



Attributed to: Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344–388)
Title: *Epitaph for My Nanny*
《保母帖》
Baomu tie
Dynasty/Date: Southern Song, early 13th century
Format: Rubbing mounted on handscroll
Medium: Ink on paper
Dimensions: 31 x 29 cm (12-1/8 x 11-1/2 in)
Credit line: Regents' Collections Acquisition Program
Accession no.: F1980.7
Provenance: Yu Xiezhong 余協中 (1898–1983)

Fastening pin: Imperial workshop, mid-18th century
Dark-green jade. Outside carved with archaic design; inside carved with title and signature, enhanced with gold pigment

Ten characters, clerical script.

乾隆御題：王獻之《保母帖》

Epitaph for My Nanny, by Wang Xianzhi. Inscribed by the Qianlong emperor.

Outside label slip: (1) – unidentified

Ink on paper.

Seven characters, standard script



晉王獻之《保母帖》

Epitaph for My Nanny, by Wang Xianzhi of the Jin dynasty

Frontispiece: plain paper, unused

Rubbing text: (1) – attributed to Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344–388)

Ink on paper. Separately mounted.

10 columns, running-standard script.

郎邪王獻之保母，姓李，名意如，廣漢人也。在母家志行高秀，歸王氏柔順恭勤。屬文能草書，解釋老旨趣。年七十，興寧三年歲在乙丑二月六日，無疾而終。□□□□□□□□□□岡下，殉以曲水小硯、交螭方壺，樹雙柏於墓上，立貞石而志之。悲夫！後八百餘載，知獻之保母宮于茲土者，尚□□焉！

The nanny of Wang Xianzhi of Langya had the surname Li, the given name Yiru, and was a native of Guanghan. While still at her home, she was lofty and cultivated in both mind and deed, and when she came to the Wang family, she was compliant, obedient, respectful, and diligent. She was skilled at prose composition, able to write in cursive script, and could explicate the meaning of Buddhist and Daoist texts. At the age of seventy, during the third year of Xingning when the year-star was in *yichou*, on the sixth day of the second lunar-month [March 14, 365], she passed away without illness, and [on the day after the full moon in the *jimao* month (March 24) was laid to rest] below [Huangfang] Ridge [in Shanyin, Guiji county].¹ She was buried with a small inkstone having a meandering stream [design], and a square bronze vase with intertwining dragons. Two cypresses were planted at her grave and a memorial stone was erected



in her honor. Alas, how sad! But eight hundred years hence and more, it shall still be known that Xianzhi's nanny lies interred in this ground.

Signature: none

Date: 興寧三年歲在乙丑二月六日
Sixth day of the second lunar-month in the third year of the Xingning reign period, when the year-star was in *yichou* [March 14, 365] (date of Li Yiru's death)

Seals: none

Colophons: (7) – Seven sheets of paper in five separately mounted sections. Paper of each section different in size and paper quality. Colophons mounted out of sequence. Total: 4 collector seals. Total dimensions: 29 x 95.5 cm (11-1/2 x 76-7/8 in)

Section One: Colophons 1 and 2 on two joined sheets of pale, aged brownish paper, dirty; two pieces of same-type paper joined in middle, with separate colophons on either side. Three (3) collectors seals over paper join.

Section Two: Colophons 3 and 4 on two joined sheets of brownish paper, each with one colophon; different paper texture than previous section; diagonal "shadow" in upper right (as from a fold); ca. four inches between two colophons, with paper join between. One (1) collector seal, with Colophon 4.



Section Three: Colophon 5 on one sheet of aged, brownish, brittle paper, different texture than either section before; many abrasions; paper join toward left side.

Section Four: Colophon 6 on one sheet of brownish paper, different texture and consistency from other sections; ink tonalities generally pale.

Section Five: Colophon 7 on one sheet of cream color paper; much unused space to left.

1. Xu Shouhe 徐守和 (1574–after 1646) – see also colophon 7, below

Ink on paper. Separately mounted section 1 (two joined sheets), right side.

7 columns, standard script. Transcription of *Baomu tie*

晉王大令《保母帖》釋文

郎邪王獻之保母，姓李，名意如，廣漢人也。在母家志行高秀，歸王氏柔順恭勤。屬文能草書，解釋老旨趣。年七十，興寧三年歲在乙丑二月六日，無疾而[卒]²終。己卯既望葬焉，柩出□□□岡下，殉以曲水小硯、交螭方壺，樹雙柏於墓上，立貞石而志之。悲夫！後八百餘載，知獻之保母宮于茲土者，尚[可考]焉！
崇禎八年乙亥季春廿八日，朗白徐守和書。

Transcription of *The Epitaph for My Nanny*, by the Grand Minister Wang [Xianzhi].³ [Text translated above. Note differences in Chinese transcription of damaged column 6]. Twentyeighth day of the last spring month in the *yihai* year of the Chongzhen reign period [May 14, 1635], written by Langbai Xu Shouhe.



Signature: 朗白徐守和

Langbai Xu Shouhe

Date: 崇禎八年乙亥季春廿八日

Twenty-eighth day of the last spring month in the *yihai* year of the
Chongzhen reign period [May 14, 1635]

Seals: none

2. Hongli 弘曆, the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (1711–1799; reigned 1735–95)

Ink on paper. Separately mounted section 1 (two joined sheets), left side.

8 columns running script.

保母墓甌，至宋寧宗嘉泰癸亥，始見於世。其文有『八百餘載』之語，若前知者。周必大《平園集》中，亦嘗及之，要知名蹟流傳有數，固無足怪。董香光摹入《戲鴻堂帖》中，臨池家遂人有其書，而初搨絕少。今乃得之，正香光藏本，謂是晉搨，縱未必然，其為大令親書於甌，晉人所刻，固無可疑。宋潛溪以《蘭亭》，乃唐人鉤摹入石。此固當勝一語，足為定論，姜堯章辨證轉辭費耳。乾隆庚午小除夕，秉燭御識。

It was not until the *guihai* year in the Jiatai reign period of Emperor Ningzong of the Song dynasty [1203] that the tomb brick [bearing the *Epitaph for*] *My Nanny* first appeared in the world. Its text has the seemingly prescient phrase —eight hundred years and more,|| which Zhou Bida [1126–1204] also mentions once in his *Collected Works of Flat Garden*.⁴ But as we all know, there is a destiny to the handing down of famous works, so there is certainly nothing to



wonder about [in this]. Dong Xiangguang [Dong Qichang, 1555–1636] copied [the rubbing] into his *Xihongtang tie* [Manuscripts from the Hall of the Playful Goose], but although later followers of the calligrapher know the writing, original rubbings [from the actual brick] are exceptionally rare.⁵ Now We have acquired this [rubbing], which is precisely the version collected by Xiangguang [see colophon 4], and although it may not actually be a rubbing from the Jin dynasty as he says, it certainly cannot be doubted that the Grand Minister [Wang Xianzhi] personally wrote on the brick, which then was carved by a Jin contemporary. Song Qianqi [Song Lian, 1310–1381] believed the *Lanting* [Orchid Pavilion] carved into stone was a tracing copy [of the original] made during the Tang dynasty. This is certainly a winning argument and should be taken as settled opinion, so all the analysis [to the contrary] by Jiang Yaozhang [Jiang Kui, ca. 1155–ca. 1221] turns out to be simply a big waste of words.⁶ Inscribed by the Emperor with candle in hand on the evening before New Year's Eve in the *gengwu* year of the Qianlong reign period [January 25, 1751].⁷

Signature: 御
the Emperor

Date: 乾隆庚午小除夕
evening before New Year's Eve in the *gengwu* year of the Qianlong reign period [January 25, 1751]

Seals: (1)
Qianlong 『乾』 『隆』 (linked circle-square relief)

3. Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322)

Ink on paper. Separately mounted section 2 (two joined sheets), right side.



7 columns, running script.

吾舊藏此《保母帖》，郭右之從吾求，乃輟以與之，不意十五年後重見之也。《保母帖》雖晚出，然是大令無恙時所刻，與世所傳臨摹上石者萬萬也。至大二年七月廿日為范喬年題，子昂。

I previously owned this [copy of] the *Epitaph for My Nanny*, but Guo Youzhi [Guo Tianxi, see colophon 5] kept after me asking for it, until I finally gave it to him to stop, and never thought I'd see it again fifteen years later. Although the *Epitaph for My Nanny* was discovered quite late, nevertheless it was carved while the Grand Minister [Wang Xianzhi] was healthy [and alive], and is worth a million of those [other works] passed down in the world that were copied onto stone. Inscribed for Fan Qiaonian [unidentified] on the twentieth day of the seventh lunar-month in the second year of the Zhida reign period [August 25, 1309], Zi'ang.⁸

Signature: 子昂
Zi'ang

Date: 至大二年七月廿日
Twentieth day of the seventh lunar month in the second year of the Zhida reign period [August 25, 1309]

Seals: (2)
Zhao shi Zi'ang 『趙氏子昂』 (square relief)
Songxuezhai 『松雪齋』 (rectangle relief)



4. Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636)

Ink on paper. Separately mounted section 2 (two joined sheets), left side.

8 columns running script.

書家得宋搨已為罕見，況唐搨乎！又誰知有晉搨如《保[寶]母帖》？是王子敬刻八百年而再出，又六百年而落吾手。宋時聚訟《定武禊帖》者，似多事矣。癸酉十月朔頒曆日得之菜市口秦人。甲戌九月望後二日題，其昌。

It is already quite rare for a calligrapher to acquire a rubbing done in the Song dynasty, and how much more so, a rubbing from the Tang! So who knew that a rubbing from the Jin dynasty, such as the *Epitaph for My Nanny*, might even exist? It reappeared eight hundred years after Wang Zijing [Wang Xianzhi] carved it, and after another six hundred years, fell into my hands. [It makes] all that disputation during the Song dynasty about the *Dingwu Purification Text* seem like just a lot of bother!¹⁰

I acquired this from a —Qin fellow at the entrance to the vegetable market on Publishing the Calendar Day, the first day of the tenth lunar-month in the *guichou* year [November 2, 1633]. Inscribed on the second day after the full moon in the ninth lunar-month of the *jiaxu* year [November 7, 1634], [Dong] Qichang.¹¹

Signature: 其昌
Qichang

Date: 甲戌九月望後二日

On the second day after the full moon in the ninth lunar-month of the *jiaxu* year [November 7, 1634]

Seals: (2)



Qinggong taibao 『青宮太保』 (square intaglio)

Dong Qichang yin 『董其昌印』 (square intaglio)

5. Guo Tianxi 郭天錫 (ca. 1235–ca.1302) – see also Collector Seals 1, below.

Ink on paper. Section 3, separately mounted.

11 columns, standard script.

右晉太宰中書令王獻之字子敬書《保母帖》。至元己丑九月獲于趙兵部。子昂及來杭，與別本較之，大不同。然未易與口舌爭，深曉王氏書者，迺能知之。予愛帖中『氏』字、『於』字、『石』字、『于』字，臨學三年，無一字似者，古人真難到耶？壬辰長至日，易跋。

蘭亭貴重玉石刻，云是率更脫真蹟，至今真贋亂紛紜，爭倡王書親入石，八百餘年保母辭，獻之筆法似羲之，斷碑剝落百餘字，高作歐顏千世師。

金城郭天錫審定秘玩。

At right is the *Epitaph for My Nanny* written by the Jin dynasty Grand Preceptor and Minister of the Secretariat, Wang Xianzhi, who had the courtesy name Zijing. In the ninth lunar-month of the *jichou* year in the Zhiyuan reign period [September 16–October 15, 1289], I received it from Zhao [Mengfu, 1254–1322], [vice minister] in the Ministry of War. When Zi'ang [Zhao Mengfu] arrived in Hang[zhou] and compared it with other versions [of the rubbing], [he found that] it was very different. But while I am not much given to oral disputation, anyone who has a profound understanding of Wang's calligraphy will be able to know it [is genuine]. In the text, I love the characters *shi* [family], *yu* [at], *shi* [stone], and *yu* [in], and I have copied and practiced



them for three years without getting a single one to look quite right. So truly impossible, is it not, to achieve [the level of] the ancients! On the day of the summer solstice in the *renchen* year [June 14, 1292], colophon by Xi.¹²

When he cut the precious *Orchid Pavilion* into stone,
It is said that Shuaigeng lost much of the original.¹³
Until today, real and fake are tangled in confusion,
So I strive to copy what Wang himself put on stone.
In his nanny's epitaph from eight hundred years ago,
The calligraphy of Xianzhi looks like that of Xizhi.
By the hundred damaged words upon this broken tablet,
Above both Ou and Yan, he is the master for all time.¹⁴

Personal treasure, examined and authenticated by Guo Tianxi of Jincheng.¹⁵

Signature: 郭天錫
Guo Tianxi

Date: 壬辰長至日
on the day of the summer solstice in the *renchen* year [June 14, 1292]

Seals: (4)
Tianxi 『天錫』 (square intaglio)
Jincheng Guo shi 『金城郭氏』 (square relief)
Kuaxuezhai 『快雪齋』 (rectangle relief)
Beishan zhenwan 『北山珍玩』 (square intaglio)



6. Chen Conglong 陳從龍 (active mid-14th century)

Ink on paper. Section 4, separately mounted.

12 columns, running-standard script.

晉王羲之書法入神，一傳至獻之而筆法似之，豈一家授受有專門之祕？不然，何千載而下，竟無有能似之者？國朝以來，惟吳興趙子昂學古書法，多蓄周、秦、漢、晉篆、隸、真、草碑刻。以善書名當時，其博古所得者多矣。至其書又自成一家。獻之《保母帖》書法之精，真本似此不可多得矣。由興寧幽壙所藏，而其誌已知其後八百載復出。今是帖自子昂四傳而至豫章龔本立。古物去留，固自有數。獻之誌壙而卜年顯晦如期，豈書法之神而數亦神耶？至正十七年六月廿日，長沙陳從龍題《保母帖》後。

The calligraphy of Wang Xizhi [ca. 303–ca. 361] of the Jin dynasty entered the divine. As he transmitted it all to Xianzhi, whose brushwork was just like his, could there have been some special secret [of the art] that was transmitted hand to hand within the family? If not, then why has there been no one over the past thousand years who is able to be like them? Since the advent of the [Yuan] dynasty, only Zhao Zi'ang [Zhao Mengfu, 1254–1322] of Wuxing studied ancient [styles of] calligraphy, and assembled many [rubblings] of stele engravings from the Zhou, Qin, Han, and Jin dynasties [carved in] seal, clerical, standard, and cursive script. That he became famous in his time for good calligraphy owed much indeed to the broad knowledge he had acquired of antiquity, and in his own calligraphy, he developed a unique personal style. [Wang] Xianzhi's *Epitaph for My Nanny* is the quintessence of calligraphy, and genuine versions such as this cannot often be found. From the Xingning reign period [363–66] it lay concealed in a dark grave, yet its text already foretold that it would re-emerge eight hundred years later. Starting from Zi'ang [Zhao Mengfu], this rubbing has now changed hands four times until coming to Gong Benli [unidentified] of Yuzhang. Whether an ancient object disappears or survives, each



certainly has its own destiny. Xianzhi composed a tomb record and predicted the appointed times of its appearance and disappearance, so could it be that this god of calligraphy was also the god of destiny? On the twentieth day of the sixth lunar month in the seventeenth year of the Zhizheng reign period [July 7, 1357], inscribed by Chen Conglong of Changsha following the *Epitaph for My Nanny*.

Signature: 陳從龍
Chen Conglong

Date: 至正十七年六月廿日
Twentieth day of the sixth lunar month in the seventeenth year of the
Zhizheng reign period [July 7, 1357]

Seals: none

7. Xu Shouhe 徐守和 (1574–after 1646) – see also colophon 1, above Ink on
paper. Section 5, separately mounted.

15 columns, standard script. Poem (8x7), plus prose postscript.

和郭佑之《保母帖》贊

書家何以重手刻，古墨蟲消別留蹟，禊帖聚訟吾猶人，定武浪傳五字石，曹娥當墮預占辭，
保母應出期合之，鑿鑿殘碑百廿字，底須蕭翼賺才師。



蔡中郎題《曹娥碑》云，『三百年後，碑冢當墮江中』。茲《保母志》云，『八百年後，知獻之保母宮于茲土』。豈神物之顯晦，亦有數存乎其間哉！此磚刻相傳出自大令手，不得而知，至於藏鋒斂鐫，大有漢魏篆籀風格。夜闇手摸，猶知其高出《定武》一層也。文亦古澹佳絕。由趙松雪傳流至今，收藏者代不一家，皆當時名墨，豈易得也耶？崇禎甲戌仲冬哉生，明燈下，清賞識此，小清閣主人徐守和。

—Encomium to harmonize with Guo Youzhi's [poem] on the *Epitaph for My Nanny*"

[Poem not translated].

The text of the *Grave Stele for Cao E*, by Inner Gentleman [of the Left] Cai [Yong, 133–192], says, —after three hundred years the stele and grave mound shall collapse into the river.¶ And here the *Record of My Nanny* says, —eight hundred years hence and more, it shall still be known that

Xianzhi's nanny lies interred in this ground.¶ Oh, how the appearance or disappearance of a divine object is [governed by] the destiny that lies within it! While we cannot know if the carved text that has been passed down originated from the Grand Minister's hand, [the way its writing] —conceals the point and hides the edgel is very much in the style of seal script [practiced] during the Han [bce 206–220 ce] and Wei [220–265] dynasties. Just touching it in the darkness of night, I know that it is one level up from the [calligraphy of] the *Dingwu* [version of the *Orchid Pavilion*]. The literary text also has an antique simplicity and is exceptionally beautiful. Passing from Zhao Songxue [Zhao Mengfu, 1254–1322] down to the present, every collector without exception was in his time a famous [master of] ink. How could [such a thing] be easy to obtain? On the *zaisheng* [third] day of the mid-winter [month] in the *jiayu* year of the Chongzhen reign period [December 22, 1634],¹⁶ Xiaoqingbi zhuren Xu Shouhe inscribed this by lamplight with pure appreciation.

Signature: 小清閣主人徐守和



Xiaoqingbi zhuren Xu Shouhe

Date: 崇禎甲戌仲冬哉生

On the *zaisheng* [third] day of the mid-winter [month] in the *jiaxu* year of the Chongzhen reign period [December 22, 1634, or January 4, 1635]

Seals: (2):

Xu Shouhe yin 『徐守和印』 (square relief)

Langbai shi 『朗白氏』 (square intaglio)

Collector seals: (17) — 14 on rubbing, 3 on colophons

1. Guo Tianxi 郭天錫 (ca. 1235–ca. 1302) – (1) – see also Colophon 5, above.

Beishan zhenwan 『北山珍玩』 (square intaglio) – rubbing, lower left

2. Hongli 弘曆, the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (1711–1799; reigned 1735–96) – (9)

Gu xi tianzi 『古希天子』 (circle relief) – rubbing/mounting join, right side

Sanxitang jingjian xi 『三希堂精鑑璽』 (rectangle relief) – rubbing/mounting join, right side

Yi zisun 『宜子孫』 (square intaglio) – rubbing/mounting join, right side

Leshoutang jianchang yin 『樂壽堂鑑藏印』 (rectangle intaglio) – rubbing/mounting join, right side



Bazheng maonian zhi bao 『八徵耄念之寶』 (rectangle relief) – rubbing/mounting join,
right side

Qianlong yulan zhi bao 『乾隆御覽之寶』 (oval relief) – rubbing, middle, top

Qianlong jianshang 『乾隆鑑賞』 (circle intaglio) – rubbing/mounting join, left side

Shiqu baoji 『石渠寶笈』 (square relief) – rubbing/mounting join, left side *Shou* 『壽』
(rectangle intaglio) – rubbing/mounting join, left side

3. Puyi 溥儀, the Xuantong 宣統 emperor (1906–1967; reigned 1908–12) – (2)

Xuantong jianshang 『宣統鑑賞』 (square relief) – rubbing, middle, top

Wuyizhai jingjian xi 『無逸齋精鑒璽』 (rectangle relief) – rubbing/mounting join, left side,
bottom

4. Yu Xiezhong 余協中 (1898–1983)

Xiezhong shangwan 『協中賞玩』 (square relief) – section 2, colophon 4, left

5. Unidentified – (5)

faint traces (rectangle relief) – rubbing, lower left
partial traces – rubbing, left corner

Hetong 『合』 『同』 (linked-square relief) – section one, colophon 1/colophon 2 join,
top – (1/2)



Liaofuerzhai zhi yin 『聊復爾齋之印』 (square relief) – section one, colophon

1/colophon 2 join, bottom

Hetong 『合』 『同』 (linked-square relief) – section one, colophon 1/colophon 2 join,
bottom – (2/2)

Traditional Chinese catalogues: (1)

Liang Shizheng 梁詩正 (1697–1763) et al., comps. *Yuke Sanxitang Shiqu baoji fatie* 御刻三希堂石渠寶笈法帖. Beijing: Imperial palace, 1751. 2:24a–33a. And Liang Shizheng 梁詩正 (1697–1763) et al. *Yuke Sanxitang fatie shiwen* 御刻三希堂法帖釋文. 1:22b–25b. Or rpt. *Zhonghua lidai mingjia moji: Sanxitang fatie* 中華歷代名家墨跡: 三希堂法帖. 5 vols. Taipei: Cifeng chubanshe, 1991. Vol. 1, 115–31.

Other Chinese primary sources:

Jiang Kui 姜夔 (ca. 1155–ca. 1221). "Jiang Kui: Wang Xianzhi *Baomu tie* bawen" 姜夔：王獻之《保母帖》跋文. In *Zhongguo wuqiannian wenwu jikan bianji weiyuan hui* 中華五千年文物集刊編輯委員會, eds. *Zhongguo wuqiannian wenwu jikan, fashu pian 4* (Five Thousand Years of Chinese Art Series: Chinese Calligraphy, Part IV; the Calligraphy of the Southern Song). Taipei: Five Thousand Years of Chinese Art Committee, 1985. Pp. 203–09, 235–36, and 262–66.

Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛 (active ca. 1190s–after 1206), comp. *Yunlu manchao* 雲麓漫抄. Preface 1206. 5:18b–19a. In *WSKQS*.



Ye Shaoweng 葉紹翁 (ca. 1175–1230). *Sichao wenjian lu* 四朝聞見錄. *Wu* 午:43a–45a (esp. 44a–b), and Appendix, 1a–28b. In Bao Tingbo 鮑庭博 (1728–1814), comp. *Zhibuzuzhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 4. Vol. 6, separate pagination. Or: Ye Shaoweng, *Sichao wenjian lu*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989. Pp. 199–201 and 203–28.

Zhao Xigu 趙希鵠 (ca. 1170–after 1242). *Dongtian qinglu ji* 洞天清祿集. In Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, ed. *Yishu congbian* 藝術叢編. Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962. Vol. 28, 268.

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Notes

¹ This translation of the twelve heavily damaged characters in column 6 of the rubbing mainly follows the transcription recorded by Jiang Kui 姜夔 (ca. 1155–ca. 1221), which reads: 「中冬既望葬會稽山陰之黃閒」, but—as suggested by Xu Shouhe 徐守和 (1574–after 1646) in Colophon 1 on the current scroll—substitutes *jimao* 己卯 for the first two characters *zhongdong* 中冬 (mid-winter, or eleventh, month). *Jimao* are the cyclical characters for the second lunar month of 365 and, as Li Yiru died in that month, it seems more likely that she was buried ten days after her demise, rather than nine months later on 中冬既望 (December 15, 365); though this remains a possibility. For Jiang Kui's transcription of the line, see —Jiang Kui: Wang Xianzhi

Baomu tie bawen 姜夔：王獻之《保母帖》跋文, in *Zhongguo wuqiannian wenwu jikan bianji weiyuan hui* 中華五千年文物集刊編輯委員會, eds., *Zhongguo wuqiannian wenwu jikan, fashu pian 4* (Five Thousand Years of Chinese Art Series: Chinese Calligraphy, Part IV; the Calligraphy of the Southern Song) (Taipei: Five Thousand Years of Chinese Art Committee, 1985), 204, column 4.



² This character has three dots beside it indicating that it should be omitted. Accordingly the character is shown in the transcription in smaller font and enclosed in brackets.

³ The term *daling* 大令 (grand minister) is an honorific reference to the rank of *zhongshu ling* 中書令 (Minister of the Imperial Secretariat), once held by Wang Xianzhi.



⁴ See Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126–1204), *Wenzhong ji* 文忠集, 46:6b–7a, in *WSKQS*. Note: Zhou Bida's *Pingyuan ji* 平園集 (Collected Works of Flat Garden) is also known as *Wenzhong ji* 文忠集, as in this source.

⁵ See Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636), *Xihongtang tie* 戲鴻堂帖 (Manuscripts from the Hall of the Playful Goose), volume 3, no pagination. Note: the rubbing reproduced by Dong Qichang in this 1603 source is substantially different than the current rubbing.

⁶ Jiang Kui 姜夔 (ca. 1155–ca. 1221) was of the opinion that the celebrated *Lanting xu* 蘭亭序 (Orchid Pavilion Preface) calligraphy was not actually a work by Wang Xianzhi's father, Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (ca. 303–361), but rather a later fabrication; whereas Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381) posited that the *Lanting xu* was engraved in stone during the Tang dynasty after the genuine original.

⁷ Although this colophon bears the signature and seals of the Qianlong emperor, the text was evidently composed by Wang Youdun 汪由敦 (1692–1758), one of his chief art advisors, who included it in his own collected literary works and may have —ghost inscribed the colophon for the emperor as well; see Wang Youdun, *Songquan ji* 松泉集, 16:8b–9a, in *WSKQS*.

⁸ This colophon is also published and transcribed in Wang Lianqi 王連起 and Guo Bin 郭斌, comps., *Zhao Mengfu moji daguan* 趙孟頫墨跡大觀, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995), vol. 2, 522.

⁹ This character has two dots beside it, indicating that the character should be omitted.



Accordingly, in the transcription, the character is shown in smaller font and enclosed in brackets.

¹⁰ The *Dingwu Purification Text* (定武禊帖) refers to a famous version of the *Lanting xu* 蘭亭序 (Orchid Pavilion Preface) attributed to Wang Xizhi (see note 6, above).

¹¹ This colophon is also published and discussed in Kohara Hironobu 古原宏伸, *Tō Kichō no shoga* 董其昌の書畫 (Calligraphy and painting of Dong Qichang), 2 vols. (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1981), vol. 1, 269 and vol. 2, 204 (plate 68).

¹² For his signature here, Guo Tianxi used an abbreviated form of *xi* 錫, the final character in his given name.

¹³ Shuaigeng 率更 (Director of the Court of the Watches, in the household of the heir apparent) is a reference to the Tang dynasty court calligrapher Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641), who once held this position and was entrusted by the emperor with transcribing Wang Xizhi's calligraphy of the *Orchid Pavilion* onto stone.

¹⁴ —Ou|| refers to Ouyang Xun, see note 12. —Yan|| refers to the renowned Tang-dynasty calligrapher of standard script, Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–785).

Guo Tianxi also inscribed this same poem as part of his colophon for a second version of the rubbing, which was once owned by Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1298). For the text of his colophon, see —Jin Wang Daling *Baomu tie* 晉王大令《保母帖》, appendix to Ye Shaoweng 葉紹翁 (ca. 1175–1230), *Sichao wenjian lu* 四朝聞見錄, in Bao Tingbo 鮑庭博 (1728–1814), comp.,



Zhibuzuzhai congshu 知不足齋叢書 4, vol. 6, separate pagination, 1a–28b, esp. 22b. Twentyfour of the Yuan dynasty colophons written for that version survive; unfortunately, the Guo Tianxi colophon is not among them.

¹⁵ This colophon is published and discussed in Chu Mo 楚默, ed., *Yuandai bian: Yuandai mingjia juan* 元代編, 元代名家卷, in *Zhongguo shufa quanji* 中國書法全集., vol. 47 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 2001), 49 (plate 6) and 236 (discussion and transcription).

¹⁶ The *zaisheng* 哉生 (literally: just emerging) day is most often defined as the third day in the lunar month, when the light of the moon first begins to appear. Some sources say it is the sixteenth day of the lunar month, when the shadow begins to appear on the moon. In the latter case, the date given here would correspond to January 4, 1635.