artwork	22/6/1961
葉冬 Ye Dong	現代畫家介紹：墨西家畫壇怪傑 Introduction of modern painter: The eccentrics in Mexico art world	5/7/1961
白詠 Bai Yong	法國畫家杜布菲 The French painter Dubuffet	29/7/1961
蘭居原著·崑南譯 Lan Juyuan (trans. Kun Nan)	論五十年來現代藝術 (一) Review of modern art in the last fifty years. Part 1	20/8/1961

作者/譯者 Writer/Translator	篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date/Issue
蘭居原著·崑南譯 Lan Juyuan (trans. Kun Nan)	論五十年來現代藝術 (二) 一、野獸派 二、立體主義 Review of modern art in the last fifty years. Part 2: Fauvism, Cubism	21/8/1961
蘭居原著·崑南譯 Lan Juyuan (trans. Kun Nan)	論五十年來現代藝術 (三) 三、未來主義 Review of modern art in the last fifty years. Part 3: Futurism	22/8/1961
蘭居原著·崑南譯 Lan Juyuan (trans. Kun Nan)	論五十年來現代藝術 (四) 四、表現主義 Review of modern art in the last fifty years. Part 4: Expressionism	23/8/1961
蘭居原著·崑南譯 Lan Juyuan (trans. Kun Nan)	論五十年來現代藝術 (五) 五、結構主義與至上主義 Review of modern art in the last fifty years. Part 5: Structuralism and Suprematism	24/8/1961
蘭居原著·崑南譯 Lan Juyuan (trans. Kun Nan)	論五十年來現代藝術 (六) 六、形而上的藝術 七、達達主義與超現實主義 Review of modern art in the last fifty years. Part 6: Metaphysic of art, Dadaism and Surrealism	25/8/1961
蘭居原著·崑南譯 Lan Juyuan (trans. Kun Nan)	論五十年來現代藝術 (七) Review of modern art in the last fifty years. Part 7	26/8/1961
蘭居原著·崑南譯 Lan Juyuan (trans. Kun Nan)	論五十年來現代藝術 (八) 八、返璞歸真的繪畫 九、自立派 Review of modern art in the last fifty years. Part 8: the back-to-the-innocence paintings, Independentism	27/8/1961
蘭居原著·崑南譯 Lan Juyuan (trans. Kun Nan)	論五十年來現代藝術 (九) Review of modern art in the last fifty years. Part 9	28/8/1961
蘭居原著·崑南譯 Lan Juyuan (trans. Kun Nan)	論五十年來現代藝術 (十) 十、非具象藝術 Review of modern art in the last fifty years. Part 10: the non-representational art	29/8/1961
蘭居原著·崑南譯 Lan Juyuan (trans. Kun Nan)	論五十年來現代藝術 (十一) 結論 Review of modern art in the last fifty years. Part 11: Conclusion	30/8/1961
蘭居原著·崑南譯 Lan Juyuan (trans. Kun Nan)	論五十年來現代藝術 (十二) Review of modern art in the last fifty years. Part 12	31/8/1961
薔薇 Qiang Wei	意大利畫家莫迪里安尼 The Italian painter Modigliani	10/10/1961

作者/譯者 Writer/Translator	篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date/Issue
張學玄 Zhang Xuexuan	超現實主義繪畫的消沉 The melancholy of Surrealist paintings	13/10/1961
楊志清 Yang Zhiqing	抽象派大師：趙無極及其近作 The master of Abstractionism: Zao Wou-Ki and his latest works	3/11/1961
織思 Zhi Si	超現實畫派的前驅 The pioneer of Surrealist paintings	13/1/1962
何恭上 He Gongshang	日本的現代藝術 Modern art of Japan	19/1/1962
塞夫·瑟頓作·李冷譯 Saif Sutton (trans. Li Leng)	倫敦藝術走廊巡禮 Introduction of galleries in London	10/2/1962
G.B.華舒彭著·舒奈譯 G.B. Huashupeng (transliteration) (trans. Shu Nai)	動作藝術：紐約的現代繪畫雕刻展覽序 Action art: Prelude to modern painting and sculpture exhibition in New York	14/2/1962
李冷 Li Leng	保守的野獸派畫：杜爾倫 The conservative Fauvist: Derain	15/2/1962
李叻冰 Li Wenbing	當代英國抽象畫家蘇達蘭 The contemporary British abstract painter: Sutherland	1/3/1962
呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun	談抽象畫 (一) On abstract paintings (1)	2/3/1962
呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun	談抽象畫 (二) On abstract paintings (2)	3/3/1962
呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun	談抽象畫 (三) On abstract paintings (3)	4/3/1962
呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun	談抽象畫 (四) On abstract paintings (4)	5/3/1962
呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun	談抽象畫 (五) On abstract paintings (5)	6/3/1962
呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun	談抽象畫 (六) On abstract paintings (6)	7/3/1962
呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun	談抽象畫 (七) On abstract paintings (7)	8/3/1962
呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun	談抽象畫 (八) On abstract paintings (8)	9/3/1962
呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun	談抽象畫 (九) On abstract paintings (9)	10/3/1962
呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun	談抽象畫 (十) On abstract paintings (10)	11/3/1962
呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun	談抽象畫 (完) On abstract paintings (end)	12/3/1962
江東流 Jiang Dongliu	由寫實到抽象的：畫家古斯東 From realist to abstract: painter Gusidong (transliteration)	14/3/1962

作者/譯者 Writer/Translator	篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date/Issue
李冷譯 Trans. Li Leng	英國當代抽象畫家群像 A group-portrait of contemporary British abstract painters	15/3/1962
何臥雲 He Woyun	畢加索的版畫 Picasso's woodblock prints	30/3/1962
B.尼高遜著、李英豪譯 B. Nicholson (trans. Li Yinghao)	論抽象藝術 On abstract art	1/4/1962
A.加謬著、李英豪譯 A. Camus (trans. Li Yinghao)	現代藝術的反叛與創造(上) The disobedience and creativity of modern art (part 1)	18/4/1962
何恭上 He Gongshang	現階段的英國繪畫 The current British paintings	19/4/1962
A.加謬著、李英豪譯 A. Camus (trans. Li Yinghao)	現代藝術的反叛與創造(下) The disobedience and creativity of modern art (part 2)	18/4/1962
李英豪 Li Yinghao	超現實主義繪畫(一) Surrealist paintings (1)	24/4/1962
李英豪 Li Yinghao	超現實主義繪畫(二) Surrealist paintings (2)	25/4/1962
李英豪 Li Yinghao	超現實主義繪畫(三) Surrealist paintings (3)	26/4/1962
李英豪 Li Yinghao	超現實主義繪畫(完) Surrealist paintings (end)	27/4/1962
李英豪 Li Yinghao	論抽象藝術的創作·欣賞與批評(一) On creation, appreciation and review of abstract art (1)	4/5/1962
李英豪 Li Yinghao	論抽象藝術的創作·欣賞與批評(二) On creation, appreciation and review of abstract art (2)	5/5/1962
李英豪 Li Yinghao	論抽象藝術的創作·欣賞與批評(三) On creation, appreciation and review of abstract art (3)	6/5/1962
李英豪 Li Yinghao	論抽象藝術的創作·欣賞與批評(四) On creation, appreciation and review of abstract art (4)	7/5/1962
李英豪 Li Yinghao	論抽象藝術的創作·欣賞與批評(五) On creation, appreciation and review of abstract art (5)	8/5/1962
H.雷德著、李英豪譯 H. Reid (trans. Li Yinghao)	精神分析與藝術創作(上) Psychoanalysis and art making (1)	27/5/1962
H.雷德著、李英豪譯 H. Reid (trans. Li Yinghao)	精神分析與藝術創作(中) Psychoanalysis and art making (2)	28/5/1962
H.雷德著、李英豪譯 H. Reid (trans. Li Yinghao)	精神分析與藝術創作(下) Psychoanalysis and art making (end)	29/5/1962
江東流 Jiang Dongliu	由寫實到抽象的：畫家古斯東 From realist to abstract: painter <i>Gusidong</i> (transliteration)	30/5/1962

作者/譯者 Writer/Translator	篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date/Issue
江東流 Jiang Dongliu	抽象畫的發展 一、抽象繪畫的鼻祖 二、從外形模仿到抽象感覺 三、抽象繪畫的發展 The development of abstract painting 1. the founder of abstract painting 2. from the external form of imitation to the abstractness 3. the development of abstract paintings	31/5/1962
江東流 Jiang Dongliu	論現代繪畫的發展——兼論「現代繪畫基本理論」(一) On the development and the basic theories of modern painting (1)	26/6/1962
江東流 Jiang Dongliu	論現代繪畫的發展——兼論「現代繪畫基本理論」(二) On the development and the basic theories of modern painting (2)	27/6/1962
江東流 Jiang Dongliu	論現代繪畫的發展——兼論「現代繪畫基本理論」(三) On the development and the basic theories of modern painting (3)	28/6/1962
江東流 Jiang Dongliu	論現代繪畫的發展——兼論「現代繪畫基本理論」(完) On the development and the basic theories of modern painting (end)	29/6/1962
惕公 Ti Gong	畢加索的畫 The paintings of Picasso	30/6/1962

附錄四：《好望角》對現代藝術的引介 Appendix 4: Introduction of modern art in *Haowangjiao*

作者/譯者 Writer/Translator	篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date/Issue	介紹對象 Introduced artist(s) art school(s)
冰川 Bing Chuan	薩德肯恩之雕塑 The sculptures of Zadkine	1/3/1963, 第一期 issue 1, 頁page 3	Ossip Zadkine (1888-1967), 俄裔法國籍表現主義·立體主義雕塑家 Ossip Zadkine (1888-1967) Russian French expressionist and cubist sculptor
王無邪 Wucius Wong	廿世紀中繪畫問題 Questions on painting in 20 th century	1/3/1963, 第一期 issue 1, 頁page 6	抽象繪畫·印象主義·野獸主義·立體主義·趙無極 (1921-2013) Abstract painting, Impressionism, Fauvism, Cubism, Zao Wou-Ki (1921-2013)
冰川 Bing Chuan	岩美第支——現代雕塑 觀賞 Appreciation of modern sculptures of Armitage	16/3/1963, 第二期 issue 2, 頁page 5	Kenneth Armitage (1916-2002) 英國抽象主義雕塑家 British abstract sculptor
P.G Tayler著、 尚木·徐夜郊合譯 P.G Tayler (trans. Shang Mu and Xu Yejiao)	無名的政治異教徒 An anonymous political pagan	16/3/1963, 第二期 issue 2, 頁page 7	作者Tayler是表現主義和超現實主義畫家 The writer, Tayler, is an expressionist and surrealist painter
王無邪 Wucius Wong	抽象繪畫的世界 The world of abstract painting	5/4/1963, 第三期, issue 3, 頁page 2	馬里維奇Kazimir Malevich (1879-1935)、 羅夫果Mark Rothko (1903-1970)

作者/譯者 Writer/Translator	篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date/Issue	介紹對象 Introduced artist(s) art school(s)
呂壽琨 Lu Shoukun	離畫 <i>Lihua</i> (Apart from painting)	5/4/1963, 第三期, issue 3, 頁page 2	
大會堂展覽開幕目錄序文, 凌冷譯 Prelude of catalogue of exhibition opening in City Hall (trans. Ling Leng)	巴巴拉希和芙的雕塑藝術 The art of Barbara Hepworth's sculpture	5/4/1963, 第三期, issue 3, 頁page 4	赫普沃斯Barbara Hepworth (1903-1975) 抽象派雕塑家Abstract sculptor
Michel Ragon著, 葉泥譯 Michel Ragon (trans. Ye Ni)	抽象藝術之源起與發展 The origin and development of abstract art	5/5/1963, 第四期 issue 4, 頁page 7	
王無邪 Wucius Wong	具象繪畫 Figurative painting	20/5/1962, 第五期 issue 5, 頁page 4	抽象表現主義Abstract expressionism, 比費Buffet·培根Francis Bacon
本社 Editorial team	巴里奧之畫 The paintings of Barrio	1/9/1963, 第十一期 issue 11, 頁page 46-47	
東野芳明著, 葉泥譯 Yoshiaki Tono (trans. Ye Ni)	空間主義畫家 The Spatialist painters	1/10/1963, 第十二期 issue 12, 頁page 37-40	
封拿達著, 葉泥譯 Lucio Fontana (trans. Ye Ni)	空間主義技術宣言 Manifesto of Spatialism	1/10/1963, 第十二期 issue 12, 頁page 41-43	封拿達 Lucio Fontana (1899-1968)

附錄五：《好望角》「中國/香港青年畫家介紹」欄目

Appendix 5: Column "Introduction of young Chinese/Hong Kong artists" in *Haowangjiao*

作者 Author	篇名 Title	日期/期號 Date/Issue
金嘉倫 King Chia-lun	個人作畫經驗 The person painting experience	1/3/1963, 第一期 issue 1, 頁page 3
本社 Editorial team	中國現代畫家介紹金嘉倫 Introduction of a modern painter: King Chialun	1/3/1963, 第一期 issue 1, 頁page 6
本社 Editorial team	香港現代青年畫家張義·林鎮輝 Young modern Hong Kong painters Cheung Yee and Lam Chun-fai	1/3/1963, 第一期 issue 1, 頁page 7
本社 Editorial team	中國現代青年畫家作品韓志勳 The works of a young modern Chinese painters: Hon Chi-fun	5/4/1963, 第三期 issue 3, 頁page 8
豪 (李英豪) Li Yinghao	中國現代青年畫家莊喆 Young modern Chinese painter: Chuang Che	20/4/1963, 第四期 issue 4, 頁page 8
本社 Editorial team	中國現代青年畫家劉國松 Young modern Chinese painter: Liu Guosong	5/7/1963, 第九期 issue 9, 頁page 7
不詳 Unknown	中國現代青年畫家文樓 Young modern Chinese painter: Van Lau	25/7/1963, 第十期 issue 10, 頁page 2
本社 Editorial team	太陽節之形象 Image of Sun Festival	1/9/1963, 第十一期 issue 11, 頁page 44-46
本社 Editorial team	韓湘寧之畫 Paintings of Han Hsiangning	1/10/1963, 第十二期 issue 12, 頁page 44-45

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(按作者中文姓氏筆劃排序 according to stroke count of writer's Chinese last name)

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