

# 虹影瑤輝

## ELEGANCE AND RADIANCE

李景勳藏清代玻璃

GRANDEUR IN QING GLASS

THE ANDREW K. F. LEE COLLECTION

香港中文大學文物館

THE ART MUSEUM

THE CHINESE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

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許建勳

林業強

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# 目錄

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前言	李景勳	
序言	林業強	
清代諸帝		
清內務府造辦處玻璃廠雜考	林業強	14
忽看不似水 色絕如隔塵——清代雍正御製玻璃	張 榮	60
明朝內官監、清宮造辦處和博山琉璃	張維用	71
圖版及說明		
I 早期類型		82
II 單色玻璃		
(i) 素身		
A 天球瓶		98
B 八棱瓶		112
C 盤、碗、杯		132
D 瓶、爐、文玩及其他		152
(ii) 刻花		
A 碾磨玻璃		200
B 刻花黃玻璃		208
C 其他顏色刻花玻璃		226
D 砣刻及鑲刻玻璃		254
III 多色玻璃		
A 套紅玻璃		276
B 套藍玻璃		310
C 其他套色玻璃		322
D 攪料、點彩、金星玻璃		342
E 彩繪及描金玻璃		364
底款		376
玻璃詞彙		378
主要參考書目		380
其他徵引書目		381

# CONTENTS

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FOREWORD	<i>Andrew K. F. Lee</i>	
PREFACE	<i>Peter Y. K. Lam</i>	
EMPERORS OF THE QING DYNASTY		
THE GLASSHOUSE OF THE QING IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD DEPARTMENT	<i>Peter Y. K. Lam</i>	37
IMPERIAL GLASS OF THE YONGZHENG REIGN	<i>Zhang Rong</i>	68
THE IMPERIAL WORKSHOPS OF THE MING AND QING DYNASTIES AND THE BOSHAN GLASS WORKS	<i>Zhang Weiyong</i>	76
PLATES AND ENTRIES		
I Early Pieces		82
II Monochromes		
(i) Unadorned		
A Globular vases		98
B Faceted vases		112
C Basins, bowls and cups		132
D Vases, censers, studio objects and others		152
(ii) Carved		
A Cut glass		200
B Carved yellow glass		208
C Carved glass in other colour		226
D Wheel-cut and diamond-engraved glass		254
III Multi-coloured Pieces		
A Red overlays		276
B Blue overlays		310
C Other overlays		322
D Marvered, splashed and spotted glass		342
E Enamelled and gold painted glass		364
BASE MARKS		376
GLOSSARY		379
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY		380
OTHER REFERENCES CITED		381

# 前言

---

中國文化源遠流長，博大精深，本人自幼對中國文物藝術，深感興趣。家父元燦公，早年赴美修習化學，學成回港開設玻璃廠，由是本人對玻璃特有的材質，早已耳濡目染。其後，經年從事建築設計，更對線條、造型、光線、色彩的美感，特別感覺敏銳。建築和文物，常有相近的視覺經驗。曾經一段頗長時間，被中國玉器深深吸引。玉雕瑩潤可愛，令人愛不釋手，除了材質之美，最使我悠然神往的，是簡潔的造型和精美的刻工。偶然地，一件乾隆款藍色玻璃瓶重新勾起我對玻璃的喜愛；在光線映照下，深邃的藍調子，似音樂般瀟灑盪漾，光影變化，有似建築上的設計，將室外光線引入內庭。我感覺到人與自然的融合無間。稍後，由於一件刻纏枝蓮花螭龍紋寶石紅玻璃碗，雕工精緻有如玉雕一樣，使我感受到玉器和玻璃的刻工有共通之處，同樣優美，從此奠定了文物收藏的目標：清代玻璃。

為了建立較完備的清代玻璃藏品系列，我致力於蒐集康熙至宣統期間各種不同造型、不同色彩的玻璃器。清代早期玻璃反映當時中西文化的交流：用玻璃條圍成的圈足、器底中央的臍痕、反鹵微裂紋等，都可見歐洲玻璃配方和技法傳入中國的痕跡。雍正朝是確立中國玻璃特色的關鍵時期：簡潔優雅的造型和完美無瑕的刻工，往往叫人擊節讚賞。優美的輪廓和純淨的色澤，教人賞心悅目。由康熙至雍正，中國玻璃的特色日漸確立，玻璃工藝精益求精，玻璃器無疑成為清代宮廷的新寵。乾隆朝進一步將玻璃工藝發揚光大，尤其是向技術的高度和難度挑戰。乾隆時期，玻璃材質之精美，色澤之豐富，雕工之繁複，裝飾技法之多樣，以至產品數量之鉅大，達到中國玻璃製造史上的頂峰。

眾所周知，山東顏神鎮（今日山東省淄博市博山區）曾經是中國玻璃生產的重鎮。本人最近有博山之行，訪問博山琉璃博物館及玻璃作坊，並得與博物館專家及工藝美術師們交流，獲益良多。過往為了研習中國玻璃，曾參觀不少國內外博物館，但探本尋源，仍以博山之行最具特色。此外，為求對中國文物藝術不斷研習，早年已加入敏求精舍；常與舍友切磋砥礪，增長見聞，樂也無窮。如今拙藏清代玻璃器略有可觀，茲不揣鄙陋，拋磚引玉，公諸同好，並出版圖錄，與同道共賞，仍請多所賜教。

展覽之成功舉辦，實賴多方友好支持。故宮博物院夏更起先生在挑選展品方面惠賜寶貴意見；故宮張榮女士、博山張維用先生、文物館林業強館長惠賜鴻文；摯友許建勳先生協調展覽整體工作；文物館黎淑儀女士擔任責任編輯以及香港中文大學文物館全體職員的鼎力合作。與此同時，我衷心感謝內子及家人多年來的支持，並敬謝胡世昌醫生惠允主持展覽開幕典禮。

李景勳

二〇〇〇年八月二十一日



## FOREWORD

---

China has a long flourishing civilization with profound cultural manifestations. I became interested in our own arts at a young age. My father studied chemistry in the United States and on his return, he started a glass factory in Hong Kong. I was then imperceptibly influenced by what I saw and heard about glassmaking. Subsequently, through my architectural training, I develop an aesthetic sense of forms, colours, proportion, texture, light and space while appreciating the close relationship between art and architecture.

For a long time, collecting Chinese jade pieces has been my main interest for their ingenious designs, skilled carvings and delightful translucency. Then, at a chance encounter, I saw a blue glass vase engraved with a Qianlong mark at the base. Its elegant form and the radiating luminous blue hue immediately fascinated me as if it were dancing in melodious music. This interplay of light and form correlated that of the natural light filtering into the atrium of a building, thus creating a harmony of nature and structure. Shortly afterwards, I found a ruby-red bowl deeply carved with lotus scrolls and *chilongs*, which seemed to me to be the work of a jade carver. I began to see the interconnections between the crafts of jade and glass. With this fascination, I started my pursuit in collecting Qing glass.

To fulfil my wish of acquiring a comprehensive range of later Qing glass, I have been searching for specific forms, colours, styles and techniques of different periods in the Qing Dynasty. In the Kangxi reign of the early Qing, there was an obvious infusion of western technology as reflected in the foot-ring forged by fusing a piece of glass in string form, pontil scars from the blow pipe and the defect of crizzling. The improvement of glassmaking was at a crucial stage during the Yongzheng period when the achievement of elegant design, immaculate carving and delightful colour was coming to maturity. From the Kangxi to the Yongzheng reigns, the distinguished features of glassmaking in China were finally consolidated. The craftsmanship was constantly improving, and subsequently Chinese glass branched out on its own into a distinct art form with indigenous characteristics and became a favourite *objet d'art* in the Imperial Household. The succeeding reign of Qianlong continued to refine its development and took up the challenge to push on to the limit of technology and innovation. The elegant form, beautiful texture, rich colour, delicate carving and decorative technique as well as the enormous production at the time have reached its peak in the history of glassmaking. It was this effort that had given us a rich legacy of glass objects of the highest calibre in elegance and radiance.

It is well known that Yanshen (present day Boshan County in Shandong Province) had been an important and oldest centre of glassmaking in China. I would like to mention that my recent trip to Boshan County provided me with the opportunity to visit the Boshan Glass Museum and glass factory and to learn from the local museum curators and glass artisans the history of traditional glassmaking in China. In my research on Chinese glass, I have visited various museums in China and abroad but the visit to Boshan to me is the most significant and nostalgic.

As a member of the Min Chiu Society, I have learned, studied and exchanged the connoisseurship of Chinese art with my fellow members. It has long been my cherished desire to share the enjoyment and stimulation in the collection with friends and other art enthusiasts. Thus, I present this exhibition *ELEGANCE and RADIANCE* to be accompanied by an illustrative catalogue with scholarly essays in the hope that it will promote the interest, understanding and appreciation of this previously neglected Chinese art form.

I have relied on the assistance of my friends to realize this project. Among them, I am indebted to Mr. Xia Gengqi of the Palace Museum for offering advice on the selection of the exhibits; Ms. Zhang Rong of the same institute, Mr. Zhang Weiyong from Boshan, and Mr. Peter Y.K. Lam, Director of the Art Museum, for contributing illuminating essays. My heartfelt gratitude goes to my close friend Mr. Humphrey K.F. Hui for co-ordinating the entire project, to Ms Lai Suk Yee of the Art Museum for being the managing editor of this catalogue, and to all staff members of the Art Museum for their hard work in the mounting of the exhibition. At the same time I would like to express my gratitude to my wife and family members for their support and understanding. Last but not least, I thank my long time friend Dr. Hu Shi-Chang for officiating at the exhibition.

Andrew K.F. Lee  
August 21, 2000

## 序言

在世界文明古國中，中國是唯一沒有發生過文化斷層的國家，五千年的文明，綿延不絕。在歷史長河中，華夏文明不斷與外來文化融合，在文化交流過程中，孕育了特有的中國文化傳統和物質文明。中國玻璃器的發展，正是這種現象的明證。

大約四千五百年前，巴比倫人最先找到玻璃配方，埃及人、羅馬人繼承前人的技巧，將玻璃工藝發揚光大，在中世紀及以後的歐洲，玻璃業蓬勃發展。中國玻璃的肇始年代較晚，據科學考古發掘資料顯示，在春秋戰國或稍早，中國玻璃製品才出現，較兩河流域晚了千餘年。漢唐以來，通過海上和陸上絲綢之路，中西文化傳播，中西玻璃工藝亦得以交流。但中國玻璃始終以小品為主，一度依附玉石，成為美玉的代用品，以“其瑩如水，其堅如玉，故名水玉”（明·李時珍《本草綱目》）。其工藝水平遠遠落後於西亞、地中海和歐洲大陸地區。

直到清代十七世紀末，隨著西方傳教士來華，將西方玻璃技術及配方引進，結合中國原有玻璃產地如山東博山、廣東廣州、江蘇蘇州等固有傳統，掀起了清代玻璃工藝的頂峰。這時候，內務府造辦處玻璃廠的製品最為精美，康、雍、乾盛清三代的產品，譜寫了中國玻璃製造歷史的新篇章，亦為文物愛好者提供了珍賞雅玩的絕佳標本。

《虹影瑤輝》展出李景勳先生珍藏有清一代，自康熙至宣統二百餘年間的宮廷玻璃廠和民間作坊的玻璃製品，共一百四十八項，可分為早期類型、單色玻璃、多色玻璃三大類。藝術裝飾手法有碾琢、雕刻、鑲刻、磨琢、蝕刻、描金、泥金、琺瑯彩等多種。器形則盤、碗、杯、盞、瓶、尊、罐、文房、陳設、飾物俱備，蔚為大觀。最為特色的是大部份標本都有自康熙至宣統的年款，為斷代分期的可靠依據。

展覽得以成功舉辦，首當感謝李景勳先生將藏品公諸同好，並資助展覽經費和出版圖錄；故宮博物院夏更起先生為展品遴選，去偽留真；山東淄博張維用先生和故宮張榮女士惠賜鴻文，為展品欣賞提供學術基礎；許建勳先生協調展覽整體工作，並協助撰寫展品說明文字，又承擔了大部份文稿的英譯；鍾有添先生拍攝展品；雅緻設計有限公司陳麗香女士為圖錄裝幀設計、印刷裝訂；本館黎淑儀女士統籌圖錄製作，中譯展品說明，並校正圖錄文字，擔任責任編輯；甯雄斌先生負責展場陳列設計；梁仲堯小姐拍攝全部展品底款及補拍部份展品；黃逐貴先生精心傳拓展品花紋及底款；本校藝術系畢業生柳碧玉、邱素玲小姐為展品初步著錄，並協助資料搜集；藝術系學生邱嘉汶同學協助圖錄製作；籌展期間，蒙文物館管理委員會主席利榮森先生及中國文化研究所所長陳方正博士多方指導；並蒙賴恬昌先生為展覽題署，謹此一併致謝。

林業強

文物館館長

二〇〇〇年七月二十七日

## PREFACE

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Among the ancient civilizations of the world, China is the only one that there has not been an interruption in the evolution of her civilization. Throughout the long history of 5000 years, China has ventured to assimilate imported material cultures from foreign countries, while retaining the characteristic of her own national identity. The development of Chinese glass through the centuries has provided a good illustration of this fusion of knowledge and cultural exchange with external sources.

Some 4500 years ago, the Babylonians were the first to have known the recipe of glassmaking and subsequently, both the Egyptians and the Romans went on to continue developing the technology to maturity. By the medieval ages, glass works in Europe flourished and glass was in great demand. As for China, it was not until the Eastern Zhou or perhaps slightly earlier that glass made its first appearance in the country, a lapse of over a millennium behind Mesopotamia. During the Han to Tang periods, foreign technology on glass making was brought in by the merchants via both the land and maritime silk routes but the manufacture of glass objects was limited to small items, often serving as a substitute to the valuable jade. Both the quality and technical workmanship of these glass objects were inferior to those made in Western Asian, Mediterranean and the continental European countries.

At the end of the 17th century, the European missionaries, among many other things, brought western glassmaking technology into China. Working on the basis of existing glass manufacturing traditions in China, and together with artisans coming from Boshan in Shandong province, Guangzhou in Guangdong province and Suzhou in Jiangsu province, they injected innovative measures to the industry. The result was an unprecedented development of the art of glassmaking in China during the Qing dynasty, especially in the 18th century under the reigns of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong. Throughout these three consecutive reigns, exquisite and massive quantities of glass objects were produced at the glasshouse of the Palace Workshops, thereby succeeded in composing a new page in the history of glass in China, leaving a rich legacy of elegant art forms for later connoisseurs and collectors.

This catalogue has been written to coincide with an exhibition entitled *ELEGANCE and RADIANCE: Grandeur in Qing Glass. The Andrew K. F. Lee Collection*. A total of 148 items dating from the beginning of the Qing Dynasty in the mid 17th century to the turn of the 19th / 20th century has been selected for the exhibition, with examples produced in the glasshouse at the Palace Workshops as well as provincial centres. The collection is classified in three main sections, namely early pieces, monochromes and multi-coloured pieces, and the decorative techniques include wheel-cutting, carving, diamond engraving, grinding, etching and gilding. As to the forms, there are dishes, bowls, cups, bottles, vases, jars, scholar's desk items, decorative pieces and personal ornaments. It is worth to note that the greater part of the items carry imperial marks ranging from the Kangxi to Xuantong reigns, thereby providing reliable criteria for dating the pieces to their respective reign periods.

On behalf of the Art Museum I gratefully acknowledge the vital support and assistance from many contributors and colleagues. First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Andrew K. F. Lee for his trust in us in suggesting an exhibition of his distinguished collection at the Art Museum and in sponsoring the expenses for the display as well as the costs of publishing this catalogue. Mr. Xia Gengqi of the Palace Museum in Beijing advised in the preliminary selection of the items to be included in this catalogue, but we will exempt him from all controversies which are entirely our own. Mr. Zhang Weiyong of Boshan, Shandong province and Ms. Zhang Rong of the Palace Museum contributed scholarly essays to the catalogue. I am indebted to Mr. Humphrey K. F. Hui for coordinating the entire project, assisting in writing the catalogue entries and translating the greater part of the Chinese text into English; Mr. Henry Chung for his photography works on most exhibits and Ms. Rosanne Chan for taking up the responsibility of catalogue layout design; and her staff at CA Design for production. My thanks are due to our colleagues: Mr. Gary Ning for designing the exhibition layout; Ms. Lai Suk Yee for overseeing this publication assignment, translating the English entries into Chinese and being the managing editor to the catalogue. Ms. Leung Chung Yiu photographed some of the more recent acquisitions as well as all the base marks. Mr. Wong Chuk Kwai produced all the panoramic ink rubbings of the decorations with his usual meticulous care and patience. Fine arts graduates Ms. Lau Bik Yuk and Ms. Yau So Ling and student Ms. Carmen Yau, as summer intern, conducted preliminary research for the project. I wish especially to thank Mr. J. S. Lee, Chairman of the Management Committee and Dr. Chen Fong-ching, Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies for their advice, support and encouragement during the preparation of this exhibition. Last but not least, I should like to offer our grateful appreciation to Mr. T. C. Lai for gracing us with his elegant calligraphy in inscribing the Chinese title to the catalogue.

Peter Y. K. Lam  
Director, Art Museum  
July 27, 2000

# 清代諸帝

## EMPERORS OF THE QING DYNASTY

年號 Reign Title	廟號 Temple Name	帝名 (愛新覺羅) Name (Aisin Gioro clan)	年數 No. of Years	公元 Date
天命 Tianming	太祖 Taizu	努爾哈赤 Nu'erhachi (Nurhaci)	11	1616–1626
天聰、崇德 Tiancong, Chongde	太宗 Taizong	皇太極 Huangtaiji (Abahai)	17	1627–1643
順治 Shunzhi	世祖 Shizu	福臨 Fulin	18	1644–1661
康熙 Kangxi	聖祖 Shengzu	玄燁 Xuanyc	61	1662–1722
雍正 Yongzheng	世宗 Shizong	胤禛 Yinzhen	13	1723–1735
乾隆 Qianlong	高宗 Gaozong	弘曆 Hongli	60	1736–1795
嘉慶 Jiaqing	仁宗 Renzong	顥琰 Yongyan	25	1796–1820
道光 Daoguang	宣宗 Xuanzong	旻寧 Minning	30	1821–1850
咸豐 Xianfeng	文宗 Wenzong	奕訢 Yizhu	11	1851–1861
同治 Tongzhi	穆宗 Muzong	載淳 Zaichun	13	1862–1874
光緒 Guangxu	德宗 Dezong	載湉 Zaitian	34	1875–1908
宣統 Xuantong		溥儀 Puyi	3	1909–1911

# 清內務府造辦處玻璃廠雜考

林業強

清代設有內務府，全稱為總管內務府衙門，是清朝管理皇宮禁室事務的機構；以七司三院為主幹，即廣儲、會計、掌儀、都虞、慎刑、營造、慶豐七司，武備、上駟、奉宸三院；並兼轄其他四十餘衙門，成員由上三旗（鑲黃、正黃、正白）包衣人及太監組成，是清代國家機構中職官人數最多，組織最龐雜的衙門<sup>1</sup>。

清代內務府所屬機構，除了七司三院以外，康熙以後各朝都有不同程度增加，其中以康熙初增設的養心殿造辦處，專門掌管宮中器物的製造、修理和貯存，最為清代文物研究者所熟知。玻璃廠（或玻璃作）即隸屬其下。本文嘗試結合中外文獻，對玻璃廠的沿革、人物、匠役、製器等問題作探討。

## （一）養心殿造辦處承辦活計作坊

要明確了解造辦處各活計作坊的沿革，必須檢看清代的官修原始文獻，據光緒《會典事例》，卷一一七三<sup>2</sup>：“養心殿造辦處：初制，養心殿設造辦處，其管理大臣官員無定額，設監造四人，筆帖式一人。康熙二十九年，增設筆帖式一人。三十年奉旨，東暖閣祿作，移在南祿房，滿洲弓箭匠，亦留在內，其餘別項匠作，俱移出在慈寧宮茶飯房，做造辦處。三十二年，造辦處設立作房。三十五年奉旨設立玻璃廠，隸於養心殿造辦處，設兼管司員一人……四十四年奏准，武英殿硯作改歸養心殿……四十七年奉旨，養心殿匠役人等，俱移於造辦處……”

光緒《欽定大清會典》，卷九十八<sup>3</sup>：“養心殿造辦處……掌製造器用。凡治器之作十有四：曰如意館、曰金玉作、曰鑄爐處、曰造鐘處、曰礮槍處、曰鞍甲作、曰弓作、曰琺瑯作、曰玻璃廠、曰銅鍍作、曰匣祿作、曰油木作、曰鐙裁作、曰盞頭作。”

此外章乃煒《清宮述聞》，卷三，引《內務府冊》<sup>4</sup>：“康熙三十年，以慈寧宮之茶飯房一百五十有一楹為造辦處。四十八年，復增白虎殿後百楹。”同書又引《欽定總管內務府現行則例造辦處卷》：“初，在養心殿造辦活計，康熙三十年十月，奉旨移出，在慈寧宮茶膳房做造辦處。”

從以上的文獻，可以對造辦處各作坊的肇始有一個初步的概念，即早期養心殿“造辦活計”，只有祿作、弓箭作等，但“造辦處”的名稱還未正式確立，直至康熙三十年才正式設立作坊，並正名為“造辦處”，同時從養心殿遷出，至慈寧宮茶飯房辦公，四十八年，又增添白虎殿後房的房舍。與此同時，亦加添了不少作坊，分工很細，至雍正和乾隆初期，作坊多達四十多個<sup>5</sup>。以上光緒《會典》所載的十四作坊，其實只是晚清時候的情形而已。《清宮述聞》引《內務府現行則例》<sup>6</sup>：“乾隆二十三年<sup>7</sup>奏准：將本處三十餘作，擇其作廠相類者歸併五處；每作派庫掌、催長、委署催總，令其專視活計，領辦錢糧，使伊等互相稽察酌定。將匣作、祿作、畫作、廣木作歸併一作。木作、漆作、雕鑿作、鍍作、刻字作，此五作歸併一作。燈作、裁作、花兒作、繡兒作、穿珠作、皮作、繡作，此七作歸併一作。鍍金作、玉作、繫絲作、鑿花作、鑲嵌作、牙作、硯作，此七作歸併

<sup>1</sup> 詳見祁美琴（1998），頁8-9。

<sup>2</sup> 崑崗等（1899-a）卷1173，頁674-675。

<sup>3</sup> 崑崗等（1899-b）卷98，頁15。

<sup>4</sup> 章乃煒（1937），頁165-168。

<sup>5</sup> 吳兆清（1996），頁444。

<sup>6</sup> 見上揭章乃煒書（1937），頁166-167。

<sup>7</sup> 或是“二十年三月”之誤，見上吳兆清文（1996），頁444。

一作。銅作、錢作、雜活作、風鎗作、眼鏡作，此五作歸併一作。以上共二十八作，歸併五作，其餘如意館、做鐘處、玻璃廠、鑄爐處、礮鎗處、輿圖房、弓作、鞍甲作、瑤瑯作、畫院處等十作仍各為一作，分管承辦。”據此則乾隆二十年前，未合併的作坊共有三十八類。以上併歸的五作，據現存檔案考證應分別為：匣裱作、油木作、燈裁作、金玉作、銅鍍作<sup>8</sup>。三十八作以外，在《活計檔案》中還有盔頭作、擺錫作、香袋作、大器作，總計有四十二作。乾隆二十年精簡合併後，歷朝各有增減，但變化不大，總是在十五、十四作上下，大致與上引光緒《會典》相符，共同具體承擔了清宮內務府製造、修理、配作和收貯、保管各類工藝品和日常應用器物的責任。

## (二) 造辦處玻璃廠的始創及沿革

在討論之前，讓我們也先看看官修文獻，光緒《大清會典》<sup>9</sup>：“……玻璃廠……其玻璃廠，又有窯房燒造玻璃，碾房碾細材料……備其匠役……玻璃廠有玻璃匠、吹玻璃匠……共匠役一百九十六名，內吹玻璃匠二名，移營造司轉咨山東巡撫移送……”

光緒《清會典事例》<sup>10</sup>：“……康熙……三十五年奉旨，設立玻璃廠，隸於造辦處，設兼管司一人……四十九年，設玻璃廠監造二人……雍正……五年議准玻璃廠於拜唐阿內設委署催總一人……六年議准玻璃廠於拜唐阿內增設委署催總一人……圓明園活計庫，頂戴委署庫掌各四人……玻璃廠，留頂戴副司匠一人，頂戴委署庫掌一人……”

《大清會典》最早成書於康熙二十九年(1690)，其後於雍正、乾隆、嘉慶、光緒四次改寫纂修，至乾隆時，更將法典和事例分開，在《會典》之外，另外撰成乾隆《大清會典則例》，嘉慶時將“則例”更名為“事例”，光緒依遵其例。《會典》、《事例》分刊，即所謂“(會典)具政令之大綱，則例(事例)備沿革之綱目，互相經緯，條理益明<sup>11</sup>。”所以要考證清代某一機構，或政治制度的嬗變，必須《會典》、《事例》共同參看，始得到完整面貌。只可惜港中各圖書館缺乏古代圖籍，只能看到光緒版的《會典》和《事例》，嘉慶以前的未見，不能詳細了解玻璃廠的歷朝變更。雖然如此，上面的文獻有一點很明確的，就是玻璃廠奉旨設立於康熙三十五年(1696)，隸屬於造辦處，有窯房、碾房，管理人員在康熙三十五年至雍正六年(1728)的三十年間，大大的擴張。

玻璃廠創建的關鍵人物是德國人紀理安(見下)，始創的前後數年沿革亦可以從外國傳教士的外文通訊函件筆記中略窺大概。近年美籍學者艾美莉女士(Emily B. Curtis)利用羅馬天主教會的檔案，整理爬梳，發表了多篇有關玻璃廠早期外籍傳教士活動的文章<sup>12</sup>，用功至勤。綜合艾氏各文章中發表的教會文獻並輔以其他材料，可以排出以下的史實<sup>13</sup>：

康熙25年(1686)：

駐華耶穌會士閔明我(Claude Filippi Grimaldi, 1639-1712)<sup>14</sup>，奉旨出使俄國，並訪德國、法國等，邀請遣派傳教士赴華。

康熙26年(1687)：

法王路易十四應南懷仁(Ferdinandus Verbiest, 1623-1688)呼籲，遣“法蘭西中國傳道團”抵華，團長為洪若翰(Joannes de Fontaney, 1643-1710)，另四人為張誠(Joannes-Franciscus Gerbillon, 1654-1707)、白晉(Joachim Bouvet, 1656-1730)、李明(Louis Le Comte, 1655-1728)、劉應(Claudius de Visdelou, 1656-1737)<sup>15</sup>。

<sup>8</sup> 同上。

<sup>9</sup> 同上註2。

<sup>10</sup> 同上註3。

<sup>11</sup> 馮爾康(1986)，頁64-65。

<sup>12</sup> 艾氏參考的原始檔案材料有：羅馬教廷傳信部檔案、羅馬耶穌會總部檔案和梵蒂岡秘密檔案，發表的文章先後計有：Curtis (1990), (1991), (1992-93), (1994), (1995)。

<sup>13</sup> 以下各條除另註明外，均引自上註艾美莉氏各文。

<sup>14</sup> 以下外籍傳教士之傳記均見費賴之(馮承鈞譯)(1995)；榮振華(耿昇譯)(1995)。

<sup>15</sup> 馮作民(1975)，頁24-27。



康熙27年(1688)：

洪若翰等抵京，白晉與張誠為康熙帝留用，另三人則聽任自由傳教。

康熙30年(1691)：

張誠致函回法國，請派遣熟悉製造琺瑯及玻璃器傳教士來華。

康熙32年(1693)：

帝偶染瘡疾，張誠等進金雞納霜，病愈，帝大悅，以西安門內蠶池口前輔政大臣蘇克薩克舊府賜張氏等，諭工部修葺，十二月竣工，命名為“救世主堂”<sup>16</sup>。

康熙33年(1694)：

閔明我返中國，奉命赴澳門迎接從里斯本附舟來華之傳教師。內中有德國紀理安神父(Kilian Stumpf 1655-1720)，紀氏留澳期間為閔明我帶來中國之光學儀器維修，當地官員大為讚賞。

康熙34年(1695)：

紀氏奉召赴京，留居法國神父居所，即上述西安門內蠶池口之天主堂。

康熙35年(1696)：

奉旨設立玻璃廠。洪若翰致函法國，10月17日函：“我們的居所正在製造玻璃。”10月31日函：“由於紀理安神甫的緣故，皇上正於我們居所旁的一幅大地方上建造玻璃廠，乞請由我們法國玻璃廠中選派一位或兩位熟練玻璃工匠來華，以便製造出如同我國的玻璃和水晶，以至鏡面釉彩，亦請選派琺瑯匠一名……”

康熙36年(1697)：

3月23日洪若翰致法國函：“皇上離京往韃靼地方，太子來訪，由劉應神父陪同，視察製玻璃之火爐，並由紀理安神甫示範製玻璃工作。”

康熙39年(1700)：

紀理安神於10月17日致法國函：“張誠神父等向皇上再求隙地，以建較大教堂，帝許之。張誠神父並要求三年前協助我們承建玻璃廠的官吏，今次亦幫忙營做事宜，帝亦許之。”按此教堂即日後的北堂，落成後，鐫“勅建天主堂”五字，帝另賜額曰：“萬有真源”，又賜御撰聯曰：“無始無終，生作形聲真主宰；宣仁宣義，聿昭拯濟大權衡。”堂北建觀象臺，堂東為神父寓所，皆中國式，玻璃廠應於堂西<sup>17</sup>。

<sup>16</sup> 方豪(1970)，頁262-267。

<sup>17</sup> 同上註，頁266；蕭若瑟(1931)，頁331-332；Rowbotham(1966)，頁112、316、317。

<sup>18</sup> 見于敏中等(編)(1981)，卷42，頁661：《蠶池》條：“……蠶池口內西為天主堂，又西為琉璃作，地名草廠……”《日下舊聞考》成書於乾隆三十九年(1774)，書內史實、地名等當在此之前。又見吳長元(1981)，卷4，皇城二，頁72：“天主堂、琉璃作，俱在蠶池口內草廠。”

<sup>19</sup> 楊伯達(1983)，頁10。有論者認為搬遷與雍正八年(1730)北京地震有關，見上揭艾氏(1995)文，頁xx，但似乎欠缺實據。

<sup>20</sup> Curtis(1995)，文頁xxv引Description de Peking，頁69。北堂於嘉慶間曾一度毀廢，其後於咸豐重建，見蕭若瑟(1931)，頁399。

由以上文獻可知康熙玻璃廠確是創建於康熙三十五年(1696)，主持其事者是紀理安。由同年10月洪若翰的函件，亦知當年秋冬期間已開始製造玻璃器。當然始創初期，工匠技師欠缺，工藝不成熟，所以洪氏信中要求多派熟練玻璃匠及琺瑯匠來華，協助工作。

由於康熙玻璃廠與西洋傳教士的密切關係，所以廠址於康熙朝一直設於皇城之西的蠶池口(圖1-4)<sup>18</sup>，至雍正年間始傳命移往圓明園六所<sup>19</sup>，但是蠶池口的玻璃廠似乎並沒有因此而停止生產。乾隆初年《造辦處清檔》中有“玻璃廠”及“玻璃作”兩個不同的作坊機構名稱，可能是分別代表皇城蠶池口及圓明園內的兩所玻璃作坊。據乾隆三十九年成書的《日下舊聞考》的記載，似乎在乾隆中，蠶池口的玻璃廠仍有生產。一直到了道光九年(1829)俄國傳教士在一本介紹北京的書中才提到“在法國天主教堂側的玻璃廠已不存在”(圖5)<sup>20</sup>。咸豐十年(1860)圓明園罹劫，園內的玻璃廠當然也隨一代名園煙消雲散，造辦處玻璃器的承作，自然必自圓明園中轉移出來，是否在這時