

越絕圖錄

陳萬里著

葉恭綽題



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泥
園
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序

越中窯器不知肇始何時又不知越中各地曾有若干窯越窯之名曾見於唐陸龜蒙詩中亦不知所指何地之窯前年餘姚發見一墓誌爲瓷質粉青色泐唐長慶三年所造龜蒙爲晚唐中和時人在長慶後六十餘載則龜蒙所指當爲餘姚窯無疑矣餘姚上林湖窯基比年發掘所得殘碎瓷片及各種工具外頗有整器然完好無損者極罕觀殘器中間有記大中年號者亦在瓷誌之後則越窯在唐中葉可得證明餘姚已有造器之窯而長慶以前則尚無確據吳縣陳萬里先生研究古瓷矜慎精審不欲仍謬襲訛妄加評泊歷年以來徵集吾浙各地窯基所出瓷片極多或就窯基考察或就瓷質化分或就泐色形製比類參觀實事求是將爲吾浙創造窯瓷史之預備誠可佩也茲集餘姚瓷片中之圖畫攝影摹續得若干種名曰越器圖錄以見唐人國畫之風尚並可考見唐人品物寫真之妙較絹素所留遺之品尤爲可徵蓋絹素不易傳遠所流傳者大半質鼎轉輾摹仿久已失真矣則是錄不特可爲瓷器圖案之嚆矢也亟懇愚付印萬里慨然允之並督撰敘言鄙人於古瓷亦心焉好之然未能如萬里執著研究勉識數言以志嚮往丙子杭縣高野侯敘於雷鳴室

自序

越器是什麼，在從前沒有人說起過，也沒有人去研究過。滬杭甬鐵路自鄞縣修築到曹娥江邊的那一個時候，的確出土過好些越器，然而市場上羣以元瓷目之。元瓷，吾們深知道是向不爲一般鑑賞家所注意的東西，因此當時所出土的越器，也就不爲一般人所重視，就這樣四散了。

去年自二三月以來，餘姚上林湖的碎瓷片，居然在杭州市場上發現，其原因確實不是偶然的。一則龍泉碎瓷片，經過了我盡力收集以後，漸漸兒所謂「破碗片也有翻身日」的俗語，由一種譏諷的口吻，轉到詫異驚駭的心理，從此破碗片就在這樣一種情狀之下，會有人附和着我而受到了人們的顧問。其次，最初去搬來的動機，多少受了我一點暗示。（詳見拙著湖濱陶話）後來竟有歐美的考古者，託人到杭州來搜集碎片，古董買賣裏面的人，自然在「破碗片也有翻身日」的活氣之下，欣欣然見了碎片，比之一切不相干的瓷器，着實要看重些。於是一班跑鄉下去收貨的古董小販，你去餘姚，我去慈谿，就這樣川流不息地採集着。上林湖三個字，在喜雨臺的古董茶會上，

幾幾乎是無人不知那個不曉的一個最簇新最流行底名詞：自然，提起上林湖，人們就會連想到破碗片，由破碗片而連想到可以賣一兩塊錢的營業。最後十元數十元一塊破片也有，這是破碗片市價的頂高點。有了這樣一個翻身日，才能維持整個兒一年的不景氣底杭州古董局面。

究竟上林湖所來的破碗片是怎樣呢？論其質，自然有粗細的不同，論其色，也有種種深淺的各異，而我所視為最名貴并且值得吾人研究的是許多許多異樣的圖案畫。

圖案畫，在三代銅器上面，從前人很是漠視，最近有人化費了許多時間來研究，實在是一件最有興趣的工作。漢代的銅鏡以及武梁祠等等的漢畫，都是吾們祖先所遺留下來的寶物，在這寶物上面，保存着多樣的圖案，為一種可以代表着各個時代的產物。

說到瓷器，本來是沿着陶器改進的一條路線而產生發展。在銅器上，在磚石上，當時已經有了很繁縟的畫圖來做裝飾。而陶器所表現的，還是帶着一種素樸的色彩，雖則在史前的彩陶上面，已經可以找到種種的圖案，可是史後的陶器，反而趨向單純，不事彩飾。及至漢代，吾們才曉得陶器的本身上，有

了綠釉，而起線置環等等裝飾，純然是模仿銅器的式樣，嗣後由陶而瓷，最初爲載籍所記述的就是所謂晉之縹瓷。然而縹瓷上所有的圖案是怎樣，吾人無從加以推測，因爲根本上所謂縹瓷也者，是一個未經解答的難題。

唐代作品，在北方出土得較多，吾們由此可以窺見其式樣與圖案，是受到了種種外來的影響，起了一個很大的轉變，可是比之以後的定，繁簡之間，還是差得很遠。那末究竟由唐而遞衍到宋的定器，中間經過五代的變亂，雖則就史的時間上說是一個短短的時期，而柴窑，而秘色，已久矣夫爲典籍所稱道，自然在這一個關鍵裏面，是很值得吾們注意的。

現在我之所謂越器，就是在這個時期中的一種驚人的產物。以器皿言，種類之繁多，式樣之奇妙，固然可以使你見之咋舌，而圖案花紋之複雜，就中國瓷器發達史上說，我可以斷定是一種空前的制作。你看，有了相對的蝴蝶，鸚鵡，鳳凰，就有花間舒翼的小鳥，雲中飛翔的白鶴。有了從寫實的經驗所得到的可以畫着委婉的泥鰍，或是一幅魚樂圖來點綴一隻小碗，就有憑藉想像來一條在海水裏翻騰着的神龍，布滿了一件盤洗。有的是在四周圍以荷葉，荷花四朵，含苞欲放，中有一翠鳥，

作飛鳴勢，確是絕妙一幅裝飾圖案畫。有的是秋葵海棠，刻劃各盡其致。有的是蝶戀花的小品，雖則是寥寥的一點玩意兒，都會使你沉醉於一種詩情畫意的境界，因此對於如此簡單的圖案，就能立刻感到十二分的滿足。有的在盤底裏面，畫着江濤洶湧，象徵着一個錢塘江的天塹，是何等的雄偉闊大！有的是在一個小小的盒蓋上，畫滿了牡丹花，一方面充分顯露出一個富麗堂皇的圖案，以怎樣圓熟的技巧，來完成這個使命；而另一方面也就反映出吾們祖先是具有這樣偉大的胸襟，深厚的魄力，造就成功一種雍容華貴的作品。此外破碎的瓶碗上，可以見到寫意的人物畫。本來吾人對於古代的繪畫，所謂顧凱之吳道子等等僅能憑着一點文字的記載來想像，來揣測，來懸擬，而最可靠的憑據，還是從敦煌千佛洞以及新疆所出土之壁畫及絹畫發見以後，才能確實證明一個真的面目。現在越器上所給予吾們的，雖則是幾片殘餘的畫面，已經足夠拿來證實了有唐末葉五代以迄北宋初期這一個時代裏的作風。這在考古學上藝術史上該有多少重要的意義與價值！

其次，越器上面以荷花瓣的裝飾，製成種種型式的器皿。技巧不必說，祇就這一種單純的意想，要盡量推演變化到這樣

一種程度，當時先人設想力之豐富，使吾們千載下的子孫看到，應該要有怎樣的興奮！

除此，還有浮雕着的獅，縷空着的花草，以及方才所說的一小幅畫着人物的式樣，就是開闢了後來所謂雕瓷縷花開光種種不同的制作，這又分明是在單單講到圖案畫的一點以外，卻是借着這個機會，做到了一步啟後的工作。

然而爲什麼越器會有這樣許多的式樣與圖案，這個解答，是不難的。吾人從歷史的研究，知道當時錢氏之在吳越，有他雄厚的勢力，而在爭霸的局勢之下，武肅，文穆，忠獻，忠懿幾代，一貫的豎起了一個保境安民的旗幟，所以對於逐鹿中原而得到最後勝利的都肯向之進朝貢，奉正朔。後來忠懿之事趙宋，尤其來得恭謹。越器就在這樣所謂貢金棱祕色瓷器若干事，金釵越器若干事，瓷器金釵瓷器越器若干事等；史實詔示吾們的記載之下，大量地生產了。一方面需要供進之數量多，一方面又因供進之物品，必須窮極精巧，臣庶不得應用，自然越器之制作，有了這樣一層的關係，就在式樣上圖案上力求其精妙，而在瓷器史上，就造成了一個空前的重要階段。

嗣後忠懿歸宋，不復需要此鉅量越器之貢進，加以趙宋諸

帝，力戒奢侈，禁用金飾，恐怕越器就以這種情況而衰落下去。本來越器的大量生產，以及可以做到這樣的精妙，是完全由於吳越王的促進，以後的衰落，又是完全受到政治的關係。而在應用方面，既然僅僅用之於進貢，不是普遍推行之於民衆，自然整器之流落在人間的很少。何況是經過了長期的歷史，受盡了不少天災人禍，整器之寥落可以想見。同時正因其在當時大量生產的關係，所以一經發見窖址，就有多量碎片之發現，而精妙碎片之所以獨多者，亦即上述越器之燒造，幾等於錢氏御窖的作用。

從以上種種觀察，吾們現既斷定越器之在瓷器史上有這樣光榮的事實，吾們就應該盡量的搜集着種種不同圖案畫的碎片，供獻給一般好古而有志於復興中華瓷業同志們的研究，因此我就這樣大膽地爲此艱鉅工作的嘗試。範圍純以碎片上所見之圖案畫爲限，什之一則取之於整器。至於器皿的式樣，不在這一本編輯圖錄體裁之內。我還希望在不久的將來，可以另編一冊專集出版，這是以後的事，暫且不去說她，我以爲先編一集圖案畫，是必要的。

圖錄的內容，照片與摹畫並見，因爲照片所不易得到清晰

的結果，或有匆促間借自友人的碎片，祇有假手於摹畫之一法。摹畫的弊病，在於摹擬刻劃，而實物線條上所有原來剛勁，或是柔和的趣味，或者多少要喪失一點，不過這一層我想是無害的。至碎片的來源，除我自己所保存的以外，借自友朋的約有十之二三。照片大都自己攝取，摹畫則盡出之陳蘊文女士。女士專習美術，故摹畫的結果，在我個人很放心得過去，在此要感謝她幫助我的成功。最後我更要提及高欣木先生，因為他不但介紹書局，使得這本圖錄有出版的機會，而且，費了他很寶貴的時間，為我作序，以介紹於國人；同時青社序文（俞）英賓（汪）競清（吳）佐卿（胡）賡颺（趙）諸同志的鞭策與激勵，使我非常慚愧，一併在此致我無限感謝的誠意。

二五、一、一八、

陳萬里

PREFATORY NOTE

The porcelain of Yüeh-chow has not been a subject of special investigation, or even been a topic generally talked about by students of porcelain in this country. It was only when the construction of the Shanghai-Hangchow-Ningpo Railway reached the Tsao-ngo River that a large quantity of porcelain of this description, of course, was unearthed. But it was then mistaken for the productions of the Yuan Dynasty, which, we know, have never claimed much attention of the connoisseurs. These newly unearthed remains of a notable and hitherto unknown description of porcelain were therefore unnoted and allowed to scatter.

But from February of last year, broken pieces of porcelain dug up from Shan-lin-hu, Yü-yao, have appeared at Hangchow. This was not a chance happening. Through my assiduous search for the Lungchuan pieces, the old proverb, "Even the pieces of a broken bowl have their time of turning over", seems to have lost its sarcastic implication and token on a literal meaning. Nay, it even inspired a sense of wonderment, under which people began to make collections as I did. Furthermore, the publication of my "Lakeside Gossips on Pottery" also served to give an impetus to bring these newly discovered Yüeh porcelain pieces to Hangchow. Later on, the news of this new find reached the archaeologists in Europe and America and their agents have come to Hangchow to make purchases. This has helped to change the attitude of the curios dealers toward these broken porcelain pieces, causing them to look on the latter even with more favor than on the common run of porcelain ware on the market. On the way to Yü-yao and Tsi-chi, the travelling collectors jostled each other, and the name of Shan-lin-hu, where these pieces now becoming valuable were lying in great profusion, has ever since been on the lips of the curios dealers, who have their headquarters at the tea-house of Shie-yu-tai, near the West Lake. The mention of that place suggests at

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once the valuable porcelain pieces, which in turn means dollars and cents. At first, a little piece may command a price of a dollar or two. Later on, a rare specimen may command ten dollars or more at the highest. A little boom was created for the curios dealing business at Hangchow, which actually helped to tide over an otherwise depressed state of business shared by this with other trades.

But, just what constitutes the real worthiness of these broken pieces of ancient porcelain from Shan-lin-hu? They are of various qualities from coarse to fine and of various shades of colour, deep or light. But what strike me as the most noteworthy feature and deserving careful study are the marvelous designs and patterns found on the pieces. It is to these that the present work is devoted.

In tracing the history of ornamental designs on utensils, we find them already in an advanced stage development on the bronzes of the Hsia, Shang and Chow Dynasties. They were succeeded by the beautiful designs on the backs of brass mirrors of the Han Dynasty. These, together with the carved pictures on the stones of the well-known Wu-liang Temple of the Han Dynasty, constitute our most valuable artistic heritage of this early period, though they have but been lately studied with much interest by students of our ancient culture.

Porcelain, which is such an important item in the later contributions of the Chinese culture, grows directly out of pottery. The designs that are found on ancient pottery were rather of a simple sort, although those on bronze, bricks and stones were complicated and elaborate. Early pottery were sometimes coloured and decorated with various designs. Later productions seem to indicate that the taste for colouring and decorating were both on the decline. Not till the Han Dynasty do we note another advancement in the green glaze, which was first found on the pottery of this period. Besides glazing, the wares also ornamented with raised encircling lines and rings on either side as were the bronze of the same as well as former periods. Following the development of pottery,

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porcelain ware began to appear, perhaps during the Tsin Dynasty, when the name Piao-tsi (light green procelain) was first used. Just what this new Piao-tsi was exactly like, nobody was as yet in a position to say.

Of the early porcelains, that, of which any quantity has been found, was of the Tang Dynasty. The great number of specimens excavated has thrown much light on the shapes and designs of these wares, which shows much exotic influence, as resulting from the blending of civilizations, east and west. The productions of this period cannot approximately later productions for delicacy, for instance, the Ting wares of the Sung Dynasty. But the productions of a transitional period of about fifty years between the Tang and the Sung Dynasties, the chaotic period known the history as the Five Dynasties, (907-960 A.D.) is well worthy of our attention, as the historically renowned but almost extinct Tseih-yao and Pise-yao were the productions of this very period.

What I call the porcelain of Yüeh-chow falls just within this period, being well at the end of the so-called Five Dynasties. The variety of wares found, with their marvelous shaping, is enough to strike one with wonder. But it is the rich variety of designs on these wares that are certainly unprecedented in the history of Chinese porcelain. Look at the butterflies flying in pairs, the parrots and the phoenixes, the chirping birds among the blossoms and the storks soaring high in the cloud. You have the realistic portrayal of a wriggling loach or capering fish on a bowl, or the phantastic picture of a twisting dragon in foaming waters on a basin. On some you see four blooming lotus flowers shooting from among the standing leaves, with a kingfisher flying among them. What a wonderful decorative design! On some, you have althæa flowers and begonias beautifully incised. Even a diminutive and simple ware may have on it some butterflies flitting among the blossoms. These designs soon conduct the viewer to the realm of poetry and painting, thrilling and satisfied. At the bottom of some plate, you will find the rushing

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bore of the Chien-tang River and on the cover of a small vessel, peonies in full bloom. All these prove that the decorators knew exactly how to put into execution with masterful art a rich and dignified design as well as to impart to an article the qualities of both tastefulness and ornateness. On certain broken pieces we also find idealistic drawings of human figures. Hitherto the style of such great artists as Ku Kai-tsi and Wu Tao-tse, the two outstanding painters of the human figure of the 3rd Century A.D., can only be imagined through the help of descriptive material contained in historical records, due to the paucity of their works preserved. It is only since the discovery of the wall paintings in the Grotto of a Thousand Buddhas in Tuen-huang, Kansu and the excavation of paintings on silk in Chinese Turkestan, that we came to know the true specimens of this ancient school of art. In exactly the same way, it is through the figures on the Yüeh porcelain, however broken and incomplete they may be, that we come to know the style of painting flourished between the later part of the Tong and the Northern Sung Dynasties. How valuable these broken pieces should be to students of archaeology and the history of Art! Again, we have in Yüeh porcelain whole vessels made in the form of petals of a lotus flower. Here we have an instance of a single idea of ornamentation, that of the lotus flower, carried to the limit of its practicability. Such imaginative force in our forefathers ought ever to be a stimulus and an encouragement to us descendants! Besides, there are also on these wares lions and flowers in relief. This, with the human figures previously mentioned, undoubtedly led to the later development of relief and the design on panel as forms of decoration on porcelain. This seeming digression on ornaments other than mere design is permissible as touching on the origin of some styles of porcelain decoration that are later of much importance.

But, it would be quite natural to ask why Chinese porcelain developed such rich variety in form and design just at this period. The answer is not so difficult to make if we turn to the history of the time

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for illumination. The Princes of the Wu-Yüeh Principality, from Wu-soo, through Wen-moo and Chung-hsien to Chung-i, though they were powerful during that period of chaos, adopted a policy of non-combativeness or doing homage to any who could get the other parts of the empire under control. Carrying out this policy to the latter Prince Chung-i was especially loyal to the reigning emperor of the Sung Dynasty. Yearly tributes were sent to the emperor and these tributes consisted mainly of gold-rimmed pise (secret colour) wares as well as other descriptions of Yüeh porcelain. It naturally follows that porcelain wares were being produced in great quantities and the decorations thereon were necessarily becoming elaborate. Thus, an unprecedented stage of development in the history of Chinese porcelain were reached. (Historical details are given in the author's paper, "A Historical study of the porcelain wares of Yüeh-chow," no. 1, Yüeh-Fung, a biweekly in Chinese published at Hangchow).

When Chung-i finally surrendered his principality to the Emperor and came to take up residence in the imperial capital, the yearly tributes were of course discontinued. With this and the official ban on luxury inaugurated by the Sung emperors, which included the use of gold as ornament, the production of porcelain in Yüeh-chow seemed to have declined. It was due to political reasons that the Yüeh porcelain reached such a high stage of development and it was due to the same that it eventually declined. As these wares were mostly used as a form of tribute, and were not in general use among the people, the scarcity of perfectly preserved specimens is quite accountable. It is due to quantity production that we do find heaps of broken pieces underground near the sites of old kilns.

From the above sketch, we have some idea of the illustrious record made by the Yüeh productions in the history of Chinese porcelain. We feel bound to search exhaustively for such broken wares as have on them designs that have not been found previously, and command them to the attention of connoisseurs as well as the advocates for the revival of the