A piece of paper used to present the visitor’s name when calling was known as ming chaolü (name card) or jai chaolü (visiting-card). This custom was derived from the use in the Han dynasty of a strip of wood on which the personal name was written. The wood was replaced by paper probably in the 5th or 6th century, when such information as the visitor’s name, native town, and official title was included. The card, about two to three inches wide, was white, but was replaced by a red one in the Tang, when the price of red paper was said to have increased over ten times. Also during this time, a custom was introduced of writing a note about the visitor’s business on the card when calling on high officials in their offices or private residences. An endorsement was made on the back of the card before the visitor was admitted.8

In the middle of the Ming dynasty, the visiting-card was enlarged, with the name written in big characters for a Hau-lin scholar, who was privileged to use a red card, while the common people used white. Sung Ying-Hsing says: ‘The highest grade of stationery paper made in Chih-hsien (Chiangsi), known as kuan chien8 (official stationery), was used for calling cards by high officials and members of the wealthy class. It is thick and smooth without any fibrous fibs on the surface. When used on ceremonial occasions, it was dyed red with the red flower Hibiscus rosinatus after being treated with alum.10

(2) Paper as a Medium of Exchange

The use of paper to represent money originated probably in the early 6th century, when increasing needs of business and government transactions encouraged the institution of ‘flying money’ (jai chien8) as a convenient way to obviate carrying heavy metal coins from one place to another. Provincial merchants who sold their commodities in the capital could deposit their proceeds at an office in Chih-hsien and receive a certificate for cash in the designated provinces. This institution was originally a private arrangement by the merchants but was taken over by the government in +1012 as a method of forwarding local taxes and revenues to the capital. Since the ‘flying money’ was primarily a draft, it is generally considered a credit medium rather than a true money.

The system continued in the following dynasties and gradually evolved into a true paper currency. The inconvenience of clumsy iron coins, which weighed twenty-five catties per thousand, led, during the period of the Five Dynasties and early Sung, to people depositing cash in deposit houses and using their receipts for financial transactions in the Szechuan area. In the early 11th century, sixteen private houses were authorized by the government to issue notes called ‘exchange

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8 See K’o Yü-Tung K’o (779-82), ch. 30, pp. 64-5.
9 See T’o Ch’ung-Kui’s Luhung (1879), p. 197; see ml. 3. 4. 10. For the history of paper, see below, pp. 6-7; Sung Hsin-Wen (18), p. 38.

media’ (chiao tchün) (Fig. 108b). This also began as a private arrangement, but in +1023 the government established an official agency in T’o-chou (modern Chih-hsing) to issue such notes in various denominations. A cash reserve was established and a period of three years, as well as a ceiling, was set for circulation. In +1071, a new note called a ‘money voucher’ (ch’ien ch’in) was issued and printed with six blocks of elaborate designs in blue colours. By the end of the Northern Sung period, notes worth a total of about seventy million strings 8 had been issued.

The paper money of the Southern Sung period had various names and circulated in a wider area of the country. Although the chiao tchün and ch’ien ch’in were used for a while, the most popular of the notes was the ‘check media’ (hui ch’ou). It

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also originated as a private enterprise in the capital, Lin-an (modern Hangchow), but was taken over by the Board of Revenue in 1165, with a similar period of circulation and a fixed ceiling for the amount to be issued for each period. The area of circulation was extended from Szechuan to provinces along the sea coast and the lower Yangtze, as well as in the Huai River valley. As had happened before, increased government expenditure towards the end of the Southern Sung caused frightening inflation because of the unlimited issue of paper notes beyond the original quota and period of circulation.

Besides the circulation of paper money during the two Sung periods, other credit media made of paper were also used. There was a kind of ‘exchange certificate’ called chiao yin 4 issued by a special government bureau for salt, tea, and certain other commodities; it was handled by the appropriate merchants, could be exchanged for cash, and was transferable and redeemable in the provinces where the commodities were produced. In the Southern Sung, certificates issued by the Chiao Yin Khu were made of special paper and were printed in the Treasury, which was located in the capital, Lin-an, and supervised by an assistant of the bureau.

The paper notes issued from 1167 to 1179 were described as printed in colour on specially made paper with very elaborate patterns. There were characters to indicate the installment number of the issue, the year issued, the time limit for circulation, and the ceiling for the amount to be issued during the period. Patterned seals were stamped in blue, red, and black on both sides of the paper. Paper for printing the notes was at first acquired from private paper mills, but as the need grew and counterfeiting increased, the government established its own factories in Hui-chou and Chih-cheng for manufacturing special paper for the notes.

The material used was paper-mulberry bark, and the paper money was originally called chiao fu 5 or chiao ch’ao 4 (paper-mulberry money). Silk or other fibres and other ingredients were probably mixed in to make imitation difficult. The Chih-cheng factory, established from 1168, was reported to have employed sixty-one paper-makers and thirty-one other workers in 1194, but because the shipment of Szechuan paper to Hang-chow was inconvenient, a government factory was established in 1168 incorporating one already existing at An-chih, near Hang-chow, where some 1200 workers were employed in 1175. The printing was done at the Treasury, called the Hui Tzu Khu, where 204 daily workers were employed 6 and besides wood-blocks, copper plates are known to have been used.

The complexity of designs with additional signatures and seals printed or stamped in colours on specially made paper, plus heavy penalties for counterfeiting, must all have tended to discourage such a crime, yet cases often occurred. One in 1183, memorialized by Chu Hui 7 (+ 1199–1200), involved a professional wood-block cutter, Chiang Hui 8 who had repeatedly counterfeited paper money. He was quoted as saying that he cut a block of pear wood from a traced master copy of the hui fu note for one string of cash. The imitation note, including a picture of a legendary figure, was printed with serial character and number in blue and seals in red on special paper made in the countryside of Wu-chow (in Chekiang). It took him ten days to complete the cutting. In a six-month period in 1185, some 8000 sheets were printed on about twenty occasions, 100 to 200 sheets at a time.

In the north, the Chin Tartars also used paper money called ‘exchange notes’ (chiao ch’ao), first issued in 1153. The idea must have been borrowed from the Sung. They had large and small bills in various denominations, and spoiled notes could be exchanged for new ones with a charge for the printing cost. At first, the circulation rules were carefully observed, but towards the end of the 12th century and early in the 13th, excessive military expenditure caused inevitable inflation, and the value of the depreciated notes dropped to as little as one per cent of their original value.

After the Mongol conquest of China, the Yuan dynasty issued several kinds of paper money. It was the ‘small note’ (an ch’ao) issued from 1260 which was backed by silk yams as reserve, and later the notes of the Chung-thung era (Chung-thung ch’ao), which unified the currency system of China. Two specimens of this paper money were discovered in Shanyang, Shensi in 1905. Old notes issued earlier were exchanged for this new note, which not only circulated universally within the empire but also spread to other parts of the world. It reached the Uighur regions in 1280, Persia in 1294, and was introduced to many other nations in the following centuries. Paper currency arrived in Korea in 1296 and was used for circulation there in 1332. The Japanese first issued the di ch’ao (paper of copper coins) in 1334, the Vietnamese printed paper money in 1396, but the use of bank notes was not begun in Western countries until the later part of the 17th century.

It is probable that certain European systems of banking and accounting, as well as vouchers for deposited money, were also influenced by Chinese examples obtained by merchants and travellers to China.

1 For the circulation of fu fu, see Yang Lea-Sheng 31, pp. 35–7; Nagahara Shinroku 11, pp. 37–55; Phong Hinh-Wo 7, p. 45.
2 See Hou Han Lin-an Chih (1891 ed.), ch. 9, p. 84; Meng Liang Lu (TSHENG), p. 17.
3 Two samples given in a Yuan work on money are illustrated in Shu Chiang Sung Chi (SEOH), ch. 67, pp. 184–194.
4 Shu Chiang Sung Chi, ch. 67, p. 114.
5 Hou Han Lin-an Chih (1891 ed.), ch. 9, pp. 76–84; Meng Liang Lu (TSHENG), p. 72.
6 See Wu Hou Tung Khu (SHE), ch. 100, p. 3.
8 Both are printed with Chinese characters of the Chih-Yuan reign (+ 1154–94), denomination, and issuing agency with seal impressions in Mongolian in red colour; see a report of the Shanyang Museum in KEH, 1918 (80, 5), pp. 708.
9 Paper money was first issued in Sweden in 1650; America, 1692; France, 1700; Russia, 1708; England, 1797; and Germany, 1769.
10 Max Weber said that the accounting system (Verrechnungswesen) of the old Hamburg Bank was based on a Chinese model, and Robert Eicher said that the old Swedish system of banking and money deposit vouchers followed the Chinese system; see Yang Lea-Sheng 31, p. 65.
11 造反 造反 造反 造反 造反 造反 造反 造反 造反 造反 造反
Paper currency was a subject of great interest described by many early European writers, who were impressed by its ingenuity as a substitute for heavy and valuable media of exchange. The most detailed observation was made by Marco Polo. "The Khan causes every year to be made such a vast quantity of this money, which costs him nothing, that it must equal in amount all the treasure in the world." He further remarked:

All these pieces of paper are issued with as much solemnity and authority as if they were of pure gold or silver; and on every piece a variety of officials, whose duty it is, have to write their names, and to put their seals. And when all is duly prepared, the chief officer deputed by the Khan smears the Seal entrusted to him with vermillion, and impresses it on the paper, so that the form of the Seal remains printed upon it in red; the Money is then authentic. Anyone forging it would be punished with death.  

The Mongols certainly used paper money most effectively and circulated it on a vast scale in a broad area, but its name and issuance changed frequently within a short period. The Ming government, on the other hand, had a less effective operation but issued only one kind of note during the entire dynasty. In 1375, a new note called 'Precious note of Great Ming' (Ta Ming pao chuang) was issued, with the Hung-wu reign title printed on the note without further change. From the very beginning, the Ming note was inconvertible; but copper coins circulated along with the paper money. Throughout some 200 years this note was the only paper money in circulation, but as it gradually lost value, silver became the major medium of exchange, and the circulation of paper money was almost suspended after the end of the 15th century. Along with paper notes, exchange certificates for tea, salt, and other commodities were also issued during the Ming. Paper needed for such certificates was requisitioned from various producing provinces.  

The revival of paper currency was attempted at the end of Ming, but it failed, apparently because of inflation. However, a memorial by a Ming official in +1643 enumerated its many advantages. It could be manufactured at low cost, circulated widely, carried with ease, and kept in concealment; it was not liable to suffer impurity like silver, did not need weighing whenever it was used in transactions, it could not be clipped, was not exposed to thieves' rapacity and, finally, saved metals for other uses.  

It appears, however, that the levy of some two million catties of mulberry bark for manufacture of paper money in +1644 almost provoked the peasants into rebellion.  

The Manchu rulers preferred to use hard money and did not issue any paper currency on a large scale, except as an emergency measure. However, printed paper documents for commercial transactions were frequent (Fig. 1081), and in

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1. See Ta Ming Hui Tung (1383 ed.), ch. 95, pp. 45-54.
2. See Ming Ch' i Po 4th (ARCP), ch. 39, pp. 15-16.
4. 太明會論

Fig. 1081. Paper note for one taal of silver issued by the Board of Revenue of the Manchu government in +1655. Far Eastern Library, University of Chicago.
+ 1853, the military cost of suppressing the Thai-phing rebellion resulted in the issue by the Ch'ing government of paper notes called 'Official Note' (kuan chhan) and 'Precious Note' (jiao chhan). Since these were not convertible, their value dropped rapidly and the notes ceased to be used after a short period. It was not until the later part of the 19th century that a Chinese bank issued a new bank note, which was inspired primarily by Western influence.

(3) Ceremonial Uses of Paper

Paper has played a significant part in many Chinese ceremonies and festivities in connection with ancestor worship, folk religion and, to some extent, the cult of scholarship. Ordinary or specially made papers were cut, folded, or decorated to represent various objects to be used or to be burned on such occasions as family ceremonies and state sacrifices. This symbolic use of paper served as an economical substitute for real but expensive objects. The objects most commonly substituted for were money, garments, utensils, vehicles, servants, animals, and buildings; they were used at funerals, festivals, and in ancestor worship. Effigies of paper were made and burned as a symbol of offerings to the spirits in the other world.8

The original ceremonial use of paper was probably in substitution for metallic coins at a burial. In ancient times, rich deposits of treasures as well as human and animal sacrifices were buried with the dead, though by the time of the Han dynasty, metal coins were placed in tombs as a substitute for the valuable treasures and living beings. Later, for economic or other reasons, among them the discouragement of grave robberies, paper imitations for money and real objects were used.

The paper money for the spirits consisted of imitations either of metal coins or of real paper money, but the latter had different sets of inscriptions and patterns to distinguish it from counterfeit money. Coins were usually imitated by a sheet of plain white paper with designs of coins cut into it, or a small sheet of paper coated with tinfoil, folded in the form of silver or gold ingots. This was sometimes dyed yellow with a liquid from seaweed, or from the flower of the pagoda tree (Sophora japonica).9 The plain tin symbolised silver and the yellow represented gold. This is similar to what is described in a +7th-century Buddhist work, which says: 'When sacrifice is offered by people, the ghosts will get silver coins if we cut the coins from white paper, and gold coins if we use yellow paper.' The custom of burning paper money seems to have begun with imitations of metal money; only at a later date, when real paper money was in circulation, was mock paper money used with imitation coins in making offerings (Fig. 1082). Nevertheless, offerings of paper money for the spirits existed, apparently, before real paper money was adopted in the early +9th century. An artifact of paper cut into a continuous string of cash has been found in an early Thang tomb dated +667 in Sinkiang (see Fig. 1086),10 while the Thang scholar-official Feng Yen11 (+926–907) said: 'In the past silk was buried and now the paper money is burnt. This shows people do not understand what the spirits really need.'12

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8 Cf. Pei Chuan-Chi (1), pp. 557–8, pl. 8b.
10 Hunter (1), p. 24. This work includes illustrations of various kinds of paper and bags to contain such folded tinfoil, with messages to the spirits on the bags.
11 See Hu Tien Chi Lo (JPTK), ch. 48, pp. 106–152.
12 See Stein (2), iv, pl. XCVIII.

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The burning of paper money was formally introduced to the imperial sacrifice in +798 by Wang Yu, who served as Commissioner of Imperial Sacrifices and Associate Censor, and was in charge of sacrifice at the ancestral temple. The adoption of this practice for state sacrifices was a subject of controversy among many officials and scholars at the time and thereafter. Some of them condemned it as absurd and others were in favour of the use of paper money as a substitute for actual silver and copper coins. This not only made the tombs less attractive to grave robbers, but also kept the actual money in circulation.

In the Sung dynasty, a minister named Liao Yung-Chung (c. 1101–25) memorialised the emperor to abolish the burning of paper money. He considered such vulgarised tradition an absurd delusion and an insult to the spirits. And in commenting on the family sacrifice, the noted philosopher Chu Hsi (1130–1200) said that the Rituals of the Ta Tung recorded that certain officials did not originally burn paper money as offerings to their ancestors, and this practice was followed by the gentry (t'ao-kuan), literally, clothes and caps. At the beginning of our dynasty, it was said, those who studied the rituals misunderstood the passage and used paper clothes and caps instead of paper money in the sacrifice. Whether the burning of paper objects other than money was the result of misreading the ritual is not certain, but Chu Hsi's statement here seems to tell us that the burning of paper money was practised in Thang, and of paper replicas of other objects was introduced early in the Sung dynasty. Since paper clothing and paper caps are known to have been worn by men at this time, it would have been natural to offer them to the spirits in lieu of silk or other textile materials (Fig. 108J). Even though the intention of the offerings was questioned by many scholars, the use of paper replicas for funeral objects was still customary in sacrifice for many centuries after that.

Meng Yuan-Lao (fl. 1126–47) recalled that paper money and paper objects were offered to spirits during various festivals in the Northern Sung capital, Kaifeng. He said that in the spring festival, shops selling paper replicas used paper to make pavilions and buildings on the street. He also claimed that on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, during the All Souls Festival (ching-sian), numerous paper offerings such as boots and shoes, head-dresses, hats, belts with decorations, and colourful garments, as well as Buddhist Maudgalyāyana's saṅghīs (ma t'ien chung), were sold in the market. A bamboo tripod was made, about three to five feet high, with a basin on top. This was called ni lai phong in it paper clothes and paper money were burned as offerings to needy spirits. This was probably one of the reasons why many Confucian scholars objected to the burning of paper substitutes to their ancestors, because such offerings had some association with Buddhist ceremonies.

The burning of paper effigies in connection with cremation of the dead was witnessed by Marco Polo:

They take representations of things cut out of cotton-paper, such as caparisoned horses, male and female servants, camels, armour, suits of cloth of gold (and money), in great quantities, and these things they put on the fire along with the corpse, so that they are all burnt with it. And they tell you that the dead man shall have all these slaves and animals of which the effigies are burnt, alive in flesh and blood, and the money in gold, at his disposal in the next world.

The paper used for spirits, generally known as hao choi (burnt-offering paper), was made of bamboo, the fibres of which were cooked and strained with a solution of ashes and washed with water. The process was generally the same as in making other paper, except that they were not baked dry but dried in the sun. The Ming writer Sung Ying-Hsiang says:

*Yade (1), p. 191; the word 'cotton-paper' is used in Moulé & Pelliot (1), p. 317 and elsewhere. Similar customs of burning paper money and paper replicas in Tonkin are described by Marco Polo as 'double show Chinese influence'; see Yade (2), pp. 104, 105, n. 6.

*Three Kegg Abre We (KDP), p. 254, pl. 21; cf. tr. Sun & Sun (1), p. 229.
During the high Tang period, sacrifices to ghosts and spirits were frequent and paper money was used to substitute for burning silk fabrics, thus the particular kind of paper called huo-chih was made. According to recent custom in Hupei and Hunan, as much as 1000 catties of this paper was burnt for spirits on one single occasion. Actually, about seventy per cent of this kind of paper that is produced is used for burnt offerings, and thirty per cent for daily use.

During the early part of this century, the manufacture of such ceremonial paper constituted a large portion of the handmade paper industry in China, while the tradition of burning paper to communicate with the spirits is probably still practised in certain parts of China and the Chinese communities overseas. Indeed, the manufacture of the paper replicas has become a special handicraft by which almost every kind of object can be exactly and finely imitated.

Paper printed or painted with colourful images of folk gods or national heroes has played a prominent part in many Chinese households and shops. The pictures of these gods which might be hung or pasted on walls or doors of a house were used primarily for worship or for protection from evil spirits. Included among them were images of the gods of the kitchen, doors, and gates, which were among the five household spirits to be worshipped. The picture of the kitchen god was hung on a kitchen wall and was sacrificed to with confectionary and paper money on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month each year. After the sacrifice, the picture was burnt to send the god to heaven. Then, on the New Year's eve, he was invited back and a new picture was put up! The most common household pictures represented the gate gods. These were pasted on both sides of the double gate at the entrance of the house. The figures were supposed to represent two military generals of the Tang dynasty, Chih Chi Chiang⁷ and Wei-Chih Chiung-Fe,⁸ who wear armour and helmet and hold weapons (Fig. 106g). Other figures chosen for human satisfaction, such as the god of longevity, the god of wealth, and sometimes three gods standing together for happiness, prosperity, and longevity, were also painted or printed on paper to be pasted on walls or hung in the house.

Many other gods or national heroes were worshipped in shops or handicraft factories in honour of their contribution to the profession. Thus, the drinking poet Li Po⁹ became the saint of wine shops; the legendary butcher Chang Fei⁰ was worshipped in meat shops; the hero of the Three Kingdoms, Kuan Yu,¹ the god of war who ward off calamities, was the most popular tutelary god in many houses. The most interesting god for our discussion here is Tshai Lun,¹² the supposed inventor of paper, who has become the patron saint of the profession of papermaking and has been worshipped by papermakers and others since his own day. Legends related that a stone mortar used by Tshai Lun for papermaking still exists beside a pool near his home in Lei-Yang¹³ (in modern Hunan), where numerous people make papermaking their profession. Temples to him were built in his home town as well as in Lung-Ting¹⁴ (in modern Yang-hsien, Shensi), where he was buried and received the honorific title Marquis of Lung-Ting, as well as other papermaking centres as in Chiangtu.¹⁵ His image painted or printed on paper was hung on the walls of many paper mills and paper shops in both China and Japan. A typical example is a block-print of Tshai Lun's image, dated to the 11th century (Fig. 106a). The picture, printed in six colours (green, red, yellow, pink, mauve, black), shows the hero sitting in the centre. In his hand he holds a jen-ši,¹⁶ a sword-like...

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¹ Chih Chi Chiang (TSRCHB), p. 1. ¹⁰ Reproduced in Tzechhold [2].
³ See Werner (1), pp. 172–4; Beadle (22), p. 140. ¹³ Beadle (22), p. 4.
emblem of good wishes. He is waited on by four attendants, two of them holding paper rolls and books, and two animals are sacrificed before him. The legend at the top says, "Patron Saint Tshai Lun, Marquis of Yu-Thing".

While the worship of gods drawn on paper was primarily under Buddhist influence, the Taoists for their part multiplied their potent charms with messages of good luck, written or painted on paper smeared with cinnamon to invoke protection. Sometimes large charm seals were used to impress the message on clay and later on paper with red ink to indicate authority. It seems that paper was also used by Taoists as a symbol of their magic power.

Confucians also paid respect to paper on which characters had been written. As Confucian scholars enjoyed high prestige in society, what they wrote represented the sacred words of sages, worthy of respect and preservation; thus every scrap of paper bearing written or printed characters was to be revered. The phrase sheng hui Lua chi" (revered spare paper bearing characters) became a pious motto in Chinese society, where written paper was supposed not to be trampled upon or put to any indecent use. We do not know how early this tradition developed, though it was undoubtedly suggested by Confucian scholars themselves to enhance their prestige, but one early reference was made in the 8th century. Then the noted scholar Yen Chih-Thu" (+ 539-91) wrote in his family instructions that "paper on which there are quotations or commentaries from the Five Classics or the names of sages should not be used for toilet purposes." The same tradition was also held in Chinese society by Buddhists, who taught that rewards will be given to those who care for and respect paper with sacred messages on it.

In order to dispose of the written characters reverently, brick furnaces were built at street corners or in courtyards of temples, where scraps of written paper could be collected and placed for burning. The ashes were kept in jars and finally deposited in a river. Similar instructions were given on roads leading to sacred mountains. This practice may have been a way to avoid having litter lying about, but there is no doubt that it also had a definite connection with Confucianism and the cult of scholarship.

(4) Paper Clothing and Furnishing

Paper is mentioned in Chinese literature as having been used for various kinds of garments, bed furnishings, and other household articles in place of woven fabric, but whether these items were all made of true paper or bark cloth is uncertain.1

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1 See the discussion of Taoist charm seals in Carter (11), p. 13, n. 13-14.
2 For Shih Chi (Shih Chi, ed. 5, p. 13), H. Y. Tsiing (4), p. 31.
4 Cf. Hunter (4), pp. 20, 21, for illustrations of a 175th-century furnace for burning papers with characters on them, see Hunter (3), p. 215.
5 The craft of making jins, a bichrome bark paper, was almost universal throughout the Pacific, but it was used only for clothing and not normally for writing, see Hunter (4), pp. 47-47, cf. above, pp. 35, 36.
6 觸平紙  '紙帶廉平'  "順之紙"
Early Chinese records reveal the existence of a material made of bark, known as *tha pu* or *ka pu*, which may have some affinity with *tape*. Since *tape* was made from a variety of paper-mulberry bark by a process of beating and was used for clothing, it has been called bark cloth instead of paper. The Chinese terms *tha pu* which may mean 'beaten cloth', and *ka pu*, 'paper-mulberry cloth', very probably referred to a sort of bark cloth or *tape*.

The earliest reference to this material is found in the *Sshih Chi*, in which Su-ma Chhien (c. -145 to -86) mentioned that a merchant in the town managed in a year to sell 'a thousand piculs of *tha pu*'. The same material, called *ka pu*, appears in several other sources as early as the +3rd century. Lu Chih (+3rd cent.) said that people south of the Yangtze River used the bark of *ka* (paper-mulberry) to make cloth and also pounded it to make paper, called *ka fih chih* (paper-mulberry bark paper). Apparently, the inner bark of paper-mulberry can be prepared in different ways and used for different purposes. Since all these items for wearing and bedding are described in Chinese records as made of "chih" (paper), we may assume that they were made of bark paper.

There are in Han literature several references to the use of paper-mulberry for hats and headdress. Han Ying of the -3rd century mentioned that a disciple of Confucius named Yüan Hsien (-6th century) of the Lu State wore a paper-mulberry hat (*chih kuan*), which may not, of course, have been of true paper, and in the Later Han, it was fashionable for men to wear headbands called *hsiao-thou* or *chiao-thou*, made of paper-mulberry bark in red or other colours. During the Tang and Sung dynasties, paper-mulberry hats were worn by Taoist priests and were fashionable among scholars and poets; indeed a poem titled 'Taoist Fashion' by Wang Yu-Chêng (+954-1001) says: 'Paper-mulberry hat, serce coat, and black gauze kerchief', and Lu Yu (+1125-1210) mentions in his poems that he has newly had made two paper-mulberry hats, 'emphatically imitating the Taoist fashion'. Many other poems testify to this Taoist habit of wearing of paper-mulberry hats at this time, while several hats of stiff paper covered with plain black silk were found in a Tang tomb in modern Sinkiang. Another hat, a paper belt, and a paper shoe dated +418, made of hemp fibre, yellowish and thick with a textile pattern, were among the objects recently discovered at Turfan (Fig. 1086). Paper was also widely used as lining in cloth shoes.

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* See Han Shi (ESSWTW), ch. 71, p. 19-30; ch. 91, p. 91-92.
* See Han Shi (ESSWTW), p. 31-46.
* See Hsin Ome (SPFE), ch. 35, p. 2.
* See Same (2), v. 23.
* See same (2), p. 35-46.

Fig. 1086. Paper articles of the Tang dynasty found in Sinkiang. (a) Paper hat or crown; (b) Paper shoe; (c) Paper cloak; (d) Paper money for spirits; and (e) Roll paper flag with black stripes. (a, d, f, g) from Stein (4), (b, e) from the Institute of History of Science, Academia Sinica, Peking.
The most common paper apparel included the paper clothing (chih 3 or chih ao 6), used as early as the Han dynasty. The History of the Later Han Dynasty reports that the native tribes at Wu-ling (in modern Hunan) made bark into cloths and dyed it with grass seeds, such bark cloth being a local product presented to the court as a tribute by the non-Chinese tribes who lived in the south and southwest regions of the empire. Phieh Yüan 4 (+3rd century), author of the Kung Chuan Chi 4, and Thao Hung-Ching 6 (+456–540), a noted physician, also mentioned that the bark of paper-mulberry was used by the people in Wu-ling for clothing which was very durable and fine. 8 In the Ta-li period (+766–79) of the Tang dynasty, a Zen Buddhist monk wore no silk or fabric other than paper, and was called Zen Master of Paper Cloth, while testimony by many poets of the Sung dynasty indicates that paper clothing was worn not only in summer but during all seasons by poor people as well as by Buddhists. 8

One Sung writer, Su I-Chien 4 (+953–961), said that those who lived in the mountains (i.e. Buddhist and Taoist priests) often wore paper clothing, probably because of the Buddhist tradition against wearing silk. The clothing was very warm but, he claimed, was bad for the health because it did not allow circulation of air. His description of its manufacture describes how the material was boiled with one ounce of walnut and frankincense (gan tikkanam) for every 100 sheets, or steamed with an occasional sprinkling of frankincense or other liquid. When cooked and ready to be dried, it was rolled up horizontally on a stick, and then pressed vertically into wrinkles, apparently to give it some elasticity to prevent it being easily broken. Su also said that in his time some people of the I and Hsi districts (in modern Anhwei) made sheets of clothing paper as large as the size of one door of the main gates, and that this had been worn by many scholar-officials during their travels as a protection against the cold. 6 Marco Polo remarked that 'they manufacture stuffs of the bark of certain trees which form very fine summer clothing'. 2 No specimens of old paper clothes is known to have survived in China, but many are in Japan (Fig. 1087).

Personal outfits and household articles were also made of paper, and paper furnishings, including screens, curtains, bed-nets, and blankets, were frequently mentioned in Thang and Sung poems as well as in other writings. Su I-Chien mentioned that Yang Hsi 3 (+2nd century), who set an example of thrift to his subordinates, used paper curtains (chih 3 ao 6) and cloth blankets when he was prefect of Nan-yang (in modern Honan). 8 And in a poem written in +1089, the noted poet Su Shih 8 (+1081 to +1101) said that an old monk of Chin-shan enjoyed the warmth of a paper curtain when he was on board a ship travelling on the Yangtze River between the Chin and Chiao mountains. 4 A Ming author, Thu Lung 9 (+1442–1505), related that 'paper bed-curtains (chih chung 3) are made by fastening rattan skin and cocoon paper on wooden sticks and tightening them with a string. The paper is wrinkled and then sewn together with thread without the use of paste. The curtain top is made of loosely woven cloth instead of paper for ventilation. The curtains may be painted with plum blossoms or butterflies, appearing extremely elegant and delightful'. 9 Generally, paper curtains were used for warmth in winter and to keep out mosquitoes in summer.

Fig. 1087. Paper cloth of Japan (fimoko) made of specially treated sheets of paper.
Paper blankets (chih pai⁵) and paper mattresses (chih ju¹) were used primarily by Buddhist and Taoist monks, as well as by some scholars, to keep them warm in winter. Apparently they were cheap but not common, for acknowledgment of gifts of paper blankets is occasionally found in literature. Thus, the monk Hui-Hung⁶ (+1071–1128) of the Northern Sung dynasty wrote a poem to acknowledge the gift of a paper blanket from the Zen master Yu-Chih⁵, describing it as white as snow, soft as cotton, and better than a blanket made of exquisite white cloth (ja tao⁴) or one of purple fox felt (ja jang chun⁴).⁸ In thanking the philosopher Chu Hsi (+1130–1200) for a gift of a paper blanket, the poet Lu Yu (+1125–1210) wrote: ‘I passed the day of snow by covering me with a paper blanket. It is whiter than fox fur and softer than cotton.’ He enjoyed its warmth and softness, and on several occasions said he had slept comfortably and soundly under a paper blanket. Both blankets and mattresses are said to have been produced in Fukien, Yunnan, as well as many other locations.⁶

A defensive covering made of paper, known as chih chia⁴ or chih hui⁴, was used to protect the body and arms in battle. It was light, convenient, and especially suitable for foot soldiers in the south, where the terrain prevented the use of such heavy armour as was normally worn by soldiers on horseback or on ships. Since paper armour is not mentioned among the thirteen kinds of armour listed in the Thang administrative codes, Thang Liu Tien⁷, compiled in +722–38, it is believed that its use began after this time. It was probably adopted from the late Thang dynasty, for when Hsi Shang⁸ (+847–94) was appointed governor of Ho-tung (in modern Shansi), he organized and kept an expeditionary army of one thousand troops in a state of readiness; they were clothed with pleated paper armour which could not be pierced by strong arrows.⁹ Later, when Li Thao¹¹ (+d. +998), a captain in the imperial army of the Sung dynasty, attacked the city of Ho-tung, he found the defenders were dressed in yellow paper armour, which appeared white in the light of bright flames.⁶ While paper armour was primarily for foot soldiers, it was also used by the navy, and Hung Kua¹¹ (+1117–84), a commissioner of military affairs, mentioned in a memorial on the armour of pirates, that no less than 110 sets of paper armour were found alongside the weapons in two ships surrendered by the enemy.¹ In another memorial, Chen Te-Hsiao¹⁸ (+1178–1255), a magistrate of Chihian-chou, said that weapons at his fort were sufficient for the defence of the coast, except that fifty sets of paper armour were needed for his navy, for which he would exchange one half of the 100 sets of iron armour in his possession.⁹

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Fig. 1088. Paper armour of the Ming dynasty, 15th century. (a) Body cloak. (b) Paper arm guard. From Wu Pei Chih, 20th ed.

However, the best description and illustration of paper armour (Fig. 1088) are found in the Ming work recording armaments, written in 1621 by Mao Yean¹ (d. 1629), in which he says:¹ Armour is the basic equipment of soldiers, with which they are able to endure without suffering defeat before sharp weapons. The terrain in the south is dangerous and low, and where foot soldiers are generally employed they cannot take heavy loads on their backs when travelling swiftly. If the ground is wet or there is rain, iron armour easily rusts and becomes useless. Japanese pirates and local bandits frequently employ guns and firearms, and even though armour made of rattan or of horn may be used, the bullets can nevertheless pierce it. Moreover, it is heavy and cannot be worn for too long. The best choice for foot soldiers in paper armour, mixed with a variety of silk and cloth. If both paper and cloth are thin, even arrows can pierce them, not to say bullets; the armour should, therefore, be lined with cotton, one inch thick, fully pleated, at knee length. It would be inconvenient to use in muddy fields if too long and cannot cover the body if too short. Heavy armour can only be used on ships, since there soldiers do not walk on muddy fields. But since the enemy can reach the object with bullets, it could not be defended without the use of heavy armour.
The same work says that for the protection of arms and hands a paper arm-and-hand cover (chih fêi shuei) was also used. Each pair of these covers used four layers of cloth of a certain length on both outer and inner sides, plus a certain amount of cotton, cocoon paper, and silk thread. The paper armour was similar to the iron armour made in the north, but was flexible and convenient, light and ingenious. A whole sleeve was generally made, thicker in the upper part and thinner in the lower, with a very thin place in the middle to facilitate movement of the elbow joint. Paper armour continued to be used by some of the native tribes in Yunnan, Kweichow, and Kwangsi as late as in the Ch'ing dynasty.  

(5) Wallpaper and Household Use of Paper

It is generally believed that wallpaper was first brought from China to Europe by French missionaries in the 16th century, then later from Canton by Dutch, English, and French traders, and that it was imitated in Europe in the 17th century. Certainly, the colourful papers from China with hand-painted designs of flowers and birds, landscapes, and scenes of domestic life were especially fashionable in Europe from the 17th to the 19th century (Fig. 109). It was introduced to America in 1735 and manufactured there some fifty years later. Before the use around the middle of the 19th century of machinery for printing wallpaper, it was all made according to Chinese fashion in small sheets with unit designs printed successively either by stencils or by woodblocks to give a continuous pattern. As Lauffer says: 'We owe to China in particular also our paper-hangings or wallpaper.'

The earliest mention of Chinese wallpaper was a reference in 1693 in England to Queen Mary's Chinese and Indian cabinets, screens, and hangings, the last of which is believed to refer to Chinese painted papers. Then, in about 1737, John Mackey described the Palace of Wanshead as 'finely adorned with China paper [showing] the figures of men, women, birds and flowers the liveliest [the author] ever saw come from that country'. Some of these papers were so accurately drawn that 'a man need go no further to study the Chinese than the Chinese paper. Some of the plants which are common in China and Java as bamboo, are better figured there than in the best botanical authors that I have seen.' Even in this century, the Chinese hand-painted wallpapers are still considered the most excellent and beautiful of all, and a leading British architect has said: 'No experience could be more delightful than to waken in a bedroom hung with "painted paper of Pekin."'

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2. T'ong Oii (1892 ed.), ch. 278, p. 12 b.
4. For Chinese wallpapers in Europe, see Ackermann (3), pp. 11-12; Entwistle (1), pp. 43-4; Sumner (1), pp. 14-22; for a chronological development of the art, see Entwistle (1), pp. 11 ff.
9. 菱花子

Fig. 109. Old European wall-paper in five colours designed by Jean Papillon (+ 1661-1725) showing Chinese influence of the century. Printed in yellow, black and red with blue and green done with a brush (32 in. x 21 in.). From McClelland (1).
The history of wallpaper in China is not as clear as that in Europe or America. All writings about wallpaper by Western authors indicate that it originated in China, but no clear trace can be found in Chinese sources earlier than the 17th century. Both wallpaper historians and sinologists agree that the so-called 'block paper' made by a French printer in Rouen in 1550 and by the English at about the same time, was inspired by coloured papers imported from China. Some accounts from later European visitors mention the use of wallpaper in North China from the beginning of the 17th century, when the Ch'ing emperors, especially Kang-Hsi (r. 1662–1722), showed a great deal of interest in developing the decorative arts, including wallpaper. Certainly, many Chinese wallpaper designs were similar to the patterns of the Chinese porcelain that came to Europe, perhaps made by the same group of artist craftsmen who specialised in this style primarily for the foreign trade, and later on, unit patterns (Fig. 1091) were used to print decorative designs continuously on one large sheet of paper (Fig. 1091).


No information has been found on how early wallpaper was used in Chinese houses. Most room partitions in Chinese buildings were wooden panels or plastered walls, and coloured designs were sometimes painted directly on such walls or ceilings. Wallpaper must have been used in China in the 16th or 17th century, as indicated by Chinese works which say that paper covering on walls was vulgar and

* See quotations on wall paintings in T'ung chih Chi-ch'ing (T'ung-p'ei, 1961), ch. 96, p. 36; also, painting on ceilings and walls in a Ming house of a Wu family was recently recovered in Hu-chou (modern Hsu-chung, An-fu); cf. Chang Ch'ung-I (1), p. 13, lpp. 73–80.
not liked by people of good taste. Wen Cheng-hong⁴ (1582–1645), a noted landscape artist and calligrapher, said: 'Small room should not be partitioned in the middle', and 'Walls should not be pasted with paper': his opinion was that neither painting nor writing directly on them could be compared with plain walls.⁵ Li Yu⁶ (1611–80), another noted author and the owner of the Mustard Seed Garden, opposed the use of white paper for covering walls. He suggested that brown paper might be used as a basic wall covering, and then green writing paper torn into pieces and pasted on it.⁷ This seems to be an early example of collage.

Li further suggested that walls should neither be too bare nor too fanciful. He was in favour of displaying scrolls by great artists, which should be pasted directly on to the walls rather than hung, so that gusts of wind might not make them sway and so be liable to damage, but also said that the scrolls might be cut and pasted on a wooden board having frames on all sides.⁸ The origin of wallpaper may possibly be traced to such Chinese decoration of walls with hanging scrolls of various subjects, such as landscapes or flowers and birds. Indeed, what the early missionaries brought to Europe may have been such pictures, which were at first in frames but were later pasted on walls instead of being hung. One early European reference to applying wallpaper says that the old method was to fasten a wooden framework over the surface of the bare walls; this was fixed to wooden wedges driven into the brick or stone, thus leaving an air space between. On these frames canvas was stretched, and on the canvas the wallpapers were fixed, and it is for this reason that, in many cases, it has been possible to remove them.⁹ These wallpapers may have been hanging scrolls of paintings such as were often used to decorate Chinese houses.

The paper screen used as a movable partition of the room has been a very important item for interior decoration in Chinese houses since Tang times. There were two major forms of such screens, folding and stiff, both of which were originally made of wooden board and painted sometimes on lacquered surfaces. When paper became popular, the wooden panels were replaced with paper and decorated with calligraphy, the screens thus made known as sha phing⁴ (calligraphy screen) or, with painting, hau phing⁴ (painting screen). Panels with works by celebrated artists are said to have been extremely expensive; a Thang work mentions that one single panel of a folding screen cost as much as 20,000 pieces of gold and another of medium quality was sold for 15,000.⁵ One folding screen with six panels of brocade stretched over a frame of lacquered wood survives in Japan.⁶

⁴ See Chih Pang Wu Oli (MST), p. 3. This information was supplied by Dr Hsia Nai, Director of the Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica, Peking, in a letter of 17 July 1972.
⁵ Li Yu Chihh Oli (Taipei, 1976), vol. 6, pp. 340–1, 40.
⁷ See discussion in Chihh-min, Tenu-Miin (6), p. 94.
⁸ These folding screens are mentioned in the Li Tai Ming Hau Oli (FICO), ch. 9, p. 51.
⁹ See discussion in Chihh-min, Tenu-Miin (6), p. 94.

while a stiff screen with one panel, known as chang liu⁴ (shields), or hau chang⁴ (painting shield), was also used at this time. The pictures on mounted scrolls were often transferred to the screen, or from the screen back to scrolls as needed.

It has been common to use white paper in lieu of glass for windows and doors in Chinese houses ranging from imperial palaces to peasants' homes. Windows were designed with lattices⁴ on which paper was pasted to admit a softened sunlight (Fig. 1909). Living room doors were similarly designed with lattice on the upper part and solid panels below. Gauze was used in ancient times, though later thin but strong paper in large sheets took its place. This was generally made of paper-mulberry bark mixed with bamboo and sometimes rice stalks, the strong and hard-sized bark paper being difficult to tear cross-wise. The highest grade of this paper, used for windows in imperial palaces, was called 'window-gauze paper' (lim chuang chih³)⁵. That used in the Ming dynasty was produced in Kuang-hsing (in modern Chiang-ti); each sheet was over seven feet long and more than four feet wide, and some were dyed in various colours.⁶

Paper used to cover windows in the imperial palaces was detailed in the administrative codes of the Ching government from the beginning of the dynasty.⁷ It was specified that tributary paper sent from Korea be used for the windows of four palaces (Tai-ho, Pao-ho, Chung-ho, and Wen-hua) every year, and that yellow silk fabric be used to mend the seams every two years. Requisitions of paper for the windows and lanterns of the imperial altars and temples were made.

⁴ See Chih Pang Wu Oli (MST), p. 3. This information was supplied by Dr Hsia Nai, Director of the Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica, Peking, in a letter of 17 July 1972.
⁵ Li Yu Chihh Oli (Taipei, 1976), vol. 6, pp. 340–1, 40.
⁶ See discussion in Chihh-min, Tenu-Miin (6), p. 94.
⁷ These folding screens are mentioned in the Li Tai Ming Hau Oli (FICO), ch. 9, p. 51.
⁸ See discussion in Chihh-min, Tenu-Miin (6), p. 94.
⁹ See discussion in Chihh-min, Tenu-Miin (6), p. 94.
made of bamboo fibres mixed with rice straw. During modern times the same raw materials have been used and wrapping paper makes up more than twenty per cent of the total production.\(^6\)

The use of paper for toilet purposes must have been practised no later than the +6th century. Although Chinese sources are generally silent about the use of paper for cleaning the body after elimination, one reference dated as early as the +6th century refers to the prohibition of paper with characters being used for such purposes. Indeed, the noted scholar-official Yen Chih-Thui (752-907) said in his family instructions, written about +829, ‘Paper on which there are quotations or commentaries from Five Classics or the names of sages, I dare not use for toilet purposes,’\(^7\) and an early Arab traveller to China, who was obliged by his religion to perform purifying ablutions, commented curiously upon this use of paper. In his report of +853, he says: ‘They (the Chinese) are not careful about cleanliness, and they do not wash themselves with water when they have done their necessities; but they only wipe themselves with paper.’\(^8\)

Toilet paper (tīhuá chǐ\(^9\)) was made from rice straw, the fibres of which were tender and required less time and labour to process; it thus cost less than any other kind of paper. Great quantities of such paper were needed for daily use, and for the imperial court alone, it was specified in +1393 that the Bureau of Imperial Supplies (Pao Chiao Sun\(^9\)) manufactured 720,000 sheets, two by three feet in size, for the general use of the court and 15,000 sheets, three inches square, light yellow, thick but soft, and perfumed, for special supply to the imperial family. The quantity manufactured every year was so great that the refuse of straw and lime which accumulated in the imperial factory formed a mound that was called Elephant Mountain (Hsiang Shan\(^9\)). Even early in this century, the annual production of paper for toilet use in Chekiang alone amounted to ten million packages of 1000 to 10,000 sheets each.\(^9\)

\((6)\) **PAPERCRAFT AND RECREATIONAL USE OF PAPER**

Paper has great potential as a creative material for recreational purposes. It may be cut into designs to be pasted on windows, doors, lamps, and other surfaces, and on clothing and shoes in place of embroidery. It may be folded into flat or three-dimensional forms for art or entertainment; and making paper flowers by folding, cutting, and pasting is a popular amusement. Because of its lightness, paper is also especially suitable for making kites. Numerous articles for popular use were origin-
nally made of far expensive materials such as silk, leather, horn, or ivory, but later these were replaced with paper. Sturdy paper or paper-mache was also substituted for many more expensive materials for games, toys, and other objects for enjoyment. Paper was used in China for some of these purposes as early as the +3rd or 4th century, and for all of them by the +6th or 7th.

Cutting paper into various designs with scissors and knives, for making decorations at festivals or on other occasions, is a folk art of China with a history of many centuries. It probably derives from the custom of cutting out human figures, flowers, or landscapes in silk at the spring festival. Tsung Lién (+6th century) says: "On the seventh day of the first moon, which is called the man's day, seven kinds of vegetables are used for soup, and sheets of silk or gold foil are cut into human figures to paste on screens or hang in women's hair at the sides." It has been said that this custom derived from Madame Li, wife of Chia Chhüng (+217–82) of the Chin dynasty (+265–420). A similar custom of cutting paper into small banners, butterflies, or pieces of money, to place on women's heads or on flowers at the beginning of spring, was popular in the Thang, and a beautiful geometric design cut out of a round sheet of paper, from the +5th or +6th century, was recently found in Sinkiang (Fig. 1095a). Again, silhouettes of shrines cut out of buff paper and pasted on a blackened sheet, and several artificial flowers made of paper cut into various shapes to form the petals, etc., were found in Tunhhuang, while the noted poet Tu Fu mentioned in one of his poems: "Cutting paper to summon my soul." These, then, are some of the earliest examples of, or references to, paper-cutting known to us today. Many stories concern the skill of artists in paper-cutting and the excellence of their work. The Sung scholar Chu I-Mü (+1272–98) mentioned several paper-cutters who cut paper with scissors into a great variety of designs and characters in different styles, and a young man who could even cut characters and flowers inside his sleeve. But though most of the stories tell of male artists, many of the cutters were women who did this in their leisure time on farms.

The subjects of paper-cutting included scenes from farm life: tilling land, weaving, fishing (Fig. 1093d), or tending cattle; symbols of good luck or blessings; legendary stories and theatrical figures; and flowers and plants, birds and animals. The design might be one independent picture, a symmetrical pair, or multiple sets of from four to as many as twenty-four. If to be used in corners, a set of four triangular designs was usually made; and for a ceiling a multiple design round in shape was used. Unlike paintings, the composition of paper cuts was generally symmetrical, well balanced, with intricate designs covering an entire space; they had a strong local flavour.

The process of cutting paper involved several steps. A master design was first cut and fastened over a piece of white paper upon a wooden board. The paper was then moistened with water and blackened with smoke, and when the master design was taken off, a white design appeared on the paper against a black background. A pile of sheets of white paper was then laid under the design, and fastened with paper thread at the corners and the centre before cutting. For symmetrical designs, the paper was folded and cut with scissors to duplicate the design, but only a few sheets.