

南宋 官窑与哥窑

杭州南宋官窑老虎洞窑址
国际学术研讨会论文集

北京大学中国考古学研究中心
杭州市园林文物局

主编 秦大树 杜正贤

Southem Song
Guan and Ge Wares of the



浙江大學出版社

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—Symposium of International Conference on Southern Song Official Ware of
Laohudong Kiln Site in Hangzhou, China.

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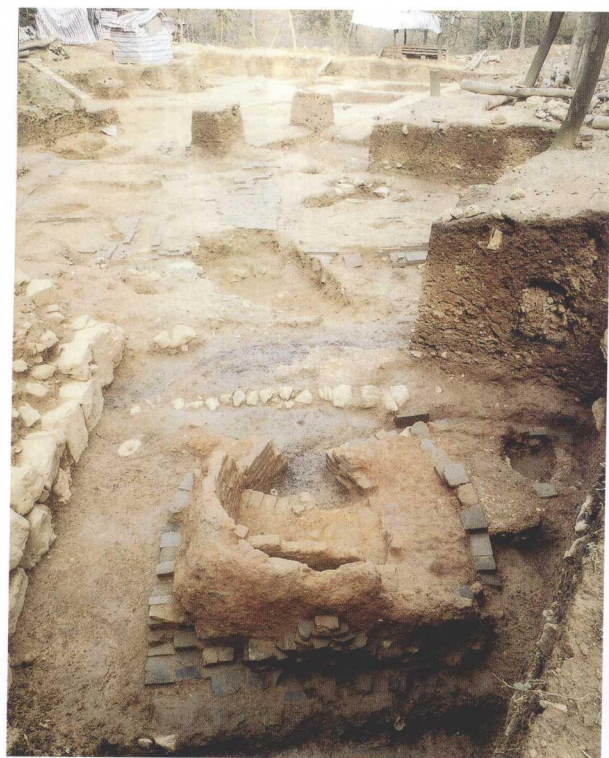
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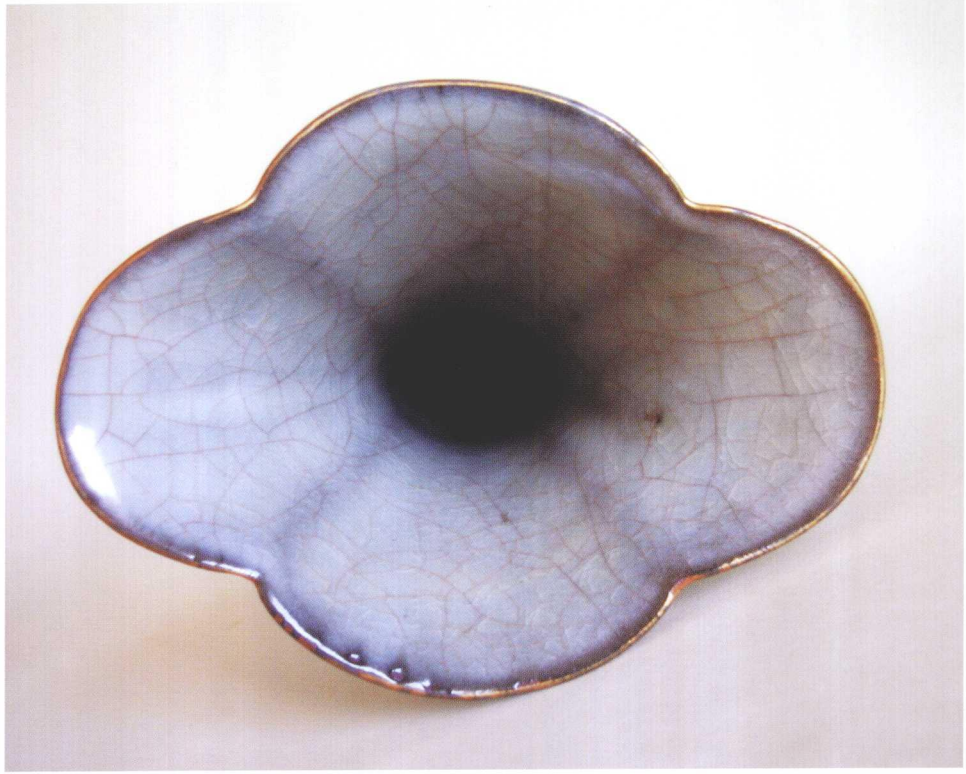
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宋代官窑海棠花式插底(乾隆御题诗)



宋代官窑海棠花式花插花口



宋代官窑海棠花式花插口缘局部(放大)

前 言

杭州市老虎洞瓷窑遗址是1996年9月在杭州市凤凰山与九华山之间一条狭长溪沟的西端发现的。杭州市文物考古所随即对窑址进行了封闭保护,当年即进行了考古调查和试掘。1998年5月—12月与1999年10月—2001年3月进行了两次大规模的发掘,除了部分地层被有意保留以外,揭露了该窑址的全部文化层,实际发掘面积约为2300平方米。两次发掘都有重大收获,其中1998年的第一次发掘就获得了当年全国十大考古发现的提名奖,1999年至2001年的第二次发掘又被评为2001年度的全国十大考古新发现。

经过两次大规模的发掘,全面揭露了老虎洞窑址的文化堆积,发现并清理了一批遗迹,共计有龙窑窑炉3座,小型的素烧炉4座,作坊基址7座,澄泥池4个,釉料缸2个,瓷片坑24个,陶车基座若干个,在遗址边部还发现了多个开采原料的矿坑,发掘出土了分属4个时期的大量瓷器制品,半成品和窑具,其中有大批完整的和可复原的器物。这些遗物品种丰富,造型优美,制作精良,尤其是南宋时期的文物,代表了当时制瓷业的最高工艺水平。根据地层叠压关系,文化遗存可分为4个时期,其中北宋早期的遗存数量少,也没有发现遗迹,难以确定是本处烧造的。其他三个时期的遗物,经过初步研究,将时代定为南宋时期,又分为前后两段,元代期。其中元代的地层中出土有带八思巴文铭文的窑具,时代定为元代无疑。南宋地层中出土的遗物最为精致。器形不仅有日常用品碗、盘、杯、瓶、罐、碟、壶、洗等,还有一些特殊器形的器物,如觚、琮式瓶、各式香炉、熏炉、器座和器形甚大之兽首双环耳尊,胎釉特征以厚胎薄釉,厚胎厚釉为主,薄胎厚釉较少见。釉色有美丽的粉青色、青灰色和米黄色等,胎色则有香灰色、深灰色、紫色、黑色等。

对于老虎洞窑的考古工作,从其发现伊始就引起了强烈反响,在发掘过程中,国内外众多的学者一直十分关注其进展与发掘收获。有些学者在初步了解老虎洞窑的某些情况后,就发表了不少观点。由于当时发掘尚未结束,资料记载有限,使观点并不一致。2001年6月,杭州市文物考古所组织全国部分陶瓷考古和研究方面的专家举行了老虎洞窑考古新发现专家鉴定会。与会学者在观摩了老虎洞窑出土瓷器后的共同感觉是震惊、出乎意料和兴奋。绝大多数学者认为老虎洞窑南宋时期的遗物就是文献记载的修内司官窑或称为“内窑”。窑址中出土的觚、琮式瓶、香炉、熏炉、器座和兽首双环耳尊等器物应是宋代用于祭礼当中的祭器,与《续修四库全书》中收录的宋代礼部太常寺纂修,清徐松辑自《永乐大典》的《中兴礼书》钞本中所记载的宋庭于绍兴年间下礼器局制造“尊彝”等陶瓷祭器的记载相符。而这正是文献中记载的修内司官窑的一个主要特征,是南宋官府控制下的专门生产宫廷用器的窑场,在中国古代陶瓷发展史和官营瓷器生产史中占有非常重要的地位。另外,老虎洞窑元代后期的地层中出土一类青灰色或灰中泛黄色釉的器物,玻璃质感较强,有较多开片,直观上看与许多传世哥窑器物相同。经过科技测定,其胎釉的化学成分与传世哥窑相似。因此,有学者认为

老虎洞窑元代层就是被列为宋代五大名窑的“哥窑”的产地。

关于修内司官窑,宋以来的文献中记录较多,也较可信,因此,从20世纪前半叶始,中外学者们就为寻找这一古窑付出了大量的心血和努力,终于在世纪之交确证了这一窑址。关于哥窑的记录,最早见于元代文献,明以后的文献将其列为宋代的五大名窑。但半个世纪以来的考古发现均为元代的证据,因此,近年来许多学者开始对哥窑的生产时代提出质疑并指出其生产的时代应为元代。老虎洞窑的发现和考古发掘为解决在古陶瓷研究中长期困扰人们的两大疑案提供了重要的实证材料,其重要意义不言自明。

老虎洞窑的发现,有其偶然的因素,又有其必然性。其一,近一个世纪以来,众多学者们踵足相接地在杭州市的西南部不断探索,不仅很早就找到了郊坛下官窑的遗址,而且积累了大量的资料,为修内司官窑的最终发现、确认铺平了道路。其二,近年来,随着大规模现代化市政建设的开展,杭州市的许多南宋时期的遗迹、遗物被揭露、发现,面对文物保护的沉重压力及其与建设的矛盾,杭州市政府的各级领导以超凡的眼光和对民族的责任感,将对历史文物的保护放在市政建设的首位,因此,南宋太庙遗址、临安府衙署遗址和恭圣仁烈皇后宅等在全国考古界产生重大影响的遗迹相继被发现,杭州市政府又斥巨资对这些遗址进行了有效的保护,其宏大的气魄令全国瞩目。这些事件不仅极大地提升了杭州市历史文化名城的底蕴,也使民众的文物保护意识大大提高。老虎洞窑址在初现端倪时就被及时地报告给文物考古所,正是这种状况的很好体现。其三,特别值得提及的是,近年来杭州市的市政建设此伏彼起,全面铺开,杭州市文物考古所为配合基建开展了大量的抢救性勘察、发掘工作,他们对工作的一丝不苟、毫不懈怠的态度及较强的专业能力,是一系列发现的重要成因。老虎洞窑在被报告后,能及时地判断其重要性并迅速地采取保护措施,又是这种工作作风和能力的极好体现。

北京大学考古文博学院近年来曾较多地开展了陶瓷考古的发掘与研究,并为古陶瓷研究与考古学相结合而产生的陶瓷考古学科的发展做出过重要的贡献。对于老虎洞窑的发现、发掘和研究进展一直十分关注。几位相关学科的教授们在发掘过程中曾多次前往杭州考察发掘情况和出土资料。又在2001年协助杭州市文物考古所组织筹办了老虎洞窑考古新发现专家鉴定会,并作为受邀专家参加了鉴定会,还受杭州市文物考古所委托撰写并在《文物》月刊上刊发了会议纪要,在国内外产生了重要影响。两单位又在以往的合作中建立了良好的互信和合作关系,因此,共同发起举办“2002中国杭州南宋官窑老虎洞窑址国际学术研讨会”。

老虎洞窑的发现和考古发掘受到国内外有关学者的高度重视。许多学者前往杭州市参观,也陆续有一些研究成果面世。更多的学者则期待着有机会能较全面、系统地观摩窑址出土的各不同时期的器物,了解窑址中发掘清理的各类遗迹。同时,考古发掘的重大收获,又为我们提出了新的研究课题:如何在考古发掘的基础上深入探讨老虎洞窑的发展变化,生产时代,管理体制和工艺特点;老虎洞窑与北宋官窑、汝窑、上林湖越窑中低岭头产品类型、郊坛下官窑的联系;宋代官营手工业和官营制瓷业的制度和发展的;哥窑的特点和产地以及中国青瓷的发展进程等等,成为摆在学者们面前的新课题。这实际上标志着对宋代陶瓷生产中官窑体系研究的深化,是陶瓷考古学科所取得的又一喜人成果。

对上述问题进行深入研究,可以更好地发挥老虎洞窑考古工作的作用,并推动中国陶瓷史的研究。举办一个国际研讨会,向国内外更多的学者展示这次发掘的主要收获,并对有关

问题进行深入探讨,是十分必要的,也是许多学者所期盼的。为此,由北京大学中国考古学研究中心和杭州市园林文物局联合主办,杭州市文物考古所(杭州市文物保护管理所)、南宋官窑博物馆承办,“2002 中国杭州南宋官窑老虎洞窑址国际学术研讨会”于 2002 年 11 月 15 日—17 日在杭州市金溪山庄隆重举行。来自中国(包括香港、台湾地区)、美国、英国、加拿大、澳大利亚、德国、意大利、日本、新加坡等 9 个国家和地区的 110 多位中外学者出席了会议。由于老虎洞窑的发掘刚刚结束,整理工作仍在进行,会议召开时发掘简报也刊布不久,因此,会议的组织方式采取了以观摩出土标本,参观窑址为主;而研讨则采用由几位过去对南宋官窑有较多研究或已经较多地接触过出土资料的学者作主题发言,其他学者参与讨论的方式。出乎意料的是,会场的气氛十分热烈,学者们争相发言,观点见仁见智。我们的目的是要推动南宋官窑老虎洞窑在结合考古资料的基础上,从不同角度的深入研究,因此我们要求与会学者在参观了窑址和出土资料,在会后提交论文,然后编辑付梓,以饕更多的学界同仁。各位学者乘兴而来,又带着新的感受和问题而去。

现在,各位学者们将他们的研究成果拿出,由会议的主办单位编辑付梓。从收集到的稿件看,2002 年的会议取得了预期的成果,学者们在了解了老虎洞窑的发掘成果后,对一系列的相关问题进行了较深入的探讨,内容涉及老虎洞窑的性质、特点、烧制时间、工艺研究、与相关窑场的比较研究、博物馆和私人藏品介绍和鉴定等内容。相信,通过这些稿件的汇集出版,一定会对南宋官窑和老虎洞窑的研究起到推进作用。当然,许多方面的研究尚属初步的涉及,更多的问题值得我们关注、探索。我们愿将此书奉献广大研究者和爱好者,以抛砖引玉,期待着更充分、深入的成果面世。

秦大树 杜正贤
于杭州凤凰山麓

Preface

Hangzhou Laohudong Kiln Site was discovered at the western edge of a narrow gully between Phoenix Hill and Jiuhua Hill in September 1999. Upon its discovery, Hangzhou Cultural Relics & Archaeological Research Institute carried out closed preservation of the kiln site, and in the same year conducted archaeological surveys and trial excavations. Two large-scale archaeological excavations followed, respectively from May through December 1998 and from October 1999 through March 2001. The entire cultural deposit of the kiln site was exposed except that part of the strata was reserved intentionally. The actual excavated area takes up about 2,300 square meters. The two excavations turned out to be significantly fruitful. The first excavation acquired “1998 Top Ten Archaeological Discoveries” nomination of the nation, and the second one (1999—2001) was chosen as one of the “2001 Top Ten New Archaeological Discoveries”.

Through two large-scale excavations, the cultural deposits of Laohudong Kiln Site were totally exposed. Varieties of historical remains were discovered and checked up, including three dragon kiln furnaces, four biscuit firing furnaces in small scale, seven foundations of workshops, four clay-refining pools, two glaze vats, twenty-four shard pits, and several potter's wheel pits. Besides, many mining pits for obtaining raw materials were found nearby the site. Large quantities of porcelain products, semi-finished articles and kiln tools were unearthed, which belonged to four different periods of time. Most of them are complete or restorable objects. These relics are rich in variety, elegant in shape and exquisite in workmanship. In particular, the cultural relics of the Southern Song represent the highest technological level of porcelain production of the then society. According to stratigraphical deposits, cultural remains can be divided into four periods. We found no historical remains but a few survival remains from the early period of Northern Song made it difficult to determine whether they had been fired at the very place. Relics from the other periods, through initial research, were identified to have been from the Southern Song Dynasty, which could be divided into the former and the latter parts. Kiln tools with Bhags-Pa inscriptions from the stratum of the Yuan Dynasty were doubtlessly defined to have been from the Yuan Dynasty. Relics from the stratum of the Southern Song are the most exquisite of all. Household vessels such as bowls, plates, cups, vases, jars, dishes, pots and basins as well as some special shaped objects like beakers, Cong-shaped vases, incense burners of various styles, censers, vessel stands and very large *Zun* with double ring in

shape of beast head. Thick body with thin glaze and thick body with thick glaze mainly feature the vessels, whereas thin body with thick glaze is rare to see. The glaze colours include beautiful powder green, bluish gray and buff. The body colours are grayish green, dark gray, purple and black.

The archaeological research in Laohudong Kiln has evoked strong repercussions since its discovery. During the course of the excavations, numerous scholars from at home and abroad have been paying a good deal of close attention to the progress and achievements. Some scholars expressed their original views after having initial knowledge of the kiln. As excavations were still on and material open to the public was limited, opinions were widely divided. In June 2001, Hangzhou Cultural Relics & Archaeological Research Institute invited authoritative experts nationwide on ceramics archaeology and research to give an appraisal of the new archaeological discovery at Laohudong Kiln Site. The scholars participating in the appraisal had the same feeling of astonishment, unexpectedness and excitement after appreciating unearthed porcelain products from the kiln site. Most scholars held that the relics of the Southern Song found at Laohudong Kiln was just the location of Xiuneisi Official Kiln or the "Imperial Kiln" recorded in historical documents. The unearthed beakers, Cong-shaped vases, incense burners of various styles, censers, vessel stands and very large *Zun* with double ring in shape of beast head from the kiln site should have been used as sacrificial utensils for sacrificial rites during the Song Dynasty. This tallies with the records on ceramic sacrificial utensils like "*Zun* and *Lei*" manufactured under supervision of the Bureau of Ritual Vessels in the year of Shaoxing of the Song Dynasty, which is collected in *A Supplement to Si Ku Quan Shu* (the imperial library of Emperor Qianlong named after the "four vaults" of classics, history, philosophy and collected works of literature). The descriptions were compiled by the Protocol Department of the Song Dynasty, and during the Qing Dynasty adapted by Xu Song from the hand copy of *Book on Protocol of Zhongxing Period* bound up in *Yongle Canon*. This is just a major feature of Xiuneisi Official Kiln recorded in documents. Xiuneisi, a special kiln controlled by the Southern Song government to produce vessels for imperial use only, plays a very significant role in the history of ancient Chinese ceramics and government-run industry of porcelain production. Apart from the above, unearthed from the stratum of the latter part of the Yuan Dynasty was a type of object with many crackles, bluish gray or grayish yellow in glaze, fairly smooth like glass, which through object sense is identical to products from the legendary Ge Ware. Technical testing proves that the chemical compositions of the body glaze are identical to those of the legendary Ge Ware. Therefore, some scholars considered the layer of the Yuan Dynasty at Laohudong Kiln to be the origin of "Ge Ware" which had been identified one of the five famous kilns in the Song Dynasty.

In documents since the Song Dynasty, we can find a great deal of fairly credible descriptions about Xiuneisi Official Kiln. Since the first half of the 20th century scholars from at home and abroad have made great efforts in pursuit of this ancient kiln. And at the turn

of the century, the kiln site was finally proved conclusively. Descriptions on Ge Ware could be traced back to as early as the Yuan Dynasty. In documents since the end of the Ming Dynasty, Ge Ware, has been listed among five famous kilns of the Song Dynasty. However, archaeological discoveries in the latest half-century have turned out to be evidences of the Yuan Dynasty. Hence, in recent years many scholars have begun to question the production period of Ge Ware and pointed out that it should have been during the Yuan Dynasty. It is self-evident that the discovery and archaeological excavations of Laohudong Kiln have provided substantial evidence of significance for solving the two puzzling mysteries in ancient ceramics research over a long period of time.

Apart from its contingency, inevitability lies in the discovery of Laohudong Kiln. First, since the latest century, numerous scholars have, one after another, conducted surveys at the southwestern part of Hangzhou. They not only found early the site of Jiaotianxia Official Kiln but also collected a great deal of information, which paved the way for final discovery and confirmation of Xiuneisi Official Kiln. Second, in recently years, with the development of city construction in a large scale, many historical remains and relics of the Southern Song period in Hangzhou have been exposed and discovered. Faced with the contradiction between the heavy pressure of cultural relics preservation and city construction, the municipal government, with extraordinary foresight and the sense of responsibility to the nation, has given first priority to preservation of historical and cultural relics amongst municipal engineering projects. So, the municipal government of Hangzhou furnished funds for effective preservation of these historical sites after the discoveries of the sites one after another like the Imperial Ancestral Temple, the Lin'an government office and the curtilage of Queen Gongshengrenlie of the Southern Song Dynasty, which have had significant influences in the archaeological circles nationwide. The boldness of vision has attracted nationwide attention. This has not only promoted the cultural connotations of Hangzhou as a historic cultural city but greatly lifted people's awareness of cultural relics preservation. The inkling of Laohudong Kiln Site was timely reported to Hangzhou Cultural Relics & Archaeological Research Institute, which was a good reflection of this strong awareness. Third, what is in particular worth mentioning here is that with the municipal engineering works rising one after another in recently years, Hangzhou Cultural Relics & Archaeological Research Institute has conducted rescue surveys and excavations to coordinate with capital construction. The staff members' conscientious and meticulous attitude with strong academic capability serves as indispensable factors of the series of significant discoveries. The timely judgment on its importance and quick action to take protective measures after Laohudong Kiln being reported well reflected the aforesaid attitude and capability.

In recent years, the Institute of Chinese Archaeology, Cultural Relics & Museology of Peking University has carried out a number of excavations and studies on ceramics archaeology. The Institute has also made significant contribution to the subject of ceramics ar-

chaeology that combines ancient ceramics research with archaeology. The Institute has always been attaching great importance to discovery, excavation and progress of research in Laohudong Kiln. Some professors specializing in related subjects visited Hangzhou many times to make on-the-spot investigation of the excavations and collect unearthed material. In 2001 they assisted Hangzhou Cultural Relics & Archaeological Research Institute to organize an expert appraisal of the new archaeological discovery at Laohudong Kiln Site and were invited to present as experts. Entrusted by Hangzhou Cultural Relics & Archaeological Research Institute, they wrote the summary of the expert appraisal, which was published in the monthly academic periodical *Cultural Relics (Wenwu)* and evoked great repercussions at home and abroad. On basis of the established relationship of mutual trust and cooperation, the two Institutes jointly sponsored the "2002 International Conference on Southern Song Official Ware of Laohudong Kiln Site in Hangzhou, China".

The discovery and archaeological excavations of Laohudong Kiln have attracted great attention from scholars at home and abroad. Many scholars went to Hangzhou to visit the kiln site before some academic achievements came out in succession. Still more scholars expected an opportunity to have an all-round and systematic observation of objects of different periods and historical remains unearthed from the kiln site. Meanwhile, the significant achievements in the archaeological excavations have put forward to us new subjects to study in the following: how to further approach the development, time of production, management system and technological features on the basis of archaeological excavations; the relation between Laohudong Kiln and Guan Ware (Official Kiln), Ru Ware, products from low-lying mountain ridges of Yue Kiln at Shanglinhu of the Northern Song, Jiaotianxia Official Kiln; institutions and development of the government-run handicraft industry and porcelain production line of the Song Dynasty; new subjects like feature and origin of Ge Ware as well as development of Chinese celadon. Actually, this marks the deepening of research on system of Guan Ware (Official Kiln) in porcelain production of the Song Dynasty, which is another satisfactory result achieved on the subject of ceramics archaeology.

Further studies on the aforesaid subjects can bring into better play the archaeological work on Laohudong Kiln and stimulate research in the history of Chinese ceramics. It is very necessary to hold an international conference expected by many scholars from at home and abroad so as to be more acquainted with major achievements in the excavations and make further approaches to related subjects. Jointly sponsored by Center for the Study of Chinese Archaeology, Peking University and Hangzhou Landscapes & Cultural Relics Bureau, and undertaken by Hangzhou Cultural Relics & Archaeological Research Institute (Hangzhou Cultural Relics Preservation Administration) and Museum of Southern Song Official Kiln, "2002 International Conference on Southern Song Official Ware of Laohudong Kiln Site in Hangzhou, China" was convened in Hangzhou Jinxi Hotel from 15-17 November 2002. Over 110 scholars from 9 countries and regions such as China (including HKSAR and Taiwan), USA, UK, Canada, Australia, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Singapore