The Changes in Pingcheng Calligraphy of the Northern Wei

北魏 平城時期 書藝의 變化

鄭 鉉 淑(Jung, Hyun-Sook)*

◁ CONTENTS ▷

1. Introduction
2. Past Scholarship on Northern and Southern Calligraphy
3. Changes in Pingcheng Calligraphy
3.1 Royal Tour Stelae
3.2 Religious Inscriptions
3.3 Funerary Inscriptions
4. Background of the Changes
5. Conclusion
<Bibliography>

<초 록>

북위 평성시기 서적은 낙양 시기에 비하여 양은 비록 적지만 종류가 다양하고 북위의 체변을 보여주어 매우 귀중한 사료이다. 이 시기의 서적으로는 황제의 순수비, 도교와 불교 명문, 그리고 묘지명 등이 있다. 평성시기 초기에는 신예체를 주로 사용했으나 후기에는 해서로 바뀌었는데 그 해서체는 동진의 왕희지 해서체를 닮고 있다. 이것은 동시대 남조 금석 명문에서의 체변과 같은 경향을 따른 것이다. 이러한 변화는 후기의 마지막 시기인 480년대의 서적에서 더욱 두드러지게 나타나는데 이것은 동시대 남조와의 공적인 또는 사적인 교류에 의한 영향이라고도 볼 수 있으며, 태화개혁을 통해 스스로 국가를 한화시키려는 북위 탁발 정부의 자발적인 행동의 결과라고도 볼 수 있다. 이러한 서체상의 변화는 낙양시기 초기에서도 다시 나타나는 현상이므로 북위 서예의 흐름을 알기 위해서라도 평성시기 서예의 변화에 대한 연구는 서예사적 측면에서 매우 중요하다.

要語: 북위, 평성 서예, 남조의 첩, 신예체, 해서

* Wonkwang University lecturer(jung9446@hanmail.net)
접수일: 2007년 11월 25일 최초심사일: 2007년 11월 27일 심사완료일: 2007년 12월 20일

www.kci.go.kr

<ABSTRACT>

The calligraphic relics of the Pingcheng period of the Northern Wei is not as many as those of the Luoyang period. Nonetheless, they are valuable resources which exhibit the formation of Luoyang calligraphy. Most of them are shown on the monuments for emperors, inscriptions for Taoism or Buddhism, and tombstones.

The calligraphic style of the Pingcheng period changes over time. Overall, it shows the transition from the "new clerical style" to the standard script since the early to the late fifth century. What is noteworthy is that the clerical script of the Han and Wei, popular in the contemporary capital, Luoyang, and Shandong, did not directly inspire the Pingcheng calligraphy. Rather, the small seal script of the Wei and Wu, the "new clerical style" of the Eastern Jin, and the standard script of the Song, with the elements of "new clerical style," inspired the Pingcheng calligraphic style during the early fifth century, while the mature standard script of the Song and Qi, without the elements of clerical script, were imbued in it during the late fifth century.

The changes in Pingcheng Calligraphy is the result of the interactions between the Northern Wei and Southern courts and the "Taihe Reforms" through which the Northern Wei government attempted to assimilate themselves to the Han Culture.

Key words: Northern Wei, Pingcheng Calligraphy, Southern Model Calligraphy, New Clerical Style, Standard Script.

www.kci.go.kr

1. Introduction

As one of the Sixteen Kingdoms established by the five barbarian tribes in the north from fourth to fifth century, in 439 the Northern Wei(386-534) finally united the north by conquering the Northern Liang. The Northern Wei regime moved the capital from Pingcheng平城(now Datong大同), Shanxi山西, to Luoyang洛陽, Henan河南, in 493. Therefore, in general the former Northern Wei is called the Pingcheng period(386-493) and the latter Northern Wei the Luoyang period(494-534).

This paper examines the calligraphic changes of the Pingcheng period of the Northere Wei. Although the calligraphic relics are not as many as those of the Luoyang period, Pingcheng calligraphy is very important because its beginning part shows the characteristics of the Jin calligraphy and its ending part followed the Southern "model calligraphy(*tie*帖)." The ending part became the root of the Luoyang calligraphy, so to know the Luoynag calligraphy it is also necessary to understand the changes in Pingcheng calligraphy.

Following is a brief overview of the contents of this paper. Chapter Two examines past scholarship on Northern and Southern Calligraphy. Northern and Southern Calligraphy was studied by the scholars of Stone and Metal School(*jinshixue*金石學)of the Qing淸. Based on their theories, I will observe the changes in Southern calligraphy because the Northern Wei calligraphy modeled after that of the Chinese dynasties in the south.

In Chapter Three, the main chapter of this paper, I will divide the Pingcheng calligraphic relics into three catagories: royal tour stelae, religious inscriptions, and funerary inscriptions. By the end of this chapter we will recognize that the early Pingcheng calligraphy followed the calligraphic style

www.kci.go.kr

of the Eastern Jin in “new clerical style,” and the late Pingcheng calligraphy modeled after the calligraphic style of the contemporary Southern Dynasties.

Chapter four explores the background of the changes of Pingcheng calligraphy into the Southern style. I will examine both external and internal elements. The result tells us that the calligraphic trend of the Northern Wei became changed by the frequent interactions with the Southern Dynasties and their own will. Now, let us first examine the past scholarship on Northern and Southern calligraphy.

2. Past Scholarship on Northern and Southern Calligraphy

Because of the political situation between the north and south from the third to the sixth century, the calligraphic tradition remained confined for more than two centuries. The north remained conservative, while the calligraphic art of the south had major new developments. The popular forms of the south mostly consisted of “model calligraphy,” or “albums”(*tie* 帖), under the influence of two celebrated Eastern Jin masters, the Two Wangs [i.e., Wang Xizhi王羲之(303-361)[1] and his son Xianzhi獻之(344-386)]. The north, however, seems to have followed the stele tradition of the Han漢, Wei魏, and Jin晉 periods.

Illustrating the calligraphic disparities, Ruan Yuan阮元(1764-1849), a celebrated calligrapher of the Qing, published two important articles regarding the calligraphy of the north and south: “Nan Bei shupai lun南北書派論”(Discussion of the Calligraphic Schools of the South and North) and “Beibei Nantie lun北碑南帖論”(Discussion of the Northern Stelae and

1) There is one more date for him: 307-365. For details, see Ledderose, 1984, note 1.

www.kci.go.kr

Southern Albums).

In the first article, Ruan divided the history of Chinese calligraphy into two parts: north and south. He argued that the change from the clerical script隸書 to the standard楷書, running行書, and cursive草書 scripts exists between the Han, Wei, and Jin periods. He divided the standard, running, and cursive scripts into the southern and northern schools. The Eastern Jin東晋, Song宋, Qi濟, Liang梁 and Chen陳 dynasties belonged to the southern school and the Zhao趙, Yan燕, Wei魏, Qi濟, Zhou周, and Sui隋 dynasties to the northern school. The southern school originated from Zhong Yao鍾繇, and Wei Guan衛瓘; Wang Xizhi, Wang Xianzhi, and Wang Sengqian王僧虔 improved it; and Zhiyong智永 and Yu Shinan虞世南 stabilized it. The northern school was initiated by Zhong Yao, Wei Guan, and Suo Jing索靖; Cui Yue崔悅, Lu Chen盧諶, and Zhao Wenshen趙文深 developed it; and Ouyang Xun歐陽詢 and Chu Suiliang褚遂良 stabilized it.[2] This article was generally well-accepted, and there was no harsh criticism.

In the second article, Ruan insisted that the calligraphy of the south was mostly developed by "model calligraphy" and that of the north by stele calligraphy. He continued that the "model calligraphy" was initiated from the writing of the silk scroll, and all the works of the Zhong鍾, Wang王, Xi希, and Xie謝 families current now(i.e., his time) are "model calligraphy," not stelae. He also attributed the lack of stelae in the south to the edict banning stele erection.[3] However, his argument became criticized by some scholars since the excavation of a few southern stelae in remote areas, such as Yunnan雲南, and several epitaphs in Nanjing南京 during the twentieth century.

2) Ruan Yuan, 587-588.
3) Ibid., 593-595.

www.kci.go.kr

Bao Shichen包世臣(1775-1855), a calligrapher contemporary with Ruan, published an article, "Yizhou shuangji藝舟雙楫"(A Pair of Oars of the Boat of Art), from a slightly different perspective. In the "Lixia bitan歷下筆談"(Discussion of Calligraphy of Previous Periods) of the article, he emphasized the excellence of the calligraphy of a few Liang stone tablets and added that the calligraphic style of some northern stone tablets in excellent quality was derived from those of the Wei kingdom.[4] This was the beginning of new theories about the calligraphy of the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

Based on the Bao Shichen's argument and his(i.e., Kang) own collections, Kang Youwei康有爲(1858-1927), a renowned statesman, connoisseur, and collector of calligraphy of the Qing, published an article, "Guang yizhou shuangji廣藝舟雙楫"(Broadening of a Pair of Oars of the Boat of Art). Contrary to Ruan's argument, in his article Kang stressed the significance and excellence of the southern stone tablets. In the "Baonan寶南"(Treasure of the South) of the article, he listed all the stone tablets of the Wei, Jin, and the Southern Dynasties, including those excavated during early twentieth century. He argued that although small in number, the calligraphic style of the southern stelae is as powerful and as vigorous as that of the northern stelae. Developing Bao's argument further, Kang contended that the calligraphic style of some northern stone tablets was derived from the Jin and the Southern Dynasties [5]. His article thus provides us with a totally different perspective about the calligraphy of southern stone tablets, because all the studies of southern calligraphy before him were focused on the "model calligraphy" of the Eastern Jin.

Using Kang Youwei's theory about the calligraphy of southern stelae,

4) Bao Shichen, 607-612.
5) Kang Youwei, 749-757.

www.kci.go.kr

let us briefly examine some important southern stone tablets relevant to those of the Pingcheng calligraphy. By doing so, one can learn how the calligraphic style changed in the Chinese dynasties from the third to the fifth century. To understand the calligraphic changes of the Chinese dynasties is the same as to understand those of the Northern Wei.

From the end of the Han to the early Wei the horizontally rectangular-shaped clerical script metamorphosed into a square shape with a relatively shorter "wavy stroke(*zhehua*磔畫)." The authentic Han examples showing the change are patronized by the Eastern Han government in the fourth year of Xiping(175) and written only in clerical script; thereupon they are called *Xiping Shijing*熹平石經 or *Yizi Shijing*一字石經. Their calligraphic style is slightly different from that of earlier works although written in same script. The characters are sterner and more angular than those of the earlier works.[6)]

One can see the changes of clerical script more clearly in the early Wei works. Following the *Xiping Shijing* of the Han, a set of stone texts was also placed outside the Imperial University太學; they are *Santi Shijing*三體石經 because they were written in three different scripts(i.e., the ancient style(*guti*古體), the small seal script(*xiaozhuan*小篆), and the clerical script(*lishu*隸書)), or they are called *Zhengshi Shijing*正始石經 because it

6) For the figures, see Beijing Tushuguan, vol.1, 160-165. They had the seven Chinese classical texts engraved onto 416 stelae and were erected outside the Imperial University太學 at the Luoyang洛陽 capital. Among scholars who wrote the "Stone Classics石經," that served as texts for students, were the famous Han calligraphers such as Cai Yong蔡邕(132-192). The canonical texts chosen to be engraved included *Yijing*易經(Book of Changes), *Shujing*書經(Book of History), *Shijing*詩經(Book of Poetry), *Yili*禮記(Book of Rituals), *Chunqiu*春秋(Spring and Autumn Annals), *Gongyang*公羊傳(Gongyang Commentary), and *Lunyu*論語(Analects). Only seven years after the completion, they were damaged in the rebellion of Dong Zuo(d. 192). See Fan Bangjin, 1988.

www.kci.go.kr

was erected during the Zhengshi period(240-248). The Confucian classics of the *Shangshu*尙書 and the *Chunqiu*春秋, written by Handan Chun邯鄲淳 (190-248), were inscribed on twenty-eight stelae, but now only a few remain.[7] In part, the somewhat elongated shape of the clerical script is in accordance with the originally vertical-shaped ancient style and the small seal script. The classical texts were carved on stone tablets not only to establish a standard imperial edition but also to affirm the canon as the cultural foundation of the state.

The *Shou Shan biao*(or *bei*碑)受禪表(fig.1, Stele of Accepting the Yielding of the Throne) and *Kong Xian bei*孔羡碑 of the Wei, both dated 220, are representative examples showing the transformed clerical script with short "wavy strokes" and an elongated shape.[8] Their calligraphic style can be considered as the beginning of the so-called "new clerical style(*xinliti*新隸體)." This is a kind of process that gave way to the change into the standard script.

In fact, there were some celebrated calligraphers during the Wei period. Among them, Zhong Yao鍾繇(151-230) was good at the standard script, and his style became a model for Wang Xizhi's calligraphy. However, Zhong's fluid standard script in "model calligraphy(*tie*帖)" was not employed on the stone inscriptions.[9] Instead, the "new clerical style," which appeared during the Western Jin and developed during the Eastern Jin, was commonly used for them. Therefore, it seems that the calligraphy of *bei*碑(stele) and *tie*帖(model calligraphy) were developed and transmitted in different ways.

7) Zhao Chao, 1994, 85. For the figures, see ibid., vol.2, 13-15.
8) For the figures, see ibid., vol.2, 1-3.
9) For his calligraphy, see *Zhongguo shufa yishu,* 93-101.

www.kci.go.kr



<fig.1> Shou Shan bei. 200, Wei



<fig.2> Huangdi sanlin biyong bei, 278, Western Jin

The stele calligraphy of the Western Jin further transitioned from the clerical to the standard script(*kaishu*楷書). Excavated at Yanshi偃師 in Henan河南, the *Huangdi sanlin biyong bei*皇帝三臨辟雍碑(278) was written in clerical script, but its style looks similar to the standard script in some way. Although the text was written in elongated clerical script with shortened "wavy strokes," a few of the horizontal strokes of the title(fig.2) already revealed a characteristic of the standard script. This type of transitional "new clerical style," which is different from the Eastern Han clerical script, became popular during the Eastern Jin in a more developed form.

Meanwhile, apart from the Wei kingdom, by the end of the dynasty the Wu kingdom(222-280) also produced a few significant stelae that became models for the title writing of the Northern Wei. The *Tianfa shenchen bei*天發神讖碑(276, fig.16, Stele of the Spiritual Prediction of Heaven), written by Huang Xiang皇象 and originally erected at Tianxi Monastery天禧寺 in the Jianye建鄴 capital, is very unique because it differs from those of the

www.kci.go.kr

Wei and Jin, particularly the *Huangdi sanlin biyong bei* of the Western Jin, built around the same time. As seen in fig.16, the Wu stele was written in angular-stroked seal script, using the brush maneuvers of clerical script. The brushwork is magnificent, and each character possesses the power of grandeur.

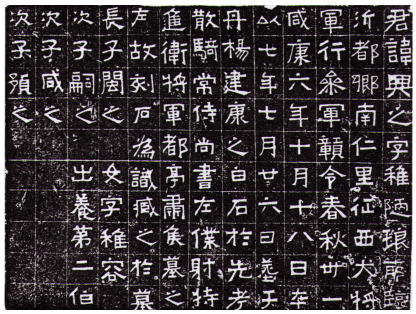
Years before the *Tianfa shenchen bei,* the Wu kingdom yielded another stele in a remote region, bearing the mixed style of clerical and standard scripts. Excavated at Leixian耒縣 in Hunan湖南, the *Gu Lang bei*谷朗碑 (272) was written in clerical script with an elongated shape, but the structure had already changed into the standard script. There is another Wu stele excavated at Gourong句容 in Jiangsu江蘇. The twelve-character title of the *Ge Zuo bei*葛祚碑(or *Ge Fujun bei*葛府君碑) written in standard script is different from the *Huangdi sanlin biyong bei*(fig.2) of the Western Jin. Unlike the Wei and Jin stelae mostly written in clerical script, this Wu stele shows the full development of standard script. These three Wu stelae display the transformational process of Wu calligraphy from the seal through the clerical to the standard script.

The Eastern Jin yielded a few stelae executed in "new clerical style" in remote regions because the edict banning stone monuments was more consolidated in Jiankang建康 than in Luoyang. An example of the "new clerical style" is found on the *Cuan Baozi bei*(405, fig.10), excavated at Qujing曲靖 in Yunnan雲南. It carries more elongated, angular-shaped strokes than the Wei and Jin stelae. The "wavy strokes" became much shorter, and each character shows the powerful solemnity of the "new clerical style." It was indeed the most precious example showing the transitional stages from the clerical to the standard script until similar style epitaphs were excavated in Nanjing in the late twentieth century.

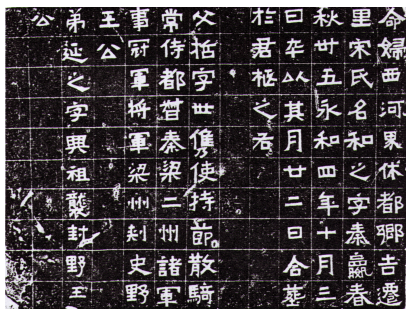
www.kci.go.kr

During the late twentieth century several Wang family brick epitaphs were excavated in Nanjing南京; they are the epitaphs of Wang Xingzhi王興之(340), Wang Minzhi王閩之(358), and Wang Danhu王丹虎(359).[10] Among them, the *Wang Xingxhi Song Hezhi fufu muzhi*王興之宋和之夫婦墓誌(figs. 3-4) provides decisive evidence for the popularity of the angular-shaped standard script using thick lines even in Jiankang. The calligraphic style used on stone or brick epitaphs is totally different from the "model calligraphy," which flourished in the same place during the same time. These newly excavated epitaphs caused controversy about the fakery of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy.[11]

If the calligraphy of the Wang family epitaphs did not follow the contemporary Two Wangs' "model calligraphy," they might have been modeled after that of the previous dynasty in Jianye. When the Western Jin regime fled south to Jiankang, the *Tianfa shenchen bei*天發神讖碑(fig.16) of the Wu must have been standing there. If so, the angular stokes of the Eastern Jin brick epitaphs could have been derived from the Wu stele.



<fig.3> Wang Xingzhi muzhi, 340, Eastern Jin



<fig.4> Song Hezhi muzhi, 340, Eastern Jin

10) See *Zhongguo shufa yishu,* figs.167-169.
11) See Hua Rende, 1995; Ledderose, 19-24.

www.kci.go.kr



(fig.5) Cuan Longyan bei, 458, Liu Song



(fig.6) Liu Huaimin muzhi, 464, Liu Song

Like the Eastern Jin, the Song(420-479) hardly produced any stone inscriptions, and currently there is only one extant. Unearthed at Luliang陸良 in Yunnan, the *Cuan Longyan bei*爨龍顔碑(458, fig.5) in standard script, composed by Cuan Daoqing爨道慶, may have been inspired by the *Cuan Baozi bei,* although it shows more stylistic changes. The "wavy strokes" of clerical script almost disappeared, and the "hooked strokes(*tihua*趯畫)" of standard script appeared. Nonetheless, its style still shows some of the brush movements of "new clerical script." Kang Youwei praised the Song stele as the best example of standard script because of its powerfulness, density, and vividness and classified it as the "rank of spirit(*shenpin*神品)."[12]

Besides the one stele, the Song yielded a few epitaphs. The *Liu Huaimin muzhi*劉懷民墓誌(464, fig.6), excavated at Yidu益都 in Shandong, was written in standard script with the brush maneuvers of clerical script. Its calligraphic style is similar to that of the *Cuan Longyan bei*(fig.5). The

12) Kang Youwei, 750 and 773.

www.kci.go.kr

elegant writing skill of the *Ming Tanxi muzhi*明曇喜墓誌(474)[13] in standard script seems to have been derived from the *Yimu tie*姨母帖(Model Calligraphy for the Mother-side Aunt) by Wang Xizhi and the *Nianjiuri tie*廿九日帖 (Model Calligraphy of Twenty-ninth Day) by Wang Xianzhi, both of which were written in running script(*xingshu*行書).[14]

By Song times the standard script, which had already appeared during the Wu period, thus became the formal script for stone inscriptions. More importantly, the fact that the calligraphic style of the Song epitaph followed the "model calligraphy" of the Two Wangs indicates that by this time the stele calligraphy of the south paralleled its "model calligraphy." This contrasts with the Eastern Jin epitaphic calligraphy.

By the Southern Qi(479-502), the standard script became more mature and sophisticated. One can observe it only in epitaphs because there is no a single extant Qi stele. Excavated at Gourong勾容 in Shandong, the *Liu Dai muzhi*劉岱墓誌(487, fig.7) shows the maturity of southern standard script in stone.[15] Its tranquility and refinement are analogous to the *Dongfang Shuo hua zan*東方朔畵贊(fig.24, Encomium on a Portrait of Dongfang Shuo) by Wang Xizhi.[16] The calligraphic style of the *Lu Zhaojing muzhi*呂超靜墓誌 (493)[17], excavated in Zhejiang浙江, is similar to that of the *Liu Dai muzhi,* which shows the characteristics of Zhong Yao's and Wang Xizhi's calligraphy.

The standard script of the Wei We Buddhist inscription吳君造維衛尊佛題記(488, fig.8), excavated at Miaoxiang Monastery妙相寺 in Huiqi會稽, Zhejiang浙江, displays the fully-developed standard script in a different

13) Nanjingshi Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui, 1976, 49-52.
14) See *Zhongguo shufa yishu,* figs.126, 155, and 158.
15) See Zhenjiangshi Bowuguan, 1977, 12, 55, and 56.
16) For his biography, see *Jinshu* 80, 2093-2103.
17) *Zhongguo shufa yishu,* 207 and figs.95-98.

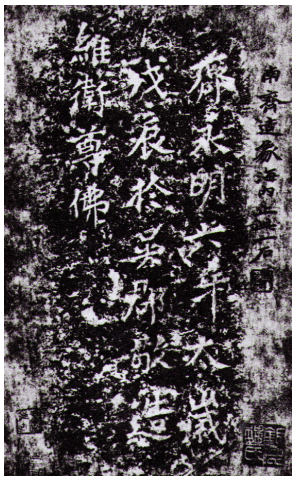
www.kci.go.kr

style from the above two. All the horizontal strokes slanted upward, and the elongated vertical strokes are thin and end sharply. The calligraphic style is similar to that of the *Luoshenfu*洛神賦(Rhapsody for the Nymph of the Luo River) by Wang Xianzhi and the *Taizi sheren tie*太子舍人帖 (Model Calligraphy of the Chamberlain of the Crown Prince) by Wang Sengqian王僧虔(426-485), which modeled after Wang Xianzhi's style.[18]

The Southern Dynasties thus saw the maturity of stele calligraphy in the "model calligraphy" of the Two Wangs' style. This process of calligraphic change in the Chinese dynasties from the third to the fifth century was followed by the Pingcheng calligraphy of the Northern Wei. Let us now examine the Pingcheng calligraphy.



<fig.7> Liu Dai mizhi, 487, Qi



<fig.8> Wei Wei Buddhist inscription, 488, Qi

18) See ibid., figs.158 and 310.

www.kci.go.kr

3. Changes in Pingcheng Calligraphy

The Pingcheng period yielded several significant stelae showing the calligraphic trends of the time, most of which were related to religious events or state affairs; there are also a few funeral inscriptions. Let us examine their characteristics and origins one by one.

3.1 Royal Tour Stelae

Following the tradition established by the First Emperor of Qin秦始皇帝 (221-206B.C.),[19] erecting stelae to commemorate emperors' visits four directions of the state became popular during the Northern Wei period.[20] Unearthed at Yixian易縣 in Hebei河北 in 1936, the *Taiwudi dongxun bei*太武帝東巡碑(fig.9, Stele of the Eastern Tour of Emperor Taiwu) was erected in 437 to praise Emperor Taiwu's achievement of visiting the east in 435.[21] The text written in standard script with angular strokes still bears the characteristics of "new clerical style"; for example, the horizontal strokes are parallel not upward, and the "turning brush(*zhuanshe*轉折)" is not angular. The calligraphic style of the text is comparable to the *Cuan Baozi bei*(fig.10) of the Eastern Jin and that of the title(fig.11) to the title of the *Sima Fang bei* (fig.12) of the Eastern Jin.

---

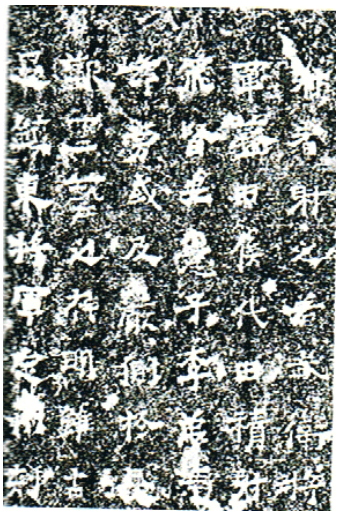
19) In order to describe the emperor's great accomplishments in unifying the whole of China, six stelae were established at the six mountains: Mounts Yi易, Tai泰, Langya琅琊, Zhifu芝罘, all in Shandong, Huiqi會稽 in Zhejiang折江, and Jieshi碣石 in Hebei. See *Shiji* 6, 242-252; Rong Geng, figs.1-18.

20) Those for five emperors[Taiwu, Wencheng, Xianwen, Xiaowen, and Xuanwu] were recorded in the *Shuijingzhu*水經注 and *Jinshilu*金石錄, composed by Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠(1081-1129). See Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, 78.

21) *Weishu* 4/1, 86; 35, 821.

www.kci.go.kr

Another royal tour stele, the *Wenchengdi nanxun bei*文成帝南巡碑(fig.13, Stele of the Southern Tour of Emperor Wencheng) was erected in 461 at Lingqiu靈丘 in Shanxi山西 to praise Emperor Wencheng's visits south. Consisting of a total of more than 2,600 characters on both sides, the six-character title calligraphy in small seal script with angular strokes is similar to that of the *Taiwudi dongxun bei,* but the calligraphic style of the text resembles that of the *Sima Fang bei*司馬芳碑(fig.14) of the Eastern Jin in "new clerical style." At the same time, it already bears some similarities to the "Wei stele style(*Weibeiti*魏碑體)"; for example, most of the horizontal strokes slanted upward, which is one characteristic of early Luoyang calligraphy.[22)]



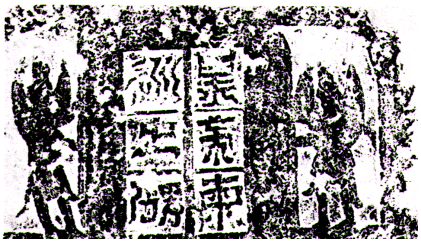
<fig.9> Taiwudi dongxunbei, 437, Northern Wei



<fig.10> Cuan Baozi bei, 405, Eastern Jin

22) See Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, fig.7 Lingqiuxian Wenguansuo, fig.1. See also Liu Suoxiang, 34-39; Jin Shenghe and Xie Hongxi, figs.1-6.

www.kci.go.kr



<fig.11> Taiwudi dongxunbei title, 437, Northern Wei



<fig.12> Sima Fang bei title, Eastern Jin

We can see the title(fig.15) of the *Wenchengdi nanxun bei* written in seal script by the hand of artistic skill came from the *Tanfa shenchen bei*(fig.16) of the Wu. Thus, the writing styles of the title and the text modeled those of the Wu and Jin periods.

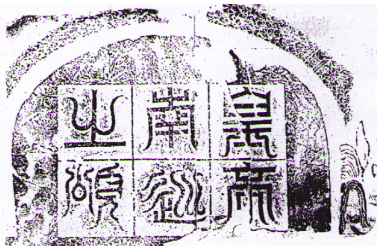


<fig.13> Wenchengdi nanxunbei , 461, Northen Wei



<fig.14> Sima Fang bei, Eastern Jin

www.kci.go.kr



<fig.15> Wenchengdi nanxunbei title, 461, Northern Wei



<fig.16> Tianfa shenchen bei, 276, Wu

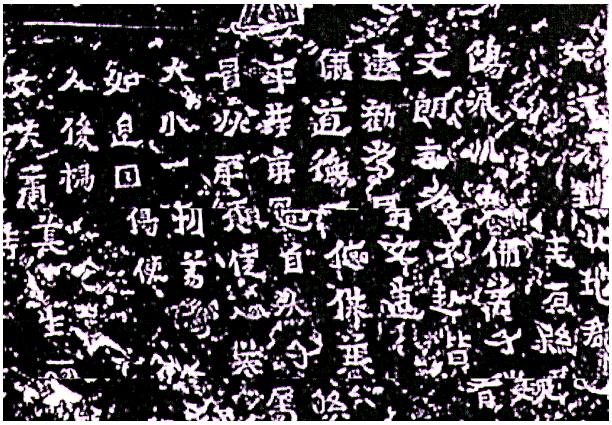
3.2 Religious Inscriptions

There are three kinds of religious stelae: Buddhist-Daoist stele, Daoist stelae, and Buddhist stelae. The existence of Buddhist-Daoist stele seems to be a reflection of the flourishing of Daoism and Buddhism during Emperor Taiwu's reign. What is interesting is that most of the early stone monuments were established during this emperor's reign.

Dated to the first year of Emperor Taiwu's reign(424), the reverse of the *Wei Wenlang Buddhist-Daoist stele*魏文朗佛道敎碑(fig.17) carries a dedicatory inscription written in "new clerical script" with the characteristics of standard script. Like the *Taiwudi dongxun bei*(fig.9), its calligraphic style is analogous to that of the *Cuan Baozi bei*(fig.10) of the Eastern Jin. The calligraphic style of the *Juqu Anzhou zaosi bei*沮渠安周造寺碑(445, Stele of Building a Temple by Juqu Anzhou), excavated in Xinjiang新疆, is also comparable to that of the *Wei Wenlang bei*(fig.17) and the *Cuan Baozi bei*(fig.10).[23]

23) See *Weishu* 102, 2209; *Zhongguo shufa yishu,* fig.99.

www.kci.go.kr



<fig.17> Wei Wenlang bei, 424, Northern Wei

Another Northern Wei Buddhist inscription dedicated by Cao Tiandu曹天度 in 466 was also written in similar style, showing the resemblance to the Eastern Jin stone inscriptions.[24] All these stone inscriptions tell us that the calligraphy of not only the Northern Wei but also the Sixteen Kingdoms, including the Northern Liang, followed the "new clerical style" of the Jin. How could these affinities between the north and the south take place?

After the fall of Northern Liang, in the first year of Juqu Mujian's 沮渠蒙遜 reign(439), most of the Buddhist population in Liangzhou梁州, including monks and artisans, were forced to move east to Pingcheng by the Northern Wei regime, and this resettlement inspired Northen Wei Buddhism and Buddhist art. But some of them fled to south and influenced Southern Buddhism.[25] In 440, Juqu Mengxun's other two sons, Wuhui無諱 and Anzhou, who fled west to resist the Northern Wei, occupied Gaochang高昌 (modern Turfan) in the western regions, and they sent envoys to Jiankang

24) See Beijing Tushuguan, vol.3, 9.
25) See Du Doucheng, 243-247 and 261-265.

www.kci.go.kr

to attain the approval of the Song court. In 442, the Song court appointed Wuhui the Regional Inspector of Liangzhou and the Prince of the West. After Wuhui's death, in 444 his brother Anzhou, who was an ardent Buddhist like his father Mengxun, was also approved by the Song court as the successor of Wuhui. He ruled the Gaochang region and made large contributions to the Buddhist activities in the western regions until the end of his reign.[26] In 445, he dedicated the *Juqu Anzhou zaosi bei*(or Juqu Anzhou gongde beii沮渠安周功德碑),[27] written in "new clerical style" of the Jin. In the *Gaoseng zhuan*高僧傳, Gaochang is categorized as Song territory, and Northern Liang history after 439 is well-recorded there in detail.[28] Because of this, monks in the north could have had frequent interactions with those in the south. This record is one piece of evidence showing how the exchange of calligraphic styles between the north and the south became possible during the fifth century.

The "new clerical script" of the Jin applied to the Buddhist-Daoist inscriptions was also used on the two Daoist stelae. The first one, the *Dadai Huayue miaobei*大代華岳廟碑(fig.18, Stele of Hua Mountain Temple of the Great Dai) was erected by Kou Qianzhi寇謙之 in 439 while practicing Daoism at Mount Hua.[29] The heads of horizontal strokes in standard script

---

26) Ibid., 205-206 and 248-261.

27) Ibid., 180.

28) See the "Song Gaochang Shi Fajin" in Chapter 12, 447.

29) The Mount Hua華 in Huayin, Shaanxi, is the western one of the five sacred mountains. Other four are the Mount Tai泰 in the east, Mount Heng衡 in the south, Mount Heng恒 in the north, and Mount Song崇 in the Central Plain. Kou Qianzhi was one of the two, along with Cui Hao崔浩, who was responsible for the promotion of Daoism during Emperor Taiwu's reign and the persecution of Buddhism in 446. It is said by many to have been written by Kou, although there is no clear evidence. See *Zhongguo shufa yishu,* 221. The Celestial Master(*tianshi*天師) Kou is said to have performed Daoist rituals first at Mount Hua and later at Mount Song. He

www.kci.go.kr

and the short, strong “wavy strokes” in clerical script show the characteristic of “new clerical style.” In this sense, it is analogous to the *Cuan Baozi bei*(fig.10) of the Eastern Jin, and the unfettered calligraphic style is similar to that of the *Wei Wenlang bei.*

Erected at Mount Song between 435 and 439,[30] the second Daoist stele, the *Zhongyue Song gaoling miaobei*中岳嵩高靈廟碑(fig.19, Stele for the Temple of the Mountain Spirit of Central Mountain Song), records Kou's memorial to Emperor Taiwu requesting the establishment of a Daoist temple. Although the calligraphic style of the text still bears the characteristics of “new clerical style,” it is rather close to the standard script because the horizontal ends carry no “wavy strokes.” The characters consist of mostly round strokes. Its naivety and stylistic change were highly esteemed by critics.

---

became the advisor of Emperor Taiwu by the recommendation of Cui Hao and received the title of *daoshi*道士.

30) This date is from Beijing Tushuguan, vol.3, 5. Another commonly published date is 456. *Zhongguo shufa yishu,* 222; *Zhongguo meishu quanji,* vol.54, 55; and *Shodo geijutsu,* vol.3, 84. But if it was composed by Qianzhi, it cannot be dated to 456 because he died in 448, two years after the Buddhist persecution. After Emperor Taiwu's death in 452, the restoration of Buddhism was executed under Emperor Wencheng. It seems impossible to build such a big Daoist stele, 2 meters high by 0. 97 meters wide, during the time of Buddhist restoration. Moreover, the affinity of calligraphic style between both stelae makes us believe its date 435-439.

www.kci.go.kr



<fig.18> Huayue miaobei, 439, Northern Wei



<fig.19> Song Gaoling miaobei, 435-9, Northern Wei

Kang Youwei stated that it carries both clerical and standard scripts and a mix of round and angular strokes. In the respect, it is comparable to the *Cuan Longyan bei*爨龍顔碑(fig.5) and *Liu Huaimin muzhi*劉懷民墓誌(fig.6) of the Song. In addition, Kang Youwei chose Kou Qianzhi, together with Cui Hao崔浩, as one of the ten best calligraphers of the Northern and Southern Dynasties who were excellent at standard script and classified the reverse calligraphy as the "rank of spirit(*shenpin*神品)."[31]

In addition to the text, the eight-character title of the *Song gaoling miaobei* in bas-relief, written in small seal script with angular heads,

31) Kang Youwei, 768-769 and 773. Kang's example for Cui Hao's(d. 450) work was the *Diao Bi Gan wen*弔比干文 composed by Emperor Xiaowen(r. 471-499), but Cui Hao cannot be its calligrapher because he died in 450.

www.kci.go.kr

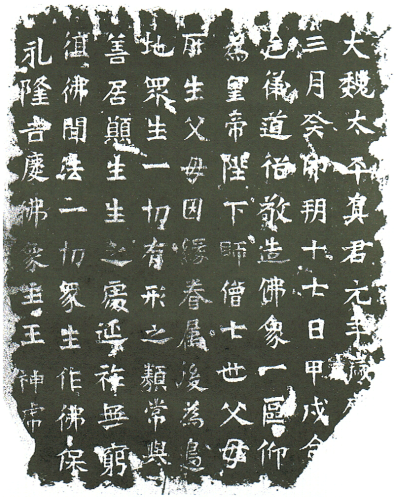
attracts our attention. Before the Northern Wei, the Wei kingdom stelae commonly had their titles in small seal script; they are the *Shang zunhao zou*上尊號奏(200), the *Shou shan biao*受禪表(220, fig.1), the *Kong Xian bei* 孔羡碑(220), and the *Fan Shi bei*范式碑(235). Among them, the first two had titles in bas-relief, and especially the *Shang zunhao zhu* has an eight-character title like the *Song gaoling miaobei*.[32] Several decades later this idea was again employed for the brick epitaphs of the Wei and Wu kingdoms.[33] Nonetheless, the calligraphic style of the *Song gaoling miaobei's* title differs from that of the Wei kingdom. The angular heads and the elements of clerical script are closely related those of the *Tianfa shenchen bei*(fig.16) of the Wu kingdom.[34] This kind of seal script with angular strokes and the bas-relief carving were employed for the titles of many Pingcheng stone inscriptions. During early times this type of title was mostly employed for state or religious affairs, but later the application was extended to funerary occasions like in the Wei and Wu kingdoms.

Starting in the mid-fifth century, the standard script began to appear in Buddhist inscriptions, and by the late fifth century most of them were written in standard script with no signs of "new clerical style." The inscription dedicated by Wang Shenhu王神虎(440, fig.20) in honor of Emperor Taiwu shows a more mature standard script. The traces of "new clerical style" almost disappeared, and some characters even show thick, angular strokes at the "turning brush." Its style seems the beginning of the standard script utilized during the Luoyang period. For this reason, the

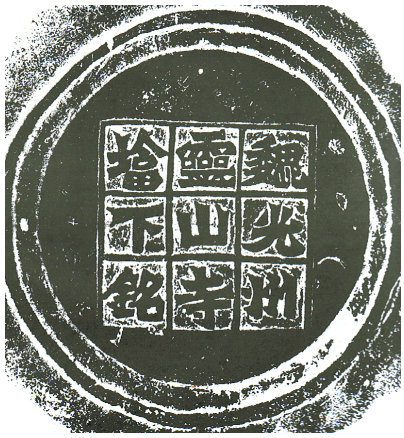
32) For the figures, see Liu Tao, 23; Beijing Tushuguan, vol.2, 1, 2, and 8; and *Zhongguo shufa yishu,* 35-37.
33) See *Zhongguo shufa yishu,* 32-33 and 47-48.
34) For the details of the title writings of the Pingcheng stelae in seal script, see Liu Tao, 421-423.

www.kci.go.kr

Wang Shenhu inscription is a significant piece that shows the calligraphic change from the "new clerical style" to the standard script. By the late fifth century we can find some Buddhist examples in standard script. The inscription(477, fig.21) at the bottom of the pagoda at Lingshansi靈山寺 in Huangxian皇縣, Shandong, is small but worthy of note. The text written in standard script recalls that of the epitaph of Sima Jinlong司馬金龍(fig.26) with no change in thickness of strokes at the "turning brush." The title, however, is totally new when compared with the earlier ones. The head of each stroke became more angular, and the "turning brush" is thicker than in the Wang Shenhu inscription. It can therefore be considered a prototype of powerful, angular-stroked standard script of the Luoyang period. It is the first appearance of this kind of style in a title.

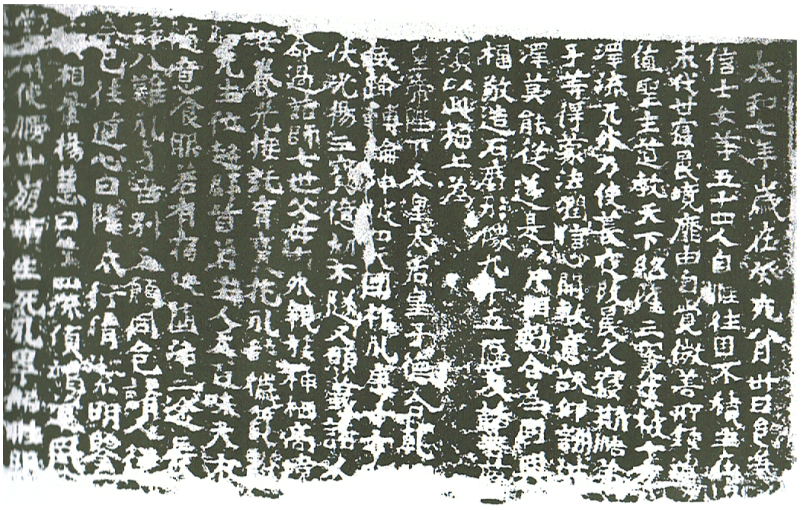


<fig.20> Wang Shenhu inscription, 440, Northern Wei



<fig.21> Lingshansi inscription, 471, Northern Wei

www.kci.go.kr



<fig.22> Yungang Cave11, 483, Datong, Shanxi, Northern Wei

The well-known inscription in Yungang Cave雲崗石窟 11(483, fig.22) was also written in standard script. Although it was compacted with hundreds of characters and the horizontal line is irregular, the strokes are dense and strong.

Excavated at Licheng歷城 in Shandong in the same year, the Buddhist inscription dedicated by Cui Chengzong崔承宗[35] is comparable to the one at Yungang. Likewise, the standard script shows the angular brushwork with some thick, strong strokes, particularly at the “turning brush.” The inscriptions at both Yungang and Licheng represent the standard script of late Pingcheng period.

The Pincheng standard script became more mature by the end of 480s. The *Huifusi bei*暉福寺碑(fig.23) established at Dengcheng澄城 in Shaanxi 陝西 in 488, now in the Xi′an Beilin西安碑林(Forest of Stelae in Chang′an),

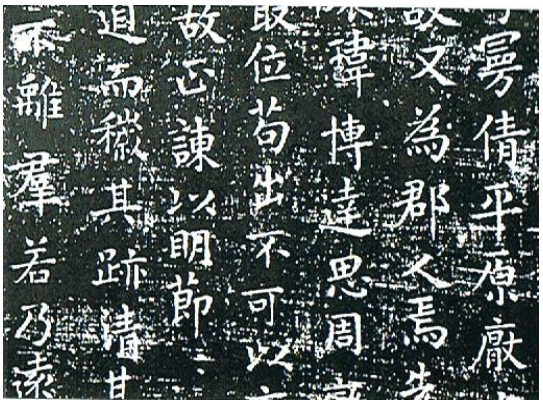
35) See Beijing Tushuguan, vol.3, 15.

www.kci.go.kr

is the best example showing the full development of standard script. The text in standard script has no signs of "new clerical style." It is very different from the early inscriptions, such as the *Wei Wenlang bei* and the *Dadai Huayue miaobei,* both of which were built a half-century before in the same province. The calligraphic style of the title is analogous to that of the *Huangdi nanxun bei,* but that of the text shows the maturity of standard script. Kang Youwei highly esteemed this inscription as the originator of density and abundance.[36] Consisted of mostly square-shaped characters, this highly sophisticated brushwork immediately recalls Wang Xizhi's *Dongfang Shuo hua zan*東方朔畵贊(fig.24).



<fig.23> Huihusibei, 488, Northern Wei



<fig.24> Dongfang Suo hua zan, Wang Xizhi, 356, Eastern Jin

3.3 Funerary Inscriptions

To distinguish the calligraphic difference between the outside monuments

36) Kang Youwei, 771.

www.kci.go.kr

mentioned above and those inside tombs, we need to examine funerary dedicational inscriptions inside tombs. Excavated at Chaoyang朝陽 and now housed in the Liaoning遼寧 Museum, the *Liu Xian muzhi*劉賢墓誌(452-465, figs.25.1-2) dedicated by his sons and grandsons is peculiar among all the Pingcheng stone inscriptions because all four sides bear inscriptions.[37] The texts were connected to one another, and among the four the right side indicating the last text carries a mirror inscription. The six-character title in bas-relief was written in a mixed style of seal and clerical scripts. The writing style and structure of the text is similar to the "new clerical style," although there are no "wavy strokes" at the horizontal ends, presumably due to the limitation of space. In this respect, it also shows the characteristics of standard script, and in some way it recalls the *Liu Huaimin muzhi*(fig.6) of the Song.

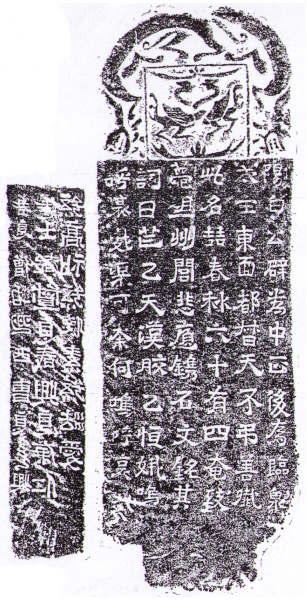
Another funerary inscription excavated in the capital of the Pingcheng period, Datong大同, in Shanxi山西 in 1965 and now housed in the Datong Museum is the *Sima Jinglong mubiao*司馬金龍墓表(484, fig.26).[38] The regular script of its text is similar to that of the *Liu Xian muzhi* but displays more mature regular style. The seal script of its title reminds us that of the *Wenchengdi nanxun bei*(fig.13) mentioned above.

Thus, although not as complete as religious stelae, the funerary inscriptions also shows the change in calligraphic style by the 480s.

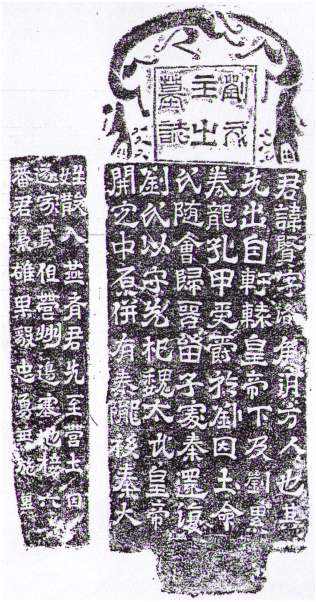
37) See Cao Xun, 1984, fig.3.

38) Sima Jinglong, son of Sima Chuzhi司馬楚之, is a descendent of the royal family of the Western Jin. See *Weishu* 37, "Sima Chuzhi zhuan," 857.

www.kci.go.kr



<fig.25.1> Liu Xian muzhi, 452-465, Northern Wei



<fig.25.2> Liu Xian muzhi



<fig.26> Sima Jinglong mubiao, 484, Northern Wei, 71cm(h)

www.kci.go.kr

As observed above, the Pingcheng inscriptions erected during the fifth century show the characteristics of “new clerical style” of the Jin to different degrees. This is the typical calligraphic style of early Pingcheng period. They are basically similar to the Eastern Jin and early Song inscriptions, written in either “new clerical style” or standard script with some elements of the “new clerical style.” Since the “new clerical style” was used as the formal script of the Southern stone inscriptions from the late fourth to the early fifth century, the same phenomenon occurred in the north from the early to the mid-fifth century.

In addition, we know by the 480s the Pingcheng calligraphy had completely changed into the standard script. It is also clear that the calligraphy of late Pingcheng period modeled after the Southern “model calligraphy” in some way. The affinity implies that there must have been some kind of interaction between the north and the south.

4. Background of the Changes

What made the Pingcheng calligraphy follow the Southern style. There can be external and internal activities that happened in the Northern Wei. During the reign period of Emperor Wu武帝(r. 483-493) of the Southern Qi, between the two courts high level embassies were exchanged as an official courtesy. The courts of the Jiankang rulers for generations fostered a brilliant flowering of secular art, such as painting and calligraphy. The four walls of the Hall of Imperial Sincerity in the Dai代 palace, completed in 483, were covered with frescoes by the hands of Zhang Sengda張僧達 and Jiang Shaoyou將小遊, depicting the loyal and brave worthies of the

www.kci.go.kr

past and inscriptions in their honor. Jiang Shaoyou, celebrated architect of the Northern Wei, began to reveal an exceptional skill and inventiveness in drawing and carving stone. When Emperor Xiaowen began to plan the rebuilding of his capital in Pingcheng on a more splendid and authentically imperial scale, Jiang was sent by the emperor to Luoyang to survey the ruined third-century palaces and then to Jiankang to copy the imperial city and palaces.[39]

Moreover, during the Northern and Southern Dynasties Buddhist monks traveled freely between the north and the south.[40] As mentioned above, Juqu Anzhou's connection with the Song court during the mid-fifth century is one piece of evidence of this movement. Another evidence is the record of Monk Fadu法度, who came to the south from the north and engaged in the construction of the Qixiashan栖霞山 caves. In addition, Shandong, which had yielded many Confucian stelae during the Han, Wei, and Jin periods, was alternately under southern and northern domination. Thus, the official interactions through Jiankang and the private interactions through Shandong brought to the north the stylistic flavors of the south. Therefore, calligraphy cannot be exception.

In addition, to accomplish the "Taihe Reforms,"[41] in 486 Emperor Xiaowen sinicized court dress with the assistance of his Chinese advisors. This strongly suggests that some of the cultural elements in Pingcheng began to become, or had already become, Chinese in style by the end of 480s. If this is the situation of the time, there is no reason for calligraphy, as the fundamental, traditional art of China, not to follow the omnipresent

39) *Weishu* 91, "Jiang Shaoyou zhuan," 1971.
40) *Weishu* 114, p.3029; Hou Xudong, 27-36.
41) For the details of "Taihe Reforms," see Kang, Le, 1983, 515-554; Lee, Hyun-sook Jung, 2005, 54-75; and Jung Hyunsook, 2006, 275-279.

www.kci.go.kr

trends of the time.

5. Conclusion

The calligraphic relics of the Pingcheng period of the Northern Wei is not as many as those of the Luoyang period. Nonetheless, they played an important role for the formation of Luoyang calligraphy. Most of them are related with state affairs and religion, but there are also a few funerary inscriptions.

The calligraphic style of the Pingcheng period varies and changes over time. Overall, it shows the transition from the “new clerical style” to the standard script during the period from the early to the late fifth century. What is noteworthy is that the clerical script of the Han and Wei, popular in the contemporary capital, Luoyang, and Shandong, did not directly inspire the Pingcheng calligraphy. Rather, the small seal script of the Wei and Wu, the “new clerical style” of the Eastern Jin, and the standard script of the Song, with the elements of “new clerical style,” inspired the Pingcheng calligraphic style during the early fifth century, while the mature standard script of the Song and Qi, without the elements of clerical script, were imbued in it during the late fifth century.

This change appeared in Pingcheng Calligraphy is the result of the interactions between the Northern Wei and Sourthern courts and the “Taihe Reforms” the Northern Wei court executed for the sinicization of their own.

www.kci.go.kr

<Bibliography>

1. Primary Sources

Gaoseng zhuan(Biographies of Eminent Monks) 高僧傳(T 50. 2059). By Huijiao 慧皎. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤. *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 北京: 中華書局, 1992.

Jinshu(History of the Jin) 晉書. By Fang Xuanling 房玄齡, et al. 10 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 北京: 中華書局, 1974.

Shiji(Records of the Grand Historian) 史記. By Sima Qian 司馬遷. 8 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 北京: 中華書局, 1959.

Weishu(History of the Northern Wei) 魏書. By Wei Shou 魏收. 5 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 北京: 中華書局, 1974.

2. Secondary Sources

<Works in Eastern Languages>

Bao Shichen 包世臣. "Yizhou shuangji"(A Pair of Oars of the Boat of Art) 藝舟雙楫. In *Lidai shufa lunwenxuan* 歷代書法論文選. 1988, 597-633.

Beijing Tushuguan Jinshizu 北京圖書館金石組. *Beijing Tushuguan cangZhongguo lidai shike taben huibian*(A Collection of the Rubbings of the Stone Inscriptions of the Successive Dynasties of China in the Beijing Library) 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編, vols.1-3. Beijing: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe 北京: 中州古籍出版社, 101vols, 1989-1991.

Cao Xun 曹迅. "Bei Wei Liu Xian muzhi"(Epitaph of Liu Xian of the Northern Wei) 北魏劉賢墓誌. *Kaogu* 考古 7(1984): 615-621.

Du Doucheng 杜斗城. *Bei Liang fojiao yanjiu*(A Study of Northern Liang Buddhism) 北涼佛敎硏究. Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi 臺北: 新文豐出版公司, 1998.

www.kci.go.kr

Fan Bangjin 范邦瑾. “Xiping Shijing *Xiping Shijing* de chicun ji kezi hangshu buzheng”(The Supplementary Evidence on the Size and Number of Columns of the Inscribed Characters in the *Xiping Shijing*) 熹平石經的尺寸及刻字行數補證. *Wenwu* 文物 1(1988): 58-64.

Hou Xudong 侯旭東. *Wu liu shiji beifang minzhong fojiao xinyang*(Common People's Buddhist Beliefs in Northern China during the Fifth and Sixth Centuries) 五六世紀北方民族佛教信仰. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 北京: 社會科學出版社, 1998.

Hua Rende 華人德. “Lun Dong Jin muzhi jianji Lanting lunbian”(A Discussion of the Eastern Jin Epitaphs and the Preface of Lanting) 論東晉墓誌兼及蘭亭論辯. *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 13.1(1995): 27-62.

Jin Shenghe and Xie Hongxi 靳生禾・謝鴻喜. “Bei Wei ‘Huangdi Nanxun zhi song’ bei kaocha baogao”(An Examination Report on the Stele of the ‘Hymn to the Empror's Visits South’ of the Northern Wei) 北魏皇帝南巡之頌碑考察報告. *Shanxi Daxue xuebao* 山西大學學報 2(1994): 18-24.

_____. “Bei Wei ‘Huangdi Nanxun zhi song’ bei kaocha qingli baogao” (Arrangement Report on the Examination of the Stele of ‘Hymn to the Emperor's Visits South’ of the Northern Wei) 北魏皇帝南巡之頌碑考察淸理報告. *Wenwu jikan* 文物季刊 3(1995): 34-42.

Jung Hyunsook 鄭鉉淑. “文獻을 통해 본 北魏의 國家 理念과 龍門 古陽洞의 聯關性”(The Relation between the State Ideology of the Northern Wei and Longmen Guyang Cave Represented in the Documents). *Seojihak Yeongu* 書誌學硏究 35(2006. 12), 273-302.

Kang Youwei 康有爲. “Guang yizhou shuangji”(Broadening of a Pair of Oars of the Boat of Art) 廣藝舟雙楫. In *Lidai shufa lunwenxuan* 歷代書法論文選. 1988, 697-807.

www.kci.go.kr

Lingqiuxian Wenguansuo 靈丘縣文管所. “Shanxi Lingqiuxian faxian Bei Wei Nanxun yushe bei”(The Stele of the Emperor’s Visits South of the Northern Wei Excavated at Lingqiu in Shanxi) 山西靈丘縣發現北魏南巡御射碑. *Kaogu* 考古 3(1987): 281-282.

Liu Suoxiang 劉鎖祥. “Guanyu Bei Wei ‘Huangdi nanxun zhi song bei de shufa”(Calligraphy of the ‘Hymn to the Emperor’s Visits South’ of the Northern Wei) 關於北魏皇帝南巡之頌碑的書法. *Shufa cong kan* 書法叢刊 1(1999): 30-39.

Liu Tao 劉濤. *Zhongguo shufashi: Wei Jin Nanbeichao*(A History of Chinese Calligraphy: Wei, Jin, and Southern Dynasties) 中國書法史: 魏晉南北朝. NanjingNanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyuchubanshe 南京: 江蘇敎育出版社, 2002.

Nanjingshi Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui 南京市文物管理委員會. “Nanjing Taipingmen wai Liu Song Ming Tanxi mu”(Ming Tanxi’s Tomb of the Liu Song Outside Taiping Gate in Nanjing) 南京太平門外劉宋明曇禧墓. *Kaogu* 考古 1(1976): 49-52.

Rong Geng 容庚. “Qin Shihuang keshi kao”(An Examination of the Stone Stelae of the First Emperor of Qin) 秦始皇刻石攷. *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 17(June 1935): 125-182.

Ruan Yuan 阮元. “Beibei Nantie lun”(A Disscussion of the Northern Stelae and Southern Albums) 北碑南帖論. In *Lidai shufa lunwen xuan* 歷代書法論文選. 593-595.

_____. “Nanbei shupai lun”(A Discussion of the Calligraphy Schools of the North and South) 南北書派論. In *Lidai shufa lunwenxuan* 歷代書法論文選. 587-592.

Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Lingqiuxian Wenwuju 山西省考古硏究所·靈丘縣文物局. “Shanxi Lingqiu Bei Wei Wenchengdi Nanxubei”

www.kci.go.kr

(The Stele of Empeor Wencheng's Visits South at Lingqiu in Shanxi) 山西靈丘北魏文成帝南巡碑. *Wenwu* 文物 12(1997): 70-80.

Shodō geijutsu: Chūgoku hen(Art of Calligraphy: China volume) 書道藝術: 中國篇, vol. 1. Tōkyō: Chūo kōron shinsha 東京: 中央公論新社, 12 vols., 2001.

Zhenjiangshi Bowuguan 鎭江市博物館. "Liu Dai muzhiLiu Dai muzhi jianshu" (A Brief Statement on the Epitaph of Liu Dai) 劉岱墓志簡述. *Wenwu* 文物 6(1977): 12, 55-56.

Zhongguo meishu quanji: Shufa zhuanke bian 2, Weijin Nanbeichao shufa (Complete Collection of Chinese Art: Calligraphy and Brick Carving edition, Calligraphy of the Wei, Jin, and the Norhten and Southern Dynasties) 中國美術全集: 書法磚刻 編2, 魏晉南北朝書法, vol.54. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe 北京: 人民美術出版社, 1986.

Zhongguo shufa yishu: Wei Jin Nanbeichao(Art of Calligraphy of China: The Wei, Jin, and the Northern and Southern Dynasties) 中國書法藝術: 魏晉南北朝, vol.3. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 北京: 文物出版社, 1993.

<Works in Western Languages>

Kang, Le. "An Empire for a City: Cultural Reforms of the Xiao-wen Emperor (A.D.471-499)." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983.

Ledderose, Lothar. *Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Lee, Hyun-sook Jung. "The Longmen Guyang Cave: Sculpture and Calligraphy of the Northern Wei(386-534)." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005.

Zhao, Chao. "Stone Inscriptions of the Wei-Jin Nanbeicha Periods." Victor Xiong, trans. *Early Medieval China* 1(1994): 84-96.

www.kci.go.kr

www.kci.go.kr