STITCH-RESIST DYED FABRICS OF WESTERN CHINA

By Carl Schuster

As the names commonly associated with various types of textile resist-dyeing — batik, ikat, plangi, tirik — are derived from the Malay language of Indonesia, we are apt to think of these techniques as primarily or originally Indonesian. However, though such techniques are widely practiced in Java and other islands of the East Indian archipelago, and though the various resist techniques of Indonesia have probably received more, or at least earlier, attention from scholars than those of other regions, actually the practice of resist-dyeing is very widely distributed throughout the world, both in ancient and modern times. Recently, a Swiss scholar has made an essay at classifying the various resist techniques, as applied to textiles and to other media as well, and has assembled a large body of data demonstrating the worldwide distribution of these techniques. One of the interesting results of this study is the observation that such techniques seldom occur singly in a given area. Once the principle of resist-dyeing is grasped, people are apt to apply it in various ways; so that instances of various resist techniques tend to appear in clusters on the map.

In Southeast Asia, for example, both the batik and the ikat methods (respectively, wax-resist dyeing of the finished cloth, and tie-dyeing of the threads of a fabric before weaving) are fairly widely practiced; though there is a tendency for certain peoples to specialize in certain techniques. Thus, various groups of the Thai race make use of ikat, while the chief (but not exclusive) practitioners of batik are the Miao, who live in the mountains of Southwestern China, Northern Indochina and Siam, and Eastern Burma. As for the Chinese people of the present day, until now there has been but little published evidence of the occurrence of resist-dyeing among them. In view of the wide general distribution of such dyeing methods, and of the great technical accomplishment and complex cultural history of the Chinese, it seems reasonable to expect that they should make use of some of these techniques. According to the
present knowledge of the writer, the evidence for ikat-weaving among the modern Chinese is doubtful, while the Chinese use of wax-batik seems to be restricted to a small area, or even a single town, on the southeast coast of the country, where it is practiced not as a folk art, but rather as a commercial industry.\(^3\)

There is, however, one form of resist-dyeing which is widely employed by the common people of a large part of China as a traditional folk art, rather than as a localized commercial industry. This is a group of techniques for which we suggest the general name of “stitch-resist dyeing,” which is practiced as a household art by the women of Western and Southwestern China — chiefly in the provinces of Szech’uan, Kweichow, and Yünnan.

The accompanying illustrations from the writer’s collection, made between 1926 and 1938, offer a selection of specimens exemplifying these procedures. As for the uses to which such cloths are put, they include wrappers for bundles, bedspreads or quilt–covers, curtains or hangings, and bed–valances. Not illustrated, but equally common, are various articles of clothing, especially for children, such as bibs, aprons, trousers, jackets. The dye used in almost all instances is indigo blue.\(^5\) A red dye occurs occasionally, but I have never seen a piece dyed in more than one color.

The methods used in producing the designs of these cloths do not correspond exactly to the concepts of plangi or tie-dyeing, nor of tritik or “shirr-dyeing,” though partly to some extent of the nature of both, and include, besides, the use of other means not understood under these terms. Perhaps the chief technical devices which give these designs their distinctive quality are the highly specialized use of folds, and the use of stitching, partly to hold the folds in place during dyeing, but also in a means of effecting a dye-resistant cover of small areas of the material; and finally the application of dye–resisting cords, which, again, are held in place by stitching. As it is stitching which forms the indispensable binding of both folds and cords, it seems justifiable, for brevity’s sake, to designate this entire complex of procedures by the name of their final phase. It should be said at once that none of these methods of resist-dyeing — by means of folding and of stitching, and by means of applied foreign bodies, such as dye–resisting cords, to the surface of the material — is unknown elsewhere in the world. Every technique used in this Chinese work can be duplicated, at least in principle, in other traditions. And yet this work stands apart from, and in many ways above, the resist-dyeing done by similar methods in other parts of the world. What distinguishes our Chinese work is the elaboration of simple means — most strikingly, perhaps, the clever exploitation of the principle of folding — and the skillful combination of these methods to carry out complex and highly organized schemes of design.

The procedure followed in dyeing by the cord-resist method seems to have been about as follows. First, the design to be reserved against the dye by this method is drawn on the cloth in single lines. Then the operator commences to pinch the cloth into a fold, following the drawing in such a way that the ridge of the fold always coincides with the drawn line. Holding a bit of the fold with one hand, she uses the other hand to lay a corresponding length of cord against one side of the fold, then with the first hand rolls the ridge of the fold down, so as to cover the cord with the doubled material. The cord, together with its double covering of cloth, is then firmly stitched in place with needle and coarse thread. As it is impossible to hold the folded material in position for more than a short distance, the operator must repeat this process over and over again, literally inching her way along the predetermined outlines of the design. When the whole design has been thus folded and stitched down over the cord, the cloth is immersed in the dye. After the surplus dye has been washed out of the cloth and the binding stitches removed, the result of this procedure is a broad white band accompanied by a row of little white lines. The width of the band is determined by the circumference of the cord around which the cloth was wrapped; while the little lines represent the dye-resistant action of the binding stitches. The pattern made by the lines is determined by the character of the stitch chosen for the binding. Where the binding was done by means of an overhand or whip stitch, these lines appear as a row of parallel marks, diagonal or roughly at right angles to the broad band (as, for example, in Plate 1, or in the fins and tail of the fish in the End-piece).\(^6\) Where the binding was done by means of a simple running stitch, the result is two series of dashes, both running parallel to the broad band (as, for example, in the head, scales, and upper and lower bodily outlines of the fish in the end-piece). Other stitches are, of course, possible. Some specimens, not here illustrated, show evidence of zigzag or criss-cross stitching. Doubling the cloth over the cord before stitching it in place evidently has the effect of enhancing its resistance to the dye, and so insuring a clean white band; while the same doubling also provides a firm body, upon which the binding stitches act more efficiently as a means of reservation against the dye, thus insuring a distinct pattern of little lines.
The use of binding stitches as a secondary means of reservation against the dye undoubtedly improves the decorative effect of the designs by softening the broad outlines left by the cords.

If we understand by plangi the simple binding (not sewing) of an area of cloth around a hard, round core, such as a stick or nail (Indian bandhana; Japanese shibori), by which the material at the top of the core may be left free to take the dye, while a "neck" of material, bound closely to the core, resists the dye and appears, after untying, as a more or less regular white ring; then it must be said that this method seems to have been employed only exceptionally by the Chinese in the work here illustrated. Such a plangi technique does appear to have been used to make the ring-like eyes of the butterflies at the top of the Frontispiece, and the eye-rings of the lions in Plate II. Again, the noses of the lions in the same piece may have been produced by a plangi procedure, in which the entire area intended for the nose has been somehow tied off against the dye. The bedspread in the Frontispiece shows a typical plangi-ringlet in the extreme upper left-hand corner, which seems to have been produced by tying the end of a stick into the cloth, in order to facilitate its manipulation in the dye-bath. From these instances it appears that the use of plangi, if it occurs at all, plays only a minor and incidental role in this work. It is not one of the techniques upon which the Chinese depend for larger decorative effects, as so often do the Indians, Indonesians, and Japanese.

The ubiquitous "butterflies" of these cloths, as they occur, for example, in the central band of the bedspread illustrated in the Frontispiece, again defy classification within the usual categories of resist-dyeing techniques. These motives are produced by a combination of folding and stitching, as shown in Fig. 1. After a preliminary fold is made in the cloth (Fig. 1, number 1), a second fold, meeting the first at an angle of sixty degrees, is made at the operator's right and toward him; then a third fold, beginning at the juncture of the first and second folds, is made at the same angle as before, but on the operator's left and away from him. The resulting point is folded down (Fig. 1, number 4) and secured in place by two stitches which, by their resistance to the dye, leave two white lines representing the antennae of the butterfly. It is obvious that this procedure does not correspond to the definition of plangi, since it involves folding and stitching rather than binding. On the other hand, the way in which the Chinese use rows of these "butterflies" to fill spaces, as in the Frontispiece, recalls somewhat the use made of plangi-ringlets in other traditions.
The question whether the Indonesian technique known as *tritik* occurs in these cloths may be answered with a qualified negative. As defined and illustrated by Loebèr, and by Jasper and Piringadie, this technique involves the sewing of a thread through the cloth in a simple running stitch, and the tight puckering or shirring of the material on the thread. After dyeing and opening, a somewhat irregular line of tiny white spots (whence the Indonesian term of *tritik*, meaning “sprinkled”) appears along the line of the sewing. In Java this technique is used primarily as a border decoration. Indeed, a rectangular cloth is there generally folded into quarters and the four thicknesses are stitched together in one operation. It is doubtful whether anything corresponding at all closely to the Javanese *tritik* occurs in these Chinese resist-dyed cloths. In the first place, the Chinese cotton cloth is generally so heavy as to preclude its taking the dye evenly if sewn together in several layers (it is, in fact, this relative imperviousness which facilitates the effective use of resist-dyeing by means of cords, as described above). Secondly, in so far as the Chinese make use of puckering or shirring, they tend to treat the puckers as carefully measured and aligned pleats or folds (a treatment which, again, is perhaps conditioned by the relative coarseness of the Chinese cloth), rather than letting the cloth gather in haphazard fashion on the thread. Produced by this quasi-*tritik* method are, apparently, the rayed circles surrounding the butterfly “knots” in Plate III, and also the rayed outlines of the eight-lobed rosettes on the same cloth. The intention and the effect are quite different from those of Javanese *tritik*, even though the two methods may be related technically.

These considerations by no means cover all the technical processes displayed by this type of Western Chinese resist-dyeing, nor even all the techniques of the specimens here illustrated. The method used to produce the outlines of the main design of Plate IV, for example, still eludes us; though it seems reasonable to infer that here again it is a combination of folding and stitching. In summary of the technical question, it should, perhaps, be said that, although none of the procedures here used is unknown in other parts of the world, still this Chinese work is distinguished by an unusual and original combination of such techniques, by their extraordinarily skillful manipulation, and by their adaptation to the forms of a richly evolved and highly imaginative folk art. It is for this reason that, despite the impossibility of explaining every technical detail, it seems advisable to publish at least some examples of
this work, in the hope that students, and especially observers in China, may be stimulated to further investigation.

Leaving the question of techniques, we turn to a brief consideration of the designs themselves. In general, these may be described as thoroughly characteristic of the folk art of China, especially as it occurs in the western provinces of the country. Whiskered fishes (probably carp) with streamers of aquatic weeds as in the End-piece, are common in Chinese folk art. The scroll in the corner of the same piece is a typical Chinese “cloud scroll” or “ju-i scepter’s head.” A favorite motive in all phases of Chinese art is the lotus, which forms the central feature in Plates I, II and IV. In Plates I and IV the lotus root (in itself significant in Chinese symbolic lore) appears in the form of a three-lobed numeral 8, four times in Plate I, and once at the bottom of Plate IV. The two birds flying toward the central lotus in the former design are intended for herons or egrets. Together with the lotus they constitute a stereotype of Western Chinese popular design, called lu-su wo lien, or “herons settling among the lotus.” The design of Plate V can be best understood with reference to the cross-stitch bed-valances widely used in Western China, which are generally decorated with rows of roundels or medallions, interspersed with smaller motives, often sprigs of foliage. The butterflies in the upper corners of the bedspread in the Frontispiece represent a favorite motive of Chinese folk art, while the three vases or jardinières standing before balustrades at the bottom of the same piece undoubtedly reflect the intrusion of urban or professional influence in what is otherwise essentially a rural and domestic art.

In Plates II and VI we see two different ways of treating the popular motive of “two lions rolling the embroidered ball”—a motive which, like many in the modern repertory of Chinese folk art, seems to trace its descent from the T’ang dynasty (7th to 10th century). In Plate II the “embroidered ball,” which usually occupies a central position between the two contending creatures, has been changed into a kind of lotus flower, formed around a conventionalized cash or square-holed coin, popularly called a “wheel cash” (ku-lu ch’ien). Evidently because of this transformation of the central motive, each lion is provided with an “embroidered ball” of his own, complete with the usual fluttering ribbons. In Plate VI the “embroidered ball” appears in the center of the composition, again in the form of a “wheel cash,” decorated by a ribbon with four loops and a dangling end. Flanking this central motive, the two lions, highly conventionalized and almost lost in a whirl of linear
PLATE IV
CLOTH FOR WRAPPING BUNDLES (pao-fu). ANYO, SZECH’UAN
36 x 37 IN. (91 x 94 CM.)
ornament, are characteristically shown with bodies in side view and heads in front view, their tails reaching into the upper corners of the cloth. Among accessory elements of the composition we distinguish four auspicious symbols. Most easily recognized is the magic sword of Lü Tung-chen, one of the eight Taoist immortals, above the head of the lion at the left. Beneath the right-hand lion is a gourd, or possibly two telescoped gourds, which might be regarded as the attribute of Li T'ieh-kuai, another of the immortals. The symbol at the lower left may be an inept rendering of a ju-i (wish-conferring) scepter, or it may represent the lotus-attribute of the female immortal, Ho Hsien-ku. The motive above the head of the right-hand lion is probably intended for a silver ingot, ting, a symbol of wealth. Fluttering bands attached to these four symbols fill most of the remaining space. With simple means the designer has achieved a strangely fascinating composition, challenging the observer's eye like a labyrinth.

An interesting feature of this design is the treatment of the lions' feet as a series of scrolls. Though one might be inclined to credit this arrangement to the caprice of the designer, it appears, in fact, to be based upon an old tradition. For, as long ago as the Sung dynasty (10th to 13th century) we find that dragons were sometimes represented in pot-
tery design with legs terminating not in the usual claws, but in fanciful scrollwork, known to Chinese antiquaries as ling-chih chiao, "fungus-legs," or "legs like the fungus of immortality" (Fig. 2). Evidently it is just such "fungus-legs" which lend our lions their rollicking gait (Fig. 3). Indeed, it seems as if both lions, from their ears to their rumps, and even to the tips of their tails, were deliberately composed of the curves of the same mystic mushroom. Just how the modern textile design is related to the old ceramic tradition may be left an open question; though one is tempted to suppose that the sophisticated Sung convention itself rests upon an old popular tradition, of which this motive in the folk art of Western China represents a survival into modern times.

NOTES


2. In ancient times, resist-dyeing seems to have been extensively practiced by the Chinese, if not by other far eastern peoples. See the remarks of Charles Iklé, "The Planji Technique," *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, vol. 25, no. 2, 1941, p. 14. However, the examples of resist-dyeing referred to by Iklé dating from the T'ang dynasty (roughly from the seventh to ninth century), and now preserved in the Japanese Imperial Household Collections, or recently discovered in Central Asia by Stein and others, obviously do not represent a popular tradition. Produced commercially, or made to order for imperial or princely courts, these fabrics, generally of silk, were designed by professionals and dyed, often in several colors, by processes sometimes involving a considerable degree of mechanical complexity. Though they do attest the early occurrence of resist-dyeing in the Far East, these fabrics are so different from the modern work in material, design, technique, and social origin, that they can hardly be regarded as the direct antecedents of the latter. Rather, I believe we must assume that the vigorous popular tradition of the present day goes back to an ancient popular tradition, of which, however, no traces have survived to us. See the development of this idea in my article on "Some Peasant Embroideries from Western China," *Embroidery* (Journal of the Embroiderers’ Guild, London), September, 1933, in which the design of a modern peasant embroidery in cross-stitch is compared to a related design in a printed silk of the T’ang dynasty.

3. See Alfred Steinmann, "Batiks," *Ciba Review*, no. 58, Basel, July, 1947, p. 2107. The question of the batiks made at the coastal town of Changlok or Chi’ang-lo, near the mouth of the Min River in Fukien province, demands further investigation, especially with reference to the history of the local industry, in order to determine, if possible, whether it is of recent origin and inspired from abroad (i.e., by the example of Javanese batiks, which could have been brought back by Chinese colonists returning to this part of the China coast from Java), or whether it represents the survival, and sophistication, of an ancient local folk practice, possibly tribal in origin. The designs of these batiks are purely Chinese in character, but of a professional type: they do not look like the product of a popular tradition. Dr. Steinmann is at present engaged in an enquiry into this question, which will probably require the participation of a sinologist, and perhaps of local historians, for its solution.
4. The only published reference to this type of resist-dyeing which has come to my attention is by Inez de Beauclair, "The Keh Lao of Kweichow and their History according to the Chinese Records," *Studia Serica* (Journal of the Chinese Cultural Studies Institute, West China Union University, Ch'engtu, Szech'uan), vol. 5, 1946, note on p. 19, where the author calls attention to "plangi" which she observed especially at one point in Southern Szech'uan, and again at Tali, Yunnan. Mrs. de Beauclair has informed me that in Kweichow the common Chinese name for cloth decorated by this means is cha-hua pu [a], i.e., "cloth decorated with bound or tied designs." In Neichiang, Szech'uan, I was given the name chiao hua (presumably [b], with about the same meaning) for this kind of work. In the same place I heard the term liao hua (evidently meaning "hemmed designs") applied sometimes to this kind of work as a whole, sometimes specifically to designs produced by the cord-resist method, to be described presently.

[a] 紫花布  [b] 繡花

The question naturally arises whether this resist-dyeing among the Chinese population of West China can be attributed to derivation from tribal sources—since it is the tribespeople of this region and adjoining regions to the south who now practice other resist-dyeing methods, such as batik and ikat. The answer seems to be that if these techniques are tribal in origin, the period of their adoption by the Chinese must lie far back in history; for the art at present has a predominantly Chinese distribution (I know of only sporadic and very limited use of the simplest of these techniques among non-Chinese tribespeople of this region), while the designs are, at the present day, purely Chinese and not at all tribal in character. It may be added that this type of work, like the cross-stitch embroidery of Western China, is no longer widely practiced, but represents the accomplishment of a passing, or even of a past, generation.


6. Strangely enough, a kind of cord-resist dyeing which gives almost exactly the same effect as the Chinese work, and which was presumably produced in exactly the same way (by doubling the material over the cord and stitching it in place with an overhand stitch) occurs in Ashanti, in the Gold Coast Colony of West Africa. See *Atlantis* (Hürlimann edition, Zürich), vol. 48, November, 1946, p. 473. Needless to say, the designs carried out by this method in Ashanti are quite different from those of our Chinese work. In connection with this parallel it is interesting to note that Baumann (as cited by Bühler, op. cit., p. 349) was struck by similarities between whole series of resist techniques practiced in the Western Sudan and those practiced in Southern Asia, similari-

ties which suggested to him the possibility of an actual historical connection of some sort between the Western Sudan and the more advanced Asiatic cultures. For further references to resist-dyeing by means of cords, etc., imposed on the surface of the cloth in West Africa, see Bühler, op. cit., p. 338, under the heading "Schablonenserven," and compare J. A. Loeber, "Textile Verzierungstechniken bei aussereurpäischen Völkern," in C. W. Schmidt, *Moderne weibliche Handarbeiten und verwandte textile Künste*, Dresden, 1908, p. 277, showing two specimens from the Haussa negroes in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, one with dye-resistant cords sewn in place but undyed, the other dyed and opened. The material here is evidently not folded over the cords, but the cords are simply sewn to its surface, as in the sampler to be described in note 7. I have not had opportunity to examine the resist-dyed fabrics from West Africa in the British Museum, among which there is evidently significant comparative material. See H. J. Braunholtz, "The 'Charles Beving' Collection of Textiles," *The British Museum Quarterly*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1934, pp. 151-152.

7. It should be emphasized that the foregoing description of resist-dyeing by means of cords is not derived from the author's own observation, but represents a reconstruction based upon a careful examination of the material, and upon an actual sample of cloth prepared for dyeing by a cord-resist method, which was kindly secured for the writer by Mrs. Inez de Beauclair of Kweiyang, Kweichow, China. As the type of cord-resist embodied in this specimen produces a result which does not correspond exactly to the designs under consideration, it seemed inadvisable to reproduce it here. In this specimen the cord, about two millimeters in diameter, is made of twisted tissue-like paper, which has been soaked in mi-t'pong (water in which rice has been cooked) in order to make it impervious to the dye. After drying, the cord is stitched to the surface of the material, and remains exposed to the dye on one side. The result of this procedure is, after dyeing, a single white line corresponding in width to the diameter, not the circumference, of the cord. Since in this case the material is not folded over the cord, there would be no trace, after dyeing, of the bundling stitches which constitute such an important feature of our work. As the technique of this specimen, now widely practiced in Western China, is easier to master than the elaborate folding and resist-stitching employed in the work here under consideration, it seems to the writer that it might represent a debasement, in recent times, of the more complex and difficult earlier work represented by our illustrations.

Our understanding of the method of making the bands accompanied by little lines, based as it is largely upon the evidence of this atypical sampler, obviously requires a verification which I regret my inability to supply, and which I hope may eventually be supplied by others. It is perhaps conceivable that the broad bands with their accompanying rows of little lines were produced simply by folding the material on itself rather than on a cord, and
stitching the folds. Though it seems to me unlikely, it is perhaps advisable to mention this alternative possibility, as constituting one of the many problems still awaiting solution by the investigator in the field. It should be said that the type of cord-resist represented by Mrs. de Beauclair's sampler may occur occasionally in the pieces here illustrated: thus, for example, in the simple white lines representing the antennae of the butterfly in the upper left of the bedspread in the Frontispiece, or (apparently) in the eye of the fish in the End-piece. If, however, this manner of applying the cords is used in our work, it is clearly exceptional.


9. For examples of the folk art of Western China, as represented especially in cross-stitch embroidery, the reader may be referred to my writings, as listed in my article, "Some Comparative Considerations about Western Asiatic Carpet Designs," Artibus Asiae, vol. 9, 1946, p. 69, note 2.


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