

兩依藏
小件

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The *Zhouzhi* Tradition

Inlaid Hardwood Furnishings of the Late Ming and Qing Dynasties

The art of inlay is rooted in China's ancient past and has flourished throughout the ages. During the late Ming period, a new branch developed with techniques employing intricate, multi-colored inlays to compose painterly imagery upon lacquer and wood panels. According to tradition, this novel technique was created by a craftsman named Zhou Zhu 周柱; thereafter, the celebrated style of his works thrived throughout the Qing dynasty with increasing popularity under the hallmark of *Zhouzhi* 周制—an appropriation indicating the style of 'Zhou's work'. The group of inlaid-hardwood objects in the Liang Yi Collection here provides an opportunity to investigate the history and characteristics of the *Zhouzhi* inlay tradition.

History

Zhouzhi, *babao*, and *baibao* are three Chinese terms that are somewhat interchangeably used to describe inlay work comprised of variegated semi-precious materials. *Qibao* (seven treasures), a precursor to the terms *babao* (eight treasures) and *baibao* (one-hundred treasures), was used to describe the decorative inlays of Han dynasty (202 BCE-220 CE) sitting platforms.¹ What distinguished *Zhouzhi* works from earlier *-bao* traditions may have simply been the stature of artisan Zhou. Nevertheless, the term came to be more closely associated with artistic inlays of a compact, intricate style that were applied to hardwood and lacquer objects (fig. 1), and for which the terms *babao* and *baibao* are also shared today.

Representations of court ladies sitting upon stools elaborately studded with semi-precious stones appear in Tang dynasty (618 CE-907 CE) paintings², and allusions to splendid furnishings decorated with glass, tortoise shell, and jade are also found amongst poetry contemporary to the period.³ Tang-style game boards and musical instruments housed in Imperial Japanese collections since the 8th and 9th centuries also exhibit exquisite inlays with ivory, mother-of-pearl, tortoise shell, and exotic woods.⁴ Moreover, their intricate geometric patterns, scrolling floral designs, and complex compositions with hunting scenes, birds and wild animals, and travelers on camels rival the finest inlay work from the Ming and Qing periods.

During the Song dynasty (960-1279), a somewhat more painterly style of inlay decoration develops in the compositions of landscapes, figures, birds and flowers set out with mother-of-pearl against a black lacquer ground. This technique continued to develop through the Yuan (1276-1368) and Ming (1368-1644) periods. Luxurious inlaid-lacquer furnishings were markers of status, and were appraised at exceedingly high values.⁵

The adaptation of intricate, color-variegated inlays to compose yet more splendid imagery may be seen as a natural development from the duo-tone mother-of-pearl/lacquer traditions, and parallels the earlier development of polychrome *doucai* porcelain during the Chenghua period (1465-1487). By the Longqing period (1567-1573), *baibao* inlay was established as a highly esteemed technique which, according to a

周制传统

晚明与清的硬木镶嵌家具

中国的镶嵌艺术源远流长，历久弥新。在晚明时有一派新技法兴起，利用多彩精美的镶嵌在漆板或木板上构成栩栩如生的画面。据传这种新奇的手法是由一位名叫周柱的技匠所创，而后其制器风格驰名，在「周制」的独门标记下，逐渐大盛于清朝。「周制」萃取自“周之制器”。以下我们将从两依藏的一组硬木镶嵌器物，来探讨周制传统的历史与特色。

历史

「周制」、「嵌八宝」及「嵌百宝」都是指镶嵌各种半宝石的器物，而为坊间交替使用的三个不同名称。前人曾以「七宝」这个先于「八宝」和「百宝」的名称，来描述汉朝（西元前202年至西元220年）



Fig. 1. Brushpot, zitan with Inlaid decoration (vol. 3, pl. 39).

图1. 紫檀嵌百宝笔小筒（册三图版39）。

contemporary lacquer manual *Xiushu lu*, incorporated carved inlays of coral, amber, agate, pearl, tortoiseshell, mother-of-pearl, ivory, and rhinoceros horn to decorate lacquered panels with intricate and colorful compositions.⁶ Today, a few exceedingly rare examples are found in the Palace Museum, Beijing.⁷ The inlaid lacquer brushpot illustrated in figure 2 also reflects this late Ming tradition—the scenes of flowers and birds displaying a unique charm and naivete that disappears in later works.

According to one account, it was under the patronage of the Prime Minister Yan Song during the Jiajing period (1522-1567) that Zhou Zhu developed his colorful inlay art for objects of lacquer as well as hardwood. However, nearly two hundred years had lapsed when the reputed Zhou Zhu/Yan Song relationship was recorded by the Qing artist/scholar Wu Qian (1733-1813). Wu further speculated upon the absence of original works, explaining that "upon Yan's disgrace, Zhou's works were all sequestered and entered the Palace; thus, extremely few pieces are still in circulation."⁸

The corruption case against Yan Song and son, Yan Shifan was well publicized. In 1562, they were stripped of illegally begotten wealth and personal properties. However, amongst the extraordinary published account of these properties—extending from vast real estate holdings to embroidered clothing and jade hairpins—it is the absence of traditional *Zhouzhi* or *baibao* inlay objects that raises some questions concerning Zhou's involvement with the Yan family and/or the original style of his inlay work. The few related items that can be sifted out from the tomes of detailed inventory—brushpots of palmwood with ivory inlays⁹, mirror stands of ivory-inlaid *huali*¹⁰, and paper weights of jade-inlaid *huali*¹¹—suggest a more elementary inlay style than is normally associated with the intricate, variegated inlays of traditional *Zhouzhi* works.

The life of Zhou Zhu and the attributes of his work were undoubtedly embellished over the centuries; that his full name has been recorded with no less than five different, albeit similar homophonic variations indicates a legacy of oral tradition. The most immediate characterization of Zhou's inlay work is found in Gao Lian's *Eight Discourses on the Art of Living* (*Zunsheng bajian*) (pub. 1591). Hangzhou-based Gao extolled the early, unrivaled inlay work of Zhou; but without citing specific attributes, contrasted them against the marginal

works that had since become commonplace:

As for the various objects of *zitan* that are inlaid with carved, semi-precious jewels, the designs and labor are produced at great expense. Although they may provide amusement for some time, however, I fear that with age the adhesive lacquer will lose its strength, and with expansion and contraction [the body of] the small case (*xia*), it seems [that the inlay work] cannot survive. It would be better to choose carvings that can survive the repeated handling and polishing over time. The inlaid [objects] that are now widespread are Heavens apart from the early work of Zhou, and moreover, far below their value.¹²

In distinguishing the contemporary works in *zitan* from the early work of Zhou, Gao singles out the inadequately attached inlays. While the characteristics of 'the early work of Zhou' are here unspecified, such distinction can be seen to be related to different techniques used for inlaid lacquer and inlaid hardwoods. Inlays that were embedded with lacquer floated around them after they were set in place were secure and difficult to remove; those fit within cavities carved into hardwood panels and merely attached with adhesive were more likely to loosen and fall out. Elsewhere in *Eight Discourses on the Art of Living*, Gao comments favorably on hardwood ink cases and book boxes inlaid with jade belt plaques or other archaic jade panels¹³—such uncompounded style is also contrasted to the intricacy of hallmark *Zhouzhi* works.

Two *zitan* brushpots and a *zitan* vase published by Zhu Jiajin and Wang Shixiang exhibit early inlay styles.¹⁴ The rims of the two brushpots are bordered with colorful inlays of auspicious animals and flowers linked with scrolling patterns of silver wire. T-shaped key-fret patterns inlaid with silver wire border the rim and foot of the *zitan* vase, which was excavated from a Wanli period (1573-1620) tomb in the Shanghai region. Dating no later than the Wanli period and possibly somewhat earlier, these three examples also exhibit rather elementary inlay techniques relative to the intricate compositions that followed.

A small *zitan* tea tray with a Zhou Zhu inscription may possibly reflect an early work (fig. 3). The rim is inlaid with a simple key-fret pattern in gold wire, which was also used for the seal script inscription 'Wumen Zhou Zhu' 吴门周柱 (Zhou Zhu of Suzhou) on the underside (fig. 3ab). Interestingly, this inscription is



Fig. 2. Brushpot, lacquer with semiprecious inlays. Late 16th/early 17th century. 13 x 13 x 16 cm H. Chen Chite Collection, Taipei.

图2. 百宝嵌漆笔筒。十六世纪晚期/十七世纪初期。长13公分，宽13公分，高16公分。台北陈启德收藏。



Fig. 3a. Detail of inscription with gold wire inlay. 图3a 款识及金丝嵌的边缘细部。

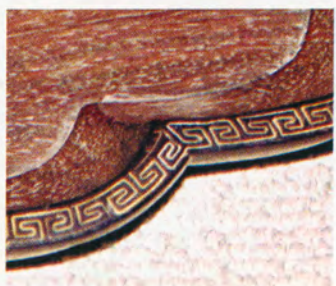


Fig. 3b. Detail of gold wire inlaid border. 图3b 金丝嵌的边缘细部。



Fig. 3. Tray with Zhou Zhu inscription, zitan with gold wire inlay, Late 16th/early 17th century. Private collection.

图3. 刻有周柱款识的紫檀茶盘。私人收藏。



Fig. 4. Clothes chest with inlaid decoration, huanghuali (vol. 3, pl. 49).

图4. 黄花梨嵌百宝衣箱 (册三图版49)。

more or less identical to those on nested trays in the Liang Yi Collection (pl. 41) as well as an inlaid inkstone box in the National Palace Museum, Taipei.¹⁵ These and other dubious inscriptions¹⁶ suggest that the *Zhouzhi* hallmark was widely plagiarized.

It was well into the 19th century when Qian Yong's (1784-1844) *Fuyuan conghua* (prefaced dated to 1825) fully chronicled the characteristics and scope of what had by that time become known as *Zhouzhi* inlay work.

The technique of *Zhouzhi* work is unique to Yangzhou. During the late Ming period a man named Zhou created the technique, which is the reason it is called *Zhouzhi*. The method variously employs gold, silver, gemstones, pearls, red coral, nephrite (*biyu*), Burmese jade (*feicui*), crystal, agate, tortoise shell, sea shell (*cheju*), lazurite (*qingjin*), turquoise, mother of pearl, ivory, amber and eagle wood. These are carved to render to compositions of landscapes, figures, trees, pavilions, flowers, birds, and animals, which are then inlaid into the surface

of [*zi*]tan, [*hua*]li[mu], and lacquered objects. Large objects include screens, tables, chairs, windows, and bookcases; small ones, brushrests, teaware, inkstone cases, and small cases for books. With variegated colors beyond description, they are indeed rare novelties unknown in ancient times. During the Qianlong period, Wang Guoshen (1736-1795) and Lu Yingzhi were quite skilled at this technique. Nowadays [Lu Yingzhi's] grandson Kuisheng (1780-1850) is still quite talented.¹⁷

This passage is perhaps the most frequently cited reference to *Zhouzhi* work, and has been variously quoted to support late Ming attributions of similarly styled work. However, with further investigation into the subject, it becomes increasingly clear that Qian was describing a technique that was in its zenith at the time of his writing during the early 19th century.

Yangzhou, traditionally associated with the *Zhouzhi* inlay tradition, was a major city north of

坐榻的镶嵌装饰¹。到底周制作品与早期「嵌X宝」的传统区别为何？可能只是艺匠周柱的名声而已。然而，「周制」一词已演变与举凡有关在硬木器与漆器上施以紧密错杂的艺术镶嵌息息相关，并且成为这类风格的代称（图1），今日人们亦冠以「八宝」及「百宝」之名。

唐代（西元618-907年）的绘画曾描绘宫女坐在嵌有半宝石的精致凳上²，唐诗中亦曾引述华美的家具陈设，饰有琉璃、玳瑁、翡翠等嵌件装饰³。西元八、九世纪以来，日本皇室收藏的唐式棋盘及乐器也显示以象牙、螺钿、玳瑁及奇木⁴等为之的精美绝伦镶嵌装饰。它们错杂有致的几何图纹、缠枝花纹，以及繁复的行猎景观图、鸟兽图与骆驼旅人景象图等的艺术造诣，都足以媲美明清两朝镶嵌精品之极致。

宋代（西元960-1279年）以螺钿在黑漆板上做出风景、人物、花鸟的构图，发展出较具绘画风格的镶嵌形式。这种技法一直持续到元（1276-1368年）及明（1368-1644年）两朝。在当时，奢华的镶嵌漆器不但是地位的表徵，更具有连城的价值⁵。

我们或可视错杂繁复、夺目灿烂画面的五彩镶嵌是由黑白双色的黑漆螺钿传统逐渐演进的时代产物，而且这个演变与稍早在承化时期（1465-1487年）就已兴起的多彩瓷器平行发展。在明隆庆期间（1567-1573年）之前，百宝嵌早已奠定为一种备受尊崇的技法；根据当时的漆工专书《髹饰录》记载，这是在漆板上用珊瑚、琥珀、玛瑙、真珠、玳瑁、螺钿、象牙及犀牛角做成错杂而镌刻镶嵌的五彩装饰景致⁶。北京故宫博物院至今仍保有几件稀罕的作品⁷。图2的花鸟纹嵌宝漆笔筒，其花鸟独具风韵与纯真，正是反映晚明风格的传统，只是此类风格已不复在后期的作品出现。

根据一则记载，周制技法是明朝嘉靖时期（1522-1567年），为当时丞相严嵩延揽供养下的艺匠周柱，在漆器和硬木器表上发展出五彩缤纷景致的镶嵌艺术。然而，要等到近两百年之后，周柱与严嵩的这一层关系才由清朝的文人画家吴騫（1733-1813年）为文记录。吴騫进一步推敲周柱原作付之阙如的现象并解释成「嵩败，器物皆入内府，流传人间绝少」⁸。

严嵩及严世蕃父子的贪污案件在当时公开揭发后，广为人知，而他们非法搜刮的财宝及财产在1562年全数没收充公。然而，有关这些财产的长篇清单中，囊括大自庞大的地产、小到精美的刺绣锦衣和翡翠簪子等宝物，却独缺传统的周制或百宝嵌器物，不禁使人对周柱与严家的关系及其镶嵌作品的原始风格的说法产生疑窦。卷帙繁浩的清单中只能找出寥寥几件相关物品，如（象）牙镶棕木笔筒⁹、牙镶花梨木镜架¹⁰，以及玉镶花梨木镇纸¹¹等，与周

制传统的错杂繁复且多彩斑斓的典型特性相比，这些镶嵌的风格显得格外基本一般。

周柱的生平及其作品特性，无疑曾随着时代加油添醋；他的全名至少有五种不同写法，但发音都极为类似，应该是口述传奇的传统使然。有关周柱镶嵌最贴近的描述要属高濂的《遵生八牋》（1591年刊印）。出身杭州的高濂在文章中盛赞周柱早期镶嵌的作品无与伦比，并与当时流行的次级作品作对比，不过他并未引述具体的特色：

又如雕刻宝嵌紫檀等器具，其费心思工本，亦为一代之绝。但可取玩一时，恐久则胶漆力脱或匣有润燥伸缩，似不可传。宁取雕刻，传摩可久。况今之镶嵌在在皆是也，与周初制何天渊隔也，价亦低下¹²。

高濂在区分当代的镶嵌紫檀器物与早期的周柱作品时，就指出前者嵌件未能确实黏牢之病。尽管他并未明确指出「周初制」的特色，但是这种差异性却可视为与嵌漆器和嵌硬木所使用不同的技法有关。若在嵌件定位之后才髹漆，嵌件浮现在围绕的漆层中，牢固而不易脱落。反之，若在硬木上挖空，再以胶黏填入嵌件，则易于松脱。高濂在《遵生八牋》的其他篇章中也曾盛赞嵌玉带花板或嵌其他博古玉片之硬木砚匣和图书匣¹³，这种简单、非错杂繁复式的风格也与典型的周制之作大相径庭。

朱家溍与王世襄书中所刊载的两个紫檀笔筒和一只紫檀扁壶展现出早期的镶嵌风格¹⁴。这两个笔筒的器口都五彩镶嵌瑞兽与花卉饰边，并错银丝枝蔓环接其间。至于从上海一座万历年间（1573-1620年）之墓出土的紫檀扁壶，其口足都错银丝回纹饰边。以上三例的年代应该都不超过万历年间，或有可能更早，而它们的镶嵌手法，相较于后期的繁复构图技巧，只能以初等形容之。

镌有周柱款的紫檀小茶盘可能属于周氏早期之作（图3），器口以金丝嵌回纹一圈，器底盖也用金丝嵌「吴门周柱」（苏州周柱）款篆文方印（图3ab）。这款识与两依藏一套叠置的茶盘（图版41）以及台北故宫博物院所藏的砚匣¹⁵的款识几乎如出一辙，相当耐人寻味。看到这些款识和其他可疑的款识¹⁶，不禁令人推断周柱标记曾广被抄袭。

一直等到十九世纪，钱泳（1784-1844年）在《履园丛话》（序文成于1825年）一书中，才详细讨论了当时称为周制镶嵌的特色与范畴。

周制之法，惟扬州有之。明末有周姓者，始创此法，故名周制。其法以金银、宝石、真珠、珊瑚、碧玉、翡翠、水晶、玛瑙、玳瑁、碎渠、

Suzhou along the Grand Canal renown for its artisan traditions during the Ming and Qing periods. This historical city was devastated during the Qing overthrow, when the least of which was destroyed may have included original *Zhouzhi* works. Nevertheless, the spirited populace and its lively, artistic culture quickly recovered. The early Qing playwright/publisher Li Yu, who also amused himself with furniture design, went so far as to express the opinion that the furniture-making traditions of Yangzhou were superior to those of Suzhou.¹⁸ Also renown for its excellence in jade-working, Yangzhou was the source of the most important Imperial commissioned works during the Qianlong period (1735-1796). The skills associated with polishing jades and other hardstones were also an essential component to the complex art of *Zhouzhi* inlay.

Shortly after the Qianlong Emperor's southern tour in 1770, several inlaid objects were included amongst a group of hardwood, lacquer, and bamboo furnishings sent to the Palace as tribute by the Yangzhou Salt Commissioner.¹⁹ These objects were qualified with the variant hallmark *Zhouzhu* 周铸 that was also in use amongst Yangzhou craftsman at that time²⁰—a term which provides the literal meaning of 'cast (*zhu*) by Zhou' and is also homonymous with Zhou's given name. Amongst these tribute items were table screens and hanging screens inlaid with poems and paintings, as well as an inlaid-*zitan* clothing chest (*zhuangxiang*); the latter perhaps of similar style to the inlaid-*huanghuali* chest in the Liang Yi collection (fig. 4).

The Lu family of Yangzhou was at the leading edge of inlaid lacquer work during the Qianlong, Jiaqing (1796-1820), and Daoguang (1821-1851) periods. Besides their renown skills in the lacquer arts, Lu Yingzhi [Ang] and his grandson Lu Dong [Kuisheng] (1780-1850) were both known to have produced extremely fine *Zhouzhi* work.²¹ Qian Yong was a contemporary of Lu Kuisheng and native of nearby Wuxi, situated along the Grand Canal between nearby Yangzhou and Suzhou. Thus, Qian was well positioned to be familiar with their inlay works as well as with the lore that had passed along through the successive generations of *Zhouzhi* craftsmen in Yangzhou who continued to develop and refine the art.

Qian Yong also recorded that on separate occasions during the years of 1814 and 1817 late in the Jiaqing reign, the Yangzhou Salt commissioner was asked to supply several hundred *zitan* objects with

Zhouzhi inlay for various new constructions at the Yuanmingyuan Palace. Both small and large furnishings were produced. Large objects included display cabinets, floor-length friezes (*dizhao*), and some two hundred window screen panels each measuring over nine feet tall, the latter of which alone required the labor force of more than twelve hundred craftsman. These were only a trifling of the treasures that vanished when the Yuanmingyuan was sacked and burnt to the ground by Western aggressors in 1860. Notwithstanding, an inlaid-*zitan* frieze surrounding a *kang* bed in the Yangxin Pavilion at the Forbidden City may well be representative of the lost Yangzhou productions; the *zitan* panels are decorated with archaic jades and other variegated *Zhouzhi*-style inlays.²²

With thousands of craftsmen skilled in the refined art of inlay during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, it may be that the Qianlong, Jiaqing and Daoguang periods should be considered the Golden Age of *Zhouzhi* inlay. Traces of this broadly established craft tradition have also survived into more recent times. During the early 20th century, workshops in Beijing were actively producing inlaid-lacquer furniture that were sold as antiques.²³ In 1999 in Beijing, this author was shown several works of an elderly craftsman who was obviously skilled at embellishing old hardwood brushpots and boxes with inlays. While he has recently retired due to the loss of steady hands, his skills have been passed on to his son. And according to the modern scholar Zhang Yan, artisans in the Yangzhou region have also maintained hard- and soft-stone inlay traditions.²⁴ Several examples with inlay work in the Liangyi collection that have been restored also reflect the talent of present-day craftsmen in Guangdong (cf. vol 3, pl. 49-53).

Characteristics of *Zhouzhi* inlay work Forms and Decoration

While the 19th century writings of Qian Yong cite the application of *Zhouzhi* inlay to a wide range of large and small furnishings, those produced during the late Ming period appear to have been limited in scale. Wu Qian, an 18th century artist/scholar from Zhejiang province, recorded that Zhou's original work included 'various types of dressing cases (*lian*) and small boxes (*xia*).'²⁵ Similar small objects, including *zitan* or lacquer library cases and dressing cases decorated with inlays of jade, agate, and mother-of-pearl, were noted during the



Fig. 5. Inlaid court furniture. Detail from Twelve Beauties of the Yuanmingyuan, scrolls, early Qing period. Palace Museum Collection, Beijing.

图5. 宫廷镶嵌家具。「胤禩妃行乐图」局部，清初。北京故宫博物院馆藏。

青金、绿松、螺钿、象牙、蜜蜡、沉香为之。雕成山水、人物、树木、楼台、花卉、翎毛，嵌于檀梨漆器之上。大而屏风、桌椅、窗櫺、书架。小则笔床、茶具、砚匣、书箱。五色陆离，难以形容。自古来未有之奇玩也。乾隆中有王国琛（1736-1795年）、卢映之辈，精于此技。今映之孙葵生（1780-1850）亦能之¹⁷。

上面这段话可说是对了解周制作品最常被广为引述之写照，也常被用来支援断代类似镶嵌风格作品为晚明年份的看法。然而，当我们进一步探究，却发现钱泳描述的是十九世纪初期已达登峰造极的周制技法，也正是他写此书的时间点。

与周制镶嵌传统息息相关的扬州，位于苏州之北，是大运河畔边上的一个大城，在明清两朝时就以其工艺传统闻名遐迩。明亡之际，这个历史古城惨遭蹂躏，周制初作可能也被破坏殆尽。尽管如此，扬州人杰地灵，再加上旺盛的艺术文化，传统



Fig. 6. Inlays and cavities from huanghuali screen (vol. 3, pl. 53).

图6. 黄花梨嵌百宝八扇围屏（册三图版53）。

工艺很快就从灰烬中复苏。也曾自娱家具设计的早清剧作家、出版家李渔甚至宣称扬州的家具制作传统更胜于苏州¹⁸。此外，扬州也以玉作工艺闻名天下，在乾隆时期（1735-1796年）就曾经是大内委制精品的重镇。而琢磨玉器和其他硬石的技艺也是繁复的周制镶嵌艺术不可或缺的要素。

在乾隆下江南（1770年）不久后，扬州盐政向宫廷进贡了一批硬木、漆制和竹制陈设，其中也包括几件镶嵌作品¹⁹。这几件物品都带有「周铸」款标志的身份证明，也是当时扬州匠师使用的一种变体标志²⁰。「周铸」一词字义上可作「周姓所铸」的解释，也与周柱之名同音。这批贡品包括嵌诗词，嵌绘画风格的几屏与挂屏，以及嵌百宝紫檀装（衣）箱。后者的形制与两依藏的嵌百宝黄花梨官皮箱极为类似（图4）。

在清乾隆，嘉庆（1796-1820年）和道光（1821-1851年）三代期间，扬州卢家的漆器镶嵌技法一直是领先群伦，无人能出其左右。卢映之（字安）



Fig. 7. Detail of wardrobe with Zhouzhi inlay, early Qing period, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

图7. 黄花梨四件柜的周制镶嵌门板一对。清初·纽约大都会博物馆。

early years of the 17th century by Wen Zhenheng.²⁶ Gao Lian and Tu Long had also extolled the ink cases and book boxes made from precious woods with jade inlays.²⁷ It was small inlaid objects that were excavated from the Wanli period tomb in the Shanghai region which, aside from the *zitan* vase cited above, also included hardwood ink cases, rules, paperweights and vase that were variously inlaid with jade and mother-of-pearl.²⁸ Against the absence of larger objects, these references support the opinion that the late Ming Zhouzhi inlay works were generally of small scale.

It is not until the Qing period (1644-1912) when full-sized hardwood furniture with Zhouzhi-style inlay work appears with support in literary and visual reference materials. In a publication dated 1709, Wang Shizhen (1634-1711) cited the exorbitant price of 120 ounces silver offered in Beijing for a chair of *zitan* with semi-precious inlays.²⁹ That such rarified objects were more commonly found within the domain of the Imperial Palace is evidenced by the stools, tables and lamps decorated with multi-colored inlays that appear in early 18th century court paintings portraying within richly furnished apartments at the Yuanmingyuan of the Yongzheng prince's concubines (fig. 5).³⁰ Records from the Yongzheng period (1722-1735) Imperial workshops fail to mention any significant production of inlaid hardwood furniture. Notwithstanding, in 1726 a *huali* table was commissioned with specific instructions to

decorate the frame members according to 'the exquisite patterns of inlaid silver and mother-of-pearl' that were found on a [huang] *huali* screen in one of the existing pavilions³¹—perhaps an earlier work of 16th or 17th century date.

The application of Zhouzhi inlay to objects of larger scale is found on almost all types of furniture, including screens, cabinets, couch-bed railings, chairs, tables, washbasin stands, mirror stands and cosmetic boxes. The *huanghuali* eight-panel screen in the Liangyi collection (vol. 3, pl. 53) was decorated with inlays of auspicious flowers and antiquities. Unfortunately, as forecast by Gao Lian, most of the original inlays loosened and disappeared, leaving only hollowed cavities (fig. 6). During the early 19th century, Xie Kun (1784-1844) had also lamented the loss of inlays in Zhouzhi works, noting "...foolishly valuing the trade price of coral and gemstones, the real ones are removed and replaced with fakes, leaving the original object worthless."³² Whether replaced or not, the surviving inlays of the screen are of secondary quality materials including color-stained ivory and soft soapstone. The substitution of artificially colored materials and imitation ceramics for semiprecious stone had already become common by the early 17th century, an economical practice recorded in annotations to the lacquer manual *Xiushilu*.³³

Given the prevalence of poorly preserved inlay work, the inlaid-*huanghuali* wardrobes housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art are deserving of special mention. Each of the eight door panels exhibits spectacular displays of flowers and birds executed in bold compositions and stunning colors, the effect which further contributes to balance the otherwise imposing stature of the colossal cabinets. Having survived in remarkable condition, the splendid inlay work is truly one of the masterpieces of the Zhouzhi tradition (fig. 7). The small number of lacquered cabinets with inlaid compositions that have survived from the 17th century³⁴ suggests the period during which this genre had become established.

Backrests of Ming-style chairs were also decorated with delightful compositions of birds and flowers, of which several *huanghuali* examples have been published.³⁵ Figure 8 illustrates the backrest panel from a 17th century *huanghuali* yokeback armchair that was recently restored by a Tianjin artisan who refitted the crisply outlined cavities with variegated inlays carved



Fig. 8. Detail of backrest from a 17th huanghuali yokeback armchair with restored inlays.

图8. 十七世纪黄花梨官帽椅靠背板细部，镶嵌为最近修补。

及孙子卢栋（字葵生，1780-1850年）除了擅长漆艺，也能制作精美绝伦的周制作品²¹。钱泳是无锡人，与卢葵生同时代；而且无锡位于大运河畔，地处扬州与苏州之间。由于这番天时地利人和的机缘，钱泳不但熟悉卢氏的镶嵌作品，也熟知扬州的周制匠师们其世代相传的典故与其不断致力发展精进技艺的点滴传闻。

此外，钱泳也记录嘉庆末年（1814至1817年间），扬州盐政受命承办圆明园的数项新建设所需的周制镶嵌紫檀器物大、小百餘件。大者有多宝格、与地板同长的地罩，以及两百多扇高达九尺的窗棂。光是这些窗棂就需要一千两百多位匠师才能协力完成。1860年圆明园被八国联军大肆劫掠而付之一炬时，这些陈设也随着大量的珍宝同归于尽。话虽如此，但是紫禁城养心殿中尚有一件环绕炕床的嵌百宝紫檀炕罩，其紫檀裙板上饰有古玉和其他多彩的周制风格镶嵌，可作为失传的扬州周制之代表作²²。

十八世纪末期至十九世纪初期，亦即乾隆、嘉庆和道光三朝，有数千名匠师都擅长这种精美的镶嵌技术，可谓周制镶嵌的黄金时期。这广被奠定的技艺传统直到晚近，仍可见其存活的迹象和影响。二十世纪初年，北京的工坊积极制作宝嵌漆家具，把它们当成古董出售²³。1999年时笔者曾在北京见到一位老匠师的几件作品，这位师傅非常擅长整修有镶嵌的旧硬木笔筒及盒匣。尽管因为双手不再灵活而被迫退休，可是他已经把绝活都传给了儿子。现代学者张燕指出，扬州一带的艺匠至今仍然保存硬石（如玉、珊瑚等）及软石（寿山石、犀牛角、骨、象牙等）两样不同的镶嵌传统²⁴。两依藏有几件实例就是新近的镶嵌修补，也反映出现今广东的工匠技艺和才能（参考册三图版49-53）。

周制镶嵌的特色

造型与装饰

尽管钱泳在写于十九世纪的著作中举例指出周制镶嵌广泛应用于大大小小不等的家具陈设，但是晚明年间的作品大多看来不是大件家具。十八世纪浙江文人画家吴騫曾写道：周柱原制之作品包括「各式匣。」²⁵十七世纪初年，文震亨亦曾记录类似的小件器物，如镶玉、玛瑙和螺钿的紫檀或漆制图书匣及梳具奁²⁶。高濂和屠隆也曾盛赞玉嵌的珍贵木制砚匣和书匣²⁷。在上海出土的万历年间器物也属于小件的镶嵌器物，除了前面提过的紫檀扁壶，还包括嵌玉和螺钿的硬木砚匣、尺规、纸镇和花瓶²⁸。在缺乏大件器物参考之下，这些范例的出列支援了晚明周制镶嵌的作品一般以小件为主的想法。

直到清朝（1644-1912年）大件周制镶嵌的硬木家具才出现，这可由文字及其他视觉形式的参考文献得到佐证。在王士禛（1634-1711年）1709年刊行的著作中，曾经引述一件百宝嵌的紫檀座椅在北京以一百二十两银子的天价卖出²⁹。十八世纪早期的宫廷画作描绘雍正太子的后宫佳丽们端坐在圆明园内奢华讲究的闺房之景，画中常见多彩镶嵌的椅凳、桌案及灯具，也证明这般稀有的宝物在大内宫殿内更为常见（图5）³⁰。尽管雍正朝（1722-1735年）的记录并未提及任何可观的硬木镶嵌家具，可是在1726年宫内委制一件花梨桌时，却明确指示要根据当时某宫殿里的「镶银丝和螺钿的（黄）花梨插屏」上的绝美花纹来装饰边框构件³¹。有可能这就是较早期——十六或十七世纪，大型作品的隻影记录。

from traditional materials. The backrests of the *huanghuali* southern official's armchairs (vol.3, pl. 50) were also discovered with similar hollowed patterns. In the original publication of *Leisurely Pursuit*, they appear with interim replacements of mother-of-pearl. Since that time, along with the development of much improved restoration techniques, variegated inlays replicating the original *Zhouzhi* tradition have been added.

Due to the intricacy of the inlay compositions as well as the expense of semi-precious materials, smaller chests, cases, brushpots were the most popular forms for such inlay work. Dressing cases for females were especially well-suited for such embellished decoration, which often carried symbolic associations related to the responsibility of bearing male children. Such is the *huanghuali* case, with the 'one-hundred boys' imagery on the two front panels (vol. 3, pl. 47); the lid is decorated with ripe pomegranates exposing their inner seeds, which form a rebus for the auspicious blessing 'Ripe pomegranates revealing one hundred seeds (boys)' (fig. 9).

According to Qian Yong, the several thousand inlaid-*zitan* objects commissioned for the Yuanmingyuan during the Jiaqing period were all decorated such with auspicious themes, including:

- 'Pomegranates revealing one hundred seeds (boys)' (*liu kai bai zi*)
- 'Ten thousand generations and everlasting spring' (*wan dai chang chun*)
- 'The immortal *lingzhi* promises longevity' (*zhi xian zhu shou*)
- 'Eternal longevity and everlasting spring' (*wan shou chang chun*)
- 'Shared autumn blessings' (*jiu qiu tong qing*)
- 'May your fortune increase with riches and sons' (*fu zeng gui zi*)
- 'Longevity promised by the flowering orchid' (*shou xian lan sun*)³⁶

Such is the decoration found on the various *huanghuali* and *zitan* cases illustrated in plates 43-48, with themes appropriate for as gifts or as receptacles for gift exchange.

Amongst the finest examples of *Zhouzhi* artistry in the Liang Yi Collection is the small inlaid-*zitan* brushpot (fig. 1). The compact composition depicts a plum tree with twisted, gnarled trunk rooted in a rocky outcropping along a waterside embankment. *Lingzhi* and grasses appear freshly sprouted about, and a pair of butterflies flutter above the blossoming plum flowers.

New growth at the tip of the plum branches is realistically highlighted with a green hardstone, foretelling of fresh leaves yet to sprout. Silver wire was used to impart the smooth ripples of the watery foreground. While many of the inferior *Zhouzhi* works use artificial materials to achieve a multi-colored effect, these inlays are naturally colored gem stones, including emerald, malachite, turquoise, and coral. The imagery, which breathes with animation, is a delight to behold.

Materials

The variegated materials used for *Zhouzhi* inlays were selected not only for their intrinsic value, but moreover, for suitable color, pattern, and texture as elements subordinate to an overall composition. These materials can be broadly categorized as semi-precious stones, shells, bone, wood, metals, and other miscellaneous materials. Some of the more common materials are outlined below:

Semi-precious stone

- Agate
- Nephrite
- Jadeite
- Lapis lazuli. Ultramarine or azure blue color of varying intensity, 5.5 hardness, and vitreous luster. Imported from India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Russia's Lake Baikal region.
- Rock crystal. Transparent variety of quartz, colorless, hardness of 7, and found in China and Japan.
- Turquoise. Opaque, blue to green in color, waxy luster hardness of 6. Imported from Persia, Central Asia, India,
- Soapstone. Soft stone easily carved. Qingtian and Changhua stone from Zhejiang, and Shoushan stone from Fujian.

Shell

- Sea shell. Large sea shell from India, one of the seven precious treasures.
- Mother-of-pearl. Lining of oyster shell as well as other mollusks, or mussels that has an iridescent luster lining. Found near Japan and South China.
- Pearls.
- Coral. Hard, red color. Imported from Japan.

Bone

- Ivory. Elephant tusk imported from Southeast Asia.



Fig. 9. Top of chest with pomegranate and bird inlays (vol. 3, pl. 47).

图9. 黄花梨嵌百宝官皮箱的箱顶（册三图版47）。

周制镶嵌的用途到了无所不及的广泛地步，从屏风、橱柜、罗汉床围子，到椅子、桌案、面盆架、镜架及梳妆箱。册三图版53的黄花梨八扇围屏嵌吉祥花卉与古玩就是一示例。遗憾的是，如高濂所言，原始的嵌件大都脱落散佚，只留下挖空的嵌穴（图6）。十九世纪初年，谢堃（1784-1844年）亦曾感叹周制镶嵌的脱落情况，他说「……愚贾利其珊瑚、宝石，亦皆挖真补假，遂成弃物。」³²这件屏风所存活的嵌件不论是后来增补或是原件，都属于染色的象牙和寿山石等次级材料。根据《髹饰录》解说，十七世纪之初，出于经济的考量，盛行以染色的材料和仿制瓷片来取代玉石和半宝石³³。

由于现存镶嵌作品的保存品质大都不良，因此美国纽约大都会博物馆所藏的黄花梨衣橱柜就值得大书一笔。它的八扇门板都雕嵌精彩生动的花鸟图案，用色鲜艳，构图大胆，巧妙地平衡了原本硕大的尺寸。这件镶嵌的保存情况良好，可以说是周制传统的精品代表作（图7）之一。由少数存世至今的十七世纪嵌宝漆柜来看³⁴，似乎指出这类大型嵌宝柜在当时已经趋于成熟化的制品了。

明式座椅的靠背板也常饰以赏心悦目的花鸟构图，最近有几件这类靠背板的黄花梨例子相继发表³⁵。图8是一张十七世纪黄花梨官帽椅的靠背板局部，最近刚由一位天津的匠师以五彩斑斓的传统材

料重新填入被挖空的孔穴，笔者发现原制镌刻的孔穴轮廓至今依然凌厉精确。册三图版50的黄花梨南官帽椅在初发现时，靠背板也是坑坑穴穴——有被挖空后的类似景观图纹。在两依藏初版中，此对椅临时以螺钿填补登场出现。之后随着百宝嵌的修复技术不断发展进步，周制镶嵌传统的原貌在此再版之际已复制重现。

因为镶嵌的构图错杂繁复，而且半宝石材料所费不貲，所以较小型的箱、匣、笔筒成为最流行的镶嵌形制。仕女的梳具匣特别适合这种装饰，而且主题通常围绕着象徵女子传宗接代职责的图纹。册三图版47的嵌百宝黄花梨官皮箱就是一个好例，两片门板上镶有「百子图」，箱顶饰以熟透而种子外露的石榴，象徵「榴开百子」的吉祥寓意（图9）。

根据钱泳记载，嘉庆年间扬州盐政承办的数千件宝嵌紫檀物品，都饰有类似的吉祥主题，包括：

榴开百子
万代长春
芝仙祝寿
万寿长春
九秋同庆
福增贵子
寿献兰孙³⁶

- Cow tooth, horn and bone. Ivory substitutes.
- Rhinoceros horn. Traditionally from Yunnan and south eastern Asia.
- Tortoise shell. Soft pliable material. Much was imported from the Indian Ocean and the seas of the Malay Archipelago.

Wood

- Aloeswood/eaglewood. A wood with a high amount of resin, high density, very hard, dark reddish-brown or blackish-brown, takes a very high polish, fragrant.
- *Hongmu*
- Boxwood
- *Jichimu*

Metal

- Gold wire
- Silver wire

Others

- Amber. Fossilized resin from conifer trees, hard brittle 2.0-2.5 hardness, semi-translucent, generally pale yellow in color, ranging from orange red, to brownish red. Very brittle when cold and is usually heated before carving.
- Coconut shell
- Glass
- Porcelain
- Carved lacquer

Technique

Zhouzhi inlay work demanded artistic skills in composition as well as the ability to handle a wide range of materials. Due to the general tendency towards specialization, few individual artisans may have possessed such a full arsenal of skills. It is more likely that most productions were accomplished in closely supervised workshops, with those skilled in the art of composition managing a team of specialized craftsmen.

Skilled painters sometimes worked in concert with inlay workshops to create artistic designs, as was the case for the Lu family workshops in Yangzhou.³⁷ Artisans also relied upon material amongst the copious illustrated publications and manuals that appeared during the 17th century. Amongst these, the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual (Jiezi yuan huazhuan)* included step-by-step compositional techniques, with illustrations of perched and flying birds, flowers, plum

blossoms, grasses³⁸, any of which could easily have been adapted for inlay patterns.

After a design was created, suitable raw materials were selected according to their size, color, pattern, and texture as elements in the overall composition. These were then worked to the required profiles. The shaping and polishing of hard stones required the use of abrasive tools associated with jade-working, while softer materials like soapstone, ivory, and wood, were carved with the sharp-edged tools. The individual pieces were shaped to protrude or fit flush with the surface according to design, and were finished with fine incised detailing and smooth polishing. The profile of the finished inlays was then accurately traced onto the surface of the object, which was then carved with cavities into which the inlays were snugly fit and adhered with glue.

The *Zhouzhi* inlay tradition is one of the outstanding achievements in the art of inlay. From painting traditions it draws the art of composition and theme, which combines with the highly skilled craftsmanship from the specialized trades working with precious materials. While the difficulty of coordinated effort and complicated technique is reflected in the fragility and short life of these creations, those that have survived reveal an unparalleled art.

具有这类吉祥主题装饰的黄花梨和紫檀小匣，如图版43-48（册3）所示，很适合馈赠亲友或作为礼尚往来的盛礼容器。

两依藏中最能展现周制造诣的，要属紫檀嵌百宝笔小筒（图1）。在这幅紧凑的画面中，一棵嶙峋桀曲的梅树扎根于多石的水边，地面上蔓生灵芝与青草，两只蝴蝶悠游于花朵累累的梅树之上。梅枝上镶以绿石，透露着嫩叶即将迸发。前方的水面上嵌有银线，表现粼粼的波光。尽管许多较逊一筹的周制作品会以人造材料取得五彩的效果，但是这些嵌件却是货真价实的天然宝石，包括祖母绿、孔雀、绿松石和珊瑚，构成一派赏心悦目的生动景象令人屏息惊妍。

材料

周制镶嵌所挑选的五彩材料，不仅看重其固有价值，更会依据整体的构图而精选合适的颜色、纹路与质地。这些材质可以广分成半宝石、壳、骨、木、金属及其他类。其中较常见的材料如下：

半宝石：

玛瑙

碧玉

翡翠

青金。佛青色或各种天蓝色，硬度5.5，具有玻璃光泽。由印度、阿富汗、巴基斯坦及俄国贝加尔湖一带进口。

水晶。为透明的石英，硬度7，产于中国和日本。

绿松石。蓝绿色，不透明，呈蜡状光泽，硬度6。由波斯、中亚、印度进口。

天然彩石。硬度为3度以下。易于凿刻的软石。青田石和昌化石出于浙江，寿山石则产于福建。

壳类：

砗磲。产于印度的大型海壳，为七大珍宝之一。

螺钿。牡蛎及其他软体动物或河蚌等有虹彩的内层。产于日本附近及中国南方。

真珠

珊瑚。质地坚硬，色红。由日本进口。

骨类：

象牙。由东南亚进口。

牛牙、牛角、牛骨。为象牙替代品。

犀角。传统上来自云南及东南亚。

玳瑁。柔软圆滑，大部份由印度洋及马来群岛的海域进口。

木类：

沉香。树脂含量极高，密度大，质地坚硬，呈深红棕色或黑棕色。可磨光，有香味。

红木

黄杨木

鸡翅木

金属类：

金丝线

银丝线

其他：

蜜蜡，琥珀。针叶树的树脂化石，易碎，硬度2-2.5。半透明，以淡黄色为主，色泽由橘红色到红棕色不等。遇冷易碎，雕刻前通常会先加温。

椰子壳

琉璃

瓷器

漆雕

技法

周制镶嵌既讲求构图技巧，也需要擅长处理各种材质的能力。因为各行各业有专精，很少有匠师能精通各种技术，因此这类作品可能需要一位善于构图的艺人（画家或书法家）在工坊内指挥一组各有专精的工匠匠师通力合作。

有时候画家会和镶嵌工坊一起设计图样，扬州的卢家工坊就是一个好例³⁷。艺匠也会从十七世纪刊印的各式插画及画谱寻找灵感。例如《芥子园画传》详细介绍构图技巧的步骤，包括栖鸟、花卉、梅花、青草等³⁸，是镶嵌图案的好材料。

一旦制好图样，则会依据整体的构图挑选尺寸、颜色、纹路及质地都恰当的材料，再加工制成所需的轮廓。为硬石塑形及打磨，需要使用治玉的研磨工具；至于寿山石、象牙、木头等质地较软的材料，则会用尖刃的工具雕刻。个别的组件根据图案设计，可能凸出表面，也可能与表面齐平，然后再施以细部雕刻及打磨。最后将完工的嵌件精准地描在器物的表面上，挖空相应的穴洞，然后将嵌件一一填入，以黏胶固定后，就大功告成了。

周制传统从绘画传统的构图和主题汲取灵感，结合冶制珍贵玉石的高超技艺，成为镶嵌艺术一个重要的里程碑。尽管因为协调层层面面的难度高，而且技术非常繁复，导致这类娇贵的作品不易保存，但是幸存的作品仍然掩不住其无与伦比的高超艺术。

Notes 备注

- 1 Cui Rongxue. *Zhongguo jiaju shi--zuoju bian*, p. 61
- 2 Lin, Lina. *Special Exhibition of Furniture in Paintings*, p. 77.
- 3 Handler, Sarah. "The Chinese Screen: Movable Walls to Divide, Enhance, and Beautify," *Journal of the Classical Chinese Furniture Society* 3:3 (Summer 1993), p. 12.
- 4 Shoso-in Office. *Treasures of the Shoso-in: The North Section*, pls. 1-8, 55-60, 64-54.
- 5 Such were the stools, chairs and tables confiscated from Shen Wansan, a wealthy Suzhou landowner during early Ming period; see David, Sir Percival. *Chinese Connoisseurship, The Ko Ku Yao Lun, The Essential Criteria of Antiquities*, pp. 148-49. Detailed assessments from properties confiscated from the fallen prime minister Yan Song in 1562 also demonstrate that mother-of-pearl inlaid furniture was of far greater value than other types; see Clunas, Craig. "Furnishing the Self in Early Modern China", pp. 24-25.
- 6 Wang Shixiang. *Xiushilu jiehshou* (An introduction to the Ming dynasty lacquer manual *Xiushilu*), p. 151.
- 7 Zhu Jiajin, Xia Gengqi, eds. *Zhongguo qiqi quanji: 5 Ming*, pls. 188, 198, 199.
- 8 Watson, William, ed. *Chinese Ivories from the Shang to the Qing*, p. 128.
- 9 *Tian shui bing shan*, 6:6, pp. 3643-3646.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 3643.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 3643, 3646.
- 12 Gao Lian. *Zunsheng bajian* (Eight Discourses on the Art of Living), juan 14:76a.
- 13 *Ibid.*, juan 15:51b, 53b-54a.
- 14 Zhu Jiajin and Wang Shixiang. *Zhongguo meishi quanji* Vol. 11, pls. 67-69.
- 15 Chi Jo-hsin. "Zhou Zhu yu Zhouzhi gongyi" (Chou Chu and the Craftsmanship of Chou Chih works), p. 676, fig. 1-2.
- 16 This author was recently shown another small *zitan* tea tray with *Zhouzhi* inlay work of inferior quality and with a gold-wire inlaid seal sealscript inscription also reading 'Wumen Zhou Zhu'.
- 17 Qian Yong. *Fuyuan conghua* (preface dated 1825), juan 12, 7ab.
- 18 Wang Shixiang, CCF, vol. 1, p. 23.
- 19 Zhang Yan. *Yangzhou qiqi shi* (History of Yangzhou Lacquerware), pp. 122-26.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 214.
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 109-119 discusses the lacquer workshop of the Lu family.
- 22 Palace Museum Ancient Architecture Department. *The Illustrated Catalogue of the Architecture and Decoration of the Imperial Palace: Interior Design*, p. 278.
- 23 Lee, Yu-kuan. *Oriental Lacquer Art*, pp. 340-341.
- 24 Zhang Yan, *ibid.*, pp. 216-17.
- 25 Chi Jo-hsin, *ibid.*, p. 665.
- 26 Wen Zhenheng. *Zhangwuzhi* (Treatise on Superfluous Things). 12 juan. Compiled in ca. 1618. Annotated edition by Chen Zhi, p. 311, 315. According to Wen, library cases and dressing cases made of *zitan* or lacquer and variously inlaid with jade, agate, and/or mother of pearl were inelegant and to be avoided. Wen generally found such embellished works suitable only to the quarters of the opposite sex.
- 27 Tu Long. *Wenfang qiju qian*. (Notes on Utensils for the Studio) (published 1606), p. 205.
- 28 Shanghai shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui. "Shanghai Baoshan Ming Zhu Shoucheng fufu hezang mu." *Wenwu* 1992:5, pp. 63-65., plate 5, figs. 5-6.
- 29 Wang Shifen, *Fen Gan Yu Hua*. Trans in Wang Shixiang, *Connoisseurship of Chinese Furniture*, vol. 1, p. 145.
- 30 Tian Jiaqing. *Classic Chinese Furniture of the Qing Dynasty*, figs. 1, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11.
- 31 Zhu Jiajin. "Yongzheng nian de jiaju zhizao kao" (A Study of the Yongzheng Imperial Furniture Workshops). *Mingjia tan jianding*, p. 354.
- 32 Xie Kun. *Jinyu suosui*, p. 233.
- 33 Wang Shixiang. *Xiushilu jiehshou*, p. 151.
- 34 Ellsworth, Robert Hatfield. *Chinese Furniture: One Hundred Examples from the Mimi and Raymond Hung Collection*, pl. 78. Also see Clunas, Craig. *Chinese Furniture*, p. 93.
- 35 Berliner, Nancy. *Beyond the Screen: Chinese Furniture of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, pl. 10; National Museum of History. *Splendor of Style: Classical Furniture from the Ming and Qing Dynasties*, p. 86; Yip Shing-Yiu and Grace Wu Bruce. *Chan Chair and Qin Bench: The Dr. S. Y. Yip Collection of Classic Chinese Furniture II*, pl. 3.
- 36 Qian Yong, *ibid.*, p. 7b.
- 37 Zhang Yan, *ibid.*, p. 110.
- 38 Sze, Mai-Mai. *The Tao of Painting: A Study of the Ritual Disposition of Chinese Painting*.

- 1 崔咏雪。《中国家具史—坐具篇》，页61。
- 2 林莉娜。《画中家具特展》，页77。
- 3 Handler, Sarah. "The Chinese Screen: Movable Walls to Divide, Enhance, and Beautify," *Journal of the Classical Chinese Furniture Society* 3:3 (1993年夏季号)，页12。
- 4 Shosoin Office. Treasures of the Shosoin: The North Section, 图版1-8, 55-60, 64-54。
- 5 这类器物包括早明时苏州大地主沈万三遭没收充公的椅凳和桌案。请参阅David, Sir Percival. *Chinese Connoisseurship, The Ko Ku Yao Lun, The Essential Criteria of Antiquities*, 页148-49。1562年对于宰相严嵩充公家产所做的详尽评估，也显示螺钿镶嵌家具的价值胜于其他家具；请参阅Clunas, Craig "Furnishing the Self in Early Modern China", 页24-25。
- 6 王世襄。《髹饰录解说》页151。
- 7 朱家溍，夏更起编。《中国美术分类全集：中国漆器全集第5卷（明）》，图版188, 198, 199。
- 8 Watson, William编。Chinese Ivories from the Shang to the Qing, 页128。
- 9 《天水冰山录》，6:6，页3643-3646。
- 10 同上，页3643。
- 11 同上，页3643，3646。
- 12 高濂。《遵生八牋》，卷14:76a。
- 13 同上，卷15:51b, 53b-54a。
- 14 嵇如昕。「周柱与周制工艺」，页676，图1-2。
- 15 笔者最近曾看到另一件紫檀小茶盘，其上的周制镶嵌品质略逊一筹，而金丝嵌的款识亦为「吴门周柱」。
- 16 朱家溍与王世襄。《中国美术全集工艺美术篇11》，图版67-69。
- 17 钱泳。《履园丛话》。（序成于1825年），卷12, 7ab。
- 18 王世襄。《明式家具研究》，文字卷页24。
- 19 张燕。《扬州漆器史》，页122-26。
- 20 同上，页214。
- 21 同上，页90, 109-119讨论卢家的漆作坊。
- 22 故宫博物院古建管理部。《紫禁城宫殿建筑装饰：内檐装修图典》，页278。
- 23 Lee, Yu-kuan. *Oriental Lacquer Art*, 页340-341。
- 24 张燕。同上，页216-17。
- 25 嵇若昕。同上，页665。
- 26 文震亨。《长物志》，12卷，约编于1618年。陈植校注，页311，315。据文氏看法，由各式玉石、玛瑙、螺钿镶嵌的紫檀或漆书匣及梳具奁俱不雅观，应当避免。
- 27 屠隆。《文房器具牋》（1606年刊印），页205。
- 28 上海市文物管理委员会。「上海宝山明朱受诚夫妇合葬墓」。《文物》1992:5，页63-65。图版5，图5-6。
- 29 清初王士禛《分甘馀话》，译文见于王世襄的《明式家具研究》，卷1，页135。
- 30 田家青。《清代家具》，图版4, 8, 9, 10, 11。
- 31 朱家溍。「雍正年的家具制造考」。《名家谈鉴定》，页354。
- 32 谢堃。《金玉琐碎》，页233。
- 33 王世襄。《髹饰录解说》，页151。
- 34 Ellsworth, Robert Hatfield. *Chinese Furniture: One Hundred Examples from the Mimi and Raymond Hung Collection*, 图版78。另见Clunas, Craig. *Chinese Furniture*, 页93。
- 35 Berliner, Nancy. *Beyond the Screen: Chinese Furniture of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, 图版10；国立历史博物馆。《风华再现—明清家具特展》，页86；Nicholas Grindley, 图版8。叶承耀与Grace Wu Bruce。《攻玉山房藏明式黄花梨家具II禅椅琴凳》，图版3。
- 36 钱泳。同上，页7b。
- 37 张燕。同上，页110。
- 38 Sze, Mai-Mai. *The Tao of Painting: A Study of the Ritual Disposition of Chinese Painting*。