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当代书法理论文集系列

华人德书学文集

中国出版集团学术著作出版资助项目 华人德/著

人施

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华人德书学文集

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图书在版编目(CIP)数据

华人德书学文集/华人德著.-北京:荣宝斋出版社,2008.8

ISBN 978-7-5003-1050-1

Ⅰ.华… Ⅱ.华… Ⅲ.汉字-书法-研究-文集 Ⅳ.J292.1-53

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2008) 第 064329 号

当代书法理论文集系列

华人德书学文集

出版发行 茅寶齊出版社 邮编 100735

地 址 北京市东城区北总布胡同 32 号

制 版 北京燕泰美术制版印刷有限责任公司

印 刷 三河市尚艺印装有限公司

开 本 787毫米×1092毫米 1/16 印张 21

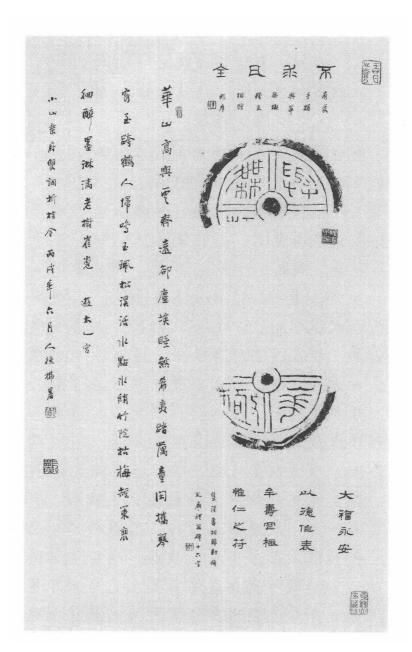
版 次 2008年8月第1版

印 次 2008年8月第1次印刷

印 数 0001-3000

定 价 58.00元

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作者墨迹

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华人德书法史研究的理论价值 (代序)

□白谦慎

对于当代中国书学来说,20世纪的80年代是一个分水岭。在80年代以前,真正的断代史研究以及断代史中深入的个案分析是非常缺乏的。即使是沙孟海先生那篇写于30年代、广受好评的《近三百年来的书学》,也还只是流派的梳理和主要书家的点评,谈不上是深入的个案研究。中国书法史研究走向深入和细致,是在80年代以后,而这一趋势又是由一批中青年学者的研究所带动的,华人德正是这批中青年学者中的代表之一。华人德是在碑学书法方面很有造诣的书法家,他的书法史研究也围绕着碑学展开。他的研究可分为两大块:早期书法史部分,专攻汉魏六朝,晚期书法史部分,专攻清代碑学。这两段书法史之间,又存在着有机联系,前者是源,后者是流。他的重要研究成果有《中国书法史·两汉卷》、《中国书法全集·三国两晋南北朝墓志》和本论文集所收入的论文。这些研究成果继承了乾嘉以来的朴学传统,结合20世纪考古的新发现,对特定历史时期的书法现象的文化背景、社会体制、艺术风格、名物制度都有深入精彩的分析。

今天,华人德的书法史研究已经得到学界的广泛认可和推重,但是,人们对他的书法史研究所具有的理论价值,似乎还没有清晰和充分的认识。而有没有这样的认识,不但涉及到我们应该怎样评价华人德的贡献,还关系到如何建设当代中国书学的问题。因此,充分认识华人德书法史研究的理论价值,其意义也就超出了对一位学者成就的具体评价了。

要讨论华人德书法史的理论价值,首先需要对什么是"理论"作一个说明。过去人们常常把所有书学研究都称之为理论工作,书法的"理论"成为和书法的"实践"相对应的一个概念。在这种对"理论"所作的宽泛理解中,书法史的研究属于书法理论。而本文所说的理论,是一个和历史研究相对应的概念。凡是对某种现象进行分析,探寻其中的规律性,并上升到一定的高度来认识,我们就可以称之为理

论,或者说至少是具有理论意义的尝试。因此,我这里所说的理论,并不见得是和 形而上的哲学、或美学相关的由上而下的理论。凡对书法史现象进行归纳,分类, 总结,进而推导出比较宏观的结论,都可以说是理论的建构,这是自下而上的理论。 华人德的许多书法史个案研究虽然不见得就是直接的理论诉求,却具有理论价值。 下面我列举《华人德书学文集》中的三篇论文,结合我本人的研究,予以说明。

《论东晋墓志兼及兰亭论辩》是华人德的力作,此文最初发表在台北的《故宫学术季刊》,尔后被翻译成英文在美国的《中世纪早期研究季刊》上发表,获得东西方学界的好评。在这篇论文中,华人德排列了近四十年来出土的和著录中可靠的东晋墓志,进行了细致的比较,归纳出东晋墓志的形质和书风特征,进而对其形成的原因作了分析。他指出,东晋士族墓中出土的墓志乃为临时性的标识,所葬士大夫希望子孙将骸骨迁回先人旧茔,所以,墓志由工匠刊刻,形质简单,书风粗糙,和士大夫中流行的书风迥然相异。从书法史研究的角度来看,这篇文章对墓志书法发展中的一个环节作了令人信服的分析,而墓志书法又是碑学书法的一大宗,它的意义自然不同寻常。至于东晋墓志乃工匠所为、和上层社会书风无涉的论述,也给郭沫若先生以东晋墓志的隶书书风来论证《兰亭序》为伪作的观点来了个釜底抽薪。

那么,除此之外,这篇论文还有没有超乎断代书法史的意义呢?当然有。近十年来,我一直在关注中国书法中的应酬现象,认为这是中国书法艺术的一大特色,对书法的创作、流通、使用都有影响,并出版过《傅山的交往和应酬》的专著。那么,在历史上,每个时代的应酬方式和规模都是一样的吗?应酬对书风影响的程度在各个朝代相同吗?应酬在何时变成了比较普遍的书法现象呢?这其中有无规律可循?由于我们对各个时代的应酬书法现象还缺乏细致的描述和分析,我还无法回答以上的问题。但是,在读了这篇论文中关于东晋士大夫精美的书札主要流行于南渡上层士族的论述后,结合自己对明末清初应酬书法的研究,我在《傅山的世界》中提出了以下的假设:"一般说来,在社会阶层的分野比较清晰严格的历史时期,书法是精英专擅的领域,那时虽然也有应酬书法,但是应酬之作主要使用、周转于具有相同文化背景和审美观念的社会阶层。不但在数量上可能会相对少,而且由于受书人和观众的艺术鉴赏力比较高,从而约束应酬之作的品质保持在比较高的水准上。

像东晋时期士大夫那样的书作,应和那时等级森严的门阀制度造成的文化环境有关。 但在有的历史时期,社会阶层的分野由于社会经济文化的急剧发展和社会错位而变 得模糊,上下文化之间的互动也因此变得频繁,这也给书法的创作和使用带来影响。"虽说这一具有理论性格的假设还需要有更为细致的书法史研究来验证,但是, 它的提出首先就受到了华人德的书法史个案研究的启发。

此外,上下层文化之间的界定、互动、游移关系,是近二三十年以来西方学界 关注的理论问题。六朝时期是等级比较森严的历史时期,比较这个历史时期和其他 历史时期的上下文化之间的互动,是十分有意义的书法史研究课题。而可靠的比较 首先就要建筑在具体的历史个案研究之上。

《分析郑长猷造像记的刊刻以及北魏龙门造像记的先书后刻问题》是一篇标题 格外长、字数却不多的论文,看起来它谈的是北魏书法中一个十分具体的技术性问 题,但实际的意义则远远超出了技术的范围。《郑长猷造像记》 是龙门二十品之一, 康有为在《广艺舟双楫》中把它捧得很高,称之为"上为分书之别子,下为真书之 鼻祖","雄强厚密","沉著劲重"。华人德通过对《郑长猷浩像记》和其他浩像记 在龙门石窟古阳洞的刊刻部位的比较, 以及对为计字书丹所打界格和漏字、漏刻笔 画等的分析,证明《郑长猷造像记》是先书丹后刻,而刻工本身并不识字。由于书 丹今已不存,我们无法直接判断书丹者的书法水平。但华人德在归纳了众多同时期 的书刻后,做了一个非常合情合理的推断. 出资造像的功德主只需刻上名字和祈愿 文字, 就已达到目的, 对书刻的优劣并不关心。 而寺院僧侣也常对题记采取应付的 态度。但正是这一刊刻马虎的造像记,在一千三百多年后,被康有为认为是魏碑中 ` 的佳品,和龙门其他造像记一起成为中国书法的"经典"。于是,这里便有了一个 "经典形成"(canon-formation) 的问题。关于经典如何形成,在西方学界是一个重 要的理论问题, 但中国书学界这方面的研究尚未展开。 自从碑学兴起后, 许多本来 并没有被人们关注的文字遗迹逐渐地变成了经典,难道这个"经典形成"的过程不 值得我们认真研究吗?我在《与古为徒和娟娟发屋——关于书法经典问题的思考》 一书中,初步讨论了这个问题,而我的研究也得益于华人德的这篇论文。

如果说华人德关于东晋墓志和《郑长猷造像记》的论文都是十分具体的断代书

法史个案研究的话,那么能够反映出他对古今书法史渊博的知识和他的综合概括。 逻辑推理能力的, 便是《评帖学与碑学》议篇论文。"帖学"和"碑学"是两个极 为重要、但又使用得十分混乱的概念。华人德在对众多的书法史现象进行梳理后、 指出两者的本质区别在于: 帖学取法历代名家法书, 碑学以唐以前无名氏书迹为取 法对象。真是一语中的!根据这一定义,我们可以把"帖学"理解为中国书法史上 由历代名家法书构成的谱系。而"碑学"取法的无名氏书迹,既有粗糙的,也有极 为精美的,有了这个定义,书法史上许多看似混乱的问题便可迎刃而解。所以,我 的《傅山的世界》一上来就引用华人德的这一定义来界定研究的范围。

为什么我要在《华人德书学文集》出版之际,专门指出华人德书法史研究的理 论价值呢?因为,从20世纪80年代以来,书学界对理论有兴趣者,对哲学著作的 关心远胜于对书法史学成果的关注和吸收。人们对理论的理解常常限于古代书论。 现代文论和各种中西理论著作,而忽略了书法艺术是在具体的历史场景中展开的。 由于时代变迁, 地域不同, 社会背景各异, 书法家们面临的具体历史场景常是各不 相同的,因此,从历史研究中汲取材料和灵感,对理论的建设至关重要。如果我们 看看西方艺术史上有重大理论建树的学者潘诺夫斯基和巴克森达尔,他们本人就是 研究文艺复兴时期艺术史的专家。有兴趣的读者不妨读读曹意强先生翻译的巴克森 达尔的《意象的模式》,其中的种种理论都是从个案研究引发出来的。中国学者也 完全可以从中国书法史研究中发展出有特色的理论。

数年前,我曾在一篇文章中指出,"在21世纪的中国书法研究中,细致的史学 研究和对理论的关怀与研究应构成中国书学研究中有张力的两端,两者互相在对方 寻找问题意识,尊重对方的发现,在健康的互动下,既产生有理论关怀的个案研究, 也建立宏观而圆通的理论"。在我看来,当今中国书学的理论建设,更应重视发展 自下而上的, 有历史感的理论。正是基于这一认识, 我建议读者们认真关注华人德 平实的书法史研究中蕴藏着的理论价值。

2007年元旦于波士顿

The Theoretical Value of Hua Rende's Research in the History of Chinese Calligraphy

Qianshen Bai

The 1980s constituted a watershed in historical studies of Chinese calligraphy. Before this decade, there were few case studies of individual calligraphers, specific periods, or individual calligraphic phenomena. Even Mr. Sha Menghai's famous, well-received essay, "Calligraphy from the Most Recent Three Hundred Years," published in the 1930s, remains research that, while outlining major schools and commenting on the accomplishments of important calligraphers, is too general to qualify as an in-depth case study.

With the 1980s, however, research into the history of calligraphy turned toward greater specialization and sophistication. This trend was led by a group of middle-aged and young scholars, of whom Hua Rende is representative. As an accomplished calligrapher in the Stele School tradition, Hua Rende's research interests are also related to this school. His research can be roughly divided into two phases: in the earlier, he focused on the history of calligraphy from the Han dynasty through the Six Dynasties period, a time that has been treated as the stylistic source period of the Stele School. In his later phase, he has focused on the Qing dynasty, during which the Stele School fully matured. His major publications include History of Chinese Calligraphy: the Han Dynasty; Complete Works of Chinese Calligraphy: Epitaphs from the Three Kingdoms, Jin Dynasty, and Southern and Northern Dynasties; and Collected Essays of Hua Rende. Inheriting the Qian-Jia tradition of plain scholarship, he integrated new archaeological discoveries, and explored in depth the artistic trends, social institutions, and historical contexts of calligraphy during specific periods.

Today, Hua Rende's historical researches are widely recognized and respected, but the theoretical implications of his research have been less fully and clearly understood. Knowledge of this aspect of Hua Rende's research not only will help us to more fully evaluate his contributions but will also demonstrate how calligraphy studies should be

further pursued in contemporary China. Thus, the implications of the theoretical value of Hua Rende's research go beyond merely evaluating its author's immediate accomplishments.

Before discussing the theoretical value of Hua's research, I would like to clarify the term "theoretical" as used here. Because, in the Chinese context, the term "theory" has been very broadly applied to any type of research in calligraphy, it is viewed as the opposite of practice. Research into the history of calligraphy is thus regarded as part of the "theory of calligraphy." Here, however, what I mean by the term "theory" differs from its usual use in China. I extend it to include an intellectual effort that differs from, yet is related to, historiography. Any analysis of a phenomenon, any exploration of the general tendencies and rules of this phenomenon, any generalizing from a phenomenon may be described as "theory," that is, research with theoretical implications. However, what I intend to refer to here by "theory" is not something related to philosophy or aesthetics, nor is it derived from or does it imply metaphysical premises. Any efforts related to the classification of the historical phenomena of calligraphy or the deduction of general tendencies from historical phenomena that reach broad conclusions may be viewed as a bottom-up theoretical construction. Hua Rende's case studies in calligraphy history may not have been intended to add up to formal theoretical constructions, yet, they contain rich theoretical value. To support this claim, I would like to discuss three articles included in the present collection.

"Eastern Jin Epitaphic Stones - With Some Notes on the 'Lanting Xu' Debate" is important research by Hua Rende. It was first published in the *Palace Museum Research Quarterly* in Taipei, then translated into English by Ian Boyden and published in *Early Medieval China* in the United States. Well received both East and West, this article lists inscriptions on Eastern Jin epitaphic stones excavated over the previous forty years as well as epitaphs found in reliable records by past scholars. It carefully compares them in terms of their shapes, forms, materials, and calligraphic characteristics, then analyzes the genesis of these epitaphic stones.

Hua notes these epitaphic stones were temporary tombstones meant to mark the graves of deceased northerners. When the northern regions of the Western Jin dynasty were

conquered by outlying tribes beyond the Great Wall, the elite members of Western Jin society and government fled south and founded the Eastern Jin, which controlled only the southern portions of traditional Chinese territory. When members of this displaced elite died, Hua's research shows that it was expected that their bodies would one day be transferred to ancestral graveyards in the north. Because they were viewed as temporary, the stones marking the graves of the displaced northerners were carved by lower-class artisans in plain physical forms and coarse writing styles that differed significantly from calligraphic styles popular among the northern elite.

Epitaph calligraphy is an important component of traditional stele calligraphy, and Hua's article convincingly analyzes this critical link in the historical development of epitaphic stones. His conclusion that the inscriptions on Eastern Jin epitaphic stones were written and engraved by artisans who did not practice the styles of contemporary elite calligraphy is important because it undercuts a major contention of Guo Moruo. Guo believed that extant Tang copies of Wang Xizhi's Lanting Xu (Preface to the Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion) derived not from Wang's original work but from a post-Eastern Jin forgery. Guo came to this conclusion because, while Wang worked during the Eastern Jin, the styles of surviving examples of his Lanting Xu show little resemblance to the styles of epitaph inscriptions securely dated to the Eastern Jin. This caused Guo to theorize that extant Tang copies of the Lanting Xu do not derive from Wang's style but reflect a later style that developed after the Eastern Jin. In effect, he supposed that Wang wrote in a style close to that found on Eastern Jin epitaphic stones, or at least in a style substantially different from later models of what has long assumed to have been Wang's style in calligraphy. Hua counter-argues that, during the Eastern Jin, the styles of elite calligraphy and engraved inscriptions by artisans were quite different, and he therefore concludes that Guo was wrong to use writing by artisans to challenge the authenticity of the elite style of extant copies of Wang's Lanting Xu. In effect, Hua maintains that the traditional understanding of Wang's style, while somewhat diffused by a long accumulation of stylistically variable exemplars, nevertheless remains, even in its variability, substantially different from authenticated artisanal styles of the Eastern Jin.

Granted this point, the question arises, does this article have theoretical implications that extend beyond the calligraphy of the Eastern Jin? The answer to this question may be approached by a consideration of *yingchou* (calligraphy made for social occasions). I have devoted considerable attention to this phenomenon since the late 1990s, and I have come to believe that *yingchou* are an important component of calligraphy that over time has had considerable impacts on the creation, circulation, and social functioning of calligraphy generally, a topic I discuss in the Chinese version of my *Fu Shan's World*.

Nevertheless, there are significant questions about the role of yingchou in calligraphy history. Were the styles and functions of *yingchou* in different periods similar? Were their impacts the same? When did yingchou become a prevalent social phenomenon? Do general rules govern its social functions? Given the present lack of detailed descriptions and careful analyses of yingchou, these questions are difficult to answer at present. But given Hua Rende's argument that the elegant, graceful calligraphy of the Eastern Jin scholar-officials circulated only among aristocrats who immigrated from North to South as a result of the turmoil that interrupted the Jin dynasty, and based on my own study of yingchou calligraphy in the late Ming-early Qing period, I proposed the following hypothesis in the Chinese version of Fu Shan's World: "In general, in a period in which the social boundaries between different social classes were relatively clear and strict, calligraphy was an art of the elite. Although yingchou calligraphy was made for social purposes, it was used and circulated among members of the elite class who shared a common cultural background and aesthetic orientation. Not only was the volume of yingchou calligraphy relatively small compared to other periods, but also the high artistic sophistication of recipients and viewers in elite circles would have conditioned calligraphers to write their yingchou calligraphy with great care and in styles practiced by that elite. While the accomplished, sophisticated calligraphy of Eastern Jin aristocrats was the product of a cultural environment based on a strict social hierarchy, in other historical periods, boundaries between social classes were fuzzier owing to rapid social, economic, and cultural changes as well as to social dislocations. In this

context, more frequent interactions between high and low societies would have impacted the creation and use of calligraphy." Although this theoretical hypothesis needs testing against the evidence of detailed case studies, it was initially inspired by Hua Rende's research on Eastern Jin calligraphy.

In addition, the definitions, interactions, and fluctuations of high and low cultures raise theoretical issues that in recent decades have attracted scholarly attention in western academia. Because the Six Dynasties period was characterized by a strictly hierarchical social system, comparing this period with other periods with respect to the degree of interaction between upper and lower social classes should prove an important research subject in future studies in the history of calligraphy. However, such comparative research in future historical studies must be based on solid, bottom-up case studies such as those by Hua Rende.

Hua's "Analysis of the Inscription for the Buddhist Pictorial Engraving Commissioned by Zheng Changyou and the Problem of Whether Inscriptions for Northern Wei Buddhist Pictorial Engraving Were First Written and Then Carved" is a short article with a long title. At first glance, its title makes this article seem like a discussion of a concrete technical question in Northern calligraphy, but its significance goes well beyond the technical dimensions of stele calligraphy. The Inscription for the Buddhist Pictorial Engraving Commissioned by Zheng Changyou is one of the so-called Twenty Inscriptions for Buddhist Pictorial Engravings in the Longmen Caves. In his famous Guang Yizhou shuangji (Expansion of the Yizhou shuangji), Kang Youwei (1858-1927) characterized this inscription in elevated terms, describing it as "the direct descendant of clerical script and the origin of regular script," "vigorous, substantial, and dense," "serene, powerful, and dignified."

Hua Rende conducted a detailed analysis of the *Inscription for the Buddhist Pictorial Engraving Commissioned by Zheng Changyou* with interesting results. Most importantly, in studying the text of the inscription, he discovered that characters had been omitted accidentally from the text, and that other characters are missing strokes. But these kinds of

mistakes and omissions were not ones that would likely have been made by literate persons, and therefore the carver must have been an illiterate who only carved what had been written out previously by someone else. In the end, Hua believes that the *Inscription for the Buddhist Pictorial Engraving Commissioned by Zheng Changyou* was first written on its stone in red ink and was subsequently engraved by an illiterate carver.

Because the written version of the inscription in red ink has not survived, we are unable to judge the quality of its original calligraphy. But after studying many inscriptions of the same period, Hua Rende made a reasonable inference: those who commissioned Buddhist pictorial engravings were satisfied so long as their names and prayers were engraved into the rock near the relevant imagery. That is, while the commissioners were concerned about the content of these inscriptions, they cared little about the quality of their calligraphy and carving. Moreover, the Buddhist monks responsible for managing the production of these images were often rather careless in the way they dealt with their accompanying inscriptions. Without knowledge of these background conditions, when Kang Youwei reviewed one of these carelessly engraved inscriptions thirteen hundred years after it was made, he declared it, together with other inscriptions from the Longmen Caves, an excellent example of Northern Wei epigraphic calligraphy. This inscription was thus transformed into a canon of Chinese calligraphy.

Kang's glorification of the *Inscription on the Buddhist Pictorial Engraving Commissioned by Zheng Changyou* immediately raises the issue of "canon-formation." However, Hua Rende's bottom-up analysis of the historical conditions under which Northern Wei Buddhist pictorial engravings were created raises serious theoretical questions about the nature of their role in the history and (thanks to Kang Youwei) the historiography of Chinese calligraphy. The question of how a canon is formed has been an important theoretical issue in the West, but in the field of Chinese calligraphy studies, this issue has not attracted sufficient scholarly attention. With the emergence of the Stele School of calligraphy in the Qing dynasty, many ancient anonymous writings that had not received critical or artistic attention were gradually brought into an expanding canonical system, which in itself is good

reason for us to study the process of canon formation. In my book, Reflections on the Issue of Canonicity in Chinese Calligraphy, I have made a preliminary study of this issue, research that benefited from Hua Rende's article on the Inscription for the Buddhist Pictorial Engraving Commissioned by Zheng Changyou.

Above, I have discussed two of Hua Rende's carefully detailed case studies of period calligraphy. But the article that best reflects his erudite knowledge of ancient calligraphy and his ability to generalize and make logical inferences is his "On the Model-Book and Stele Schools of Calligraphy." The "Model-Book School" (*Tiexue*) and "Stele School" (Beixue) are two critical yet not clearly defined concepts. It was Hua Rende who has carefully observed various phenomena in the history of calligraphy and pointed out the basic distinction between these two schools: while the Model-Book School treats calligraphy by famous calligraphers from successive dynasties as models of learning, the Stele School draws inspiration from pre-Tang stone engravings by anonymous calligraphers or artisans. Remarkably, he hits the mark with this simple, single comment! With this definition, many confusing problems in the history of calligraphy are neatly resolved. For this reason, I cited Hua Rende's research when defining my research goal at the beginning of my *Fu Shan's World*, which deals the emergence of the Stele School in the early Qing dynasty.

Why point out the theoretical value of Hua Rende's research into the history of calligraphy on the occasion of publishing his collected essays? Because, since the 1980s, those interested in theoretical models when researching calligraphy have paid more attention to building philosophical constructs than to absorbing research by calligraphy historians. Often, in studies of ancient calligraphy theory, modern literary theories, or other theoretical topics, researchers' understanding of "theory" has suffered from a considerable limitation: researchers have overlooked that the art of calligraphy unfolded in concrete historical contexts - that calligraphers have worked, and continue to do so, in varying contexts that differ in period, region, and social circumstance. Since these historical contexts have critically influenced the conditions under which calligraphy has been

produced, it is essential to incorporate the research materials and conclusions of historical case studies into the formulation of theoretical interpretations of the history of calligraphy. In the West, some scholars who have contributed significantly to the formation of major theories are themselves art historians; for instance, Panofsky and Baxandall are experts on Renaissance art. As an example of the latter's work, interested Chinese readers may consult Mr. Cao Yiqiang's translation of his *Patterns of Intension*. In this work, Baxandall shows how several theories have been derived from case studies. Chinese scholars, too, can develop new theoretical proposals based on studies of the history of calligraphy.

Several years ago, in an article on current state of calligraphy study, I commented, "In the twenty-first century, there should be two major components of Chinese calligraphy studies: detailed historical studies and broad theoretical concerns. Each component can profit from stimulation by the other. Practitioners of each approach should respect, value, and utilize the discoveries of the other in the context of a healthy interaction between the two not only to create case studies with theoretical implications, but also to formulate broad and general theories of calligraphy made more meaningful by being grounded in historical research." I believe that, in its current state, theory-making in calligraphy would, when devising theoretical interpretations of historical developments in Chinese calligraphy, profit from greater attention to the history of those developments. For this reason, I suggest readers pay close attention to the theoretical implications of Hua Rende's research into the history of Chinese calligraphy.