

FASHIONING KIMONO:

DRESS AND MODERNITY IN EARLY

TWENTIETH-CENTURY JAPAN

THE MONTGOMERY COLLECTION

EDITED BY
ANNIE VAN ASSCHE

PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEFANO EMBER





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Akiko Fukai's essay is translated by Miwako Tezuka

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Endpapers Kageyama, Kōyō, Modern girl (moga) picnic (1930). Photograph courtesy of Kageyama Tomohiro, Fujisawa, Japan.

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INTERWEAVINGS: KIMONO PAST AND PRESENT ANNIE VAN ASSCHE

The kimono, the national dress of Japan, is quintessentially Japanese. It is a loose-fitting garment with a straight, cylindrical silhouette, allowing one to appreciate the form (and beauty) of the human body allusively, rather than literally. The 150 kimono in the Montgomery Collection (published herein) date roughly from the 1860s to the early 1950s—the last few years of the Edo period, all of the Meiji and Taishō periods, and the first twenty-five years of the Shōwa period. The collection is comprehensive in that it includes kimono (and haori jackets) worn by men, women, and children for formal, ceremonial, and casual use. To fully appreciate the significance of this extraordinary collection, it is helpful to understand the society and culture from which these garments came. "Clothing is a cultural system," as the anthropologist Liza Dalby states in her book, Kimono:

... Clothing carries messages that reflect its society and era. Like language, clothing reacts to changed social conditions by incorporating new elements, shifting forms, or slogging off old styles into obsolescence. The capacity of clothing to convey information is enormous. Its messages are silently and efficiently broadcast to other members of society, who are all equipped by cultural knowledge to read its codes at a glance. . . . kimono are coded for messages, regarding age, gender, season, formality, and occasion [as well as] wealth and taste.¹

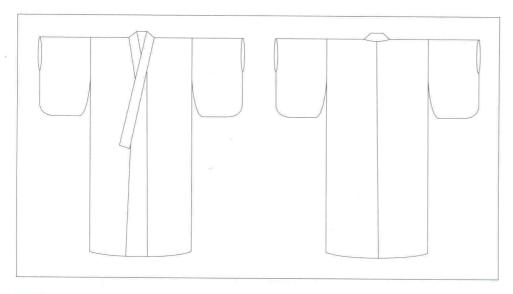
The Kimono Form

The kimono is a one-piece, front-wrap garment with a rectangular form (figs. 1–2). The same pattern (i.e., cut) is used for both men's and women's kimono, and has remained so for many millennia. It is constructed with a minimum of cutting from a single bolt of fabric measuring approximately 12 meters long (13.5 yards) and 40 centimeters wide (15.75 inches), and all of the fabric is used. Two long, continuous panels—slightly more than four times the height of the person in length—make up the body of the kimono. These two panels wrap the body, vertically, from the floor, up the front, over the shoulders, and down the back. The kimono has no shoulder seams.

The sleeves are made of two more panels, and attached to the body of the robe at the shoulders. Two half-width panels are added to the front panels, allowing for the front to wrap, and a long lapel is attached to the neck and front sections. When worn, the kimono is wrapped left side over right and held closed by an obi sash, which is wrapped several times around the person's mid-section. The length of the kimono can be easily altered by drawing up the excess fabric, folding it over, and tying it with a cord, then tucking it under the obi sash. A taller person folds less; a shorter person folds more. The same amount of fabric is basically used for both formal and casual kimono.

The kimono is well suited for Japan's semitropical climate and its culture. Its loose, open sleeves allow air to pass through. The wrap style allows for ease in movement, from sitting on the floor to

1. Liza Dalby, The Kimono, p. 7.



Kimono front and back.

Fig. 2

Kimono pattern.

Fig. 1



standing. A lined kimono is worn in colder weather, and a summer kimono is unlined. Several kimono can be worn layered for added warmth. A cord passed through the sleeve openings and tied at the back will keep the sleeves out of harms way while working.

Early Kimono Prototypes

The kimono evolved from one of two formal Chinese court robes adopted by Japan in the seventh century. These robes were called *agekubi* (high-neck) and *tarikubi* (front wrap neck) in Japan, and as in China, they were worn exclusively by the nobility (figs. 3–4).² Initially, men wore the *agekubi*-style robe, while women wore the *tarikubi* robe. In time, the *agekubi* robe became a purely ceremonial dress, worn by men for formal functions pertaining to the imperial court. And it is still worn by members of the court today.

After several minor transformations, the *tarikubi* evolved into a distinctively Japanese robe during the Heian period, when it was worn by court nebles. At this time, women of the court customarily wore robes in twelve layers (*jūni-hitoe*), over which they wore an excessively long divided skirt (*hakama*). A *tarikubi-*like robe made up the inner layers in this configuration. These inner robes eventually came to be worn on the outside in the subsequent Kamakura period, and they were called *kosode* (small sleeve opening).³ In the beginning, very few gender distinctions existed between the *kosode* robes worn by men and those worn by women (fig. 5).⁴ Commoners also began to wear a simple one-piece *kosode*-like robe during this time, but these were made of plant fibers, not silk.

This reference to the robe's sleeve is a crucial element in the history of the kimono form. While the body remained constant, sleeve styles changed, and the terms to describe them varied: kosode (small sleeve opening); ōsode (large sleeve opening); hirosobe (wide sleeve); and furisode (long swinging sleeve). Of these four terms, only furisode remains in circulation today—some eight centuries later. Although hardly the norm today, the furisode is worn by girls or young single women for celebratory occasions, such as Girl's Day (March 3rd), birthdays (especially the third, fifth, and seventh), graduation from high school, and for New Years Day.

^{2.} Seiroku Noma, Japanese Costume and Textile Arts, pp. 10–11.

^{3.} Seiroku, p. 13.

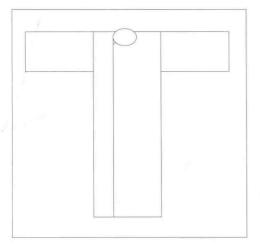
^{4.} Seiroku, p. 36.

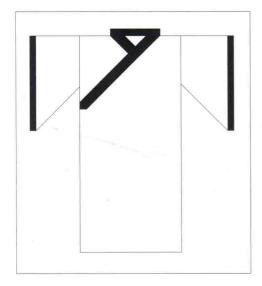
^{5.} Inumaru Tadashi, The Traditional Crafts of Japan, "Textiles I, Weaving," p. 5.

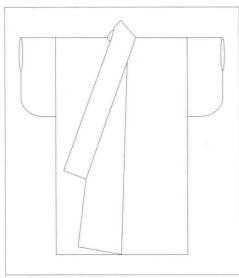
Fig. 3 Agekubi (high neck) robe.

Fig. 4
Tarikubi (front wrap neck) robe.

Fig. 5 Kosode (small sleeve) robe.







The kosode had a long and dynamic life that lasted approximately 600 years. It was the dominant dress of Japan until the Meiji period, when the general term "kimono" (thing to wear) replaced "kosode." The physical difference between the kimono and the kosode has mainly to do with sleeves. The kosode has smaller sleeve openings, and the part of the sleeve below the arm opening is attached to the body of the robe. In the Meiji period, sleeves were freed from the robe's body, allowing a wider obi sash to be worn, as well as more ease in movement.

Silk

At the heart of Japan's kimono culture is silk, an ancient material interwoven into numerous legends in Asia. It is strong and lustrous, it accepts dyes very easily, and it has a great variety of applications. Sericulture, the art of raising silk worms and producing silk, was introduced to Japan by Chinese and Korean artisans during the third century. Silk is a strong, lustrous protein fiber created by the larvae, or silk worm (kaiko), of the Bombyx mori moth (originally a native of northern China). At one time, as many as 200 varieties of silk worms were cultivated in Japan, resulting in silk fibers that varied in both thickness and color (snow-white, yellow, orange, pink, green, and blue). The silk worm only eats the leaves of the mulberry shrub, and while spinning its cocoon, it has a voracious appetite and eats twenty-four hours a day. The silk worm builds the shell of its cocoon with a natural filament thread excreted from its mouth. It spins this thread in layers around itself to form the cocoon, building up a thick wall. All is held together with sericin, a substance that the worm excretes from its mouth along with the filament. When the worm leaves the cocoon, it is a caterpillar, soon to develop into a moth.

Filament silk is processed by boiling the cocoon to wash away the sericin gum and impurities. The filament is then pulled (or reeled) from the cocoon in a long, continuous strand. For garment silk, several strands of filament are plied together, while single strands are used in musical instruments, such as the Japanese *shamisen*.

A second type of silk, which goes by several names—floss silk, raw silk, dupion, and pongee—is obtained from defective cocoons, that is, those which did not develop properly. After the cocoons are boiled with a caustic material (such as sodium bicarbonate) to remove the sericin, they are spread open from the center to form a fibrous cylinder of batting. This batting (mawata) is placed on a swift and spun into a thread. Fabric woven with this silk (tsumugi) has a nubby, dull surface texture, unlike the shiny, smooth fabric produced from reeled filament silk.

Bast Fibers

Japanese robes are also made of fabric from a variety of bast fibers obtained from plants. These fibers are gathered from the phloem tissue—the fibrous layer under the bark—of the stems of various dicotyledonous plants (trees, shrubs, grasses, vines, etc.) that are either cultivated or growing wild. These include ramie (chōma or karamushi; Boehmeria nivea); hemp (taima; Cannabis sativa); wisteria [fuji; Wistaria chinensis]; mulberry (kōzo; Broussonetia kazinoki); oak (kaji; Broussonetia papyrifera); and arrowroot (kuzu; Puerarua hirsuta). Fabrics made from bast fibers are collectively termed asa; high-quality asa fabric, made from young, supple plants, is called jōfu. Jōfu is used to make katabira robes (see cat. 23, 24).

Bast fiber garments are durable and strong. But except for those made with jōfu, they are coarse and rough against the skin, and poor insulation from the cold. In the past, people living in the colder parts of Japan wore several layers of asa garments for added warmth. Preparation of the fibers required tedious hours of stripping, boiling, retting, beating, and spinning, often done during the cold winter months. Bast fiber cloth, however, is very appropriate for summer garments, because it dries quickly and does not stick to the skin in high humidity and heat (unlike silk or cotton).

Cotton

Cotton fabric began to be imported to Japan from China in the fourteenth century. But in the beginning, it was expensive and exclusive. Cotton was first grown in Japan in the sixteenth century, but because this variety was sensitive to cold climates, it could only be grown in Kyūshū, Japan's southernmost island. Cotton fabric was found to be much softer than those made with bast fibers, and production was much less time-consuming and labor intensive. By the seventeenth century, distribution of cotton was widespread in Japan; garments made of cotton were worn by both the elite and commoners alike.

Traditional Plant Dyes

Plants provide most traditional Japanese dye materials. These include: safflower (benibana) for red, pink, and yellow; the acorn of the oak tree (tsurubami) for gray-brown; indigo leaves (ai) for blue and black; the bark of the cork tree (kihada), gardenia hulls (kuchinashi), and micanthus grass (kariyasu) for yellow; gromwell (murasaki or shikon) for purple; madder (akane) for red; and sappanwood (suo) for red and purple. By dyeing one color over another, secondary colors can be obtained. For example, by dyeing a fabric first with micanthus grass and next with indigo, the final color is green. Materials used as mordants, as well as methods used to fix a dye to the fabric, also affect the final color of the cloth.

There are two methods for applying dyes to fabric: direct-dyeing, that is, brushing (or painting) a dye directly onto the surface of the cloth, and immersion dyeing, that is, immersing cloth into a dye bath. Depending on the dye material used, a mordant may be necessary to fix the dye to the fabric. This can either be added to the dye bath or applied to the cloth prior to dyeing. Traditional mordants used in Japan include those obtained from plants (ex., rice vinegar and alum), and minerals (ex., iron). Lye from ash can also be used as a mordant. Some dye materials, such as indigo (ai) and gardenia (kuchinashi), do not require a mordant (i.e., they have a natural mordant), while others require the fabric to be steamed after dyeing, to further fix the dye.

Colors

In ancient times, the Japanese believed that color imbued a garment with special powers. A black-dyed garment, for example, was thought to protect the wearer from evil. Many dye plants also contained medicinal qualities; some were thought to prevent illnesses (and, in some cases, act as a cure).

In the sixth century, Japan adopted the Chinese cosmological system, and colors gained added significance. Based on this system, each cardinal point was assigned a season, natural element, color, and virtue. It was believed that the interactions of these elements were the key to understanding the interrelationship of nature and man. The chart below maps out this system;

South	North	Center	30	East	West
Summer	Winter	-		Spring	Autumn
Fire	Water	Earth		Wood	Metal
Red	Black	Yellow		Blue	White
Decorum	Wisdom	Integrity		Excellence	Righteousness

The Chinese used color to rank members of their court, and ceremonial hats and gowns worn for official occasions were assigned a color based on this ranking system. In descending order, these were: purple, blue, red, yellow, white, and black. Various shades of each—from dark to light—further refined the ranks. In 603, Japan's Prince Shōtoku Taishi (d. 621) established a similar ranking system for his government. Over the next several hundred years, the Japanese ranking system underwent shifts and adjustments. The color purple, however, maintained a high rank throughout pre-Meiji times.

Colors have often figured metaphorically in Japanese classical literature. Literature from the Heian period is laced with references to colors and their associated seasonal, personal, and occasional allusions, which would have been easily understood by the astute reader. Fugitive benibana red, obtained from the safflower plant, became a symbol of the fickle whims of a lover, while unfading gray signified lasting love:

Scarlet is a color
Quick to fade . . .

How can it compare
With those long-accustomed robes
Dyed in the gray of acorn.⁷

Traditional Design Techniques

Over the centuries, Japan's textile artisans have developed a vast array of techniques and methods for applying designs to fabric. Designs can be applied to the warp and/or weft threads prior to weaving, with the design visible on the surface of the fabric after it is woven. Designs can also be applied to the surface of already-woven fabric. Designs that relate to the dyeing method used are categorized either as <code>saki-zome</code> (dyed before) or <code>ato-zome</code> (dyed after). The general English term for <code>ato-zome</code> design methods is surface design.

Many traditional Japanese dyeing methods rely on a "resist," done either by binding warp and/or weft threads before they are dyed and woven (as in the *kasuri* technique), or by applying rice paste to the surface of the fabric to block the dye from penetrating it (as in the *katazome* and *yūzen* techniques). Designs can also be painted directly onto the surface of the fabric with dyes, pigments, or ink.

Kasuri Tie-Dyeing

Kasuri (ikat) is the most common saki-zome resist dyeing method used in Japan (see K89). With this technique, bundles of threads—warp or weft (or both)—are tightly wrapped with a strong binding thread. Then the bundles of wrapped threads are dyed; the dye does not penetrate the threadwrapped areas. The threads are next unwrapped, and as the fabric is woven, the design is revealed. Kasuri designs appear somewhat blurred, as a result of threads shifting during the weaving process, adding a special quality.

Kasuri-like thread-resist techniques began to be used in Ryūkyū (today's Okinawa) some time in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, during a period of heightened trade between Ryūkyū and Thailand, Malacca, India, Indonesia, and China. Thread-resist textiles soon became very important to the Ryūkyūans, and they were highly prized at the court.

The *kasuri* technique eventually spread north to the main islands of Japan, and by the mid-eighteenth century, it had become widespread. Several provinces, such as Echigo (today's Niigata Prefecture), came to specialize in *kasuri* fabrics made with high-grade *jōfu* ramie, which was used for lightweight summer *katabira* robes for the upper classes. Many of the geometric designs on *kasuri* textiles hold meaning, such as the arrow-feather pattern (*yabane*), which came to be associated with the military elite. The pictorial *e-gasuri* (picture *kasuri*) technique was produced throughout Japan, and was especially popular on textiles for commoners. Many of these designs had their origins in Japanese folk characters or legends.

Yūzen Surface Designs

The most important *ato-zome* surface design technique used to decorate kimono silk is *yūzen*. *Yūzen* incorporates several different methods—rice paste resist, handpainting, stencil-dyeing, gold-leafing,

7. Cited by Monica Bethe, in Kosode, p. 214 (Manyōshū, Bk. 18, no. 4109). This poem was translated from Japanese: Kuranai wa utsurou monozo tsurubami no narenishi kinu ni nao shikame ya mo. In Ozawa Masao, ed., Kokinwakashū [Collection of ancient and modern poems]. Nihon koten bungaku zenshū, no. 7. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1971.





tie-dyeing, and embroidery (figs. 6–10). With yūzen, a design is first drawn onto the surface of the fabric with rice paste applied through a cone-shaped tool. Much like cake decorating in the West, the paste is carefully squeezed from the cone onto the fabric. The size and shape of the cone's metal tip determines the width and shape of the line. After the paste dries, dyes are applied to the fabric, between and around the paste-drawn areas, with a fine hair brush. After the dyes have dried, the paste is washed off; a thin white outline appears where the rice paste was applied. Gold leafing and embroidery are done after the dyeing process is completed.

The invention of the *yūzen* technique is accredited to a Kyoto fan painter, Miyazaki Yūzensai, who in 1687 turned his attention to creating new textile design techniques. As a painter, he aimed at developing a direct-dyeing method that allowed designs to be painted with dyes directly onto the surface of fabric. The emergence of the *yūzen* dyeing technique coincided with the rise to power of the newly privileged samurai ruling class. Being allowed to wear silk, officially, members of the samurai class desired lavish silk robes, in which they could express their new power and status.⁸

Chayazome Dyeing

Like yūzen, the chayazome dyeing technique was created by an individual from Kyoto, Chaya Shirojiro, an early Edo-period cloth merchant. He specialized in high-quality, fine, linen-like, bleached white jōfu ramie fabric. With his jōfu fabric, Chaya created a new style of summer robe (katabira) that was stencil-dyed and direct-dyed on both sides of the fabric (see cat. 23). Designs were typically small, and of two or three colors, while the ground color was white. A soft indigo blue was the predominant color, with lighter shades of blues, yellows, and reds added for accent. Silk thread was sparingly embroidered over the motifs, creating a simple elegance.

Katazome Stencil Dyeing

The rice-paste resist *katazome* (stencil-dyeing) technique, another popular traditional Japanese textile design method, relies on paper stencils to create a white reserve design. The rice paste is applied to the fabric's surface through cut-out paper stencils, transferring the pattern on the stencil to the fabric. After the paste dries, the fabric is dyed. Unlike *yūzen*, which has multi-colored

Yūzen dyeing technique. Photographs courtesy of Chisō Textile Company, Kyoto, Japan.

Painting the design onto the fabric (with non-indelible ink).

Outlining the design with rice paste.

8. Inumaru (p. 6) states that the common people during this time were allowed to wear pongee silk fabric, which they made with defective cocoons. It was dull and had a rough surface, appearing more like cotton than silk.







Fig. 8 Applying the dyes.

Fig. 9 Embroidering silk thread

Fig. 10 Applying gold leaf

9. Amanda Mayer Stinchecum, "Kosode: Techniques and Designs," in Kosode, p. 32.

designs, *katazome* designs are typically of two colors: white and the ground color. After the dye dries, the paste is washed off, and the design appears in white.

In the *katazome* technique, the stencil is repeatedly repositioned along the entire length of the bolt of fabric. A consistently even allover design, from one paste application to the next, requires the skill of an accomplished artisan, as even very slight changes in pressure during application of the paste can create irregular results. Each step in the process—making the stencil paper, reinforcing and waterproofing it, cutting the designs, and applying the rice paste to the fabric—is customarily performed by individuals with specialized skills. This group of individuals makes up a guild.

It is not known when the stencil-resist method using rice paste first developed in Japan. But textiles stored at the Shōsō-in treasure repository tell us that stencils were being used at least since the sixth or seventh century. With these early examples, dyes were applied directly to the surface of the fabric through stencils using a fine mist or spraying method. From the twelfth century, Japanese leather armor was decorated with designs applied with dyed or colored lacquer and stencils. By the sixteenth century, minutely-cut designs (komon) were being applied with rice paste and paper stencils to decorate the surface of silk and asa fabrics. Although the technique of using stencils and resist paste to apply designs to the surface of fabric is not unique to Japan, the high degree of technical expertise developed by the Japanese artisan is unmatched elsewhere in the world.

The stencils used in the katazome (and $y\bar{u}zen$) techniques are made with handmade Japanese paper (washi), produced from the inner fibers stripped from the young stems of the mulberry shrub ($k\bar{o}zo$). To make the stencils, several sheets of paper are laminated and then coated with the juice of unripe, tannin-rich persimmons. When the coated sheet of paper (shibugami) is dry, it is smoked with burning sawdust. The tannin from the persimmon and the resin from the smoke render the paper waterproof. The designs are cut into the paper stencil with razor-sharp, steel-tip tools. These paper stencils are strong enough to withstand repeated applications of thick rice paste and soakings in water.

Shibori Tie Dyeing

Shibori (or shibori-zome) is another Japanese resist-dyeing technique done on the surface of already woven fabric (see cat. 64, 65). With this technique, undyed fabric is gathered using one or more of several methods: pinching, folding, knotting, stitching and binding with thread, rolling onto a cylinder and then bound, or clamped between boards. After it is dyed, the fabric is unbound and the design revealed. Due to the pressure applied by the threads used to bind the fabric, a distinctive, raised texture is created on its surface. This texture is very much appreciated, and finished shibori-dyed garments are never ironed. Extant Momoyama-period kosode robes decorated with shibori designs still retain some of the original hemp binding threads. It seems that such finishing details were sometimes overlooked in an attempt to preserve the special texture of shibori fabric.

While there is evidence of *shibori* textiles being produced in ancient times in Japan, the technique developed substantially as demand for *kosode* robes increased among the military class in latter years of the Muromachi period. Kyoto has long been Japan's textile center for extravagant silk *shibori* garments made for the upper classes. Indeed, it was the artisans of Kyoto who perfected the technique to a high art. One of the most prized Kyoto *shibori* styles is the *kanoko* (fawn spot) method, in which many very small sections of fabric are bound together in designated areas by stitching or wrapping to create a large, allover pictorial design.

In the latter half of the Edo period, the small provincial towns of Narumi and Arimatsu (nearby today's Nagoya) came to specialize in the *shibori* technique. Their *shibori* tie-dyed textiles, used both for garments and everyday household items, were done on silk and plant fiber textiles. One of the specialized *shibori* methods developed in Arimatsu during this time was *itajime*, in which fabric is first folded and clamped between carved wooden boards, and then dip-dyed—boards