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Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Context of *Guang yizhou shuangji*

As a politician, philosopher, cultural reformer, writer, scholar, art educator, and artist, Kang Youwei (1858–1927) is one of the most important figures in modern Chinese history. *Guang yizhou shuangji* is undoubtedly one of the most important art-historical publications in modern China. It was banned by imperial order only seven years after its publication, an unusual fate for an art-historical and theoretical treatise. Since the end of the last imperial dynasty in China in 1911, the treatise has become one of the most read in the Chinese art world. The main focus of this book is an illustrated translation of “Buying Stone Rubbings,” Chapter 3 in *Juan [Book] I* of *Guang yizhou shuangji* (“Expansion of Paired Oars for the Boat of Art”), also entitled *Shujing* ("The Mirror of Writing"), published by Kang Youwei in 1889. The wording of Kang Youwei’s book title pays homage to the book *Yizhou shuangji* (“Paired Oars for the Boat of Art”) by his predecessor Bao Shicheng (1829–1884).

Kang Youwei’s text provides an innovative curriculum for aspiring artists. The title, “Buying Stone Rubbings,” actually has very little to do with “shopping,” and much more with the careful study of selected masterpieces in the form of rubbings made from recently excavated or rediscovered steles originally created over one thousand years earlier.

In all the editions of *Guang yizhou shuangji* published since 1889, no il-
Illustrations were given. By translating “Buying Stone Rubbings,” in which Kang Youwei lists the most important art works to be studied by aspiring artists and presents his rationale for his selections of these masterpieces, and by providing illustrations of selected “masterpieces” mentioned in the text, the present book will provide a concise introduction to his curriculum for the art of Chinese calligraphy. In addition, the original Chinese book (now in the collection of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing) used in preparing this book is reproduced in its entirety at the end (Figs. 3.1–16).

As the late Frederick W. Mote (a Sinologist at Princeton) wrote in his 1989 preface to Calligraphy and the East Asian Book, Chinese calligraphy as an art form owes its special character to the nature of the Chinese script itself: “Its forms are capable of a vast range of extension and variation; subject to the discipline of tradition and the inventiveness of personal style, for which alphabetic scripts in the Western tradition offer no counterpart.”

“Calligraphy” (< Gk. kalligraphia < kalos beautiful + graphein to write) is actually a misnomer in reference to Chinese. Chinese writing does not involve a simple alphabet of a few dozen symbols; it embraces some 60,000 distinct ideograms, giving it an incomparable level of diversity and complexity (Qiu, 2000). Sinologists have used the familiar term “calligraphy” simply as a convenient near-equivalent in English.

The writing system is such a deep part of Chinese culture that there have been violent political movements sparked by attempts at standardization (Kraus, 1991). The script has also been the basis for Chinese painting for more than a thousand years, because both writing and painting are traditionally done with the same kind of brush and require similar kinds of line production; some Chinese paintings even include writing as part of the composition. In China, calligraphy is often regarded as the most important and demanding in the hierarchy of the visual arts. Moreover, calligraphy, poetry, and painting are often mentioned together as the san-jue or “Three Perfections” in Chinese cultural and artistic discourse. This is particularly evident when visual and verbal representations are integrated into individual works of art.
A major source of the renewal of traditions in modern Chinese calligraphy and painting was *jinshixue* (“The Study of Bronze and Stone Inscriptions”) which was in turn nurtured by *Hanxue* (“The Han Studies”), an important intellectual movement in the study of archaeology, paleography, and philology in the late Qing Dynasty (Ledderose, 1970). As a result, many ancient script forms were given fresh and new interpretations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; in fact, the styles of many calligraphers, seal engravers, and painters in the modern period can be attributed to the influence of *jinshixue* (Ellman, 1984; Ellman, 1990).

One aspect of *jinshixue* was *beixue* (“The Study of Stele Inscriptions”), which sought to study inscriptions found either on stelae dating from the Qin to Tang Dynasties or rubbings made from these stelae in order to understand the original monumental styles of early calligraphic masters. Advocates of *beixue* such as Bao Shichen and Kang Youwei tried to elevate the robust monumentality of the stele inscriptions over the refinement derived from the study of calligraphy written on paper or silk (*tiexue*). To Bao Shichen and Kang Youwei, *tiexue* is tied to the notorious *guangeti* (“Examination-hall Style”), a pejorative term applied by advocates of *beixue* to the over-precise, over-refined, and often monotonous calligraphy favored by many Ming and Qing emperors and often seen in imperial proclamations or essays written for candidates for the civil service examinations.

**2. Significance of Guang yizhou shuangji**

After the author published it himself in 1889, *Guang yizhou shuangji* was reprinted eighteen times before it was censored by imperial orders after the “Hundred Day” Reform and the ensuing coup d’etat of 1898, in which he and his associates participated. Since the end of the last Chinese dynasty in 1911, it has been reprinted many more times and is still in print. The treatise was translated into Japanese by the distinguished Japanese scholar-calligraphers Nakamura Fusetsu (1866–1943) and Ido Reizan (1869–1935) and published in 1917; the Japanese version has been reprinted at least six times since then.
Since its appearance in 1889, Guang yizhou shuangji has played a tremendous role in promoting the beixue movement and stimulating heated discussions on how to deal with the past in creating a viable “modern” style in Chinese calligraphy. Its enormous impact is evident in the very many times it has been reprinted and in his many followers, such as Xu Beihong (1895–1953) and Liu Haisu (1896–1994), who made important contributions to modern Chinese art history.

Generally speaking, the significance of Kang Youwei as a historian and theoretician of the art of calligraphy has been overshadowed by the fame he gained from his eminent position in the political reform movement of 1898. The basic principles and ideas in Guang yizhou shuangji are similar to his political philosophy and to his art-historical scholarship. A comparison of Guang yizhou shuangji with Kang Youwei’s philosophical and political writings, such as Xinxue weijing kao (“A Study of the Forged Classics of the Xin Dynasty [AD 9–23],” written in 1891) and Kongzi gaizi kao (“A Study of Confucius as a Reformer,” written in 1896), reveals one of the fundamental themes of Kang Youwei’s philosophical and political writings, namely, “reforming in imitation of antiquity [tuogu gaizhi],” as he himself put it; this theme can also be found in his historical and theoretical writings in art and is particularly clear in Chapter 3 of Juan [Book I of his Guang yizhou shuangji (see Figs. 3.1–16 for original Chinese text).
Chapter 2

Buying Stone Rubbings
A Translation of Chapter 3 of Juan [Book] I of Kang Youwei’s Guang yizhou shuangji (1889)

In the translation below, text in square brackets are editorial insertions to restore the meaning of the original. Text in parentheses are also editorial insertions, but to signal specific dates and to translate Chinese phrases.

To become a capable calligrapher, the learner should study with an erudite person. However, the erudite are rare. I hold that it is better to buy a large number of stone rubbings than to seek teachers. [The ancient erudite scholar] Yang Xiong (53 BC–18 BC) says, “Scrutinize a thousand swords and you will know how to use the sword; read a thousand rhapsodies and you will know how to write rhapsodies.” When Confucius and [his student] Zeng Shen discussed learning, they held that first of all one must read widely and have a thorough understanding of what they are taught. Those who have narrow horizons cannot know all styles [of calligraphy] or appreciate the charm [of different styles]. How can they achieve [anything] in their learning? If one has seen a great deal of ancient calligraphic works and has copied many of them, one will be well informed of changes of styles from antiquity to the present, and will understand how calligraphic styles from the same origins have diverged and how different styles have [sometimes] converged. One sees all [worthy calligraphic works], has them all in mind, and displays in his handwriting all he has seen and known. Just as bees gather nectar from flowers, as time goes by, the honey will be made. So a learner of calligraphy will [eventually] command the variet-
ies of calligraphy with ease and achieve great things. Such achievement is absolutely unavailable for those whose view is limited to one or two good model copies like [Preface to Collected Poems on] Lanting or [Inscription on the Sweet Fountain in] Jiuchenggong [Palace]. [The great calligrapher] Wang Xizhi (AD 303–361 or 321–379) claimed that he had seen works of Li Si (d. 208 BC), Cao Xi (active during first century), and Liang Hu (active second century), as well as Cai Yong’s (AD 133–192) Shijing (Stone Scripture) and Zhang Chang’s (d. AD 206) Huayue Stele, and that he practiced copying them all. It turns out that he learned from many masters. It was absolutely impossible for him to become a great master for all time by learning only from Lady Wei (Wei Shuo, AD 272–394) and by copying only Xianshi Biao (Memorial on Acceptance of Proposal)! There has never been a learner who has seen and copied a thousand stele rubbings and yet who cannot write in a good hand.

It is not easy to buy a thousand stele rubbings or even see them. What is to be done then? My answer is: select the important works and try to find them, select the fine works and acquire them. Acquisition of a hundred stele rubbings may help you to form your calligraphic style. One hundred is a minimum and fewer than that will not do. Without choosing the important stele rubbings or fine pieces, even if one has seen hundreds of rubbings, one is not in the position to talk about the art [of calligraphy]. I often hear calligraphers say they write after Ouyang Xun (557–641) or Yan Zhenqing (709–785), or otherwise, after a certain stele rubbing of a certain dynasty. It is ridiculous. It is this fallacy that makes everyone learn calligraphy all their lives without achieving anything. As for writing exclusively after a certain rubbing of Ouyang Xun’s stele inscription or a certain rubbing of Yan Zhenqing’s stele inscription all one’s life, it is even more absurd. Such a misconception misleads learners in the world.

Some people say that to learn calligraphy one should study dozens of characters in a stele rubbing for a year or for a few months and should copy them hundreds or thousands of times. Then, according to them, one should take up a new copy model and spend a few months or a year copying it hundreds or thousands of times, and each time a new stele rubbing is taken
Buying Stone Rubbings

up, one should work this way. They quote Zhong You (151–230), who entered the Baodu Mountains and studied calligraphy there for three years, and [the calligrapher] Zhi Yong (6th-century), who studied calligraphy in a garret for forty years without getting down. This saying is plausible, but incorrect. A scholar takes art and literature as a minor study. Good or bad calligraphy is the least significant in art. It is an extremely taxing task for a scholar to cultivate his moral character and increase his ability and pursue studies. How can he spend his precious lifetime on study of a useless minor skill? If one studies calligraphy as Zhong You and Zhi Yong, how can he find time to pursue scholarly studies? It is likely that such tales are deceptive. My way of learning calligraphy gives priority to the ability to hold the brush and to browsing stone rubbings widely. On the basis of this, I know different schools and choose the fine pieces. I choose just those that are to my taste and copy them from time to time. I copy one stone rubbing for ten days or a month and in this way copy a hundred rubbings. Thus I develop my own calligraphic style by drawing on those rubbings and my style has come about by itself. With skillfulness from practice and learning in other fields, one can become a calligrapher. Both gifted and ungifted people can succeed. As for the level of one’s achievements, it differs from individual to individual.

When one buys stone rubbings, one must choose the important ones. What are the important rubbings? They are rubbings of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (AD 420–589). Rubbings from stones of that period of time cover all calligraphic styles, from which all famous Tang Dynasty calligraphers found their inspiration. Once the origin is known, it is no more necessary to dwell on the end of the development of calligraphy. The [regular and stereotyped] calligraphic style for examinees is also found in Northern and Southern Dynasty stone rubbings. So one may leave the purchase of Tang Dynasty stone rubbings for a later date. Besides, fine pieces of Tang Dynasty rubbings either have their original stones missing or are worn due to repeated recarving and reprinting; such rubbings include Huadu (Temple Stele), [Inscription on the Sweet Fountain in] Jiuchenggong [Palace], [Inscription on Stele of Mr.] Huangfu, and [Epitaph on Tombstone of
Lord] Yugong of Ouyang Xun; Miaotangbei (Inscription on Stone in Confucian Temple) of Yu Shinan (558–638); Shengjiaoxu (On Holy Religion) and Mengfashi (Inscription on Tombstone of Buddhist Master Meng) of Chu Suiliang (557–641); Yanshi Jiamiao bei (Inscription on Stele in Temple of Family Yan), Magutan (Inscription on Stele of the Immortal Lady Magu Altar), [Inscription on Stele on] Duobao Pagoda, [Inscription on Tombstone of] Yuan Jie, [Inscription on Stele of Temple of Family] Guo, [Inscription on Tombstone of] Zang Huaik, [Inscription on Tombstone of Mr.] Yin, and [Record of] Baguan Sacrifice of Yan Zhenqing; [Inscription on Tombstone of General] Yunnhui [Li Sixun], [Inscription on Stele in] Lingyan [Temple], [Inscription on Stele of] Donglin [Temple], and [Record on] Duanzhou [Grotto] of Li Yong (678–747); [Inscription on Tombstone of Monk] Bukong of Xu Hao (703–782); and [Inscription on Stele of] Xuanmi [Pagoda] and [Inscription on Tombstone of] Feng Su of Liu Gongquan (778–865). If you try to find old rubbings done during the Yuan or Ming Dynasties, they are too poor in quality for the viewer’s eye, but the price for one copy of such a rubbing may be as high as a hundred liang [teals] of silver. Isn’t it better to buy all stone rubbings of the Northern and Southern Dynasties at the price of one copy of such rubbings? If you do not buy fine copies of famous calligraphers’ work but instead gather miscellaneous copies, you are sacrificing the essential for trifles and obscuring the origins and later development of the art. Besides, few rubbings are as fine as [Inscription on Tombstone of Mr.] Fan, [Ode to] Yangong [Yan Hui], and [Inscription on Tombstone of] Pei [Jingmin]. Rubbings from Tang Dynasty minor stelae partake much of the style of the Six Dynasties (AD 222–581). They keep the Six Dynasty style without altering it and hence are usable. But the form and spirit of the style have been perfected in the stone rubbings of the Six Dynasties. There is very little worth learning in Tang Dynasty rubbings. Even if there is some, the calligraphic feature has been deteriorated. That is why rubbings from Tang Dynasty stones may be bought at a later date.

The calligraphic style used today, known as the regular script, was executed consummately by calligraphers of the Six Dynasties. It is because they carry on the remaining charm of the Han Dynasty fen script 漢分 [i.e.,
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*li* or clerical script] and the ancient conception had not been altered. Such a script that is simple, hefty, free, and spirited, possessing both the grace of the cursive script and the charm of the clerical script, inspired Tang Dynasty calligraphers to build their norms. We cannot see rubbings of the Jin Dynasty, so it will do if we can see all fine rubbings of the Six Dynasties. That is why it is better to buy as many Six Dynasty stone rubbings as possible.

The Han Dynasty *fen* script is the source of the regular script. It is a scholarly topic for the study of history. For the study of calligraphy, one should trace the origin and development [of regular script] and choose and buy some important pieces. Six Dynasty clerical script calligraphic works are few and the Tang Dynasty clerical script calligraphy is deteriorated. It is enough to view just a few such works, to know the evolution of ancient scripts. Such works may be left out in your purchase.

Once the Han Dynasty *fen* script calligraphic works have been bought, the Tang Dynasty clerical script works may be left out. There are not many stelae dating back to the Jin (265–420), Wei (386–534), and Sui (581–618) Dynasties. You may consult *Jin shi cui bian* (Finest Metal and Stone Rubbings), *Jin shi bu bian* (Supplement to Metal and Stone Rubbings), *Jin shi suo* (Index to Metal and Stone Rubbings), and *Jin shi ju* (Gathered Metal and Stone Rubbings) and try to find them from collections in different provinces. However, during the eras of Daoguang (1821–1850), Xianfeng (1851–1861), Tongzhi (1862–1874), and Guangxu (1875–1908), many ancient stelae had been unearthed and not all such stelae have yet entered catalogues. Learners of calligraphy either have limited information or have limited knowledge to gain access to catalogues of such new finds and, still less, to buy them. When they have a catalogue of old stele rubbings, they worry that there are too many rubbings for them to find. Let me offer some advice. Of the Six Dynasty stone rubbings, the rubbings of inscriptions on figured stelae are of the largest number and are of mixed contents. The texts of such inscriptions are largely the same and few of them have historical value. Such clichés are rather boring. New stones of this kind are being unearthed from time to time, and it is impossible to have them all.
There are quite a number of fine inscriptions on figured stelae, but learners do not know which to choose. It is advisable to choose such rubbings only after available stele rubbings have all been gathered. So purchase of inscriptions on figured stelae may be put off for a later date.

Excluding Tang Dynasty rubbings, there are, of clerical script calligraphic works executed with a brush with its tip tousled and inscriptions on figured stelae, about only a hundred rubbings of Six Dynasty stelae. If one adds tens of rubbings of fine Qin Dynasty fen and Han Dynasty fen script calligraphic works, no more than two hundred pieces are all that should be sought after as completely as possible. Learners of calligraphy should comprehend the origin and evolution of different calligraphic styles, get familiar with such matters visually and mentally, and choose and copy those they like and discard those they dislike. Once they do a great deal of copying, they will achieve endless variations in their handwriting. They will manipulate round and square strokes, and blend them into a fusion, and their personal style will naturally be clear-cut above the average level. Thus learners will be able to attain such achievement as expected. The Qin Dynasty and Han Dynasty fen script calligraphy is dealt with in the chapters “On Fen Script” and “On the Origin of Han Dynasty Calligraphy” [in Guang yizhou shuangji or Shujing]. Now I list below the rubbings of the Northern and Southern Dynasties that must be bought. Many of them are new finds and are not included in catalogues of stone and metal rubbings. Fine inscriptions on figured stelae are attached to the list with my occasional commentaries.

The stelae are grouped in the following list according to dynasties when they were carved, in chronological order. Stelae whose precise dates are unknown are appended to the end of the section of the dynasty to which they belong.

If the year of a stele’s carving is known, it is given. Otherwise, the stele is put at the end of stelae of the dynasty it belongs to.

Calligraphers’ information is given in detail while that of composers of the inscription is not, because my focus is on calligraphy.

The locations of stelae are given; if not listed, the location is unknown.
If a stele is well known, [only] the name of the calligrapher is given; for lesser-known stelae, the names and official titles of the calligraphers are given, so as to make it easier for purchasers to identify them.

Wu Dynasty (222–280)
- Gefujun bei 葛府君碑 (Fig. 2.1)
- Jiuzhen taishou Gu Lang bei 九真太守谷朗碑 (272) (Figs. 2.2 – 2.5)

Jin Dynasty (265–420)
- Nanxiang taishou Fu Xiu bei 南鄉太守郭休碑 (270) (Figs. 2.6 – 2.8)

Cuanbaozi bei 爨寶子碑 (405) (Figs. 2.9 – 2.10)

Liu Song Dynasty (420–479)
- Ningzhou cishi Cuanlongyan bei 甯州刺史爨龍顏碑 (458) (Figs. 2.11 – 2.23)
- Shikang jun Jinfengxian Xiong zaoxiang 始康郡晉豐縣囗熊造像 (448) (Figs. 2.24 – 2.26)

Southern Qi Dynasty (479–502)
- Taizu Wenhuangdi Shendao Dongque 太祖文皇帝神道東阙 (after 520) (Figs. 2.27 – 2.28)

Liang Dynasty (502–557)
- Nankang Jianwang Shendao Dongque (reverse carving) 南康簡王神道東阙 (反刻) (Figs. 2.29 – 2.30)
- Linchuan Jinghuiwang Shendao Dongque (reverse carving) 臨川靖惠王神道東阙 (反刻) (526) (Figs. 2.31 – 2.32)
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Wuping Zhonghou Xiaogong Shendao Dongque (reverse carving) 吳平忠侯蕭公神道東阙 (反刻) (523) (Figs. 2.33 – 2.34)

Shixing Zhongwuwang bei 始興忠武王碑 (after 522) (Figs. 2.35 – 2.44)

Shijinglan tizi 石井欄題字) (516) (Figs. 2.45 – 2.46)

Chen Dynasty (537 – 587)
Xinluo Zhenxingdawang xunshou guanjing bei 新羅真興大王巡狩管境碑 (568) (Figs. 2.47 – 2.48)

Toba Wei Dynasty (386 – 554)

Zhongyue Songgaoling Miao bei 中嶽嵩高靈廟碑 (456) (Figs. 2.49 – 2.52)
Dangchanggong Huifusi bei 宕昌公暉福寺碑 (488) (Figs. 2.53 – 2.55)

Sun Qiusheng zaoxiang 孫秋生造像 (502) (Figs. 2.56 – 2.61)
Shipinggong zaoxiang 始平公造像 (498) (Figs. 2.62 – 2.71)
Beihai Wang Yuanxiang zaoxiang 北海王元詳造像 (498) (Figs. 2.72 – 2.75)
Changlewang furen Weichi zaoxiang 長樂王夫人尉遲造像 (495) (Figs. 2.79 – 2.83)
Yifu zaoxiang 一弗造像 (495) (Figs. 2.84 – 2.85)
Xie Boda zaoxiang 解伯達造像 (circa 499) (Figs. 2.86 – 2.88)
Yang Dayan zaoxiang 楊大眼造像 (circa 500 – 508) (Figs. 2.89 – 2.96)
Wei Lingzang zaoxiang 魏靈藏造像 (undated) (Figs. 2.97 – 2.102)
Zheng Changyou zaoxiang 鄭長猷造像 (501) (Figs. 2.103 – 2.106)
Huigan zaoxiang 惠感造像 (502) (Figs. 2.107 – 2.109)
Gao Shu zaoxiang (502) (Figs. 2.110 – 2.113)
Fasheng zaoxiang (503) (Figs. 2.114 – 2.117)
Taifei Hou zaoxiang (503) (Figs. 2.118 – 2.121)
Andingwang Yuan Xie zaoxiang (507) (Figs. 2.122 – 2.125)
Daojiang zaoxiang (circa 502) (Figs. 2.126 – 2.129)
Qijunwang You zaoxiang (517) (Figs. 2.130 – 2.133)
Cixiang zaoxiang (520) (Figs. 2.134 – 2.135)
Taishan Yangzhi kaifu shimenming (509) (Figs. 2.137 – 2.144)
Zhengwengong bei (511) (Figs. 2.145 – 2.148)
Yunfengshan shike sishier zhong (511) (Figs. 2.149 – 2.154)
Sima Jinghe qi Meng Jingxun muzhiming (514) (Figs. 2.155 – 2.160)
Diao Zun muzhiming (517) (Figs. 2.161 – 2.165)
Yanzhou Jia shijun bei (519) (Figs. 2.166 – 2.169)
Sima Bing muzhiming (520) (Figs. 2.170 – 2.171)
Zhang Menglong qingsong bei (522) (Figs. 2.172 – 2.181)
Maminsi Gen fashi bei (523) (Figs. 2.182 – 2.187)
Gao Zhen bei (523) (Figs. 2.188 – 2.194)
Li Chao muzhiming (525) (Fig. 2.195)
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Zhang Xuan muzhi 張玄墓志 (531) (Figs. 2.196 – 2.204)

Huangpu Lin muzhi 皇甫麴墓志 (515) (Figs. 2.205 – 2.207)

Sima Sheng muzhi 司馬升墓志 (535) (Fig. 2.208)

Gao Zhan muzhiming 高湛墓志銘 (539) (Figs. 2.209 – 2.210)
Chanjingsi chaqian jing Shijun ming 禅靜寺剎前敬使君銘 (540) (Figs. 2.211 – 2.212)

Li Zhongxuan xiu Kongzi miao bei 李仲璇修孔子廟碑 (541) (Fig. 2.213)

Northern Qi Dynasty (550 – 577)

Cui Wei muzhi 崔頠墓志 (553) (Fig. 2.214)

Tianzhushan ming 天柱山銘 (565) (Figs. 2.215 – 2.218)
Jiang Yuanlue zaoxiang 姜元略造像 (565) (Figs. 2.219 – 2.220)

Zhu Dailin muzhiming 朱岱林墓志銘 (571) (Fig. 2.221)

Jinchangwang Tang Yong xiejingbei 晉昌王唐邕寫經碑 (572) (Fig. 2.222)

Northern Zhou Dynasty (557 – 581)

Xiyue Huashan miao bei 西嶽華山廟碑 (567) (Figs. 2.223 – 2.225)

Shi Zhen muzhi 时珍墓志 (578) (Figs. 2.226 – 2.228)
Sui Dynasty (581 – 618)

Zhao Fen bei canshi 趙芬碑殘石 (595) (Fig. 2.229)
Zhong Sina saren zaoqiao bei 仲思那卅人造橋碑 (586) (Fig. 2.230)
Longcangsi bei 龍藏寺碑 (586) (Figs. 2.231 – 2.237)

Cao Zijian bei 曹子建碑 (593) (Figs. 2.238 – 2.240)

He Ruoyi bei 賀若誼碑 (596) (Fig. 2.241)

Zhang Tong qi Tao muzhi 張通妻陶墓志 (597) (Figs. 2.242 – 2.250)
Meiren Dong shi muzhi 美人董氏墓志 (597) (Figs. 2.251 – 2.259)

Fengshui shiqiao leiwen bei 災水石橋累文碑 (598) (Fig. 2.260)
Qingzhou Shengfusi shelita xiaming 青州勝福寺舍利塔下銘 (601) (Figs. 2.261 – 2.262)

Xinzhou Jinlunsi ta xiaming 信州金輪寺塔下銘 (602) (Fig. 2.263)

Su Ci muzhiming 蘇慈墓志銘 (603) (Figs. 2.264 – 2.270)
Dengzhou Daxingguosi shelita xiaming 鄧州大興國寺舍利塔下銘 (602) (Fig. 2.271)

Ningxuan bei 靳贍碑 (609) (Figs. 2.272 – 2.273)

Yuan Zhi muzhiming 元智墓志銘 (615) (Fig. 2.274)
Taipuqing furen Jishi muzhi 太僕卿夫人姬氏墓志 (615) (Figs. 2.275 – 2.277)
Hedong Shoushanjun Shengye daochang shelitaming 河東首山郡勝業道場舍利塔銘 (circa 602–7) (Fig. 2.278)

Gangshan moya 崗山摩崖 (580) (Fig. 2.279)
Jianshan moya 尖山摩崖 (575) (Figs. 2.280 – 2.281)
Tieshan moya 鐵山摩崖 (579 – 580) (Figs. 2.282 – 2.283)

The rubbings in the list are for students in outlying villages who do not know any stele catalogues. As for knowledgeable scholars and established experts on metal and stone carvings, they carry on learning from [the experts on metal and stone carvings] Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072) and Zhao Mingcheng (1081–1129); they gather thousands of fine pieces and catalogues of past Dynasties, including those of the Liao (907–1125) and Jin (1115–1234) dynasties, both from the inland and from regions of barbarians; they can write their own treatises and they do not need to read my poor essay. My list cannot be more concise. If one feels the list gives too many rubbings, fears that it is not easy to acquire them or copy them all, and finds it difficult to set his hand on so disorganized a list, he may choose the finer from the list. The items from the list should be strictly examined and selected and the schools they belong to should be carefully judged; one should buy all the items, study them, and become familiar with them. If one makes haste to talk about calligraphy before the stele rubbings are seen and the calligraphic styles are understood well, then, alas, such calligraphy is not what I have ever heard of!