

Craftsman and Literati: A ceramic pillow from CI-Zhou kiln

22-23 RCA/V&A History of Design programme

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Unit 1 Essay



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Introduction

This paper will examine the physical, historical, and cultural character of a ceramic pillow (Fig.1) in the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) collection in London, England.

In ancient China, pillows were already in use as sleeping and stability aids. Before the Sui Dynasty, these pillows might be made of stone, wood, jade, or bamboo. During the Sui Dynasty, however, the development of ceramics saw the emergence of new ceramic (porcelain) pillows. The earliest known ceramic pillow was discovered in the Sui Dynasty tomb of Zhang Sheng and his wife located in Anyang, Henan province. It is 2.4 cm high, 3.9 cm long, and 2.3 cm wide, with a concave surface and upturned ends.

Among the ceramic pillows produced in the old kilns, those about 78 cm in length and 16 cm in width were used for the living; those only 30 cm or so in length were used for corpses.¹ A "corpse pillow" would be placed in the coffin, beneath the head of its occupant. The relatively smaller size of the pillow, coupled with its concave surface and upturned ends, meant that during transport the head upon it would remain in place and thus the body as a whole would be prevented from rolling.

By the Tang Dynasty, ceramic pillows had entered wider use in daily life.² Female hairstyles at the time typically featured an elaborate bun, which was incredibly time-consuming to

¹ Tu, Long. 1368-1644. *A volume of living apparatus clothing*. Ancient Books Database of Shanghai Library.

² Kong, Chao. "Study on porcelain pillow." Doctoral Dissertation, Fudan University, 2014.

create. Rather than risk ruination while asleep, women would arrange small porcelain pillows that allowed space for the bun to sit securely – thus preserving it overnight.³ Over the subsequent Song, Jin, and Yuan Dynasties, the Central Plains of China experienced prolonged periods of excessive heat.⁴ The cooling effect of ceramic pillows made them essential for those hoping to sleep during the sweltering summer days, and the market expanded rapidly as a result. Ceramic pillows in the V&A collection were produced by the Ci-Zhou Kiln and date from this time.

The ceramic pillows discussed in this paper, from the mid- to late Yuan Dynasty, are typical of the time and region in which they were created; and, as such, they are useful when studying the artistic techniques and decorative style(s) then employed in the Ci-Zhou Kiln area.

However, the selected ceramic pillow also possesses some special features: the surface painting is of figures in a garden scene; and it bears the mark "made by Changbin Yiren", which is similar to the mark used by Literati artists on their creative projects.

This essay will be divided into two parts. The first section will explore the process of making porcelain pillows at the Ci-Zhou Kiln, based on the area's natural resources and recent archaeological excavations, as well as on more general knowledge regarding the ceramic production process. The second section will examine how the Literati influenced porcelain pillow production in the Yuan Dynasty, taking into account the historical and cultural

³ Wu, Hao. "Research on Plastic Arts of Porcelain Pillow in Song Dynasty [D]." *Journal of Jingdezhen Ceramic University*, (2022): 171-202. <https://doi.org/10.27191/d.cnki.gjdtc.2022.000108>.

⁴ Zhu, Kezhen. "A preliminary study on climate change in China in the past five thousand years [J]." *Journal of Archaeology*, no. 1 (1971): 15-38.

background of the era. Such an examination will allow me to speculate on the identity of participants in the production of the V&A porcelain pillows – the "漳滨逸人".

Chapter 1: Technical and process analysis of V&A porcelain pillow production

The following article will analyse how porcelain pillows were made at the kilns in terms of natural resources and skills.

In terms of the production of ceramic pillows, some information can be obtained from this Ci-Zhou kiln pillow, which is decorated with a "pillow poem. This pillow also bears the stamp "王氏寿明" and the inscription "漳滨逸人制", so the same maker should have made it as the V&A pillow, and the information on the pillow is therefore also useful for understanding how the V&A pillow was made. The information on the pillow is also of great value in understanding the process of making the Ci-Zhou ceramic pillow. The article on the making of the porcelain pillow reads:

*"It has a jade-like lustre and a delicate pattern like embroidery, its clay is matured and the biscuit molded, made to look like a pillow with a hollow centre, Fired at the kiln aside the Zhang River, it takes great patience to adjust the flames into strong or soft states to fit the firing situations."*⁵

⁵ Chinese University of Hong Kong. 1989 Chinese ceramic pillows from the collection of Mr. & Mrs. Yeung Wing Tak. Hongkong.



Fig.2 "Pillow Poem" ceramic pillow, Yuan Dynasty, Ci-Zhou kiln Museum.

Archaeological research at the site of the Guantai kiln in 1987 unearthed a number of tools that are thought to possibly have been used in the production of porcelain pillows. The shape of the tools inferred that they would have included functions such as cutting, pressing, punching, trimming and adding scratches.



Fig.3 Ceramic-making tools excavated during excavations at the Guantai site in 1987.

1.1 Shaping clay

The material used to make the ceramic pillows biscuits is the large amount of Daqing clay deposited in the local area of Ci-Zhou kilns. This clay is highly malleable and can be crushed and ground relatively easily. The availability of this clay and the ease of processing it provided the basis for the mass production of ceramic pillows in the region.

In contrast to the clay slabs used for firing bowls, plates, pots or basins, the clay slabs for pillows are hand-formed and glued together piece by piece.⁶ The traditional process involves rolling out the clay slabs with a rolling pin, and in order to control the thickness so that they are of uniform thickness a strip of wood is usually placed on both sides of the clay cake at the required height.⁷ The joint between the clay slabs is usually cut at an angle of 45 degrees before being joined (Fig. 4).

The comb-like tool (Fig. 3) is then used to scrape out grooves in the joint to increase friction. Finally, the grooves are coated with mud, a strip of clay is placed, and the clay plate is attached by pressing.



Fig.4 Photograph of a fragment of a porcelain pillow excavated from Ci-Zhou kiln.

As the biscuit is a hollow, closed rectangular body, a circular hole (Fig. 5) is punched into the surface of the plain surface of the pillow to prevent it from cracking when the hot air is released during firing, and the name of the workshop is stamped on the bottom of the pillow to indicate its provenance.

⁶ Hao, Liangzhen, Zhao, Xuefeng, and Xiaoqing, Ma. 2004. *Ancient Ceramics of Cizhou Kiln*. Shanxi People's Fine Arts Publishing House.

⁷Chen, Xin. "Preliminary Study on the Manufacturing Technology of Cizhou Kiln Series Porcelain Pillow." *Archaeology and Cultural Relics*, March 15, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1000-7830.2010.03.015>.



Fig.5 Photographs of the air holes and kiln stamps on the base of the V&A porcelain pillow.

1.2 Decoration

The Da-qing clay used to make the clay bases had a high iron content and produced a brownish surface (Fig 6). To compensate for this, the craftsmen of the CI-Zhou kilns borrowed the technique of make-up clay from the Yao-zhou kilns. The kiln craftsmen either add a layer of white clay of high alumina with a very low iron content on top of the coarse clay, or use the pouring technique (mainly used for high-grade wine ware) to crush the clay, mix it with water to make a slurry, dip it into the foot of the vessel, and then pour it on the outside of the vessel on a rotating wheel, or dip the vessel directly into the slurry vat and remove it when it has adhered to a certain thickness. When the paste has adhered to a certain thickness, take it out.⁸ The photograph of the underside of the ceramic pillow (Fig 5) shows that the underside is bare clay and not covered with make-up clay. Also, the corners of the sides of the pillow show traces of a greyish colour that resembles a manual grip (Fig 6). It is therefore assumed that the V&A ceramics pillow was covered with clay by the craftsman holding the pillow in a vat of clay and then scraping off the excess clay that had run down to the base of the pillow with a plate-like tool.

⁸ Wang, Weihua. "Study on the Artistic Language of Cosmetic Clay in Ceramic Art." Master's thesis, Nanjing Normal University, 2011.



Fig.6 Photo of the left side of the V&A ceramic pillow.

A stone grinding trough for crushing and grinding the stone was recorded in the Excavation Brief of the Guantai Kiln, Ci-Zhou, Hebei Province. The middle of the mill is covered with granules of aluminium vanadium clay, approximately 0.5 cm in diameter. The stone mill is thought to have been used for processing the raw material for the make-up clay, as the clay was generally laid on the floor to ensure quality. ⁹This make-up clay can be obtained locally at the Ci-Zhou kiln. The mining of this slip-clay was rather convenient, since slip deposits distributed close to Daqing clay in paralleling layers. The slip-ores were a little harder than the biscuit clay, which could be proven by the occurrence of stone rollers, excavated at the Guantai site.¹⁰

After the pillow's surface has been covered with the make-up clay, the painting begins. The pigments used in the painting are made from locally produced iron-bearing porphyry, which, when fired, will appear brown or black depending on the iron content of the pigment. For the

⁹ Ma, Zhongli, and Dashu Qin. "A Brief Report on the Excavation of Cizhou Kiln Site in Guantai, Cixian County, Hebei Province." *Cultural Relic*, (1990): 1-22, 97-100. Accessed April 20, 1990.

¹⁰ Ma, Zhongli, and Dashu Qin. "A Brief Report on the Excavation of Cizhou Kiln Site in Guantai, Cixian County, Hebei Province." *Cultural Relic*, (1990): 1-22, 97-100. Accessed April 20, 1990.

clay to blend well with the pigments, the craftsman needs to paint quickly while the clay is half dry. The motifs were therefore designed in advance, and the craftsmen then divided up the work according to the difficulty of the painting in order to speed it up. In terms of difficulty, the flowers on the left and right sides of the pillow are usually relatively simple lines and the painting area is small; the bamboo and flowers on the front and back of the pillow are more complex and require some skill to control the brush to draw the petals and bamboo leaves, which is slightly more difficult; the painting of the story of the figures on the porcelain pillows requires the craftsman to use very fine lines to draw the houses, plants and figures, controlling the layout of the picture as well as showing the gestures and postures of the figures, thus presenting a certain plot, which is the most difficult part of the painting.



Fig. 7 Photographs of the decorative details of the V&A porcelain pillow

The decorative borders on the pillows are also not to be ignored. The relationship between the content and the border of the extant "漳滨逸人制" and "王氏寿明" series of porcelain pillows (Fig. 7) suggests that the border was painted first, followed by the content. From this we can deduce a possible painting process: the painters divided the work according to the complexity of the design and their painting level, and according to the sketches designed in advance, when the make-up soil of the pillows was half dry, they first painted the border of each side of the pillow, then the top part of the pillow, which was the most difficult, then the

front and back of the pillow, and finally the left and right sides, thus forming a production line for the painting of the pillows.

Once the drawing of the pattern on each side of the pillow is complete, it is time to glaze it. A transparent glaze is used in the production of the pillows. The major glaze-ore source for Cizhou wares was from Shuiye county in present-day Anyang, Henan province, which locates at the southwest area, 15 kilos away from Guantai site of Cizhou area.¹¹

1.3 Firing

In terms of kiln type, it can be determined that the kiln used for firing the porcelain pillows of the CI-Zhou kiln was a semi-inverted-flame kiln, known as a Mantou kiln, according to the kiln section (Fig. 8) shown in the 1987 Excavation Bulletin of the Guantai Kiln Site in CI-County, Hebei Province.

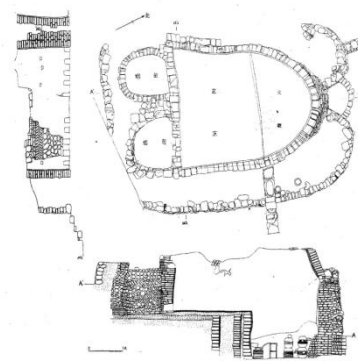


Fig.8 Cross-sectional view of the kiln structure from the "Excavation Brief of the Guantai Kiln Site in Ci-County, Hebei Province"

This type of kiln meets the multifaceted needs of porcelain pillow firing. Firstly, the kiln compensated for the short flame when burning coal. According to an examination of the Ci-Zhou kiln site, cinders were found from the fuel opening of the kiln (Fig. 9).

¹¹Wang, Xing. 2004. *Brief History of Cizhou Kiln*. Tianjin: Tianjin Ancient Books Publishing House.



Fig.9 Deposits of coal at Guantai site(BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997).

At the same time, based on the results of exploration of local mineral resources, it was found that the area where the kilns were located was relatively rich in coal resources to support large-scale ceramics firing. It can therefore be concluded that the kilns in Ci-Zhou used coal as a fuel. The rectangular porcelain pillows were large and stacked up relatively high in the kiln to ensure that they were fired in quantity. However, coal produces a lower flame height when burned compared to firewood, so it does not meet the requirements of porcelain pillow firing very well. The Mantou-kiln can increase the height of the flame produced by burning coal through its physical structure. This is because the flame flow in the Mantou-kiln rose from the fire chamber through the kiln chamber to the kiln roof, which was closed. At the same time, exhaust holes were excavated in the back wall of the chamber or the kiln bed, which were connected to the chimney and the flue at the rear, forming a certain negative pressure, so the flame rising to the top of the kiln was forced to follow the curvature of the dome and fall back to the bottom, which was sucked into the chimney or the flue by the exhaust holes in the back wall of the kiln chamber and finally discharged out of the kiln (Fig.

10).¹² In this way the kiln allows a lower height flame to cover all the porcelain pillows in the kiln.

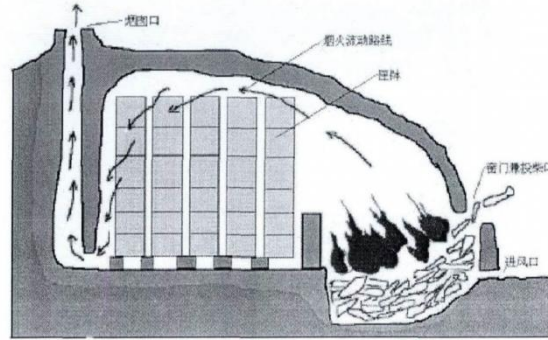


Fig.10 Diagram of the internal flame path of the Mantou-kiln (Yan Fei,2012).

The pillows, excluding the base, are made of a combination of different materials in three layers: clay, make-up clay and transparent glaze. White-slip (Equivalent to make-up clay) was interlined between the clay and the glaze, and had to withstand the contraction and expansion of these two substances. Potters needed to handle the balance carefully; otherwise, the glaze would be dehisced during the firing and then peel off later.¹³ The ease of controlling the temperature of the Mantou-kiln allowed the craftsman to adjust the temperature in time for the firing of the ceramic pillows to avoid cracking of the glaze. In addition, as a folk ceramic kiln, the kiln faced commercial competition from the folk ceramic manufacturing industry and needed to control production costs to be commercially competitive. The larger structure of the kiln allows for a higher number of pillows to be fired in a single run, which helps to increase the output of the pillows. At the same time, the kiln itself is inexpensive and makes full use of inexpensive materials, with all the interior walls of the kiln made of refractory bricks that are

¹²Yan, Fei. "Experimental Archaeological Study on Ancient Ceramic Kilns in Central Plains." Doctoral Dissertation, Zhengzhou University, 2012.

¹³ Wang Yun, From Kilns to Markets: Re-Examinations and Re-Interpretations on Cizhou-Ware Pillows Of Song-Jin Dynasties (10th -13th Centuries), China

resistant to high temperatures. The outer walls are mostly discarded stone and old cages.¹⁴This helped the kilns to control production costs and improve the marketability of their porcelain pillow products.

Chapter.2 Yuan Dynasty Literati and the Manufacture of Porcelain

Pillows

The literati of the Yuan dynasty indirectly provided material for the decoration of porcelain pillows. There is also the possibility that some literati were involved in the manufacturing process as painters.

2.1 The literati provided the kilns with decorative motifs

The reform of the imperial examination system led to the ostracism of the literati in the Yuan dynasty and hindered their career paths. The Mongols founded the Yuan dynasty with their great military power. It was the first time in Chinese history that a non-Han ethnic group was the ruler. After the establishment of the Yuan dynasty, the ruler Kublai largely weakened the role of the imperial examinations in the selection of officials in order to draw in the Mongolian nobility to maintain his dominant position among the Mongols and to avoid the Han holding real power to shake the dominance of the Mongols. Firstly, there was a decline in the number of people admitted to the imperial examinations. During the 300 years of the Song dynasty, 118 imperial examinations were held and more than 110,000 people were admitted. In contrast, during the 98 years of the Yuan dynasty, only 16 examinations were held and

¹⁴ Liu, Guozhi. "Steamed Mantou-kiln and firing technology of Cizhou kiln [J]." *Ceramic Research*, (1992): 215-219. Accessed April 11, 1992. <https://doi.org/10.16649/j.cnki.36-1136/tq.1992.04.011>.

1,139 people were admitted.¹⁵Secondly, the imperial examinations became more unfair. During the examinations the Mongols and Scythians only need to take two examinations, while the Han Chinese had to take an extra one. Even if they passed the final examination, Han Chinese were not awarded important positions. As a result, the imperial examinations became more difficult and less rewarding for the Han literati. This led to the phenomenon of literati abandoning the imperial examinations to enter other professions. The History of Yuan (元史), written by the Ming historian Song Lian(宋濂), records that "the imperial examination system was abolished and the literati were left without a way to become officials; some learned to use the burin to work as archivists, some worked as servants to serve the bureaucrats, and some created skills to sell goods to become artisans or merchants."¹⁶ Some of these literary figures also entered into the writing of Yuansanqu (元散曲) and Yuanzaju (元杂剧).

The Yuan dynasty gained a developed foreign trade thanks to its strong political and military power. Marco Polo once mentioned in his travelogue that "No other city in the world can match it in terms of external trade, with silk alone being brought into the city by the hundreds of carts every day."¹⁷ With the development of foreign trade, the urban economy of the Yuan dynasty also developed rapidly, with merchant fleets frequenting many cities and a growing class of citizens. This class consisted of wealthy merchants, craftsmen, and commoners of all

¹⁵ Hou, Meizhen. Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture 63, (2018): 171-202.
[https://doi.org/10.6239/BOC.201806_\(63\).06](https://doi.org/10.6239/BOC.201806_(63).06).

¹⁶ Song Lian 宋濂, *Yuan Shi 《元史》 (History of Dynasty)*: "贡举法废, 士无入仕之阶, 或习刀笔以为吏胥, 或执仆役以事官僚, 或作技巧贩鬻以为工匠商贾." Commercial Press. 1916

¹⁷ Polo, Marco, and Rustichello Da Pisa. 2011. *The Travels of Marco Polo*. Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House.

kinds. They lacked the noble pursuit of the art of the literati but were more knowledgeable and wealthy than the countryside villagers and therefore had a stronger need for entertainment.¹⁸As a result, many stages were built in the commercial cities of the Yuan dynasty, and there were many performances of songs and dances. In this context, the Yuansanqu (a new style of poetry and a new form of rhyme in the Yuan dynasty, mainly lyrical, popular songs for stage singers, which could be sung alone or incorporated into operas, and closely related to the poetry of the Tang and Song dynasties¹⁹) and the Yuanzaju (opera in the Yuan dynasty) gradually developed and had some audience. As both folk art forms possessed a certain literary quality, the retention of the form in books that included both writing and painting (Fig11, Fig12) provided space for the literati to use their skills, and so the number and quality of Yuansanqu and Yuanzaju increased following the involvement of the literati. As a result, with a solid mass base and the participation of the literati, Yuanzaju expanded its influence unprecedentedly and gradually expanded from the public class to the top, eventually becoming a common aesthetic object for all classes of Yuan society penetrating every corner and every aspect of social life.

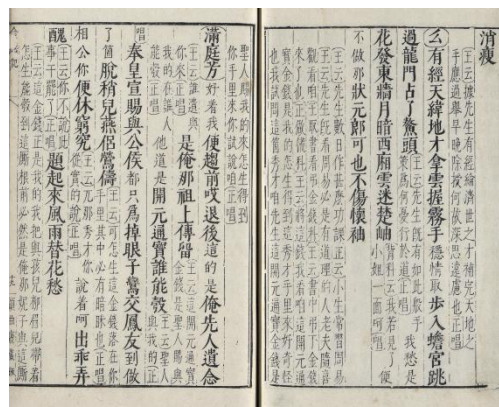


Fig.11 古杂剧二十种 Twenty kinds of ancient Yuanzaju, 王骥德(Jide, Wang).

¹⁸ Chang, Jiarong. "Study on the Spread of Zaju in Yuan Dynasty." Master's thesis, Lanzhou University, 2018.

¹⁹ Zhang, Peiheng, and Yuming Luo. 1996. "Chapter III Yuansanqu of Yuan Dynasty" in *History of Chinese Literature*. Fudan University Press.



Fig.12 元曲选 Selected Songs of the Yuan Dynasty, 臧懋循(Maoxun,Zang).

Influenced by this folk popular culture, some ceramic wares began to be decorated with pictures and texts related to Yuanzaju and Yuansanqu. The object in Fig.13 is a decorated porcelain vase based on the Yuanzaju Chasing Han Xin (追韩信) by Jin Renjie(金仁杰), and the object in Fig.14 is a decorated porcelain jar based on the Yuanzaju The Single Whip Takes the Lance (单鞭夺槊) by the Yuan literati Guan Hanqing (关汉卿).



Fig.13 Blue and white porcelain vase, "萧何月下追韩信 (Xiao He Chases Han Xin Under the Moon)", Yuan Dynasty.



Fig.14 Blue and white porcelain jar, "尉迟恭单鞭救主 (Yuchi Gong Single Whip Savior)", Yuan Dynasty.

As a folk ceramic kiln, the Ci-Zhou kiln was also very much influenced by the Yuanzaju and Yuansanqu, so calligraphy and painting from related books were decorated on the pillow surface. The ceramic pillow in Fig.15 is based on the Yuanzaju "雪夜访普" in which the Song Emperor Zhao Kuangyin visits his minister Zhao Pu on a snowy night to discuss state affairs. ²⁰The pillow in Fig.16 is decorated according to the Yuansanqu "朝天子".



Fig.15.A ceramic pillow from Ci-Zhou kiln, painted with Yuanzaju "雪夜访普 (Visit Pu on a snowy night)", Yuan dynasty.



Fig.16 A ceramic pillow from Ci-Zhou kiln, painted with Yuansanqu "朝天子 (Facing Court)", Yuan Dynasty.

²⁰ Wang, Xing, and Shilei Wang. "彰滨逸人 Pillow of Cizhou Kiln." *Collector*, (2009): 44-50. Accessed August 10, 2009. <https://doi.org/CNKI:SUN:SCJA.0.2009-08-010>.

This was a process of cultural interaction between the Yuan literati, the Yuanqu, and Yuanzaju and the porcelain pillow workshops of the Ci-Zhou kiln. In this process, the literati indirectly provided a reference for the decoration of the ceramics pillows at the Ci-Zhou kiln due to their involvement in the creation of the Yuanzaju and Yuanqu.

2.2 The literati may have been involved in the manufacture of porcelain pillows

In addition to those Literati who entered the Yuanzaju and Yuanqu creative spheres and thereby provided inspiration for the porcelain pillows' decoration, scholars posit that other Literati entered the porcelain pillow workshops and, using their skills in painting and calligraphy, personally decorated pillows.

Zhao Xuefeng, curator of the Ci-Zhou Kiln Museum in Hebei Province, believes that Wang Shouming (the maker of the chosen V&A porcelain pillow) was a Literati who subsequently became a porcelain pillow craftsman. Zhou bases his conclusion on the following points:

Firstly, Wang Shouming's ceramic pillows are superbly painted, with a mastery of brushwork that is beyond the skill of the average kiln painter.

Secondly, the themes of Wang Shouming's ceramic pillows are mostly drawn from historical allusions and tales of famous people, indicating a level of cultural knowledge that exceeds that of ordinary craftsmen.

Thirdly, the Wang Shouming kiln stamp shows a person's name and not the name of a workshop, indicating that he was an outsider.

Fourthly and finally, the "王氏寿明" stamp and the "漳滨逸人制" mark appear together on a single ceramic pillow, so it is certain that "彰滨逸人" was a Literati name for Wang Shouming. Local painters, on the other hand, rarely used the name "逸人" (meaning "reclusive person"); and since the "王氏寿明" kiln stamp only existed during the Yuan dynasty, we can further infer that Wang Shouming was a typical representative of the reclusive Literati of the Yuan dynasty.²¹

This paper partially agrees with Zhao Xuefeng's view that Literati might well have been involved in the manufacture of porcelain pillows during the Yuan Dynasty. However, contrary to Zhao's assertion that such Literati were directly involved as painters, this paper suggests that they took a more indirect approach to decoration – inspiring the artwork by providing manuscripts.

In Yuan society, the status of the Literati sank particularly low. Xie Fangde, a commentator of the Southern Song Dynasty, relays in his<送方伯载归三山序> : "According to the social system of the Yuan Dynasty, people were divided into ten classes, the seventh class being artisans, the eighth class being prostitutes, the ninth class being Literati, and the tenth being beggars."²²

²¹ Zhao, Xuefeng. "Textual Research on Cizhou Kiln "Made by Zhang Family" and "Shouming Kiln of Wang Family" [J]." *Collector*, no. 6 (2021): 110-113.

²² 谢枋得 Xie Fangde, *Die Shan Ji 《叠山集》 (The Stacked Mountain Collection)*: "滑稽之雄，以儒为戏者曰：'我大元制典，人有十等：一官、二吏；先之者，贵之也，贵之者，谓有益于国也。七匠、八娼、九儒、十丐；后之者，

In this ranking, the social status of the literati was lower than that of the craftsmen and no longer as prestigious as that of the literati of the Song dynasty. At the same time, the literati's expertise in calligraphy and painting has a certain degree of compatibility with the needs of porcelain pillow decoration. Therefore, in the context of the literati abandoning their careers for other professions, it is possible that the literati collaborated with or were employed by the kiln's workshops to make ceramic pillows.

In terms of involvement, it is most likely that the literati were involved in the production process as artists who provided manuscripts for the ceramic pillow workshops.

A beautifully painted rectangular tiger-painted pillow of the Ci-Zhou kiln, dated to the Northern Song dynasty and painted in black on a white ground, is inscribed in black under the glaze with the words " 明道元年巧月造 青山道人醉笔于沙阳 ", and at the base of the pillow is the kiln mark of the Ci-Zhou kiln pillow workshop, "张家造" It is possible that a literati was involved in the production of this pillow by providing manuscripts.

Influenced by Zen Buddhism and Taoism, many literati and scholars in the Song and Yuan dynasties called themselves "居士" and "道人", such as Ouyang Xiu(欧阳修) of the Northern Song dynasty, who called himself "六一居士", Su Shi(苏轼), who called himself "东坡居士", Huang Tingjian(黄庭坚), who called himself "山谷道人" , Huang Gongwang(黄公望) called

himself "大痴道人," and so on. ²³In addition, this is the only one of the "张家造" ceramic pillows with this text, and it is not mass-produced, so it is less likely that the workshop itself was deliberately designed to add these words. It is therefore assumed that "青山道人" was a real literati.



Fig. 17 A ceramic pillow from Ci-Zhou kiln painted with a tiger on the top side of the pillow, marked "明道元年巧月造 青山道人醉笔于沙阳", Northern Song Dynasty.

On the top side of the pillow is written "明道元年巧月造 青山道人醉笔于沙阳 " suggesting that the drawings on the pillow were created in Shayang. However, the mark on the base of the pillow is "张家造", which is consistent with the "张家造" mark on the Ci-Zhou ceramic pillow, suggesting that the pillow was made in the Ci-Zhou area. Shayang in the Song dynasty was located in what is now Hubei Province, China, while Ci-Zhou was located at the junction of Hebei Province and Henan Province, China, a long way from Shayang. Regarding materials, it is unlikely that craftsmen would have made a porcelain pillow in a different location, as the pillows were made mainly from local materials. The

²³ Pang, Hongqi. "Black and white art, charming Cizhou kiln literati porcelain painting." *Collector*, (2014): 34-41.

pillow would have been painted quickly when the make-up clay was half-dry in the production process. Therefore, if the pillows were brought to Hubei to be painted by the "青山道人", the painting results would have been inferior as the clay would have dried completely. It is assumed, therefore, that the tiger designs painted by the "青山道人" were preserved in Shayang and then transported to the Ci-Zhou kiln area, where the local ceramic pillow workshop used them as a manuscript for their ceramic pillows.

This model should also be applied to the production of the "王氏寿明" and "漳滨逸人制" series of porcelain pillows. The identity of "漳滨逸人制" therefore raises the possibility that "彰滨逸人" was a literary outsider who provided manuscripts for the "王氏寿明" workshop and that the two parties entered into a partnership or employment relationship. After the manuscripts were handed over to the workshop, the craftsmen painted the motifs on the porcelain pillows.

From a dialectical discussion of the process of ceramic pillows, it is clear that "彰滨逸人" is not the same person as "王氏寿明" as Zhao Xuefeng believes. Based on the excavations at the GuanTai kiln site, Qin Dashu noted a high degree of division of labor in the production of the Ci-Zhou kiln: "One is divided by household, such as kiln households, biscuit households, glaze material households, alkali (make-up clay) households, and the second is the division of labor within a household or a workshop, where individuals are engaged in specific processes such as billeting, turning and glazing billets respectively."²⁴ If the maker of the

²⁴ Feng, Xiaoqi. 2013. "Preliminary Study on the Production Mode of Cizhou Kiln -- The Production Mode Reflected by the Archaeological Found Kiln Relics [M]", in *Study on Cizhou Kiln Porcelain*. Beijing: Forbidden City Press.

pillows, "王氏寿明", was responsible for both the production of the biscuit and the painting of the pillows, this would have greatly reduced the efficiency and quality of the production of the pillows, which is unreasonable. At the same time, although all the pillows excavated with the kiln mark "王氏寿明" bear the mark "漳滨逸人制," this only proves the existence of a relationship between the two, not that they were the same person.

At the same time, the article "枕赋(Pillow Poem)" is well written, with neat couplets and historical allusions, indicating that the article's author had a high literacy level. However, the "Pillow Poem," written on a porcelain pillow, has been found to contain several misspellings.²⁵This shows that the "Pillow Poem" on the porcelain pillow was written by the craftsmen, not by the article's author. This suggests that "王氏寿明" is not "彰滨逸人" and not reclusive literati, but merely a ceramic pillow maker. "彰滨逸人" is reclusive literati who entered the kiln and collaborated with the "王氏寿明" ceramic pillow workshop by providing manuscripts rather than painting the pillows himself.

There is also the possibility that the character "漳滨逸人" is a fictional character created by the ceramic pillow workshop to add a literal quality to the pillows. After the craftsman had painted the pillow according to a manuscript provided by the literati, he added an inscription on the pillow's surface, "漳滨逸人制" in imitation of the literati's painting, to add to the literati's taste. This assumption is justified by the fact that if the "彰滨逸人" were a literati who had a long-standing association with the "王氏寿明," then the manuscripts provided

²⁵ Zhan, Hanglun. "Traditional Chinese Culture and Cultural Relics -- Study of Literati on Porcelain Pillow." *Journal of Sun Yat, Sen University*. no.53, (2013).

would have been of a relatively fixed size and structure to facilitate imitation by the painter, and therefore "The signature "漳滨逸人制" would have had its place in the manuscript. As long as the craftsman followed the layout of the manuscript, he would have been able to ensure that the mark was within the border of the pillow. The eighteen porcelain pillows excavated so far, however, show that some of them are on the left side of the top side of the pillow (Fig. 18), some are in the pattern on both sides of the top side pillow (Fig. 19), and some are on the border of the top side of the pillow (Fig. 20). (Fig. 20). It can therefore be assumed that the inscription "漳滨逸人制" was not included in the manuscript but was added by the craftsman who painted it.



Fig.18 A ceramic pillow from Ci-Zhou kiln painted with historical story "陈抟避诏" (Chen Tuan Avoided Imperial edict)", Yuan dynasty.
The mark "漳滨逸人制" is located at the border.



Fig.19 19.A ceramic pillow from Ci-Zhou kiln, painted with Yuanzaju"凤仪亭" (Fengyi Pavilion)". The mark "漳滨逸人制" is located on the left and right side.



Fig.20 20.A ceramic pillow from Ci-Zhou kiln, painted with Yuansanqu "朝天子" (Facing the court)". The mark "漳滨逸人制" is on the left of the border.

A comparison also revealed that the porcelain pillow with the "张家造" mark (Fig. 22) is very similar to the porcelain pillow with the "王氏寿明" mark (Fig. 22). This proves that the painters of both workshops worked from the same drawing. The "王氏寿明" pillow has the mark "漳滨逸人制" on the left side, while the "张家造" pillow does not. This is further evidence that the mark "漳滨逸人制" was added by the craftsman at the workshop of "王氏寿明" rather than being in the original manuscript.

It can therefore be inferred that the addition of the mark "漳滨逸人制" was simply a means by which "王氏寿明," a porcelain pillow workshop, marketed its products in order to increase the literati taste of the pillows. This also proves that craftsmen did not create the manuscript. Since several workshops made ceramic pillows simultaneously, the competition was fierce and family-based; it is unlikely that a single craftsman would have worked for two workshops simultaneously. It is, therefore, likely that both workshops used the same manuscript. Literati would have most likely painted many manuscripts derived from historical allusions and Taoist stories. We can therefore conclude that there is a high probability that both: firstly, "Changbin

Yiren" is a pseudonym created by the porcelain pillow workshop to promote the porcelain pillows in imitation of a literati painting, and does not represent a literati. Secondly, the literati were involved in producing ceramic pillows by providing the workshop with manuscripts rather than by painting ceramic pillows themselves.

Conclusion

The essay explores making ceramic pillows at the CI-Zhou kiln by combining archaeological data and knowledge of porcelain production. In this exploration, it was discovered that the clay, mud, clay bars, make-up clay, pigments, glazes, fuel, and even the bricks used to build the kiln were all produced locally in Ci-zhou. The kiln craftsmen took advantage of the plasticity and ease of working with the clay to produce the bricks. They took advantage of the Yao-Zhou kiln's technique of make-up clay to compensate for the high iron content of the clay, which produced a dark, rough surface. They also took advantage of the darkening of the color of iron when heated to create a distinctive decorative style of brown color on a white background, using mottled stones containing iron for painting. Through this exploration, the ceramic pillows show how well the kiln's craftsmen used local natural resources, how well they grasped the properties of the materials, and how creative they were in their production techniques.

The essay combines ceramic pillows with the historical and cultural context of the Yuan dynasty, using the decoration of the pillow's surface as a starting point to discover the interaction between the literati, folk art, and the porcelain pillow-making workshops of the

Yuan dynasty. It is argued that the literati provided the reference for the decoration of porcelain pillows during the Yuan dynasty through the creation of Yuanqu and Yuanzaju.

The essay also examines the possible ways in which the literati were involved in the production of ceramic pillows at Ci-Zhou kilns, taking into account the characteristics of the pillow-making process and comparing several pillows produced at the kilns. The article overturns the judgment of Zhao Xuefeng, the curator of the Ci-Zhou Kiln Museum, as to the identity of a potential participant in the production of the V&A pillow C.1-1930, the "彰滨逸人." It is suggested that the Yuan literati may have been employed by or collaborated with the ceramic pillow workshop as artists and were involved in the production of the pillows through the provision of manuscripts.

It is also suggested that there are two possible identities of the potential participants in producing the V&A porcelain pillows C.1-1930. One is that "彰滨逸人" was reclusive literati who collaborated with the "王氏寿明" ceramic pillow workshop by providing manuscripts rather than painting the pillows himself. One is that the "彰滨逸人" was a fictional character created by the ceramic pillow workshop to promote its pillows.

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