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

by

Yun WANG

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
Graduate Department of East Asian Studies
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Yun Wang (2016)
From Kilns to Markets: Re-Examinations and Re-Interpretations on Cizhou-Ware

Pillows of Song-Jin Dynasties (10th-13th Centuries), China

Master of Arts

2016

Yun WANG

Graduate Department of East Asian Studies

University of Toronto

ABSTRACT

This essay is premised on observations and examinations into the pillow collection housed at the ROM (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto), aiming to trace the technological refinements and decorative features embodied within the incised- and ink-painted- Cizhou-ware pillows manufactured during Song and Jin eras. Cross-referenced with similar pillows from other museum collections and publications, the analyses, which have been targeted at production processes and technological advancement that Cizhou-ware pillow firing had involved, have attempted to re-interpret ceramic pillows fired at folk kilns bridged by artisans as the agent from the perspective of commercial commodities. Thus, such dynamic exploration would have ceramic pillows’ marketing characteristics been re-examined in a closer association with the remarkable urbanization, the exceeding population growth and the prosperous urban cultural enrichment, being concomitant with the enormous commercialization from the 10th to the 13th centuries.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The accomplishment of my thesis has been fruited with many collaborated efforts and supports from many generous people.

Primarily inspired by a survey course on the technological diversity of Cizhou-type ware decorations, my curiosity thrived even bigger, which eventually led to my further cognitions onto the perspective of its material culture. Thanks to Dr. Chen Shen, my MA study supervisor, who not only has always been ready to offer me prompt pertinent suggestions and insightful instructions, having supportively grounded and sustained my thesis research during the past year, but also has provided me a greatest opportunity to conduct my storage observations at the ROM, whetting my curiosity over the pillows via more hands-on experiences, and helped me through my constant confusions over thought-provoking discussions patiently. Having been assigned a pile of reading reports, not only have I accumulated and composed the investigating evidences and reference pool for my final thesis writing, but also got me into the good habit of persistent critical reading and thinking. In addition, granted a weighty opportunity by Professor Shen to write an introductory article on Cizhou-type ceramic collection for ROM’s specially-issued journal publication, I have built up more confidence to explore my interests. Much more patience and devotion have come from him in guiding my storage examining and later my thesis writing as well, for which hereby I would like to thank him again.

And I’d like to take this opportunity to express thankfulness towards the professors of EAS Department. I have gained a good knowledge of traditional Chinese from Professor G. Sanders’ poetry course and another course of Independent Studies with him gave me a thorough investigation into Records of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital, a useful literature source for my thesis writing. Then my exploration into the Northern Song’s capital, Bianliang, was acknowledged by Professor L. Feng, who encouraged me to utilize this research into my later project. Professor Y. Meng’s theoretical approaches applied into EAS offered me a variety of perspectives to examine the Chinese historic and cultural phenomena. Also, I’d like to thank
another two professors from Art History Department, Professor J. Purtle and Professor Y.D. Wang. It was Professor Purtle who encouraged me to pursue this MA study and always offered an ear to my concerns. Inspired by Professor Wang, my survey research into the pigments applied for Duhuang mural paintings greatly helped me to adopt a similar research method to discuss artisans’ craftsmanship and technical advancement in my thesis.

Then, demonstrating enthusiastic professional commitments, ROM’s technicians, Gwen and Kara, have always been thoughtful to prepare the collection and set up the working stand for me, and undoubtedly paved the way for my fruitful discoveries later. While my thesis writing, academic colleagues and friends from EAS Department, Wen Yu, Shasha, Daigengna and Elaine, always generously share their thoughts to help with my inquiries and constantly inspire my investigations even further.

The warmest comforting and consoling from my family are of incredible significance and, hereby, the most sincere gratitude would be dedicated to my parents and my sister.

Lastly, I’d like to have a joyful remark enclosed with this project and addressed towards myself to commemorate the days in U of T -- “Thanks for being young and passionate”.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .................................................................................................................. ii
Acknowledgements ............................................................................................... iii
Table of Contents ................................................................................................. v
List of Tables ........................................................................................................ vi
List of Figures ...................................................................................................... vii
Chapter 1 Introduction ......................................................................................... 1
Chapter 2 Research Background ......................................................................... 5
Chapter 3 Research Objectives .......................................................................... 10
Chapter 4 Collection and Data ........................................................................... 13
Chapter 5 Production .......................................................................................... 29
  Local Natural Resources: the case of “Pillow Poem” ..................................... 29
  Commercial Publicizing: the case of Workshop Stamps .................................... 39
  Hired Hands: the case of the Tomb Brick at the Guantai Site ......................... 44
Chapter 6 Techniques ......................................................................................... 51
  Bursting Production Efficiency ......................................................................... 51
  Securing Quality Control ................................................................................ 58
  Refining Labor Division .................................................................................. 69
Chapter 7 Marketplace ......................................................................................... 77
  Marketing Expansion ....................................................................................... 77
  Marketing Preference ...................................................................................... 83
Chapter 8 Conclusion ......................................................................................... 97
Bibliography ......................................................................................................... 101
Appendix A. Pillows Selected from ROM’s Collection ...................................... 107
Appendix B. Pillows Selected from Publications ............................................. 113
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Measurements of leaf-shaped pillows from ROM collection .................................. 54
Table 2. Measurements of leaf-shaped pillows extracted from publications .................. 55
Table 3. Motifs on different sides of Cizhou-ware ink-painted pillows ............................. 73
Table 4. Prices of daily life commodities from 11th to 14th centuries .............................. 79
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of Guantai Site and associated Cizhou-type kilns……………………………9
Figure 2. Pillow details extracted from ROM’s leaf-shaped pillow collection……………………28
Figure 3. Cizhou-type pillow with inscriptions of “Pillow Poem”……………………………30
Figure 4. Painting of “Summer Cooling under Pagoda Tree”. Forbidden Palace Museum, Beijing………………………………………………………………………………………………………………31
Figure 5. Material information extracted from “Pillow Poem”……………………………32
Figure 6. Deposits of coal at Guantai site………………………………………………………36
Figure 7. Detailed visual evidences of various shops with boards and banner inscribed with shop names on the painting of “Going up the River on Qingming Festival”, attributed to Zhang Zeduan, Northern Song dynasty. Forbidden Palace Museum, Beijing………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………40
Figure 8. Stamped marks of workshop names on the Cizhou-ware pillow bottoms………41
Figure 9. Foremen’s names found on terra cotta warriors, the Mausoleum of Qin Shihuangdi, Xi’an, Shaanxi Province…………………………………………………………42
Figure 10. Inscriptions on the tomb brick excavated from “Lou Ze Yuan”, Guantai, Cixian, Hebei province…………………………………………………………………………………45
Figure 11. Pillow producing steps extracted from “Pillow Poem”…………………………52
Figure 12. Detailed interior of pillow bases in pentagonal shape…………………………57
Figure 13. Detailed traces of clay paste and scratches for solid attachment………………57
Figure 14. Cizhou-type bean-shaped pillow with children-at-play and peony design……61
Figure 15. Two pillows fired at the Xin’an kiln, presenting a convincing verisimilitude towards the ROM’s bean-shaped infant-boy pillow, Museum of the Mausoleum of the Nanyue King, Guangzhou………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………62
Figure 16. Presumed decorating steps of the ROM’s bean-shaped infant-boy pillow…..63-65
Figure 17. Excavations of tools from the Guantai site in 1987……………………………67
Figure 18. 6-toothed and 13-toothed combed marks in detail……………………………68
Figure 19. Combed pillow back and clay paste to increase plasticity for attaching; black-glazed deep bowl with clay ridges attached as decor ........................................69

Figure 20. ROM’s ink-painted pillow with tiger motif ............................................71

Figure 21. Paintings of “The Peddler”, by Su Hanchen, Song dynasty, National Palace Museum, Taipei .................................................................80

Figure 22. Inscriptions of a pillow commemorated a wedding in 1103 A.D ..................81

Figure 23. Excavation site of Tomb No.40 at Donglongguan, Fenyang, Shanxi Province, in 2008 .................................................................81

Figure 24. Pictorial designs of children-at-play ....................................................86

Figure 25. Pun-play for culturally established comprehensive connotations presented by the motifs of flower-and-bird ........................................90

Figure 26. Ink-painted pillows with motifs of chess-playing, circus scenes of jockey performance and of bear performance ...........................................93

Figure 27. Pictorial design of Emperor Taizong of Northern Song visiting his prime minister, Zhao Pu, on a snowy night ........................................94

Figure 28. Pictorial design of the episode from the Journey to the West ....................95
Chapter 1. Introduction

Within the geographical and temporal boundaries of Chinese history, the Song dynastic eras have witnessed an exceedingly flourished development of Chinese ceramic industry, prevailed not only by the tribute- and official kilns, like Ru ware and Guan ware, but also by private kilns, such as Cizhou ware and Longquan ware. In particular, the booming stoneware fired at various private kilns granted the contemporary commoners located at the lower social positions an accessibility to the use of ceramic products for their daily life. Very fruitfully, such radical change embedded within the use of stoneware, which had largely been monopolized among the imperial court and aristocratic class of Sui and Tang dynasties previously. Then these stoneware winded their way down and were enjoyed by the commoners and ordinary urban residents, who had proportionated the largest percentage of Song’s population.

In most cases, the tribute- or official-kilns, which had been exclusively commissioned by the patronage from the imperial court or aristocracy and dedicated their use for display or luxury banquets mostly, crafted exquisite wares with scarce considerations on production expenditure and thus were only affordable by the top hierarchical classes. Compared with these Ru wares or Guan wares, ceramics fired at folk kilns were intensely engaged in practical functions and marketing circulations, among which Cizhou-type wares fired during Song and Jin eras, i.e., roughly from the 10th to the 13th centuries, were experiencing their
prime time (Feng, 2013; Wang 2004; Zhao 2004). Cizhou-type wares are always known for its great variety of motif choices and decoration techniques, including flower-and-bird, children-at-play, auspicious animals, poetry and drama episodes and alike and crafted by the means of ink-painting, calligraphy-writing, carving, incising, combing and molding, etc., all of which have been under the academic examining scope for long. Apart from the culturally established meanings infused through the pictorial designs and décor undertones of Cizhou-ware, they are an excellent source to explore the handicrafts industry, particularly having flourished during the Northern Song and Jin dynasties. Not only had Cizhou-type wares been fired for quite a long time, lasting over three to four hundred years, but also they had been fired for the widest range of various usages. Consequently, the enormous firing history enables Cizhou-type wares to have established itself as the largest and ampest type of ceramics in North China with respects to the firing scale and decorative techniques nearly one thousand years ago.

Meanwhile, it is rather interesting to point out that the dramatic expansion of ceramic utensils, in this case, Cizhou wares, which was stimulated by the exceedingly prospered ceramic manufacture at a shattering amount of private kilns, has made a remarkable contribution to the development of Chinese material culture. And, in turn, these private kilns, given their large-scaled manufacture and massive consuming quantity, could facilitate the foundation of multi-principle studies. Thus, shaped by the multi-dimensional forces, economically, culturally, psychologically and sociologically, such folk-kiln ceramics, undoubtedly, provide an astonishing number of evidences and clues for the viewers today to patch a larger picture of Song and Jin’s society little by little.

Pulling out many relevant data, studies on the material culture of private-kiln ceramics will definitely inform us about their original functions, using occasions, producing conditions

---

1 Since the firing of Cizhou-type wares had covered a very wide geographic range and presented extremely diverse techniques, scattering beyond the present Henan, Hebei and Shanxi provinces and even stretching to Shaanxi, Inner Mongol, Beijing and Liaoning areas, it has become conventional that modern scholars have agreed on using this term to refer the large category of ceramics fired in the Northern China with many similar subcategories defined under individual kiln sites. However, to particularly specify the category of ceramics fired at Cizhou area, Cixian Prefecture, in today’s Hebei province, represented by the typological ones from Guantai kiln site, I use the term of Cizhou-ware pillows to have the stoneware in my discussion distinguished from the general Cizhou-type wares specifically.
and trading engagements, and finally help us to track the status and deployment of material within a broader cultural framework (Fraser 2004). Also, modern scholars’ contextualized articulations on the material culture are always of significant inspiration. Amongst these analyses, Wu Hung has presented his incisive opinion that the actual artifacts we see now are not the original works of art in their contexts (Wu 2008). He also claims that an artifact would be resumed into its original contexts to an utmost extent, based on the evidences of historical literature and archaeological discoveries, and, consequently, the artifact could escape the restrictions from their concurrent existing conditions by re-constructing a contextual analysis and re-framing the observation (Wu 2008).

It cannot be denied that ceramic pillows, housed by a great variety of museum and private collections and exhibited in the glassy showcases, are definitely the actual artifacts produced during Song/Jin eras; yet, it cannot be denied, either, that they are no longer the original artifacts of those eras, since the contextualized situations have been changing or changed all the time under the fabrication of plural forces present or absent as time flowed. Thus, the process of deconstructing these plural forces is the process of sorting out the original social contexts that these forces have been built in. Therefore, the fabrication of these disparate parts on a single social surface will finally be able to demonstrate their original contexts and to let us get closer to the stories behind these pillow collections.

To take a close look at Cizhou-wares, pillows, among a great variety of categories, such as wine jars, toys, plates, tea-cups, bowls, basins and lamps and alike, should have distinguished itself as an extraordinary research topic. Explained in the Chinese earliest semantic dictionary, 说文解字, Shuo wen jie zi, compiled by 许慎, Xu Shen (57-147 A.D.), around 121 A.D. during the Eastern Han dynasty, 枕, literally meaning ‘pillow’, was supposedly made of wooden material originally. Rather rarely, a few pillows, made of jade and excavated from Han dynastic tombs, indicate they must have belonged to the high-status social hierarchy (Nanjing Bo Wu Yuan[NBWWY] 2012). Yet, the amazingly large amount of ceramic pillows, either excavated in site or inherited over the past millennium, has demonstrated a very prosperous pillow production and commercialization during Song/Jin eras. In the meantime,
pillows, as a bedroom utensil, were always avoided by the public gaze and owned by individual as their private belongings. Their individuality, thus, has always embodied traces of personal characters of their owners’. The interconnection between these pillows’ individuality and their owners’ personal characters were bridged by pillows’ properties, especially the decorations on their surfaces, to re-shape the circumstances and the sentiments of the contemporary Song society and its population. Because of these two characteristics, it is quite interesting for me to put Cizhou-ware pillows under the examination to view their generality, being a favored commodity by the public, and their individuality, being a personal possession, at the same time.
Chapter 2. Research Background

Ever since the 1920s’ excavation of 鉴鹿, Julu, a Northern Song city, in present-day Hebei province, buried during a flood in 1108A.D., Cizhou-type wares have been put under the academic scope and many a scholar have published an amazing amount of their academic research achievements. My research started from these tremendous ground-breaking academic works and then, having built upon them, my own research was able to commence in a further direction.

The first and utmost important issue that I need to address is the nature of ceramic pillows in terms of their function. For this inquiry, based on the archaeological discoveries on the site of ancient Song city, Julu, Chen Wanli has verified that ceramic pillows were a popular utensil for daily life back in the ancient China and has disproved the previous theory that ceramic pillows had been fired exclusively for the burial uses (Zijingcheng Chuban She[ZCS] 1997). Also, such explanations on pillow function has been echoed by Mikami Tsugio, who has traced the history of pillow firing and the function of ceramic pillows as sleeping utensil since Tang dynasty (Chinese University of Hong Kong[CUHK] 1989). Hence, their conclusive articulations have laid the precondition for my studies on ceramic pillows’ commercial features and their marketing circulation. Hence, as a kind of purchasable commodity, ceramic pillows, represented by Cizhou-type kilns and other private kilns alike, could be examined under the
scope of the manufacturing and marketing status quo. In turn the potters of Cizhou-ware became a reasonable and proper analytic medium, through which the manufacture process and technological advancement could be further associated and explored.

The second issue, involving my concerns on the technological development regarding the furnace firing and raw material processing, has stemmed from the following scholarly research. Tsugio has included some observations on the other kilns in North China having fired similar Cizhou-type wares, which definitely provides us a rather comprehensive geographic distributions and locations of this largest private kiln-system (CUHK 1989). Based on the articulations by Tsugio, Wang Xing and Ma Zhongli, a map of Cizhou-ware kilns, including Guantai, Hebiji, Jiyuan, Bacun, Dengfeng, Baofeng, Lushan, Hunyuan, Xinmi, Xiaoxian and Xiuwu and so on, can be restored (CUHK 1989; Wang 2004; Zhao 2004). Yet, the most enormously exquisite archaeological report on the dedicated field work is *The Cizhou Kiln Site at Guantai*, which is conducted by the archaeological team of Beijing University in 1987. This field excavation has yielded many breakthroughs, given this unprecedented large-scaled research which has involved ten kilns’ excavations [Figure 1]. Through the periodization of the archaeological residues on the excavation sites, the Cizhou-ware manufacturing development can be divided into four chronological phases, each of which has presented the radically distinctive characteristics (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997). Since the firing at Guantai kiln site had lasted approximately 400 years, that is, from 10th to 13th centuries, the periodization for each phase, thus, has facilitated the later research to identify the cultural affinity of selected ROM collection. In terms of pillow samples, this book has provided ample evidence to make plausible cross-references, and other archaeological finds, such as tomb bricks, pigment residues, coal stacking and segmental tools are all of great value and significance. Consequently, such information extracted from the excavation sites shed light on my potential studies regarding the technical advancement and the decorating repertoire. Another influential research achievement that has inspired me greatly is the one by Qin Dashu, whose research focus is more pro-technology. His research on kiln shapes and the firing fuel have proved that Cizhou-ware potters made their accessibility to the local geographical resources and adjusted
the kiln structures constantly to improve the technical refinement (Wenwu Bianji Weiyuan Hui [WBWH] 1984; Zhao 2004).

Then, in order to sort the pillow collection housed at ROM into a proper typological and chronological cultural affinity, it is definitely necessary that they be periodized and examined under the comprehensive ceramic firing history, in particular via the comparisons with the pillows categorized as Cizhou-type wares, housed at and published by various exhibitions and museums. Thus, a sample pool of pillow constellation has been formed from the following four authors and their works, which have greatly aided my research. Premised on a dedicated Cizhou-type ware exhibition in 1980 which had summoned nearly 110 pieces from various museum and private collections all over the world, Yutaka Mino has sorted them into 19 categories and each category has been articulated in detail and cross-referenced with other similar ones which had not made appearance in this exhibition (Mino 1981). His work has profoundly shown the chronological development of Cizhou-type wares and thus enabled the representative wares to be specifically periodized based on the motif comparisons among different kilns. Zhang Ziying’s *Cizhou-Ware Pillows* is a book which has compiled the excavated pillows fired at various Cizhou-type kilns, in particular at the Guantai site (Zhang 2000). The excavation information and the characteristics of these pillows are of great significance, since they can be cross-referenced with another book, entitled as *Chinese Ceramic Pillows – The Mr. and Mrs. Yeung Wing Tak Gift*, housed at the Museum of the Mausoleum of Nanyue King at Guangzhou. Yang’s collection has compiled not only the typical Guantai kiln at Cixian, Hebei province, but also encompassed as many similar-styled pillows from the affiliated kilns as possible (CUHK 1989). These two books have composed the major typological repertoire for my examination and analyses on the pillows from ROM’s collection. All of ROM’s 21 pillows are cross-referenced with these two books and, thus, with thorough observations, I have compiled the curatorial catalogues of these 21 pieces. At the same time I have managed to trace their trivial technical craftsmanship. In addition, Chapter Three in Liu Tao’s book of *Dated Song, Jin, and Liao Dynastic Ceramics* has provided many exemplified cases of ceramic wares, housed at various museums across the globe, with inscriptions
indicating the year of their firing (Liu 2004). Among them, three cases are extremely valuable, as all of them are typical Cizhou-type pillows and inscriptions on them provide the information of their actual prices (Liu 2004). Such research has led my study to the consideration of their production costs and commercial profits under the economic status quo when such pillows were fired then. As a result, my research has been directed to a closer association between Cizhou-ware pillows’ marketing preferences and the decorating strategies.

Lastly, my research has closely concentrated on the decorative means and the ink-painting method, which is utmost representative, undoubtedly has become my research goal as well. For this aspect, I am inspired greatly by Song Boyin’s scholarly research. In his essays, a group of archaeological finds consisting of twenty dated pillows and the inscriptions on them provide a chronological spectrum of seven dynastic phases, ranging from Sui/Tang dynasties to Five Dynasties, the Northern Song, the Southern Song, Jin and Yuan dynasties (NBWY 2012). Song Boyin believes, in particular, the new trend that paintings and poetry were recruited into the decoration repertoire indicates a spiritual world of the ancient Chinese, which had been manifested through these ceramic pillows, as he focuses more on the connections between the metaphorical decorations on pillow surfaces and the populace’s psychological and emotional expressions (NBWY 2012). Song Boyin also draws some connections between the painting techniques employed by potters and the painting techniques of artistic works by the Song literati, especially a close affinity to Chinese fan-paintings (NBWY 2012). Consequently, his articulation of ‘brief expressions and mature brushwork’ has indicated that the traditional Chinese-styled line drawing and boneless technique had played a profound role in pillow decorating (NBWY 2012).

In conclusion, the abovementioned scholarly research has established the groundwork for my basic understandings on the Cizhou-ware, such as their firing techniques, decorating means, practical functions and the socio-culturally established meanings and alike. Yet, it still remains curious for me and inquiries need to be thought over thoroughly. For instance, apart from the cultural connotations and technical progressions, voiced by individual motifs or combinational designated pictorial schemes, what other changes or challenges can be sought,
socially, economically and aesthetically, from these pillows? How did the interconnections between these changes and the potters exert and impact the ceramic industry at that time? What was the actual economic value of such pillows? Were they economical enough to be afforded by everyone? What happened onto the potters themselves and their workshops at site? Who were these artisans? Were they members of an exclusive family business or hired hands recruited from labor markets? Was there any professional association in charge of these artisans and their businesses as well?

Often, such insatiable questions have exposed my studies into a more artisan-affiliated perspective, which is to be explained in the next chapter.

Figure 1. Map of Guantai Site and associated Cizhou-type Kilns (Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi, Hebeisheng Wenwu Yanjiu Suo, and Handan Diqu Wenwu Baoguan Suo [BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS] 1997).
Chapter 3. Research Objectives

Essentially, these pillows were common utensils for daily life use, and due to their circulation in the marketplace to be purchased and sold, they were unavoidably embedded with properties of the commodity. Therefore, a number of historical forces were infused into the present formation of ceramic pillows; while, with their historical contexts invisible, what we concurrent viewers see is merely their physical appearance. Nevertheless, with the help of historical literary records and archaeological discoveries, the contextual analysis can be re-constructed to a certain degree and in turn the multifaceted social, economic, and aesthetic preconditions can be thus traced. The process of contextual reconstruction by seeking out those plural forces built into the pillow manufacturing is absolutely one process that enables modern viewers to shackle off the glassy showcases so as to perceive these daily life necessities in a closer and more comprehensive way.

However, although it has always been taken for granted by many that Cizhou-ware artisans had designated their craftsmanship to cope with the challenges happening both at kiln sites and in marketplaces, what has clouded our understandings on these pillows is the neglect of these pillows’ original contexts, such as the pillow potters and their relationship with the raw material sources they used, manufacturing locations, the pillows’ measurements and concomitant excavated segments. All of these contextual material have ultimately shaped my
research focus. Also, in terms of the décor on pillow surfaces, what we actually have perceived are the visual images resulted from a group of plural forces, socially, economically and aesthetically. Therefore, the question of how they advanced their technical refinements needs further explorations and the discussions on the economic nature of Cizhou-ware pillows seem to have one crucial factor absent—the role of artisans and their engagement with this flourishing ceramic development.

Then, how should these ceramic pillows be perceived? And why should they be perceived in this way?

Ceramic pillows, functioned as a commodity for daily life and circulated around marketplaces, become a suitable medium to connect the consumers on the one end and the producers on the other. In my studies, I will use ceramic pillows to restore the original historical contexts and to have the contemporary consumers’ living and artisans’ working circumstances reconstructed effectively.

To sum up, my studies are consequently targeted at the potters’ actual craftsmanship and their intelligence. To illustrate, in order to facilitate my examinations, to seek an utmost original contextualized analysis, and to deconstruct these functional plural forces, I have chosen Cizhou-ware artisans as the agent to conduct my observation and interpretation. Based on the explorations into potters, their working environment, their living social status quo and their psychological encounters could be sorted and, hence, their crafting products, i.e., the pillows, could be interpreted with a more original reconstruction. Threading the pillow production processes and their commercial promotions, we could appropriately have Cizhou-ware artisans situated in a few multifaceted perspectives and hence would have revealed more comprehensive associations between Song’s handicraft industry and the contemporary ceramic artisans through the nature of economic characteristics that had been embedded into the pillow production at the Cizhou-type folk kiln. Therefore, putting the Cizhou potters and their crafted pillows under the analytical scope to examine their commercial characteristics is rather a stimulating perspective through which we may have a chance to observe the concomitant social changes along with the prosperous economic development,
such as the urban expansion, social welfares, public psychological intents and production relations of the Song/Jin eras; consequently, the studies on the interconnection between potters and ceramic pillows’ productions and consumptions will finally channel our understanding to the multifaceted social development and confrontation.

Given the aforementioned examining circumstance, my research objectives are:

1. to examine the functional role of potters, a most suitable agent shuttling between pillow production and its commercialization; and the inquiry of how they exerted their technological intelligence to take advantage of local natural resources can be resolved;

2. to investigate the technological craftsmanship, since the traceable marks on ceramic pillows can and do talk, the clues, extended from these Cizhou-ware pillows, also can and do voice the evidence to address my inquiries of how the potters effectuated and accelerated manufacturing sufficiency and how they tactically secured production quality; and

3. to infiltrate into and to discuss these two bifurcated confrontations, the living situations of pillow consumers and the working status quo of pillow producers. Since when the inquiry becomes visible how they extended their market shares, an even bigger picture of the Song’s economic, cultural, psychological societies can be possibly illustrated and interpreted.
Chapter 4.  Collection and Data

To facilitate my understandings on material culture of pillows backgrounded within the Song handicraft industry, pillows fired at Guantai site, the typical Cizhou-ware kiln, are chosen for this thesis study. In this chapter, I attempt to compile a pillow collection for my observing, which consists of two categorized groups, and to extract certain data to facilitate later analyses and interpretations in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

The first group consists of ROM’s Cizhou-ware pillow collection, 21 in total, fashioned with incised- and ink-painted- decorations in particular. The incised decorated pillows include eleven leaf-shaped pillows with incised floral décors and three bean-shaped pillows with incised floral and infant-boy decorations and one octagonal pillow with incised hibiscus motif. Meanwhile, the ink-painted pillows encompass one pillow molded in rectangular shape, one in the tiger form, two in the octagonal shape, and two in cloud-shaped form. Their descriptive information and their measurements are listed below.

Cizhou-type leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret design and combed background
白釉篦划花鹭纹叶形枕
Northern Song dynasty
Length: [front] 23.0 cm; [mid/max] 31.1 cm;
Width: [front-tip] 32.0 cm;
Height: [front] 7.0 cm; [bottom-tip] 18.5 cm;
The top of the pillow was molded with a concave surface in the form of a leaf, balanced aside the vertical axis symmetrically. The surface decoration is framed by two incised loops paralleling the contour border and encloses two egrets and a lotus plant in the middle. The designation of the egrets and lotus plant turns on a realistic visual presence, with one egret standing on its foot and the other bending down. In between the two birds is the large lotus leaf with two sprays of lotuses flanking aside. The silhouettes of the designation are backgrounded by the dense combing patterns with lines incised by eight-tooth tool. The designation generates a sense of depth given the overlapping of the birds and the plant. The back of the slab is incised with the scroll of coiled fragrant grass with the background of combing design. The three sides of the base are encircled with the coin design and combing lines amidst the coins and the upper and lower incised borders. The pun-play of lotus flower and egrets is exerted here, with the implication of wishing for the promotion in bureaucratic mobility. Plus, the coin and coiled grass designs are presenting the blessings of the continuation of fortune and wealth.

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划花折枝牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 24.0 cm, [max] 32.0 cm;
Width: 32.5 cm;
Height: [front] 7.0 cm, [back] 19.6 cm;
Circumference: 51.0 cm
Circumference: 51.0 cm;
Top slab thickness: 0.5 cm
922.20.186
A peony flower in its full blossom locates at the top middle of the whole design with three triangular leaves with pointed tips spreading beneath. The whole design is framed within two incised loops paralleling the contour of the pillow topping slab. The background is resulted from a comb-like tool with nine teeth in a rather dense arrangement. The missing bottom of the pillow base reveals the inside structure of the base, which is supposed to be molded by folding a long piece of clay board into a pentagon and getting two ends stick tightly. To attach the base to the topping slab, on the one hand, the back surface is made rather coarse by applying scratches caused from a comb-like tool with nearly twelve teeth; on the other hand, sticky seriflux is added in between to further consolidate the plasticity. The observations on the combed scratches prove that this potter at least had two different comb-like tools.
Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of lotus spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划花折枝莲纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 24.5 cm, [max] 34.0 cm;
   Width: 33.0 cm;
Height: [front] 8.0 cm, [back] 21.5 cm;
Circumference: 50.5cm
Top slab thickness: 0.7 cm
922.20.187
Within two incised leaf-like loops paralleling the boarder of the top slab, two lotus flowers and two windmill-like leaves and a water-lily leaf compose the whole design. The overlapping petals of these two lotus flowers, 22 and 15 in number respectively, are towered in 6 and 5 layers, which occupy the tip center and lower left of the topping. The lower right is a large water-lily leaf with 21 lines incised to resemble the leaf veins rather vividly. The combed background is a nine-toothed layout. Both the back of the pillow top and the pillow base are incised, two symmetrically arranged grass-scrolls with seven pointed leaves on each side and an array of scrolled-grass stretching in one direction. Yet, the observation reveals that the potter used a 5-toothed comb for the back and base incisions.

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划花折枝牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 24.0 cm, [max] 33.5 cm;
   Width: 32.0 cm;
Height: [front] 7.0 cm, [back] 48.5 cm;
Circumference: 49.8cm
Top slab thickness: 0.8 cm
922.20.188
Two incised loops in the form of leaf, paralleling the topping slab’s board, encompass a rather symmetrical layout. From the lower right stretches a branch paralleling the right boarder, with three pairs of leaves facing each other and an additional large leaf on the top. The rest space is divided rather evenly. Two peony flowers in full blossom occupy the upper and lower halves, separated by another vein stretching from the right branch just in the middle of the pillow top. The background renders comb-like incisions in random directions; yet, supposedly two combs are used here, with 8 teeth and 11 teeth respectively. The missing bottom shows several scratches on the back of pillow top and a pentagonal pillow case molded from a clay piece with two ends stick together.
Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划折枝牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song dynasty / Jin dynasty
Length: [front] 22.0 cm; [max] 31.5 cm
Width: [front-tip] 31.5 cm;
Height: [front] 7.4 cm; [back] 18.4 cm;
Circumference: 50.4 cm;
Top slab thickness: 0.5 cm
922.20.189

The surface decoration of this pillow is framed with two incised loops paralleling the contour border and contains a spray of peony blossom with three triangular leaves, whose layout parallels the contour of the pillow. The peony flower appears in its full blossom with petals overlapping layer by layer and thus generating a sense of depth. As for the leaves, they have been exaggerated by stretching the tips and coiling the leaves outward. The elongation of the leaf tips artistically have occupied the space and made themselves a flower-like appearance. In terms of the combing background, a thirteen-tooth comb-like tool is employed; therefore, producing a rather densely arranged shading. The biscuit is made of dark greyish clay with a thin layer of white slip coated on the top; and a transparent glaze is finally applied on the surface and the three sides. Apparently, a needle-like tool was used to pinpoint the blueprint of the pistils, petals, veins and the silhouette of the pillow border.

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑篦划花牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 24.0 cm, [max] 35.5 cm;
Width: 34.3 cm;
Height: [front] 7.8 cm, [back] 22.0 cm;
Circumference: 50.5 cm
Top slab thickness: 0.9 cm
922.20.204

A sixteen-petal peony blossom is depicted in the top middle part of the pillow surface. As the central six petals are incised and the rest ten are outlined with simple silhouettes, a rather contrasting visual presentation is generated. Quite dramatically depicted are three leaves, encircling the central peony flower, since the leaf tips are all stretched in an exaggerated way to parallel the contour of the pillow top slab. A segmental piece is broken from the lower left part. The missing bottom enables the observation of several ten-tooth incisions to increase the plasticity due to a much coarser surface.
Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑篦划花牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 24.0 cm, [max] 36.5 cm;
Width: 34.2 cm;
Height: [front] 7.0 cm, [back] 22.3 cm;
Circumference: 50.4 cm
Top slab thickness: 0.5 cm
922.20.205
A rather large peony blossom consisting of twenty petals occupies the central part of the topping slab. With three large leaves in an elongated triangular form paralleling the outer border of the leaf-shaped contour, the whole design suggests a dynamic movement encircling clockwise. The comb-like tool was utilized to make scratches as the background; thus, forming a contrast visual effect.

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with a cloud-shaped medallion and incised design of peony spray
磁州窑白釉篦划花折枝牡丹纹内开光叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 22.4 cm, [max] 34.0 cm;
Width: 33.3 cm;
Height: [front] 8.1 cm, [back] 22.2 cm;
Circumference: 52.0 cm;
Top slab thickness: 0.6 cm
925X77
A cloud-shaped medallion with double incised loops in reserved, occupying the middle and tower parts of the topping slab. Above that, a peony flower is outlined to present its silhouette and flanked by two veins stretching downwards with several paired leaves attached to each vein. The medallion is left without any decoration; yet, the accomplishment of white-slip and glaze applications indicate the pillow is meant to be fired in this way, thus, leaving a further additional decoration to be done the moment it was purchased. The assumption can be proved by another similar pillow, housed at the Museum of the Mausoleum of the Nanyue King at Guangzhou, where the medallion of a similar design with inscriptions of poem has been ink-painted.
Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划花折枝牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 20.5 cm, [max] 28.4 cm;
Width: 29.7 cm;
Height: [front] 6.7 cm, [back] 17.8 cm;
Circumference: 51.2 cm;
Top slab thickness: 0.7 cm
921.21.232

A large peony blossom with 18 petals occupies the top middle part of the pillow surface, flanked by three leaves with exaggeratedly elongated tips. Appearing dully opaque, the glaze lacks of a glassy outcome and the cracks, due to expansion of glaze during the firing and infusion with air later, turn on a iron-threading network. The background is combed with a ten-toothed tool.

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划花折枝牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 20.9 cm, [max] 28.9 cm;
Width: 29.9 cm;
Height: [front] 6.6 cm, [back] 17.8 cm;
Circumference: 50.7 cm;
Top slab thickness: 0.6 cm
923.17.141

A large peony flower with 20 petals in its full blossom is outlined in middle of the topping slab, with six central petals combed to generate a contrasting outcome. The same comb-like tool is also used to depict the densely presented background. Three elongated leaves with very long tips are rendered aside and beneath the peony flower in accordance to paralleling the layout of the pillow boarder.

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised character “忍” and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划“忍”字纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: 28.0 cm;
Width: 30.1 cm;
Height: 18.7 cm;
923.17.70
Occupying the entire surface topping of the leaf-shaped pillow is the character “忍”, literally meaning “endurance”, with its silhouette incised. A double-looped contour is incised to parallel the one of the pillow boarder, thus, leaving the margin between the character and the inner loop to be intensively combed. The comb-like tools involved in this process might have been two, with 7 teeth and 9 teeth respectively.

Cizhou-type bean-shaped pillow with children-at-play
和 peony design
珍地篦划彩绘童子持莲缠枝牡丹纹豆形枕
Northern Song dynasty, mid-11th century [?]
Length: [front] 22.0 cm, [maximum] 26.8 cm;
Height: [front] 9.5 cm, [back] 12.4 cm;
Width: 18.0 cm
918.21.392

The surface of this bean-shaped pillow depicts a crawling infant boy, holding a spray of lotus flower in his right hand and a scrolled fragrant grass in left. Wearing a traditional bellyband with strings of coins design attached to a multi-petal shaped collar with ribbons tied up at the back, the baby’s plump body is exposed thoroughly with the depiction of four bracelets on his chubby wrists and ankles. On the upper-right of the surface locate three peonies blooming on scrolled branches, each presenting an enormously vigorous blossom. Scattered near the baby’s head and left foot are ingots and jewelry as well. The entire surface is backgrounded by the fish-roe design, intensely tiny and compact. The sides of the pillow are all stamped with the fish-roe background, with two similar sprays of peony blossoms on the front and on the back respectively and two flora petals inside the coin-patterns on the two ends. On the upper of the back there is a hole to release the heat to prevent from the explosion while firing. Apparently, the motifs bear symbolically auspicious blessings, either through the homonymous pun-playing or through the associations with the readily understandable symbolism. For instance, the association of peony blossoms and promising fortune and wealth has already been popularized; the pun-play of lotus flower and infant boy indicates to expect the continuation of the offspring of the family; let alone the supportive decors of ingots and the coin pattern on the bellyband. The most distinguished technological feature must be the needle-poking marks, which exactly locate the details of pupils, elbows, nipples, and the general silhouette of the infant boy and the ones of peony flowers, etc..

Cizhou octagonal pillow with incised design of hibiscus spray
and pearl-ground
磁州窑珍珠地篦划芙蓉纹八角枕
Northern Song Dynasty
Length: [front] 22.0 cm, [max] 26.0 cm;
Width: 18.0 cm;
Height: [front] 9.0 cm, [back] 11.4 cm
926.21.172

The concave surface is molded in an octagonal shape and backgrounded with fish-roe design. The main
branch stretches diagonally from the lower right to the upper left and, thus, divides the topping into two even
halves, each of which is taken up by a large hibiscus flower in its full blossom, facing the outer edges. The
centers of each petal are incised with very fine lines and dots, depicting the stamen and pistils. Six groups of
incised small branches, each consisting of three leaves, are scattered between these two flowers, with four
attached to the central branch and two flanking the petals. The background is resulted from the stamping
work done with a hollow tube-like tool, in a dense but not quite precise way. Additional brown-colored slip
is applied to protrude the design.

Cizhou bean-shaped pillow with chrysanthemum design and
fish-roe background
磁州窑珍珠地篦划花折枝菊花纹腰圆枕
Northern Song dynasty[?]
Length: [front] 13.0 cm; [max] 21.0 cm;
Width: 15.0 cm;
Height: [front] 8.0 cm; [back] 8.3 cm;
926.21.92
The biscuit turns out a brownish yellow clay covered by a layer of white slip. The transparent glaze is coated
on the top and around the four sides. Three unglazed marks can be seen on the surface of the pillow, which
might be caused by stacking other biscuits while the firing. To avoid being stuck at the base, the
glaze-coating does not reach the bottom, which can be identified by the traces of glaze dropping. Several
firing marks can be spotted due to the attachment onto the sagger. Again, a needle-poked blueprint can be
assumed from the design of this pillow. In terms of the décor, the chrysanthemum is embedded with virtuous
features, represented by the flora repertoire of plum, bamboo, orchid flowers. Besides virtuous indications
favored by the literati, chrysanthemums also symbolize the long life expectancy, which has been practiced
for rather a long history.

Cizhou green glazed bean-shaped pillow with flower design
绿釉折枝牡丹纹腰圆枕
Jin dynasty [?]
Length: [front] 20.0 cm; [max] 25.5 cm;
Width: 17.8 cm;
Height: [front] 6.7 cm; [back] 10.3 cm;
926.21.140
The concaved surface of the pillow is incised with a five-toothed tool; thus, paralleling the border of the
pillow and framing a semicircular circuit. Within this circuit, a spray of three-calyx peony blossoms is
incised symmetrically adjacent to the middle axis. Each blossom is accompanied by two to three leaves. The
incising of the decorations appears to be clumsy and simple, only providing the silhouette of the blossoms
and leaves. The fashion of the pillow decoration might have suggested this pillow was targeted to the commoners’ purchasing market. The green-glazed vases and incense burners are often believed to be major altar stoneware dedicated to the religious and ancestral ceremonies. However, this pillow could indicate an exception that green-glazed stoneware were fired for the everyday use circulated and popularized among the society.

Cizhou ink-painting rectangular pillow with tiger design
白地黑花虎纹长方枕
Jin dynasty
Length: [front] 26.5 cm; [back] 28.0 cm
Width: 16.0 cm;
Height: [front] 9.0 cm; [back] 13.4 cm;
960.238.177
On the surface, five lines are drawn and paralleled with the border of the rectangular face; thus, framing another smaller inner rectangle to be painted. A circle of careless small circles are painted between the second and the third lines, seemingly to resemble the previous fish-roe background. The major motif on the surface is a tiger, ready to prey something on its left. The contour of the tiger is completed with various line-drawing, bold strokes on its claws, back, tail, head and stripes on its body, and subtle touches on its hairs. Its four limbs are so vividly portrayed that it is no doubt that viewers would assume its preying gesture. The front and back sides of the pillow are decorated with a spray of peony blossom and chrysanthemum respectively in a real-life depicting way. The painting on this pillow is rather fluent in terms of brush movements and ink applications of light and dark tones. Another special characteristic about this pillow is the kiln mark fired at the bottom encircled within one convex loop, which largely identifies the renowned workshop under the title of “古相张家造”, meaning “Made by Zhang Family at Guxiang”. The stamping of the kiln mark was rather popular for Cizhou wares, particularly on pillows, to publicize pillow sale at the marketplace. The choice of tiger motif is believed to have a rather long history, probably associating its mighty strength and prowess in woods with the belief that tigers have been auspicious animals and protecting the household from the evil spirits. The favor of tiger as décor can be witnessed from the decorative repertoire in the form of tomb figurines, spirit roads at cemetery, royal military emblems, and, of course, daily household necessities.

Cizhou cloud-shaped pillow with ink-painting design of “boy playing with duck”
磁州窑白地黑花“童子牧鸭”纹如意云头枕
Jin Dynasty
Length: 35.0 cm;
Width: 26.2 cm;
Height: 14.9 cm
918.21.393
This pillow is comparatively bigger than the average similar ones. A three-layered frame, paralleling the boarder of the cloud-shaped surface, is rendered with the inner and outer ones painted with thin lines and the middle in bold brushwork. Right in the center is a boy, having his hair tied up above his ears with ribbons. Loosely wearing a long-sleeved shirt decorated with circling patterns, the boy shows his chest and bellybutton. On top of his pants is an apron, tied up around his waist. The boy is holding a four-lobed waterlily leaf with 13 lines incised to resemble the leaf-vein and walking leisurely after a duck. The side walls of the pillow are painted with rather intensive grass scrolls in a cursive brushing way.

Cizhou cloud-shaped pillow with ink-painting design of “boy holding a water lily leaf”
磁州窑白地黑花“童子持荷”纹如意云头枕
Jin Dynasty
Length: 31.7 cm;  
Width: 39.0 cm  
Height: 13.5 cm;  
920.10.41
The contour of the concave topping slab, shaped in a cloud-head form, is paralleled by three loops in an array, with the outer and inner painted thinly and the middle boldly. Framed is a boy, whose hair is tied up into two chignons with ribbons above his ears. Wearing a rob with circle patterns and an apron tied in the front of his waist, the boy is bending a little bit forward, holding a large water lily leaf in his right hand, with 14-line incision resembling the leaf vein. The whole pillow is symmetrically molded, with a pointed tip at the top and six lobed arching sides. The pillow walls are painted with cursive grass scrolls with a rather coarse brush-work.

Cizhou octagonal pillow with ink-painting design of “boy playing with bird”
磁州窑白地黑花“童子戏鸟”纹八角枕
Jin Dynasty
Length: 30.0 cm;  
Width: 19.9 cm;  
Height: 11.0 cm  
960.238.176
Consisting of eight inner thin and outer bold lines respectively, two loops parallel the boarder of the pillow topping slab. A rather precisely schemed design is rendered here. Standing in the center of the pillow, a boy is stretching his two arms up in the air and luring a bird with baits in hand, which is flying toward him from the upper left. Wearing a short shirt and an apron in circle patterns, the boy is having his head shaved except the top and getting his hair tied up into a chignon with a ribbon. Although the brush work is briefly and
simply executed, all the details are carefully depicted so that the boy’s concentration on the bird is conveyed vividly through his dedicated facial expression.

Cizhou octagonal pillow with ink-painting design of peony spray
磁州窑白地黑花牡丹纹八角枕
Jin Dynasty
Length: 26.5 cm;
Width: 19.0 cm;
Height: 10.5 cm;
920.10.6
The contour of this octagonal pillow is framed with an array of three loops, with the outer and inner ones painted in thin lines and the middle in exaggeratedly bold lines. The concave topping slab is occupied with a spray of peony flower in its full blossom, stretching from left to right. Eight petals are encircling the central pistils. Attached onto the branch are four groups of small twigs, each of which consists of 3 leaves, painted in black and scratches with 5 lines to resemble the leaf veins. The eight sides are painted with 6 paired leaf-branches, facing oppositely.

Cizhou tiger-shaped pillow with ink-painting design of two magpies
磁州窑褐釉黑花“双喜”纹虎形枕
Jin Dynasty
Length: 35.1 cm;
Width: 17.4 cm;
Height: 9.3 cm;
926.21.101
Turning its head a little bit left, the pillow is vividly sculptured in the form of a crouching tiger, with its jaw resting on its paws and staring forward. The contour of the tiger is coated in light brown glaze and the details of its limbs and head are painted in black. The back of the tiger is supposedly flattened for the use of head resting, which is applied with a layer of white-slip and is then painted on top with the design of two magpies. Through the device of pun-play, the cultural connotation of the design, encompassing two magpies, is meant to offer the blessing of “double happiness”.

Radically different from the information gained from the photos from publications and gallery showcases from museum exhibitions, my hands-on experience from storage observation has granted me an extraordinary amount of findings, like the combed designs and the base interiors of leaf-shaped pillows, and has inspired me to deepen my thoughts on these technological details, which finally leads my research to some new discoveries that had never
been exposed and discussed from publications. Thus, the traces or residuals on ceramic pillows that can and do talk have enlightened and escalated my studies to a closer look onto the original contexts that I have been pursuing all the time.

In the meantime of my storage observations in ROM, I have done the measurements of all the pillows, sorted their motif categories and then got their categories rewritten. Hence, with a handful new data from my observations, I have reorganized these data and analyzed them with a closer association with potters’ techniques to interpret my preliminary inquiries in terms of pillow marketing popularity. Consequently, these data have manifested a more evident connection between potters’ craftsmanship and pillow production processes. Also, I have paid special attention to the surfaces of leaf-shaped pillows with combing background and traced the comb-like marks resulted from comb-like tools differentiated in the numbers of teeth, in order to explore more about artisans’ toolbox and the closer examination on the interior of the leaf-shaped pillows’ bases has enabled me to assume how these bases were molded, jointed and attached; thus, shedding light on the high-efficiency of molding techniques [Figure 2]. I have taken the measurements of leaf-shaped pillows in a rather detailed way, distinguishing the size, length, height at different parts or sections and including the circumference of the pillow bases and thickness of the topping slabs [Table 1]. All these data will finally contribute to the analyses on my presumptions of the standardized production-line. Then, I have categorized the ink-painted motifs on different sides of the pillow surface to differentiate the levels of painting difficulty in order to get a better understanding on motif execution done by masters and apprentices respectively [Table 3].

Although the selection of leaf-shaped and ink-painted Cizhou-ware pillows from ROM’s collection has come to a totality of 21 pieces, which is rather valuable and impressive, the unavoidable dilemma is that they have not covered the entire typological spectrum of Cizhou-ware pillows. Thus, the cross-reference, aided by the important publications which have encompassed the most typical samples and categories, is of great significance. With the help of such cross-referenced samples of ceramic pillows, on the one hand, ROM’s pillow collection can be sorted and periodized more precisely, more reasonably and more
scientifically in terms of its cultural affinity. Also, such cross-referenced comparisons, on the other hand, have raised some bold but rather novel thoughts, which definitely can be explored as my new academic attempts and will deepen my academic research even further in the future. So, the second category for my research is a pillow constellation from various publications [see Appendix B]. These examples are also composed of two decorative formats, i.e., incising and ink-painting. All of them are periodized with the temporal spectrum of Song, Jin and Yuan eras, when Cizhou-ware pillow manufacture experienced their prime time. And most of them were either manufactured at or excavated from ancient Cizhou-prefecture area, today’s Hebei and Henan provinces, represented by Guantai kiln aside Zhang River. All curatorial information about these referenced pillows is listed in the appendix at the end of my thesis.

In the meantime, I have gathered the measurements of leaf-shaped pillows [Table 2], the motifs on different sides of rectangular pillows, and the workshop stamps on pillow bottoms and made cross-references with the pillow categories from other museum collections and important publications. The collected data are aimed to make associations with my observations of the ROM pillow collection and to generate several hypotheses to be illustrated in detail in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Premised on these data, my research on the commercial characteristics of Cizhou-ware pillows will be examined from the following three aspects: the production, the technology, and the marketplaces.
Table 1. Measurements of Leaf-Shaped Pillows from ROM’s Collection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Access Number</th>
<th>Curative Title</th>
<th>Width(front)</th>
<th>Width(back)</th>
<th>Length(front-tip)</th>
<th>Height(front)</th>
<th>Height(back)</th>
<th>Circumference</th>
<th>Slab Thickness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>920.10.24</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>23.9cm</td>
<td>31.1cm</td>
<td>32.0cm</td>
<td>7.9cm</td>
<td>18.5cm</td>
<td>48.1cm</td>
<td>0.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>921.25.32</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>20.5cm</td>
<td>28.4cm</td>
<td>29.7cm</td>
<td>6.7cm</td>
<td>17.8cm</td>
<td>51.2cm</td>
<td>0.5cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.186</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>24.0cm</td>
<td>32.8cm</td>
<td>32.5cm</td>
<td>7.9cm</td>
<td>19.6cm</td>
<td>51.8cm</td>
<td>0.5cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.187</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>24.5cm</td>
<td>34.0cm</td>
<td>33.0cm</td>
<td>8.0cm</td>
<td>21.5cm</td>
<td>50.5cm</td>
<td>0.7cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.188</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>24.9cm</td>
<td>33.5cm</td>
<td>32.0cm</td>
<td>7.8cm</td>
<td>18.5cm</td>
<td>49.8cm</td>
<td>0.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.205</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>22.9cm</td>
<td>31.5cm</td>
<td>31.5cm</td>
<td>7.6cm</td>
<td>18.4cm</td>
<td>50.4cm</td>
<td>0.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>923.17.141</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>20.9cm</td>
<td>28.9cm</td>
<td>29.9cm</td>
<td>6.8cm</td>
<td>22.2cm</td>
<td>52.0cm</td>
<td>0.6cm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Access Number</th>
<th>Curative Title</th>
<th>Width(front)</th>
<th>Width(back)</th>
<th>Length(front-tip)</th>
<th>Height(front)</th>
<th>Height(back)</th>
<th>Circumference</th>
<th>Slab Thickness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>920.10.24</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>23.9cm</td>
<td>31.1cm</td>
<td>32.0cm</td>
<td>7.9cm</td>
<td>18.5cm</td>
<td>48.1cm</td>
<td>0.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>921.25.32</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>20.5cm</td>
<td>28.4cm</td>
<td>29.7cm</td>
<td>6.7cm</td>
<td>17.8cm</td>
<td>51.2cm</td>
<td>0.5cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.186</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>24.0cm</td>
<td>32.8cm</td>
<td>32.5cm</td>
<td>7.9cm</td>
<td>19.6cm</td>
<td>51.8cm</td>
<td>0.5cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.187</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>24.5cm</td>
<td>34.0cm</td>
<td>33.0cm</td>
<td>8.0cm</td>
<td>21.5cm</td>
<td>50.5cm</td>
<td>0.7cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.188</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>24.9cm</td>
<td>33.5cm</td>
<td>32.0cm</td>
<td>7.8cm</td>
<td>18.5cm</td>
<td>49.8cm</td>
<td>0.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.205</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>22.9cm</td>
<td>31.5cm</td>
<td>31.5cm</td>
<td>7.6cm</td>
<td>18.4cm</td>
<td>50.4cm</td>
<td>0.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>923.17.141</td>
<td>Porcelain leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret patterns</td>
<td>20.9cm</td>
<td>28.9cm</td>
<td>29.9cm</td>
<td>6.8cm</td>
<td>22.2cm</td>
<td>52.0cm</td>
<td>0.6cm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Motifs on Different Sides of Cizhou-Ware Ink-Painted Pillows (CUHK 1989; Zhang 2000; Zhang 2008: 3, Hebei-12, Henan-15, Shanxi).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top Slabs</th>
<th>Front Side</th>
<th>Back Side</th>
<th>Two Ends</th>
<th>Bottoms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image11.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image12.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image13.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image14.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image15.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image16.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image17.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image18.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image19.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image20.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image21.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image22.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image23.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image24.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image25.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image26.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image27.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image28.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image29.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image30.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2. Pillow details extracted from ROM's leaf-shaped pillow collection.
In this chapter, my focus has been laid on the Cizhou-ware pillow production and the analyses on the geographic environment and natural resources that Cizhou potters had manipulated, different workshops and possibly the guild associations that had been involved during pillow manufacture, and potters’ hierarchical composition that would shed light on their social status and identities.

Hence, in order to manifest the production situation of Cizhou-ware pillows, I’d like to examine the following three cases, through which detailed information, regarding the manufacturing material and potters’ workshops, could be revealed. Each case will be discussed specifically in terms of its own social connotation. Then, based on the case studies, my analyses and the corresponding interpretations will be forwarded so as to re-consider and examine the commercial characteristics of Cizhou-ware pillow manufacture, spanning over the late Northern Song and Jin periods.

Local Natural Resources: the Case of “Pillow Poem”
Uniquely, fired at Cizhou area during the end of Northern Song dynasty, an ink-painted ceramic pillow, donated by Mr. and Ms. Yang Yongde, a Hong Kong entrepreneur and antiquity connoisseur couple, and now housed at the Museum of the Mausoleum of the Nanyue King at
Guangzhou, features itself with a 261-character poem dedicated to the ceramic pillows (CUHK 1989) [Figure 3.]. The finely-composed poem not only manifests itself as a lousy appreciation for the use of this pillow, but also features the characterizations of the origin of the pillow and its associated anecdotes; more importantly, the manufacture of ceramic pillows has been implied with the sources of the biscuit clay, the transparent glaze, the firing fuel and the waterway of production and transportation.

Figure 3. Cizhou-type pillow with inscriptions of “Pillow Poem” (CUHK 1989).

The “Pillow Poem” quotes as the following:

“有枕于斯。制大庭之形, 含太古之素。产相州之地, 中陶人之度。分元之全, 名混沌之故。润琼瑶之光辉, 屏刺秀之文具。泥其钧而土干(其)质, 方其样而枵其腹。出虞舜河滨之窑, 绝不苦窳, 减伯益文武之火, 候以迟速。既入诗家之手, 忝置读书之屋。朗瑜珀华靡之属, 陋珊瑚贵之器, 聊以豫章之木。藏之若授圭, 出之如执玉。是时也, 火炽九天, 时惟三伏。开北轩下陈蕃之榻, 仆南薰簟春之竹。睡快诗人, 凉透仙骨。游黑甜之乡而神清, 梦黄粮之境而兴足。恍惚广寒之宫, 依稀冰雪之窟。凛然皂发之爽, 翱然炎蒸之萧。思圆木警学之勤, 乐仲尼曲肱之趣。庶不负大庭太故之物, 又岂特不困于烦暑之酷而已也。” (CUHK 1989)

“There is a proper pillow like this. [It should be ] fashioned in the form as Da Ting, the ancient emperor, had done and embodied the elegance of Tai Gu, the most ancient era. [Properly] crafted at Xiangzhou Prefecture, it is in accordance with potters’ standards…Lustrous with creamy glaze and embellished with embroidered garnishes, its clay is matured and the biscuit molded, leaving the interior hollow. 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. Once owned by the man of letter and placed in his study, it will shame the expensive and lavish vessels made out of coral or amber. [Out of question,] it attracts remote gazes and fascinates any close beholders. So beloved is it that any large jade disk or a big sum of gold will not be enough to make an exchange. [It ought to be] wrapped in a piece of satin fabricated in Shu and encased with the box made of fine wood from Yuzhang. It is reserved as the way jade gui is supposed to be. When the time is right as the hottest
days in summer, [the pillow will be placed on] a crouch-bed under the pavilion facing north and an array of bamboos locating at its south. A poet enjoys the coolness that penetrates into his sleep, while in his dream he wanders the Palace of Guanghan on the moon where chilly coldness envelops the entire his wanderings. His sleep is tied up with the anecdotes of Sima Guang and Confucius, the former known for using a piece of stout wood as pillow to alert his attention for his industrious studies and the latter known for being satisfied with sleeping on his crooked arm [to retain his virtuous poorness rather than being indulged in treasures]. Thus, such a plain pillow not only maintains the ancient elegance and humbleness but also rejects the unbearable summer heat.”

In terms of the first aspect, three pieces of the inscriptions apparently have indicated the popularity of the ceramic pillow’s purchase and use during the Song and Jin eras, since they were favored by all walks of life. Obviously, the best season to use these headrests was the summer time, when scorching heat was unbearable in particular. Within this poem, A fascinating scenario, describing that under an array of bamboos, a rattan bed was set, on which a ceramic pillow was placed on that bed, could be vividly visualized by a Song painting, “槐荫消夏图”, meaning ‘Summer Cooling under Pagoda Tree’.

Figure 4.
Painting of “Summer Cooling under Pagoda Tree”
Song Dynasty.
Anonymous.
Ink and color on silk.
Length: 28.5 cm;
Width: 25.0 cm;
Forbidden Palace Museum, Beijing. (Wu 1985-1986)

Based on the research that have been done by the climatologists, Zhu Kezhen, so far, China central plain had been experiencing an extreme hotness, spanning from the late Song dynasty to the early Yuan dynasty (Liu 1990). Therefore, it can be assumed that the pillow fever, evident from the booming pillow collections from various museums all over the world, could have been a resultant phenomenon caused by this exceptional climatic warmth. As a favorite summer cooling device, having a ceramic pillow became a trendy fashion and appreciations for the pillows’ usage and pleasure, consequently, were fabricated into many
forms, like this exquisitely-composed poem in this particular case. However, interestingly enough, the analogy of pillows compared with precious gems, like coral and amber, or other treasure, gold or jade, also implies that although the market prices of pillows might worth less than one hundredth- or one thousandth- that of a jade pendent, its practical value for cooling down at a heated summer night was, by contrast, not comparable or replaceable by those treasures. Meanwhile, what is even more interesting is that pillow, a private sleeping device very often hidden from the public gaze, gained its own aesthetic appreciation in the form of the decorative contents on the surfaces of pillows. Ceramic pillows, thus, were attained with profound embedment of secular blessings, such as wistfulness for newly-wed couples to have more male offspring and spiritual longings for literati to follow the footprints of sages and renowned Confucians. The references borne within the lines of “思圆木警学之勤，乐仲尼曲肱之趣” demonstrates the associations with Sima Guang’s hard-working youthhood and Confucius’ mental peacefulness (NBWY 2012).

Meanwhile, on the other hand, these inscriptions, if analyzed in detail, unveil the manufacturing processes and features. The combination of several lines exhibits an array of raw materials, which suggests that the core of pillow production could be demonstrated as the following equation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manufacture</th>
<th>Manufacture</th>
<th>glaze</th>
<th>painting pigment</th>
<th>fuel</th>
<th>waterway/river</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>location at</td>
<td>Xiangzhou</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5. Material information extracted from “Pillow Poem”.

Thus, what will be unfolded here are all the natural resources that had granted the possibility of ceramic pillows’ manufacture. The analytic interpretations will be forwarded from the following six aspects.
Clay.
To start, Xiangzhou, where ceramic pillows were fired, located at the intersectional area of present-day Linzhang, Hebei province, Anyang and Tangyin, Henan province (Hao et al. 2004) [see Figure 1]. It was the very kiln cluster where a great number of Cizhou-type kilns gathered and among them, as the most representative one, Guantai kiln was just adjacent to the north of Anyang County, Henan province (Hao et al. 2004). Clay from this area, bestowed with a strong plasticity, was especially suitable for the specially-molded pillow, since pillow firing required much stronger adhesivity to be fired for the primary biscuits in the shapes of leaf-form, bean-form or ingot-form, etc., at the early stage (Hao et al. 2004). Compared with the clay for firing bowls, plates, pots, or basins, which was easily molded and rounded on the spinning-wheel, the biscuits of pillows were hand-molded and piece-glued (Hao et al. 2004). The early stage of biscuit molding commenced after the clay was processed to get rid of impurities (Hao et al. 2004). Then, a large sheet of clay with even thickness, roughly measuring around 1 cm or so, according to the measuring results of the slabs of ROM’s leaf-shaped pillows, was often cut into different pieces with pre-designed sizes and shapes. After that, these pieces were glued together with the help of clay slurry, which were usually pasted onto the interior of the pillow. The strong plasticity successfully enabled the possibility that pillows in the special forms, such as infant figures, lions, tigers, crouching lady figures and alike, had been crafted (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997). This steady plasticity resulted from the incomparable adhesivity of clay in Cizhou area should be given great credit, as the production from Cizhou-type kilns lasting over 300 years had yielded a lot more ceramic pillows than any other kilns had done, regarding quantity, shape and decoration techniques (Wang 2004). Albeit throughout the history of ceramic pillow manufacture, many exquisite pillows were found among Ding wares and Yaozhou wares, yet, it was Cizhou-type kilns that renovated the pillow firing constantly, enriching their styles and advancing firing techniques, and that the pillow firing had summited through the end of Northern Song to Jin till Yuan dynasty (Wang 2004). In short, Cizhou clay’s geologic property for strong plasticity laid the preliminary foundation for maturing the biscuit formations.
Then, what are the characteristics of the clay in Cizhou area? The majority of the clay composition used in Cizhou-type kilns was Daqing clay, scattering near Guantai, Yezi, Dong’ai Kou, and the later Pengcheng areas within the geographical range of Taihang Mountains in large quantities of deposits (Hao et al. 2004). The large deposit quantity of Daqing clay was the decisive factor for the long-lasting manufacture of Cizhou-type wares (Hao et al. 2004). In terms of its physical property, due to its modest hardness, Daqing clay was easy to break and grind, which in turn means the ore processing cost less, especially when labor- and animal-forces were greatly involved in the processes of mining, transporting and clay-maturing (Wang 2004). On the other hand, the steady plasticity was an extraordinary merit in the biscuit shaping since, during the process of clay-drying, such steadiness also ensured the small ratio of shrinkage and the evaporation of water, contained within the clay, was minimized (Wang 2004). All in all, large deposits of Daqing clay with easier accessibility, accompanied with its remarkable plasticity and small possibility of shrinkage, finally contributed to the amazingly large-scale manufacture of ceramic pillows among all Cizhou ware categories. The economically convenient access to the major raw material was the fundamentally important reason why Cizhou pillows’ were so considerably affordable that they could have widespread in the marketplaces.

Slip.

Compared with the clay of Ding wares, fascinatingly thin and in an alluring whiteness or ivory white, what cannot be denied is that the flaw of the Cizhou wares existed in the clay, greyish or dark grey or dirty white. To amend such flaw and pursue the market favor, a technique borrowed from Yaozhou wares and Tongguan wares, a thin layer of white slip was applied onto the surfaces of the pillow biscuits, measuring merely 1 millimeter in thickness or even thinner, but resulting in a pure appearance in whiteness or ivory-whiteness (Wang 2004). Such slip came from white alkali-ores, ground and dissolved with water; however, it was this layer of slip that actually contributed to the long-lasting firing history of Cizhou wares and laid the ground for the Cizhou potters to exert their decorating craftsmanship (Wang 2004). The
mining of this slip-clay was rather convenient, since slip deposits distributed close to Daqing clay in paralleling layers (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997). 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 (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997). The further inference, thus, can be drawn that, the moment that such slip-ores were mined, they were ground finely and then processed locally. Once again, the easy accessibility of slip-ores implies that Cizhou wares were relatively cheap in production costs, regarding the expenses on raw material and labor-consuming transportation. And, what can be similarly assumed is that the pillow manufacture had been taking such local geographic merits of the crucial raw material used for firing biscuits and coating slip.

Fuel.

Meanwhile, if paying extra attention, we will be informed by the fact that the associated mineral beds of Daqing clay were the layers of coal mines (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997). Then, another question occurs to us whether the potters of Song era had learned to deploy coal as the firing fuel? The answer is positive. It is recorded in several historical literary gazetteers that Guantai area had large and fine coal deposits, locating at the foot of Taihang mountains, 50 miles west to Cizhou (Liu 1990). Also, in terms of its quantity, a Qing scholar, Liu Jinzao, recorded in his research that the annual yield from the local thirteen coal mines was around thirty to forty thousand tons, which was a remarkably important quantity from that concurrent production condition (Liu 1990). Along with the historical literary records, archaeological finds at Guantai site also echoed the use of coal as the firing fuel (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997)[Figure 6.].
Because of the use of coal, several concerns should be stressed. Firstly, based on the research done by the modern scholar, Qin Dashu, a technically adjusted structure was refined for the kiln furnace with a domed roof, aka maotou yao, so that the smoke channel could adapt to the ventilation since the process of coal burning often generated a longer heating duration while the fire flame was smaller compared to the condition when woods were burned as fuel source. Secondly, the less use of saggar boxes were witnessed, which means larger firing spaces were created and a rather shorter firing duration was experienced, which in turn, on the one hand, decreased the production cost; while, on the other hand, required more exquisite craftsmanship in controlling the firing temperature² ([WBWH] 1984; Zhao 2004). Thirdly, the adoption of coal as the exclusively major fuel implies that Cizhou potters fashioned their firing techniques like the control over kiln temperature and the construction of kilns’ interior layout and height; by these means, their economic concerns over minimizing consumption costs and maximizing profitable earnings were definitely the driving-forces behind all these technological alterations.

Pigment.

---

² In Qin's research, he has explained that the adoptions of local coal as firing fuel urged the further refinement on the dome-shaped kiln that popularized in the north of China. He has iterated the longer duration of coal-burning and the thicker walls of kilns contributed to the faster processes of heating and cooling, which consequently secured the production quality.
The most renowned representative type of Cizhou pillows were those ink-painted ones, resembling greatly the Song paintings with white slipped surface acting as the rice-paper and iron-ore as the pine-soot ink. Here, after being ground very finely, the iron-ore, a natural iron-compound, yielded an expressive outcome of blackness or dark-brownness, which depended on the proportions of iron element. Luckily for Cizhou potters, these iron-ores were easily spotted near river banks, hilly ground and slopes of local mountains (Hao et al. 2004). The use of such iron-ores as black or dark-brown pigment was found in deposits piled at the archaeological excavation sites, which indicates these iron-ores were transported to individual kilns and then processed on situ (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997). The preparation of such black pigment was made at hand and probably by apprentices, since this process was rather easy to conduct. The locally-processed pigment was also an advantage that Cizhou potters discovered and devised neatly, based on the easy availability granted from their geographic surroundings.

Glaze.

Since the 1987’s archaeological excavations do not involve any evident finds on green glaze and sancai glaze, in this article, the focus will be concentrated on the transparent or colorless glaze only, which also represents the largest proportion of glaze applications. 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 (Wang 2004). The glaze-ores, finely-ground into powder and evenly-dissolved with water, could be used onto the surfaces of the slip-coated biscuits directly. However, it is interesting for me to know that this transparent glaze fired for all the white wares in various Cizhou kilns was not processed in individual kiln respectively (Liu 1990). Rather, when they were mined at Shuiye county, they were instantly processed by the local miners and then the ready-made glaze products were pre-ordered and loaded and delivered to their secondary destinations of workshops, scattered at different kilns across the present-day Hebei and Henan areas mainly (Liu 1990). The radical distinction between the local manufacture of biscuit clay or white slip
and the purchase of the processed and ready-made glaze was an evident proof, demonstrating that, from the processing of raw material to the purchasing of ready-made material, the nature of this pillow production chain had been evolving constantly. Or, in other words, in the long run or from the perspective of mass production, the shorter durations of preparing the material represents the higher maturity of material processing, the more promising quality guaranteed and, more importantly, the lower production costs resulted and the higher marketing profits benefited (Liu 1990). Plus, such proof verifies the regional economy featured with ceramic production or associated material processing industries had been matured at that time.

Waterway and water resource.

The pillow firing and transportation could not be done without water. On the one hand, almost all the raw material needed water to function as the dissolving agent, including the fermentation of the biscuit clay and the preparations of the slip-slurry and painting pigment. Not mention the animal-driven stone rollers, which saved a great amount of human labor work at the manufacturing sites. On the other hand, the finalized products required waterway as the major means to be loaded and shipped to their final marketplaces. Compared to the limited cart-load capacity on land and the chances to get ceramics damaged, waterways, undoubtedly, demonstrated a strong merit regarding the concerns for much larger loads and safer long-distance transportations.

Therefore, the Zhang River, winding its way close to Guantai area, provided the most ideal water source for intensive production and large shipment (Ma 2006)(see Figure 1). The local gazetteer has described the navigating course in detail that “the Zhang River flows from the west of the Shrine of Ximen Bao, passing by the west side of Marching Terrace of Zhao, and winds its way northward, joined by the Fu River, and then turns east towards Qiu county and heads its way to the northeast, passing by the Lieren county and Quzhou county, and finally makes itself flow over the Julu county” (Ma 2006). It is highly possible that such inner-land waterway of Zhang River facilitated the shipping vehicles and delivered large loads of fragile ceramic wares, absolutely these pillows included, to different towns and counties
along this waterway. It is also necessary to cite the historical records in order to prove that the later decline of Cizhou ceramic production during the late Yuan dynasty might have very close association with the disastrous floods on Zhang River, which made the paddle-boats’ navigation extremely impossible.\(^3\) (Wang 2004).

**Commercial Publicizing: the Case of Workshop Stamps**

Having crafted the ink-painted pillow with ‘Pillow Poem’ inscriptions, the abovementioned “Shouming” was actually a head-master from a renowned pillow-firing kiln located aside Zhang River, who probably established his well-known brand among the marketplace by the means of his recognized making and firing techniques. The bell-shaped stamp with inscriptions of “王氏寿明” represents a publicizing logo that he attempted to advertise, promote and seek for an even wider range of consumers. Along with the sales and purchases of his pillows, which had been stamped with his workshop logo, was the geographical expansion of this daily commodity. Here, the workshop mark is very much like the printed advertisement brochures or commercials on TV or promotion slogans carried on public transportations nowadays. Their expanded circulation in different geographic regions accelerated their reputation and commercialization recognized by the public.

“Shouming” was definitely not the only or the first case to have himself engaged in this commercial device. Many more evidence can be spotted from various sources. The most vivid one is the long scroll-painting, entitled with “清明上河图”, “*Going up the River on Qingming Festival*”, depicting the urban scenic streetscapes of Bianliang, the capital of Northern Song, which was attributed to Zhang Zeduan a Northern Song court painter. Rather interestingly, what the viewers have constantly encountered are a great variety of inns, taverns, teahouses, restaurants, snack-stands, and all kinds of shops, etc.. And, frequently, appearing everywhere is their logos, in the forms of inscribed boards, banners and flags, impressive not only to us today, but also to the contemporary Song populace, including stationed troops, diplomatic

---

\(^3\) Wang Xing has recorded in his book the literary source from *元史, History of Yuan Dynasty*, that there had been 16 floods burst in Cizhou area from the fourth year of Zhongtong reign(1201A.D.) to the seventeenth year of Zhizheng reign(1357A.D.), which deteriorated the Zhang River and no boats could navigate.
delegations, monks, street beggars, imperial examination would-be candidates, court officials promoted to or demoted from the imperial court, porters on boats, dancing and singing girls at entertaining centers and alike. For instance, a clinic opened up by a retired imperial physician, Dr. Zhao; a butcher shop owned by Sun’s family selling lamb in particular; sacrificial items for ancestral worshipping sold at Wang’s store; a cloth-shop specialized of satin and silk by Yang’s family; a tavern run by a gentry named Wang and frequented by imperial exam candidates; and an incense-store with monopolized official-permit granted to Liu’s family specifically, etc. [ Figure 7 ].

Figure 7. Detailed visual evidences of various shops with boards and banner inscribed with shop names on the painting of “Going up the River on Qingming Festival”, attributed to Zhang Zeduan, Northern Song dynasty. Forbidden Palace Museum, Beijing. (Wu 1985-1986)

The enormously prosper streetscapes crowded by various shops and highlighted by the logo banners exhibit a rather advanced commercial society, where “Shouming of Wang’s Family” might have his pillows favored and purchased. In fact, potters and their kilns scattered around the Zhang River near Cixian area were far more than we have come across so far. The aforementioned rectangular pillow painted in black with a tiger motif from ROM’s collection bears another workshop mark, “古相张家造”, literally meaning “Made by Zhang Family at Ancient Xiang Prefecture”, which indicates another famous pillow production kiln with an even
longer firing history.

So far, workshop inscriptions and stamps borne on the Cizhou-ware pillows, either from museums or private collections, have totaled a dozen or more (CUHK 1989; Zhang 2000; Zhang 2008:3,12,15)[Figure 8].

![Figure 8. Stamped marks of workshop names on the Cizhou-ware pillow bottoms (Chinese University of Hong Kong 1989; Zhang 2000; Zhang 2008:3. Hebei-12. Henan-15. Shanxi).](image)

British Museum now, whose topping slab is inscribed with “家国永安”, literally meaning “Home and Country in Perpetual Peace”, was actually fired by a Zhao family-kiln originated from Yedi, Zezhou county in present-day Shanxi province. The phenomenon that so many a pottery kiln were engaged to retain their reputation and commit to advertise their products should have been driven by two conscious intents: on the one hand, they were strongly confident in the quality of their pillow products; on the other hand, they were actively aware of the profitable merits of commercial advertisement. While, in turn, what can be assumed from this commercial promoting means, fascinatedly adopted by so many potters at their workshops is that commercialization had already popularized in that concurrent society.

However, the radical differentiation should be drawn here to distinguish the workshop marks on pillow bottoms from the artisans’ marks spotted on the artifacts made in Spring and Autumn period, Warring States period, and Qin and Han dynasties, under the censorship of “物勒工名” that artifacts must be inscribed with foremen’s names (Kesner 1995). For instance, in 1974, more than 8000 life size terra cotta soldiers, horses and chariots were excavated from three pits at the site of mausoleum of Qin Shihuangdi in Shaanxi province. Nearly 20 different artisans’ names were inscribed on these clay warriors’ torsos, implying the identities of the artisans who were in charge of the production of these separate component parts (Kesner 1995)[ Figure 9. ].

Figure 9. Foremen’s names found on terra cotta warriors, the Mausoleum of Qin Shihuangdi, Xi’an, Shaanxi Province (Kesner 1995) .
Apparently, this was the call for the quality control, compulsory for such extremely colossal-scaled imperial mission. These artisans, varying from court foremen to regional conscribed labors, had been recruited and assigned along the producing and assembling lines. In order to secure the quality of the finalized integral components, head-potters were instructing, overseeing and cruising over the designated production process, and were urged to inscribe their names to approve the production quality on the agreed standards. Then, if any errors occurred, by tracing the inscribed identities, necessary adjustment would be adopted to guarantee the future manufacture and certain artisans would be punished to fasten precautions.

Yet, this was not the exact situation in Cizhou-ware pillow firing. The inscriptions on the terra cotta warriors were the quality approvals, and their owners were conscribed and enslaved in the form of corvee, many of whom were later buried alive for knowing the tomb corridors’ positions and the location of the emperor’s mausoleum. It is radically different in nature that the artisans’ craftsmanship was a corveed obligation, through which they retained their basic living of food and clothes.

What happened in kilns scattered around Cixian area was far beyond that. Each pillow inscribed with workshop mark represents the manifestation of commercial promotion in the marketplace and fulfill the mission of bringing about monetary profits for the artisans. Surely, this is also exchange; however, it was no longer in exchange for basic living as the foreman manufacturing terra cotta warriors had done, but in exchange for the pursuit of more personal wealth granted by the prosperity of Song’s commercial society at the time. The economic connotation infused within the workshop stamps, represents the nature of the maturely commercialized Song’s society and the thorough penetration of such commercialization deep into every economic field. Meanwhile, workshop stamps bearing different surnames also trigger the concerns on this ceramic manufacture industry, such as the management and governance. Abundant illustrations on guilds and markets were described in Records of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital and Records of Dreaming Bianliang to articulate the associated guild system (Meng 2010; Wu 1980; Xu 2007). With this autonomous governance operating, the authoritative usually took charge of the regulations agreed upon and oversaw the
negotiations back and forth for setting prices and administrating personnel (Deng and Qi 1988).

A Song’s vernacular tale narrates a story of a gentleman’s daughter made her revenge to the shop-boy who worked in her father’s teashop and got fired for stealing his master’s money often (Yang 2008). The shop-boy’s notorious behavior was reported to the local guild of tea business, and, as a result, he was refused to be offered a job ever since his former master had reported his stealing to the guild association and finally became a vagrant and ended up with robbing the gentleman’s money and murdering his son (Yang 2008). The narrative backdrop shows a regulated handicraft industry in the field of tea business, where the shop-boy was fired not only by his boss, but also was rejected by all the business peers. Such punishment reveals the matured autonomous management, to a certain extent, had been reached. A collection of various workshop stamps on ceramic pillows have adequately ascertained the clusters of workshops existing, small or big in size; yet, meanwhile, competitions were unavoidable. However, it can also be assumed plausible that certain guild overseeing ceramic firing business either made adjustments on prices or prevented vicious competitions or executed inter-business punishments on the offenders.

Hired Hands: the Case of Inscriptions on the Tomb Brick at Guantai Kiln Site
The archaeological finds at Guantai kiln site at Cixian, present-day Hebei province, conducted by the Archaeological Team of Beijing University in 1989, encompass a fascinating body of material evidences, among which a tomb brick excavated in Tomb 4 quite interests me (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997) [Figure 10.]. The inscriptions, bearing the information of date and location, certainly sheds light on our further understandings in terms of the tomb owner within the concurrent dynastic backdrop; however, some undertones inferred from the writing body of sixty-six characters have stimulated more concerns beyond this old woman’s burial and, thus, have provided us more about the circumstances of Cizhou potters and the kilns where they had been working.
The full inscriptions quote here,

“宣和元年十二月十一日 本镇寄住妇人阿李 状伏为有母阿王年六十九岁于今月初十日夜因身患死家贫别无依倚 伏乞情愿葬漏泽园本园收乞乙丑第七号葬讫” (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997)

“On the eleventh day of the twelfth month of the first year of Xuanhe (1119 A.D.),
the woman A Li, guest-residing in our town, proclaims that her sixty-nine year old mother, A Wang, died of illness at home on the night before. Due to the poverty and lacking family reliance, the petition from A Li to have her mother buried at Lou Ze Yuan is accepted and A Wang is thus buried at the No. 7 pit among the Yichou Group.”

The minute information retrieved from this piece displays the following personal situations of A Li and her mother A Wang, yet, meanwhile also raises our concerns on certain historical background of this burial site. Firstly, regarding the family of A Li, it is sure that they were not from the local Guantai town and did not include any male member, which might need further interpretations on their living means and occupations. Then, another concern is about the nature of the governmental association, named “Lou Ze Yuan”, through which A Li, the daughter, was able to turn for help and finally her mother’s burial was charged and accomplished for free.

In order to look into this event closely, it is necessary to take a look at the scale of the grave sites of “Lou Ze Yuan” at Guantain town dating back to the Northern Song period. Guantai town, located southwest to Cixian, after which the ancient Cizhou-kiln was named,
had been a cluster of various kilns grouped and known as Cizhou-type wares, particularly during the Song, Jin and Yuan dynastic eras, roughly from the 11th to the 14th centuries (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997). The tomb brick, excavated from the tomb of the old woman, A Wang, in 1989, was from the northwestern corner of this cemetery site (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997). Official burial sites in the charge of the governmental association, Lou Ze Yuan, totalized in fifteen during the late Northern Song period specifically, consisting of four sites from Daguan reign (1107-1110 A.D.), nine from Zhenghe (1111-1118 A.D.), and two from Xuanhe (1119-1125 A.D.) (Zhang 2015). Despite the tomb owners were of both genders and various ages, the majority of tomb occupants was commoners, born out of Cixian prefecture, came and resided here to make a living. Incapable of affording the burials, their families or friends placed a petition towards the local administrative bureau and got their grave yard settled.

To sort the multiple layers of the meanings of this archaeological find is to explore the original intent of the “Lou Ze Yuan” grave site and thereby its social significances. So, what is “Lou Ze Yuan”? The first literal record of “Lou Ze Yuan” appeared, in the third year of Yuanfeng reign (1050 A.D.) during Emperor Shenzong of Northern Song (1048-1085 A.D.), in the documentary piece from “宋会要”, Song Dynasty Manuscript Compendium (Deng and Qi 1988). Apparently, the establishment of “Lou Ze Yuan” was out of the consideration that the Shenzong imperial court felt sympathetic towards those whose bodies were exposed in the open air and, thus, issued the edict and allotted the official lands as grave yards, hence, managed to have the poor, either widowed or aged or childless, to be buried at some barren area under the name of “Lou Ze Yuan” (Zhang 2015). To fully operate this organization, counties and towns were designated with specific clerical posts and supervising inspectors (Zhang 2015). Later, such charitable activities were stabilized and conventionalized during the reign of Huizong (1082-1135 A.D.) (Deng and Qi 1988).

Then, according to 宋史, History of the Song Dynasty, such historical convention originated from the reign of Shenzong, when the edict was issued. Given the circumstance that the temples around Kaifeng prefecture were lodged with coffins, whose owners were too poor
and incapable of purchasing a burial site, monks were appointed to take in charge of some barren lands covering 3-5 Qin and later would be promoted with official titles and purple robes of prestige once three thousand or more homeless or widowed populace were settled in their grave sites⁴ (Deng and Qi 1988). Then, till the emperorship of Huizong, when Cai Jing (1047-1126 A.D.) was holding the positon of the prime minister, he advocated such scattered burial sites into systemized grave yards (Zhang 2015).

Based on the aforementioned historical document piece, several streams of thoughts should be emphasized again to observe the significances of the conventionalized grave yards under the name of “Lou Ze Yuan”. First of all, it was a specific governmental institute and supervised by specifically appointed officials, usually monks or nuns. Not only did Song court have them recruited into the officialdom, but also official lands with certain acreage were allotted to the specific organization for the burial use. Also, the standard of tombs with certain measurements had been regulated to make sure the corps of the dead would not be exposed or damaged. Then, Song court even sent out cruising inspectors to keep an eye on such issues so that the regulated operation of these charitable grave yards would be guaranteed. And last but not least, the service was targeted at the commoners living in the counties or towns with one thousand households or so.

Therefore, by revealing the petty traces within this archaeological find of tomb brick inscribed with the backdrop of the tomb owner, some historical contexts related to the ceramic industry at Cizhou kiln in Guantai area could be anchored.

To begin with, the establishment of “Lou Ze Yuan” yard indicates that the estimated population of Cixian kiln of Northern Song era should be around ten thousand people, or more than one thousand households (Zhang 2015). Such estimation is premised on the demographic studies done by the modern scholar, Cheng Minsheng, that the average of family members of Northern Song should be 8-10 persons per household (Cheng 2013). Such demographic estimation should lead us to the primary inference that, as the pillar industry at Guantai was the ceramic manufacture, the majority of the local population should be potters or artisans in

⁴ 3-5 Qin is roughly equivalent to 100,000 – 170,000 m².
correlated workshops, like the coal mining or raw material processing, etc.,. The profound ratio of potters and other artisans would push us to the further inference that a great number of migrating people travelled from the outside of Guantai town and, then, resided here because of the prosperous ceramic-firing industry. A Li was a vivid example among them. The inscriptions of her mother’s tomb brick suggest that A Li was not a single case, yet, on the contrary, migrating artisans like A Li were so commonplace that a specific burial yard was sponsored by the local government to take care of these guest-residing artisans. The significant possibility of migrating artisans could also be proved from the tomb number labelled as the seventh pit of the second group, maybe, by the end of the year 1119 (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997). Due to the flourishing ceramic manufacture at Guantai, many an artisan were appealed to gather here and worked at different positions along the manufacturing processes. The industrial and commercial distributions consolidate the fact that, during the Song era, Cizhou area was rather famous for its manufactures of magnet, iron and ceramics (Xu 2007). It was just because of the economic characteristics that featured Guantai town and its potters and other correlated artisans came from far away and settled down here, exerting their skills and craftsmanship in exchange for their living.

Secondly, the appearance of migrating artisans was largely the result from the increasingly loosening ties between peasants and the farmlands. Due to the rapid development and adaptation of iron farming tools, the farmlands yielded more than before and larger amounts of deserted lands were transformed into arable ones and the growing number of Song’s population was promised (Deng and Qi 1988). While, on the other hand, since the easy accesses to purchasing lands accelerated the transferring of land ownership and the growing number of population in rural areas encountered the decreasing possibilities to retain one’s farming lands, which finally caused more and more peasants to have winded their way into towns to make a living (Deng and Qi 1988). What should also be taken into account is that the abolishment of Tang’s ward-system and two limited marketplaces, in the East and the West respectively, was definitely stimulated by the booming of urban commercialization and the flooding population into towns and cities, either to make a living or to seek a shelter. In turn,
this brought about even more labor migrations and, in Guantai town’s case, more potters and correlated artisans or odd-job men and women to move here. A Li could have been one of these hired helpers. To some extent, freelance labors and their skills functioned as a commodity that could be negotiated and traded rather than a tax-share that artisans had been conscribed for during the previous Tang society.

Then, in terms of women artisans, although we are not sure of the exact number and situation of women employees in various kilns or pottery workshops around Guantai town, it is still supposedly to infer A Li, mentioned by the inscribed tomb brick, to be a hired hand or even a greater possibility exist that she be a potter herself. Chances are those dedicated incisions on ceramic pillows fired at the Cizhou kilns could have be executed by those dexterous female hands, holding thin, pointy bamboo or metal knives and concentrating on those rather time- and labor- consuming executions of incision designs and even cautious refinements for details.

Literary records and narrations about brokers were repeatedly witnessed in *Records of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital* and *Records of Dreaming Bianliang*, in which various jobs were taken by women, who were introduced through the job agents, some of whom were even women themselves (Meng 2010; Wu 1980). Meng Yuanlaoh recalled the circumstances in Bianliang, present-day Kaifeng, by the end of Northern Song period in his book, *Records of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital*, that whenever any labor or temporary hired hands or chefs were needed, a senior consultant in certain related guild was first to turn for (Meng 2010). Also, if looking for any maid or female helpers, one would be referred to professional job brokers. Additional evidence can be spotted in Wu Zimu’s *Records of Dreaming Bianliang*, in which various workshops with greater refined labor divisions were mentioned. Meanwhile, a great variety of odd-jobs were listed, some of which were labor-consuming, some caution-requiring (Wu 1980). It is quite believable that women helpers were favored to accomplish some minute tasks involving carefulness and petty fingers, such as embroidery, sewing, laundry as well as cooking, or family chores alike. Nevertheless, it is rather presumable that economically prosperous marketplaces were encompassing all sorts of
commodities, among which labor and, especially skills, became a purchasable product, delivered by various hired hands. The occurrence of female brokers once again made it rather reasonable that the openness of job-markets had more and more women participating and/or participated within this arena. Thus, the inference that, in order to support her mother and herself, A Li, very likely a woman potter, was working in some workshop at Guantai town, assigned with tasks of preparing the pillow slabs and incising the designs with her cautious skills, could be established.

Although the official foreman-ranking system cannot be fully applied onto the artisans working at private kiln sites, it is still certain that their working capabilities and technical hardship of their specific tasks would be the major determinants to make the differentiations in accordance with their wages. For instance, 作头, meaning ‘Head Foremen’ and 都作头, meaning ‘Chief Foremen’, even superior to the former, were promoted from skillful foremen and took charge of the technological responsibilities in the field of handicrafts; while 都料匠, meaning ‘Chief Supplier’, working just like the civil engineers nowadays, were responsible for the design and supervision of projects (Deng and Qi 1988).

In conclusion, the three case studies are all deployed to manifest the pillow production from several perspectives, either the potters’ exploration onto local natural resources, or workshop trademarks stamped for quality guarantee and market publicizement, or the tomb brick identifying the artisan’s social status. Nevertheless, my analytic articulations on pillow manufacture, on the one hand, have sought for the means that Cizhou potters manipulated to deduce production expenditure and to secure products’ quality; on the other hand, have enlightened the possibility of certain guilds or professional organizations that had facilitated the governance over potters and the welfare-bliss projects for them as well. These plural forces functioned collaboratively and constructed the contextual backdrops for us to get a big picture when we intend to understand the technological refinement and advancement in the next chapter.
Chapter 6. Techniques

The major aims of this chapter are targeted at analytic examinations and corresponding interpretations in terms of different technological devices, including the use of standardized molds and sketchy copes, and the refined labor divisions between maters and apprentices, regarding raw material processing and biscuit preparations and motif executions painted with a quite wide range of décor repertoire. My analyses will be unfolded from the following three aspects, i.e., the similar measurements, the mechanism of sketches and the mechanism of master-and-apprentice cooperation.

Bursting Production Efficiency
For long, the focus of ceramics studies have been concentrated on the typology of wares, either the shape or the glaze or motifs; if the focus range of collection examination has ever been expanded, users or patrons, usually the royal families commissioned the firing of these tributary of official kilns, were examined; or, in another case, residents or consumers at the coastal foreign markets along the marine course, where the ceramic foreign trade and exportation happened, were also examined. But, in rare cases, the potters themselves were under the study scope. Thus, in my research, potters and their technical strategies are to be explored; meanwhile, through the agent role played by potters, the economic and social circumstances will be also associated to unveil the stories behind pillow firing.
Let’s first go back to the “Pillow Poem” discussed in the previous chapter, within which the details will demonstrate another equation that could be used to figure out some steps involved at manufacture workplace. The formula goes as the following:

\[
\text{“出虞舜河滨之窑”} = \text{“方其样”} + \text{“枵其腹”} + \text{“漳滨逸人制”} + \text{“王氏寿明”}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cihzou-type molding assembling pieces stamping the name of</th>
<th>Kilns the slabs together, but leaving the inside hollow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Figure 11. Pillow producing steps extracted from “Pillow Poem”.

Several of brief, but necessarily important, steps are shown here with focuses on the molding, the piece-assembling and the workshop-marking to manifest the major process of the ceramic pillow making. Yet, much more details would be added in order to achieve the entire producing successfulness. To mold slabs means to designate the final forms intended, either bean-shaped, leaf-shaped, or in the form of tiger or ingot, or, rather another popular one later, rectangular in shape. To achieve this, a certain large clay board was cut into designated shapes with different sizes, or shaped in ready-made molds. The hollow inside of pillows indicated that different pieces were assembled together tightly through the aids of adhesive material. Also, pillow manufacture prevailed in certain kilns among the Cizhou-ware system, and the marks of workshops, as in the case of “Pillow Poem” was inscribed “王氏寿明”, meaning ‘Shouming of Wang’s Family’, were stamped on the pillow bottom; or anonymous colophon “漳滨逸人制”, meaning ‘an idle fellow residing on the bank of Zhang River’, was inscribed on the pillow top in this particular case. All contribute to the conventional circumstances that potters were proud and active in promoting their products by advertising their brands and workshop locations. By deepening the investigation and observing the pillows in ROM collection, some steps along the pillow-making process gradually become visible; thus, the more refined labor division along the production-line and the technical innovations of the ceramic craftsmanship can be interpreted. The manufacture of pillows should have commenced
from the biscuit molding.

The Song, Jin and Yuan periods had been witnessing a booming favor in ceramic pillows and gargantuan demands from commodity marketplaces urged the speeding efficiency of pillow manufacture. To illustrate such production advancement, I select all the leaf-shaped pillows from ROM collection and those, excavated in Guantai kilns scattered around Cixian area and later housed at and published by various museums, as samples and when I examine their measurements comparatively, a rather interesting inspiring phenomenon presents.

To start, let’s take a look at clay. Compared with the regular forms, such as plates, bowls, jars or basins, which were easily shaped and rounded with the spinning of a potter’s wheel, all pillows would be assumed as irregular since they could never be thrown onto the spinning-wheel and regulated along with its spinning movement. Therefore, all ceramic pillows were piece-molded by potters individually. However, it is still noteworthy that certain modules were manipulated to simplify this process and standardize the sizes and forms. First of all, a large lump of clay was matured with a rolling rod to squeeze the air within the clay and, as a result, the clay itself became more adhesive and durable in firing. Then, the clay was flattened into a large piece with approximately 0.5-0.9 centimeter in thickness. Next, as designated plans, pieces of clay were pressed tightly in separate molds of different parts of the pillow body, which were always applied to special shapes, like tiger-shaped and crouching-lady-shaped ones, etc.. Or, pieces of flattened clay board were cut in accordance with different sizes and shapes with metal knives and drills, and such applications fit into the formation of bean-shaped, rectangular or octagonal, leaf-shaped pillows. Then, different pieces would be glued together to mature a pillow biscuit.
Table 1: Measurements of Leaf-Shaped Pillows from ROM’s Collection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Access Number</th>
<th>Curative Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>920.10.21</td>
<td>Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>921.21.232</td>
<td>Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with 'lotus and egret' motifs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.186</td>
<td>Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.187</td>
<td>Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.188</td>
<td>Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of lotus spray and combed background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.204</td>
<td>Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised character &quot;忍&quot; and combed background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.205</td>
<td>Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with a cloud-shaped medallion and incised design of peony spray and combed background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>923.17.70</td>
<td>Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>923.17.141</td>
<td>Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Access Number</th>
<th>width(front)</th>
<th>Width(back)</th>
<th>Length(front-tip)</th>
<th>Height(front)</th>
<th>Height(back)</th>
<th>Circumference</th>
<th>Slab Thickness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>920.10.21</td>
<td>23.0cm</td>
<td>32.0cm</td>
<td>29.7cm</td>
<td>18.5cm</td>
<td>18.5cm</td>
<td>48.1cm</td>
<td>0.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>921.21.232</td>
<td>20.5cm</td>
<td>28.4cm</td>
<td>29.7cm</td>
<td>19.6cm</td>
<td>19.6cm</td>
<td>51.2cm</td>
<td>0.5cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.186</td>
<td>24.0cm</td>
<td>32.0cm</td>
<td>33.0cm</td>
<td>21.5cm</td>
<td>21.5cm</td>
<td>50.5cm</td>
<td>0.7cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.187</td>
<td>24.5cm</td>
<td>32.5cm</td>
<td>33.0cm</td>
<td>22.0cm</td>
<td>22.0cm</td>
<td>50.5cm</td>
<td>0.7cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.188</td>
<td>24.5cm</td>
<td>32.5cm</td>
<td>33.0cm</td>
<td>18.5cm</td>
<td>18.5cm</td>
<td>49.8cm</td>
<td>0.5cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.204</td>
<td>20.5cm</td>
<td>29.7cm</td>
<td>30.7cm</td>
<td>22.0cm</td>
<td>22.0cm</td>
<td>52.0cm</td>
<td>0.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922.20.205</td>
<td>24.0cm</td>
<td>36.5cm</td>
<td>36.5cm</td>
<td>22.3cm</td>
<td>22.3cm</td>
<td>54.5cm</td>
<td>0.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>923.17.70</td>
<td>22.4cm</td>
<td>34.0cm</td>
<td>33.3cm</td>
<td>22.2cm</td>
<td>22.2cm</td>
<td>52.0cm</td>
<td>0.5cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>923.17.141</td>
<td>20.9cm</td>
<td>28.9cm</td>
<td>30.9cm</td>
<td>17.8cm</td>
<td>17.8cm</td>
<td>58.7cm</td>
<td>0.5cm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Demonstrated in the table, the data on the thickness of pillows’ slabs, ranging from 0.5 to 0.9 cm with the average around 0.7 cm, indicates the evenness of each slab was resulted from the dedicated clay maturing process. Also, the symmetrical layout of leaf shape implies, without a designated module, such symmetrical curves and arc lines from the tip to the two ends of the pillow front-side, would not have been cut in perfection. Chances are that potters utilized a wood module in the shape of a leaf trimmed carefully and that, by placing this wooden frame on top of that clay board and cutting along the silhouette of leaf-shaped mold, potters, then, got an array of similar- or even same-sized slabs.

The presumption of mold-shaping, illustrated above, also explains the phenomenon of similar sizes of pillow topping slabs and similar circumferences of their bases, even though they have been excavated in different kilns around Cixian area, dating back to different eras when intentional or occasional excavations happened. Although these ceramic pillows seem a little bit different from their appearance, what cannot be stressed more is that their widths, ranging from 21 to 24 cm at front and 29 to 35 cm in the middle part, their lengths, varying from 30 to 33 cm, and their heights, usually measuring 7-8 cm at front and 18-22 cm at the back, and the circumferences of the pentagonal pillow bases, in particular, coming to the lengths of 50 to 52 cm, all contribute to the usage of standardized wood frames. The pillow
surfaces were individually shaped with certain different degrees to concave inwards, which might partially explains the slight differences each pillow presents.

Having compared the measurements of pillows from ROM collection with those Cizhou-type leaf-shaped pillows which are in similar width, length and height, I come to realize the unspoken significance of designated measurements behind these pillows. For one thing, the pillow fronts, ranging from 22 to 24 cm, fit well to the human necks; the concave surfaces, occupying 31-35 cm of its maximum in the middle, were able to wrap up the back of the heads entirely and provided comfortable support and great coziness. For another, the length of pillows, varying from 29 to 34 cm, probably takes into the consideration that ancient Chinese, male or female, all had long hair and got hair-buns on top of their heads. Plus, the heights, gradually raising itself from around 6-8 cm at the front to around 18-22 cm at the very tip of the pillow back, were designed definitely out of the consideration of comfortable sleeping. However, exceptions do exist that smaller pillows have been fired for youngsters like the one with access number 922.20.189.

The characteristics of these leaf-shaped pillow bases are also of great interest, when some pillows’ bottoms are missing. My examinations on the interior of these pentagonal pillow bases enable me to reach the conclusion that the bases of leaf-shaped pillows, which were originally made into long clay slabs, were later encircled with a designated mold and stuck two ends together at its front [Figure 12]. On the one hand, their circumferences with an average measurement of 49-52 cm were formed in a rather symmetrical layout, with two same pairs of sides and a longer front side [Figure 12]. On the other hand, the two ends were cut neatly with a metal knife and then glued together, with one end overlapping the other, at the front of the base.

Plus, the attachment of the pillow bases to the bottom pieces also exhibits the potters’ craftsmanship, which was achieved by adding a layer of pasty seriflux [Figure 13]. Through the plasticity, the pillow bases were assembled into a sealed hollow box, which was later impaled with a heat-releasing hole to prevent the explosion caused by air expansion due to high temperature during the firing. Moreover, the attachment to the pillow top slabs displays another
kind of potters’ smartness. Unlike the application of pasty seriflux, the backs of the pillow biscuits were added several scratches resulted from a comb-like tool to generate a coarse surface and, thus, to introduce more friction [Figure 13]. It is the addition of these comb-like scratches that the pillow tops seldom fell apart from the bases, compared with the cases of the missing bottoms. Apparently, the comb-like scratches observed through my collection review were intentionally invented and inserted to consolidate the finalization of pillow biscuits. To a great extent, the perfection of biscuits secured a promising preparation of the pillow firing at its early stage, and, in turn, potters’ strategic intelligence largely reflects their considerations for the aspects of minimizing production costs and guaranteeing the quality of each production phrase.

Figure 12. Detailed interior of pillow bases in pentagonal shape.

Figure 13. Detailed traces of clay paste and scratches for solid attachment.
Securing Quality Control

Based on my observations, a stronger curiosity has driven me into the further concerns involving more technical advancement. My interpretations, in terms of technical refinement, thus have been further explored.

The white-slip coating technique definitely advanced clay modification, but brought about new technical challenges, too. For one thing, like a sandwich layer, white-slip was interlined between the clay and the glaze, and had to withstand the contraction and expansion coming from both 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. The second kind of challenge that the potters encountered was the right timing to apply incising decorations and/or painting designs. On the one hand, the white-slip layer, resembling a sheet of sized rice-paper, needed a proper timing to get painting done to absorb ink to a certain degree and avoid ink-blurring. On the other hand, the hardness of the dried white-slip layer was another decisive factor to allow potters to carve or incise properly, which also needed a suitable timing when the slip was not too soft to consolidate the designs, nor too hard to get the surfaces cracked. In order to produce the most desirable outcomes, all that potters needed to concentrate was to prepare the designs ahead, including both the compositional layouts and individual motifs, and to apply the decorations swiftly and carefully, and, most importantly, to present skillful craftsmanship and abate errors possibly.

The drying process of the white-slip could not be rather long to allow potters’ meticulous and slow execution. Given that premise, another concern occurs to me, whether an individual potters’ solo-work would be sufficient or not. In fact, to balance the entire layouts, to correct compositional proportions, to execute exquisite craftsmanship and to manage timing handling skillfully all suggest the presences of two kinds of mechanisms, preliminary sketch-designs and master-and-apprentice cooperative team-up. Therefore, based on the pillows with incising and ink-painting decorations and the two abovementioned mechanisms, I attempt to interpret potters’ intelligence and the devices based on their consideration for economical-efficiency.
In terms of sketch-designs, ROM’s leaf-shaped pillows (with access numbers: 922.20.188; 922.20.189; 920.10.24) display an astonishingly similar feature of bearing needle-poking marks on their topping slabs. Since these marks cannot be the outcome from the glaze contraction or expansion during the firing. Nor do they seem to be incidentally made by potters due to their mistakes or carelessness. However, their arrangements are more like marking the locations to finalize the layout of different motifs. Or, in other words, they seem to be preliminary blue-prints for the later executions of incisions. If regarded as a painting on the whole, the layout would be firstly carried out by the painter to allocate those integral elements, which echoed in accordance with “经营位置”, literally meaning ‘managing positions’, raised by *Xie He* (479-502 A.D.), a Six Dynasties artistic critic in his treaties “Six Laws”\(^5\) (*Art Gallery of Greater Victoria* 1963; Cahill 1972). Also, it was rather challenging to incise directly on the slabs with metal- or bamboo-knives if there being no compositional designs to execute motif arrangements and reasonable proportions correctly. Not mention the impossibilities to amend and adjust changes once mistakes were done. Therefore, the following hypothetic method sounds rather plausible that experienced master potters would poke the general locations of individual motifs to mark the layout roughly, and then would execute the segmental motifs with incising tools. By this means, it was rather guaranteed that the whole layout was reasonably proportioned and the integral designs were dedicatedly presented.

Another phenomenon of leaf-shaped pillows also calls for my attention. Although peony motifs are rather commonplace to be found on pillows, yet, these pillows (with access numbers: 922.20.189; 922.20.187; 922.20.188; 922.20.205; 922.20.204) present extreme likeness and could be assumed to have be crafted by a same potter, despite their sizes or the layout of peony designs. Usually, the topping surfaces of these peony-design pillows are framed with two incised loops resembling the contour border and encompass a spray of peony blossom scrolled by three triangular leaves, whose layout parallels the contour of the pillow. The peony flower appears in its full blossom with petals overlapping layer by layer and thus

\(^5\) Zhang Yanyuan, a Tang artistic critic once commented the “Six Laws” raised by Xie He that “[Good] painting has six conditions.... What are they? The first is "animation through spirit consonance." The second is "structural method in use of the brush." The third is "fidelity to the object in portraying forms." The fourth is "conformity to kind in applying colors." The fifth is "proper planning in placing [of elements]." The sixth is "transmission [of the experience of the past] in making copies".”
generating a sense of depth. As for the leaves, they have been exaggerated by stretching the tips and coiling the leaves outward. The elongation of the leaf tips artistically have fulfilled the space and made themselves a flower-like appearance. However, the discovery on presentational likeness consolidates my previous hypothetic thought on potters’ craftsmanship that the potters working in various Cizhou-kilns should have possessed sketch-books at hand, with albums of different motifs, ranging from floral patterns to animal figures alike, etc.. On top of the semi-dried white-slip layer, potters firstly placed the sketchy page and poked the crucial positions of the design with a needle-pointed tool; after removing this page, he quickly incised the silhouette of each motif based on the poking marks; later on, he executed the other details of each motif. Thus, the whole process not only enhanced the production speed but also secured a solid control over production quality; in turn, this application of sketchy–pages explains the verisimilitude of these pillows decorated with peony-spray motifs, even though their excavation time and locations varied.

What has strengthened my presumption of using sketch-books is the bean-shaped pillow from ROM collection with access number 918.21.392[Figure 14]. The surface of this bean-shaped pillow depicts a crawling infant boy, holding a spray of lotus flower in his right hand and a scrolled fragrant grass in left. Wearing a traditional bellyband with strings of coins design attached to a multi petal-shaped collar and with ribbons tied up at the back, the baby’s plump body is exposed thoroughly with the depiction of four bracelets on his chubby wrists and ankles. On the upper-right of the surface locate three peonies blooming on scrolled branches, each presenting an enormously vigorous blossom. Scattered near the baby’s head and left foot are ingots and jewelry as well. The entire surface is backgrounded by the fish-roe design, intensely tiny and compact.

---

6 Yotaka Mino has contributed his research on this pillow, including the decorative methods involving incision and fish-roe grounding, and the motif studies, identifying scrolled grass in the infant’s left hand, ingots scattering near the head, belly and foot. ROM’s research also indicates the identification of the kiln with which this pillow is associated might be Quhe kiln, Dengfeng county, present-day Henan province. However, my research would unveil some different opinions and aspects that were ignored previously, which, coincidentally, would yield more details that lead us to the identification of this pillow to be a refined product from Chengguan kiln, Xin’an county, present-day Henan province. Also, since the research done by Chinese scholar, Chen Wanli, once has mentioned the combined application of incising and painting techniques, I strongly give ever greater emphasis on the step that the detailed pictorial presentation was accomplished by brush-painting rather than incising, especially the extremely exquisite executions of the details of the ROM’s bean-shaped pillow.
This could be the most meticulous and exquisite pillow piece in ROM. And during my observation, the hypothetic blue-print matured by needle-pointed poking and knife incising has been reinforced again. The exact marks, indicating the infant boy’s pupils, dimples, nipples, elbow joints and intersectional parts of coin-patterns on his bellyband, etc., are accompanied by the properly executed curving lines, indicating the contours of the boy’s back, arms, wrists, stomach, knees, hips and the scrolled peony branches as well. The dedication of the blue-print leaves the topping biscuit more than seventy poking points and a dozen incising lines, which have precisely backgrounded the pictorial composition of the entire design. Another two pillows, housed at the Museum of the Mausoleum of the Nanyue King at Guangzhou, could provide more cross-references to identify this bean-shaped pillow to be fired at Chengguan kiln, Xin’an county, present-day Henan province.
Figure 15. Two pillows fired at the Xin’an kiln, presenting a convincing verisimilitude towards the ROM’s bean-shaped infant-boy pillow, Museum of the Mausoleum of the Nanyue King, Guangzhou (CUHK 1989).

If compared with ROM’s infant pillow, these two pillows, one with scrolled-peony motifs and the other a ram in the middle, seem less exquisitely executed; however, building on the dedicated craftsmanship, ROM’s bean-shaped infant pillow could have been associated to a more possible cultural affinity in terms of firing kilns. The re-identification is premised on the similar poking points to locate the peony designs and the incising lines to contour the silhouette of the ram.

Therefore, ROM’s infant pillow actually experienced an even more advanced crafting process, involving much more precise incisions to refine the contour of the infant boy, scrolled grass and peony sprays. The ring-matted, also known as fish-roe or pearl-ground was fashioned with the help of a hollow tiny tube in a quite densely rigid layout. However, the most meticulous details, including the infant’s eyebrows, decorations on his forehead and around his temples, a fine strand of his hair, the embroidered patterns on his bellyband, and peony petals
as well, were so precise and exquisite that incising techniques were not sufficient to mature. Thus, another hypothetic presumption is presented here that the refined details were actually fashioned in the way that potters dipped colored flurry and painted with very thin brush-stokes.

To sum up, In terms of the firing techniques, I’d like to anticipate a technological combination as the following: needle-poking the blueprint of the design, in particular the specified positions of motifs; incising the outlines of the major motifs, like the one of the baby’s body, the one of the ingots and the ones of all the floral designs on the sides of the pillow; the most distinguishing part, painting with colored slip liquid for the detailed decoration; and lastly, stamping the fish-roe to fill up the background. And, this bold hypothesis could be illustrated through the following five steps that I attempt to dismantle and convey.

Figure 16. Presumed decorating steps of the ROM’s bean-shaped infant-boy pillow (Drawn by Yun Wang).
Step 2: Incising the outlines of the major motifs;

Step 3: Refining the silhouettes of the design;
Step 4: Painting with colored slip liquid for the detailed decoration;

Step 5: Stamping the fish-roe to fill up the background.
During my studies on Cizhou wares and their techniques, involved the decorating and firing, a question has always been hovering in my head: how were the decoration methods of carving, incising and pearl-grounding, mainly prevailed during the mid-Song period, transformed into the ones of ink-painting, popularized particularly during the Jin and Yuan periods. Apparently, such technical adoption or alteration could not have happened over one night. Maybe, ROM’s bean-shaped infant pillow presents a suitable case, shedding light on the newly-happened trend of needle-poking for the blue-print, incising for the clear contour and ink-painting for precise details and, thus, exemplifying the co-existence of the decorative techniques during a transforming or innovating phrase throughout the long history of ceramic pillow firings. Although there are no any sketch-books that have survived today, there is still a great possibility that potters had certain segmental designs under different categories and used these individual samples to re-arrange and re-compose new designs to beautify the pillow toppings. More evidences can be traced from the ink-painted pillows with flower-and-bird designs, the style of which implies a strong imitative influence that court painters had inserted. Plus, the existence of these sketchy-pages would also stand for a useful tool of mater potters’ training their apprentices.

Meanwhile, to unveil the potters’ enormously fine craftsmanship, I believe the recovery of a tool kit would be necessarily profound in terms of evaluating their crafting intelligence, which has been seldom discussed so far. The excavation conducted near Dangyangyu kiln site and housed in Jiaozuo Museum, present-day Henan province, and archaeological finds made by Beijing University archaeologist team in 1987 at Guantain kiln site, present some tools that definitely used by ancient Cizhou potters (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997; Zhang 2008: 3 Hebei) [Figure 17].
Yet, based on some supplemental discoveries through my pillow observation in ROM, I have attempted to sort out a possible tool-kit list as the below:

1) incising knives, made of metal or bamboo and varying in size, thickness and shape of knife tips;

2) comb-like plaques, made of bamboo or wood but varying in the numbers of teeth\(^7\) [Figure 18];

3) needle-pointed tools, possibly made of metal so that it was a lot easier to pierce through the sketchy-pages and left clear marks for the blue-print of designs coming forth;

4) hollow tubes, made of mental to produce the pearl-ground patterns;

5) brushes, either to apply the colored clay powder to “dye” the designs, or to clean the surfaces after decorations, or to ink-paint the designated pictorial compositions;

6) molds, made of metal to cut or drill the clay board and shape the biscuit pieces in different forms, like leaf-shape, bean-shape, rectangular shape, etc.; or made of stoneware to form specifically-shaped biscuit

\(^7\) The combed backgrounds from different pillows or even from a same pillow manifest that potters held more than one comb at hand, judging by the combed marks in the forms of 6-toothed, 13-toothed or 14 toothed which were densely and evenly fashioned; however, the backs of pillow topping slabs, where loose marks were made to create a coarse surface and to increase friction and adhesivity. Also, two kinds of comb-like plaques involved for the incision implying the more refined division on tools were called for by the intended division on different labor types.
pieces, like infant-shape, crouching-lady-shape, tiger-shape, etc.; or made of wood to encircle the pentagonal bases of leaf-shaped pillows;
7) “seriflux bags”, likely made of cloth to hold the adhesive flurry and to squeeze it between the pillow bases and the attached bottoms and topping slabs\(^8\) [Figure 19];
8) stamps of workshop names, possibly made of stoneware to imprint the names of potters’ workshops onto the pillow bottoms, resembling today’s logo marks;
9) sketch-books, made of paper; accumulated by master-potters; encompassing motifs of flowers, animals, children-at-play, auspicious beasts, poetic couplets, poems, etc.; for the use of transforming segmental motifs onto pillows and re-combining and re-creating new designs or for the use of training younger apprentices;

---

\(^8\) As a special type of Cizhou-ware often appears as black-glazed bowls or vases with an array of paralleling white-slipped ridges attached onto the middle part of the bowl/vase torsos, it is rather convincing that such a tool, used to squeeze the slip-seriflux, existed and was again deployed to accomplish the application of seriflux to make the pillow base attached to the back of the topping slabs (Figure 19).
During the hypothetic restoration of the tool kit, scarcely do we have enough concrete material proofs for today’s examination. However, it is the potters’ marks preserved on these pillows that, for sure, provide today’s viewers a traceable clue, through which a conversation, addressed to Song’s potters working at different Cizhou kilns, could take place. This conversation grants us a chance to get much closer to potters themselves who have been ignored on their own for long and, thus, to unfold the potters’ intelligence. As the examining agent, potters, to a great extent, manifest their intelligence which had been wielded in the fields of working environments, progressing technical advancements, and visualizing their aesthetic values as well, which eventually will mirror their crafting intelligence in accordance with the economic concerns.

Refining Labor Division

Another mechanism that also reflects the pillow production sufficiency is the cooperative team-up between master potters and their apprentices. Before my analyses addressed to this presumption, let’s first take a look at the workshop mark stamped on the bottom of the pillow piece inscribed with “Pillow Poem”: “王氏寿明”, literally meaning ‘Shouming of Wang’s Family’.

Yet, the mark was more than a potter’s name.

It had already represented a famous brand featuring a well-known pillow workshop; more importantly, it was “寿明” who could be the leading master in this pillow workshop or
his family business and it was through “寿明” that the Wang’s pillow firing business prospered so greatly that the pillows with the workshop brands prevailed the markets. Therefore, the head-master, “寿明”, should have been the core figure who made decisions on the purchases of raw material, like coal for fuel, iron-ores for black pigment, and transparent glaze ores, the semi-processing or processing of Daqing clay and aluminum ores into the matured biscuit and white-slip ready for pillow production. This “寿明” should also have guided his sons and other family members and his apprentices and other hired hands, and allocated all kinds of tasks to individual labor, ranging from preparing the clay to molding the pillow biscuits, from white-slip applying to pillow decorating, surface glazing and furnace loading and till the kiln firing lastly. This “寿明” should have supervised each phrase on the chain-production, secured the quality and managed the orders and shipments of pillows from and to many marketplaces. All in all, this “寿明” was acknowledged as the head-master for his exquisite craftsmanship and sufficient management and, thus, established his renowned commercial brand—the logo of “王氏寿明” stamped on the pillow bottoms.

Whereas, he could not have worked on his own from the very beginning till the last step on his rather sophisticated pillow production line. It is ascertained that each step along the production was sub-divided into a less-difficult but repetitive chore to be accomplished by individuals, the number of whom depended on the scale and difficulty involved within these trivial tasks. The refined distribution of each task was charged by experienced master-potters; under their supervision, many young apprentices were trained and assigned with these repetitive tasks. Minute labor divisions not only boomed their working effects and shortened production durations, but also cultivated new unexperienced freshmen and effectively controlled the quality of entire production and eventually guaranteed the market profit (Liu 1990). As a result, such master-and-apprentice mechanism was spurred to have the capacity of labors working on each step to be maximized to a greatest degree.

To illustrate, the ink-painting technique is chosen to be examined. My examination starts from a rectangular pillow from the ROM collection, featuring itself with a tiger motif on the top slab and peony sprays and chrysanthemum on the front and back sides respectively, and
lotus petals on two ends and a workshop mark of “古相张家造”, literally meaning “Made by Zhang Family at Ancient Xiang (Prefecture)”, stamped on the pillow bottom [Figure 20].

Figure 20. ROM’s ink-painted pillow with tiger motif.
Cizhou ink-painting rectangular pillow with tiger design
Jin dynasty
Length: [front] 26.5cm; [back] 28.0cm
Width: 16.0cm;
Height: [front] 9.0cm; [back] 13.4cm;
960.238.177
Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Front side with a spray of peony.

Back side with a spray of chrysanthemum and a heat-releasing hole in upper part.

Two ends with lotus petals.

Bottom with a workshop mark, inscribed with “古相张家造”, literally meaning “Made by Zhang Family at Ancient Xiang (Prefecture)”.

On looking at this tiger-motif pillow, what we can find is that the biscuit is molded with six slabs coated with white slip and glazed transparently, leaving the bottom uncoated and
unglazed. The concave surface sets itself suitable for resting one’s head for sleep. On the surface, five lines are drawn and paralleled with the border of the rectangular face; thus, framing another smaller inner rectangle to be painted. The major motif on the surface is a tiger, ready to prey something on its left. The contour of the tiger is completed with various line-drawing, bold strokes on its claws, back, tail, head and stripes on its body, and subtle touches on its hairs. Its four limbs are so vividly portrayed that it is undoubtedly that viewers would assume its preying gesture. The painting on this pillow is rather fluent in terms of brush movements and ink applications of light and dark tones. The front and back sides of the pillow are decorated with a spray of peony blossom and chrysanthemum respectively in a real-life depicting way. Two lotus flowers in sketches are presented at the two ends with the four corners of each end stuffed with random curving lines.

Generally, the surfaces of the pillow can be divided into four grades, with the top the most important, the front and back sides inferior to the top, the two ends the even less important, and the plainly unglazed bottom the least important. This differentiation is based on the practical usage and the sizes of each surface of the pillow, because the top occupies the largest portion for its major function. By dividing up the six slabs into the abovementioned four grades, a hidden, yet, self-manifesting rule could be sorted and used to interpret the cooperative working relation between masters and their apprentices. Attempting to make this presumption of the team-up format between masters and apprentices more plausible, other rectangular pillows roughly fired during Jin and Yuan eras excavated around Cixian area have been sorted and associated to ROM’s tiger pillow piece. Consequently, more evident factors contribute to the “hidden rule” that under the condition that a rectangular pillow usually consists of six sides (or, in the case of bean-shaped pillows, three parts due to the circular sides being often painted with scrolled fragrant grass), the decoration designs presented on these six sides are radically fashioned, which apparently agrees in accordance with the size and functional importance. Or, in other words, differentiated by size and functional significance, potters matched each slab with certain designs and painting styles, while, the mechanism of master-and-apprentice cooperation was executed to fulfill such schemed working format and to maximize the
capacities of individual artisans.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top Slabs</th>
<th>Front Side</th>
<th>Back Side</th>
<th>Two Ends</th>
<th>Bottoms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image11.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image12.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image13.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image14.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image15.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image16.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image17.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image18.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image19.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image20.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image21.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image22.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image23.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image24.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image25.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The straightforward differentiations in the motif choices and decoration styles can be grouped as the following:

i) for the most important and largest topping part, a rather freehand painting with the real-life style technique is employed to render the finalized outcome;

ii) the surfaces of the front and the back sides are often portrayed with sprays of flora designs, like bamboos, chrysanthemums, peonies, lotuses, but still in a rather real-life manner;

iii) since the two ends occupy the smallest proportions, usually the motifs are simplified as two petals like ordinary sketchy patterns;

iv) lastly, the bottom part, albeit small, un-slipped and unglazed, often bears marks of well-known workshops, like “古相张家造” in ROM’s tiger-pillow case9.

The comparisons, displayed in the table above, explains my presumed “hidden rule”. On the one hand, the pictorial designs on the topping slabs, usually crafted in a free-hand painting style, were ascertained to be conducted by experienced masters or even head-masters, like Wang Shouming from the “Pillow Poem” case. The repertoire of these pictorial designs are made up of many options, mainly children-at-play, historical events or anecdotes from literature resources, poems or poetic couplets, flower-and-bird infused with connotations from pun-play tactics. The compositions were so dedicatedly schemed and depicted that less-experienced or unskillful artisans could not handle. Thus, the topping slabs and sometimes the front side of pillows should have belonged to the master-painters, who not only were skillful in terms of the brush-stroke handling and pictorial rendering, but also were capable of composing the pictorial designs and delivering the auspicious connotations through the schemes.

---

9 Since the bottom part was always out of regular view sight, some inscriptions were added, although such inscriptions were not done for ornament consideration, their archaeological and social significances are still invaluable, such as the donor’s identification and the market prices of pillows, which will be discussed in the next chapter.
On the other hand, the surfaces of the front and the back sides are often portrayed with sprays of flora designs, like bamboos, chrysanthemums, peonies, lotuses, and the two ends, occupying the smallest proportions, usually are simply stuffed by two petals like ordinary sketchy patterns, such as lotuses in most cases, peonies and water lilies sometimes. Such depictions were drafted in a sketchy way, which could be assumed that some trained apprentices could manage.

In addition, the premise of the master-and-apprentice cooperation is also fastened by the application of white-slip. Due to the property of white-slip layer, the drying duration had set a limited timing for potters to craft their decorations onto different pillow sides, which enables us to presume that experienced master-painters took charge of the topping slabs and depicted the designated pictorial compositions favored by the marketplaces and, in the meantime, trained apprentices had the other sides beautified with sketchy patterns infused with auspicious social- and culture- resonances. The cooperative mechanism here, just like the first mechanism of using sketch-copies to decline the hardship and speed up the working efficiency, were all resulted from the economic concerns, as the modest pillow prices could not have brought them handsome monetary profits at one time but these commodities had to excel in large stocks for sale, which will be discussed later on.

Although the differentiated painting skills should have generated a minor division in accordance with the potters’ individual expertise, such epitome still sheds light to verify the entire issue of labor divisions and refinements explored in the previous chapter, since it was due to the rapid development of handicraft industry of the Song era that technological advancement was matured for the sake of facilitating and accelerating its own evolution.

In conclusion, the analytic interpretation on the measurement similarities, exemplified by pillows’ size, length, height and base circumference, has proved the technological advancement fashioned by Cizhou potters in the form of biscuit molding, which ultimately contributed to the high-efficiency on the assembling-line of pillow firing. Also, the proper possibility of existence and usage of sketches not only enriched the décor repertoire but also
had such complicated decoration manage to be successful. Then, the teamed cooperation among masters and their apprentices matured the specific division between these foremen who had been organized and assigned onto different sections along the production-line, which could be premised on the skill-based ranking system within their hierarchical society of professions. In fact, technical refinements, penetrated from the above three cases, were yielded for the sake of leveling down the technical hardship and maximizing the labor-efficiency and finally guaranteeing the market shares.
Chapter 7. Marketplace

Oriented as a popular commodity purchased or sold frequently in the marketplaces, Cizhou-ware pillows exhibit their economic prowess through their modest prices and large market-shares. In order to unveil the economic features of Cizhou-ware pillow firing and obtain a much closer look from the perspective of commodity at market, the discussions that have been done in this chapter are consisting of two aspects; the replacement of the earthenware by the stoneware opened up to commoners and urban residents as one discussing focus; and the much wider range of auspicious motifs recruited and sophisticated to please the consumers intentionally as another.

Marketing Expansion

Circulated in the marketplaces, ceramic pillows were among those ordinary daily necessities. Therefore, pillow prices become a reasonable index to echo their economic value and status within the marketplace, and to address questions like who had been the major consumers at that time and whether they were cheap enough for everyone to afford, etc. Among all the Cizhou-ware pillows, excavated or extant, only three of them have inscriptions marking the exact prices. The first one, in a tiger form coated with brown glaze fired at Changzhi kiln, Shanxi province, during Jin era, bears the inscriptions at the bottom that ‘on the thirteenth day of the first month of Renyin year (1182A.D.), bought this pillow at the price of exact thirty-one
cash “壬寅正月十三日，置到枕子价 卅一文足”’ (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997; Liu 2004). The second was a bean-shaped one with waterfowl motifs on the topping slab and inscriptions on the bottom that ‘ … the wife of Hu Family (spent) forty cash on the nineteenth day of the sixth month of the first year of Taihe… “……胡大嫂价钱四十 谨记。泰和元年六月十九日记……”’ , which refers this pillow a product of 1200 A.D. (Liu 2004). The last one was a one decorated with stamped floral vignettes on top, which had rectangular side at front and cloud-shaped at back and was coated with yellow and green glazes. The inscriptions on this pillow says ‘purchased on the thirtieth day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Cheng’an at the price of exact eighteen cash “承安五年五月三十日买 一十八文足”’, tracing back to the year 1201 A.D. (Liu 2004).

Informed with these three pillow prices, what could be done is the cross-reference by comparing the prices of other goods or necessities that were purchased on a daily base. The Japanese monk, Jojin, paid his Buddhist pilgrimage, to Mount Tiantai, Zhejiang province, and Mountain Wutai, Shanxi province, during 1072-1073, and recorded what he had encountered on his way from Hangzhou to Bianliang in his dairies, within which there were abundant records on various goods. Also, Meng Yuanlao, a previous Northern Song resident of Bianliang, penned Records of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital about memories of his life in Bianliang lasting more than two decades, and described all kinds of fun activities and catering occasions, showing evidences of trivial prices. Modern scholar Cheng Minsheng has done enormously detailed research on the Song’s economy and population, which provide very evident information here.
My interpretation on the pillow prices are premised on two observations. For one thing, the prices of commodities and labor services extracted from the abovementioned sources show a generally mild fluctuation, given the stable expenses on renting a horse at the price of 100 cash coins and a slight rise on the salt prices; and for another, the price range of pillows from 18 to 40 cash coins was rather close to one’s a tiny share of casual snacks on the night market or equivalent to that of half a kilo of salt. Hence, to a certain extent, it is rather feasible to conclude that Cizhou-ware pillows were a modestly cheap daily utensil that any family could afford. Built on this conclusion, it is rather possible that stoneware fired at folk kilns, like Cizhou-ware daily pillows, should have entered into the household utensil repertoire and replaced the previously wide use of earthenware. Also, the research by modern scholar Cheng Mingsheng reveals that hired hands at tea plants and urban markets were roughly paid with 70 to 200 cash coins on a daily base. It is also possible to expand such conclusion onto the Cizhou potters’ situation. Of course, their wages could have been fluctuated in accordance with their

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>horse renting: 100 cash/horse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1182 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>shower: 10 cash/person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1200 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>porter hiring: 200-260 cash/person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1201 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tavern: 50/night</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>religious memorial service: 70 cash</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>salt: 30-40 cash/ jin</td>
<td>45 cash/ jin</td>
<td>pillow: 31 cash</td>
<td>1200 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30-80 cash</td>
<td>15-20 cash/plate</td>
<td>pillow: 18 cash</td>
<td>1201 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rice: 80/ dou</td>
<td>500 cash/ dou</td>
<td>pillow: 40 cash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bamboo rainhat: 50 cash</td>
<td>100 cash/ jin</td>
<td>roast beef: 100 cash/ jin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fish: 100 cash/ jin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kashu: 3000 cash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>woollen sweater, hat, scarf, socks: 5000 cash</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>beef: 100 cash/ jin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rain coat/robe: 1850 cash</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>horse: 8000-10000 cash</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jinger: 11 cash/ jin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>house moving: 200 cash/day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hired hands at tea plants: 70 cash/day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fisherman: 100 cash/day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>average expenditure for a low-class family: 100 cash/day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Prices of Daily Life Commodities from 11th to 14th Centuries (Cheng 2008; Liu 2004; Meng 2010; Wu 1980).
specific capability of individual foremanship; therefore, chances are the master-painter who might have crafted the ‘tiger pillow’ could have earned the most and a common hand, like the ‘A Li’ in Chapter 5, could be the least. But it should be given a great credit that it was these intensively centralized but cheap labor-forces that finally facilitated the regional ceramic industry in Cizhou area.

Furthermore, the fact that all these three pillows, ranging from 18 cash to 40 cash, should have belonged to the category of commonly affordable commodities can be verified by the literary descriptions, by Meng Yuanlao in his *Records of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital*, that vendors were passing through small alleys and selling all kinds of daily utensils door to door, including ceramic wares (Meng 2010). This assumption can further be visualized by all ceramic stuffs in the paintings of “The Peddler” from Li Gonglin and Su Hanchen. Meanwhile, the archaeological finds of pillow fragments from five kilns out of the ten, excavated at Guantai area in 1989, manifest the concurrent pillow firing was in a rather large scale (BDKX, HWYS, HDWBS 1997).

![Figure 21. Paintings of “The Peddler”, by Li Song, Southern Song dynasty, Forbidden Palace Museum, Beijing.](Wu 1985-1986)

Hence, the impressive pillow manufacture, the rather modest market prices and the surprising number of surviving pillows all verify the marketing capacities of pillow businesses.
Then, are there any other situations where these ceramic pillows were used other than the sleeping utensils for cooling down summer heat? One leaf-shaped pillow with inscriptions of “the second year of Chongning newly wedding” excavated in 1920s was interpreted by scholar Chen Wanli as the wedding gift presented on a wedding occasion (ZCS 1997) [Figure 22]. Another situation is visualized by the archaeological finds in 2008 at Donglongguan, Fenyang, Shanxi province, where a large number of commoners’ tombs were dug and many Cihzou-type pillows were excavated. The burial situation here indicates during the late Northern Song and Jin eras pillows also became a popularly fashioned funerary item (Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiu Suo, Fenyangshi Wenwu Lüyou Ju, and Fenyangshi Bowu Guan 2012) [Figure 23].

Figure 22. Inscriptions of a pillow commemorated a wedding in 1103 A.D.
(Zijingcheng Chuban She 1997)

Figure 23. Excavation site of Tomb No.40 at Donglongguan, Fenyang, Shanxi Province, in 2008 (SKYS, FWLJ, FBG 2012).
The abovementioned evidences, proving the cheap expense and daily necessity function, make our conclusion quite convincing that ceramic pillows had popularized themselves during the Song, Jin and Yuan dynasties. But prior to that period, in particular during Tang dynasty and Five Dynasties, earthenware were the majority of daily utensils that commoners had been using. Ceramic utensils, fired at high-temperature above $1000^\circ$ and glazed finely, were mainly accessible to the upper class and aristocrats, as Appadurai states that such tribute or kingly things, previously regarded as the royal monopolies, were the best-known as ‘enclaved commodities’ (Appadurai 1988). Descending to Song, expensive gold- and silver-wares were retained rather popular amongst noblemen and restaurant catering, an affordable purchase for the former and an advertising means by the latter. The only premise to those gold- and silver-wares was their economic prowess; however, the lower class had no such economic advantages to allow them to purchase. Yet, fired at the folk kilns and crafted as daily utensils for every household, ceramics, like those from Cizhou-type kilns, wined their way into the commoners’ life on the premises of economically-low costs, popularly-accepted motifs, and enormous quantity and multiple functions. On the other hand, the transiting trend from earthenware to stoneware or even porcelains, implies that an increasingly larger group of consumers made ceramic manufacture mass-based, from the aristocratic class with the high social status and profound wealth down to the commoners of the lower and the bottom of social ladder. Such alteration was not only resulted from the progressing development of ceramic industry, but also was caused by the commercialization of the entire Song society, when commercial impacts aggrandized rapidly. Under such circumstance, the only asset in this commercialized society was one’s wealth in the form of money. The transformation that all necessities could be purchased rather than being cultivated or home-produced, like grain and cloth, happened. So did the handicraft industry. On the other hand, the expanded consumers became an appealing target for every private kiln to compete for, which meant their pillow firing production had taken into consideration seriously about what the low classes favored and pursued. In return, the newly-expanded consumer groups at marketplaces had obviously voiced their aesthetic values, which can be visualized through the motif choices, including auspicious
couplets, designs of children-at-play and floral-and-bird, and propitious animals, combinational designs of blessings through the pun-play device. Along with the circulations of pillow purchase and production, money-oriented value, typical in a commercialized society, was adopted and pervaded to please the public mass at a whole scale.

Another concern aroused by the large-scaled pillow manufacture and market occupation is the phenomenon of regional economy. Potters of ancient Cizhou area, covering present-day Hebei and Henan provinces, took great advantages of easy accesses to the local raw materials, including clay, glaze ore, white slip clay, coal and black-pigment ore and nearly waterway, and fashioned the firing in various folk kilns, represented by Guantai kiln, and thus established their localized regional industry. On the other hand, Cizhou prefecture was more famous for its steel-iron and iron-tools industries, which was paralleled by the coal-mining fashioned at Xiangzhou area (Cheng 1992; Xu 2007). It was rather evident that both the royal palace and the common household in Bianliang, the capital, had to purchase coal for winter heating, which was originated from Xiangzhou and shipped along the canal waterway system (Cheng 1992). Apart from this, Xiangzhou was also famous for a red dyestuff, madder, and established its significant textile-dyeing business (Cheng 1992). Channeled to the capital were the important supplies of coal for heating and cooking and iron-tools for transport trade; yet, there was a great possibility that ceramic wares, especially daily utensils including pillows, be stuffed on the boats and winding their way to different destinations along the canal waterways. The concomitant regional products, like the combination of coal, iron-utensils and ceramic wares in this case, just reflects the competitive advantages of Cizhou and Xiangzhou regional economies.

Marketing Preference

Three ink-painted pillows with ‘children-at-play’ designs in ROM’s collection have greatly attracted my attention, since, although brief in composition, simple in brushstrokes, they have miraculously glued our gaze onto the vivid expressions, frozen at the dynamic moments of boys engaged in their activities. Meanwhile, a great number of similar pillows with various
pictorial presentations of ‘children-at-play’ have amazed me, not only in terms of totality but also in terms of motif itself. Thus, by putting ROM’s three ‘children-at-play’ pillows into the assemblage of these pillows and drawing the connections among them, what can be found is a mirror, reflecting philosophic values of the contemporary Song’s and Jin’s societies. At the same time, such observations are urging me to re-consider the nature of these motifs other than their decorative function, and, thus, bringing me into another study field. My concerns stem from the types of decors and motifs within the category of pictorial designs appearing on the topping slabs and the correspondingly cultural reflections, social development and psychological states of the Song people, which will be elaborated from the following four aspects.

Motifs of children-at-play.
Starting from the three ‘children-at-play’ pillow pieces, rendering the central figures either playing with a bird, or holding a waterlily leaf, or chasing after a duck respectively, the major focus of pictorial presentation is the boy. While, when a group of similar decorated pillows are collected, as shown below, what can be apparently concluded is that all pillows are depicting various scenes of boys’ playing all sorts of games and having fun [Figure 24]. Then, a question is thus generated here: what spiritual pursuits were embedded within these signs? Literary works, like Records of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital and Records of Dreaming Bianliang, bear the descriptions that on Double Seventh Festival, happening on the seventh day of the seventh month annually, the streets and alleys in Bianliang (today’s Kaifeng) and Lin’an (today’s Hangzhou) were crowded with people, among whom were many peddlers, selling a kind of clay-fired toy in the form of little boys (Meng 2010; Wu 1980). Rather plain but very popular, these clay-toys, to a great extent, implied and satisfied the blessings on more male offspring, favored on Double Seventh Festival when women would make wishes towards the Moon Goddess (Cai and Hou 2008). Such messages were further fastened by the pillow designs of energetic boys, occupied themselves with all sorts of games, such as fishing, soccer-playing, kite-flying, and hockey-playing and so on (Cai and Hou 2008). Therefore, the
wistfulness of praying for more boys, more healthy boys, was obviously conveyed by the means of energetic boys visually-presented to engage in sport- or leisure- games.

Yet, another premise should also be taken into the consideration that pillows, one of the bedroom necessities, were commonly escaping from the public gaze and thus indicated a rather private desire from the actual pillow users. Or, in other word, the mental connotations of fun were implied in two ways. For one thing, it was expressed directly through the visual presentation that each boy was having a fun time which could be understood through their dynamic postures and intensively-engaged attention towards their activities or games. For another, the pillow users were supposedly to have fun by fixing their ‘gaze’ onto the topping surface and simultaneously the ‘fun’ experience was transit from the pictorial boys to the actual users or owners of pillows as if the pillow users or owners had already had a sound healthy boy. The functional ‘fun’ message was re-directed and conveyed to the actual pillow users, who were consequently satisfied with his urge of having healthy male offspring just like the ones depicted on the pillow tops. Hence, it is rather believable that this mutual psychological pursuit had pleased the population and, in turn, the booming manufacture and purchase of ‘children-at-play’ pillows had been launched and circulated in the marketplace. To a certain degree, the motif choices functioned tactically in two ways, an effective means to promote the pillow sale regarding the marketing shares as one way and a psychological placebo to meet public demand regarding the targeted consumers as another.

The call for continuous successions of progeny undoubtedly fruited the population growth since the early Song era, when Song emperors promulgated decrees on farming, in order to ease the vagrants, who had lost their lands, and to enlarge the farmlands, which had been abandoned barren due to continuous wars before Song’s unification (Qi 1987). Thus, the sustainable population increase was stabilized. To maintain a family’s farming capacity, urging for more healthy male offspring became reasonable and desirable and such psychological urges were visually presented on various bedroom utensils, with no exception of pillows in this case. In accordance with this popular subject, many painters who were famous for genre painting and expertised in ‘children-at-play’, such as Su Hanchen and Liu Chuandao, became
‘taste-makers’ (Appadurai 1988). The former was a well-known court painter and one of his expertise was to paint boys and/or infants engaging in all sorts of games and apparently having a very fun time; whereas, the latter was never recruited in the Imperial Academy of Painting, yet still a renowned painter, whose ‘children-at-play’ paintings were enormously welcomed among populace (Cai and Hou 2008). It was said that each time Master Liu had finished a painting, he would have the original one copied and made several hundred duplicates and very soon these duplicates were circulated among the markets (Cai and Hou 2008). The tales of court painter, Su Hanchen, and folk painter, Liu Chuandao, thus, could once again have suggested the genre paintings depicting children-at-play were chased after. Of course, pillows and quilts and bedsheets, encompassed within the private space of bedrooms where infant boys were to be borne, would be the most favorable vehicle to carry out such wistfulness. The fever over blessing and wistfulness can be further proved through the following cases with different motif choices.

Motifs of flower-and-bird.
Apart from the motif of children-at-play, it is rather common to spot designs of flower-and-bird, excelling in compositions. In particular, compared to the literati’s minor pieces on fan-panels, each topping slab fashioned itself as a mini episode composed on a ricepaper-like layer made
of white slip. Literati painting, although defined as such a concept during later Yuan and Ming dynasties, had already featured its characteristics during the Song era, especially when Imperial Academy of Painting was established; when a dedicated category of painting was especially promulgated along with other imperial examination subjects; and when a large number of painters were recruited into the officialdom or ‘top of society’ to serve the court and the emperors and regarded as ‘taste-makers’ (Cahill 1972; Appadurai 1988). Such a fully-scaled imperial painting career was so unprecedented that court painters and their works, such as Huang Quan (903-965 A.D.), Li Tang (1066-1150 A.D.), Li Song (active.1190-1230 A.D.), Liu Songnian (1174-1224 A.D.), and Su Hanchen, with expertise in various themes of landscape paintings, flower-and-bird paintings, figure portraits, and children-at-play paintings, became the artistic indicators and were worshipped not only by the public but more importantly by folk artisans working in private workshops (Cai and Hou 2008; Cao and Wang 1960; Hao et al. 2004). And what can certainly be presumed is that these court painters’ works became the reference- and imitation- resources that folk artisans went passionate about. Driven by the markets’ preference impacts, it is also plausible to assume that Cizhou-ware artisans had such minor pieces done by court painters at hand and imitated, not only for them to re-compose new pictorial designs on pillows but also to train their apprentices to become skillful in their later independent working.

It is noteworthy that Cizhou-ware artisans deployed the most characteristically styled Chinese painting techniques-- the line-drawing-- to accomplish pictorial presentations on pillows. Even though transit from rice paper to the while slip layer of ceramic pillows, what always remains is the essences of Chinese painting, including the theme, the composition, the brushstroke, and the ink application; yet, the only distinguished difference remains only in the painting material, regarding white-slip clay and iron-ore pigment replacing the sized paper and ink. Nevertheless, the line-drawing technique has reserved the artistic interconnection in between and what can be ascertained is that Cizhou-ware artisans captured their inspirations triggered by the court painters’ works and then used this Chinese painting brushing techniques to have the similar themes transplanted onto a different material, the ceramics.
Among all the flower-and-bird designs, the most favorable is the peony motif, which might have implied a more insightful meaning for us. Earlier than Song era, during the Tang and Sui dynastic times, the peony had been reserved largely to the access exclusively to the imperial families and aristocratic classes, whereas, during the early Song, peonies appeared as an imperial cultural emblem to manifest their owners’ high social status (Cai and Hou 2008). However, the profoundness of Song’s commercial prosperity made it possible that personal wealth became one of the significant decisive factors to promote one’s social status. Together with the success in imperial examination to enter into the officialdom, being economically wealthy through the means of successful businesses enabled many commoners to have realized their promotion along the social ladder and thus become the respected class as noblemen had done for the sake of their birth (Ma 1971). As a consequence, the enormous appearance of peony designs onto the modest-priced ceramic pillows favored by the populace has verified that the secularizing process of the peony, a privileged emblem that used to be monopolized among imperial court and aristocracy, was bestowed a mission to elevate the commoners’ social status based on their economic prowess other than their birth origins.

Another associated concern that should also be stressed here is the schemed compositional tactics that Cizhou-ware potters had employed to make flower-and-bird designs even more appealing to the populace, the major consumers in the market shares. In fact, the concept of flower-and-bird painting is rather general in the field of ceramic firing, since such category had contained all sorts of auspicious emblems in Chinese culture. For instance, apart from peonies and hibiscuses representing wealth and dignity, lotuses and bamboos integrity and uprightness, chrysanthemums longevity and honesty, many animals were bestowed with propitious connotations as well (Cai and Hou 2008). For example, lions and tigers were entrusted with the capacities of expelling evils and stabilizing one’s houses; meanwhile, the interconnections between deer and career promotion and ram and peace were fastened tightly (Cai and Hou 2008). Therefore, Cizhou-ware artisans deployed the strategic schemes by juxtaposing all auspicious motifs together and by pun-playing to link the homonymous associations between the images and cultural connotations; thus, eventually conveying the
messages of wishful prays and blessings. Here, the key means is the pun-playing method, which borrows images of certain objects, with names bearing pronunciation correspondingly similar to the ones of those auspicious phrases [Figure 25]. For instance, Chinese character for “bat” 蝙蝠 bears the exactly same sound of good fortune 福; so does “deer” 鹿 for emolument 禄 (Cai and Hou 2008). Therefore, a series of such phonological elements, comprised by the imagery aggregation in accordance with symbolic auspicious prayers or wishes, are always manipulated as motifs to convey the blessings. Taken as another example, the juxtaposition of flower and character “竹”, literally meaning bamboo, implies the blessings for newly-wedded marriage and the juxtaposition of lotus and infant boy indicates the continuous progeny of a family clan.

Thus, the co-existence of visual presentation and auspicious connotation was united within the boundary of mutual cultural resonance, which was premised on the precondition that, on the one hand, such clearly understandable cultural values were psychologically internalized, appreciated and shared and, on the other hand, aesthetic messages of such appreciations and values were channeled through the tactics of juxtapositions of flower-and-bird motifs. Correspondingly, all those privileged emblems, represented by peony motifs that used to be restrained for the benevolence of imperial court and aristocratic class, shackled off the social limitations and were secularized for the benefits of the folk populace. Yet, what needs to be pointed out is that the commercial profoundness had the social boundaries cracked and, as a result, dignity was no longer a privilege granted by one’s birth but a commodity that could have been purchased through one’s economic power. Meanwhile, the aesthetic standard that propitious ornaments should be embedded within everything was widely appreciated, from the imperial throne to the common urban residents with lower social status. Such resonance can be witnessed from the descriptions of night markets, tea houses, restaurants and entertainment centers located in Bianliang, articulated by Meng Yuanlao in his Records of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital, where commercially-prospered catering and leisure arenas were featured with a great variety of décor infused with auspicious implications (Meng 2010). To further our understanding on this aesthetic requirement, the decree issued by the artistically-talented
emperor of Huizong, who actually took in charge of the Imperial Academy of Painting, that “paintings must be encompassing certain connotations and their meanings must be auspicious” could be regarded as the essential principle that all court painters and artisans from private workshops obeyed and pursued (Cai ang Hou 2008). Hence, the pictorial designs and supplementary decors on any surface of Cizhou-ware pillows must have been expressing and reflecting their comprehensions on dignity and happiness shared and appreciated by the contemporary Song population.


The expansions in population and urbanization on the whole were accompanied by the centralizations of urban residents. More precisely, compared with previous dynasties, Song people were more literate than their predecessors, which should been attributed to the handsomely advanced printing industry (Shi and Zhu 2000). Benefited from the prime time of printing industry, more literati’s works got known more widely. Thus, such social-regulated aesthetics became a fashion that everyone was eager to possess (Appadurai 1988). The likeness of white-slip to sized paper for painting and calligraphy provided the poetry fans another medium on the top of clay biscuits to capture their spiritual commitments. On the one hand, the occurrence of poetry and calligraphy on pillow tops was paralleled by the artistic interconnection with the art of painting all the time (Shi and Zhu 2000). However, on the other
hand, unlike the painting which expressed the embedded connotations through the juxtapositions of all kinds of propitious emblems, poetic compositions spoke in an even more direct and more flank way and stimulated even stronger and more understandable emotional expressions, opening up to either the sophisticated didactic philosophy, or one’s homesickness due to career demotions, or the introspectiveness dealing with one’s frustrated imperial examination attempts.

Motifs of urban entertainment.
It is also understandable to interpret the activities or games depicted with children-at-play designs as the miniature that adults of Song eras had experienced and fascinated about. Yet, these engagements should have taken place in urban locations with intensive population, where leisure and entertainment must have been treated as commodities among recreation businesses and urban residents exchanged back and forth for monetary rewards and for cultural consumptions. Bianliang of the later Northern Song, with the population over one million, protruded itself as the largest city in the world and enjoyed a most freedom, compared with Chang’an of Tang dynasty featured by the restricted walled ward-system, where curfews constrained the residents’ spatial mobility and temporal possibility and marketplaces were limited only to two locations at the east and the west and certain categories of goods were permitted to circulate respectively (Deng and Qi 1988). In contrast, Song’s Bianliang, today’s Kaifeng, Henan province, a rather enormously-populous metropolitan with extraordinary economic prosperity, had distinguished itself for the sake of its urbanization (Deng and Qi 1988). Evident were the phenomena that the restricted walled ward-system broke down, that bans on curfews were lifted, that vender-stands and shops were scattered everywhere and streets were named after the well-known guild-associations, such as Horse Guild Street and Sweet Dessert Lane, and that street-encroaching appeared due to the booming numbers of urban residents (Meng 2010). It was radically distinctive that an increasing number of urban residents consisted largely of stationed troops, would-be imperial examination candidates, beggars and prostitutes, Daoist and Buddhist monks and nuns, diplomatic delegations and alike,
none of whom were engaged in the productive farming; rather, they were in fact consumers for various commodities, both materially and culturally. The accelerating urbanization and growing population pushed the cities and towns into constant changes and residents there were encountered with uniquely new lifestyle so that, given much freer spatial mobility and less temporal limitation infused into their daily routine, more recreational activities were blended into the urban consumption markets.

Such alterations were reserved and painted as the pictorial designs on Cizhou-ware pillows and, thus, have become a permanent proof that a chance is granted for us to take a glimpse and to sense of what had been happening miraculously one thousand years ago. For instance, two pillows, one rendering two ladies were leisurely playing chess and the other depicting a Buddhist monk, a Daoist priest and Confucian scholar were attentively engaged in their chess-game, exemplify the prevailed urban entertainment businesses, among which certain associations, in this case, chess-clubs, were established and appealed many amateurs to be involved. More evidence can be drawn from another two pillows [Figure 26]. Housed at the British Museum is a leaf-shaped pillow, whose major pictorial design on the topping slab is a bear chained to a pole, implying an circus event was going on and the audience were awaiting the marvelous show performed by this tamed bear and its owner. Another rectangular pillow is painted with the scene of the jockey doing upside-down on the horseback while the horse was running at the lightning speed. Coincidently, this visual presentation can be exactly corresponded by a piece from Meng’s *Records of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital*, in which the author witnessed, during a cavalry equestrian show, a horseman held the stirrups with his two hands, rested his shoulders on the saddle and stretched up his feet in the air (Meng 2010; Yang 2008). What we can assume is that such circus shows should have held in large entertainment quarters given the spatial accommodating capacities to hold up large audience and to provide enough room for the performances. According to Meng’s articulations, such entertainment quarters were spread everywhere in Bianliang with gigantic accommodations, ranging from several hundred to several thousand people, to enjoy the events at the same time (Meng 2010).
To take a further peep at the Song people’s recreational life, let’s take another look at two more pillows, rectangular in shape and story-telling in design. The first one might originate from the anecdote about Song Taizong (939-997 A.D.), the second emperor of Northern Song dynasty, and Zhao Pu (922-992 A.D.), one of his prime ministers during his reign (Cai and Hou 2008). The story goes like the following. The hard-working emperor is often visiting his official’s home out of palace to seek more governing advice; it’s rather offensive to meet the emperor in casual dresses other than official costumes; therefore, the prime minister always remains his official robes on till his bedtime (Cai and Hou 2008). The pictorial composition here renders on a snowy night the emperor visits Zhao Pu’s house for a consulting conversation, lasting into late night, which can be proved by Zhao Pu’s official hat and robe and the burning candle on the table. Since such a tale was supposedly to praise an industrious and humble emperor to offer ears to upright officials and their suggestions, it went rather popular in all kinds of forms, on paper and through mouth, so that it was also recruited into a favorable design among the Cizhou-ware decorative repertoire.
Another convincing example is a pillow from a large pillow collection housed at the Museum of the Mausoleum of the Nanyue King at Guangzhou. It is depicting an episode from the famous story of *Journey to the West*, in which the major characters of the story are all rendered, including Xuanzang or Tripitaka on the horseback, Monkey King leading the group, Pigsy right after the monkey and Sha Wujing at the end of the queue. Since the story derived from the true historical event that Xuanzang of Tang dynasty went to the West (roughly the area in today’s India) to seek the essence of sutras and preaches from significant masters there. Yet, his miraculous conduct was fabricated generation by generation and, thus, more mythic characters were added to infuse more divine power and dramatic effect and thus appealed to even more Buddhist converts and lay people. Although this pillow is periodized as a Yuan piece, the topping slab of this pillow has provided us a clue that, on the one hand, this tale was rather popular and attractive and Song people had it circulated and spread widely; on the other hand, through Song eras, the story had already been enriched, with other major characters added gradually and had the frame of the novel established, because, based on that, later the Ming novelist Wu Chengen (1501-1582 A.D.) penned the final vernacular novel.
Anyway, what we can conclude from these two pillows is that, to a certain degree, literary works had been fashioned into a cultural commodity and urban residents of Song dynasty enjoyed the accessibility to these cultural purchases for fun exchanged with their economic capabilities in the form of money. The observation that the vernacular stories were rendered in the form of ink-painting on the Cizhou-ware pillow toppings, in turn, sheds light on that the Cizhou artisans had a keen marketing sense to capture the new preferences and trends among the consumers and that, in order to enlarge their market shares, these artisans spared no efforts to please the consumers by adopting these new trendy tastes and values. To occupy larger market shares, Cizhou-ware potters managed to expand their painting themes and to recruit more propitious décors to please the market and the potential customers, which were associated to the urban citizenry and their evidently accumulated wealth and economic capacities. Under such circumstances, the aesthetic standards became straightly frank and secular with great emphases laid on desiring for wealth and fortune, longevity, and successive progeny. Thus, white-slipped surfaces of Cizhou-wares became another arena for the skillful potters to render what their customers needed and desired. The rise of urban class and their psychological longings penetrated into the artistic field, resulting that the marketing preferences dominated Cizhou-ware pillow potters’ aesthetic tastes and motif repertoire. Driven by Song’s rapid commercial development and individuals’ economic capacity, the most representative characteristics of Cizhou-ware pillows were imprinted with the commercial and
marketing preferences all the time.

In conclusion, the two perspectives discussing ceramic pillow marketing are linked to the preconditions that essentially had dominated the production format and technological refinement of Cizhou-ware pillow manufacture. Undoubtedly, to occupy as large market shares as possible, many a factor have been encompassed within potters’ production concerns, including the modestly affordable prices benefited from local raw materials and the resultant low producing costs and high-yielding mechanisms inside the workshops running. Meanwhile, it is conspicuous that potters’ adopting symbolically auspicious motifs to intentionally satisfy and please the consumers’ psychological desires and spiritual pursuits was the most powerful driving force to enrich the décor repertoire and apparently bestowed Cizhou-ware pillows a surprising commercial prosperity. The surfaces of pillows became a stage to express the psychological portraiture of the contemporary Song population, embodying their mood, their desire and their sentiment as well, since the wide range of these propitious décors and designs seemed to have blurred hierarchical social boundaries and won the preferences of all walks of life in accordance with their economic capacities.
Chapter 8. Conclusion

To briefly summarize my research so far, it is evident that the case study on “Pillow Poem” in Chapter 5 has exhibited how potters managed to manipulate the local natural resources and minimized the production expenditure. In terms of the manufacture resources, the archaeological discoveries enhance our deeper understandings on the issue of the local natural resources regarding the biscuit clay, the transparent glaze, the white-slip clay, the iron-pigment and the coal mines. Simultaneously, these archaeological discoveries exhibit the artisans’ keen concerns on economic expenses and their own inventive capacities of exploring local geographic environment and taking advantages of their accessibility to these natural resources. Also, the consequences of the social changes, such as the new possibility of purchasing farmland as commodity and the corresponding loosened tie between the general population and their farmland, brought about the growing clusters of cities and towns, where commercial business prevailed enormously.

Then, my explorations on the similarities in measurements found in the case study of leaf-shaped pillows, and the mechanisms summarized from sketchy copies and masters teamed with their apprentices in Chapter 6 and the technological tactics for molding in the case of “Pillow Poem” all contribute to the solutions in dealing with the production efficiency. Or, in other words, the discussion on the similar measurements presented from the cases of leaf-shaped pillows has suggested the convincing existence of the production-line format,
along which massive molded biscuits were uniformly crafted, not only to decrease the technical difficulty and guarantee the products’ quality but also to accelerate the production efficiency. And, sparing no effort to improve their competitiveness and make greater profits, the mechanisms of sketchy copies and master-and-apprentice cooperation are assumed to have been adopted. Both contributed a lot in the efficient production and inserted quality controls onto the finalized products.

Also, my analyses on the cases of publicizing workshop reputation and seeking for the consumers’ tastes aim to unveil their methods of increasing pillow commercialization. The radical shift associated with consumers’ social status and identity and their economic ability, therefore, dominated the marketing preferences. Furthermore, its urban cultural activities flourished as a result of the Song’s booming urbanization, as labor service and cultural leisure had already become commodities, purchased and sold back and forth. To cope with such commercial prosperity, Cizhou-ware potters recruited as many a popular metaphoric décor embedded with all kinds of auspicious connotations into their pictorial designs as possible and consequently the Cizhou-type wares have compiled the richest pictorial repertoire.

What cannot be neglected lastly is their cautious conducts for the sake of securing the product quality. Hence, stress has been laid onto the inside of the artisans’ circle, where certain professional guilds could have established, not only to enforce internal governance over the workshops but also to resolve the disputes among workshops and to regulate the personnel of artisans at work.

To sum up, as the private kilns, which could not have run without the economic concerns on production expenditure like tribute- or official-kilns had done, Cizhou wares survived by occupying more market shares and increasing their sale quantities. Under such circumstances, the most representative characteristic of Cizhou wares was its property of commercialization. To fulfill such consumption urges and facilitate the marketing challenges, Cizhou potters outsmarted the hardship, which was caused by inferior coarse clay, refining their technological intelligence to secure the production quality, and updating their decorating tastes to please the market. The analyses and interpretations targeted at the manufacture, the
technology and the marketplace of Cizhou-ware pillows actually explains the remarkable population growth and urban expansion which bestowed Cizhou-ware potters more opportunities to enlarge their market shares. This caused the transforming development in which stoneware products became rather affordable for the general populace and replaced the previous earthenware. Such consuming shift, on the one hand, descended the stoneware from its privileged use by imperial court and aristocracy, particularly in Sui and Tang dynasties; on the other hand, the shift from earthenware to stoneware had the pillow marketing expanded and enabled the common urban residents and town people to afford the pillows’ purchase and usage.

Yet, although my research investigations have been focusing on ceramic pillows, a seemingly trivial living necessity for daily life, these investigations actually have already been intertwined within the large social status quo and become a significant episode that reflects some rather radical revolutionary changes of Song and Jin eras. To illustrate, in the field of economic development, commercialization and privatized handicrafts industry leaped towards more mature levels, as chances are that large quantities of affordable stoneware, like in my case study of Cizhou-ware pillows, were bought and sold in copper-cash, an initial emblem of a currency-functioning society. Then, the deepening development of commercialized society thus eliminated the privileged monopolies over certain tributes and corvee-- exclusively enjoyed by the imperial and aristocratic classes and switched them into consuming goods and services that could be purchased due to one’s economic ability. This secularized shift finally blurred the hierarchical differentiation determined by one’s birth and monetary prowess became a crucial criterion to have oneself either blended into or rejected by the society. Also, the booming growth of population and expansion of urbanization facilitated the prosperity of urban culture and literati predominance. As a result, generated by the looser attachments between people and farmlands, a unidimensional migrating of population flowed fast, from rural areas to urban centers where a new social interpersonal relationship was bounded by all kinds of commercial contracts through commercialization, since the populous urban centers attracted and gathered more labor forces, more job opportunities, more consumptions in the form of commodities and
services. Furthermore, the compelling expansion of urbanization also urged the occurrences of charitable infrastructure and guild administration and alike to be strengthened and refined.

To narrow down to my research perspective, what ultimately can be extracted through the contextual analyses on the historical materiality of Cizhou-ware pillows is the core characteristics of its being extremely commercialized. Within my investigations, through the means of employing artisans as the examining agent, pillows are no longer merely the works of art for aesthetic appreciation; rather, they allow me to make further inquiries into their original functions and values, both profit-oriented and highly commoditized through the perspective of a monetary society. The investigations into the history of Cizhou-ware pillow consumption nevertheless present us the exchangeability of Cizhou-ware pillows as a monetized commodity, dating back to those 400 years, from the 10th to the 13th century when China had been experiencing an enormously prosperous era of commercialization and commoditization throughout its populous urban centers, large and small.
Bibliography

Appadurai, A. (editor)

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria

Barbieri-Low, A. J.

Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi, Hebeisheng Wenwu Yanjiu Suo, and Handan Di Qu Wenwu Baoguan Suo
1997 *Guantai Cizhou yao zhi: 观台磁州窑址 (The Cizhou Kiln Site at Guantai)*. Wen wu chu ban she: Xin hua shu dian jing xiao, Beijing.

Beijing Yishu Bowu Guan
2011 *Zhongguo Dangyangyu yao (Dangyangyu kiln of China)*. Zhongguo Hua qiao chu ban she, Beijing.

Cahill, J.

Cai, Zie 蔡子谔, and Hou Zhigang 侯志刚
2008 *Cizhou yao zao xing yi shu yu min su wen hua (Aesthetics and Folk Culture of Cizhou-ware)*. Hebei da xue chu ban she, Baoding.

Cao, Gejia 曹克家, and Wang Shuwen 王书文
1960 *Song dai min jian tao ci wen yang: Designs of Song Private Kilns: Cizhou-type*. Shanghai ren min mei shu chu ban she, Shanghai.

Chen, Guocan 陈国灿
2009 *Nan Song cheng zhen shi (Civil History of the Southern Song Dynasty)*. Ren min chu ban she, Beijing.

Cheng, Minsheng 程民生
1992 *Song dai di yu jing ji (Regional Economy of the Song Dynasty)*. Henan da xue chu ban she, Kaifeng.
2008 *Song dai wu jia yan jiu (Research on Commodities of the Song Dynasty)*.
Song Eras). Ren min chu ban she, Beijing.

2013  Song dai ren kou wen ti kao cha 宋代人口问题考察(Survey on Demographic Issues of the Song Eras). Henan ren min chu ban she, Zhengzhou.

Chinese University of Hong Kong.

1989  Chinese ceramic pillows from the collection of Mr. & Mrs. Yeung Wing Tak. Xianggang Zhong wen da xue wen wu guan, Hongkong.

de Pee, C.


Deng, Guangming 邓广铭, and Qi Xia 漆侠

1988  Liang Song zheng zhì jìng jì wèn tì 两宋政治经济问题(Political and Economic Issues of the Song Dynasties). Zhi shi chu ban she, Shanghai.

Feng, Xiaoqi 冯小琦(editor)

2013  Ci Zhou yao ci qi yan jiu 磁州窑瓷器研究(The research of porcelain of Cizhou kiln). Gu gong chu ban she, Beijing.

Fraser. S.


Guo, Xuelei 郭学雷

2005  Ming dai Cizhou yao ci qi 明代磁州窑瓷器(Cizhou-type Wares in Ming Dynasty). Wen wu chu ban she, Beijing.

Guo, Zhengzhong 郭正忠

1997  Liang Song cheng xiang shang pin huo bi jing ji kao lue 两宋城乡商品货币考略(Monetary and Economic Research on Cities and Towns of the Northern and Southern Song Dynasties). Jing ji guan li chu ban she, Beijing.

Hao, Liangzhen 郝良真, Zhao Xuefeng 赵学峰, and Ma Xiaoqing 马小青(editors)


Hetherington, A. L.


Huang, Yijun 黄义军
2010  Song dai qing bai ci de li shi di li yan jiu  宋代青白瓷的历史地理研究 (Historical and Geographic Research on Qingbai Porcelains of Song Dynasty).
Wen wu chu ban she, Beijing.

Jojin
2009  Xin jiao can Tiantai Wutai Shan ji  新校参天台五台山记(Records of Pilgrimages to Mount Tiantai and Mount Wutai). Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, Shanghai.

Kesner, L.

Li, Chuntang 李春堂
2014  The urban life of the Song dynasty. Paths International Ltd, Reading.

Li, Jingzhou 李景洲, and Liu Aiye 刘爱叶(editors)
2011  Zhongguo Dengfeng yao  中国登封窑(Dengfeng kiln of China). Wen wu chu ban she, Beijing.

Liu, Tao 刘涛
2004  Song Liao Jin ji nian ci qi  宋辽金纪年瓷器 (Dated Ceramic Wares of Song, Liao and Jin Dynasties). Wen wu chu ban she, Beijing.

Liu, Zhiguo 刘志国

Ma, L. J.C.
1971  Commercial development and urban change in Sung China (960-1279). University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Ma. Xiaqing 马小青

Medley, M.

Meng, Yuanlao 孟元老
2010  Dong jing meng hua lu  东京梦华录(Records of Splendors of Eastern Capital).
Zhongzhou guji chuban she, Zhengzhou.
Mino, Y.

Nanjing Bo Wu Yuan 南京博物院
2012  *Song Boyin wen ji. Zhen ju juan 宋伯胤文集：枕具卷(Essays on Pillows by Song Boyin).* Wen wu chu ban she, Beijing.

Peng, Shanguo 彭善国

Qi, Xia 漆侠
1987  *Song dai jing ji shi 宋代经济史 (Economic History of Song Dynasty).* Shanghai ren min chu ban she, Shanghai.

Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiu Suo 山西省考古研究所, Fenyangshi Wenwu Lüyou Ju 汾阳市文物旅游局, and Fenyangshí Bowu Guan 汾阳市博物馆
2012  *Fenyang Dong long guan Song Jin bi hua mu 汾阳宫东龙观宋金壁画墓(Song Dynastic Mural Tombs of Donglong Guan at Fengyang).* Wen wu chu ban she, Beijing.

Shi, Xun 石训, and Zhu Baoshu 朱保书
2000  *Zhongguo Song dai wen hua 中国宋代文化 (Chinese Culture during the Song Dynasty).* Henan ren min chu ban she, Zhengzhou.

Song, Liangbi 宋良璧, Liu Qiang 刘强, and Feng Suge 冯素阁(editors)
1992  *Guangdong sheng bo wu guan cang tao ci xuan 广东省博物馆藏陶瓷卷 (Selected Ceramics of Guangdong Provincial Museum).* Wen wu chu ban she, Beijing.

Tong, Shuye 童书业
2005  *Zhongguo shou gong ye shang ye fa zhan shi 中国手工业商业发展史 (History of Handicraft Industry of China).* Zhonghua shu ju, Beijing.
2008  *Tong Shuye ci qi shi lun ji 童书业瓷器史论集 (Essay Compilation on Ceramic History by Tong Shuye).* Zhonghua shu ju, Beijing.

Tuotuo 脱脱
1977  *Song shi 宋史 (Song History: Food).* Zhonghua shu ju, Beijing.

Wang, Xing 王兴(editor)
2004  *Cizhou yao shi hua 磁州窑史话 (Brief History of Cizhou Kiln).* Tianjin gu ji chu ban she, Tianjin Shi.
Wenwu Bianji Weiyuan Hui 文物编辑委员会
1984 Zhongguo gu dai yao zhi diao cha fa jue bao gao ji 中国古代窑址调查发掘报告集(Compiled Reports of Ancient Ceramic Sites of China). Wen wu chu ban she, Beijing.

Wu, Hui 吴慧

Wu, Hung 巫鸿
2008 Mei shu shi shi yi 美术史十议(Ten Issues on Art History). Sheng huo · du shu · xin zhi san lian shu dian, Beijing.

Wu, Tao 吴涛
1984 Bei Song du cheng Dongjing 北宋都城东京(The Eastern Capital of the Northern Song Dynasty). Henan ren min chu ban she, Zhengzhou.

Wu, Zhefu 吴哲夫 (editor)

Wu, Zimu 吴自牧

Xu Biao 徐飚
2007 Liang Song wu zhi wen hua yin lun 两宋物质文化引论(A Comprehensive Introduction on Material Culture of the Song Dynasty). Jiangsu mei shu chu ban she, Nanjing.

Xu, Song 徐嵩
1936 Song hui yao ji gao 宋会要辑稿(Song Dynasty Manuscript Compendium: Food). Guo li Beiping tu shu guan, Beijing.

Yang, Weisheng 杨渭生
2008 Liang Song wen hua shi 两宋文化史(Cultures of the Northern and Southern Song Dynasties). Zhejiang da xue chu ban she, Hangzhou.

Ye, Zhemin 叶喆民
2003 Sui Tang Song Yuan tao ci tong lun 隋唐宋元陶瓷通论(General History of Sui, Tang, Song and Yuan Ceramics). Zi jin cheng chu ban she, Beijing.
Yi, Yongwen 伊永文
2005  Xing zou zai Song dai de cheng shi : Song dai cheng shi feng qing tu ji 行走在宋代的城市：宋代城市风情图集(Streetscape of the Song Dynasties). Zhonghua shu ju chu ban she, Beijing.

Zhang, Bai 张柏(editor)

Zhang, Jinpeng 张锦鹏
2003  Song dai shang pin gong ji yan jiu 宋代商品供应研究(Studies on Commodity Supplies of the Song Dynasties). Yunnan da xue chu ban she, Kunming Shi.

Zhang, Liya 张利亚
1999  Cizhou yao wen yang 磁州窑纹样(Motifs of Cizhou Wares). Hebei mei shu chu ban she, Shijiazhuang.

Zhang, Zhenyu 张振宇

Zhang, Ziyiing 张子英
2000  Ci Zhou yao ci zhen 磁州窑瓷枕(Cizhou-ware Pillows). Ren min mei shu chu ban she, Beijing.

Zhao, Dingxin 赵学峰

Zhao, Xuefeng 赵学峰(editor)
2004  Zhongguo Cizhou yao 中国磁州窑(Cizhou Kiln of China). Chongqing chu ban she, Chongqing.

Zhou, Baozhu 周宝珠

Zijingcheng Chuban She 紫禁城出版社
Appendix A. Pillows Selected from ROM’s Collection

Cizhou-type leaf-shaped pillow with lotus and egret design and combed background
白釉篦划花莲鹭纹叶形枕
Northern Song dynasty
Length: [front] 23.0 cm; [mid/max] 31.1 cm;
Width: [front-tip] 32.0 cm;
Height: [front] 7.0 cm; [bottom-tip] 18.5 cm;
Circumference: 48.1 cm;
Top slab thickness: 0.6 cm
920.10.24

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划花折枝牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 24.0 cm, [max] 32.0 cm;
Width: 32.5 cm;
Height: [front] 7.0 cm, [back] 19.6 cm;
Circumference: 51.0 cm
Circumference: 51.0 cm;
Top slab thickness: 0.5 cm
922.20.186

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of lotus spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划花折枝莲纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 24.5 cm, [max] 34.0 cm;
Width: 33.0 cm;
Height: [front] 8.0 cm, [back] 21.5 cm;
Circumference: 50.5 cm
Top slab thickness: 0.7 cm
922.20.187
Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划花折枝牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 24.0 cm, [max] 33.5 cm;
Width: 32.0 cm;
Height: [front] 7.0 cm, [back] 48.5 cm;
Circumference: 49.8 cm
Top slab thickness: 0.8 cm
922.20.188

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划折枝牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song dynasty / Jin dynasty
Length: [front] 22.0 cm; [max] 31.5 cm
Width: [front-tip] 31.5 cm;
Height: [front] 7.4 cm; [back] 18.4 cm;
Circumference: 50.4 cm;
Top slab thickness: 0.5 cm
922.20.189

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划花牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 24.0 cm, [max] 35.5 cm;
Width: 34.3 cm;
Height: [front] 7.8 cm, [back] 22.0 cm;
Circumference: 50.5 cm
Top slab thickness: 0.9 cm
922.20.204
Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑篦划花牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 24.0 cm, [max] 36.5 cm;
Width: 34.2 cm;
Height: [front] 7.0 cm, [back] 22.3 cm;
Circumference: 50.4 cm
Top slab thickness: 0.5 cm
922.20.205

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with a cloud-shaped medallion and incised design of peony spray
磁州窑白釉篦划花折枝牡丹纹内开光叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 22.4 cm, [max] 34.0 cm;
Width: 33.3 cm;
Height: [front] 8.1 cm, [back] 22.2 cm;
Circumference: 52.0 cm;
Top slab thickness: 0.6 cm
925X77

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划花折枝牡丹纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 20.5 cm, [max] 28.4 cm;
Width: 29.7 cm;
Height: [front] 6.7 cm, [back] 17.8 cm;
Circumference: 51.2 cm;
Top slab thickness: 0.7 cm
921.21.232
Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划花折枝牡丹纹叶枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: [front] 20.9 cm, [max] 28.9 cm;
Width: 29.9 cm;
Height: [front] 6.6 cm, [back] 17.8 cm;
Circumference: 50.7 cm;
Top slab thickness: 0.6 cm
923.17.141

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised character “忍” and combed background
磁州窑白釉篦划“忍”字纹叶形枕
Northern Song/Jin Dynasty
Length: 28.0 cm;
Width: 30.1 cm;
Height: 18.7 cm;
923.17.70

Cizhou-type bean-shaped pillow with children-at-play and peony design
珍珠地篦划酱彩绘童子持莲缠枝牡丹纹豆形枕
Northern Song dynasty, mid-11th century [?]
Length: [front] 22.0 cm, [maximum] 26.8 cm;
Height: [front] 9.5 cm, [back] 12.4 cm;
Width: 18.0 cm
918.21.392

Cizhou octagonal pillow with incised design of hibiscus spray and pearl-ground
磁州窑珍珠地篦划芙蓉纹八角枕
Northern Song Dynasty
Length: [front] 22.0 cm, [max] 26.0 cm;
Width: 18.0 cm;
Height: [front] 9.0 cm, [back] 11.4 cm
926.21.172
Cizhou bean-shaped pillow with chrysanthemum design and fish-roe background
磁州窑珍珠地篦划花折枝菊花纹腰圆枕
Northern Song dynasty[?]
Length: [front] 13.0 cm; [max] 21.0 cm;
Width: 15.0 cm;
Height: [front] 8.0 cm; [back] 8.3 cm;
926.21.92

Cizhou green glazed bean-shaped pillow with flower design
绿釉折枝牡丹纹腰圆枕
Jin dynasty [?]
Length: [front] 20.0 cm; [max] 25.5 cm;
Width: 17.8 cm;
Height: [front] 6.7 cm; [back] 10.3 cm;
926.21.140

Cizhou ink-painting rectangular pillow with tiger design
白地黑花虎纹长方枕
Jin dynasty
Length: [front] 26.5 cm; [back] 28.0 cm
Width: 16.0 cm;
Height: [front] 9.0 cm; [back] 13.4 cm;
960.238.177

Cizhou cloud-shaped pillow with ink-painting design of “boy playing with duck”
磁州窑白地黑花“童子牧鸭”纹如意云头枕
Jin Dynasty
Length: 35.0 cm;
Width: 26.2 cm;
Height: 14.9 cm
918.21.393
Cizhou cloud-shaped pillow with ink-painting design of “boy holding a water lily leaf”
磁州窑白地黑花“童子持荷”纹如意云头枕
Jin Dynasty
Length: 31.7 cm;
Width: 39.0 cm
Height: 13.5 cm
920.10.41

Cizhou octagonal pillow with ink-painting design of “boy playing with bird”
磁州窑白地黑花“童子戏鸟”纹八角枕
Jin Dynasty
Length: 30.0 cm;
Width: 19.9 cm
Height: 11.0 cm
960.238.176

Cizhou octagonal pillow with ink-painting design of peony spray
磁州窑白地黑花牡丹纹八角枕
Jin Dynasty
Length: 26.5 cm;
Width: 19.0 cm
Height: 10.5 cm
920.10.6

Cizhou tiger-shaped pillow with ink-painting design of two magpies
磁州窑褐釉黑花“双喜”纹虎形枕
Jin Dynasty
Length: 35.1 cm;
Width: 17.4 cm;
Height: 9.3 cm
926.21.101
Appendix B. Pillows Selected from Publications

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow under green glaze with incised design of peony spray
Jin Dynasty
Length: 30 cm;
Width: 30 cm;
Height: 19.5 cm
Excavated at Yezi, Cixian, Hebei province.
Publication: Zhang Ziyi, *Cizhou-ware Pillows*

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray
Jin Dynasty
Length: 29.3 cm;
Width: 28.5 cm;
Height: 18.5 cm
Excavated at Guantai, Cixian, Hebei province.
Publication: Zhang Ziyi, *Cizhou-ware Pillows*

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray
Song Dynasty
Length: 29.3 cm;
Width: 28.5 cm;
Height: 18.5 cm
Excavated at Guantai, Cixian, Hebei province.
Publication: Zhang Ziyi, *Cizhou-ware Pillows*

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised design of peony spray
Northern Song Dynasty
Length: 26.4 cm;
Width: 28.4 cm;
Height: 17.6 cm
Source: Museum of the Mausoleum of the Nanyue King, Guangzhou
Publication: *Chinese Ceramic Pillows the Mr. & Mrs. Yeung Wing Tak Gift*
Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised grass scrolls and a medallion encompassing inscriptions of a poem
Northern Song Dynasty
Length: 27.9 cm;
Width: 28.4 cm;
Height: 17.0 cm
Source: Museum of the Mausoleum of the Nanyue King, Guangzhou
Publication: Chinese Ceramic Pillows the Mr. & Mrs. Yeung Wing Tak Gift

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with incised character of “忍” (endurance) and combed background
Northern Song Dynasty
Height: 20.1 cm
Source: Indianapolis Museum of Art,
Publication: Mino, Freedom of Clay and Brush through Seven Centuries in Northern China: Tz’u-chou Type Wares, 960-1600 A.D.

Cizhou bean-shaped pillow with incised peony design and pearl-ground
Northern Song Dynasty
Length: 27.1 cm;
Width: 20.4 cm;
Height: 11.5 cm;
Source: Museum of the Mausoleum of the Nanyue King, Guangzhou

Cizhou four-lobed pillow with incised ram design and pearl-ground
Northern Song Dynasty
Length: 18.0 cm;
Width: 13.8 cm;
Height: 8.8 cm;
Source: Museum of the Mausoleum of the Nanyue King, Guangzhou
Cizhou bean-shaped pillow with ink-painted design of “children-at-play”
Song Dynasty
Length: 28.8 cm;
Width: 22.1 cm;
Height: 7.7 cm;
Excavated at Caoyanzhuang, Xingtai, Hebei province.
Publication: Zhang Ziying, *Cizhou-ware Pillows*

Cizhou octagonal pillow with ink-painted design of “children-at-play”
Jin Dynasty
Length: 30 cm;
Width: 18.5 cm;
Height: 10.8 cm;
Excavated at Xingtai, Hebei province.
Publication: Zhang Ziying, *Cizhou-ware Pillows*

Cizhou octagonal pillow with ink-painted design of “children-at-play”
Jin Dynasty
Length: 28.7 cm;
Width: 20.0 cm;
Height: 10.0 cm;
Excavated at Yezi, Cixian, Hebei province.
Publication: Zhang Ziying, *Cizhou-ware Pillows*

Cizhou bean-shaped pillow with ink-painted design of “children-at-play”
Northern Song Dynasty
Length: 22.8 cm;
Width: 17.1 cm;
Height: 9.6 cm;
Source: Museum of the Mausoleum of the Nanyue King, Guangzhou
Cizhou bean-shaped pillow with ink-painted design of “tiger”
Jin Dynasty
Length: 37.8 cm;
Width: 27.0 cm;
Height: 14.8 cm;
Excavated at Guantai, Cixian, Hebei province.
Publication: Zhang Ziying, Cizhou-ware Pillows

Cizhou bean-shaped pillow with ink-painted design of “flower-and-bird”
Jin Dynasty
Length: 31.0 cm;
Width: 22.7 cm;
Height: 12.7 cm;
Excavated at Yezi, Cixian, Hebei province.
Publication: Zhang Ziying, Cizhou-ware Pillows

Cizhou octagonal pillow with ink-painted design of “flower-and-bird”
Jin Dynasty
Length: 25.1 cm;
Height: 11.0 cm;
Source: Museum of Fine Art, Boston
Publication: Mino, Freedom of Clay and Brush through Seven Centuries in Northern China: T’zu-chou Type Wares, 960-1600 A.D.

Cizhou rectangular pillow with ink-painted design of “falcon chasing rabbit”
Jin Dynasty
Length: 30.3 cm;
Width: 16.3 cm;
Height: 13.0 cm;
Excavated at Guangshiqiao, Cixian, Hebei province.
Publication: Zhang Ziying, Cizhou-ware Pillows
Cizhou bean-shaped pillow with ink-painted design of “chess-play”
Jin Dynasty
Length: 27.6 cm;
Height: 10.2 cm;
Source: Philadelphia Museum of Art
Publication: Mino, Freedom of Clay and Brush through Seven Centuries in Northern China: Tz’u-chou Type Wares, 960-1600 A.D.

Cizhou rectangular pillow with ink-painted design of “chess-play”
Jin Dynasty
Length: 50.2 cm;
Width: 18.5 cm;
Height: 14.2 cm;
Excavated at Shangcheng site, Zhengzhou, Henan province.
Publication: Complete Collection of Ceramic Art Unearthed in China

Cizhou leaf-shaped pillow with sgraffiato design of “bear”
Northern Song Dynasty
Width: 31.5 cm
Source: British Museum
Publication: Mino, Freedom of Clay and Brush through Seven Centuries in Northern China: Tz’u-chou Type Wares, 960-1600 A.D.

Cizhou bean-shaped pillow with ink-painted design of “flower-and-bird”
Jin Dynasty
Width: 25.1 cm;
Height: 9.9 cm;
Source: Museum of Fine Art, Boston
Publication: Mino, Freedom of Clay and Brush through Seven Centuries in Northern China: Tz’u-chou Type Wares, 960-1600 A.D.
Cizhou octagonal pillow with ink-painted design of “jockey performance”
Jin Dynasty
Length: 25.1 cm;
Height: 11.0 cm;
Source: Forbidden Palace Museum
Publication: Zhang Ziying, Cizhou-ware Pillows

Cizhou rectangular pillow with ink-painted design of historical anecdote
Jin Dynasty
Length: 29.5 cm;
Width: 17.0 cm;
Height: 14.5 cm;
Excavated at Guantai, Hebei province.
Source: “Cizhou-ware Pillows” by Zhang Ziyng

Cizhou rectangular pillow with the episode from the Journey to the West
Yuan Dynasty
Length: 40.0 cm
Width: 16.7 cm
Height: [front] 10.0 cm, [back] 13.0 cm
Source: Guangdong Provincial Museum