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# Black Silk, Brown Silk: China and Beyond—Traditional Practice Meets Fashion

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This report discusses black-colored silks from southeastern Asia that are often referred to as "gummed" silks.[1] These silks are treated with iron-rich mud that coats the silk filaments and creates a deep black color (often in conjunction with a previous coloration). The report covers three areas. Firstly, I review various names used for black mud-treated silks and begin to contextualize the production and use region. Two mud-treated silk samples from early-1930s Southeast Asia are introduced in this discussion. Secondly, I initiate investigation into the role of mud-treated black silks in Chinese fashion history during the transition from the late-imperial era to twentieth-century modernity. Thirdly, the use of mud-treated silks in twenty-first-century fashion is highlighted.

## Context of Mud-Treated Silks

"Gummed silk" is apparently a common euphemism for a variety of mud-treated or mud-coated silks. In the context of Asian black silks, gummed is not a reference to the raw state of silk filaments, but rather a general name for shiny black silk fabrics coated with tannin-rich mud. *Jiāo-chou* and *xiang-yun-shā* are the names most often employed in China to refer to slightly stiff bi-colored silks that are brownish-orange on one side and black on the other. Fashion designers, manufacturers, retailers, and authorities on textiles employ several other names for these bi-colored and other solid black mud-treated silks. For example, contemporary fashion designer Luiang Zi calls the bi-colored silks *Liangchou*. Other names for mud-treated silks include Canton silk, *gambiered* silk, Guangdong silk, lacquered silk, *liang* silk, Tang silk, and tea silk. The array of names suggests both a variety of southeastern Chinese and Southeast Asian ethnic groups making and using various mud-treated silk fabrics, and the imprecision in translating the names into English. To further confound clarity in researching or discussing these fabrics, codification of particular mud-treated silk textiles and their specific techniques and characteristics remains to be accomplished. Thus, to simplify terminology at this time, I employ the descriptive adjectives gummed (already widely applied) or mud-treated (as noted above) when referring to textiles from this broad category. For the bi-colored mud-treated silks from southeast China, I use jiāo-chou and xiang-yun-shā for plain and crepe weaves, and leno-weave, respectively.

As noted, jiāo-chou and xiang-yun-shā predominate as the names for the two Chinese bi-colored silks. Production of these two silks centers in Guangdong (aka Canton) in the Pearl River (Zhū Jiāng, aka as Yue Jiang) Delta, particularly in Foshan, (Fóshān), especially in the district Shunde (Shùndé Qū) and in the Guangdong Autonomous Region. In the production area in Guangdong, as well as in Guangxi Zhuang (Guǎngxī Zhuàngzú Zìzhìqū) Autonomous Region, and Hong Kong, lower or non-elite classes utilized these two fabrics into the early-twentieth century.[2]

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[1] For an overview of world traditions of coloring textiles using mud, including Japan and Africa, see Dominique Cardon, "Iron Mordants" in *Natural Dyes*, (London: Archtype Publications, Ltd., 2007), 39–46.
[2] Valery M. Garrett reviews the wearing of gummed silk garments in the region in: *Traditional Chinese Clothing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 6–8, 10, 12, 20–21, 51, 53, 72–73, 81; *Chinese Clothing: An Illustrated*

Located on the western coast of the South China Sea, the region's humid subtropical climate produces a long, hot, and humid summer. Jiāo-chou and xiang-yun-shā enjoy a reputation of being extremely comfortable and easy to wear fabrics in the summer season. Apparently the combination of a dry, slightly stiff and crisp hand,[3] and resistance to moisture[4] creates wearability qualities suited to the climate and embraced by the local people.

The Chinese have at least nine names to identify the bi-colored silks, comprised of variations in the characters used to write the names and the meanings behind them.[5] These names may refer to cloth or to finished garments.[6] Seven of the nine names describe materials or steps involved in coloring the fabric. Two poetic versions of "xiang-yun-shā" derive from the sensory experiences perceived through wearing it. One set of characters for "xiang-yun-shā" translates as "singing silk cloth" or "clothing that makes a noise when the body moves." These meanings summon the tactile essence of the cloth's paper-like, yet soft, hand and the auditory effect of rustling when layers rub together. Another set of characters for "xiang-yun-shā" translates as "perfumed cloud clothing" or "fragrant cloud silk cloth," suggesting the subtle scent found in the fabric while also evoking the floating quality of the crisp drape.[7] These evocative names point to cultural significance of the cloth beyond its wearability characteristics.

In addition to being comfortable for summer wear, jiāo-chou and xiang-yun-shā are described as "hard-wearing" and easy to wash and with these durable qualities. Many in the region wore the gummed silk fabrics for everyday dress.[8] Yet, rather than a single model of usage, a diffuse picture emerges, as subgroups employed them in differing ways. In the late-nineteenth century, writing about the centuries-long production of the silks in southern Guangdong, Williams commented, "the common people wear pongee and senshaw (*sien-sha*) [*sic*] which they frequently dye in gambier to a dust or black colour."[9] The pongee he refers to is probably jiāo-chou, a plain weave, and senshaw (*sien-sha*) refers to xiang-yun-shā. English language accounts primarily describe women's attire of mud-treated fabrics.[10] Two Han subgroups, the Hoklo and the Hakka, included mud-treated bi-colored fabrics in their dress. Hoklo (aka Hohlo) women positioned durable gummed silk as protective edge bands or piping on their jacket or upper garment.[11] Hakka women made their winter apron and their *bua tau*, a rectangular summer headscarf, of gummed silk.[12]

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*Guide* (Hong Kong, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 196; and *Chinese Dress: From the Qing Dynasty to the Present (*Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing, 2007, 85, 87, 158, 159, 160, 166, 168, 170, 172.

[3] The hand of jiāo-chou and xiang-yun-shā is comparable to that of silk gazar or organza.

[4] See Margaret Ordoñez in this publication regarding the water repellency of mud-treated silks.

[5] Bonnie Tchien Hy details nine Chinese names in *Hei Jiao Chou, La Soie Gommée Noire, ou Xiang Yun Sha, Toile de Soie aux Nuages Perfumés,* retrieved June 20, 2007 from www.misschina.tm.fr: 2006. Also see Lin in this publication.

[6] See Lin in this publication.

[7] Tchien Hy, *Hei Jiao Chou,* describes the fragrance as "un subtil parfum de terre, et de plants" (a subtle perfume of earth and plants).

[8] Garrett, *Traditional Chinese Clothing*, 6.

[9] S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. 1 (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1895), 35, in Garrett, *Chinese Clothing*, 196.

[10] See Lin in this publication for reference to menswear.

[11] Garrett, *Traditional Chinese Clothing*, 7l; *Chinese Dress From the Qing*, 170.

[12] See photographs in Garrett, *Traditional Chinese Clothing*, 50–52, and Garrett, *Chinese Dress From the Qing*, 166.

Lin explains that jiāo-chou and xiang-yun-shā always maintained a high price. Yet the fabrics' principle users are reported to be non-elites, suggesting that the fabrics' desirability moved people to acquire them despite their relatively high cost.[13] While reports mention the silks in everyday wear, a transition to special attire occurs among common and rural people. For example, by the early-twentieth century, rural women, who wore few skirts, had one wedding dowry ensemble. The ensemble—the *sam* (jacket), *fu* (trousers), and skirt—was made of matching fabric and among the fabrics commonly selected for the ensemble was black gummed silk in both leno weave and plain weave.[14] Bonnie Tchien Hy recalls a twentieth-century photographic portrait taken in Taiwan of her mother wearing an ensemble of xiang-yun-shā.[15] In the 1960s and 1970s, women in farming and fishing villages on the mainland wore gummed silk for special occasions.[16] As the Han diaspora continued to spread in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in Southeast Asia and beyond, some people carried their special garments made of valuable mud-treated silks with them. Ensembles of xiang-yun-shā and jiāo-chou from the Chinese diaspora in Hawai'i date to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[17]

The so-called "boat people" occupy an important linkage in tracing the geographic range of black mud-treated silks. Boat people preferred blue and black fabrics, employing jiāo-chou. With the properties of being "easy to wash" and "waterproof as well as being cool to wear," the fabric was once widely worn by them.[18] The Tanka (aka Danjia) lived primarily on boats in the coastal rim of the South China Sea in Guangdong, Guangxi and Hainan, as well as Hong Kong and Macau. Their territory extends into northern Vietnam. Garrett explains that, in the twentieth century, younger Tanka women wore colorful tones of silks, while older women wore "darker colors, particularly black gummed silk" for special occasions.[19] Another boat-dwelling group, the Jing, is a small ethnic minority of fishermen living in the islands off the coast of Guangxi, near the Sino-Vietnamese border.[20] (An indigenous Vietnamese group, they numbered approximately 20,000 within China in 2000.) They once wore xiang-yun-shā for dressing up and currently limit it to festival occasions.[21] The fabrics' inherent durable properties served the needs of these two waterborne groups well in the past, but its use diminished greatly during the course of the twentieth century and they became associated with special occasions.

Thus, the bi-colored mud-treated fabrics were embedded in the dress practices of the region's several subgroups, even while they put it to use in differing ways. The Hakka and Hoklo sparingly employed the expensive textiles for trim and small garments. In contrast, urban Han people used it for everyday ensembles, for example in Hong Kong. Some rural people also used

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[13] See Lin in this publication for discussion of price and symbolic motifs in xiang-yun-shā leno-weave patterns. The physical properties were valued as well.
[14] Garrett, *Chinese Clothing*, 137; Garrett, *Chinese Dress From the Qing*, 172.
[15] Tchien Hy, *Hei Jiao Chou*.
[16] Garrett, *Traditional Chinese Clothing*, 19–20.
[17] See Lin in this publication regarding ensembles in Hawaiian collections.
[18] Garrett, *Chinese Clothing*, 109.
[19] Garrett, *Traditional Chinese Clothing*, 8l; *Chinese Dress From the Qing*, 172.
[20] English spellings in use for this ethnic group include Jīngzú (Pinyin version), Gin, Kinh, Jīng, and Qin.
[21] Ch'eng-chih Liao, ed., *Costumes of the Minority Peoples of China/Chung-kuo shau shu min tsu fu shih* (China: Chung-kuo jen min mei shu ch'u pan she, 1981), 226–7; Wei Ronghui, ed., *The Chinese National Culture of Costume and Adornment* (Beijing: China Textile Press/Fang zhi gong y, 1992), 287–9.

them for everyday dress, but by the mid-twentieth century most reserved mud-treated fabrics for special occasions. This is also true of the boat-dwelling Jing and Tanka.

Silks treated with tannin-rich mud were not limited to Chinese groups, as the Tanka and Jing traditions indicate. Production of gummed silk requires: the availability of tannin-rich mud from a source such as a subtropical river delta; intense sunshine to bake the mud on the cloth; and commonly, a base dye or colorant—whether gambier (*uncaria gambir*), *ju-liang* root, or indigo. The Mekong River, flowing from China, along the Laos-Myanmar and Laos-Thailand borders, then across Cambodia to a rich delta in southern Cambodia and Vietnam, provides the appropriate conditions, as does Thailand's Chao Phraya River. Not surprisingly, mud-treated black silks were (and may still be) produced and worn in Southeast Asia.

Dr. Charles E. Mullin (1890–1953), a textile chemist, traveled in Asia between 1920 and 1933 collecting textiles and in 1932 he collected two examples of solid black mud-treated silk, but he did not record their local names. A pair of trousers was labeled: "Oxidation black on silk, Siam, Only near Bangkok, Rare process of dyeing black and weighting" (Fig. 1). Bangkok, located on the Chao Phraya, is built upon a mud-silt foundation. I recall seeing similar (perhaps the same type) glistening black trousers worn in Bangkok in the mid-1960s. Mullin labeled a piece of yardage collected in Cambodia as "Silk suiting, Cambodge, Indigo dyed and topped with tannin-iron black, weighted or filled with colloidal clay and finished by hammering" (Fig. 2). These two extremely shiny, solid black silks differ in hand and weave structure from jiāo-chou and xiang-yun-shā, but analysis shows they are both mud-coated silks.[22] The trouser silk feels heavy, much like bridal satin, and holds shape well in garment form, as seen in the integrity of the trouser legs (Fig. 1). In contrast, the yardage drapes languidly with extreme suppleness (Fig. 2).

***Figure 1 (left).*** *Trousers collected in Bangkok by Dr. Charles Mullin in 1932.*
***Figure 2 (right).*** *Mud-treated silk collected in Cambodia by Dr. Charles Mullin in 1932.*
*Author's collection. Photograph by A. Lillethun.*

[22] See Margaret Ordoñez in this publication for textile analysis of the Charles Mullin objects.

Since Mullin sought to document textile techniques it is reasonable to assume these two fabrics were made where he collected them. These locations are distinct from China, yet close enough for transcultural contact, as is well documented. Transfer of dye techniques and innovations could easily occur across the region. Also, the conditions appropriate to make black mud-treated silks were available in these locales. In addition, trade in dye materials from Southeast Asia is well attested.[23] Further understanding of who made and wore mud-treated silks in Southeast Asia and the extent of exchange surrounding mud-treated silks along the eastern Asian seaboard awaits further research.

**Chinese Fashion**

Few extant ensembles of mud-treated black silk were found for this research, although we anticipate more will come to light.[24] The Victoria and Albert Museum has a jacket of gummed silk, dating to 1920–50.[25] The Powerhouse Museum holds a contrasting ensemble comprised of a blue glazed cotton jacket with black-gummed silk edge bands and black gummed silk trousers, ca. 1875.[26] Margaret Ordonez and I examined two summer ensembles of mud-treated silk in the American Museum of Natural History, collected by Berthold Laufer (1874–1934) in Shanghai in 1901.[27] The Chinese field notes for a solid black jacket and trouser ensemble describes it as being made of jiāo-chou.[28] However, while the fabric is plain weave, it is black on both sides and therefore does not conform to the requisite bi-colored characteristic. The pieces of the second ensemble are contrasting.[29] The jacket's patterned, open-weave, black mud-treated silk covers a light blue leno-weave silk underlining and it has edge bands of plain-weave black silk (Fig. 3). The trousers are made of the same light blue leno-weave silk as the jacket underlining, with bead-embroidered bands of darker blue at the leg hems. The jacket is described in Chinese in the field notes as made of xiang-yun-shā, however, like the other ensemble, the fabric is black on both sides, and although it is an open weave, it is not a leno weave and so does not conform to xiang-yun-shā requisite characteristics.[30]

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[23] See for example Charles Crevost and A. Pételot, *Catalog des produits de l'Indochine, Vol. 6: Tannins et tinctoriaux* (Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extrême Orient, 1941), 89–90 in Cardon, *Natural Dyes*, 475–7.

[24] Also see note 20 above.

[25] V&A: FE.78-1995, Garrett Collection in Verity Wilson, *Chinese Textiles* (Victoria & Albert Museum, Far Eastern Series, London: V&A Publications, 2005), Plate 104, 92.

[26] The Powerhouse Museum ensemble came from a merchant family originating in Guangdong and later living in Hong Kong. No. 97/167/2. "97/167/2 Outfit (*aoku*), women's, jacket and trousers, glazed cotton/gummed silk/linen, Hong Kong, 1875-1900," D*Hub: Your Online Design Resource, Powerhouse Museum, http://www.dhub.org/object/156328&img=13732, (September 2, 2008).

[27] Berthold Laufer participated in the American Museum of Natural History's Jesup North Pacific Expedition to the Northwest Coast of North America and eastern Siberia, 1897–1902. The expedition, organized by Franz Boas, aimed to examine aboriginal cultures on both sides of the Bering Strait. Laufer, a sinologist, also collected objects from eastern China.

[28] Jacket: Woman's Dress, Catalog No. 70/2341, Acces. No. 1901-69, Field No. 80; Trousers: Catalog No. 70/2342, Acces. No. 1901-69, Field No. 81. The Asian Ethnographic Collection, Berthold Laufer Collection, American Museum of Natural History.

[29] Jacket: Summer Dress, Catalog No. 70/2343, Acces. No. 1901-69, Field No. 82; Trousers: Catalog No. 70/2344, Acces. No. 1901-69, Field No. 83. The Asian Ethnographic Collection, Berthold Laufer Collection, American Museum of Natural History.

[30] See note 25 above.

***Figure 3.*** *Jacket of a women's summer ensemble: No. 70/2343. The Asian Ethnographic Collection, Berthold Laufer Collection, American Museum of Natural History. Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History.*

The discrepancy between the fabric name in the field notes and the widely understood characteristics of jiāo-chou and xiang-yun-shā may be due to a number of issues. One consideration concerns the motives of the owner/s of the garments. Perhaps they were presented to Laufer as made from the desirable and valuable jiāo-chou and xyun-shā. Another possibility is that the textiles in these garments fit a lexicon for jiāo-chou and xiang-yun-shā with wider parameters than we currently understand. Nonetheless, mud-treated, solid black silks are employed in these garments collected in Shanghai, the most fashionable city in China. These two women's summer ensembles exemplify a particular expression of both fashionability and continuity of tradition in China at the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries.

Finnane traces the process of fashion change from the late-Qing era to the new era of modernity in the Republic, pointing out how style trends reflected transformations in the social structure.[31] Despite western perceptions to the contrary, a fashion system operated in Qing-era China. The fashion system, ensconced within the late-Qing era's commodity culture, responded to internal aesthetics and traditions—including those associated with textiles—as well as innovations, and external (or global) influences. Finnane closely traces the shift to a more western model of the fashion process during this political and cultural transition, and suggests the need for more research on Qing-era fashion. This project attempts to respond by showing that mud-treated silks, a regional textile tradition, had a meaningful role in the transformation of fashionable dress during this time.

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[31] Discussion of Chinese fashion and its fashion system is drawn from Antonia Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), see especially chapters 1–3.

Photographic images of the Imperial era show servants of elites dressed in fabrics that look like mud-treaded silk. Elite textiles in the late-Imperial period, for young women's fashion in particular, consisted of light colored silks, often in complex weaves, made into garments embellished with trimmings of fabric, embroidery, and beading. A photograph from 1890 shows two elite women in Qing fashion down to their lotus feet and beside them sits a servant dressed in a solid black, shiny (gummed) silk ensemble.[32] In another image from 1903, a Comprador and his family, stand adorned in an array of silks attended by their servant in a black gummed silk ensemble.[33] Later photographic images attest to a shift among fashionable young people of the Republic to black ensembles. In this regard, Finnane discusses the influence of western men's wear on the Chinese fashion color palette. However, perhaps mud-silks were employed as meaningful signs of socio-political change. The family of Tang Shaoyi, the future Prime Minister of the Republic and a native of Guangdong, was photographed in a garden, ca. 1912. Three of four young women in the image wear ensembles with the new high-collared jacket style, made not of colored silks, but shiny black.[34] While the exact fabric they wear cannot be determined from the image alone, the possibility they are dressed in gummed silks is implicit. Shaoyi's origin in Guangdong, where the silks were made, used, and valued, suggests the family's familiarity with mud-treated silks. In addition, he was aware of the importance of textiles as a signifier of identity in China. His government directed those in government life to wear Western-style clothing, yet, the textiles for these clothes were to be made in China. In this way the new program for state ceremonial dress aimed to promote pride in China.[35] One assumes the family's modern young women rejected the Imperial socio-political structure. They obviously endorsed new dress styles. In the highly charged political environment of the shift from the Empire to the Republic, wearing mud-treated silks would show both Chinese-ness as well as a new Republican identity that has left the Qing-era behind.

It is clearly possible that mud-treated silks, valued by the labor and merchant classes, symbolized a new social structure for all. Among themes for future examination are the part black mud-treated silks played in the shift from the late-Qing era's colorful silk aesthetic to black as the predominant color of early-twentieth-century fashions in China and the culturally specific meanings of mud-treated silk's that distinguished it from the textiles worn by Imperial elites. In addition, understanding the potential social function of mud-treated textiles as maintainers of continuity, representing long established working and merchant class traditions, and symbolic of a break from the Imperial past in modernity when worn by elites, would benefit from additional research.

## Twenty-First-Century Fashion

Mud-treated silks, both bi-colored and solid black, have experienced a renaissance in twenty-first-century fashion.[36] High-end fashion designers with Asian cultural roots initiated the trend.

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[32] Photograph of three young women, 1890, Urban Council, Hong Kong, in Garrett, *Traditional Chinese Clothing*.
[33] Family photograph, February 1903 in Arthur Hacker, *China Illustrated: Western Views of the Middle Kingdom* (North Clarendon: Tuttle, 2004), 14, in Finnane, *Changing Clothes*, Fig. 4.12, 84.
[34] Photograph, late Qing period, in J. O. P. Bland, *Recent Events and Present Policies in China* (London: William Heinemann, 1912), facing 204, in Valerie Steele & John S. Major, eds, *China Chic: East Meets West,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), Fig. 90, 126.
[35] Garrett, *Chinese Clothing*, 99.
[36] At the TSA 2008 Symposium, where the panel of papers by Lin, Lillethun and Ordoñez, were presented, Bobbie Sumberg spotted at least four attendees wearing xiang-yun-shā, and others said they owned such garments.

David Tang from Hong Kong showed ensembles of mud-treated silk at his Shanghai Tang retail establishments.[37] In France the boutique Les Racines Du Ciel offers mud-treated silk garments. Catherine McLean and Bonnie Tchien Hy work in Paris. London has seen works by Aimee McWilliams, and in Sydney, Vietnam born Alistair Trung includes mud-treated silks in his collections. In Asia, Sophie Hong (aka Hong Lifen), of Taiwan, and Luiang Zi, of Tangy retail shops in China, have focused collections on mud-treated silks.[38] Americans Vivienne Tam and Anna Sui incorporate mud-treated silks in their lines, Sui as recently as her 2007 Fall/Winter collection. Other designers in North America include Linda Loudermilk, Carol Lee Shanks, Monique Zhang (of Cicada), and Christina Kim (of DOSA). In the summer of 2008 the retail store Pearl River in Manhattan sold jiāo-chou and xiang-yun-shā yardage and garments with their own label: A pair of fully lined women's trousers cost $90.00 (Fig. 4).

***Figure 4.*** *Contemporary women's trousers of Jiāo-chou purchased in summer 2008. The brownish-orange colored side is visible in the waist yoke. Author's collection. Photograph by A. Lillethun.*

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[37] Wilson, *Chinese Textiles*, 93.

[38] Luiang Zi's 2009 Spring/Summer, China Fashion Week 2008 collection is covered in "Ancient Silk Fabric Shines in Fashion Collection," China.org.cn, http://www.china.org.cn/video/2008-11/11/content_16746031.htm, (November 25, 2008); Lifen Hong and Paola Zamperini, "Making Fashion Work: Interview with Sophie Hong, Taipei, Sophie Hong Studio," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 11, no. 2 (2003): 511–520. Project Muse, http://muse.jhu.edu.

The reasons that mud-treated silks were used in the past—durable, comfortable to wear due to their hand and water resistance, and purported to be easy to clean—continue to draw people to them today. Their unusual sheens and drapes entice the eye. Beyond qualities of wearability and visual interest, marketers and designers promote these fabrics' linkages to tradition through the mud-coating process used to create them. The recent trend toward environmentally sustainable products also plays a role in the increasing visibility of mud-treated silks, especially in the designer boutique market where customers accept high-end prices. Since silk is a renewable resource and the fabric coloration utilizes natural plant dyes, river mud, sunshine, and manual labor, at face value mud-treated silks appear ecologically sustainable, however, these claims have not been substantiated.

As the bi-colored silks become more widely known, Chinese manufacturers desire to control the perceived authenticity of jiāo-chou and xiang-yun-shā. For example, since 2005, the Shenzhen Xiang Sha Fashion Co., Ltd., located in the Luohu District of Guangdong, holds an official Place of Origin certificate issued by the General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine.[39] Farther north the Suzhou Silk Shop Co., Ltd. claims to be the exclusive manufacturer and dealer of so-called "Tang Silk" in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Shanghai. Beyond the umbrella of traditional authenticity, contemporary designers engage in developing weave patterns that extend the past repertoire of mud-treated silks, in new leno-weave designs and weaves with mechanical stretch.

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[39] "Silk Fabric Gets Better With Age," *Shenzen Daily*, May 17, 2007, http://paper.sznews.com/szdaily/20070517/ca2665914.htm, (November 25, 2008).