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# 正统与野道

ORTHODOXY OR WILD WAY:  
WANG DUO AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

王铎与他的时代

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张以国 著 Yiguo Zhang

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## 正统与野道：王铎与他的时代

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WANG DUO AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

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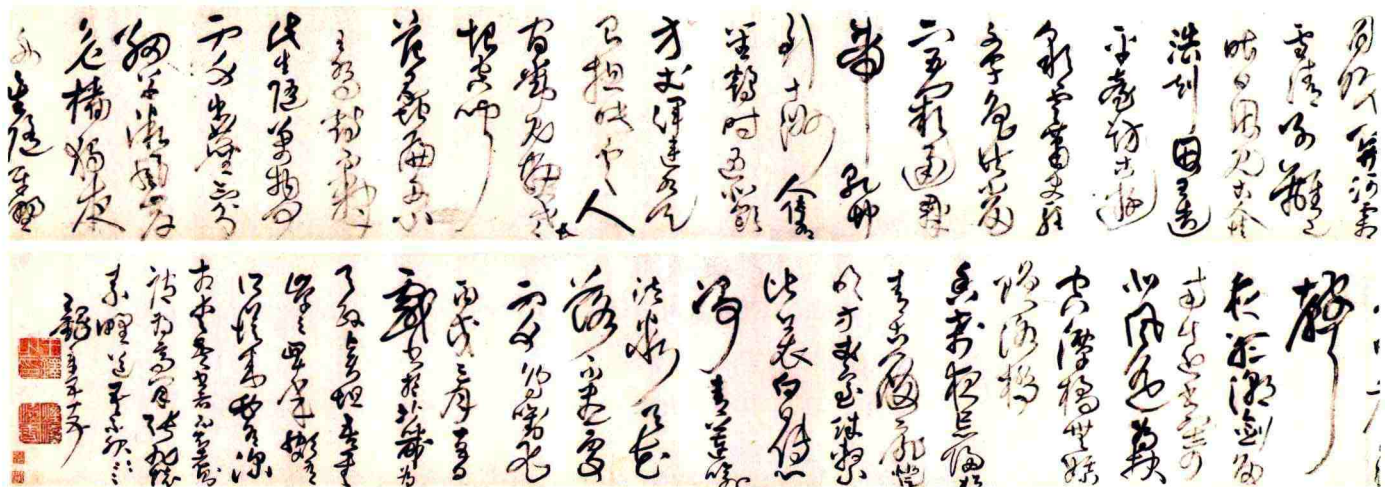
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### 王铎《唐诗卷》

1646 年作，手卷，纸本  
27.9 × 756.9 厘米  
上海博物馆藏

何年顾虎头，满壁画沧州。  
赤日石林气，青天江海流。  
锡飞常近鹤，杯渡不惊鸥。  
似得庐山路，真随惠远游。  
[杜甫：《题玄武禅师屋壁》]

凤林戈未息，鱼海路常难。  
候火云峰峻，悬军幕井干。  
[风连西极动，月过北庭寒。]  
故老思飞将，何时议筑坛。  
[杜甫：《秦州杂诗二十首》之第十九首]

带甲满天地，胡为君远行。  
亲朋尽一哭，鞍马去孤城。  
草木岁月晚，关河霜雪清。  
别离已昨日，因见古人情。  
[杜甫：《送远》]

浩劫因王造，平台访古游。  
彩云萧史驻，文字鲁恭留。  
宫阙通群帝，乾坤到十洲。  
人传有笙鹤，时过北山头。  
[杜甫：《玉台观》]

方丈浑连水，天台总映云。  
人间长见画，老去恨空闻。  
范蠡舟偏小，王乔鹤不群。  
此生随万物，何路出尘氛。  
[杜甫：《观李固请司马弟山水图三首》之一]

细草微风岸，危樯独夜舟。  
星垂平野阔，月湧大江流。  
名岂文章着？官应老病休！  
飘飘何所似？天地一沙鸥！  
[杜甫：《旅夜书怀》]



昔闻洞庭水，今上岳阳楼。  
吴楚东南坼，乾坤日夜浮。  
亲朋无一字，老病有孤舟。  
戎马关山北，凭轩涕泗流。  
〔杜甫：《登岳阳楼》〕

客路青山外，行舟绿水前。  
潮平两岸阔，风正一帆悬。  
海日生残夜，江春入旧年。  
乡书何处达，归雁洛阳边。  
〔王湾：《次北固山下》〕

楚山不可极，归路但萧条。  
海色晴看雨，江声夜听潮。  
剑留南斗近，书寄北风遥。  
为报空潭橘，无媒赠洛桥。  
〔祖咏：《江南旅怀》〕

香刹夜忘归，松青古殿扉。  
灯明方丈室，珠系比丘衣。  
白日传心静，青莲喻法微。  
天花落不尽，处处鸟衔飞。  
〔綦毋潜：《宿龙兴寺》〕

丙戌三月十五日，戏书于北畿，为天政贤坦。吾书学之四十年，颇有所从来，必有深相爱吾书者，不知者则谓为高闲、张旭、怀素野道，吾不服、不服、不服！



## Wang Duo *Tang Poems*

1646, handscroll, ink on paper  
11 × 298 in  
Shanghai Museum Collection

*Can you tell me the year that Gu Hutou  
Painted Cangzhou on the wide temple-wall?  
Red sun, rocks, woods, blue sky.  
Pelicans flying where the monk's staff falls,  
And the kingfishers fear not the floating boat?  
This is the right road to the Lu-Mountain!  
I'll follow Huiyuan on his pilgrimage.*  
[Du Fu, "A Mural Painting." Translated by Underwood]

*The war in Fenglin goes on,  
The road to Yuhai is dangerous still.  
Beacon-fire clouds crown the peak.  
The vanguard camps have dried the wells.  
The fierce wind is shaking violently in the West,  
The cold moon illuminates the North.  
I, the old man, long for General Li,  
When will he come to lead us!*  
[Du Fu, "The Nineteenth of Twenty Poems in Qinzhou."]

*While fighting fills the universe,  
Why must you go on a long journey?  
Your relatives and friends weep  
To see you leave this lonely city on saddled horse,  
When the countryside is no longer green, because the year is late,  
When the frost and snow are clean, because the roads are deserted.  
Human parting is not new;  
We understand now why the ancients were sad.*  
[Du Fu, "Sending a Friend off on a Long Journey." Translated by William Hung]

*These giant steps were made by King Teng,  
I have come to Pingtai in search of antiquity.  
Immortal Xiao Shi was once carried here in bright-colored clouds.  
King Teng's inscription is still on the wall.  
The great temple is so tall it can reach every king;  
The boundless sky and earth cover the ten states.  
It is said that the immortal, carrying a crane and playing a reed pipe,  
Often passes the northern mountain peak.*  
[Du Fu, "Jade Platform Watch."]

*Fangzhang Island lies cradled by the sea.  
Tiantai Mountain shimmers in the clouds.  
In life, I've seen so many paintings.  
I have become old, and detest my ignorance.  
Tiny boat, are you taking Fan Li to his seclusion?  
Aloof crane, are you carrying Wang Qiao flying in the sky?  
My life should follow nature.  
When will I escape this mundane world?*  
[Du Fu, "Watching Li Guqing's Brother's Demonstration of Painting."]



*By the bank where the fine grass bends in a gentle wind,  
my boat's tall mast stands in the solitary night.  
The stars hang down over the great emptiness of the level plain,  
and moon bobs on the running waters of the Great River.  
Literature will bring me no fame,  
A career is denied me by my age and sickness.  
What do I most resemble in my aimless wanderings?  
A seagull drifting between earth and sky!*

[Du Fu, "Thoughts Written While Traveling at Night." Translated by David Hawkes.]

*Long ago I heard about the waters of Dongting,  
and now today I have climbed up Yueyang tower.  
The lake cleaves the lands of Wu and Chu to east and south.  
Day and night the world floats in its changing waters.  
Of friends and family I have no word.  
Old and ill I have only my solitary boat.  
The warhorse stamps north of the passes.  
I lean on the railing and my tears flow.*

[Du Fu, "On the Yueyang Tower." Translated by David Hawkes]

*Path for a wanderer past the blue mountains,  
A boat moving on before the green waters.  
High waters level, the two shores wide,  
Wind holds steady, a single sail far.  
Now sun born from sea in the last of the night,  
Spring comes to the river in the year before.  
And where shall letters from home reach me?  
Migrating geese, toward the edge of Luoyang.*

[Wang Wan, "Reaching to Foot of Beigu Mountain." Translated by Stephen Owen.]

*With Chu Mountain beyond reach.  
I return on the desolate road.  
The sea is as clear as rainwater.  
Deep in the night, the sound of the river echoes the tide.  
The southern stars tell me I'm far from home,  
My books are hard to send here.*

*I want to show proper gratitude to Kongtan Orange,  
But no messenger can reach Luoyang Bridge.*

[Zu Yong, "Southern Journey."]

*Burning joss sticks, I forget to return at night.  
I stay with the pine trees and the ancient temple.  
Lamps illuminate the abbot's room,  
Pearls adorn the monk's robe.  
In the white Sun, I set my heart on tranquility,  
The green lotus, reveals the subtleties of the law.  
Heavenly flowers fall without cease,  
Everywhere birds snatch them away in flight.*

[Qi Wuqin, "Dragon Flourish Temple."]

# 序言

吾书学之四十年，颇有所从来，必有深相爱吾书者。不知者则谓为高闲、张旭、怀素野道，吾不服、不服、不服（图1）！

顺治三年（1646）三月十五日，王铎（1592~1652）在北京创作了一件以杜甫（712~770）诗为主的草书唐诗长卷。在卷尾处，他题了以上这个极不寻常的跋文。<sup>[1]</sup>作为研究王铎的出发点，这个题跋涉及到早期书法的两个主要趋势，并为我们

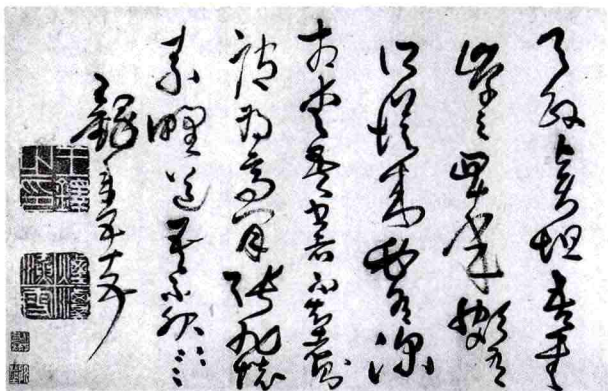


图1 王铎《唐诗卷》局部 1646年作 手卷 纸本 27.9×756.9厘米 上海博物馆藏

研究王铎对两者的综合，提供了珍贵的线索。

作为明朝的高官“次辅”，王铎曾在南京打开城门投降了满清。无疑，这成为他政治生涯中无法抹去的耻辱。创作《唐诗卷》的时候，他刚刚搬到北京不久，再度为官，只不过这一次，所效奉的是招降他的清朝。此前两年，明朝崇祯皇帝自缢于景山，这不仅标志着一个朝代的结束，也给王铎留下了苦恼的选择：是效忠于逝去的明王朝？还是服从新的满清统治者？当时，王铎最亲密的两个朋友倪元璐（1593~1644）和黄道周（1585~1646）都步了明皇的后尘——倪元璐选择了悬梁自尽，而黄道周在抗清的斗争中被俘，后宁死不屈，终被清军杀害。这些朋友的牺牲精神，体现着历来备受推崇的传统美德——忠、孝、节、义。相反，王铎却选择了屈服投降、背叛大明，做了“贰臣”，所以从传统伦理的角度去评判，他理应受到道义的谴责。然而，也正是在这一时期，王铎的艺术生命达到了巅峰，对这一点，王铎觉得颇为满意，虽然略带讽刺的是，他在政治上同时收获的是落魄与屈辱。

纵观中国历史，比起其他艺术形式来，书法常常能够超越时代的限制，逃脱现实的迫害而获得发展。身处明末清初的动乱年代，王铎在艺术中找到了自己精神的避难所，而且在现实生活中，他的书法也得到了一些人的理解与赏识。题跋

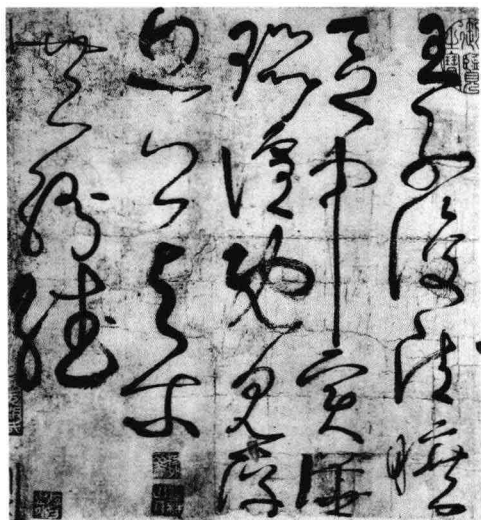


图2 张旭《古诗四帖》局部 手卷 五色笺  
195.2×29.1厘米 辽宁省博物馆藏

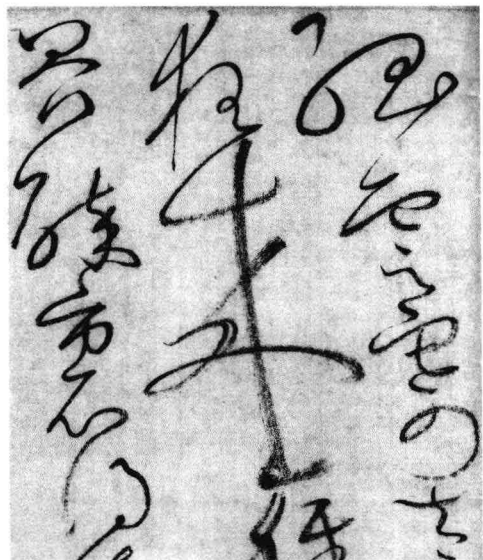


图3 怀素《自叙帖》局部 手卷 纸本 775×28.3  
厘米 台北“故宫博物院”藏

中的自诩口吻，竟和儒家的谦逊传统截然对立，可见他书写时的兴奋状态。更为傲慢的是，他直接批评唐代的草书大家张旭（活跃于847~859）、怀素（活跃于7世纪）（图2-3），还给他们贴上了“野道”的标签，坚决要与之划清界限。卷尾处三个有力的“不服”，语气如此强烈，情绪如此激动，态度如此倔强，是之前所有题跋中都不曾见过的。显然，他已经把艺术放在了不堪的个人声誉之上了。

在书法史上，王铎用浓烈情感表达的题跋形式有着重要的意义。题跋是出现在书、文章、绘画、书法作品以及印章结尾处的一种文体，多为简短文章或诗词，它常由艺术家本人、收藏家、鉴赏家或其他的书法家来书写。一般来说，题跋显示出书写者对作品的评判态度，或承载着后人对原作的敬慕之情。在各种言简意赅的跋语中，自跋这种形式可以概括出作品的深刻意义以及艺术家的个人追求，而他人的题跋则可以成为作品的一种诠释。此外，后世艺术家的题跋，加上已故作者的自跋，往往会在作品上保留着不同时空中的艺术家们的合作。例如：元代的赵孟頫（1254~1322）就写过很多关于王羲之《兰亭集序》的题跋，在十三个题跋中，他表达了对书法的深刻理解，并得出结论：<sup>[2]</sup>

书法以用笔为上，而结字亦须用工。盖结字因时相传，用笔千古不易。<sup>[3]</sup>

不难看出，此跋语是艺术家对其一生艺术创作的总结。

所以，有人感觉题跋难以理解，也有人认为题跋的内容过于即兴和随意，这都是很正常的。其实，只有通过对题跋所包含的历史与艺术进行深入的分析，才会发现其中所蕴藏的奥妙，王铎在《唐诗卷》中的题跋便是典型的一例。由于唐诗经常被书家转抄，所以正文中流露的多是诗歌本身的内容，而关于书写者的政治生活和进退两难的处境，诗文中并没有透露多少信息。书写时，王铎将所有的精力都集中到了书法的创作上，没有受任何外界因素的影响，从而使得那种激情与理智之间恰当的张力贯穿始终。到了收尾的题跋处，似乎他的情感突然发生变化，甚至可以说是一种强烈的爆发。那么，为什么作者四十年来一贯稳定的书写方式会发生如此大的转变？为什么在面对书法这一语言文字与视觉形象结合得最好

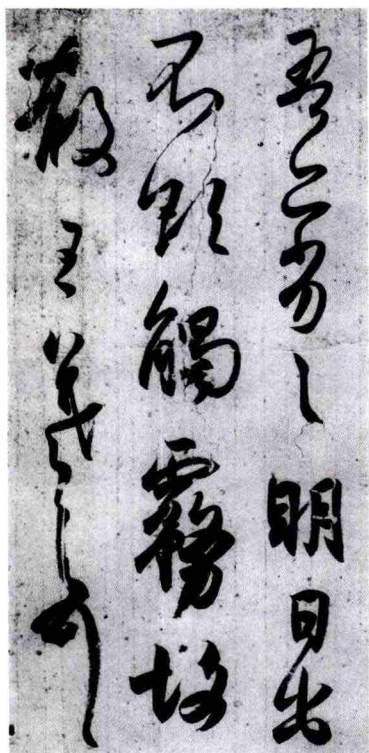


图4 王羲之《得示帖》局部 纵28.7厘米 日本宫内厅三之丸尚藏馆藏

的表达方式时，王铎没有在自己众多的诗词杰作中把其中的某些择为媒介？要知道王铎是一位多产的诗人，据说他的诗作超过了一万首。而他在进行书法创作时，选用的却是别人的诗歌！归根结底，原因在于就当时的社会环境而言，毫无顾忌的发表个人观点是非常危险的。作为“贰臣”的王铎，只能借用别人的诗词来表达自己的情感，尽管后来他宣称自己最好的书法常以自创诗歌为基础。

但不管怎样，王铎在题跋中所表达的思想显然是属于美学范畴的。一般来说，题跋会道出一幅作品的灵感来源。从这个角度来讲，

《唐诗卷》最后的题跋并没有直接提到书法创作的由来，而是从反面表明了这件作品并非来自某个传统。关于他的书法来源可能在此后的题跋中说的更加明确一些：王铎把自己的书法归属为复古主义或者古典主义。虽然他曾说自己

己终生都是通过效仿二王而追求书法艺术的“正统”（图4），但事实上，《唐诗卷》的题跋内容中却并没有提及他与二王之间的这层关系。也许跋中所言“颇有所从来”，能够解释王铎为何如此——因为他已经超越了“独宗羲献”的层面，实践的完全是他的自家风范，这一点在《唐诗卷》的艺术风格中得到了最好的证实。在《唐诗卷》中，我们没有找到任何磅礴与优雅之间的平衡，也没有发现任何柔美的风格倾向。与之相反，整幅作品洋溢着一种雄强的气势。王铎的书法采用的是中锋用笔，偏离了王羲之、王献之的“棱侧”线条，而与张旭、怀素的方法十分接近，但他又坚决否认自己与张旭、怀素之间的联系。

尽管在笔法上极其相似，但王铎的形式、风格与“野道”是明显对立的。不可否认，《唐诗卷》明显带有狂放的特点，但它在结构上仍然保留着细腻的控制与纯然的理性，遵循着草书简化的规律。其实，王铎担心有人会误解他的作品也并非多虑。例如华希曾就曾说：“觉斯草书绝伦，实出自怀素。”<sup>[4]</sup>另一位鉴赏家顾莼（1765~1815）也曾有言：“草书至唐素公而一变，王铎全学素公，即以书论，已非二王嫡嗣。”<sup>[5]</sup>现代书法家林散之（1898~1989）认为，王铎是继怀素之后最伟大的书法家，但林对这两者之间具体的风格关系却并未谈及。<sup>[6]</sup>

这个题跋为我们理清人们对王铎艺术的不同认识提供了一个新的方向。如果



他的来源既不是二王也不是张旭、怀素，那么这件作品所呈现的自然就是一种全新的、空前的风格。许多崭新的艺术风格与趋向，如同对已有的金属材料进行合金加工一样，实际上是将已有的方式进行移植或综合。当王铎的书法风格逐渐显露时，人们只需看看他的早期作品，便会发现它们与《唐诗卷》之间的巨大差异。若想在追溯其书法的演进过程中，清晰的界定这种新风格的特征，就需要仔细的分析王铎是如何学习这两个迥然不同的书法流派的，需要去理解王铎所处时代可能存在的美学潮流和倾向。只有这样，才能真正理解王铎那句意味深长的“吾书学之四十年，颇有所从来。”

最后，我们必须弄清王铎的书法风格与十七世纪中国文化、思潮的关系。在分析复古主义与反复古主义，“正统”和“野道”的对立中，来界定王铎在化解对立学派间的矛盾时所扮演的角色。若将《唐诗卷》与王铎的艺术理论相联系，并用这一时期的文化运动潮流来考察《唐诗卷》，我们便可以对十七世纪的中国文化以及这一时期的书法大家们有一个独特的认知视角。

- 1 在《唐诗卷》的开头有题签“王孟津草书杜少陵诗卷，过云楼物”。“过云楼”是清代苏州顾氏家族的收藏馆名。1951年到1959年间，顾家两次将文物捐献给上海博物馆，这个手卷是其中的一件。然而，最初顾氏所给的题签为《王孟津草书杜少陵诗卷，过云楼物》。事实上卷中有七首诗是杜诗，而其他三首出自唐代的另外三位诗人。以下的许多出版物包括笔者本人的书都延用了顾氏给的名称：《中国书法鉴赏大辞典》（下），北京：大地出版社，1989年版，第1073页；《中国书法篆刻鉴赏辞典》，北京：农村读物出版社，1989年版，第983—984页；张以国：《书法：心灵的艺术》，北京大学出版社，1991年版，第98—106页；台北：书馨出版社，1992年版，第77—83页；《王铎》，卷2，北京：荣宝斋出版社，1993年版，第649页；《中国书画鉴赏辞典》，北京：中国青年出版社，1988年版，第1463—1465页。
- 2 元武宗（1308～1311）期间，至大三年（1310）赵孟頫奉诏，乘船从吴兴前往大都（今北京），他的朋友独孤淳朋（1259～1336）赶来送别，并赠予《宋拓定武兰亭序》。三十天的旅行中，赵孟頫不断研习临摹《兰亭序》，并写了十三次跋文，故世称《兰亭帖十三跋》。
- 3 赵孟頫：《兰亭序十三跋》，长春：吉林文史出版社，2009年版，第8页。英文的翻译参见方闻：《心印：爱德华·埃列特与约翰·埃列特收藏中国书画》，新泽西：普林斯顿大学艺术博物馆，1987年版，第98页。
- 4 华希曾：《跋枯兰复花图》，《中国古代书画图目》卷6，编目苏1-241，北京：文物出版社，1987年版，第72页。
- 5 顾莼：《跋王铎鲁斋歌》，《书谱》，1984年第3期，第53页。
- 6 林散之的题跋见《王觉斯草书诗卷》，南京：江苏美术出版社，1986年版。

# INTRODUCTION

I have practiced calligraphy for over forty years. My forty years of study of calligraphy certainly has its sources, and I believe that there must be some people who deeply love my [present] work. Those who do not understand it might regard it as the wild way of the calligraphy of Gao Xian (active 847–859), Zhang Xu (active 7th century), and Huaisu (ca. 735–790). I don't agree. No, I don't agree (fig. 1)!

吾书学之四十年，颇有所从来，必有深相爱吾书者。不知者则谓为高闲、张旭、怀素野道，吾不服、不服、不服！

On the fifteenth day of the third month of 1646, Wang Duo 王铎 (1592–1652) created a handscroll in cursive script from ten Tang poems, most by Du Fu (712–770), to which he added the above colophon.<sup>[1]</sup> This inscription, which will serve as a focal point for this study of Wang Duo, alludes to the two major trends in early Chinese calligraphic art and provides an invaluable insight into Wang's synthesis of them.

In his public life, Wang had the ignominious distinction of being the high Ming official (*cifu* 次辅) who surrendered the city of Nanjing to the Manchus 满族, and at the time he wrote the Tang scrolls he had recently moved to Beijing to serve China's new rulers. Two years earlier, the Ming emperor hanged himself on a tree in the imperial garden, leaving Wang with the agonizing choice of either serving the Manchus or remaining loyal to a lost cause. Two of Wang Duo's closest friends, the Ming officials Ni Yuanlu 倪元璐 (1593–1644) and Huang Daozhou 黄道周 (1585–1646), had followed the emperor's example: Ni Yuanlu hanged himself and Huang Daozhou was killed by the Manchu ruler, having chosen death over submission after being captured by the Qing army in battle. Their sacrifices reflected the most admired traditional virtues—loyalty, filial piety, integrity, and righteousness. In contrast, Wang Duo surrendered, betrayed the Ming, and became "an official of two dynasties" (*erchen* 贰臣), traditionally regarded as morally reprehensible. It was during this period, however, that Wang Duo's art reached its high point, a fact he regarded with great satisfaction and almost certainly with bitter irony, given his hapless and humiliating political life.

Throughout most of Chinese history, calligraphy has enjoyed a special immunity to the persecutions that have suppressed and at times almost smothered other art forms. During

the turbulent period of the Manchu conquest, Wang could find refuge in his art and continue to reach an audience who would understand and appreciate it. The boastful tenor of the colophon, in direct conflict with the Confucian tradition of modesty, reflects his excitement over the direction his work had taken. More arrogant still, he bluntly criticized the sage calligraphers of the Tang dynasty, Zhang Xu and Huaisu, labeling their calligraphy "the wild way" 野道 (figs. 2-3), and was adamant about disassociating himself from them. In a series of suspended dots, applied forcefully at the end of the work, Wang brushes out three uncompromising "not trues," his tone so strong, his feeling so intense, and his manner so stubborn; there is no other colophon like it. He was clearly a man who put his art above any reputation for humility.

The form of the colophon in which Wang Duo expressed his feeling has special importance in history of calligraphy. The colophon is a short essay or poem appearing at the end of a book, article, painting, work of calligraphy, or seal. It can be brushed by the artist himself, or by collectors, connoisseurs, and other calligraphers. Colophons in general constitute an approach to criticism and a miniaturized history that are held in considerable esteem by scholars. In their extreme compression, original colophons can epitomize the meaning of the imagery, the artist's intention, and when added by others, a history of interpretations. They also have the miraculous ability to preserve on paper a collaboration between a living artist and one long dead. Zhao Mengfu 赵孟頫 (1254–1322) of the Yuan dynasty, for instance, wrote many colophons on Wang Xizhi's 王羲之 (303–361) series of scrolls, *Preface to the Orchid of Pavilion Collection* (*Lantingji xu* 兰亭集序).<sup>[2]</sup> Over the course of thirteen colophons, Zhao commented on his deepening understanding of the meaning of calligraphy and concluded:

In calligraphy, brushwork is the most important element, yet the artist must also carefully work on the construction of each character. While the construction of a character changes over time, brushwork never changes.<sup>[3]</sup>

书法以用笔为上，而结字亦须用工。盖结字因时相传，用笔千古不易。

This piece of writing is a distillation of the artist's entire life and work. It is not surprising that some scholars find colophons inscrutable and others dismiss them as too spontaneous and informal to be taken seriously. In fact, it is only through careful study of them, and of the historical and artistic context in which they were composed, that the colophons may yield their secrets. Wang Duo's colophon to the *Tang Poems* is a case in point. About his own political life and his attitude toward his dilemma, the scrolls are mute, and the Tang poems themselves were too often transcribed by calligraphers to be revealing in and of themselves. While it may be that Wang Duo is entirely focused on the art of calligraphy, and without any reference to external circumstances, the tension



between passion and control evident throughout the scroll and the abrupt, almost violent assertions at the end of the colophon certainly suggest a state of emotional conflict. Why, after forty years of practicing in a more staid manner, would there suddenly be such a tremendous change in Wang Duo's calligraphy? And why, calligraphy being the most expressive of the verbal and visual arts, would he not follow the model of so many of his celebrated works and write out his own poems as a medium for his work? Wang Duo was, after all, a very productive poet, with over ten thousand poems. Although he later claimed that his best calligraphy was based on his own words, he lived at a time when the overt expression of personal feelings was dangerous.

On the surface at least, he confines his thoughts in the colophon to aesthetic issues. While colophons typically declare the source or inspiration of a work, in this case Wang does not specify the sources of his calligraphy; he merely states what they are not. In later colophons he classifies his practice as one of archaism or classicism, and at times stated that he spent his whole life in the pursuit of orthodoxy through imitation of two other Wangs (*duzong xixian* 独宗羲献) Wang Xizhi (fig. 4) and his son Wang Xianzhi 王献之 (344–388). But in the colophon to the *Tang Poems*, Wang does not even mention this connection. The phrase "my forty years of study calligraphy certainly has its sources" may explain why. He had gone beyond *duzong xixian* to embark on a form of practice entirely his own, something the stylistic features of the scroll bear out. Here we find none of the balance between boldness and grace that is apparent in the style of the two Wangs, and there is nothing of their gentle stylistic tendencies. Rather, Wang Duo's calligraphy is filled with a wildly majestic power. And, unlike Wang Xizhi and his son, Wang Duo executes his lines with the centered-tip of the brush rather than the edge and sides, a method that is much closer to that of Zhang Xu and Huaisu, whom he so forcefully repudiates.

Yet, despite the similarity in brushwork, Wang Duo's style stands in marked contrast to the "wild way." Although it is certainly bold and dramatic, it remains carefully controlled and entirely rational in its structure in accordance with long standing conventions of abbreviation in cursive script. In spite of this, Wang Duo's concern about the misunderstanding of his work was probably well founded. For instance Hua Xizeng 华希曾 stated: "Juesi's [Wang Duo] calligraphy is excellent, and in fact comes from Huaisu."<sup>[4]</sup> And another connoisseur, Gu Chun 顾莼 (1765–1832) commented: "The cursive is changed by Huaisu in the Tang dynasty, and Wang Duo totally followed him, and departed from the two Wangs' foundation."<sup>[5]</sup> Calligrapher Lin Sanzhi 林散之 (1898–1989) praised Wang Duo as the greatest calligrapher in history after Huaisu, without, however, defining any specific stylistic relationship.<sup>[6]</sup>

The colophon provides a means for resolving the conflicting interpretations of Wang Duo's style. If the source is neither the two Wangs nor Zhang Xu and Huaisu, then it is

natural to conclude that the style was new, without precedent. Most new artistic styles and movements, in fact, are the result of grafting or synthesizing existing methods in the same way a new alloy is formed from existing metals. While Wang Duo's new style emerged gradually, one need only look at his earliest work to see how far he had come in the *Tang Poems*. Tracing the evolution and clearly defining the attributes of the new style demands, as a foundation, that we look closely at how Wang Duo studied these two distinct calligraphic systems to be able to understand the aesthetic trends available in his era. It will then be possible to understand what Wang Duo meant by "my forty years of study calligraphy certainly has its sources."

Finally, we must understand Wang Duo's approach to calligraphy against the cultural and ideological backdrop of the seventeenth century. By analyzing the struggle between Classicism and Anti-classicism or Romanticism, between the orthodox and non-orthodox or "wild way," we can define the role Wang Duo played in reconciling conflicting schools. By relating the *Tang Poems* scroll to Wang Duo's theories and examining the work within the context of the cultural movements of the period, we can gain a unique perspective of the culture of seventeenth-century China, as well as the calligraphy of its greatest master.

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- 1 At the beginning of the scroll, there is the title "Wang Mengjin's [Wang Duo] Cursive Scroll of The Poems by Du Shaoling [Du Fu], the collection of Guoyunlou." 王孟津草书杜少陵诗卷, 过云楼物。Guoyunlou is the collection title of the Gu family 顾氏 in Suzhou, started in the Qing dynasty. In 1951 and 1959 the Gu family twice made donations to the Shanghai Museum, including this scroll. In the title of the work, however, the Gu family misattributes the poems to Du Fu. In fact, there are seven poems by Du Fu and three all by other Tang poets. Many publications, including one of my own, have made this mistake: *Zhongguo shufa jianshang dacidian* 中国书法鉴赏大辞典 (The Dictionary of Chinese Calligraphy), vol. 2 (Beijing: Dadi chubanshe, 1989), 1073; *Zhongguo shufa zhuanke jianshang cidian* 中国书法篆刻鉴赏辞典 (The Dictionary of Chinese Calligraphy and seal), (Beijing: Nongcun duwu chubanshe, 1989), 983-84; Yiguo Zhang 张以国, *Shufa xinling de yishu* 书法: 心灵的艺术 (Calligraphy: the Art of Heart and Soul) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 1991), 98-106; (Taipei: Shuxin chubanshe, 1992), 77-83. Wang Duo, vol. 2 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1993), 649; *Zhongguo shuhua jianshang cidian* 中国书画鉴赏辞典 (The Connoisseurs Dictionary of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting) (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1988), 1463-65.
  - 2 In the reign of Emperor Wu Zong 武宗 (1308–1311), the third year of the Zhida era (1310), Zhao Mengfu took a boat from Wuxing 吴兴 to the capital Dadu 大都 (Beijing today) when summoned by the Yuan emperor. The monk Gu Du sent him a scroll of Lantingji Xu in the town of Nanxun, which was located in Wuxing county. During the thirty-day trip, Zhao constantly studied this work, proceeded to write thirteen colophons on the end paper of this work, and brushed an imitation of the original.
  - 3 Zhao Mengfu, "Lantingxu shisanba" 兰亭序十三跋 (The Thirteenth Colophon on *Preface to the Orchid of Pavilion Collection* (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 2009), 8. The English translation is based on Wen Fong 方闻, *Images of the Mind: Selection from Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting* 心印 (New Jersey: Art Museum, Princeton University Press, 1987), 98.
  - 4 Hua Xizeng, "Ba Kulanfu huatu" 跋枯兰赋花图 (A Colophon on Withered Orchid) in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu, juan 6*, cat. 1-241 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), 72.
  - 5 Gu Chun, "Ba Wang Duo Luzhaige" 跋王铎鲁斋歌 (A Colophon on Luzhai Song), *Shupu* 书谱, no. 3 (Hong Kong, 1984), 53.
  - 6 Lin Sanzhi wrote this criticism in a colophon on the *Wang Juesi [Duo] caoshu shijuan* 王觉斯草书诗卷 (Cursive Poetry Scroll by Wang Duo) (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1986).