

Regarding the Publication of the *Meishu Congshu* [Fine Arts Series]: The introduction of the European concept "Fine Arts" and the Japanese translated term "Bijutsu"

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The *Meishu Congshu* is a major series of books about Chinese art. Publication of the series began in the spring of 1911 by the Shanghai publisher, Shenzhou Guoguang She, just before the fall of the Qing dynasty. The editor of the series was Deng Shi (1877-1951)<sup>1</sup>, founder of this publishing company. All three series of the first edition were published by 1918. The second edition of the three-series set was published in 1928, with Huang Binhong (1865-1955), then gaining fame as a modern Chinese painter, added to the editorial staff for the 1928 edition. In 1936 a fourth series was added as part of a revised 3rd edition full four-series set. In 1947 an expanded and revised 4th edition of all four series was produced, with both Deng and Huang's names on the editorial masthead. Later, Yan Yiping, also editor of the *Baibu Congshu Jicheng* [Best Selections from a Hundred Series of Chinese Books], was made editor of the *Meishu Congshu* six-series set. The Taipei publisher Yiwen Yinshuguan published in 1964 a facsimile edition of the expanded 4th edition four-series set from images taken of the 1947 edition, and produced a five-series version, with a sixth series added to the set in 1975 to make a total six-series set. At present, the most complete version of the title is the 1975 edition of the six series set, with an artist index added to the original four series along with the fifth and sixth series. In 1986, the Nanjing publisher Jiangsu Guji Chuban She reproduced a 3rd edition full four-series set of 1936, and in 1997 the same Nanjing publisher produced a facsimile edition of the 4th edition four-series set of 1947. Judging from this process of new printings of the series, we can say that the publication remains extremely highly regarded today. This paper will first consider general bibliographic aspects of the *Meishu Congshu*. Then it will consider the historical meaning of this pervasive publication through only one publisher in times of massive political, economic,

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<sup>1</sup> Yu Jianhua's *Zhongguo Meishujia Renming Cidian* [Dictionary of Chinese Artists], revised edition (Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chuban She, 1987) states that Deng Shi died before the Communist Revolution at an age of over 80 years old, and thus lists (? - 1948?) as his birth and death dates. I follow Xie Wei's book. Xie Wei, *Zhongguo Huaxue Zhezuo Gaolu* [Essays and Records on Books of Chinese Paintings], Shanghai Shuhua Chuban She, 1998, vol. 7, "Jinxiandai, (Deng Shi) Tanyilu, Yi juan" [Modern and contemporary, Deng Shi's Tanyilu one volume], p. 729.

social, and cultural change as it pushed to the forefront the European concept "fine arts" and the Japanese translated term "bijutsu" that includes paintings, sculpture, craft and architecture -- a concept that had not existed in Asia prior to the modern era.

It goes without saying that in bibliographic terms, the most important aspect of this series lies in the First Series, Second Series, Third Series and Fourth Series which were published in an ever increasing form of supplemental, reinforced, and reprinted editions over more than thirty years from 1911 through 1947 under the editorial names of Deng Shi and Huang Binhong. This paper will focus on the First, Second and Third Series of the 1st edition. As for the First Series, Second Series, Third Series and Fourth Series after Huang Binhong joined as a editor, and the Fifth Series and Sixth Series added by Yan Yiping, I will focus primarily on how they handled and expanded the former three Series or the former four Series.

My observations on this subject were based on examination of the First Series, Second Series, Third Series and Fourth Series volumes housed in the Tohoku University Library, and those in the College Library of the Kanazawa College of Art. Of these books housed in the two libraries, the 1st edition volumes of the First Series, Second Series and Third Series<sup>2</sup> are from the Komaki Collection of the Tohoku University Library. These books were received by the University on October 9, 1924, and were formerly owned by Komaki Masanari (1843-1922), a Chinese studies scholar whose accomplishments include tenure as First Secretary of the Cabinet, Governor of Nara prefecture and Director of the Nara Imperial Museum, and Advisor to the Imperial Household Agency. Reprint editions of the First Series, Second Series, and Third Series, a 1st edition copy of the Fourth Series, and a 3rd edition copy of the entire set of series are part of the Kanô Collection of the Tohoku University Library, received by the Library on March 31, 1943.<sup>3</sup> These books were formerly in the collection of the philosopher Kanô

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<sup>2</sup> The Kyoto University Library collections contain 40 folios thought to be from the 1st edition three series set, specifically from the 1915 reprint of the First Series. The author has not personally examined this set of folios and hence it will not be discussed in this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the Kanô Bunko, one of the most important private library collections now housed in a Japanese library, see *Kanô Bunko Gaisetsu* [Overview of the Kanô Collection], Tohoku Imperial University Library, 1937.

Kôkichi (1865-1942). Kanô re-evaluated Andô Shôeki (1703-1762) and held various positions including Principal of the First High School and Dean of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto Imperial University. During this survey of extant volumes, the author referred, where appropriate, to his own copy of the 1986 facsimile edition published by Jiangsu Guji Chuban She. For the 4th edition of the overall set, the author surveyed the copy held in the College Library, Kanazawa College of Art (received on March 31, 1958), and the section up through the Fourth Series of the entire six series set in the collection of the Tohoku University Library (First Series through Fifth Series received on September 21, 1964, and Sixth Series received on February 17, 1977). Some reference was made to the copy of the 1997 facsimile edition published by Jiangsu Guji Chuban She in the collection of the Tohoku University's Art History Department offices. Further, the Tohoku University Library copy of the Fifth and Sixth Series of the total six series set that is the entire 5th edition was used for this study.

The terms used above, such as First Series, Second Series, Third Series, etc., were not used when the 1st edition of the *Meishu Congshu* was published from 1911 through 1918. These terms first came into use upon the publication of the revised edition in 1928. Upon the publication of the 1st edition, what I have called the First Series was not named the Main Series as such, but rather in the advertisements attached to the "Sequel Series first series", the term "previous edition Main Series" was used to refer to the First Series of the 1st edition. Again, it was upon publication of the revised edition that the terms were changed, such as the switch from the "Sequel Series first Series" and "Later Series tenth Series" of the 1st edition to the revised edition's "Second Series first series," and "Third Series tenth series." As a general rule, in this paper I will use the most commonly known terms for each volume. However, when I make particular mention of the 1st edition, I will use the terminology used at the time of its publication. The "Main Series" is simply the *Meishu Congshu* and was not called the "*Meishu Congshu Main Series*." The original preface by Deng Shi himself notes only "this several tens of volumes" and this is a pointed indication that at the time of the publication of the "Main Series," the editors did not necessarily have in mind the publication of subsequent "Sequel Series" and later volumes. In fact, the "Notes" at the beginning of the first volume of the first series of the "Main Series" state "total book contains ten series

Collections and Concepts 2003 – 20 Publication of the *Meishu Congshu* consisting of forty volumes," while the end of the "Table of Books in Search for the forthcoming printing for the *Meishu Congshu*" located at the beginning of third series states that "one complimentary copy of the total book containing ten series" will be presented to those who provided suitable printed books or hand-writing books for the *Meishu Congshu*. Thus we see that it is appropriate for us in our research to refer to the 1st edition preserving the on the 1st edition original state of the book.

While briefly mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the 1st edition of the *Meishu Congshu* was typeset, printed and published by the Shanghai publisher Shenzhou Guoguang She which published many illustrated books, such as the *Shenzhou Guoguang Ji* (total run of 18 series, published between 1908-1910). As noted above, the *Meishu Congshu* consists of the Main Series, Sequel Series and Later Series. Each Series contains a total of ten series, and each of these ten series is made up of units of four volumes within one original *zhi* [cloth slip-case for books]. Thus the Main Series, Sequel Series and Later Series each consisted 40 volumes in 10 *zhi* cases, with a grand total of all three Series thus containing 120 volumes in 30 *zhi* cases. At the beginning of the first volume of the first series of the Main Series, there are "Preface by Deng Shi" (dated January in the year of Xinhai[1911]), "Notes," and "Preface by Hu Yunyu" (dated January in the year of Xinhai). Further, the month and year of publication is printed on the back of the volume cover sheet of the first volume and on the colophon page of the fourth volume of each four volume series sets in each of the ten series within each of the Main Series, Sequel Series and Later Series of the 1st edition. The colophon pages note, "Editor Fengyu Lou," "Printer Guoguang Yinshuasuo," and "Publisher Shenzhou Guoguang She." The name "Fengyu Lou" was Deng Shi's studio name, and thus we understand, needless to say, that Deng Shi himself was the editor of the 1st edition. While each of the series was produced using moveable type, the traditional woodblock-printed book format and page layout was used, and the folios were bound as thread-bound books. In accordance with the page layout method of thread-bound books, the printing format included 10 columns of characters on each half sheet "page" with 29 characters per column. In the case of the 1st edition *Meishu Congshu*, the printed area on each page is 14.8 cm x 9.8 cm, with a single line printing border on all four sides, and the center of the printed area has *heikou* [black mouth bar] and no *yuwei* [fish tail fin

bracket] .

Of these 1st edition volumes, the Main Series first series is marked "Xuantong Xinhai(3rd year), 2nd month, publishing finished," while the tenth series is marked "Xinhai, 11th month, publishing finished," and thus we can see that the entire set of ten series was published during a ten-month period lasting from February through November, 1911 (fig. 1). The publication of the Main Series was scrupulously prepared, and as noted above, at the time of its publication there were no plans for further additions or sequels and the Main Series was envisioned as a complete title in and of itself.

The Xinhai Revolution took place on the 10th day of the 10th month in the year of Xinhai on the Chinese calendar (November 30, 1911), and thus the Quantong reign date was removed from the series starting with the seventh series published immediately before the Revolution, so that the seventh series was marked simply with "Xinhai, 7th month, publishing finished." The actual publication date was somewhat delayed and there is the possibility that the changes were made in line with the political sentiments of the day.

The Sequel Series, conversely, was published under a less rigid schedule. The first through sixth series of the Sequel Series were published between the 2nd month and 7th month of 1913, approximately one year after the completion of the Main Series. The Sequel Series seventh through tenth series were published from the 2nd month through the 5th month of 1914. Publication of the Sequel Series thus stretched over two years. The Later Series was published on an even less regular publication schedule, stretching over four years. The first series was published in the 5th month of 1915, and the tenth series published in the 2nd month of 1918. The tenth series included Deng Shi's own "Tanyilu" [Commentary on Arts] as the finale of the publication. These later series were inspired by the favorable reception of the Main Series, and an "Advertisement for the Forthcoming Publication of the Sequel ten series of *Meishu*

*Congshu*" appeared at the beginning of the Main Series tenth series, and at the beginning of the Sequel Series first series. An "Advertisement for the Forthcoming Publication of the Later ten series of *Meishu Congshu*" appeared at the beginning of the Sequel Series tenth series, and thus we can see how the publishers were planning a continuation from the Sequel Series to the Later Series. Further, the Later Series first series through seventh series have the name of Shenzhou Guoguang She in the colophon, while the cover sheets of those seven series list the name of Shanghai Guocui Xuebang She publishing company directed also by Deng Shi. These changes and the extended publication period suggest the impact of conditions within the publishing firm itself and the general search for the texts. Thus the Main, Sequel and Later Series were published between 1911 and 1918, in spite of the various vicissitudes that accompanied its publication.

The 3rd edition includes the 2nd edition of the total 120 volumes of the Main Series (First Series), Sequel Series (Second Series) and Later Series (Third Series) and the 1st edition of Fourth Series which includes a total ten series 40 volumes, therefore contains four Series, each Series ten series 40 volumes, totally 160 volumes. Unlike the production process seen in the first edition versions of the Main, Sequel and Later Series, this new set of 160 volumes was published following an organized publishing scheduled over a relatively short time period in 1928 and 1936. Like the *Meishu Congshu* 1st edition, 2nd edition 3rd edition is typographically set and arranged in a woodblock-printed style thread-bound book format. The Tohoku University Library copy surveyed for this study is missing its original *zhi* cases, and has new ones created in recent years by the Library staff. At the beginning of the first volume of the first series of the 2nd edition and 3rd edition, there are the following: "Preface to the *Meishu Congshu* by Huang Binhong " (dated 8th month in the year of Wuchen [1928]), "Original Preface by Deng Shi" (dated 1st month in the year of Xinhai), Notes, and "Preface by Hu Yunyu" (dated 1st month in the year of Xinhai). In terms of printing format, this 2nd edition, 3rd edition has the same column format and printing center space as the *Meishu Congshu* 1st edition, but has a slightly smaller printing range at 14.5 x 9.5 cm, and a relatively wider printing border.

The thread-bound binding method was not used on the 4th edition of all Four Series published in 1947 in the immediate Post-World War II period. Instead the 4th edition is a B6 sized hard cover binding of 20 volumes. It is important to note that the cover of each volume states "Huang Binhong and Deng Shi, editors." The 1975 facsimile popular press edition of the *Meishu Congshu*, consisting of 30 volumes of B6 sized hard cover binding resembles the binding method of the 4th edition. All the popular facsimile editions including 1975 edition of the *Meishu Congshu* accord with editorial credits found in the 4th edition. At the beginning of the first volume there is a newly added "table of contents" of the entire Four Series. After that there are "Preface to the *Meishu Congshu* by Huang Binhong," "Original Preface by Deng Shi," "Notes," and "Preface by Hu Yunyu" same as in the 2nd and 3rd edition. However, even though the book is bound in western style fashion, the facsimile edition's design follows that of the woodblock-book style format found in all earlier editions. Namely, in this facsimile edition each half-sheet page has 10 columns of 29 characters each, with the printing range slightly smaller than the 2nd and 3rd edition, measuring 14.4 x 9.5 cm. The printing border is a single line on all four sides, with the center of printing omitting both *heikou* [black mouth bar] and *yuwei* [fish tail fin bracket]. The present-day popular press edition is a six series set of the entire book based on the 4th edition and published by the publisher Yiwu Yinshuguan. It can be considered the most faithful facsimile version of the title, including the original binding cover details. I would like to encourage a further full bibliographic survey at a later date including comparison of text contents, proofreading, etc. of the main texts, of the 1st edition, 2nd edition of first three Series, the supplemented 3rd edition totaling Four Series as part of a consideration of the historical meaning of a series publication whose name included the Chinese version "meishu" of the European concept "fine arts" or Japanese term "bijutsu."

Although Yu Shaosong's *Shuhua Shulu Jieti* [Bibliography of Books on Calligraphy and Painting] was published after the 2nd edition of the entire Three Series of the 1st edition *Meishu Congshu* was published in 1928 with Huang Binhong's Preface, Yu catalogued the 1st edition Three Series as one of the series publications on calligraphy and painting edited by Deng Shi, correctly noting that the 1st edition Three

Series consist of "ten series, Sequel ten series and Later ten series."<sup>4</sup> Further, the Shanghai Library's *Zhongguo Congshu Zonglu* [Comprehensive Catalogue of Chinese Series] (published in 1982-83) agrees with Yu's statement, listing all of the series titles from the 3rd edition entire Four Series published in 1936 with a preface by Huang Binhong, and stating that it was a series of *yishulei* [arts class] of *zibu* [theory category] edited by Deng Shi without listing Huang Binhong as an editor of the series.<sup>5</sup> Conversely, the 1980 *Zhongguo Jindai Xiandai Congshu Mulu* [Catalogue of Chinese Modern and Contemporary Series], edited by the same Shanghai Library, follows the cover notation of the 4th edition published in 1947, listing both Huang Binhong and Deng Shi as editors.<sup>6</sup> In other words, the editor of the *Shuhua Shulu Jieti* discerned that Deng Shi was the original editor of the *Meishu Congshu*, as noted throughout this paper. The editors of the *Zhongguo Congshu Zonglu* appear to have decided that, upon the publication of the 2nd edition, Deng Shi asked the elderly painter Huang Binhong to provide a preface for the publication as part of Deng's efforts to further enhance the title and increase sales.

And yet, Huang did not simply provide a preface for the title. Huang's participation in the work ended up exceeding Deng's original intentions. In other words, frank and open commercial advertisements were tipped into the back of the fourth volume of the four volumes in each of the series in the Main Series, Sequel Series, Later Series, either before the colophon page. Further, in the case of the Later Series fourth series, and sixth through ninth series, these advertisements were placed on the inside cover at the front of the first volume of each series. Given some consideration that such blatant advertising might compromise the series' quality as a book, absolutely no such advertising was allowed in the 2nd edition, and thus the tone of the work as a complete series was raised.

As implied by its name, the Shenzhou Guoguang She [Publisher of the State

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<sup>4</sup> *Shuhua Shulu Jieti* [Bibliography of Books on Calligraphy and Painting], National Beijing Library, 1932, Comprehensive Table of Contents and Introductory Notes, The Eighth Category: Series, and vol. 8, The Eighth Category: Series.

<sup>5</sup> *Zhongguo Congshu Zonglu* [Comprehensive Catalogue of Chinese Series], Shanghai Guji Chuban She, 1982-83, Part 1, Comprehensive Table of Contents, Categorized edition: The Fourth Category: Arts," pp. 749-752.

<sup>6</sup> *Zhongguo Jindai Xiandai Congshu Mulu* [Catalogue of Chinese Modern and Contemporary Series], Commercial Press, Hong Kong Branch, 1980, p. 769.



Light of the Divine Land] was a publishing house advocating national purity and known for publishing works such as the *Shenzhou Guoguang Ji* [State Light of the Divine Land Series] and the *Shenzhou Dagan* [Encyclopedia of the Divine Land]. It may be easily understood that a part of the 1st edition Later Series were published by the Shanghai Guocui Xuebao She [Publisher of Shanhai Journal for the Quintessence of the State], a firm closely linked to the Shenzhou Guoguang She. Such a nationalistic publication policy, however, in a case, took the project into territory normally not encountered in the production of books. For example, let us pay attention to one entry in the *Zhongguo Huajia Renming Dacidian* [Dictionary of Chinese Painters] published by the Shenzhou Guoguang She which ought to have been done under the names of Yu Jianhua, Huang Binhong, and Song Tegong. That is the biography on Wen Zheng. Wen Zheng is an artist who is absolutely never mentioned in Chinese historical records of paintings or catalogues, in spite of the fact that he was the painter of the *Diptych of Cranes* (Shôkokuji Shôtenkaku Museum of Art), a major example of bird and flower painting from the end of the Yuan through the early Ming dynasties.<sup>7</sup> This 1934 dictionary was the first publication in China to bear the title of "dictionary of painters," and published only under the name of Song Tegong, while both Yu and Huang were out of Shanghai as part of the anti-Japanese movement, and Song had also left Shanghai. The events preceding and following the dictionary's publication are unclear.<sup>8</sup> In any event, it is not clear who was actually in charge of the project in Shanghai during this time. The Wen Zheng entry reads:

Wen Zheng [Ming] Studio name is Quanshi. Good at painting cranes. (*Minghua Xulu* [Second Records of Ming Paintings]).

This *Minghua Xulu* reference seems to be a fabrication, suggesting that such a title existed as a sequel to Xu Qin's *Minghua Lu* [Records of Ming Paintings]. In other words, the editors of the *Zhongguo Huajia Renming Dacidian* were clearly aware of the indispensability of the biography of Wen Zheng, the painter of the famous work, in such Japanese books as *Shina Meigashû* [Famous Chinese Paintings] (Shinbi Shoin, 1907) and the *Tôsô Genmin Meiga Taikan* [Encyclopedia of Tang, Song, Yuan and Ming

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<sup>7</sup> Ogawa Hiromitsu, "Shôkokuji zô Bunsei hitsu, Meikakuzu (tsuifuku)" [The "Diptych of Cranes" by Wen Zheng in Shôkokuji Temple], vols 1, 2, 3, *Kokka* 1166, 1181, 1182, 1993-94.

<sup>8</sup> Yu Jianhua, *op. cit.*, Preface.

Paintings] (Ôtsuka Kôgeisha, 1929). We can surmise that such listings in the Chinese dictionary, based solely on Japanese publications and catalogues with such names as "*Shina Meigashû*" which would have been an anathema to the Chinese people at the time, would have aroused quite considerable opposition in China at the time. Further, it is highly likely that the editors felt it hard to bear the use of Japanese sources for artists such as Wen Zheng who left behind such important art works and yet who are not somehow contained in Chinese reference materials. Thus they appear to have created a fabricated biography of Wen Zheng, cloaking the actual Japanese sources of the information by attributing the information to a wholly fictitious book with an authentic sounding title like the *Minghua Xulu*.<sup>9</sup>

This national purist publisher made such lofty proclamations about the *Meishu Congshu* to paraphrase, "this book will be published to gathers together all the references to great artists past and present in one book in order to advocate for fine arts" ("Notes"), while producing books in five categories, "books on calligraphy and painting," "books on seal carving and seals," "books on porcelains, bronzes and precious gems," and "books on literary arts" which depends on the traditional Siku Quanshu [Four Libraries of Complete Books] classification *yishulei:shuhua, qinpu, zhuanke, zaji* [arts class: calligraphy and painting, scores of Chinese zither, seal carving, and miscellaneous arts] of the third category *zibu* [theory category] of Four Categories of Chinese classical books. The term "bijutsu" in Japanese, "fine arts" in English -- a newly created term most deeply related to the global trend towards modernization and Westernization -- did not necessarily accord with the encouragement of traditions, and yet conversely, we can surmise that the introduction of this term by the nationalistic publisher had a massive effect on the spread of the new-made one. Some books were part of this revival and modernization tide, such an example is the *Yishu Congshu* [Art Series] (Paocuitang edition of 1916). This Series was not only the re-issued, re-edited version of *Cuilang Gangan Congshu* [Cuilang Gangan Series] (Yangcheng Feng's edition in the year of Guangzu), but also was divided into sections on "calligraphy studies," "painting studies," "object lineages," and "miscellaneous objects" also made by

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<sup>9</sup> Ogawa Hiromitsu, "Minga zokuroku shôkô- Shôkokuji Bunsei hitsu meikakuzu (tsuifuku) ni kanren shite" [A short paper on the Minghua Xulu (The Second Record of Ming Painting) and its relationship to Wen Zheng's Cranes at Shôkokuji], *Bijutsushi ronsô* [Studies in Art History] 7, Department of Art History, Faculty of Letters, University of Tokyo, 1991, pp. 19-30.

the traditional classification *yishulei* of the third category *zibu* of Four Categories of Chinese classical books under the title featuring the traditional Chinese term for art "yishu" or "geijutsu" in Japanese. Published in almost the same year, this Series, however, was not included in the *Zhongguo Jindai Xiandai Congshu Mulu*. The main reason that the *Meishu Congshu* surpassed these similar series, went through various editions and was so widely distributed lies in the fact that its series name took the traditional East Asian book focus on paintings and calligraphy and re-approached the subject to include the range of arts under the modern and European concept of "meishu" or "fine arts" which encompasses painting, sculpture, craft and architecture.

Today, whether for Asians, Europeans, or indeed anyone in the world, the name "*Meishu Congshu*," or "*Fine Arts Series*" in English, seems perfectly ordinary and natural. And yet, at the time, it was anything but ordinary or normal. This is because the term "meishu" does not exist in the original Chinese character lexicon. There are 55 19th century English-Chinese/Chinese-English dictionaries edited by either British or Chinese lexicographers today confirmed to be owned by private and public libraries in Japan.<sup>10</sup> Among 49 dictionaries that I was able to survey by now (i), 26 are the English-Chinese dictionaries, 19 are the Chinese-English dictionaries, and 4 dictionaries have both English-Chinese and Chinese-English sections. Of these surveyed dictionaries, 23 of the Chinese-English dictionaries, 16 of them gave the term "yi" ("gei" in Japanese), and included this "yi" in such traditional character compounds as "shouyi" and "liuyi." 15 of the 23 Chinese-English dictionaries that listed the character "mei," did not list the character compound "meishu." Conversely, of the 30 English-Chinese dictionaries, 19 of the dictionaries listed the term "art," and of those 3 dictionaries listed "art," "fine arts" and provided translated terms for art and fine arts. The first English-Chinese dictionary, Robert Morrison's *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1815-1822), used "yishu" as the term for "art", and under his entries for "ye" and "yiye," Morrison did not include the "fine arts" term which corresponds with "meishu," or "bijutsu" in Japanese. The majority of 19th century English-Chinese dictionaries then made the same decision as Morrison,

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<sup>10</sup> Tobita Yoshifumi and Miyata Kazuko, *Jûkyû seiki no eika-kaei jiten mokuroku* [Catalogue of English-Chinese and Chinese-English dictionaries of the 19th century], Professor Tobita's Research Office, Department of Linguistics, International Christian University, Tokyo, 1997.

giving only "yi" for the "art(s)." And none of them list the term "yishu," or "geijutsu" in Japanese.

Of special note is the fact that only three of these dictionaries use the term "fine arts." The earliest example of this term use was Walter Henry Medhurst's *English and Chinese Dictionary* (1847-1848) published in Shanghai. As translations of the English term "art," Medhurst lists "shouyi," "yiye," "fashu," "jishu," "jiyi," "jiliang," "wuxue," "yuyi," "gongye," and "mifa." For "fine arts," Medhurst lists "liuyi," "jiyi," and "sishu." Of the English-Chinese dictionaries from this period extant in Japan, the dictionary with the greatest breadth and one translated into Japanese<sup>11</sup> is Wilhelm Lobscheid's *English and Chinese Dictionary* (1866-1869). Lobscheid is our second example of the use of the term "fine arts." As translations of the English term "art," Lobscheid lists "shouyi," "jiyi," "yiye," "shiye," "fashu," "jishu," "jiliang," and "gongyi." For "fine arts," Lobscheid lists "liuyi," "sishu," and "jiyi." Thus we can see that Lobscheid clearly followed Medhurst's lead in this matter. Both Medhurst and Lobscheid equated "fine arts" with "liuyi" [literally 6 arts, namely ritual, music, shooting, riding, calligraphy and arithmetic] and "sishu" [literally 4 arts, namely poem, calligraphy, ritual and music], in other words, what can be considered close to the traditional concept of "liberal arts."

The third example of an English-Chinese dictionary which gives entries for "fine arts" is F. Kingsell's (Chinese: Feng Jingru) revised version of Lobscheid's dictionary published in Yokohama in (ii) titled *A Dictionary of the English and Chinese Language*. For the term "art," Kingsell provides "shouyi," "shiye," "fashu," "jiliang," and "gongyi," thus indicating his basis in Lobscheid's terminology choices. What makes it clear that Kingsell's dictionary is a "revised edition" of Lobscheid's dictionary is the Chinese terms provided for the term "fine arts." Kingsell defines "fine arts" as both the terms he gives for "liuyi" [liberal arts], and for "meishu" [fine arts]. Also adding the term "jinggong" [elaboration] to his definition (fig. 2). In particular we can note that the created term "meishu" was adopted by an overseas Chinese lexicographer, and it does not appear in Chinese materials surveyed to the present by the author. These facts and the fact that Kingsell's dictionary was published in Yokohama thus starkly suggest that the Chinese character compound pronounced "meishu" in Chinese and "bijutsu" in

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<sup>11</sup> Tobita and Miyata, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-88, 92-101.

The English language concept of "fine arts" differs from the term "liberal arts" whose etymology traces back to Latin terms in Europe's medieval period. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (second edition, Clarendon Press, 1989), the English term "fine arts" is borrowed from the French term "beaux-arts" and first appeared in James Fordyce's *Sermons to Young Women* (1767) (iii). At the time this would have been a newly coined translated term, and thus we can probably assume that 19th century lexicographers of English-Chinese dictionaries did not necessarily have a full and accurate grasp of its original French meaning. To quote examples of non-art related terms and their handling by Medhurst and Lobscheid, for the English word "philosophy" which is translated today as "zhexue" in Chinese and "tetsugaku" in Japanese. Medhurst listed the Chinese terms "xingli," "xingxue," and "gewu gongli zhi xue." Lobscheid listed "lixue," "xinxue," and "zhixue." The English term "socialism" which is today translated as "shehui zhuyi" in Chinese and "shakai shugi" in Japanese, is not found in Medhurst. In Lobscheid, the editor coined the word "gongyong" and "gongyong zhi li" for socialism. Compared to these examples of created terms which differ completely from the designated created terms used in East Asia today, Kingsell (Feng Jingru) used the terms "zhexue," "lixue," and "xingxue" for "philosophy," and "gongyong zhi li" and "gongyong" for socialism. Kingsell's mixture of the older created terms found in Medhurst and Lobscheid and the newly coined Japanese terms in kanji such as "tetsugaku" and "bijutsu" reveals that Kingsell's dictionary occupied a transitional position within the process of the move towards the terms "bijutsu/meishu" and "tetsugaku/zhexue" which are used today throughout the Chinese character cultural realm.

The created term "bijutsu" first appeared in Japan in the latter half of the 19th century, in the document "Ôchiri no Miyako Uinfu ni oite kitaru 1873 nen Hakurankai wo moyôsu shidai" [Order of the program for the forthcoming Exposition of 1873 to be held in the Austrian capital of Vienna] which was attached to "The Seventh Dajôkan Fukoku of 1872" [Prime Minister's Proclamation of 1872] "Ôkoku Inafu Hakurankai Shuppin Kokoroe"(shogatsu jûyokka) [Directions for exhibiting at the Exposition, Vienna, Austria, January 14].<sup>12</sup> The term "bijutsu" appears in the following sentence:

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<sup>12</sup> *Hôrei Zensho* [A Compendium of Laws and Ordinances], vol.5-1, facsimile of the Meiji 22 edition, Hara 13

Bijutsu (note: in the west, the term "bijutsu" refers to music, painting and the creation of sculpture, poetry, etc.) [Art] museum must be used for the exposition works. (second article, section 22)

As seen in this 1872 document, the term "bijutsu" was first used with a meaning like that of the traditional Chinese term "yishu (geijutsu)" which includes such arts as music. This term "bijutsu" was later more widely used as the created term for the German "shöne kunst" or English "fine arts."<sup>13</sup> Like "shakai shugi" and "tetsugaku," "bijutsu" is not an ancient Chinese term, but rather is a Japanese fabricated term that was "reverse imported" into the Chinese language sphere, and today "bijutsu/meishu" is a term commonly shared amongst the Chinese character-based language realm that includes Japan, China, Taiwan and Korea. The oldest examples of the use of "bijutsu" in book titles can be found in *Kôhon Nihon Teikoku Bijutsu Ryakushi* [A Manuscript of the Short Art History of the Japanese Empire] (Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, 1901) and the *Tôyô Bijutsu Taikan* [Encyclopedia of Oriental Fine Arts] (Shinbi Shoin, 1908-18). As part of a school name, "bijutsu" was first used in such school names as the Kôbu Bijutsu Gakkô [School of Fine Arts, Ministry of Technology] (established in 1876, present-day Department of Architecture, Division of Technology, Graduate School, University of Tokyo) and the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkô [Tokyo School of Fine Arts] (established in 1889, present-day Faculty of Fine Arts, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music).<sup>14</sup>

In China, there were similar early 20th century uses of "meishu," the Chinese pronunciation of "bijutsu," in the context of organizations and publications. There was the *Meishu Congshu* featured in this paper, the Shanghai Meishu Yuan [Shanghai School of Fine Arts] (established in 1912, present-day Nanjing Yishu Xueyuan [Nanjing School of

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Shobô, 1974, pp.9-43.

<sup>13</sup> Kitazawa Noriaki, *Me no Shinden: "Bijutsu" juyôshi nôto* [Palace of the Eye: Notes on the history of the reception of "fine arts"], Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1989, 3: "Bijutsu" no kigen: honyakugo "bijutsu" no tanjô" [Chapter 3: Origins of "bijutsu": the birth of the translated term "bijutsu"], pp. 139-145.

<sup>14</sup> Ogawa Hiromitsu, "Shoga no Ajia, chôkoku no Ajia, kenchiku no Ajia, Bijutsu no Ajia: Ajia bijutsu to aidentifî-: josetsu" [Asia of Calligraphy and Painting, Asia of Sculpture, Asia of Architecture and Asia of Fine Arts: An introduction to Asian Fine Arts and Identities], *Ajiagaku no shôraizô* [The Future Image of Asian Studies], University of Tokyo Press, 2003, p. 490.

Art]), and the Guoli Beijing Meishu Xuexiao [National Beijing School of Fine Arts] (established in 1918, present-day Zhongyang Meishu Xueyuan [Central School of Fine Arts]).<sup>15</sup> The Shanghai Meishu Yuan was renamed the Shanghai Tuhua Meishu Yuan [Shanghai School of Painting and Fine Arts] and that institution's journal entitled

*Meishu*<sup>16</sup> (started 1918) is another early example of the European-inspired Japanese created word "bijutsu/meishu" in a Chinese publication context.<sup>17</sup>

The *Cihai: Yishu Fence* [Cihai Dictionary: Art Section] and *Cihai* state that "meishu" "came to be generally used as a noun in China around the May Fourth Movement in 1919", and the *Zhongguo Meishu Cidian* [Dictionary of Chinese Fine Arts] and *Zhongguo Meishu dacidian* [Encyclopedia of Chinese Fine Arts] define "meishu" according to *Cihai: Yishu Fence* and *Cihai* as a term that was "transmitted from overseas around the May Fourth Movement in 1919 and came to be generally used."<sup>18</sup> Further, these findings generally coincide with Chen Zhenlian's comment in his *Jindai Zhongri Huihua Jiaoliushi Bijaoyanjiu* [Comparative study of the history of exchange between modern Chinese and Japanese painting] that the term "meishu" was transmitted from Japan and the first use of this term in China occurred in the establishment of an art museum at the Nanyang Quanyehui [Nanyang Exposition] held in 1910.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Huang Ke, "Shanghai de meishuyuan he meishu shetuan" [Schools of Art and Art Societies in Shanghai], *Shanghai Meishushi Zhaji* [Essays on Shanghai Art History], Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 2000, pp. 204-207. Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Chûgoku kindai bijutsu daiji nenpyô" [Chronological Table of Major Issues in Chinese Modern Fine Arts], *Izumi-shi Kubosô Kinen Bijutsukan-Kubosô Kinen Bunka Zaidan Tôyô Bijutsu Kenkyujô Kiyô* 7, 8, 9 [Journal of the Kuboso Memorial Museum of Izumi City and the Asian Arts Research Center, Kuboso Memorial Culture Foundation], Kuboso Memorial Museum and the Kuboso Memorial Culture Foundation, 1997, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> Huang Ke, "Zhongguo diyiben meishu zhuanxing zazhi—"Meishu", [The First Art Historical Journal of China, Meishu (Fine Arts)], in *op.cit.*, *Shanghai Meishushi Zhaji*, pp. 26-31, Xu Zhihao, *1911-1949 Zhongguo Meishu Jiguan Guoyan Lu* [Records of Periodicals on Chinese Art: 1911-1949], Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe, 1992, pp. 8-11.

According to Xu, *Zhongguo Meishu Bao* [Chinese Fine Arts News] was the first art periodical published in China. This periodical began one month earlier than the periodical *Meishu*, with the *Zhongguo Meishu Bao* inaugural issue published on September 1, 1918, and *Meishu's* inaugural issue published on October 1, 1918. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>17</sup> Ogawa Hiromitsu, "Shoga to Bijutsu": Ima, Nihon no bijutsushigaku wo furikaeru, kokusai kenkyûshûkai ni yosete" [Calligraphy and Painting and Fine Arts: Towards the International Research Conference: The Present, and the Discipline of Art History in Japan], *Bijutsushi Ronsô* [Studies in Art History], Department of Art History, Division of Humanities and Sociology, Graduate School, University of Tokyo, 1998, p. 158. *op.cit.*, *Shoga no Ajia* ....., p. 490.

<sup>18</sup> *Cihai: Yishu Fence* [Cihai Dictionary: Art Section], Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe, 1980, p. 289. *Cihai*, 1999 illustrated edition, Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe, 1999, pp.5-33. *Zhongguo Meishu Cidian* [Dictionary of Chinese Art], Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe, 1987, p. 1, *Zhongguo Meishu Dacidian* [Encyclopedia of Chinese Art], Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe, 2002, p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Chen Zhenlian, "Di Erzhang Jindai Zhongri meishu guannian de qianyi—guanyu "meishu" yici de yuyuan

We can also cite the early use of "meishu/misul/bijutsu" in Taiwan (1895-1945) and Korea (1910-1945) under Japanese rule. In Taiwan, Yamashita Kôtô (a graduate of Tokyo School of Fine Arts) opened his Taiwan Zaohua Guan [Taiwan Painting School] in 1903 and Ishikawa Kin'ichirô (1871-1945, member, Meiji Bijutsukai [Meiji Art Society]) became an arts instructor at Taipei Junior High School and the School in Japanese in 1907.<sup>20</sup> In Korea, the *Hansung-sungbo* [a Seoul newspaper published every 10 days] was already using the newly created word "misul/bijutsu" by 1884 as the country was moving toward annexation by Japan, and in 1907 Lee Wangjig Misulpum-jejakso [King Yi Studio of Fine Arts] was established.<sup>21</sup>

Thus the spread of the use of the Japanese created term "bijutsu" continued apace at the beginning of the 20th century in such publications as the previously mentioned *Kôhon Nihon Teikoku Bijutsu Ryakushi* and *Tôyô Bijutsu Taikan* and in China, Matsunaga Chôzaburô (graduate of Tokyo School of Fine Arts) became a member of the teaching faculty at the Tianjin Zhili Gaodeng Gongyi Xuetang [Tianjin Royal High School of Craft] in 1904. The following year, 1905, the first Chinese overseas student to study painting from the Qing dynasty, Huang Fuzhou, entered the Western Painting Department of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts.<sup>22</sup> During the early years of the 20th century Japanese graduates of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, etc. became teachers at China's universities and vocational schools, and an increasing number of Chinese painting students entered the Tokyo School of Fine Arts and other arts schools in Japan. These examples may have caused the popularization of the new-made term "bijutsu."

The methods used for creation and the use of created terms for the term "fine arts" -- which was "modern" and "European" to the non-European world, whether South Asia or West Asia-- were in and of themselves the same in East Asia and modern

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kaocha ji qita" [Chapter 2: Transitions of the Artistic Concepts of Modern China and Japan: Essays on the origin of the word "meishu" and others], "Guanyu "meishu" yici de yuyuan" [Section 1: Essays on the origin of the word "meishu"], *Jindai Zhongri Huihua Jiaoliushi Bijiao Yanjiu* [Comparative study of the history of exchange between Modern Chinese and Japanese painting], Anhui Meishu Chubanshe, 2000, pp. 62-69.

<sup>20</sup> Yan Juanying, *Taiwan Jindai Meishu Dashi Nianbiao* [Chronological Table of Major Issues in Taiwanese Modern Fine Arts], Xiongshi Tushu, 1998, pp. 7, 13.

<sup>21</sup> Center for Art Studies, Seoul, Korea, *Doung-Asia Hwehwasa-yunpyo* [The Painting Chronology of East Asia: From the Prehistoric Age to 1950], *Misulsa Rondan* [Art History Forum], vol. 5 Appendix, Center for Art Studies, Seoul, Korea, 1997, pp. 442, 461.

<sup>22</sup> Tsuruta, *ibid*, p. 6.



Europe. In South Asia, such as in India, the Hindi term "kalaa" which includes both painting and music is a traditional word deriving from the Sanskrit language, and it can also be used to mean "bijutsu" or "fine arts." While in both the Chinese character cultural sphere and in European usage, the terms "geijutsu" or "art" can at times be used to express the meaning of "bijutsu" or "fine arts." Things are same in the Islamic world. The Arabic terms used throughout the Islamic world, "al-funun ("jutsu" in Japanese) al-mustazarafa ("bi" in Japanese)," were combined to create a new term that mirrored the European traditional "bi" or "beaux" in French, "fine" in English and "jutsu" or "arts" in French and English. If this new Arabic term "al-funun al-mustazarafa " can be equated

thus to "bijutsu" and "beaux-arts" or "fine arts," then we can probably state that the method of creating new words was the same in the Chinese character-based cultural realm and in Europe or in the Islamic world. We can see the similar combined usage of mature, well-used traditional words such as "geijutsu or yishu" with the usage of such newly created words as "bijutsu" in both East Asia, including Japan which spearheaded the drive to modernization, and in South and West Asia, the majority of which was colonized by foreign powers. From this framework of old and new terminology we can, conversely, indicate the construct of Asia's pre-"bijutsu" framework made up of calligraphy and painting, sculpture and architecture.

Unlike Europe, Asia did not have a concept of fine arts that encompassed painting, sculpture, architecture, and craft until the modern era. As early as the beginning of the pre-modern period in Europe, that is, during the Renaissance period, Giorgio Vasari (1511-1571) produced his *Lives of the Artists (Le vite de' piu eccelenti pittori, scultori et architetti italiani*, first edition 1550) which described the lives of painters, sculptors and architects and their works of a kind of craft. Thus, while there was no specific term that combined these artistic endeavors, we know for a fact that an inclusive framework corresponding to "fine arts" had been fully established by that time (iv). Conversely, in the East Asian world centered on China, calligraphy and painting formed the framework of formative arts. In South Asia, centered on India, sculpture was the central art form. In West Asia, with its Islamic traditions, architecture occupied the artistic center of thought. Thus we can see, as has been previously noted, that opposite

to Europe of beaux-arts or fine arts stood an Asia of calligraphy and painting, an Asia of sculpture, and an Asia of architecture.<sup>23</sup> In that sense, the introduction of the concept of fine arts and the establishment of Asia of fine arts were elements of the modernization and Europeanization of Asia. The transformation from East Asia's traditional calligraphy and painting paradigm to a modern European-style fine arts paradigm evoked various forms of discord and friction in cultural worlds of each of the East Asian nations of China, Japan and Korea.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, even today these conundrums and contradictions are by no means fully resolved in each country. It would not be an exaggeration to say that these ongoing cultural struggles continue to expand throughout the Asian region.<sup>25</sup>

The *Meishu Congshu* included not only calligraphy and painting; it also covered such art forms as ceramics and textiles. Thus we can see even from its title, using the created term of "fine arts," that its inclusion of various formative arts genres made it fundamentally different from the traditional series published under the calligraphy-painting paradigm, such as the *Wangshi Shuhuayuan* [Mr. Wang's Series of Calligraphy and Painting] and the *Peiwenzhai Shuhuapu* [Peiwenzhai Series of Calligraphy and Painting]. It is possible that the title overemphasizes the difference, but nevertheless, the *Meishu Congshu* was a loud proclamation of a change to a different paradigm. Even so, the contents of the *Meishu Congshu* document how Deng Shi had yet to fully solidify his own concept of fine arts, vacillating between the new "meishu"[fine arts] paradigm and the existing "yishu"[arts] paradigm. The establishment of new fine arts schools throughout Asia brought about the introduction of the modern European system itself. In the Islamic world where painting was not necessarily superior to architecture or craft, and a genre such as sculpture did not exist, there was no major resistance to an educational curriculum that unified painting and sculpture per se. But in the field of calligraphy not existing in European fine arts, a group of artists have

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, *Shoga no Aja...*, pp. 485-512.

<sup>24</sup> In Ogawa, *op. cit.* "Shoga to bijutsu," I argued the need for a renewed awareness of the transition from the traditional calligraphy and painting paradigm to the European fine arts paradigm as it occurred in modern Japan. Further, the following discusses the question of the fine arts paradigm in Korea, where the calligraphy and painting paradigm was even stronger than in Japan, upon the 1922 establishment of the Korean Fine Arts Exhibitions: Igarashi Kōichi, "Chōsen bijutsuten sōsetsu to shoga" [The establishment of the Korean Fine Arts Exhibitions and calligraphy and painting], *Bijutsushi Ronsō* 19, 2003.

<sup>25</sup> The author has previously published an overview discussion of the introduction of European fine arts concepts into Asia as one of the cultural and national identity problems which accompanied modernization. See *op. cit.* *Shoga no Aja...*, which can be considered an introduction to further thoughts on this issue.

appeared who were set up as the "Calligraphic School of Art." Such a development was a natural direction for such artists to take in their desire to emphasize the identity of Islamic arts.<sup>26</sup>

While we can say that such a defense of tradition is easily understood in one sense, conversely, the efforts of the creators of the *Meishu Congshu* to transform the traditional East Asian art book series into a more inclusive modern European fine arts series encountered certain difficulties. In East Asia there had been a rich tradition of written materials related to calligraphy, even more so than painting, and thus calligraphy was not the problem in China. On the other hand, the decision to actively seek out examples of sculpture and architecture to include in the series led to considerable difficulties, given that there were very few published records of such, and the editors lacked specific knowledge about the genres. In fact, there were no articles on the subject of sculpture until the Third Series, though the earlier series had included articles related to music and craft such as the article about the Qing dynasty Cheng Xiong's *Qinxue Baze* [Eight Rules of Chinese Zither Studies] (First Series 1st series) depending on the traditional Siku Quanshu classification *yishulei* of the third category *zibu* of Four Categories of Chinese classical books and the Qing dynasty Lan Pu's *Jingdezhen Taolu* [Records of Ceramics of Jingdezhen] (Second Series 8th series) based on the concepts of fine arts. Deng Shi included one statement about music in his own *Tanyilu* section (Third Series 10th series). This state of affairs continued through the Fourth Series, and it was only when the publication reached the Sixth Series that material related to sculptural works, such as the Qing dynasty Lu Weiting's article, *Longmen Zaoxiang Mulu* [Catalogue of Statues Carved in Longmen] (Sixth Series 4th series) appeared. There is no mention of architecture in any of the Six Series. The exclusion of architecture from the *Meishu Congshu* may have had to do with the fact that existing articles on architecture were lengthy and unsuited to series publication. Also, after the concept of fine arts was introduced to Japan, architecture was gradually going to be omitted from the paradigm.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Wijdan Ali, "Continuity through Calligraphy," "Subject and Styles of the Calligraphic School of Art," and "Conclusion" in *Modern Islamic Art: Development and Continuity*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 1997, pp. 151-187.

<sup>27</sup> Ogawa Hiromitsu, "Bijutsushigaku ni okeru kenkyû to wa?: Daigaku to bijutsukan-hakubutsukan to no gakujutsu kôryû ni tsuite," [What is research in Art History?: Regarding the study exchanges between universities and museums of art and museums], *Bijutsushi Ronsô* 19, pp. 131-132.

Even though the *Meishu Congshu* was criticized on various points as flawed because of its selection of articles, and proofreading errors, etc.,<sup>28</sup> it did become popular, leading to the ongoing publication of new editions. As noted in this paper, publication of the *Meishu Congshu* preceded the establishment of the Shanghai School of Fine Arts, and the National Beijing School of Fine Arts. This Chinese series spread all over China and even into Japan where the newly minted term of "meishu/bijutsu" had been coined. Thus not only was this publication the pioneer at a major turning point from a formative arts paradigm based on traditional calligraphy and painting to a modern paradigm of fine arts, it was the most dramatic physical manifestation of this transformation. In that sense, it is not appropriate to consider both Deng Shi and Huang Binhong as the editors of the *Meishu Congshu*. Even if we consider the contributions made by Huang Binhong to the Supplemented 4th editions of a total of Four Series, we can consider that Deng Shi's role in the publication to the 3rd edition of a total of Four Series was overwhelmingly significant. Thus it is more appropriate to say that while Deng Shi and Huang Binhong were both editors of the work, Deng Shi was the founder of the publication who played the more important role in its history. At the very least, it was Deng Shi who effected the earliest successful transmission of the fine arts concept in China by directing and publishing, nearly to completion, a major series under the modern European concept of fine arts, against the tide of traditional Chinese arts publications focused on calligraphy and painting.

As a result, Deng Shi's efforts clarified the boundaries of the entire traditional bibliography on fine arts for later individuals who were critical of the traditional arts. We can say that it was Deng Shi who cleared the path for the Fine Arts Revolution, which was raised by cultural figures and the literati of the day. Among these figures were Chen Duxiu (1879-1942) and Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940) who had almost no opportunity to see traditional Chinese painting works in collections such as the Qing imperial collection. Another important figure was Luxun(1881-1936) who studied in Japan from 1902 through 1909 and might had a chance to be fully aware of the newly coined term "bijutsu" or "meishu." They might have been able to join the cry for a reform or a farewell to the

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<sup>28</sup> Yu Shaosong's *Shuhua Shulu Jieti* [Bibliography of Books on Calligraphy and Painting] discusses these matters in detail.

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traditional fine arts, that is, indeed the Fine Arts Revolution based on the concepts of fine arts established by the publication of the *Meishu Congshu*.

#### Supplementary notes

i) After my presentation at the symposium, as a follow-up I examined two English-Chinese dictionaries and two Chinese-English dictionaries; as a result only one Chinese-English and one both-in-one dictionary remain uninvestigated. As a result, among 55 English-Chinese and Chinese-English dictionaries of 19<sup>th</sup> century, at the moment I have examined 28 English-Chinese, 22 Chinese-English and 4 both-in-one dictionaries; in total 53 dictionaries. There is no influence on the main thesis of this paper.

ii) *A Dictionary of the English and Chinese Language* of F. Kingsell has two versions; printed in 1897 and 1899. The version of 1897, which I examined anew after my presentation at the symposium, cites exactly the same word to fine arts. Therefore strictly speaking, it was in 1897 when the word “fine arts” was quoted as “meishu”.

iii) Coincidentally after the symposium, my associate assistant, Ms. Sachi Ozeki gave me advise on the understanding of first citation of “die schönen Künste” and “beaux-arts” among the German speaking sphere, and my colleague Professor Atsushi Miura helped me with the word “beaux-arts” in the French speaking sphere as follows;

The early stage of the former, “die schönen Künste” or “beaux-arts” were coined as a title of a book, was found in Ritter/Gruener, *Historisches Wörterbuch der Phillosophie* (Basel/Stuttgart, 1976), and Brockhaus, *Die Enzyklopädie* (Leipzig/Manheim, 1996) points out Charles Batteaux, *Les Beaux Arts reduits a un meme principe* (1746), Moses Mendelssohn, *Hauptgrundsätze der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften* (1757), and Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeiner Theorie der schönen Künste* (1771-74), etc.

The latter “beaux-arts” was, according to Trésor de la Langue Française (Paris, 1975), coined in M<sup>me</sup> de Stael, *Corinne* (1807) and Vigny, *Le Journal d'un poète* (1856) and others. The set of words “beaux et de art” was first seen in La Fontaine, *Songe de Vaux* (1661). Please note that these examples are undivided yet with the meaning of today's term “arts” which includes music and drama. We have to depend on thorough investigation by the European art specialists regarding the timing when exactly “arts” and “fine arts” started to take separate paths.

In the book *Bigaku Jiten* [Dictionary of the Aesthetics] (The University of Tokyo Press, 1995) by Ken'ichi Sasaki, the problem between “arts” and “fine arts” is discussed comprehensively in the domain of “arts” and can be the basis of its consideration.

In anyway, it was only the midst of 17<sup>th</sup> century when artistic concept was established by coined terms such as “beaux-arts,” “fine arts,” and “die schönen Künste” were created, and even in Europe, clearly it cannot be discussed without modernization matters. Therefore the discussion that the Japanese art break out in the modern era, without considering European art, manifests serious doubt in regards to taking light of the problem of tradition and modern, not only in Japan but in the whole world.

Here I have to make clear that the internal and self-sustained concept fostered in European world and externally and heteronomously transferred concept in the non-European world including Asia, are totally different in its nature under the same category of modernization. The crucial difference is explained as basically for non-European world, modernization means transfer into European culture, or nothing but colonization.

iv) According to *op.cit. Bigaku Jiten* by Ken'ichi Sasaki, Vasari meant “art” by the words “arti del disegno” [art of disegno] and used vocabulary “bellissime arti” [most beautiful art] . Also Scamozzi used wording of “belle arti” [beautiful art] which came to France and transferred into “beaux-arts.” As a result, concept of modern art and fine arts has

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been established by before-mentioned Batteaux and others.

cf. *Bigaku Jiten*, p.33-34 and footnotes (14) and (16).

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After my presentation at the Symposium, Mr. Hiroyuki Suzuki kindly offered me a book, *Kôkoka tachi no 19 seiki*, [19<sup>th</sup> century of archaeologists] (Yoshikawa Kôbumkan, 2003). In the book he pointed out extremely interesting chaotic, I'd rather say, world of antiques without the sense of history, and it shows the true situation of transforming times of end of Edo Period and Meiji era, before "fine arts" as a framework with the sense of history, was established.

I would like to point out the question, however, that in the postscript of his book, "calligraphy and painting" with the sense of history as framework of formative arts were mixed up with "calligraphic works" and "paintings" in the meaning of two categories of figurative arts. In other words, just because calligraphic works and paintings in the meaning of two categories are formed into the world of antiques, it does not necessarily prove that "calligraphy and painting" with the sense of history as framework had not existed till then, nor it did not contribute to the creation of framework of "fine arts". As I have mentioned in my paper "Shoga to Bijutsu" [Calligraphy and Painting and Fine

Arts], referring to *Koga Biko* [Notes for the Traditional Paintings] by Asaoka Okisada, the existence of “calligraphy and painting” as a framework which contains historically calligraphic works and paintings in two categories made the acceptance of “art” as framework much easier.

cf. “Shoga to Bijutsu”, pp. 159-160.

In summary, for the people of Meiji era with enough sophistication of Chinese “calligraphy and painting”, it is suspected that , with some difficulty, it was not as difficult as people of modern era would imagine to re-establish the framework under historic view, by expanding the historic sense of “calligraphy and painting” and to re-fix “fine arts” which includes sculptures and crafts.

There is another question; Mr. Suzuki agrees with misunderstanding of the argument that there is no inherent vocabulary in a true sense in Japanese language which means “art”, citing Basil Hall Chamberlain’s *Nihon Jibutsushi* [Things Japanese] . If the words “Gei” and “Geijutsu” meaning “art” are the Chinese origin and therefore not the Japanese inherent vocabulary, then the word “art” itself stems from Latin language and thus not English inherent either. As I have shown in the paper citing OED, “fine arts” had been created only 100 years ago from the time, borrowing “beaux” and “arts” from French. However Chamberlain calls “fine arts” as “European fine arts” to expand the view by mentioning as if the word is English inherent and further states Japanese newly created word “Bijutsu” which combines “Bi” [fine] and “Jutsu” [arts] . I cannot help but to point out as a question towards Mr. Suzuki’s argument that agrees with Chamberlain. With the theory that Mr. Noriaki Kitazawa initiated and later Mr. Hiroyuki Suzuki succeeded, it is affirmative that since there was no vocabulary as fine arts before the 18<sup>th</sup> century in England, it is assumed that the history of English fine arts started during 18<sup>th</sup> century at most.

Hearing this, researchers of European fine arts history will bring forward a counterargument. Also if you say Chinese fine arts history begins in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, researchers of Chinese fine arts history will counter their argument in the sense more than emotional reaction to escape because the wording of fine arts, Meishu(Bijutsu) is newly created in Japan. This is because European and Chinese calligraphic works and paintings had been examined historically long before the concept of art was established



and transferred in, and systematic framework had long existed. Such as Dong Shi as I have raised in my paper, the fact that he could publish the book *Meishu Congshu* which mainly contains calligraphic works and paintings which are categorized into traditional 4 sections, “calligraphy and painting,” “books of Chinese lutes,” “seal cutting,” and “miscellaneous arts” in the books of “art” from the third category of the books of theories Zi, one of the traditional four-part categorization of Chinese books, the book and categories manifest the historic survey and they are the systematic framework themselves. In that sense, history before “fine arts” as Mr. Suzuki points out can be understood as “calligraphy and painting” as framework with historic sense become less effective and the situation before “fine arts” was established.

Furthermore after the symposium, Professor Tomoaki Sugano kindly offered two books, which are “Ryû Shibai Ronsho Shikô” [Essay on *Treatises on Calligraphy* by Liu Shipai] in *Kokusai Shogaku Kenkyû 2000* [International Studies on Calligraphy] (Sugawara Shobô, 2002) and “Kindai Chûgoku to Bijutsu” [Modern China and Fine Arts] in *Shodôshi Gakkai Kaihō* [Memoirs of the Society of the History of Calligraphy] vol.4, 2002. He points out in the former book that after *Guocui Xuebao* [Bulletin of the National Culture] vol.3-1 in 1907, fine arts section was newly established, and in the latter book based on his argument in the former book, the first citation of fine arts in China dates back than 1910 as mentioned in *Jindai Zhongri Huihuashi Jiaoliu Bijiao Yanqiu*[Comparative Studies of Exchanges between the Histories of Modern Chinese and Japanese Painting] by Chen Zhenlian. As I have explained in the paper, Shanghai Guocui Xuebao She, the publisher of *Guocui Xuebao* is inextricably linked to Shanghai Shenzhou Guoguang She, the publisher of *Meishu Congshu*, and it is extremely interesting to see the concrete citing of pre-stage of publishing the latter book.

Here I'd like to point out that the value of publishing *Jindai Zhongri Huihuashi Jiaoliu Bijiao Yanqiu* was not only the fact that the book provides the accepting period of fine arts concept. Talking about the period only, as I mentioned in the main body of this paper and additional notes (ii), K. Kingsell, *A Dictionary of the English and Chinese Language* is considered as earliest at the moment; and it is possible to find out the citation earlier than 1897 as the survey proceeds. Fundamental value is that he, as a

Chinese, clearly states that the concept was accepted from Japan without blurring where the artistic concept came from. In that sense, historic significance of Chen Zhenlian's book will never disappear.

Figures:



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

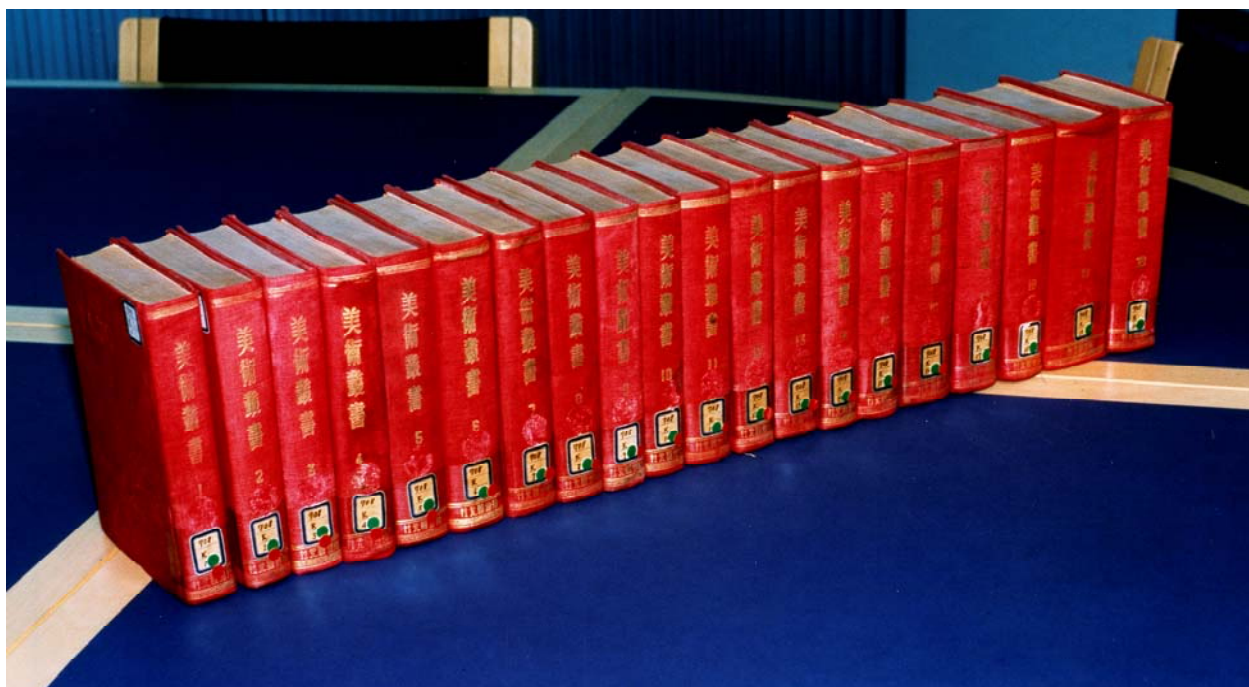


Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

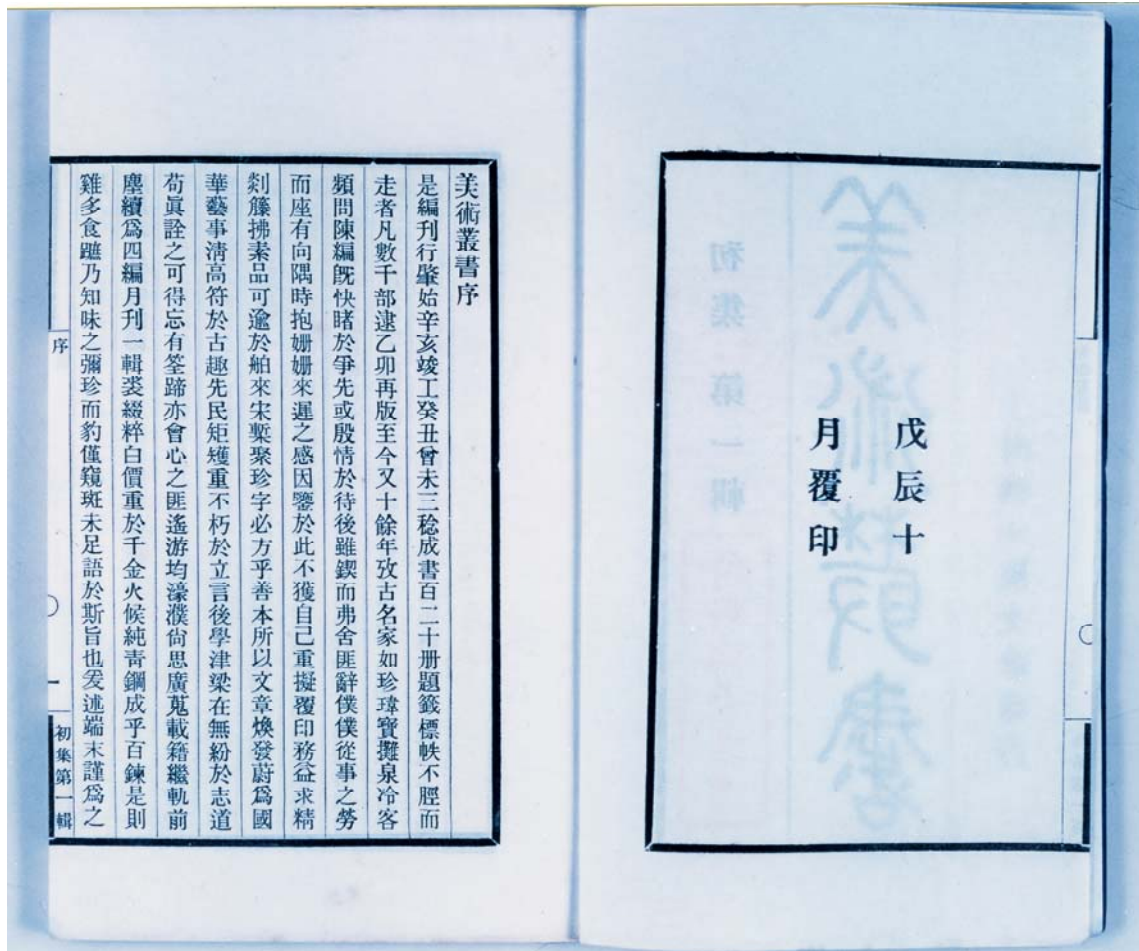


Fig. 6



Fig. 7

淨, 清; nice, 妙; subtle, artful, 妙巧; elegant, 美, 美妙, 精緻; beautiful, 妙, 美, 雅, 精, 美麗; very handsome, 甚美; excellent, 妙, 優; [the fine arts, 六藝, 美術, 精工]; amiable, 可愛; fine cloth, 幼布, 細布; fine silver, 精銀; a fine countenance, 美容; a fine figure, 丰姿, 秀氣; a fine woman, 美女; a fine gentleman, 秀雅之人; a fine scholar, 髦士, 吉士; fine dress, 講究衣服, 華麗衣服; fine silk thread, 緬; fine work, 妙工, 細工; a fine idea, 妙想, 巧思; fine wine, 旨酒; a fine plan, 妙計; fine hair, 幼細頭髮, 細毛; fine hair-cloth, 幼毛布; fine weather, 晴天, 晏, 淑氣; a fine landscape, 好景, 佳景; fine crockery-ware, 幼細磁器; it is really very fine, 真正好; you are a fine fellow! 爾果好人; these are fine doings! 此的真好工夫; a fine way of jesting! 好談諧.

Fine, *n.* A mulct, 罰項, 罰款; to pay a fine, 交罰款; in fine, 到底, 究竟, 終之, 總之.

Fine, *v. t.* To clarify, 淨之; to refine, 鍊, 煉.

Fine, *v. t.* To punish by fine, 罰, 罰銀; to fine one five dollars, 罰人五大員.

Fine-fingered, *a.* 妙手, 巧手. Fine-grained, 幼

Fine-spoken, *a.* 講得幼細, 巧言, 諂媚之話. [細]

Fined, *pp.* Refined, 煉過; purified, 淨過.

Finedraw, *v. t.* 補得幼細.

Finedrawer, *n.* 巧手織補.

Finespun, *a.* 幼細.

Finestill, *v. t.* 由糖水蒸酒.

Finely, *adv.* In minute parts, 幼細; beautifully, 妙; finely ground, 磨得幼細; finely spotted, 妙點的; finely done, 做得幼細; wretchedly, 拙劣.

Fineness, *n.* Thinness, 幼細者; smallness, 纖微者; clearness, 清淨; elegance, 華麗; beauty, 妙美; show, 榮華; subtlety, 巧者; the fineness of metal, 金之精, 精金者.

Finer, *n.* 煉金者.

Finer, *a.* comparative of fine. The finer the better, 愈幼愈佳.

Finery, *n.* Splendor, 華麗, 光華, 華美; in iron works, a furnace, 煉鐵爐. [猜]

Finesse, *n.* Artifice, trick, 巧計, 詭計; craft, 狡

Finger, *n.* 手指; the fore-finger, 食指, 二指, 將指, the middle finger, 中指; the ring finger, 無名指; the small finger, 小指, 季指; the nail of the finger, 指甲; the finger's end, 指頭, 指頂, 指尖; very beautiful fingers, 十指纖纖; beautiful fingers, as a lady, 玉指; counting by the fingers, 屈指算; more than can be counted by the fingers, 指不勝屈; to feel with the

fingers, 摩; to point with the fingers, 指; to count along by the fingers, 指點; a finger's breadth, 一指之闊; to have a thing at one's fingers' ends, 慣習如手指, they are finger and thumb, 齊心合力; to have a finger in the pye, 染指; with a wet finger, 懶慢; to divine by the fingers, 掐時.

Finger, *v. t.* To touch with the fingers, 摩; to handle with the fingers, 拈; to finger the lute, 彈琴, 鼓琴; to finger money, 拈錢; to finger tea, 拈茶; to finger any one, 打人. [虛]

Finger-board, *n.* 琴頸. Finger-bowl, 手盅, 洗手

Finger-cot, *n.* 鞞, 極. Finger-glass, *n.* 手盅.

Finger-post, *n.* 衰道柱, 表道樹, 行栗.

Finger-ring, *n.* 戒指. Finger-shell, 指螺.

Finger-stone, *n.* 矢石.

Fingered, *pp.* or *a.* 拈過; having fingers, 有指.

Fingle-fangle, *n.* 小事, 小可微物.

Finical, *a.* Foppish, 毛疵, 好妝扮, 小家種.

Finikin, *a.* 毛疵.

Fining, *ppr.* Clarifying, 淨之; refining, 煉.

Finis, *n.* 終, 完.

Finish, *v. t.* To end, 完, 成就, 做成, 完全, 畢, 已, 訖, 既, 止, 卒; to polish, 磨光; to finish a business, 完事, 結局, 了局, 竣事, 畢事; to finish a work, 成工, 完工, 竣工; finish him! 殺之; what do you ever finish? 成何事體.

Finish, *n.* The last hard, smooth coat of plaster on a wall, 批完灰者; beautiful finish, 做得甚好.

Finished, *pp.* or *a.* Completed, 完了, 成了, 畢, 完妥, 妥當, 停妥, 清楚, 既; a finished work, 完工; beautifully finished, 妙工, 巧工; finished speaking, 言畢, 說了; finished working, 做完; finished writing, 寫完了, finished eating, 食完了; all is finished (spent), 使清楚.

Finisher, *n.* 做完者.

Finishing, *ppr.* or *a.* 完, 成就, 畢.

Finishing, *n.* Completion, 成就者, 完者; the last polish, 磨完者.

Finite, *a.* Having a limit, 有限的, 有窮有盡; bounded, 有限界; finite period, 限時; a finite being, 有限之有; finite concerns, 有限之事,

Finitely, *adv.* 限內, 有限. [今世之事]

Finiteness, *n.* 有限者.

Finless, *a.* 無翅的.

Finlike, *a.* 翅樣, 類似翅.

Finny, *a.* 有翅, 翅類, 鱗類.

Fiord, *n.* An inlet from the sea, 灣.

Fir, *n.* 杉樹, 松樹, 枞, 檫; the silver fir, 銀松.

Fire, *n.* 火; a great fire, 大火, 盛火; a blazing fire, 炎, 燄; a fierce fire, 猛火, 烈火, 熾火, 焔;