

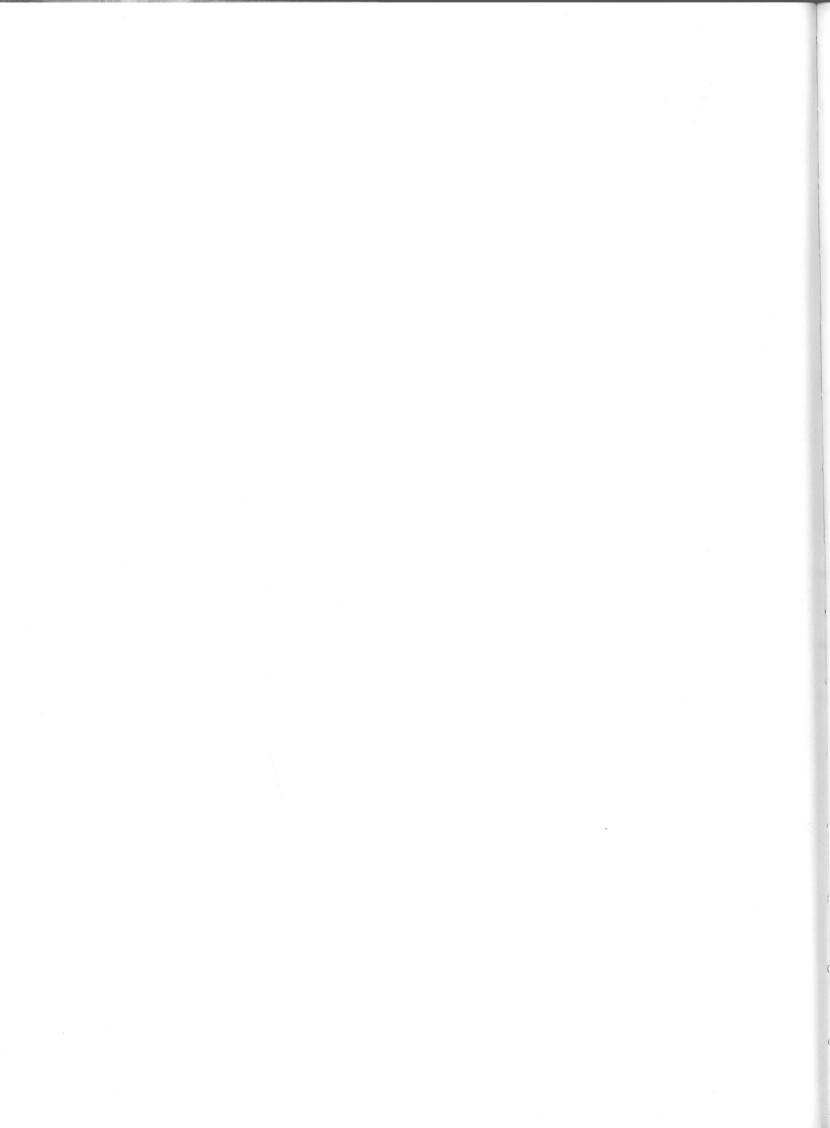
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名藝

え 南宋藝術與文化·器物卷

Dynastic Renaissance Art and Culture of the Southern Song Antiquities





博物館展覽的品質呈現在對展覽內容的研究深度與展覽目的的清楚傳達。

「文藝紹興—南宋藝術與文化特展」繼去年「雍正—清世宗文物大展」後,由功鑫帶領本院同仁為觀眾策劃的另一個展覽。去年「雍正—清世宗文物大展」詮釋的是清世宗一個皇帝,而「文藝紹興—南宋藝術與文化特展」介紹的是南宋一個時代,對我們策展團隊來說是項更大的挑戰。這項展覽也是功鑫自2008年5月20日甫上任後即規劃的展覽。經過兩年多的籌備與同仁們認真努力蒐集資料與研究,讓展覽終於成形。展覽名稱引用南宋第一個皇帝宋高宗的年號「紹興」,定為「文藝紹興」,除取高宗當時以此為年號蘊含文化振興之意,也藉此展以顯示南宋在藝術與文化方面的特殊成就。

南宋一百五十三年,是中國文化發展中極為重要的時期。歷史學家劉子健先生指出,南宋模式的文化,已經成為漢文化的大傳統,而南宋的文化模式有幾個特點,其中最值得注意的是重視文化,以教化維持社會秩序,「因為尚文,各種文學、藝術,特別是哲學,不但造詣高超,且漸趨普遍」。這段時期朝廷重振禮樂規章,重視儒學教育,獎勵各種經濟發展,以至於農耕進步,商業繁榮,手工業興盛,海外貿易蓬勃。從南宋人的著作,如吳自牧《夢粱錄》,或周密《武林舊事》等記載,可以看到此時的精神與物質文化豐富而多元。尤其在書畫、圖書與工藝製作方面,隨著皇室的倡導,地理環境、氣候條件與人文風氣的轉變,無論在內容與形式上,都創造出獨特而有高度藝術性的特色,對後世藝術發展影響深遠。

不過要呈現南宋文化全貌,除了文獻資料的收集剖析外,還需要從文物實證入手。南宋時期流傳的文物,如善本圖書、瓷器、銅器、玉器、漆器、文玩、書法與繪畫,既是富於審美價值的藝術品,也是說明南宋模式文化的最佳例證。以往國內外博物館因收集不易,少有較為全面的南宋藝術特展,而本院所藏南宋文物數量及品質,堪為舉世之最,以書畫為例,包含帝后書法、宮廷藝術家創作、士人書畫、重臣名賢及道釋書翰,多達兩百餘件;器物方面,包含官窯瓷器百餘件,另有龍泉青瓷、端硯、玉雕、銅鏡等;宋版圖書亦近二百部之多,且不少舉世孤本,極為珍貴難得。這些藏品過去曾分別舉辦個別特展,如「千禧年宋代文物特展」、「宋代書畫冊頁名品展」、「大觀一宋版圖書展」等,不過尚未有結合書畫、器物與圖書文獻,以呈現南宋文化藝術全貌的展覽,因此,特規畫於99年10月8日至12月26日,在本院一、二樓的十個陳列室,舉辦大型特展,全方位地呈現南宋在文化與藝術上的創新作為與成就。

「文藝紹興—南宋藝術與文化特展」展出三百餘件南宋珍貴文物,分為「文化振興」、「藝術創新」、「生活美學」和「傳播與融合」四個單元,以展現南宋藝術的特色與豐富的文化內涵。

此次展覽靈感的來源得自美國加州大學洛杉磯分校藝術史教授,也是本院老同事一季慧漱女士二十多年來的南宋研究成果。他窮其一生對南宋藝術與文化深入的研究成為我們策展的基礎,並參與策展發想。在此特別向李教授表達感謝之意。此外,本次特展另向中國上海博物館、遼寧省博物館、浙江省六館、福建省三館以及日本東京國立博物館、京都國立博物館,與本地臺北縣十三行博物館、連江縣政府、澎湖縣政府文化局等地商借部分南宋文物,一方面以出土的文物彌補清宮舊藏的不足,再方面又可與本院所藏文物兩相印證,使國人對南宋的文化和藝術能有更全面完整的認識。在此特別感謝國內外共襄盛舉的博物館與機構,在大家同心協力下,方得以成就如此一項別開生面的展覽。是為序。

國立故宮博物院 院長 周沙鈴

### Preface

The quality of a museum's exhibit is reflected in the depth of research that has gone into it and whether its purpose has been clearly conveyed.

"Dynastic Renaissance: Art and Culture of the Southern Song" at the National Palace Museum this year follows in the footsteps of its 2009 "Harmony and Integrity: The Yongzheng Emperor and His Times," in which I have led my colleagues once again in planning the exhibit for audiences. Last year's "Harmony and Integrity" provided a new interpretation of this pivotal Qing dynasty emperor, while this year's "Dynastic Renaissance" presents an engaging introduction to the crucial period of the Southern Song, making it in many ways an even more challenging project for the curatorial team. "Dynastic Renaissance" is also an exhibit that I formulated not long after assuming office as Director of the National Palace Museum on May 20, 2008. Now, after more than two years of planning and concerted effort in collecting materials and research by my colleagues, the exhibit is finally about to materialize. The Chinese title chosen for the exhibit, loosely rendered as "Dynastic Renaissance" in English, derives in part from the Shaoxing reign name of the first Southern Song emperor, Gaozong. Shaoxing can be translated literally as "continuing prosperity," representing the dynastic and cultural goals of invigorating Song rule at the time. The term "renaissance" is also included here to reflect the special accomplishments of the Southern Song in terms of art and culture.

The 153 years of the Southern Song was a crucial period in the history of China's long cultural development. The renowned historian James T. C. Liu once pointed out that the Southern Song cultural mode would become the model of tradition in Chinese culture and featured several characteristics, the one of most particular note being its emphasis on culture using didactic means to maintain social order. Professor Liu indicated that this focus on culture resulted in not only lofty attainments of literature, art, and especially philosophy, it also gradually spread throughout society. This period saw the court continue promoting rules governing rites and music, emphasizing Confucian education, and encouraging various forms of economic development, which yielded a flourishing society marked by the rise of agriculture, commerce, handicrafts, and foreign trade. The writings of such Southern Song authors as Wu Zimu and Zhou Mi reveal the spirit and diverse richness of material culture at this time. The production of paintings and calligraphy, books, and handicrafts in particular reveal unique and high levels of artistic attainment in both content and form, which resulted from the sponsorship of the imperial house and from changes brought by the new geographic environment, climate conditions, and literati trends. As it turns out, these would have a major impact on the development of art for many generations to come.

To present a complete overview of Southern Song culture requires not only the collection and analysis of documentary evidence, it also would necessitate the study of the actual objects from the period. The artifacts that have survived from the Southern Song, including rare books, ceramics, bronzes, jades, lacquerware, objects of the scholar's studio, calligraphy, and paintings, are not just works of art valued for their aesthetic beauty but also ideal testimony to the Southern Song cultural mode. Unfortunately, it has long been difficult for both domestic and foreign museums to collect Southern Song objects, making the presentation of a comprehensive exhibit on this period a formidable task. The collection of the National Palace Museum, however, can be considered unparalleled in the world for its quantity

and quality of Southern Song artifacts. Its painting and calligraphy, for example, feature calligraphy by members of the imperial house, works of court artists, painting and calligraphy by literati, and calligraphy of important officials and scholars as well as religious figures, comprising more than two hundred in all. In terms of antiquities, it has more than a hundred Official (Guan) porcelains as well as Longquan celadons, Duan inkstones, jade carvings, and bronze mirrors of the period. And among the almost two hundred Song books in the collection, not a few are also sole surviving copies, making them even more precious. Many of these objects have been featured independently in previous special exhibitions at the National Palace Museum, such as "China at the Inception of the Second Millennium A.D.: Art and Culture of the Song Dynasty, 960-1279," "The Beauty of Song Dynasty Album Leaves of Painting and Calligraphy," and "Grand View: Song Dynasty Rare Books," but these paintings and calligraphy, antiquities, and books of the Southern Song have never been brought together for a special exhibit of their own to offer an overview of art and culture from this period. Consequently, the National Palace Museum is offering this major display organized for October 8 to December 26, 2010, in ten galleries on the first and second floors of its main exhibition building, offering a rare and comprehensive look at the innovations and accomplishments in art and culture of the Southern Song period.

"Dynastic Renaissance: Art and Culture of the Southern Song" has more than three hundred precious artifacts of the Southern Song divided into four sections ("Cultural Invigoration," "Artistic Innovation," "Life Aesthetics," and "Transmission and Fusion") to reveal the rich cultural contents and artistic features of this period.

The inspiration for this exhibit comes from Professor Hui-shu Lee, who teaches art history at the University of California, Los Angeles, and is a former colleague of ours at the National Palace Museum. With more than twenty years of research on the Southern Song, Professor Lee's in-depth study of Southern Song art and culture over much of her career has formed a solid foundation for our curatorial efforts here. Having also participated in the formulation and development of this exhibit, I would like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Lee for all she has done. Furthermore, for this special exhibition, the National Palace Museum has also arranged for loans of Southern Song objects from the Shanghai Museum, Liaoning Provincial Museum, six institutions in Zhejiang Province, and three institutions in Fujian Province in China; the Tokyo National Museum and Kyoto National Museum in Japan; and collectors and local institutions such as the Shihsanhang Museum in Taipei County and the departments of cultural affairs at the Lienchiang and Penghu county governments. These loans not only fill the lacunae at the National Palace Museum (derived in large part from the former Qing imperial household) with archaeological objects, they also complement the Museum' s collection for an even fuller picture of this period, presenting audiences both foreign and domestic with a more complete understanding of Southern Song art and culture. To all the institutions and individuals who have contributed to the cooperation effort of seeing this unprecedented exhibit come to fruition, I offer my most sincere gratitude as I prepare this preface for its catalogue.

Director, National Palace Museum

Kungshin Chou

## 感謝辭

考古紀年資料帶來文物發展歷程的可靠依循。 傳世文物因此尋找時間的駐足點。

本器物卷展覽得以順利舉辦, 要感謝下列各個博物館不吝出借重點文物:

連江縣政府文化局 澎湖縣政府文化局 臺北縣立十三行博物館

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# 文藝紹興-南宋藝術與文化特展 總說

南宋為期一百五十三年(1127-1279),為中國文化發展中極為重要的時期。 南宋朝廷一方面宣示承繼大統,重振禮樂規章;一方面振興江南文風,重視儒學教育,融合釋道,確立以朱熹為代表的經學道統;此外,獎勵各種經濟發展,以至於農耕進步,商業繁榮,手工業興盛,海外貿易蓬勃。經濟富庶帶動文藝創作之風,詩文詞章,或尚以文載道,或追求閒逸自然;風雅之士喜好文物鑑藏,講究生活品味。在書畫與工藝製作方面,隨著皇室的倡導與地理環境、氣候條件與人文風氣的轉變,無論在內容與形式上,都創造出獨特而有高度藝術性的作品,對後世藝術發展影響深遠。

南宋時期流傳的文物,既是富於審美價值的藝術品,也是說明南宋文化的最佳實證。為求呈現南宋藝術與文化全貌,本次特展展品除包含本院所藏南宋大量珍貴文物,書畫如帝后書法、宮廷藝術家創作、士人書畫、重臣名賢及道釋書翰;器物如官窯瓷器、端硯、玉雕、銅鏡等;文獻如宋版圖書等文物,多達300餘件外,亦向日本東京國立博物館、京都國立博物館,中國上海博物館、遼寧省博物館、浙江省博物館、福建博物院等十餘個博物館商借部分南宋文物,全方位呈現南宋在文化與藝術上的創新作為與成就。

展覽規劃於2010年10月8日至12月26日,結合書畫、器物與善本圖書,在本院一、二樓的十個陳列室展出。分為「文化振興」、「藝術創新」、「生活美學」和「傳播與融合」四個單元,以說明南宋宣示承繼大統的理念、創新的藝術品味、江南地區的審美意念,以及書畫、工藝、圖書等,在不同地區、不同文化圈之間的流通、傳播與融合等各個面向,以展現南宋藝術的特色與豐富的文化內涵。

# Dynastic Renaissance:

## Art and Culture of the Southern Song

The Southern Song portion of the Song dynasty, lasting for 153 years (from 1127 to 1279), was a crucial period in the history of China's cultural development. The Southern Song court not only promoted itself as inheriting the line of orthodox rule by reinvigorating traditional rules of rites and music, it also helped breathe life into literary trends of the Jiangnan area in the south, attaching great importance to education in Confucian studies, converging Buddhist and Daoist thought, and firmly establishing Zhu Xi as representing the Confucian orthodoxy in the study of the Classics. Furthermore, the court successfully encouraged various forms of economic development, to such an extent that agriculture expanded, commerce thrived, handicrafts blossomed, and foreign trade flourished at this time. Economic prosperity helped drive the winds of change in art and culture as well. All forms of literary expression reveal in one way or another fulfillment of the Way as well as the scholarly pursuit of ease and naturalness. Cultivated scholars were fond of connoisseurship and collecting objects of culture and refinement, paying particular attention to expressions of taste in life. In terms of painting and calligraphy as well as arts and crafts, guidance from the imperial family, new geographic and climatic conditions of the area, and changes in humanistic trends all helped to yield unique and highly artistic qualities in both content and form that had a profound influence on developments in later art.

Today, objects surviving from the Southern Song are not only artworks of immense aesthetic value, they also serve as ideal evidence to explain cultural modes of the period. To present a complete overview of Southern Song art and culture, the displays in this exhibition feature a large number of precious artifacts of the period from the National Palace Museum collection. Painting and calligraphy, for example, include examples of imperial calligraphy, the works of court artists, scholar-official painting and calligraphy, and calligraphy by famous sages, important officials, and Buddhist and Daoist figures. The antiquities feature Guan (Official) porcelains, Duan inkstones, jade carvings, and bronze mirrors. And along with numerous Song editions of rare books, this exhibit consists of more than 300 works in all. In addition, the National Palace Museum has arranged for loans of Southern Song artifacts from more than ten other institutions and individuals, including the Tokyo National Museum and Kyoto National Museum in Japan as well as the Shanghai Museum, Liaoning Provincial Museum, Zhejiang Provincial Museum, and Fujian Museum in China, providing a full presentation of the innovations and achievements in Southern Song art and culture.

The exhibit is scheduled to run from October 8 to December 26, 2010. The numerous works of painting and calligraphy, antiquities, and rare books are being displayed in ten galleries on the first and second floors of the Museum's main exhibit building. The four sections of the exhibit ("Cultural Invigoration," "Artistic Innovation," "Life Aesthetics," and "Transmission and Fusion") help explain how the Southern Song promoted, respectively, the notion of continuing the orthodox line of rule, innovative artistic tastes, aesthetic ideas in the Jiangnan area, and various directions in regional exchange and transmission in cultural circles through painting and calligraphy, arts and crafts, and books and publishing. In doing so, the rich and unique forms and content of Southern Song art and culture are revealed for all to study and appreciate.

專論

Essays

## 莊嚴與細巧:南宋的工藝與生活

蔡玫芬

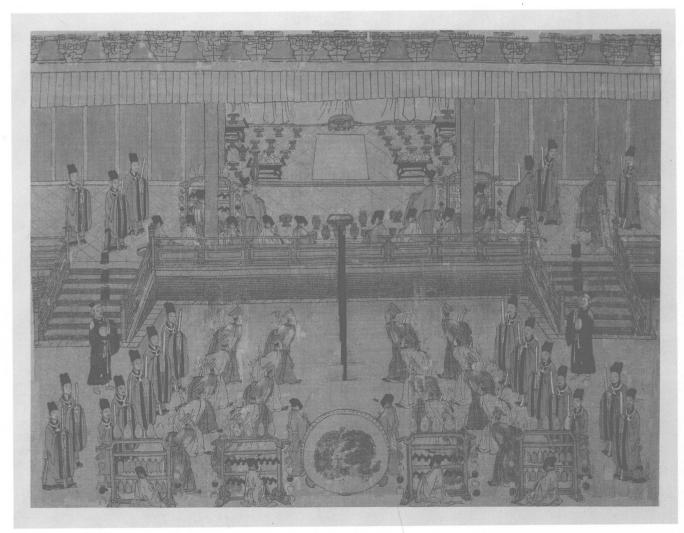
談述南宋的工藝發展,常同時面對兩種迥異的場景,一是廟堂上莊嚴制度的禮祭器、一絲不苟的形制、數量、法度依據的討論。一是街頭活潑的生趣,各項鋪賣、造作的奇巧、便利與繁華。兩者都是南宋的常態,在似乎衝突矛盾卻又不相礙的現象下,彼此互補,鋪排著南宋榮盛的工藝發展。

#### 一 禮制恢復與文化振興

南宋工藝史最明顯的大事,便是籌劃南宋初年

的國家祭典與祭器。所謂「祭器未成,不造燕器」, 「燕器」所指的是日常瓶、盞、盤、盂之類<sup>胜1</sup>,祭器則 是祭祀典禮中的禮器。南宋初創,在顛沛中所面臨的 便是,祭典必不可以省,而祭器卻缺無的困窘現象。

宋代是十分重視祭祀之禮的朝代,屬於國家的祭 典便有三十六個之多,各有不同的祭典時間、儀式、 用器;而郊祀、明堂是最重要的,尤其若皇帝親祠, 光是鹵簿儀仗的參與者就有一萬一千四百人之多,各 持不同儀物,身著特定的禮服,穿過京城的街道,場



高宗書・馬和之畫〈孝經・感應篇〉 國立故宮博物院藏。

面十分浩大。而郊祀大典的前一天饗太廟,此亦形成另個重要的祭祀場域。國立故宮博物院所藏〈高宗書孝經‧馬和之繪圖〉的「感應章」圖繪,雖似乎不是完全寫實的作品,但在這皇帝祭太廟,以示「宗廟致敬不忘親也」的典禮裡,曾經教習排練過的舞者,穿著釐定的禮服,在鐘磬音節聲中行典禮中特定的舞步;皇帝穿著禮官們討論過式樣的特定冕服,「如圖畫星官之狀」,正執圭緩步前往主持禮拜註2。祭壇裡,俎豆排列整齊,各式禮器羅布。靜止的畫面,呈顯著超現實情景的祭典,妥貼傳達出宋代君臣細研古禮、一意復古的時代氛圍。

禮器、祭器的形式規模原先在北宋末年已有詳細 的討論與造作。事實上,就宋代工藝發展而言,北宋 末期無論銅鑄、玉雕、陶瓷燒造、金銀鈒鏤等工藝都 已達到相當高的水準,且樹立一定的管理模式、工法 技藝和可遵循的式與樣。南宋肇興,百廢待舉,工藝 方面所立刻面臨的,是國家禮儀用器的缺乏、工藝材 料不全、樣式法度待建立,以及工匠技藝傳承、國家 財政經費等困難;尤其前有北宋末年最輝煌的典範還 映現在流徙南方國度的這些朝臣記憶中,所須恢復的 儀範自須有一定的規模。在此情形下,官窯瓷器的燒 製遂成為第一個呈現南宋工藝特質的項類。隨著宋金 和議之後,軍事威脅稍弛,經濟較穩定後,同在祭典 名目下的銅器製作量增加,真玉的購買與製作量也增 加,官窯則仍穩定存在,並載於《咸淳臨安志》中。 本文下述討論並不述及玉器,非因宋玉之不足述,而 是本書另有鄧淑蘋精彩的玉器專論。

#### (1) 官窯

官窯,原是官方督燒下的陶瓷窯場的總稱,如南 宋人對築城磚瓦窯也作「官窯」之稱。不過,緣於南 宋顧文薦《負暄雜錄》、葉寘《坦齋筆衡》兩書各錄 有文字幾乎相同的「窯器」條,其中提到:

本朝以定州瓷器有芒不堪用,遂命汝州造青窯器,故河北、唐、鄧、耀州悉有之,汝窯為魁。 江南則處州龍泉縣,窯質頗粗厚。宣政(政和) 間,京師自置(窯)燒造,名曰「官窯」。中興 渡江,有邵成章提舉後苑,號邵局,襲徽宗(故 京)遺制,置窯於修內司,造青器,名內窯。澄 泥為笵,極其精緻,油色瑩澈,為世所珍。後郊 壇下別立新窯(,亦曰「官窯」),比舊窯大不 侔矣。

於是便有了專門稱呼南宋官方青瓷窯的稱呼: 「南宋官窯」。明、清皆以此名稱之,視為造瓷工藝 的一種典範,無論收藏或複製,都盼能達到官窯釉色 的特質。

近年來由於窯址考古的新發現,以及《中興禮書》、《宋會要輯稿》等史料的重新閱讀,兩者交相 啟發,官窯研究者因此提出許多前人所未曾思考的觀 察點。同樣的論點則是:南宋官窯的興起乃為禮器、 祭器的需求而創;紫口鐵足的胎色和冰裂鱔血的厚釉 開片,是其共同的特徵。

官窯燒造之初,乃源於南宋各項祭典裡祭器的迫 切需要。宋高宗經常緬懷他在建炎二年的祭典裡,汴 京地區擁戴的官民將劫餘的北宋祭器載送到揚州來, 次年卻都毀於南遷路上的刻骨之痛。文獻所載,紹興 元年(1131)皇帝駐蹕紹興府,行明堂祀典,只簡 單的祀拜天地祖宗四神位;並令越州製作匏尊陶器, 「依現今竹木祭器樣製燒造」 註3。紹興四年(1134) 大享明堂,設祀四四三位,須七千餘祭器,令禮部 掌禮樂郊廟之事的太常寺圖畫樣製,陶器由紹興府 餘姚縣燒造,約共七百一十四件(包括備用品,共 七百六十二件)、銅器由文思院鑄造,共十七件註4。其 陶器器名有豆、簠、簋、尊、罍、撣杓、登等;銅器 則有鼎(鉶鼎、牛鼎、羊鼎、豕鼎)、豆等器,其餘 籩、豆、尊、簋、盤、篚、爵、匜、罍、洗,均為竹 木器,臨安府製作註5;詳細的器名、數量,顯然是朝廷 禮官詳究禮制而定的。這場祭典雖以簡為以陶器、竹 木器為主,但對亂世中的朝廷來說已是負擔,遂有臣 屬議論,希望能更簡化以免耗費;但高宗先在紹興元 年說:「祀天不當計費」,還想不計物力的高價買玉 製璧而未成。 註6 紹興四年又對宰臣朱勝非曰:「當此

多事,固非制禮作樂之時,然祭天之禮不可有闕,若禮數不備不如不祭。」<sup>誰7</sup>可見這位經常力持節儉政策的皇帝對祭典、祭器的認真態度。

上述二次祭典,基本上是因銅玉器不足,乃「權以陶木代」<sup>註8</sup>,而所製作的形式是依循宋初以來深入各地的《三禮圖》樣式,那是北宋初年聶崇義依各書籍討論而繪出的圖式,只是,祭典之後引致多方儒者撻伐。議者以徽宗所頒行的「政和新禮」較合於古代的禮度,考定詳細的《宣和博古圖錄》(以下簡稱「博古圖錄」)可為造型的依據。不過禮官因「無博古圖本」,無所改善<sup>註9</sup>。

到了紹興十三年的郊祀大典,禮官提出祭典需用 銅器九千多件,若遵北宋制度,銅料用量約達三萬餘 **觔**,並提出對幾種祭器造型的正謬意見。皇帝裁決只 由平江府(蘇州)燒造約二百餘件陶禮器應付,器名 為豆、簠、簋、俎案、盤、登、著尊、壺尊、太尊、 山尊、犧尊、象尊等;銅器只有爵坫,由建康府鑄 造;竹木祭器由臨安府製造(其後又增加了銅鼎、玉 圭等,由文思院製作),其餘祭器形式要求祭典渦後 再仔細討論註10。這一年的契機,是秘書省將所獲得三 部宣和博古圖錄(每部三十冊)中的一部交給太常寺 研究參考,註口使祭器的討論有了依據。次年,由給事 中段拂、戶部侍郎王鐵、內侍王晉錫等「通曉禮器之 人」組成一個禮器討論的小組(製造禮器局),啟動 了整個南宋祭器的改革。註12而皇帝還指示:「國有大 禮,器用宜稱,如郊壇須用陶器,宗廟之器亦當用古制 度。」註13 陶匏象天地之性,故郊壇用陶器外,其他的 祭器也應制度清楚。所指的當是太廟所需的銅禮器等。

經過兩年密集的討論,紹興十六年(1146)南郊大禮並太廟禮器都已造成,其中銅禮器數量大增。除圓壇正配位(即皇天、地祇)的尊、罍、簠、簋、豆,仍皆陶燒;圓壇從祀並太廟的祭器則多為銅器<sup>註</sup> 14。以《博古圖》造型紋飾為依據,凡《博古圖》不載的圖式則依《三禮圖》為形,亦屬嚴謹規矩的復古式造作<sup>[115]</sup>。故器成後,宰臣秦檜言:「考古制度極為精緻」。高宗也滿意的說:「今次祀上帝、饗太廟,典

禮一新,誠可喜也。」註16

從紹興元年至紹興十六年,是關於南宋官方指揮 燒造陶瓷祭器最清晰的階段。近年的考古發掘也做了 些印證。考古家們在越窯範疇內的低嶺頭類型寺龍口 窯址發現南宋初年的遺留註17,並推測即是紹興元年、 四年「陶器乞下紹興府餘姚縣燒變」 註18的窯址。考 古所見,寺龍口窯址從晚唐之後便加入越窯體系開始 燒造,即使在越窯衰落期的北宋中晚期都還維持瓷器 的產製,多為碗盤之類遺留。其第六期地層,推測為 南宋初年,則突然出現爐、觚、鐘之類仿古銅器樣的 造型,花紋繁密規矩,製作工整。有的香爐類在鼎身 加上鋪首銜環,或在腹部浮雕仰蓮瓣紋為飾註19,若 與本次展出定窯白瓷器壁上的博古圖案【圖版3-77】 相較,都用了同樣的元素來喻指古物;這種貌若古器 卻無實體古銅器可資比對,且又在不同窯區產物上不 約而同的呈現,或許正是一種廣泛通用許久的仿古樣 式、被南宋初年學者指稱為所謂三禮圖式之一。

我們可以想見當初紹興元年以紹興為行在,舉辦明堂祭祀,所需祭器便尋訪附近有長期燒造瓷器經驗的工匠與窯場,就近燒造所需祭器的合理舉措。更值得留意的是,禮器器形之外,窯址殘片中,出現了支釘窯具和許多釉色傾向於灰青或天青的殘片。在以偏黃調的艾青色越窯傳統區域中,出現北方汝窯特殊的釉色系統,毋寧是此項燒造中的某種蓄意表現。換句話說,在太常寺畫樣、降樣中,或許也指示了汴京時期所喜愛粉青色調「樣」的燒造,甚或在釉藥配方或燒造技藝上有所「指說畫到」。

紹興元年、四年之後,越窯是否還供應南宋官方禮祭器?文獻上再無紀錄。紹興十三年的陶祭器由從無燒瓷經驗的平江府(蘇州)供應;紹興十六年的陶禮器由製造禮器局指揮,但並未指明燒造地點;但一般相信,《坦齋筆衡》等南宋筆記所謂「置窯於修內司,造青器,名內窯。澄泥為笵,極其精緻,油色瑩澈,為世所珍」的「內窯」應創置於此時。修內司是「掌宮城太廟繕修之事」的機構,內侍王晉錫職屬修內司,因通曉禮器被延入組成製造禮器局,該局任務

分工常是「令段拂、王鐵一就討論,同王晉錫製造」註 20,故修內司應當便是製作單位,所製的包括其它製作 單位所不擅長的陶禮器。紹興十九年(1149)禮器修 造時,工部提及過去由禮器局所創的祭器共27593件, 其中2238件為陶器,中有460件需添修註21。所指王晉 錫指揮下的瓷器製作數量僅二千餘件,與南方龍窯習 慣一次近萬件的產量相較,規模不大,所煞費周章的 恐應是造形的創制。工部續申:「竊見太廟陶器見委 臨安府添修,伏乞朝廷指揮一就令臨安府添修製造。」 <sup>註22</sup>一般相信,這便是紹興十九年臨安府已能燒造瓷器 的證明。其窯場能添修製造太廟祭器,時間上推測, 可能製造禮器局解散後, 註23將紹興十六年燒造陶器的 窯場移交至臨安府。

臨安府所指揮的瓷窯,雖不必然在杭州,不過杭 州至今已發現有郊壇下,及老虎洞兩窯址的出土物, 可與傳世所謂南宋官窯器皿相呼應。前者自二十世紀 前期,便有中日學者分別做了許多考察,並做過正式 的考古發掘註24。後者於1998的發現註25,許多研究者推 估其為《坦齋筆衡》所謂「修內司窯」;亦即肯定了 《坦齋筆衡》兩個官窯的記載,不過該窯出有八思巴 文窯具卻證其在元代仍有燒造,遂使窯的性質與意義 更形撲朔洣離。

綜觀兩個窯場的產品,都以粉青色為其主要色 調,多開片,黑胎;有笵模協助局部或全器成形; 有支釘燒造痕,或墊燒的墊圈痕;且均有多次上釉, 產生釉汁腴潤、多開片的特徵等等。造型上兩窯也很 接近,如盤口瓶、膽瓶、樽、鼎、簋、尊、套盒等陳 設器及盤、碗、盞托等飲食用器。至於笵模中使用了 龍紋或螭紋圖樣,說明窯場性質非與民間同。然而相 似兩窯的關係、成立的先後、延續的長短、燒造的運 作等,仍是學界方興未艾的議題;至於內窒是否曾遷 移?是否還有更多官窯址? 註26在數篇指證歷歷的文章 之後也有待後日的考古證實。筆者則始終認為老虎洞室 址的器皿製作較接近原創模式,如琮式瓶竟是在圓體外 刮磨出糙面使與四個條狀模印的方角相銜接,是仍在構 形的階段;相對的,郊壇下窯已能模製成厚薄均匀的器

形註27。目前,傳世南宋官窯禮器類型的作品多能與杭 州此二窯場出土品相比對,但其實,這些作品在整套 禮制討論中究竟扮演何種器名與功能,則尚待討論。

官窯作品中,瓶、盞、盤、盂等日常飲宴可用的 「燕器」,在南宋也充作皇室祖先祭祀的太廟、景靈 宮等宗廟祭器; 註28至於國宴中的用器,如紹興十四、 五年的冬至與元旦朝會禮中,臣僚所用器皿因實際備 用品有限,而將金銀盤盞、屈卮替代難以籌措的金銀 爵盞#29;以此看來,南宋一百五十年期間,器形間的 替換當也常見,盤盞代禮器的可能性增加,多種細緻 優美的器皿,恐怕也確實延為日用燕器。

儘管南宋官窯因黑色胎土產生「紫口鐵足」的特 色,但南宋官窯粉青的色調、釉光內斂的光澤,與北 宋汝窯間有很高的相似度。紹興二十一年清河郡王張 俊邀宴高宗,進奉汝窯作品為禮物註30,應是附和皇帝 喜愛汝窯之美的舉動。因此,吾人不知徽宗是否喜愛 汝窯的蟹爪紋開片,而南宋官窯卻儘力於厚釉間呈現 多層開片、冰裂鱔血的效果,應是內廷對此厚釉開片 的喜好所致;官窯盤底的支釘燒造痕明顯有襲仿汝窒 芝麻釘支燒的跡象。如此將北方朝廷的官方用瓷技術 與品好逐步移植,且修正原來南方瓷器習慣,並統合 在回復北方一切禮儀規模的名目下。可以說,南宋的 官窯器物是在帝王有意識翼護的一種回復汴京威儀下 的舉動。

#### (2) 銅禮器

從紹興十四年到紹興十六年的禮器討論與製作, 可謂南宋器物最大規模的復古舉動,禮書也詳載器形 尺寸註31,或許也頒降州縣俾其遵守註32。這一年三月 又令禮器局製作秦檜家廟祭器註33,延續北宋末臣僚家 廟制度。國立故宮博物院舊藏紹興十六年秦檜家廟豆 【圖版1-9】應即其一。此後製造禮器局解散,文獻上 未見更大規模的禮制討論。不過從朱喜對祭孔禮器的 討論中,吾人可理解到紹興祭器討論並未使南宋祭器 形制就此呈定局。淳熙七年(1180)頒佈「淳熙釋奠 制度圖」,採用《三禮圖》式樣;紹熙五年以後頒佈

《紹熙州縣釋奠儀圖》,以《博古圖》為依據<sup>註34</sup>,然 則各地州縣所採用的制度仍不一致;至於宋儒陳元靚 在元代刊刻的《事林廣記》,用三禮圖樣式禮器,且 圖繪刊佈<sup>註35</sup>,影響更是深遠。

從朝廷祭典、州縣祭孔到家廟祭祀,南宋官私 製作的銅禮器數量十分龐大,可惜傳世能辨認者並不 多。此次展出的考古出土物或可略窺其樣式形質。大 致說來,《博古圖》的爵和犧尊是北宋以來討論不斷 的形制,在南宋初年終能定型。其餘多數銅器也明顯 有某種模仿典型的企圖。銅器的造形如壺、尊、卣、 是工匠們較能精準掌握者,而紋飾則難以切合,如湖 州卣【圖版1-15】約略掌握了獸面紋的結構,而杭州 尊【圖版1-12】、湖州壺【圖版1-13】的獸面卻幾 乎不可辨識。雖說紹興禮器製成即頒賜圖樣至各地, 但圖樣透過畫手或許已經失真;如《紹熙州縣釋尊儀 圖》現存本的銅器紋樣便是輾轉傳抄雕印後的變貌, 「捏蠟花文入細造作」 註36的蠟泡工匠就著平面圖譜 製作的器皿,自然難能回復原樣。這種正確樣式的缺 無,連職掌朝廷銅器製作的文思院都束手無策,在淳熙 六年(1179)時申訴無樣制型模可依據,需得要向太常 寺借實物及文樣的模板來複製新祭器註37;可見一般州 縣製作祭器更備極辛勞。在同一陳述中,也提及能鑄 造銅器的工匠少,蓋因朝廷一再禁止民間私造器皿類銅 器,銅匠只得轉業以致難有嫻熟的良匠。在此種銅材資 源少、良工少、正確樣式難尋的情況下,南宋銅器一 般鑄造品質不足,裝飾文樣中以雲雷紋、波曲紋的使 用日廣,所存留的便是儒者的一片復古禮敬之心。

#### 二、簡約中的藝術創新

脫開公領域禮儀祭器的制度樣式之事事考據, 南宋人在私領域的生活工藝卻是輕鬆多樣化的。這樣的工藝繁興的狀況,可以在描述都城生活的書籍與 筆記中領略。如《西湖老人繁勝錄》、《夢粱錄》、 《都城紀勝》、《武林舊事》等書,紀錄城市居民生 活的豐足,各樣行舖、商店林立,整年隨不同時序節 慶變化而有不同的消費行為,街市間、商店裡經常匯 聚以地方物產或各地工匠為名的工藝產物等等。臨安城裡市肆間有行(《繁勝錄》記:「京都有四百十四行」)、有團(如:花團、柑子團等)、有作(如腰帶作、金銀鍍作、鈒作)等<sup>註38</sup>,各種行業匠藝聚集,生活工巧競呈。

若依考古出土資料來看,南宋中期以後墓葬出土文物大增,其材質種類有金銀器、瓷器、漆器、玉器、玻璃器、銅器等,金銀器類中,廣泛使用鈒打、錘鍱、鏨花、纍絲、粟珠連綴、鎏金等技巧,使紋飾色澤與立體感有多重的變化。瓷器裡,龍泉系的青瓷、景德鎮系的青白瓷、建窯系的黑釉瓷、吉州窯系的鐵繪類都成為此時的主要瓷類。漆器中,黑漆、戧金、描金、剔犀等各項新技藝益趨繁麗。而織品類隨葬衣物的質量也是重要議題,黃昇墓(1243)、德安周氏墓(1274)、周瑀墓(1249)、福州端平二年墓(1235)等,都為南宋各種織繡印染留下豐富資料。展出的細羅單衣【圖版3-1】,單薄透明,卻又鑲著華麗金花的邊飾,一如國立故宮博物院〈招涼什女



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