

Hidden Japanese Men's Dress: Expressions of the Public and Private Self 1850–1945



Fig. 1. Euphemia Franklin, *Object Types*, 2022. Digital collage.
Clockwise from top left: nagajuban (under-kimono), haori jacket lining, hikeshibanten (firefighting jacket) and senninbari (thousand-person stitch sash). The above two objects are the focus of the first chapter, while the bottom two objects will be the focus of the second.

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Abstract

In the Edo period (1603–1868), sumptuary laws prohibited extravagant displays of luxury. As a result, men's dress became increasingly austere on the outside, but could contain dazzling layers on the inside. This dissertation draws attention to decorative items of Japanese men's dress that were purposely hidden from outside view, through four key object types: (i) nagajuban, or under kimono; (ii) hand-painted haori jacket linings; (iii) hikeshibanten firefighting coats; and (iv) senninbari 'thousand-person stitch' sashes worn by soldiers under military uniforms. These objects are unified by their hiddenness, but contrast in the ways in which they express the public and private self of the wearer.

The public and private self links to the Japanese idea of *honne* and *tatemae*. Each of the items studied speak to the expression of the public, outward-facing self of the wearer (*tatemae*), as well as their private, inward-facing self (*honne*). Through exploring the duality of public and private, this dissertation analyses the complex psychology behind hidden men's dress. Each object-type demonstrates how the public and private self can take a material form through items of dress.

This investigation begins in 1850, towards the end of the Edo period, and continues across the Meiji (1868–1912), Taishō (1912–1926) and the early Shōwa (1926–1989) eras, ending its study in 1945 at the end of the Second World War. While decorative items emerged in the Edo period as a way to circumvent sumptuary regulation, it gave birth to the aesthetic sensibilities of *iki*, which favoured extravagance hidden beneath plain layers of dress. This dissertation analyses how *iki* aestheticism and the wearing of hidden decorative dress persisted and evolved beyond the Edo period.

Between January and February 2022, I travelled to Japan to conduct primary research. Here, I gained valuable insights into the histories of each object type through object

handling, interviews, conversations and site visits. Object analysis in the UK also proved extremely insightful. Key findings include the discovery of hitherto unknown information on a nagajuban in the National Museum of Japanese History's collection and of a senninbari in the Imperial War Museum's collection.

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List of Abbreviations

IWM	Imperial War Museum
JJM	Johann Jacobs Museum, Zurich
LNT	Living National Treasure
The Met	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MoMAT	Museum of Modern Art Tokyo
NMJH	National Museum of Japanese History
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
SLAM	St. Louis Art Museum, Missouri
TNM	Tokyo National Museum
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum
WWII	World War Two

Introduction

The most spectacular items of dress are not always the most obvious. In the case of Japanese men's dress of the Edo period (1603–1868), the exterior was often composed of plain cloth with muted tones of browns, greys and blues. Hidden underneath, however, were dazzling layers of hand-painted imagery and detailed embroidery, often containing rich symbolism and storytelling. Beyond the Edo period, hidden decoration in men's dress continued and evolved as Japan entered the twentieth century. This dissertation looks beneath the visible layers of dress, drawing attention to what was deliberately hidden. It investigates how and why decorative items of dress were concealed, exploring the relationship of these textiles to the psychology of the wearer.

Central to Japanese dress is the art of layering. This is visible in Fig. 2, which shows a section on *kitsuke* 着付け (kimono dressing) in a men's kimono book demonstrating how to wear each layer, and the many ways to fasten an *obi* 帯 belt. Similarly, a painted scroll in the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) from the late eighteenth century, during the Edo period, takes us on a journey through a samurai's dressing process (Fig. 3). Before the metal armour is worn, there are several items of undergarments and preparatory layers, which are not clearly visible when the look is complete. Both the book and scroll demonstrate the process of layering in Japanese men's dress, which involves a clear order, method and differentiation between items of dress.



Fig. 2 Unknown maker, *Kitsuke no Kihon* 着付けの基本 (The Basics of Kimono Dressing) and *Obi-musubi* 帯結び (Tying Obi) Book scan, from *Otoko no Kimono no Dokuhon* 男着物の読本 (Reader in Men's Kimono) (Tokyo: Dansen, 1981), p.100 and 102.



Fig. 3. Unknown Maker, *Painting*, 1750–1800. Ink and colour on paper, silk border, 1870 x 780 mm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

At the core of this investigation is the element of hiddenness, which is defined here as items, or details, of dress that were deliberately concealed. Four key object types will be analysed as case studies: (i) ornate nagajubuan 長襦袢, or long under-kimono; (ii) hand painted haori 羽織 jacket linings; (iii) firefighting jackets with decorative linings, known as hikenshibanten 火消し半纏, and (iv) senninbari 千人針 ‘thousand-person stitch’ sashes, which were embroidered lengths of cloth worn underneath military uniforms. Each is pictured in Fig.1 (see cover), which may be used as a key for identifying each object type throughout the dissertation.

The idea of the public and private self aligns with the Japanese notion of *honne* 本音 and *tatemae* 建前. The characters for *honne* read ‘true sound’ and refer to one’s inner, private thoughts and feelings, while the characters for *tatemae* read ‘front facing’, typifying the outward-presenting of the public self. *Honne* and *tatemae* speak to the element of intimacy that is created through hiddenness, which allows us to consider textiles in relation to the psychology of the wearer. Each example of hidden dress in this dissertation will explore the ways in which *honne* and *tatemae* were expressed.

The first chapter will examine decorative nagajubuan and haori in the context of luxury craft. During the Edo period, these emerged as a result of strict sumptuary regulation, which dictated what each class was permitted to wear. This gave rise to the aesthetic pursuit of *iki* 粋, which favoured an austere exterior appearance, with extravagance concealed beneath plain layers of dress. *Iki* aestheticism will be referenced throughout this dissertation as a core feature of hidden men’s dress. The chapter will then look at the continuation of hidden luxury through existing examples of nagajubuan and haori from the Meiji period (1868–1912). Finally, it will examine examples of *omoshirogara* 面白柄 or ‘novelty’ patterns in nagajubuan and haori of the late Meiji and early Taishō (1912–1926) and Shōwa (1926–1989) eras, which began to reflect Japan’s changing landscape.

The second chapter studies hikeshibanten and senninbari in the context of community, strength and status. The talismanic qualities of these textiles will be explored, as they contained imagery intended to protect and inspire bravery in the wearer. First, hikeshibanten will be studied as an example of *iki* taste applied to *mingei* 民芸 craft, which is sometimes referred to as country or folk craft, before addressing debates on the hiddenness of these items. The chapter then draws attention to senninbari sashes, which originated in the late nineteenth century, made by women who wished to embed their thoughts and prayers into textiles for soldiers to carry. This section contrasts the making of senninbari to the other objects of this dissertation, as a form of craft that is neither luxury nor *mingei*, but an 'outside' craft. Additionally, it highlights how senninbari are an important example of how hidden dress can also serve as highly emotive objects.

Both chapters analyse the craft techniques behind each object type and the role of design within their making. While nagajuban, haori and hikeshibanten were constructed as garments, senninbari were worn on the body in such a way that constitutes a form of dress. This dissertation views each object as examples of design, as they were made with the intention being worn on the body, rather than as functionless items of display. Additionally, the decorative elements of each object type were carefully chosen and applied, which can be understood as design.

The timeline of this dissertation spans four imperial eras and nearly 100 years of dress history: from the end of the Edo, the Meiji, Taishō and early Showa periods. Though sumptuary laws were issued throughout the Edo period, this dissertation begins its study just before the Bakumatsu era of the Edo period, 1853–1868. It was during these tumultuous years that the long rule of the Tokugawa shogunate came to an end, as Japan prepared for new interactions with the West. This dissertation situates objects made between 1850 and

1945 within their relevant contexts, reflecting on how each historical period affected their making and wearing. For reference, an annotated timeline can be found in Appendix A.

Crucially, each of the object types of this dissertation did not start and stop within their respective imperial eras, but continued and evolved. Though they originated in the Edo period, examples of decorative haori linings and nagajuban were still made in the Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa periods, as decorative hikeshibanten and senninbari emerged. It is therefore important to view hiddenness in men's dress as a lasting form of dress, rather than as a series of temporary trends that existed in isolation. Senninbari mark a distinct point in history when hiddenness in men's dress was taken into an entirely different context, but can be compared to, and read in the context of, the much longer history of hidden dress.

Literature Review

Anchoring the study of the four object types of this dissertation is an understanding of the theoretical lenses through which they can be viewed. This introductory literature review will focus primarily on the theory underpinning this dissertation and will survey the relevant scholarship of kimono. Often translated to 'a thing to wear', this dissertation identifies kimono as a term for Japanese-style dress, which includes many different types of garment, worn by both men and women.¹ As such, nagajuban, haori and hikeshibanten are types of kimono. Senninbari, however, cannot be categorised as kimono, but are studied alongside the other objects as an item of hidden men's dress.

In *Kimono: A Modern History*, Satsuki Milhaupt sheds light on the discourse surrounding fashion theory in relation to Japanese dress – 'As with most words, the term "fashion" is

¹ Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, *Kimono: A Modern History*, 2 (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), p. 21; and Anna Jackson ed., *Kimono: Kyoto to Catwalk* (London: V&A Publishing, 2020), pp. 13–14; and Natalia Nekrassova, 'Kimono: Dress of a Hundred Skills', in *Diligence and Elegance: The Nature of Japanese Textiles* (Textile Museum of Canada, 2017), pp. 21–22.

historically and contextually determined. Fashion is often defined and described in relation to European clothing, while Japanese-style clothing – and the kimono in particular – stands apart from this limited category'.² Satsuki Milhaupt emphasises the element of change and pace of consumption that is implied by Western definitions of fashion.³ In this dissertation, 'dress' is a key term that will be employed throughout, as it moves away from fashion, and more towards the realm of textiles in relation to the body. Similarly, the term 'men's dress' will be adopted, shifting away from the particular notions of fashion and fashion systems that are implied by 'menswear'.⁴ Additionally, while hidden items of decorative dress existed for women and children, these will not be covered.⁵

It should be noted that, despite these nuances, kimono has been contextualised within the theoretical framework of fashion. In 2020, the V&A's exhibition *Kimono: Kyoto to Catwalk*, and *Kimono: Fashioning Identity* at the Tokyo National Museum (TNM) both included displays of men's dress and interpreted these as items of fashion.⁶ Kimono researcher Sheila Cliffe expands on the contextualisation of kimono as fashion, arguing that kimono 'fulfils the definitions and functions of a fashion system'.⁷ While nagajuban and haori can be studied as examples of kimono fashion, hikeshibanten and senninbari, as analysed in the second chapter, address hiddenness in a totally different context. This demonstrates how hidden decoration in men's dress was not simply an act of fashion and style.

² Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, *Kimono: A Modern History*, 2 (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), p. 23, with reference made to Yuniya Kawamura, *Fashion-ology: An Introduction to Fashion Studies (Dress, Body, Culture)* (Berg Publishers, 2004).

³ Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, *Kimono: A Modern History*, 2 (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), p. 23.

⁴ Jay McCauley Bowstead, *Menswear Revolution: The Transformation of Contemporary Men's Fashion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 1–6.

⁵ For further reading, see Josephine Rout, *Japanese Dress in Detail* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2020), pp. 161–181.

⁶ Tokyo National Museum (ed.), *Kimono: Fashioning Identity* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 2020); and Anna Jackson (ed.), *Kimono: Kyoto to Catwalk* (London: V&A Publishing, 2020).

⁷ Sheila Cliffe, *The Social Life of Kimono: Japanese Fashion Past and Present* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 3–12; p. 6.

This dissertation also considers the psychological impact of these objects on the wearer. Dress historians Joanne B. Eicher, Sandra Lee Evenson and Hazel A. Lutz' compendium, *The Visible Self*, offers insights for how we can study the complex exchanges that take place when the body is dressed.⁸ The objects in this dissertation can be related to the book's notion of 'body supplements', which consist of items that 'create illusions', 'obscure' or 'enhance' the body.⁹ This dissertation explores how hidden men's dress not only supplements the body as items of dress, but how they can express and impact the psychology of the wearer.

This idea is echoed in British psychologist J. C. Flügel's seminal text, *The Psychology of Clothes*, first published in 1930.¹⁰ Flügel associates clothing with how we communicate to others, 'It is from their clothes that we form a first impression of our fellow-creatures as we meet them'.¹¹ This is corroborated in *The Visible Self*, which identifies dress as a way to situate the body within the network of society.¹² In the case of hidden dress, the wearer makes a conscious decision to conceal dress so it does not form part of their outward-facing self. However, through the wearing of decorative concealed dress, inward communication is formed through the relationship of the textile to the psychology of the wearer. Similarly, social anthropologists Marilyn J. Horn and Lois M. Gurel write about the function of dress in their book, *The Second Skin*.¹³ Horn and Gurel's idea of dress as a tool for 'self-enhancement' is of particular relevance.¹⁴ While the first chapter of this dissertation approaches self-enhancement in relation to aspiration and luxury, the second chapter delves into the spiritual protection offered by hidden dress for firefighters and soldiers.

⁸ Joanne B. Eicher, Sandra Lee Evenson and Hazel A. Lutz (eds.), *The Visible Self: Global Perspectives on Dress, Culture and Society*, 3 (New York: Fairchild Publications, 2008).

⁹ Ibid, p.15.

¹⁰ J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes*, 4 (London: Hogarth Press, 1966).

¹¹ Ibid, p.15.

¹² Joanne B. Eicher, Sandra Lee Evenson and Hazel A. Lutz (eds.), 'The Classification System of Dress', in *The Visible Self: Global Perspectives on Dress, Culture and Society*, 3 (New York: Fairchild Publications, 2008), p.4.

¹³ Marilyn J. Horn and Lois M. Gurel, *The Second Skin*, 3 (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1981).

¹⁴ Ibid, p.148.

The idea of 'self-enhancement' can also be linked to the Japanese concept of *kazari* 飾り, or decoration. Japanese art historian Nobuo Tsuji notes the effect of *ke* 褻, the 'ordinary' and its antidote, *hare* 霽れ/晴れ, the 'extraordinary', which serves the function of escapism from the mundane.¹⁵ Although *kazari* refers to visible decoration, it is possible to consider how a similar psychological effect of escapism is achieved through *kazari* in hidden dress. This dissertation argues that items of men's dress were decorated in such a way that the wearer experiences a private 'self-enhancement'. This offers a sense of *hare*, or extraordinariness, as the wearer has the knowledge that such hidden *kazari* lies hidden within their layers of dress.

Adopting a decolonial approach, this dissertation shifts focus away from Western-centric perceptions of the East by drawing on a broad range of secondary sources from both Japanese and non-Japanese scholars. Writing on Japanese dress often analyses garments through a Western theoretical lens. For example, in *Japanese Fashion: A Cultural History*, fashion historian and Japanologist Toby Slade typifies a Western gaze, citing predominantly Western ideologists, including Immanuel Kant, Michael Foucault and Voltaire, among others.¹⁶ This dissertation explores the degree to which current discussions of Japanese dress can also include Japanese aesthetic concepts.

Renowned *mingei* craft theorist Soetsu Yanagi advocated for a shift away from Western perspectives of modernity and Japanese aesthetics. Yanagi asserts, '...the Japanese way of perceiving things is richly endowed with many profound, insightful aspects that are not fully developed in the West'.¹⁷ The idea of the 'profound' implies a sense of tacit knowledge. This is observed by Japan historian Donald Richie, who cites the Japanese aesthetician and art

¹⁵ Nobuo Tsuji, 'Some Characteristics of Kazari', trans. by Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, in Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere (ed.), *Kazari: Decoration and Display in Japan* (London: The British Museum Press, 2002), pp.18–19.

¹⁶ Toby Slade, *Japanese Fashion: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2009), p.2.

¹⁷ Soetsu Yanagi, *The Beauty of Everyday Things*, trans. by Michael Brase (London: Penguin, 2018), p.142.

critic Itoh Teiji, 'The dilemma we face is that our grasp is intuitive and perceptual rather than rational and logical'.¹⁸ Richie attests to the difficulty in conveying these ideas in his own study of Japanese aestheticism, as it challenges us to harness instinctive thoughts as a way to navigate the material world. In contrast, craft historian Yuko Kikuchi offers criticism on the theory underpinning *mingei*, addressing the ways it dichotomised the Orient and the Occident, and argues that it had the effect of essentialising each craft culture.¹⁹

This dissertation recognises the importance of Japanese aestheticism and its notion of the implicit. This is explored by the renowned scholar of Japan, Donald Keene, who identifies the quality of 'suggestion' as a key aspect of Japanese aestheticism.²⁰ By including Japanese aesthetic concepts such as *iki* and *kazari*, this dissertation approaches each object type from multiple theoretical angles. As such, by drawing on a variety of Japanese and non-Japanese literature, this dissertation aims to form a nuanced study of nagajuban, haori, hikeshibanten and senninbari.

Methodology

This dissertation approaches the topics of dress, gender and national identity in Japan with cultural sensitivity, while acknowledging personal bias. Being a person of both British and Japanese nationality and education has encouraged me to take a balanced approach to the history of hidden men's dress, being careful not to stereotype or generalise Japanese culture. Between January and February 2022, I was able to travel to Japan at a time when border control did not allow most non-Japanese people to enter the country. I therefore recognise the privilege of this trip, as it gave me access to primary source material. This

¹⁸ Donald Richie, *A Tractate on Japanese Aesthetics* (California: Stone Bridge Press, 2007), p.11.

¹⁹ Yuko Kikuchi, 'Oriental Orientalism', *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory* (Routledge, 2004), pp. 123–195.

²⁰ Donald Keene, 'Japanese Aesthetics', in *Philosophy East and West*, 19.3 (University of Hawaii Press, 1969), pp. 293–306.

research profoundly impacted my writing, as I was able to gauge Japanese perspectives through interviews, conversations and site-visits.

Meeting makers deepened my understanding of the craft techniques that were used for the items of dress in this dissertation. In Kyoto, I visited the Chiso company and archives, where I was able to speak with Yuriko Kato about the history of *yūzen* 友禪 dyeing and see designs in their archive. Additionally, I was able to learn about Nishijin woven textiles and their significance in men's kimono on a visit to Imagawa Orimono (also known as Kiyata). At the Orikin Centre and Yoshimura-shōten Kyōtango, I learned more about *chirimen* 縮緬, or crepe silk, which is used for men's haori and nagajuban.

Visiting museums and meeting Japanese curators and scholars provided valuable insights. Through meeting Dr Kazuto Sawada at the National Museum of Japanese History (NMJH) I was able to study an example of a highly ornate nagajuban, which features heavily in the first chapter. Additionally, site visits to the Edo-Tokyo Museum, Yūshūkan, and Museum of Modern Art Tokyo (MoMAT) furthered my understanding of hikeshibanten, senninbari and *mingei* craft. In England, I was able to conduct primary research on senninbari at the Imperial War Museum (IWM) under the supervision of curator Sean Rehling. These visits also allowed for a critical reading of how the display of objects affects the viewer's interpretation. As a focused study, this dissertation cannot accommodate detailed accounts of each visit however, references will be made throughout to support object-based analysis and contextual information. Brief biographies of the people and companies referenced in this dissertation can be found in Appendix C.

This dissertation examines both digital and physical primary source material. Online museum databases from Japan, the UK and US have proven particularly useful in collating a range of objects for each chapter. In addition to examples of textiles, ukiyo-e woodblock

prints, paintings and photography will also be examined to further contextualise these items. Stemming from my practice as a graphic designer, I have utilised Adobe Photoshop to conduct primary analysis of the nagajuban in the NMJH (Fig. 19) and of a senninbari in the IWM (Fig. 61). This method has allowed me to investigate the senninbari in the IWM without damaging it in the process.

Adopting decolonial methodologies of fashion and dress historians has enabled me to take into account the emotional effect of studying objects.²¹ My meeting with curator Kohka Yoshimura, who is currently researching senninbari at the Bunka Gakuen Museum, helped me to gain a better contextual understanding of senninbari and its sensitivities, and will be referenced throughout the second chapter. Therefore, the topic of senninbari will be navigated with care, recognising parts of Japan's wartime history that can be distressing. This chapter considers how the framing of senninbari may be guided by national agendas, which alter our reading of the nuanced contexts of their making and wearing. Additionally, as this dissertation is rooted in active environments of decolonial and post-colonial debates at the RCA and V&A, I have also been able to examine senninbari with a degree of distance and criticality.

Throughout the dissertation, Japanese terms will be used. Japanese words that may be unfamiliar to readers will be accompanied by the original kanji script on first mention and the English reading will be italicised following the Hepburn system. An exception to this is the four main object types – (nagajuban, haori, hikeshibanten and senninbari), as well as more commonly known words (samurai, kabuki, ukiyo-e) which remain un-italicised due to their frequent use. A glossary of Japanese nouns mentioned in this dissertation can be found in Appendix B. However, this does not include words for Japanese concepts, which are discussed in detail in the body of the text.

²¹ See Sarah Cheang and Shehnaz Suterwalla, 'Decolonizing the Curriculum? Transformation, Emotion, and Positionality in Teaching', in *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 24.6 (2020), pp. 879–900.

Chapter 1. Luxury and Inconspicuous Consumption

It is only with a keen eye for detail that one would notice the subtle patterning of a man's nagajuban revealed in an *ukiyo-e* woodblock print of the Edo period. Nagajuban are, in essence, underwear – the layer of clothing worn underneath a kimono. Although it was not meant to be seen from the outside, slight hints of the nagajuban could be seen at the cuffs of sleeves, along the hem and under the collar. This is noticeable in Fig. 4, in which we see the hem of a striped nagajuban revealed in a woodblock print of the Edo period. In practice, nagajuban function as a layer that protects the much finer fabric of the outer kimono from damage, odours and stains. However, exquisite examples of nagajuban lead us to question why such extraordinary design were largely hidden from public view and whether they still served a practical function.

Unlike nagajuban, haori were worn on the outside over a kimono. They were usually had a plain exterior but could contain elegant, hand-painted silk linings that were concealed when worn. Through these objects, this chapter focuses on the notion of *inconspicuous* consumption; how male consumers sought to obtain luxury items of clothing which did not appear ornate or lavish from the outside. Economist and sociologist Thorsten Veblen was the first to coin the term 'conspicuous consumption' in his book, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, first published in 1899.²² Veblen argued, 'Conspicuous consumption of valuable goods is a means of reputability to the gentleman of leisure', referring not only to clothing, but to food, ornaments and more.²³ Veblen explains conspicuous consumption as a way to signal one's wealth and status to others through material objects. By focusing on the inconspicuous, this chapter questions whether Veblen's idea of displaying wealth and status

²² Laurie Simon Bagwell and B. Douglas Bernheim, 'Veblen Effects in a Theory of Conspicuous Consumption', in *The American Economic Review* 83.3 (1996), pp. 349–373.

²³ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of The Leisure Class* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), p. 47.

through objects is still applicable to luxury items of dress that were hidden from outside view, and to what extent these theories can be used to understand textile objects in a Japanese male context.

This chapter focuses on luxury by deconstructing the materials, craft processes and artistry behind nagajuban and haori. They will first be viewed in the context of the Edo period sumptuary laws, which set a precedent for hidden details in men's fashion. The Edo period saw the emergence of *iki* aestheticism, which favoured subtlety over flamboyant displays of wealth. By exploring the significance of *iki* in relation to inconspicuous consumption and luxury, this chapter delves into the origins of hidden Japanese men's dress in the Edo period and the continuation of this style in the Meiji period. Studying existing examples of nagajuban and haori from the Meiji period, this chapter will then explore the ways in which motifs changed towards the end of the nineteenth century as Japan increased interactions with the West.

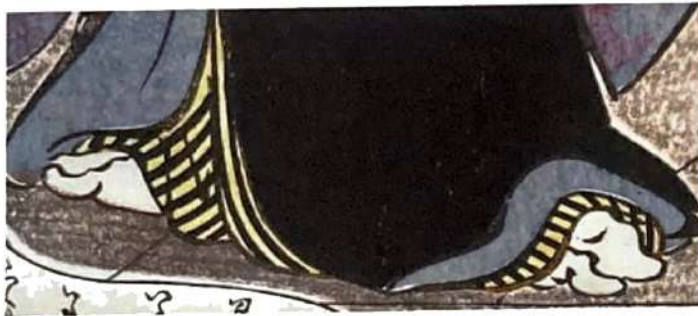


Fig. 4. Kiyonaga Torii, *The Treasury of Loyal Retainers – 7th Stage*, 1784. Woodblock print. Tokyo: Ōta Memorial Museum of Art. Book scan, from Ōta Memorial Museum, *Men in Japanese Kimono: Stylish and Charming in the Edo Period* (exhibition catalogue, 2021), p. 13

i. A note on luxury in Japanese craft

A visitor to the V&A's Toshiba gallery in 2022 would encounter a blue kimono with a striking crimson hem. The kimono depicts a winding river lined with pine trees, bamboo and cherry blossom, alongside gently floating boats and a pair of thatched huts (Fig. 5). This particular kimono is an *uchikake* 打掛, or outer kimono, which belonged to a woman of the samurai class from the late Edo period (1800–1850).²⁴ Worn only on special occasions, it is unmistakably luxurious – the beautiful sheen of its fine silk-woven crepe, the meticulous gold embroidery and use of *yūzen* dyeing all showcase the highly skilled work of craftspeople. It is to be expected that an outer garment for formal occasions should involve great amounts of time, expense and care. Veblen's understanding of dress as a visible demonstration of one's wealth and status is contradicted by luxurious men's nagajuban and haori jacket linings, as they were made with the same craft techniques and detailing as *uchikake*, but were worn hidden under layers of plain dress.²⁵

This dissertation studies luxury through the craft techniques behind nagajuban and haori. In Japan, makers of luxury objects – be it textiles, ceramics, lacquer or otherwise – are held in high regard. Such craftspeople are referred to as *shokunin* 職人. While an English translation of this word would simply equate *shokunin* to 'artisans', its usage in Japanese is more nuanced and holds great prestige.²⁶ Writing for the *Kyoto Journal*, contemporary craft specialist Sachiko Matsuyama explains, '...some shokunin's names are known and associated with prized works. These shokunin often make a one-of-a-kind product that is highly appreciated for its sophisticated aesthetics'.²⁷ This dissertation therefore understands

²⁴ Victoria and Albert Museum, 'Kimono | V&A Explore The Collections', *Victoria and Albert Museum: Explore the Collections* <<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1/O14/O142/O1428/O14280/O1428067/>> [accessed 5 October 2021].

²⁵ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of The Leisure Class* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), pp. 45–47.

²⁶ Victoria Bouloubasis, 'The Japanese Shokunin Spirit Is a Journey Toward Perfection', *Somewhere South*, 2020 <<https://www.somewheresouthtv.com/post/japanese-shokunin-spirit>> [accessed 6 October 2021].

²⁷ Sachiko Matsuyama, 'Shokunin and Devotion', *Kyoto Journal*, 2018 <<https://www.kyotojournal.org/culture-arts/shokunin-and-devotion/>> [accessed 6 October 2021].

nagajuban and haori as unique items that denote a sense of luxury through their intricate designs, exquisite materials and craft techniques.



Fig. 5. Unknown maker, *Kimono*, 1800–1850. Plain weave crepe silk with freehand paste-resist dyeing (yuzen) and embroidery. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.

The sophistication of objects made by *shokunin* is amplified by the elite title of *Ningen-Kokuhō* 人間国宝, or Living National Treasure (LNT). Historian Peter Siegenthaler describes LNT's as 'craftspeople selected by the government and charged with preserving and passing on to later generations the country's most fundamental craft traditions'.²⁸ This reflects the great responsibility and respect attached to craftsmanship, as well as its importance in Japan's national identity.²⁹ Similarly, curator and scholar of Japanese craft Nicole Rousmaniere explains that LNT's strive for 'perfection in craft idiom', noting the dedication and rigour applied to the practice of making.³⁰ Since this title was only created in 1955, many objects in this essay were not made by named LNT's. Nevertheless, all objects studied in this chapter demonstrate outstanding craft skill as items of luxury made by *shokunin*. The following section further examines luxury through the context of Edo period sumptuary laws.

²⁸ Peter Siegenthaler, 'The ningen-kokuhō: a new symbol for the Japanese Nation', *Andon*. 62 (1999), p3.

²⁹ *Ibid*, pp.3–16. Corroborated by

³⁰ Nicole Rousmaniere in The British Museum, *What Is a Japanese Living National Treasure?*, 2020 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QPTatD_UraE> [accessed 6 October 2021].

ii. Sumptuary laws, inner conflict and *iki* in Edo

There should be no confusion in the types of clothing of superiors and inferiors. There should be distinctions between lord and vassal, between superior and inferior.

– first laws to daimyō³¹

The Edo period can be characterised by its contradictions. Japan was ruled by the samurai classes under the watchful eye of the Tokugawa shogunate, and yet it was considered a peaceful period with no war.³² Furthermore, while the samurai held the highest position in society, it was during this time that the lowest members, the merchant classes, became increasingly affluent – so much so that many *daimyō* 大名 (high-ranking samurai who ruled over a fiefdom) were often in debt to their inferiors.³³ This affected fashion, as merchants and their wives could afford to dress more lavishly than samurai.³⁴ The above quotation demonstrates the assertive tone with which the Edo *bakufu* 幕府 (the military government led by the shogun) expressed its view on a strict hierarchical order. In reaction to the shifting economic circumstances, the shogun made continuous attempts to rebalance the scales in favour of samurai to maintain a social hierarchy.

These attempts were particularly apparent in the sumptuary laws of the Edo period. Known as the *ken'yaku-rei* 儉約令, these laws were a constant theme – from their first appearance in

³¹ From Shinzō Takayanagi and Ryōsuke Ishii eds., *Ofuregaki Kampō shusei* 御觸書寛保集成(1958), cited in Donald Shively, 'Sumptuary Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan', in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 24 (1964–1965), p. 144.

³² Victor Harris, 'Arms: The Balance of Peace', in *Edo: Art in Japan 1615–1868*, ed. by Robert T. Singer (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1998), pp. 107–108.

³³ Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, *Kimono: A Modern History*, 2 (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), p. 43.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

1683, to the end of the Edo period in 1868 – and affected all echelons of society.³⁵ Donald Shively's article 'Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan' (1964–5) remains, to date, the most conclusive research on the sumptuary regulations in English and is cited in many English texts on kimono.³⁶ This is likely due to the linguistic challenge of researching primary source material from the Edo period, which requires expertise in classical Japanese and its corresponding palaeography. Shively's article contains detailed descriptions of how the shogun aimed to control displays of wealth, noting the variation between different social classes. For example, laws aimed at townspeople and merchants, known as *chōnin* 町人, sought to regulate dress that was more extravagant than that of the samurai and thus deemed inappropriate for the lower classes.³⁷

In *The Japanese Eternal Storehouse* (*Nihoneitaigura* 日本永代蔵), a scathing book on merchants' wealth published in 1688, the poet Ihara Saikaku commented that 'exceeding one's station brings divine punishment', thus highlighting the severity of deviating from the laws.³⁸ By way of contrast, laws aimed at the *daimyō* were geared more towards regulating personal expenditure. As Shively explains, 'the laws were undoubtedly of some benefit to the *daimyō*, who were chronically in debt, by placing a degree of restraint upon their expenditures'.³⁹ In summary, sumptuary laws can be understood both as an overall

³⁵ N.B. Although *ken'yaku-rei* were sumptuary laws, a literal translation of the characters 儉約令 would read 'frugality laws'; Donald Shively, 'Sumptuary Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan', in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 24 (1964–1965), p. 126.

³⁶ Donald Shively, 'Sumptuary Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan', in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 24 (1964–1965), pp. 123–164; cited in Anna Jackson ed., *Kimono: The Art and Evolution of Japanese Fashion* (London, Thames and Hudson, 2015); Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, *Kimono: A Modern History*, 2 (London: Reaktion Books, 2016); Dale Carolyn Gluckman and Sharon Sadako Takeda eds., *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-Period Japan* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1992); and Anna Jackson ed., *Kimono: Kyoto to Catwalk* (V&A Publishing, 2020).

³⁷ Donald Shively, 'Sumptuary Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan', in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 24 (1964–1965), pp. 124–125.

³⁸ Saikaku Ihara, *The Japanese Eternal Storehouse / Nihoneitaigura* 日本永代蔵 (1688), cited in Donald Shively, 'Sumptuary Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan', in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 24 (1964–1965), p. 125.

³⁹ Donald Shively, 'Sumptuary Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan', in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 24 (1964–1965), p. 156.

assertion of power by the shogun, and as strategic action taken towards each individual social class.

Sumptuary laws were not only aimed at dress, but all forms of extravagance, and are sometimes referred to as the *zeitaku-kinshi-rei* 贅沢禁止令 or 'laws banning luxury'.⁴⁰ Fig. 6 shows a letter issued from the shogun to the daimyo, dated September 1833. In the annual *sankin-kōtai* 参勤交代, or 'alternate attendance', *daimyō* were required to travel from their domains to the capital Edo to present themselves to the shogun.⁴¹ As a gift, it was customary to include a *tai* 鯛 (sea bream), which holds auspicious meaning in Japanese culture. This is because *tai* is associated with the word *medetai* めでたい, which means 'celebratory'.⁴² The letter informs *daimyō* that should it prove difficult to obtain such a fish, cash may be gifted instead.⁴³ Although this letter does not detail regulation of dress, it provides an insight into the ways amendments to the sumptuary laws were communicated through letters, and the specificity of these changes.

⁴⁰ '江戸より厳しい奢侈禁止令?' 'Laws stricter than the Edo sumptuary laws?', 毎日新聞 *Mainichi Newspaper* <<https://mainichi.jp/articles/20210609/org/00m/010/002000d>> [accessed 2 March 2022].

⁴¹ Timon Screech, 'Governing, spending and wearing in the Edo period', in *Kimono: The Art and Evolution of Japanese Fashion*, ed. by Anna Jackson (London: Thames and Hudson, 2015), p. 16.

⁴² Makoto Itoh, "Taimeshi" Red Sea Bream and Rice: The Key to Celebrating Most Anything in Spring', *The Japan Times* (2017) <<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/life/2017/03/24/food/taimeshi-red-sea-bream-rice-key-celebrating-anything-spring/>> [accessed 30 March 2022].

⁴³ Masagi Yagi (meeting with Euphemia Franklin at Azuchi-dō Rare Books Limited, Tokyo, 2 February 2022). A translation of the original letter was provided by Masagi Yagi, the proprietor of Azuchi-dō books, who is a distinguished member of the Antiquarian Book Association of Japan (ABAJ) and the International League of Antiquarian Booksellers (ILAB).

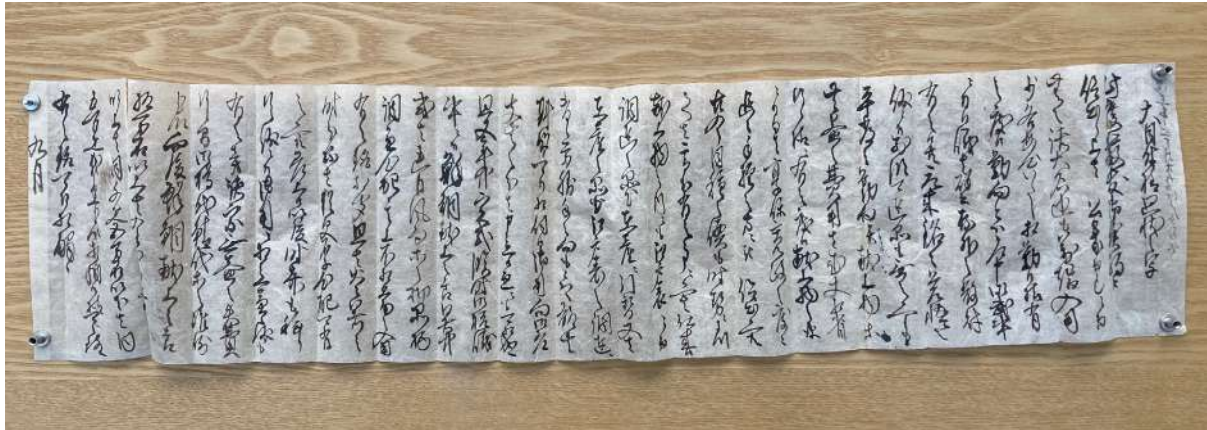


Fig. 6. Unknown maker, *Letter to daimyō issuing a modification to the sumptuary laws*, September 1833. Tokyo: Azuchi-dō Rare Books Limited. Photograph of original letter taken by Euphemia Franklin, courtesy of Masaji Yagi of Azuchi-dō Rare Books.

Inner conflict was created through the duty of abiding by the sumptuary laws and the individual's desire for luxurious garments. This disposition can be attributed to the Japanese concept of *giri-ninjō* 義理人情, which sees individuals balancing their sense of obligation (*giri*) and 'human sentiments or passion' (*ninjō*).⁴⁴ Consequently, menswear became increasingly austere on the outside, but striking on the inside – through hand-painted haori linings and decorative nagajuban.⁴⁵ *Giri-ninjō* is often linked to human relationships and can be found expressed in the plays of renowned Edo period dramatist Chikamatsu Monzaemon that chronical doomed relationships between members of different classes.⁴⁶ However, in this context, both merchants and samurai experienced *giri* through their obligation to exercise restraint, and expressed *ninjō* through luxurious nagajuban and haori. For the merchants who desired more luxurious clothing and the samurai who did not wish to appear too extravagant, this was an ingenious subversion of the sumptuary laws.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Definition as provided in Yataka Yamamoto, 'A Morality Based on Trust: Some Reflections on Japanese Morality', in *Philosophy East and West*, 40.4 (1990), p. 468.

⁴⁵ '長襦袢の歴史 / The History of the Nagajuban', ギャラリー紫織庵 *Shiorian Gallery*, <<http://www.shiorian.com/column/column01.html>> [accessed 14 October 2021].

⁴⁶ Chikamatsu Monzaemon, *Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu*, trans. by Donald Keene (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 4; and Keiko I. McDonald, 'Giri, Ninjo and Fatalism in "Double Suicide"', in *Film Criticism*, 5.3 (Allegheny College, 1981), pp. 1–11.

⁴⁷ Monica Bethe, 'Chronology', in Amanda Mayer Stinchecum (ed.), *Kosode: 16th–19th Century Textiles from the Nomura Collection*, (New York: Kodansha America, 1984), p. 57

Friction between the public and private self can also be described by the Japanese concept of *honne* and *tatemae*. Indeed, in the case of men's dress of the Edo period, the understated exterior can be understood as *tatemae*, as it conforms to the sumptuary regulations.

Beneath these garments, *honne* is apparent in the adoption of hidden luxurious nagajuban and haori linings. This dissertation argues that hidden luxury in men's dress of the Edo period can be read in the theoretical framework of *giri-ninjō* and *honne/tatemae*.

Surviving nagajuban of the Edo period are usually those that use *sarasa* 更紗 textiles, or chintz.⁴⁸ During this time, the Dutch, who had special permission to trade with Japan, brought Indian block-printed cotton and wax-resist fabric from Indonesia, known as batik. These fabrics were highly desirable for their vibrant colours and intricate patterns that were stylistically different to Japanese textile products.⁴⁹ Satsuki Milhaupt writes, 'Colourful cotton Indian calicos and chintz fabrics captivated the Japanese imagination, and were transformed into tobacco pouches'.⁵⁰ Indeed, due to the low supply and high demand of these textiles in Japan, they were often cut into fragments and fashioned into small kimono accessories, such as pouches and tobacco cases (see Fig. 7). An example of a highly ornate *sarasa* textile nagajuban from the Edo period can be seen in Fig. 8. As imported goods were rare during the Edo period, the generous use of large lengths of *sarasa* for hidden nagajuban, such as we see in Fig. 7, can be understood as an example of inconspicuous luxury.

⁴⁸ Examples can be found in Anna Jackson ed., *Kimono: The Art and Evolution of Japanese Fashion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2015), pp. 80–87; Tokyo National Museum, *Kimono: Fashioning Identity* (Tokyo: The Asahi Shinbun, 2020), p. 192; Anna Jackson ed., *Kimono: Kyoto to Catwalk* (London: V&A Publishing, 2020), pp. 122–127; and 'Aigi (Under Robe) with Kasuri (Splashed) Checks and Sarasa', *Tokyo National Museum* <https://colbase.nich.go.jp/collection_items/kyuhaku/1233?locale=en> [accessed 7 March 2022].

⁴⁹ Anna Jackson [ed.], *Kimono: The Art and Evolution of Japanese Fashion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2015), pp. 80–87; and 'Sarasa with Gilded Floral Pattern | India for the Japanese Market', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/74421>> [accessed 7 March 2022].

⁵⁰ Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, *Kimono: A Modern History*, 2 (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), p. 68.



Fig. 7. Unknown maker, *Tobacco Pouch and Pipe Case*, eighteenth century. Printed cotton fabric made in Gujarat or South East India. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.



Fig. 8. Unknown maker, *Chinz Shitagi* (Mid-Layer Kimono) with *Tree Design*, Edo period, nineteenth century. Cotton plain weave hand-painted chinz (*sarasa*). Aichi: J. Front Retailing Archives Foundation Inc., Matsuzaka Collection. Image scanned from Tokyo National Museum, *Kimono: Fashioning Identity* (Tokyo: The Asahi Shinbun, 2020), p. 192.

For nagajuban that did not use *sarasa* textiles, *ukiyo-e* prints provide guidance on how they may have looked. As curator and *ukiyo-e* specialist Timothy Clark notes, 'We rely almost totally on *ukiyo-e* paintings, prints and books for information on what Edo society looked like from c. 1650 to c.1750'.⁵¹ *Ukiyo-e* were widely available forms of print throughout the Edo-period and it is estimated that the price of one print was equivalent to a bowl of noodles.⁵² Therefore, as a form of mass media, *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints provide evidence that a great variety of these garments existed.

In a print by Katsukawa Shunshō from 1780 (Fig. 9) we see five celebrated actors dressed as *otokodate* 男伊達, who were brave and principled men, usually born samurai, who championed the commoner classes.⁵³ Often portrayed by kabuki actors in *ukiyo-e*, *otokodate* were thought of as fashionable 'street knights', protecting people from robbery and brawls.⁵⁴ Looking closely at the actor who is second from the right, we see two layers of patterned nagajuban subtly indicated at the collar and at the opening below the waist. In kabuki, it is not uncommon for actors to wear several *juban* (the broader term for undergarment, which includes nagajuban). Kabuki specialist Ruth Shaver explains, 'The number of undergarments reflects the status of the role'.⁵⁵ Shaver also cites actor Danjuro II's principles of kabuki acting, in which he asserts that for *aragoto* 荒事 (heroic drama) plays, 'juban should always be red, for red is the colour most successful in portraying a robust

⁵¹ Timothy Clark, 'Image and Style in the Floating World: The Origins and Early Development of *Ukiyo-e*', in Timothy Clark, Allen Hockley, Anne Nishimura Morse and Louise E. Virgin [eds.], *The Dawn of the Floating World 1650–1765: Early Ukiyo-e Treasures from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (London: Royal Academy of the Arts, 2001), p. 11.

⁵² 'Collecting Guide: Japanese Woodblock Prints', *Christie's*, <<https://www.christies.com/features/Collecting-guide-Japanese-woodblocks-10524-3.aspx>> [accessed 14 October 2021].

⁵³ 'Otokodate', *Oxford Reference* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100256764>> [accessed 12 October 2021].

⁵⁴ Kuniaki Utagawa, 'Kabuki Actors as Fashionable Otokodate, Tattoo Design', *Japanese Gallery* <<https://japanesegallery.com/kuniaki-utagawa-kabuki-actors-and-fashionable-otokodate-tattoo-design>> [accessed 12 October 2021].

⁵⁵ Ruth M. Shaver, *Kabuki Costume*, (Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1966), p. 118.

character'.⁵⁶ Each figure in Katsukawa's series wears several juban with a red layer, which indicates that they are characters who are both 'robust' and from the samurai class. Class is also expressed through the long *katana* 刀 swords held by each figure, since sumptuary laws in 1718 strictly dictated that commoners (*chōnin*) should not wear 'long swords or large short swords'.⁵⁷



Fig. 9. Shunsō Katsukawa, *Commoner (Gonin Otoko)* from the Play '*Hatsumonbi kuruwa Soga*', 1780. Woodblock print. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁵⁶ 'Aragoto | Kabuki Genre', *Encyclopedia Britannica* <<https://www.britannica.com/art/aragoto>> [accessed 13 October 2021]; Danjiro II, cited in Ruth M. Shaver, *Kabuki Costume*, (Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1966), p. 60.

⁵⁷ From Shinzō Takayanagi and Ryōsuke Ishii eds., *Ofuregaki Kampō shusei* 御觸書寛保集成 (1958), cited in Donald Shively, 'Sumptuary Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan', in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 24 (1964–1965), p. 129.

As these are depictions of kabuki actors playing *otokodate* characters, it is questionable to what extent their appearance reflected the true fashion of the day. Shaver notes that from the mid-eighteenth century,

actors exerted great influence on the choice of colours and textile patterns, as well as styles worn by commoners. Moreover, styles worn by people were appropriated and adapted by the actors. This exchange of ideas in clothing was made freely, though the stage versions were not the exact facsimile of those of the every day man.⁵⁸

This suggests that there was some form of dialogue between the dress of *chōnin* and their representation in kabuki. This ‘exchange of ideas’ leads us to question whether commoners’ dress imitated ukiyo-e, or vice versa. As Shaver proposes, it is plausible that style was influenced in both directions. Therefore, while we can look to ukiyo-e to understand the design of nagajuban, their adoption by kabuki actors playing fictional characters must be considered in assessing the accuracy of these depictions.

From ukiyo-e, there is a limit to the amount of information we can deduce about the material qualities of the garments. In Fig. 9 there is a clear contrast between the outerwear of black, brown and muted green kimono, and the vibrant red, patterned undergarments. Similarly, in a print by Utagakwa Kunisada (Fig. 10), we see the kabuki actor Ichikawa Danjuro VII walking across the snowy banks of the Sumida river, lifting his plain black kimono to reveal a nagajuban with a more decorative, green diamond repeat pattern. As the prints depict the garments in 2D with flat colours, we cannot assess the fibre and textile technique used, which would indicate their level of luxury.

⁵⁸ Ruth M. Shaver, *Kabuki Costume*, (Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1966), p. 69.



Fig. 10. Utagawa Kunisada, *Sumidagawa Kamida Sekkei*, 1828–9. Woodblock print. London: Victoria and Albert Museum. Notably, actor Ichikawa Danjuro VII looks fearfully to his right, where a large snowball threatens to push him into the icy river.

The linings of luxurious haori are more difficult to find in ukiyo-e. Unlike nagajuban, which can be seen hinted at the collar, sleeves and hem of a man's ensemble, haori patterns are usually in the inside back panel of the jacket, which would be entirely hidden from view. And yet, a print by Kitagawa Utamaro from c.1795 proves to be an exception. Shown in Fig. 11, the print depicts a courtesan holding a man's haori, revealing its lining. This print is one of a series known as *The Twelve Hours in Yoshiwara*, which chronicles a period of twelve hours in Yoshiwara, the pleasure quarters of Edo. Although we cannot see the wearer, the painted lining of the haori is clearly visible and, from the way it is held, one can gage the delicate drape of the silk.



Fig. 11 Kitagawa Utamaro, *U No Koku* (from 'The Hour of the Hare', c.1795. Woodblock print. London: British Museum.

This particular print is titled *The Hour of the Hare* and shows a scene from approximately from six o'clock in the morning.⁵⁹ The description of the print from the British Museum reads, 'the courtesan is helping the client into his haori jacket as he prepares to return home' and explains how the lining depicts Bodhidharma, the founder of Zen Buddhism.⁶⁰ In Japanese, Bodhidharma is referred to as *daruma* だるま. A popular figure in Japanese folklore, *daruma* symbolise fearlessness and good luck, and small *daruma* figurines are often given as gifts to

⁵⁹ 'U no koku (Hour of the Hare)', *The British Museum* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1954-0410-0-13> [accessed 13 October 2021].

⁶⁰ Ibid.

bring prosperity.⁶¹ One interpretation of the lining would be that the wearer wished to be influenced by the spirit of the lucky and fearless *daruma*.

The description notes how the image is painted, which is a textile dyeing technique specific to *yūzen*. Visiting Chiso, a *yūzen* dye house in Kyoto that was founded in 1555, I was able to learn about the history of this craft and see the extraordinary skill of *shokunin* at first hand.⁶² To create motifs, *yūzen* dyers use a conical nozzle to apply thin lines of rice paste directly onto the fabric, which forms a resist that cannot be penetrated by the dye. The fabric is then painted with dyes to add colour variation and further detail. Once the dye is set, the rice paste is washed away to reveal clear lines. *Yūzen* is usually applied freehand, relying on extraordinary skill and patience.⁶³

The level of craftsmanship can be seen in Fig. 12, which shows a *shokunin* applying the dye to a detailed design. Though there are several types of *yūzen*, the two main types are *itome-yūzen* 糸目友禪, in which the white lines formed by the resist paste are left behind, and *sekidashi-yūzen* 堰出し友禪, whereby the entire fabric is dyed, leaving no white lines behind.⁶⁴ *Yūzen*-dyed garments are an example of luxury craft, as they are the skilled work of a *shokunin*. Looking closely at the haori lining pictured in *The Hour of the Hare* (Fig. 5) it is hard to know exactly which type of *yūzen* technique was applied. Despite the remarkable level of detail achieved in the print, there is a limit to how much information can be discerned

⁶¹ 'Learn About Japanese Daruma Dolls, Good Luck Charms With a Rich Tradition', *My Modern Met* (2021) <<https://mymodernmet.com/japanese-daruma-doll/>> [accessed 13 October 2021]; 'Advent Daruma Snowman', *The Ashmolean*, <<https://www.ashmolean.org/advent-daruma-snowman>> [accessed 13 October 2021].

⁶² Visit to Chiso and meeting with Yuriko Katō (conversation with Euphemia Franklin, Institute for Chiso Arts and Culture, 7 February 2022).

⁶³ Yuko Fukatsu-Fukuoka, 'The Evolution of Yuzen-dyeing Techniques and Designs after the Meiji Restoration', *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, 475 (2004), p. 406; and visit to Chiso and meeting with Yuriko Katō (conversation with Euphemia Franklin, Institute for Chiso Arts and Culture, 7 February 2022); and Victoria and Albert Museum, 'Making Kimono', no date, <<http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/k/kimono-making-kimono/>> [accessed 14 October 2021].

⁶⁴ 'Yuzen Dyeing, Textiles Art Techniques - Traditional Japanese Art - Gallery Japan' <https://galleryjapan.com/locale/en_US/technique/textiles/20101/> [accessed 14 October 2021].

from woodblock prints. This is partly due to the limited number of layers of colour that are used in the woodblock printing process, which was usually a maximum of five.⁶⁵

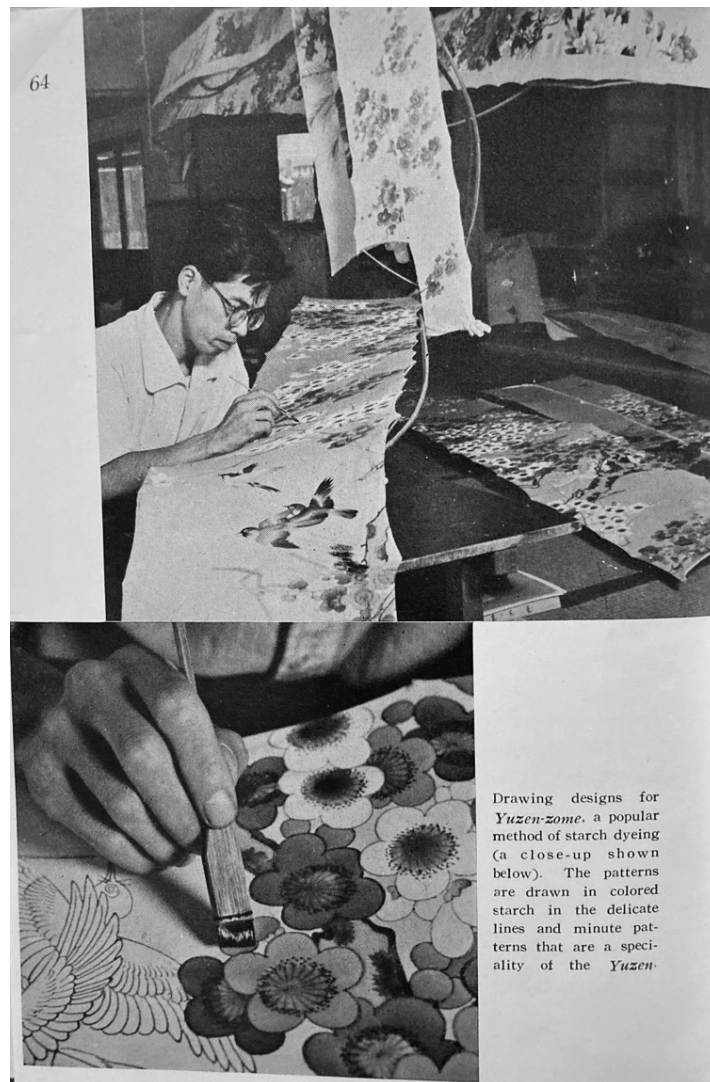


Fig. 12. Unknown maker, photographs of yūzen dyeing, no date. Book scan from Ken-ichi Kawakatsu, *Kimono*, 5 (Tokyo: Japan Travel Bureau, 1960), p. 64.

⁶⁵ Rupert Faulkner and Basil William Robinson eds., *Masterpieces of Japanese Prints: Ukiyo-e from the Victoria and Albert Museum*, (Kodansha International, 1999), p. 23.

Despite extensive searches into online museum collections, no men's haori from the eighteenth century (when this print was made) could be found.⁶⁶ However, an example of a *yūzen*-dyed haori from the nineteenth century exists in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (the Met) (see Fig. 13). Since the Edo period ended in 1868, it is difficult to identify whether this haori is from the late Edo or early Meiji period, as the year is not specified in the object description.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, we can see from this example the expressive marks left painted in black dye and the pictorial effect that can be achieved by *yūzen*. Additionally, we can gauge a sense of the delicateness of the lining fabric, which the Met identifies as tabby. Typically used in linings for both kimono and haori jackets, tabby is a very lightweight silk, a quality which we can also gauge from the lines in Fig. 5. The combination of Kitagawa's print and the Met's example of a nineteenth century haori provide insights into the luxurious quality of these garments in the Edo period as expressive and highly technical *yūzen*-dyed imagery applied to lightweight silk.

⁶⁶ This search included major British museums, regional collections, as well as collections in Japanese, American and European institutions.

⁶⁷ 'Man's Jacket (Haori) | Japan', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/70630>> [accessed 14 October 2021].



Fig. 13. Unknown maker, *Man's Jacket (Haori)*, nineteenth century. White tabby silk lining, painted tabby silk. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Recent exhibitions and writing on haori shed light on the psychology behind these hidden images. In 2018, an exhibition of haori with decorative linings, referred to as *haura* 羽裏, was held at Globus Washitsu in New York. Curated by Yuka and Ichiro Wada in collaboration with the Ichiroya antique kimono shop in Osaka, the exhibition *Haori's Hidden Haura* (2018) brought together over thirty examples of hand-painted linings.⁶⁸ The exhibition's description explains that haori 'contain private messages [...] with surprising themes that reflect the whims and fantasies of their owners'.⁶⁹ Although the haori displayed were mostly from the Showa period, linings that have personal meaning to the wearer date back to the Edo

⁶⁸ 'Haori's Hidden Haura' (exhibition) Globus Washitsu: New York: 22 – 25 March 2018.

⁶⁹ 'Haura: The Secrets of Japan's Traditional Jacket at Globus Washitsu', *JapanCulture NYC*, 2018 <<http://www.japanculture-nyc.com/haura-the-secrets-of-japans-traditional-jacket-at-globus-washitsu/>> [accessed 13 October 2021].

period. An article by Okajima Co. Ltd. (Okaju), a Kyoto-based *yūzen* dye house that was founded in the late Edo period, explains *haura* as ‘an important medium that reflected people’s curiosity and dreams’.⁷⁰ This highlights the sense of intimacy that is created by this imagery, as wearers embedded their personal feelings into the designs of their hidden haori linings.

As we have seen, the sumptuary laws set a new tone for men’s dress, which prioritised sobriety on the outside for samurai and merchants alike. This in turn affected taste, as decorative elements of garments became hidden in haori linings and nagajuban.

Sociologist and historian Eiko Ikegami argues that, since more of the population could afford luxury garments, ‘the foundations for the emergence of fashion politics, as well as the development of a Tokugawa fashion aesthetic, were simultaneously laid’.⁷¹ The creation of politics through fashion is apparent in the application of sumptuary laws, which, as this chapter has assessed, were issued in order to conserve a social hierarchy. Ikegami’s idea of a ‘Tokugawa fashion aesthetic’ can be attributed to *iki* 粋, an aesthetic taste which rose to popularity in the Edo period.⁷²

The aesthetic concept of *iki* is deeply nuanced. According to Japanese art historian Seiroku Noma, *iki* in the Edo period ‘pursued the ideals of simplicity and refinement’ and aimed ‘to eliminate as much as possible the superfluous and to manifest beauty in what remained’.⁷³ Perhaps the most famous writing on this is Japanese philosopher Shūzō Kuki’s essay, ‘The Structure of Iki’, published in 1930. Kuki places emphasis on *iki* as a unique characteristic

⁷⁰ ‘羽裏 HAURA’, *Okajima Co. Ltd. English Site*, <<http://www.okaju.com/english/haura/index.html>> [accessed 13 October 2021].

⁷¹ Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, 3 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 260.

⁷² Seiroku Noma, *Japanese Costume and Textile Arts*, trans. by Armins Nikovskis, 2 (New York: John Weatherhill Inc., 1977) p. 92.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

that is fundamental to Japan's culture and national identity.⁷⁴ Placing greater focus on the Edo-period context, Noma and historian/critical theorist Katsuya Hirano discuss the significance of *iki* through *yabo* 野暮, which was a term used to describe the garish antithesis of *iki*.⁷⁵ In both cases, the authors note how the *iki* style of dressing was the desirable antidote to *yabo*. Noma writes, 'the fact that the beauty of *iki* was so highly praised is an indication of how widespread *yabo* must have been'.⁷⁶

This duality is comically presented in Fig. 14, an *ukiyo-e* print which shows two male figures: on the left, a man representing *tsū* 通 (a person of taste typified by *iki*), and on the right a gaudily dressed counterpart, or *yabō*, described by Hirano as 'an ostentatious big spider who lacks the delicate sensibilities and sophisticated taste'.⁷⁷ The contrast between these figures highlight the disapproval of *yabo* aesthetics in favour of the more simple and refined *iki*.

The significance of *tsū* in relation to nagajuban is explored in the TNM's *Kimono: Fashioning Identity* (2020) exhibition, which featured a section on men's kimono entitled 'The Aesthetic of Tsū (savvy)'. In the catalogue description, it is explained,

Quintessentially *tsū* men, such as the Kabuki theatre role of Sukeroku [...], lift their kimono flaps to show off their gorgeous, flamboyant undergarments worn beneath. Wearing a unique undergarment incorporating rare, imported

⁷⁴ Shūzō Kuki, 'The Structure of Iki', in *The Structure of Detachment: The Aesthetic Vision of Kuki Shūzō*, eds. by Hiroshi Nara, J. Thomas Rimer and Jon Mark Mikkelsen, (University of Hawaii Press, 2004), pp. 7–92.

⁷⁵ Seiroku Noma, *Japanese Costume and Textile Arts*, trans. by Armins Nikovskis, 2 (New York: John Weatherhill Inc., 1977), p. 91; and Katsuya Hirano, 'Cultural Politics of Consumption in Tokugawa Japan', in *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c. 1200–1800*, eds. by Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 447–450.

⁷⁶ Seiroku Noma, *Japanese Costume and Textile Arts*, trans. by Armins Nikovskis, 2 (New York: John Weatherhill Inc., 1977), p. 92.

⁷⁷ Katsuya Hirano, 'Cultural Politics of Consumption in Tokugawa Japan', in *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c. 1200–1800*, eds. by Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 449.

dyed textiles or elaborately dyed or embroidered designs was a guaranteed proof of savviness.⁷⁸

This is demonstrated by the kabuki actor in Fig. 10, who reveals his nagajuban while walking in the snow. We can now view this print as a demonstration of *tsū* savviness and *iki* aesthetic ideals. Hidden luxury plays into this idea of savviness, as the wearer has control over when to conceal and reveal decorative layers of dress. The contrast between interior and exterior dress allows the wearer to express the duality of their public and private self.



Fig. 14. Utagawa Kunisada I (Toyokuni III), *Actors Nakamura Shikan II as a Foolish Big Spender (Yabo daijin) (R) and Bandô Mitsugorô IV as a Knowledgeable Connoisseur (Tsûjin) (L), in the Grand Finale Dance Number Four Seasons (Ôkiri shosagoto Shiki no uchi)*, 1832. Woodblock print diptych. Massachusetts: Museum of Fine Arts Boston.

⁷⁸ Tokyo National Museum, *Kimono: Fashioning Identity* (Tokyo: The Asahi Shinbun, 2020), p. 397.

The context of the Edo period sumptuary laws provides an explanation for the emergence of *iki*. In alignment with Ikegami's idea of 'fashion politics', Hirano suggests that *iki* was –

... a product of continuous negotiation between Tokugawa authorities aiming to regulate, or even purge, urbanites' "excesses" and urbanites seeking to carve out spaces for asserting new tastes and sensibilities.⁷⁹

This dissertation argues that the creation and establishment of *iki* aesthetic sensibilities was a direct result of the sumptuary laws of the Edo period, which laid the foundations for inconspicuous consumption and hidden luxury in Japanese men's dress. *Iki* and *tsū* savviness are crucial to the reading of decorative haori linings and nagajuban, as they explain why such garments were desirable. This appeal was not limited to the Edo period, as luxurious nagajuban and haori were continued to be made in the Meiji period.

iii. Exquisite garments of the Meiji period

After over 250 years of isolationism, known as *sakoku* 鎖国, the Edo period came to an end. Japan was no longer under the rule of the Tokugawa shogunate and the new era, Meiji, brought forth seismic change. After centuries of a fervent rejection, it allowed for an influx of Western technology and ideas.⁸⁰ Writing on the impact of the influence of this change on fashion, economic historians Keiichirō Nakagawa and Henry Rosovsky note that, while kimono was still the main form of dress in the Meiji period, Western dress was adopted for 'out-of-home use by certain classes', such as members of the military and senior

⁷⁹ Katsuya Hirano, 'Cultural Politics of Consumption in Tokugawa Japan', in Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack [eds.], *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c. 1200–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 450.

⁸⁰ Michio Morishima, *Why Has Japan 'Succeeded?' Western Technology and the Japanese Ethos* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 52.

government officials.⁸¹ This is illustrated in Fig. 15, which shows a woodblock print from c.1889 by Chikanobu Yōshū depicting a government official in Western dress surrounded by female attendants, who wear *hakama* 袴, a traditional type of kimono pants. This provides a visual interpretation of the hybridity of the Meiji period, allowing us to gain a small insight into the ways in which Western and Japanese dress coexisted.



Fig. 15. Chikanobu Yōshū, *Ceremonial Attire* from the series *An Array of Auspicious Customs of Eastern Japan* (Azuma fūzoku, fukuzukushi: Tairei fuku), c. 1889. Woodblock print. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁸¹ Keiichirō Nakagawa and Henry Rosovsky, 'The Case of the Dying Kimono: The influence of Changing Fashions on the Development of the Japanese Woollen Industry', in *Dress and Identity*, ed. by Kim K. P. Johnson (Fairchild Books, 1995), pp. 465–474.

Although the Meiji period signalled change through new interactions with the West, Japan sought to maintain its cultural identity.⁸² The cross-pollination of Western ideas is exemplified by the Meiji period phrase *wakon-yōsai* 和魂洋才, which translates to ‘Japanese spirit, Western learning’.⁸³ The ‘spirit’ suggests core values held by Japan, which, next to ‘learning’ creates the impression that there was more to discover. While Japan experienced social and ideological changes influenced by the West, it is important to note that values and traditions pre-dating the Meiji period did not simply disappear.⁸⁴ For example, with the end of the Edo period, there was no longer a legal requirement for men to conceal extravagant dress.⁸⁵ This section looks at existing examples of nagajuban and haori from the Meiji period, questioning why hidden luxury in men’s dress continued and how these garments reflect the cultural, political and social changes of the Meiji period.

The TNM’s *Kimono: Fashioning Identity* (2020) featured a section dedicated to men’s fashion, a range of men’s garments was displayed, including hikeshibanten, which will be studied in the second chapter, and *jinbaori* 陣羽織 surcoats worn over samurai armour. Among these objects was an example of a nagajuban (Fig. 16) dated to the Meiji period. With subtle colouring and gold detailing, the garment is covered in hand-embroidered scenery. This nagajuban belongs to the collection of the NMJH and appears in several books on kimono culture.⁸⁶ Currently, very little object-based analysis has been made on this garment. Rather, it has been placed mostly as an accompanying photograph to brief

⁸² Michio Kitahara, ‘The Rise of Four Mottoes in Japan: Before and After the Meiji Restoration’, *Journal of Asian History*, 20.1 (1986), pp. 54–64; and Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, *Kimono: A Modern History*, 2 (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), pp. 61–62, p.136.

⁸³ Kenkichi Koizumi, ‘In Search of “Wakon”: The Cultural Dynamics of the Rise of Manufacturing Technology in Postwar Japan’, *Technology and Culture*, 43.1 (2002), p. 30.

⁸⁴ For further reading on tensions between Japanese and Western Japanese and Western dress in the Meiji period, see Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, ‘Modernising the Kimono’, in *Kimono: A Modern History*, 2 (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), pp. 56–96.

⁸⁵ Kenzō Fuji-i, ‘Katayūzen Dyeing of the First Half of the Meiji Period’, in *Japanese Stylishness and Dandyism: Haura Okajima Collection* (Hachette Fujingaho, 2006), p. 12.

⁸⁶ Appearances include Amanda Mayer Stinchencum, *Kosode: 16th–19th Century Textiles from the Nomura Collection* (Kodansha America, 1984), pp. 56-57; Tokyo National Museum, *Kimono: Fashioning Identity* (Tokyo: The Asahi Shinbun, 2020), p. 193; and Dale Carolyn Gluckman and Sharon Sadako Takeda [eds.], *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-period Japan* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1992), p. 42 and pp. 50–51.

descriptions of the Edo period sumptuary laws, despite its dating to the Meiji period.⁸⁷ This section will first examine the inside of the nagajuban, before looking at its detailed exterior.

While conducting research in Japan, I was able to study this garment in person at the NMJH's research department under the supervision of kimono curator and researcher, Dr. Kazuto Sawada. During this session, several key details came to light. The main body of the nagajuban is constructed from a grey cotton with a warp-faced yellow satin lining.⁸⁸ The outside is embroidered with silk floss, using a method called *suga-nui* 絣縫い, which is a horizontal satin stitch. This method works with the grain of the fabric, enabling detailed imagery with minimal gaps.⁸⁹ The lining of the nagajuban is made from a bright yellow, repurposed woman's *kosode* 小袖 (short-sleeved kimono), decorated with couched gold embroidery. The satin fabric of this lining is a highly unusual choice, as it is more common for softer plain weave silk, or *hira-ori* 平織り, to be used.⁹⁰ This is the type that is used for the blue facing panel on the inside of the nagajuban's opening (see Fig. 17).

⁸⁷ Amanda Mayer Stinchencum, *Kosode: 16th–19th Century Textiles from the Nomura Collection* (Kodansha America, 1984), pp. 56-57; Tokyo National Museum, *Kimono: Fashioning Identity* (Tokyo: The Asahi Shinbun, 2020), p. 193; and Dale Carolyn Gluckman and Sharon Sadako Takeda [eds.], *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-period Japan* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1992), p. 42 and pp. 50–51. None include detailed analysis, with the exception of the Tokyo National Museum's catalogue, which provides a brief description of the object's construction.

⁸⁸ Amanda Mayer Stinchencum, *Kosode: 16th–19th Century Textiles from the Nomura Collection* (Kodansha America, 1984), p. 56.

⁸⁹ 'Kyo-Nui: Kyoto Embroidery', *Japanese Traditional Culture Promotion & Development Organization (JTCO)* <<http://www.jtco.or.jp/en/japanese-crafts/?act=detail&id=267&p=26&c=33>> [accessed 23 March 2022]; and 'Suga-Nui', *Textile Research Centre Leiden* <<https://trc-leiden.nl/trc-needles/techniques/embroidery/embroidery-stitches/suga-nui>> [accessed 23 March 2022].

⁹⁰ Notes from meeting with Kazuto Sawada (conversation with Euphemia Franklin, National Museum of Japanese History, 31 January 2022).



Fig. 16. Unknown maker, *Man's Shitagami (Mid-Layer Kimono) with Famous Sights in Edo*, Meiji period, nineteenth century. Cotton plain weave with embroidery. Chiba: National Museum of Japanese History. Book scan from Dale Carolyn Gluckman and Sharon Sadako Takeda eds., *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-period Japan* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1992), p. 50.

The lining of this nagajuban is intriguing, as it provides a glimpse of how the garment was used over time. It is unusual for a woman's *kosode* to be repurposed for use in a man's nagajuban, especially since the stiffness of the satin material is not comfortable to wear as underwear.⁹¹ Unfortunately, the museum does not have information on the origins of this *kosode* lining fabric and so it is still unknown to whom it originally belonged, their relationship to the owner of the nagajuban and why it was used in this way.⁹²

However, a few clues indicate that this was not the original lining of the nagajuban. I observed large sweat stains on the shoulders and small marks around the waist, which evidence that this garment was indeed worn, and not simply used for display (Fig. 18). On inspecting the lining, there were no such stains or marks. Since the lining is the first surface that contacts the body, it would not be possible for the outer cloth to be stained from sweat without the lining also being stained, and so the yellow *kosode* must have been a later modification. Furthermore, this lack of staining and visible wear on the lining suggests that the garment was either worn less or not worn at all after it was modified. Through this analysis, I proposed that, although it is not possible to confirm the exact circumstances of this modification, it is most likely that the garment was re-lined to be preserved for display.

⁹¹ Notes from meeting with Kazuto Sawada (conversation with Euphemia Franklin, National Museum of Japanese History, 31 January 2022).

⁹² Ibid.



Fig. 17. Close-up of *Man's Shitagi (Mid-Layer Kimono) with Famous Sights in Edo*, Meiji period, nineteenth century. Cotton plain weave with embroidery. Chiba: National Museum of Japanese History. Photograph taken by Euphemia Franklin, 31 January 2022. The blue facing fabric uses plain-weave (*hira-ori*) fabric, while the yellow lining is made from a repurposed woman's *kosode*. At the bottom of the lining, couched gold embroidery can be seen.



Fig. 18. Close-up of *Man's Shitagi (Mid-Layer Kimono) with Famous Sights in Edo*, Meiji period, nineteenth century. Cotton plain weave with embroidery. Chiba: National Museum of Japanese History. Photograph taken by Euphemia Franklin, 31 January 2022. This image shows the left-side shoulder, which has a large sweat stain (the same was also visible on the right).

On inspecting the exterior, it was evident that the materials used and the intricacy of the details in the design make this nagajuban unquestionably luxurious.⁹³ The scenery depicted on the garment is borrowed from ukiyo-e artist Hiroshige's series, *One Hundred Views of Edo*. Rather than an accurate map to the city of Edo, the nagajuban is a selection of disparate places, which are harmoniously pieced together to form one overall composition. Through cross-examining Hiroshige's prints with the scenery depicted, I created a guide to navigate this composition, which can be seen in Fig. 19. This image was composed in Adobe Photoshop, using the Brooklyn Museum's online collections database to source images of the originating prints. Two sites on the back are still unclear at this time, which are indicated in the areas marked in blue.

Looking closely, there is a great deal of storytelling in the details of the embroidery. For example, along Nihonbashi, we can see merchants carrying fish and a dog turning its head at two cranes flying across the Sumida river (Fig. 20). So fine are the details that we can see people sitting inside shops and figures unloading goods from warehouses along the riverbank (Fig. 21). The process of embroidering the entire surface of this nagajuban in such magnificent detail would have taken countless hours and could only have been done by a highly experienced and skilled *shokunin*.⁹⁴ Additionally, the intricate details of each area demonstrate the storytelling abilities of the embroiderer, who brought each part of Edo to life with lively scenes of daily life.

⁹³ Author's conclusion, verified by Kazuto Sawato (meeting with Euphemia Franklin at the National Museum of Japanese History, 31 January 2022).

⁹⁴ Author's conclusion, verified by Kazuto Sawato (meeting with Euphemia Franklin at the National Museum of Japanese History, 31 January 2022).



FRONT



BACK

Fig. 19. Euphemia Franklin, *Mapping a Nagajuban from the National Museum of Japanese History*, 2022. Digital collage. Images of Hiroshige's prints have been sourced from the Brooklyn Museum's collection of ukiyo-e via their online database.



Fig. 20. Close-up of *Man's Shitagi (Mid-Layer Kimono) with Famous Sights in Edo*, Meiji period, nineteenth century. Cotton plain weave with embroidery. Chiba: National Museum of Japanese History. Photograph taken by Euphemia Franklin, 31 January 2022. This image shows a close up of the Nihonbashi area of Edo, with its famous bridge.



Fig. 21. Close-up of *Man's Shitagi (Mid-Layer Kimono) with Famous Sights in Edo*, Meiji period, nineteenth century. Cotton plain weave with embroidery. Chiba: National Museum of Japanese History.

As demonstrated, analysis of garments can provide crucial insights into how nagajuban were worn. However, social developments must also be considered to understand how nagajuban and haori sit within the wider context of the Meiji period. As mentioned, Western dress began to be adopted by the military and police, and by high ranking members of government when conducting official duties. Satsuki Milhaupt writes, 'In the comfort of their homes, most men opted for Japanese-style dress, usually a simple under-kimono, or *nagajuban*'.⁹⁵ In relation to identity, Satsuki Milhaupt also notes that 'the wearing of kimonos was no longer a necessity, but a conscious choice', which can be interpreted as a 'symbolic separation of "us" and "them."'⁹⁶ This sets the wearing of nagajuban against the backdrop of the increasing expectation to wear Western dress among the upper echelons of society. At home, however, nagajuban could be worn freely as an expression of the private self.⁹⁷

Economic and technological developments of the Meiji period also impacted the making and wearing of nagajuban and haori. Writing on the haori linings of the *yūzen* dye company Okajū, historic dye researcher Kenzō Fuji-i attributes the increasing popularity of decoratively lined haori to the new constitution of the Meiji era. Economically, Japan endeavoured to export silk, which prompted the rapid expansion of the silk industries.⁹⁸ Consequently, silk became more widely available. Within this expansion, new *yūzen* dyeing techniques developed. In particular, *surigata-yūzen* 摺型友禪 – a form of *yūzen* dyeing that uses a stencil – grew in popularity and allowed for decorative haori linings to be made in greater volumes.⁹⁹ Fuji-i explains that for formal occasions ordinary citizens began to imitate

⁹⁵ Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, 'Modernising the Kimono', in *Kimono: A Modern History*, 2 (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), p. 62.

⁹⁶ Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, 'Shopping for Kimonos, Shaping Identities', in *Kimono: A Modern History*, 2 (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), p. 136.

⁹⁷ Anna Jackson, 'Taisho and Early Shōwa', in Anna Jackson ed., *Kimono: The Art and Evolution of Japanese Fashion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2015), p. 165; and Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, 'Shopping for Kimonos, Shaping Identities', in *Kimono: A Modern History*, 2 (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), p. 136.

⁹⁸ Kenzō Fuji-i, 'Katayūzen Dyeing of the First Half of the Meiji Period', in *Japanese Stylishness and Dandyism: Haura Okajima Collection* (Hachette Fujingaho, 2006), p. 12. NB. 'Silk industries' here refers to both the production of the raw material as well as the production of finished silk woven textiles.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 13.

how the samurai classes dressed during the Edo period, opting for greater extravagance than what they were previously allowed.¹⁰⁰ Thus the wearing of decoratively lined haori became more commonplace, as it was no longer strictly limited to the samurai classes.

Haori linings were not purely decorative, but contained symbolic imagery that could also tell a story. Also writing on Okajū's haori linings, fashion critic and kimono specialist Hiromi Ichita notes how symbolic motifs were incorporated into their design. Ichita explains that lions and tigers were used as 'strengthening motifs', while images of Mt. Fuji and pine trees were 'celebratory/auspicious motifs' for wear on formal occasions.¹⁰¹ This was touched upon previously in this chapter in the *daruma* depicted in Fig. 11. An example from the Met shows a haori lining decorated with an array of auspicious motifs (see Fig. 22). The bold backdrop of Mt. Fuji is overlaid with fragments depicting pine trees. Dated to the early twentieth century, it is most likely that this was made in the late Meiji period, between 1900 and 1912.

There is also great storytelling in this haori. Within the fragments, a man in a brown haori is depicted twice, once seated on the ground conversing with another man by a horse, and again in the left fragment approaching a snowy street. In the central fragment the man holds a calligraphy brush and in the top right fragment we see a long scroll with handwritten text. It is possible that the central figure is a writer, perhaps a poet or philosopher, who is undertaking a voyage over many months, since not all fragments appear to depict the winter season. This object demonstrates how haori linings can be enhanced with symbolic imagery and storytelling. This allows us to consider the ways in which haori linings were not only aesthetic, but could also hold a special meaning to the wearer, thus adding to the expression of the private self.

¹⁰⁰ Kenzō Fuji-i, 'Katayūzen Dyeing of the First Half of the Meiji Period', in *Japanese Stylishness and Dandyism: Haura Okajima Collection* (Hachette Fujingaho, 2006), p. 11.

¹⁰¹ Hiromi Ichita, 'Forward', in *Japanese Stylishness and Dandyism: Haura Okajima Collection* (Hachette Fujingaho, 2006), p. 8. Translated for this dissertation by Euphemia Franklin, 2022.



Fig. 22. Unknown maker, *Man's Formal Jacket (Haori)*, early twentieth century. Dye-patterned and plain weave silk. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

iv. *Omoshirogara*: reflections of a changing Japan

Towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the imagery of haori linings and nagajuban began to reflect cultural changes. This was known as *omoshirogara* or novelty patterns – ‘*omoshiro*’ translating to ‘interesting’ or ‘curious’.¹⁰² Depending on the subject matter, *omoshirogara* could range from cheerful reflections of Western influences in Japan, to nationalistic depictions of Japan’s military activities. In *The Brittle Decade*, kimono curator Jacqueline M. Atkins writes a detailed analysis of *omoshirogara* in the 1930s. Atkins notes, ‘[*omoshirogara*] designs carry the visual imprint of the radical cultural, political, technological, and lifestyle changes the Japanese experienced as the nation left behind its feudal and agrarian past...’, emphasising the act of recording that took place through haori linings and nagajuban.¹⁰³ This section builds upon the analysis of storytelling in hidden items of luxury, exploring the ways in which *omoshirogara* form expressions of the public and private self.

The act of wearing hidden *omoshirogara* motifs played into the aspect of curiosity. In relation to haori linings, Fuji-i notes the sense of delight when men would take off their haori jackets at a formal occasion, subtly revealing the bright pattern of their linings.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, on the *Omoshirogara* exhibition website by the Museum DKM in Germany, it is noted that hidden *omoshirogara* ‘appealed to elite circles of men who wished to demonstrate their intelligence and national patriotic sentiments in private.’¹⁰⁵ This suggests that *omoshirogara* imagery was attractive not only for its vibrant designs, but for the content of its imagery. Atkins notes the contrast between the haori linings and the subdued tones of the exterior cloth, ‘When an

¹⁰² Jacqueline M. Atkins, ‘Wearing Novelty’, in *The Brittle Decade: Visualising Japan in the 1930s*, eds. by Jacqueline M. Atkins, John W. Dower, Anne Nishimura Morse and Frederic A. Sharf (Boston: Museum of Fine Art Publications, 2012), p. 91.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Kenzō Fuji-i, ‘Katayūzen Dyeing of the First Half of the Meiji Period’, in *Japanese Stylishness and Dandyism: Haura Okajima Collection* (Hachette Fujingaho, 2006), p. 12.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Omoshirogara’ <<https://omoshirogara.org/en/kimonos/>> [accessed 7 March 2022].

occasional splash of colour is included, the impact is much more powerful'.¹⁰⁶ The reveal of the vibrant *omoshirogara* interior layers of dress add an element of theatricality. The luxury *omoshirogara* haori and nagajuban of this section blur the boundaries of public and private by bringing the 'outside world' – such as new music entering Japan, and current events, including wars – into the motifs of hidden dress.

Two examples of *omoshirogara* haori linings in the V&A reference the growing popularity of jazz music in Japan during the Taisho (1912–1926) and early Shōwa (1926–1989) eras. The first shows a large woven motif of an LP accompanied by a bottle of sake 酒 (rice wine), dated to the 1920s (Fig. 23).¹⁰⁷ The radiating lines on the LP next to the sake evoke the lively social scene of the Jazz Age. The second shows a haori from the 1930s with an Art Deco-style collage composition of musical instruments, including a guitar, trumpet and tambourine, with musical notes swirling above (Fig. 24). Writing about kimono of the Taishō and early Shōwa eras, V&A Keeper of the Asia Department and kimono specialist Anna Jackson observes the energy in kimono designs, '...abstract motifs danced across the surface to the rhythm of the Jazz Age'.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, there is a sense of delight in *omoshirogara* that evoke the feeling of excitement towards new types of music. Though it is not specified as such in the V&A's collections database, these haori linings can be read as *omoshirogara* due to the contrast between the traditional haori exterior and the playful motifs of the linings influenced by Western jazz music.

¹⁰⁶ Jacqueline M. Atkins, 'Wearing Novelty', in *The Brittle Decade: Visualising Japan in the 1930s*, eds. by Jacqueline M. Atkins, John W. Dower, Anne Nishimura Morse and Frederic A. Sharf (Boston: Museum of Fine Art Publications, 2012), p. 109.

¹⁰⁷ Victoria and Albert Museum, 'Haori (Kimono Jacket) | V&A Explore The Collections', *Victoria and Albert Museum: Explore the Collections* <<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1346631/>> [accessed 6 March 2022].

¹⁰⁸ Anna Jackson, 'Taisho and Early Shōwa', in Anna Jackson ed., *Kimono: The Art and Evolution of Japanese Fashion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2015), p. 164.



Fig. 23. Unknown maker, *Haori* (kimono jacket), 1920s. Silk. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.
The characters on the bottle read 'moro-haku', a popular type of rice wine.



Fig. 24. Unknown maker, *Haori* (kimono jacket), 1930s. Silk. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.

Alongside the wave of Western influence, Japan was embarking on bold new military aims. During the nineteenth century, Japan underwent enormous transformations as it emerged from the Edo period, shifting its international policy from isolation to expansion.¹⁰⁹ The balancing of Western and Japanese ideology is studied by Japanese historian Michio Kitahara, who offers critical analysis on Japan's positioning in the Meiji period. Kitahara draws attention to the Meiji period political slogan, *Fukoku Kyōhei* 富国強兵, translated to 'Enrich the country, Strengthen the Military', which signifies Japan's simultaneous focus on domestic and international concerns.¹¹⁰ This historical context will be explored in further detail in the following chapter.

It is within this context that *omoshirogara* also appears, through haori linings and nagajuban that depict Japan's military activities. There is a different tone to this form of storytelling compared to the jazz motifs of Figs. 23 and 24, as we begin to see more nationalistic imagery. One such example is a haori in the Saint Louis Art Museum (SLAM) in the US (Fig. 25). Unlike items studied thus far, this haori lining is not hand-painted, but woven into what appears to be *chirimen*, or silk crepe, a type of cloth used for luxury kimono.¹¹¹ On a visit to Kyōtango, a region known for the production of *chirimen*, I was able to handle samples.¹¹² *Chirimen* is not as light as tabby (the textile usually found in linings) and is more often used for the outer shell of kimono.¹¹³ In this example, the *chirimen* base fabric also features the

¹⁰⁹ Mark Peattie, 'The Dragon's Seed: Origins of the War', in *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945*, eds. by Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea and Hans van de Ven (California: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 67–70; and 'Japan - Japanese Expansionism', Britannica <<https://www.britannica.com/place/Japan/Japanese-expansionism>> [accessed 23 March 2022].

¹¹⁰ Michio Kitahara, 'The Rise of Four Mottoes in Japan: Before and After the Meiji Restoration', *Journal of Asian History*, 20.1 (1986), pp. 54–64.

¹¹¹ I was able to learn this on a visit to Kyōtango, a region of Japan renowned for *chirimen* production, on 17 February 2022. For further reading, please see 'Tango Chirimen Silk Crêpe at Japan House London' <<https://www.japanhouselondon.uk/discover/stories/tango-chirimen/>> [accessed 7 March 2022].

¹¹² Notes from a visit to the Orikin textile research centre in Kyōtango (conversation with Euphemia Franklin, 17 February 2022).

¹¹³ Notes from a visit to the Orikin textile research centre in Kyōtango (conversation with Euphemia Franklin, 17 February 2022).

pattern of a soldier running amid clouds, perhaps of smoke (see close-up, Fig. 25), which adds to its militaristic message.



Fig. 25. Unknown maker, *Man's Short Jacket (haori) and Decorative Lining (haura) with Design of Army Infantry Captain Matsuzaki Naōmi and His Troops Charging at Anseong Crossing, 1894–1895.* Woven silk. Missouri: Saint Louis Art Museum.

The upper banner of alternating Japanese national and imperial flags further accentuates the nationalistic message of the overall design. This is a snapshot of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), when Japan fought with China over territorial conflicts in Korea.¹¹⁴ There is a sense of determination in the expressions of the soldiers, who stride against the current, clasp bayonets. Combined with the flags, there is a sense of pride in Japan's military activities. The same is expressed in Fig. 26, a woodblock print by Utagawa Kokunimasa from 1894, which depicts battle at the Anseong Crossing. It is difficult to assess whether the haori lining was directly influenced by this print. However, the dating of both objects allows us to understand them as reactions to Japan's victory in the First Sino-Japanese War.



Fig. 26. Utamaro Kokunimasa, *Fierce Fighting at Anseong Crossing in Korea* (*Chosen Anjo watashi no gekisen no zu*), 1894. Woodblock print triptych. Illinois: Art Institute Chicago.

¹¹⁴ For further reading, see Mark Peattie, 'The Dragon's Seed: Origins of the War', in *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945*, eds. by Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea and Hans van de Ven (California: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 67–70; and 'Japan - Japanese Expansionism', Britannica <<https://www.britannica.com/place/Japan/Japanese-expansionism>> [accessed 23 March 2022].

Exhibitions featuring *omoshirogara* comment on the element of propaganda in military-focused designs, with emphasis on Japan's 'modernisation'. In October 2021, the exhibition *Omoshirogara* opened at the Museum DKM in Duisburg, Germany.¹¹⁵ Prior to this was *Omoshirogara – Japan's Path to Modernity*, held in 2016 at the Johann Jacobs Museum (JJM) in Zürich. Curated with a broader range of objects was *Conflicts of Interest: Art and War in Modern Japan* in 2016/17 at SLAM, which included items of *omoshirogara* dress. The Museum DKM asserts that the Meiji Restoration brought forth an '...unprecedented process of rapid modernization that encompassed all aspects of Japanese life'.¹¹⁶ The JJM explains the process of modernisation as a way for Japan to avoid 'the breakup or dissolution of national sovereignty followed by a second step – dictating the terms of trade', thus reacting by '...rapidly transform[ing] Japan into a fortified industrial country that could compete with the West'.¹¹⁷ In an article accompanying the SLAM's exhibition, curator Rhiannon Paget writes how '...notions of nation, modernity and militarism became fused in Imperial Japan.'¹¹⁸ In all three exhibitions, there is an understanding of the social, cultural and political changes that ran as an undercurrent during the making of the haori and nagajuban that feature *omoshirogara* designs.

The concept of modernisation and modernity requires a critical understanding. The process of modernisation has tended to be seen as linked to the Meiji Restoration, when Japan opened to the West. Although the Meiji period saw Japan make major steps to transform into its current 'modern' state, we must be careful when assessing what is meant by modernity in Japanese history. Taking a decolonial approach, it is important to recognise the processes

¹¹⁵ 'Omoshirogara', DKM <<http://www.museum-dkm.de/en/omoshirogara/>> [accessed 7 March 2022].

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ 'Johann Jacobs Museum' <<https://johannjacobs.com/en/formate/omoshirogara-japans-path-to-modernity/>> [accessed 7 March 2022].

¹¹⁸ Rhiannon Paget, 'A Game of Nation, Modernity, and Militarism', *Saint Louis Art Museum*, 2016 <<https://www.slam.org/blog/a-game-of-nation-modernity-and-militarism/>> [accessed 7 March 2022].

of modernisation that took place before the Meiji period and not to view it solely as a product of Western influence.¹¹⁹

Writing on the early twentieth century, Jackson notes, “‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ were not fixed concepts: they were constructs subject to constant modification’.¹²⁰ The act of ‘modifying’ is of significance here, as Japan sought to retain its core ‘spirit’ – of *wakon-yōsai* 和魂洋才, ‘Japanese spirit, Western learning’ – while allowing for Western ideas to enter and influence developments.¹²¹ Therefore, this dissertation argues that modernisation in Japan was not imposed, but aided and accelerated by interactions with the West as Japan modernised on its own terms. The haori linings and nagajuban from the Meiji to Shōwa eras also reflect the ‘modifications’ that took place – while the shapes and materials of the garments were unchanged, the motifs began to reflect Western influences in Japan, military activities and other events at the time.

A major military event in the early twentieth century was the Russo-Japanese war (1904–1905), which marked the second major military victory in the Meiji period, following the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).¹²² In the Met’s collection there is a nagajuban that shows the siege of Port Arthur, led by General Nogi Maresuke, when Japan engaged in lengthy battle against Russia to gain control over a large part of Manchuria (now part of Northeast China) (see Fig. 27). Japan’s victory was cemented by the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905, one result of which was the formal annexation of Korea in 1910. This was a hugely significant moment, as it signalled Japan as a dominant power in East Asia. At

¹¹⁹ Approach is influenced by the introduction to Sarah Cheang, Erica De Greef, and Takagi Yoko eds., *Rethinking Fashion Globalization*, (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2021), pp. 11–14, Online: Bloomsbury Collections. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350180086.ch-001>> [accessed 27 March 2022].

¹²⁰ Anna Jackson, ‘Taisho and Early Shōwa’, in Anna Jackson ed., *Kimono: The Art and Evolution of Japanese Fashion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2015), p. 165.

¹²¹ Kenkichi Koizumi, ‘In Search of “Wakon”: The Cultural Dynamics of the Rise of Manufacturing Technology in Postwar Japan’, *Technology and Culture*, 43.1 (2002), p. 30.

¹²² ‘Japan - Japanese Expansionism’, Britannica <<https://www.britannica.com/place/Japan/Japanese-expansionism>> [accessed 23 March 2022].

home, Japanese militarists gained greater popularity, which led to increased domestic political power.¹²³



Fig. 27. Unknown maker, *Man's Under-Kimono (Nagajuban) with Scene of the Russo-Japanese War featuring General Nogi*, Meiji period (early twentieth century). Resist-dyed, hand-painted plain-weave silk with traces of gold leaf. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

¹²³ Shin'ichi Kitaoka, 'The Army as a Bureaucracy: Japanese Militarism Revisited', *The Journal of Military History*, 57.5 (1993), p. 68; Ethan Segal 'Meiji and Taishō Japan: An Introductory Essay', *University of Colorado* <<https://www.colorado.edu/ptea-curriculum/becoming-modern/meiji-and-taisho-japan-introductory-essay>> [accessed 23 March 2022]; and 'Japan - The Emergence of Imperial Japan, Britannica <<https://www.britannica.com/place/Japan/The-emergence-of-imperial-Japan>> [accessed 23 March 2022].

It is within this context that this nagajuban sits and it appears to be a unique example of a commemorative garment.¹²⁴ The central motif of Nogi surrounded by his soldiers is applied by *yūzen* on *hira-ori* silk. There are elements of symbolism in the design, as we see pine trees and what appears to be Mt. Fuji in the distance, both of which hold auspicious meanings.¹²⁵ The Met also notes that there are details completed in gold leaf, which further indicates the luxuriousness and celebratory feel of this garment.¹²⁶

Surrounding the central motif is a *sarasa* pattern. Due to growing popularity of *sarasa* textiles during the Edo period, Japanese craftspeople began to produce their own versions. These designs can be seen in sample books, such as the example shown in Fig. 28, which is titled *Sarasa-Binran* 更紗便覧 – ‘Sarasa Handbook’. Produced in 1781, the book features *sarasa*-inspired patterns that were woodblock printed in black onto paper with annotations on how they can be produced.¹²⁷ From the bubble-like edges, it is clear that the *sarasa* pattern on Fig. 27 was applied to the same length of cloth, rather than attached as a separate textile. It is possible that the wearer wished to demonstrate his *tsū* savviness by combining the fashionable *sarasa* patterns of the Edo period to the celebratory motif of Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War. This fusion of style and *omoshirogara* present a fascinating layer of complexity to the public and private expression of the wearer, as imagery of ‘public’ wartime events is combined with ‘private’ expressions of luxury and stylishness through *sarasa*.

¹²⁴ ‘Man’s Under-Kimono (Nagajuban) with Scene of the Russo-Japanese War Featuring General Nogi | Japan | Meiji Period (1868–1912)’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/73386>> [accessed 7 March 2022].

¹²⁵ Hiromi Ichita, ‘Forward’, in *Japanese Stylishness and Dandyism: Haura Okajima Collection* (Hachette Fujingaho, 2006), p. 8. Translated for this dissertation by Euphemia Franklin, 2022.

¹²⁶ ‘Man’s Under-Kimono (Nagajuban) with Scene of the Russo-Japanese War Featuring General Nogi | Japan | Meiji Period (1868–1912)’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/73386>> [accessed 7 March 2022].

¹²⁷ ‘Illustrated Book; Print | British Museum’ <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1947-0401-0-2> [accessed 7 March 2022].

Military-related *omoshirogara* patterns on items of dress are often labelled by curators and scholars as propaganda.¹²⁸ As examples of hidden dress, it is intriguing to consider whether or not such nationalistic haori linings and nagajuban can be considered propaganda, or whether they were simply the sole expression of the wearer, with no intension of propagating a nationalistic message. Jackson argues,

... the fact that the Japanese did not wear such sentiments on their (outer) sleeves does not reflect a lack of patriotic fervour. Indeed, in many ways it meant that they aligned themselves to the nation's goals on an even more intimate level.¹²⁹

To take Jackson's view, hidden nationalistic imagery in nagajuban and haori linings can be read as a highly personal, deeper affinity to the 'nation's goals', since the imagery was worn in an inconspicuous manner. Therefore, this dissertation argues that, while military-related *omoshirogata* in haori and nagajuban can be understood as a personal expression of nationalism, such garments should not be categorised as propaganda, since their imagery was intentionally hidden from outside view.

Omoshirogara in nagajuban and haori offer snapshots of a rapidly changing Japan, including its new influences from the West and increased military conflicts that arose from Japan's expansionist policy. As such, the hidden imagery of these garments can be viewed as a

¹²⁸ As mentioned, this is a theme that is present in the exhibitions about, or featuring, *omoshirogara* by the Museum DKM, Johann Jacobs Museum and the St. Louis Art Museums. For further reading on *omoshirogara* as propanganda, please see Jacqueline M. Atkins, 'Wearing Novelty', in *The Brittle Decade: Visualising Japan in the 1930s*, eds. by Jacqueline M. Atkins, John W. Dower, Anne Nishimura Morse and Frederic A. Sharf (Boston: Museum of Fine Art Publications, 2012), pp. 130–143; Jacqueline M. Atkins, *Wearing Propaganda: Textiles on the Home Front in Japan, Britain, and the United States* (Yale University Press, 2005); and Sam Perkins, 'The Propaganda Kimonos Japan Kept Hidden From Outsiders', *Atlas Obscura*, 500 <<http://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/the-propaganda-kimonos-japan-kept-hidden-from-outsiders>> [accessed 7 March 2022].

¹²⁹ Anna Jackson, 'Taisho and Early Shōwa', in Anna Jackson [ed.], *Kimono: The Art and Evolution of Japanese Fashion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2015), p. 165.

hidden timeline of Japan's evolution from Edo to Shōwa. This is complicated by the blurred boundaries of the public and private in *omoshirogara*, as imagery of highly public events were worn in such a way that was private, through concealed linings and undergarments.

v. Concluding thoughts

This chapter has followed a wide arc of luxury and inconspicuous consumption in men's nagajuban and haori linings. First, it argued that to understand the context of hidden luxury, we must look back to the sumptuary laws of the Edo period. These laws set the tone for a new aesthetic sensibility, *iki*, which favoured plain exterior dress with extravagance concealed within the interior. In the broad timeline of these objects, the chapter proposed that the lasting effect of hidden men's dress can be attributed to the formation and appeal of *iki* aestheticism in the Edo period.

This, however, takes a different tone from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth (Meiji–Shōwa). As Japan emerged out of the rigid hierarchical order of Edo, the wearing of haori and nagajuban became more widespread and *omoshirogara* designs emerged. Hidden dress of the Meiji period, therefore, not only tells us about the persistence of *iki* aestheticism, but also illuminates the complex relationship between the public and private self, as hidden imagery began to reflect changes in society.

While *omoshirogara* could be quite playful, such as we have seen with the jazz imagery of Figs. 23 and 24, it could also take a more triumphant, nationalistic tone (Figs. 25 and 27). This highlights hidden luxury not only as a way to wear desirable objects inconspicuously, but a way to bring the 'outside world' – of cultural changes and current affairs – into hidden layers of dress. *Omoshirogara*, therefore, allows us to consider hidden luxury as an intersecting point between the public and private self. The following chapter continues this

thread of thought by exploring how the environment in which hidden items of dress were worn affected the public and private expressions of the wearer.

Chapter 2. Status, Strength and Community

Few of us can speak to the experience of regularly facing the possibility of death or severe injury. For firefighters and soldiers, it is with the awareness of extreme circumstances that they conduct their duties to those they serve. Consequently, the firemen who wore decoratively lined hikeshibanten jackets in the late Edo to early Meiji periods, and the soldiers who wore senninbari sashes under their military uniforms during World War Two (WWII) held a particular status in society as protectors. In this instance, status refers to the civic role that these men assumed as firefighters and soldiers. This contrasts to the previous chapter, which placed greater emphasis on societal status, or class. The civic role of firefighters and soldiers adds an important dimension to the analysis of hidden hikeshibanten linings and senninbari, as it prompts us to situate the individual and their public responsibilities within a wider community.

A significant aspect of firefighters and soldiers belonging to a collective is the wearing of uniform. Design historians Jane Tynan and Lisa Godson address the psychology of wearing uniform,

...uniform gives the wearer a sense of certainty by acting as an agent of the external forces of power and control; the protective covering conceals his imperfections to make his body feel invincible.¹³⁰

Here Tynan and Godson draw on a passage from Herman Broch's novel *The Sleepwalkers* (1932), wherein the protagonist contemplates the contrast between the softness of the body and the hard shell of uniform. Drawing on the above quotation, uniform can be considered a

¹³⁰ Jane Tynan and Lisa Godson eds., *Uniform: Clothing and Discipline in the Modern World* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019), p. 1.

tool for hiding doubt or weakness by providing ‘certainty’, serving as a barrier between the body of the wearer and the outside world. This implies that the act of wearing uniform is to bury one’s fears and imperfections by presenting a smart exterior that blends the individual into a larger group.

In the case of hakeshibanten linings and senninbari, however, an additional layer is added to the wearing of uniform. In the previous chapter, *nagajuban* and *haori* were studied in relation to Edo period sumptuary laws, and the need these laws created for men to conceal sartorial extravagance. The need to conceal in this chapter takes a different shape altogether. For firefighters, the decorative linings were often designed to evoke bravery in the face of catastrophe, and the linings served the additional function of formal display for public occasions and condolence visits.¹³¹ For soldiers, *senninbari* were not an incorporated part of uniform. Instead, these were highly personal, supplementary items that soldiers were given by their families or local communities at home to carry under their uniforms as a talisman.

In this context, the private and public self find new expressions as the importance of strength comes into place. Since both soldiers’ and firefighters’ roles required bravery in the face of danger, hidden motifs and symbolic stitching served to embolden the wearer with strength and courage. The first part of this chapter explores firefighting in the late Edo and early Meiji periods through the vividly decorated hakeshibanten linings. Stemming from the previous chapter, *iki* aestheticism is brought into the context of hakeshibanten and *mingei* craft. In the next part of this chapter, senninbari will be explored as hidden items of dress with highly symbolic and spiritual undertones.

¹³¹ Cynthia Shaver, ‘Spectacular Garments and Colorful Customs: The Fire Fighters of Edo’, in *Hanten and Happi Traditional Japanese Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images*, eds. by Noriko Miyamoto, Cynthia Shaver and Sachio Yoshioka (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1998), pp. 144–145.

The firefighting sections of this chapter build upon an essay I previously wrote, which centred around a hikeshibanten in the V&A's collection. The essay first examined the physical and spiritual protection through the making of hikeshibanten. The second part delved into the public image of firefighters, exploring the ways in which their representation in ukiyo-e often did not reflect the reality of firefighting.¹³² This dissertation further investigates the element of hiddenness by examining the relationship between the hikeshibanten and the psychology of the wearer.

i. Firefighting and impermanence in the flammable city

In the city of Edo, now known as Tokyo, there was a popular saying, 'Fights and fires are the flowers of Edo'.¹³³ This section mainly situates hikeshibanten in the bustling city of Edo between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In contrast to the high-rise concrete and glass tower blocks of Tokyo today, Edo's architecture was built from highly flammable materials: wooden frames, paper doors and woven *tatami* 畳 mat floors were common features.¹³⁴ Many of the townspeople lived in *nagaya* 長屋, or 'long houses', which were connected rows of houses with communal amenities.¹³⁵ At a time when cooking was done over an open fire, harsh winter winds and earthquakes could cause fires to spread rapidly along the rows of wooden *nagaya*.¹³⁶ In this way, the townspeople of Edo lived with the constant possibility of destruction and devastation.

¹³² Euphemia Franklin, 'Protection and Public Image: Exploring the material culture of firefighter uniforms, 1850–1900' (unpublished MA essay, Royal College of Art, 2021).

¹³³ Jennie Tate, 'Fights and Fires are the Flowers of Edo', *The Design Journal*, 12:1 (2009), pp. 9-10.

¹³⁴ Marc Treib, 'The Dichotomies of Dwelling: Edo/Tokyo' in *Tokyo: Form and Spirit*, ed. by Mildred Friedman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986), pp. 107-109.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Cynthia Shaver, 'Spectacular Garments and Colorful Customs: The Fire Fighters of Edo', in *Hanten and Happi Traditional Japanese Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images*, eds. by Noriko Miyamoto, Cynthia Shaver and Sachio Yoshioka (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1998), p. 138.

Ukiyo-e prints and architectural models enable us to envisage how *chōnin*, or townspeople, lived within the architecture of Edo. Visiting the Edo-Tokyo Museum, I was able to see models of the city. The first model shows a *chōnin* district of Edo, near Nihonbashi (Fig. 29). From the interconnected architecture and close proximity of buildings, it is clear that *chōnin* lived in densely populated, bustling areas. Combined with Hiroshige's print of the Saruwaka district by night (Fig. 31), we can see how houses were connected in such a way that left few gaps, allowing fires to spread quickly.

The second model is a life-size replica showing a section of a *nagaya* (Fig. 30). The caption to this model explains, 'Because almost all the materials used in the construction of these structures were either wood or paper, these wooden buildings were also known as *yakeya* 焼け屋 (fire houses)'.¹³⁷ The participle 'yake' comes from the Japanese 'to burn'. This highlights the extent to which *nagaya* were susceptible to fires. Ukiyo-e prints illustrate indoor spaces – sliding paper doors with wooden frames divide the floor into rooms, which, when opened, create larger, open-plan spaces (Figs. 32 and 33). While this allowed for a cooling air flow in the hot summer months, it also proved hazardous, as winds could sweep through the building and feed fires.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ 'Munewari-Nagaya (a split row house)', caption of an architectural model (Tokyo: Edo-Tokyo Museum, 22 January 2022).

¹³⁸ Cynthia Shaver, 'Spectacular Garments and Colorful Customs: The Fire Fighters of Edo', in *Hanten and Happi Traditional Japanese Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images*, eds. by Noriko Miyamoto, Cynthia Shaver and Sachio Yoshioka (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1998), p. 138.



Fig. 29. Unknown maker, *The chōnin (townspeople) areas around Nihonbashi*, no date. Model made with mixed materials, 1/30 scale. Tokyo: Edo Tokyo Museum. Photograph taken by Euphemia Franklin, 22 January 2022. This model is based on a range of printed material that depict the *chōnin* district by Nihonbashi from the early Edo period (mid-seventeenth century). The museum caption notes how *chōnin* lived in 'cramped quarters'.



Fig. 30. Unknown maker, *Munewari nagaya (a split row house)*, no date. Model made with mixed materials, 1/1 scale. Tokyo: Edo Tokyo Museum. Photograph taken by Euphemia Franklin, 22 January 2022. The left shows the outside of the *nagaya* and the right shows a living room and cooking area, sized 10m². The museum's caption describes the density of living in areas with *nagaya*, 'Many of the common people rented and lived in these types of rooms that were located in a small area that comprised of approximately 20% of the ancient city of Edo'.



Fig. 31. Utagawa Hiroshige, *Night View of Saruwaka-machi* from the series 'One Hundred Famous Views of Edo', 1857. Woodblock print. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.



Fig. 32. Keisai Eisen and Utamaro Hiroshige, *Untitled*, no date (Edo period). Woodblock print. London: Victoria and Albert Museum.



Fig. 33. Katsushika Hokusai, *New Year's Day at the Ōgiya Brothel*, c.1804. Woodblock print. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. The image above shows the two left parts of the print, which is a polyptych constructed in five parts.

Firefighters held great responsibility, as they were the ones who were called upon to protect the local people from hazards. From the mid-Edo period (c.1750–), there were 1600–1700 districts in the city of Edo, where approximately 500,000 *chōnin* resided. To organise firefighters, these districts were divided into smaller regions and labelled with a character from the Japanese alphabet. This is explained in Fig. 34, which shows a map of Edo and its corresponding regions. These were a key identifying feature for firefighters, who formed brigades, or *kumi* 組. Brigades would be identified through the exterior pattern of their uniforms, as well as the design of the brigade’s fire standard, known as a *matoi* 纏.¹³⁹



Fig. 34. Unknown maker, *Disposition of town fire fighters (mid Edo period)*, no date. Tokyo: Tokyo Edo Museum. Photograph taken by Euphemia Franklin, 22 January 2022.

¹³⁹ 1-6 Town Fire 1-6 Town fire extinguisher matoi figure' <<https://www.bousaihaku.com/fireillustration/3845/>> [accessed 20 March 2022].

Due to the lack of advanced firefighting gear, the role of firefighters in the Edo and early Meiji periods was less to extinguish, but more to contain fires.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, their roles involved destroying buildings and structures surrounding the site to prevent the neighbouring rows of *nagaya* from catching fire.¹⁴¹ Many of the *chōnin* firefighters, the *machibikeshi*, doubled as carpenters. For these men, their public service took two forms: to destroy buildings to stop fires from spreading and to aid the reconstruction of the buildings after.¹⁴² Such rebuilding can be seen in Fig. 35, which shows *chōnin* firefighters in *hikeshibanten* working as carpenters.



Fig. 35. Toyokuni III, Carpenters from *Four Categories of People*, 1858. Woodblock print on paper, triptych. Tokyo: Yamada-Shoten.

¹⁴⁰ '(2) Fire Prevention Measures in the Edo Period | Fire Museum' <<https://www.bousaihaku.com/ffhistory/11279/>> [accessed 20 March 2022].

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Cynthia Shaver, 'Spectacular Garments and Colorful Customs: The Fire Fighters of Edo' in *Hanten and Happi Traditional Japanese Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images*, eds. by Noriko Miyamoto, Cynthia Shaver and Sachio Yoshioka (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1998), p. 140.

Due to censorship laws in the Edo period banning the realistic depiction of fires, finding ukiyo-e that depict the firefighters containing a fire is challenging.¹⁴³ However, imagery from the Meiji period, when such laws no longer applied, helps us to visualise the firefighter's techniques. This is visible in Fig. 36, which shows a close-up of a hand-painted scroll by Utagawa Kunitoshi, dated 1868–1872. On the left we see the fire which is encroaching on the surrounding buildings, which the firefighters are busily breaking down. The large standards they are holding, the *matoi*, mark each brigade that is involved in the mission and were used to signal the outer edges of the fire.¹⁴⁴

Ukiyo-e artist Tsukioka Yoshitoshi made several prints depicting firefighters with *matoi*. The most famous is *Moon in the Flame* from 1886, which shows a lone firefighter standing at the edge of a wild fire holding his brigade's *matoi* (Fig. 37). As stylised depictions by artists, it is questionable to what extent these three images depict the reality of firefighting at the time. However, we are able to gain a sense of the *hikeshibanten* uniforms in context, especially how groups of firefighters looked from the outside. Additionally, the drama of these depictions demonstrates how firefighters were presented in a heroic light to the wider public.

¹⁴³ Tim Clark, comments on 'Handscroll; Painting | British Museum', *The British Museum* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1913-0501-0-356-357> [accessed 15 March 2022].

¹⁴⁴ Cynthia Shaver, 'Matoi and Fire Fighters', in *Hanten and Happi Traditional Japanese Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images*, eds. by Noriko Miyamoto, Cynthia Shaver and Sachio Yoshioka (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1998), p. 28.



Fig. 36. Close up section of Utagawa Kunitoshi, *Untitled*, c. 1868–1872. Painted silk scroll. London: British Museum.



Fig. 37. Tsukioka Yoshitoshi, Moon in the Flame from the Series One Hundred Images of the Moon (Tsuki hyaku sugata-enchūgetsu), 1886. Woodblock print on paper. New York: The Met.

With such purposeful destruction in the firefighting mission, it is important to note the significance of impermanence in Japanese aestheticism. Here, we can look to the fourteenth century, when the Buddhist monk Kenkō 兼好 began to note his thoughts in what came to be known as the *Essays in Idleness*. Kenkō's short essays, some only a brief sentence, were published with an English translation by Keene in 1967.¹⁴⁵ Reflecting on the significance of this text, Keene notes Kenkō's affection towards nature's transience.¹⁴⁶ Keene explains that to Kenkō '...it is because [things] are not destined to stay forever in the world, that we prize them, that gives them their beauty, it gives them their value.'¹⁴⁷ In essence, Kenkō draws attention to the beauty and profundity that can be found in impermanence.

Like a flower that wilts then blossoms once more the following spring, the city of Edo would burn and be rebuilt.¹⁴⁸ The phrase 'Fights and fires are the flowers of Edo' suggests an acceptance of the inevitability of catastrophe, and an appreciation of the beauty of rebirth. Hikeshibanten allow us to consider how the idea of impermanence can take a material form through dress, as there existed the looming possibility that firefighters, along with their uniforms, could perish in a fire. The decorative linings can therefore be understood as a way for firefighters to confront this possibility by deriving strength from their uniform. The following section investigates the material qualities of hikeshibanten, situating them within the context of *mingei* craft.

¹⁴⁵ Kenkō and Donald Keene, *Essays in Idleness: the Tsurezuregusa of Kenkō*, trans. by Donald Keene, 2 (Columbia University Press, 1998).

¹⁴⁶ Donald Keene, cited in 'Asian Topics on Asia for Educators || Essays in Idleness, by Yoshida Kenko' <<http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/at/kenko/eii02.html>> [accessed 5 February 2022].

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Reference to Kenkō, cited in Donald Keene ed., *Anthology of Japanese Literature: From the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (New York: Grove Press, 1960), p. 239.

ii. Construction, symbolism and *mingei* craft

In the Edo period, firefighters were differentiated not only by location, but by social status. At the top were the *jōbikeshi* 定火消し and *daimyōhikeshi* 大名火消し of the samurai classes and at the bottom were the *machibikeshi* 町火消し of the lower, merchant classes. This system of ranking was abolished during the Meiji period, as the divisions of firefighters were consolidated under the Tokyo Metropolitan Police (see Fig. 38). Due to the sumptuary laws of the Edo period, firefighters of the samurai class were afforded more luxurious designs and materials, while townspeople were restricted to cotton.¹⁴⁹ However, the same types of cotton hikeshibanten worn by the *machibikeshi* continued to be made in the Meiji period, though they were no longer restricted by law to use only cotton.

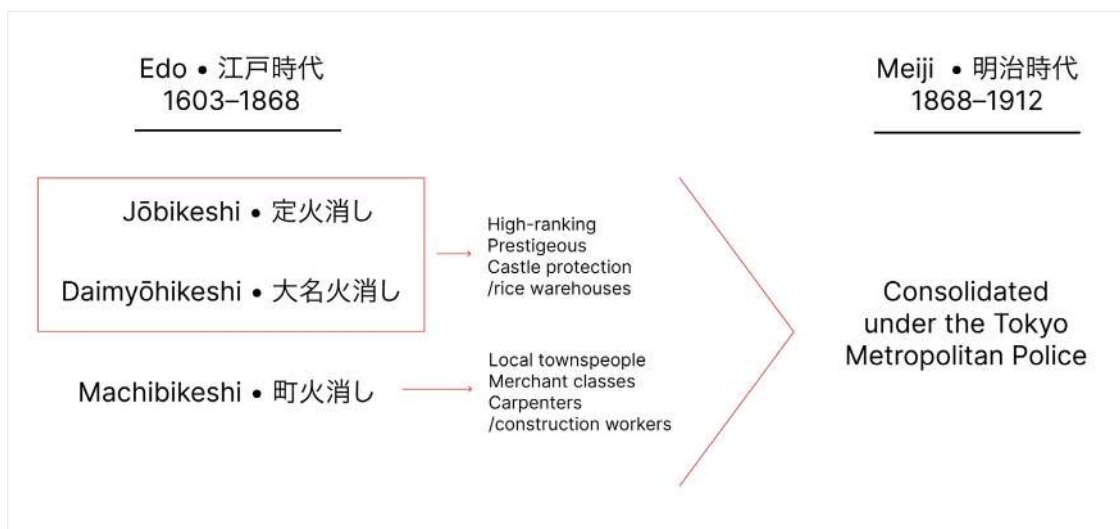


Fig. 38. Euphemia Franklin, *Overview of Firefighting Structures*, 2021. Digital diagram. Drawn from information in Cynthia Shaver, 'Hanten and Happi' Traditional Japanese Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images and the Tokyo Fire Museum website. Also in Euphemia Franklin, 'Protection and Public Image: Exploring the material culture of firefighter uniforms, 1850–1900' (unpublished MA essay, Royal College of Art, 2021).

¹⁴⁹ Cynthia Shaver, 'Spectacular Garments and Colourful Customs: The Fire Fighters of Edo', in Noriko Miyamoto, Cynthia Shaver and Sachio Yoshioka [eds.], *Hanten and Happi Traditional Japanese Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images* (Kyoto: Shikōsha, 1998), p. 139.

One difference between the uniforms of townspeople and samurai is the use of highly expensive imported wool. Known as *heruhetoan* ヘルヘトアン (derived from the Dutch and Portuguese words for long-lasting) the woollen cloth was brought into Edo via the trading port of Dejima and was decorated with each regional leader's (*daimyō*) family crest.¹⁵⁰ This can be seen in Figs. 39, one of the *daimyōhikeshi* jackets in the TNM's collection. This section will focus primarily on the material and symbolic qualities of hikeshibanten of the lower classes (*chōnin*).



Fig. 39. Unknown maker, [*Kaji Shozoku*] (*Suit worn at scene of fire*): Coat, Chest Cover, and Kitsuke Brown wool with [*futatsu-hiki*] crest, Edo period, nineteenth century. Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum.

¹⁵⁰ Frits Vos, 'Dutch Influences on the Japanese Language: With an Appendix on Dutch Words in Korean | East Asian History', in *Lingua*, 39 (2014), accessed online via <<http://www.eastasianhistory.org/39/vos-influences/index.html>> [accessed 15 March 2022]; and '火事装束 (羽織・胸当・石帯) 茶へるへとわん無地 二つ引紋付 文化遺産オンライン' <<https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/466754>> [accessed 15 March 2022].

The construction of *machibikeshi* uniforms can be distilled into three main techniques:

aizome 藍染 indigo dyeing, *tsutsugaki* 筒描き resist-paste dyeing and *sashiko* 刺し子 quilting.

Each enhanced the visual and material qualities of hikeshibanten and had their own protective significance. The deep blue colour of hikeshibanten was drawn from natural indigo dye, a process which became popular in the Edo period due to the increasingly affluent merchant classes supporting indigo cultivation.¹⁵¹ Indigo was especially favourable to firefighters for its fire-retardant properties and soothing effect on the skin.¹⁵²

This was combined with *tsutsugaki* to create the intricate interior decoration. This method uses a conical nozzle, or *tsutsu* 筒, to apply a resist paste directly onto the undyed cotton (see Fig. 40).¹⁵³ As the paste is applied free-hand, rather than by stencil, *tsutsugaki* dyeing requires the steady hands of an experienced craftsperson. *Tsutsugaki* was used not only for hikeshibanten, but for dyeing celebratory motifs onto textiles, such as for *futon* 布団 bedspreads gifted to newlywed couples. Fig. 41 shows a *tsutsugaki*-dyed futon with a phoenix motif, which symbolises longevity and prosperity.¹⁵⁴ Similarly, hikeshibanten linings contained auspicious *tsutsugaki*-applied imagery that was intended to provide the firefighter with a sense of strength and spiritual protection. *Tsutsugaki*-dyed imagery was not limited to firefighters' jackets, and could sometimes be found in the linings of their helmets and trousers (see Fig. 42).

¹⁵¹ Soetsu Yanagi, 'The Way of Craftsmanship', in Soetsu Yanagi *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty*, 3rd edn. (New York: Kodansha, 2013), p. 198; Sachio Yoshioka, 'Background to Japanese Work Clothing' in *Hanten and Happi Traditional Japanese Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images*, eds. by Noriko Miyamoto, Cynthia Shaver and Sachio Yoshioka (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1998), pp. 161.

¹⁵² 'NAKAMURA Inc.', *NAKAMURA Inc. | Planning, Design and Production of Noren* <<https://nakamura-inc.jp/en/>> [accessed 15 March 2022]; Osamu Nii in Great Big Story, 'The Link Between Japanese Samurai and Real Indigo', online video recording, YouTube, 2 January 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Aj5oA0YxCi0&ab_channel=GreatBigStory> [Accessed 15 March 2022]; and Jonathan Lucacek, 'Indigo', *Iron & Air* <<https://ironandair.com/blogs/news/indigo>> [accessed 15 March 2022].

¹⁵³ Japan Traditional Culture Promotion Organisation (JTCO), '染物（筒描き）日本伝統文化振興機構(JTCO)' 'Textile dyeing (Tsutsugaki)' <<http://www.jtco.or.jp/japanese-crafts/?act=detail&id=383&p=8&c=14>> [accessed 15 March 2022].

¹⁵⁴ Etsuko Iwanaga, 'Tsutsugaki – A Rediscovered Beauty: A Thousand Years of Fond Wishes', in *Tsutsugaki: Japanese indigo-dyed textiles*, ed. by Anne Leclerc (Paris: Ueki and Associates, 2013), p. 26.



Fig. 40. Martin Holtkamp and Link Collective, from the article 'Hannah Waldron Collaboration Noren', 2019. Digital photograph. Online: Link Collective. From a gallery of images sharing the making of a *tsutsugaki noren* のれん (hanging cloth) at the Nagata Dye Factory in Izumo, Shimane prefecture. This is one of two places in Japan that continue to make *tsutsugaki*-dyed textiles with indigo in the traditional manner.



Fig. 41. Unknown maker, *Futon Cover with Freehand Paste-Resist Design of Phoenix and Paulownia*, late nineteenth – early twentieth century. Plain-weave cotton with freehand paste-resist (tsutsugaki)
Oregon: Portland Art Museum.



Fig. 42. Unknown maker, *Sashiko-stitched hanten with dragon and tiger pattern*, late Edo–early Meiji. Book scan: Shigeki Kawakami, *Dandyism of Edo* (Kyoto: Seigensha, 2007), p. 113. Book and image title trans. by Euphemia Franklin, 2022.

Structurally, hikeshibanten were highly durable. Their thickness came from 3–4 layers of cotton, which were meticulously quilted together using the *sashiko* ‘little stabs’ quilting technique.¹⁵⁵ This can be seen in Fig. 43, which shows a hikeshibanten with its lining facing out alongside a close-up of its stitchwork. Although there are examples of decorative uses of *sashiko*, for firefighting uniforms, this was predominantly adopted as a way to strengthen the cloth to protect the body of the wearer from the harsh conditions of firefighting.¹⁵⁶ Before entering the scene of the fire, or its neighbouring buildings, firefighters would be drenched with water, which would be absorbed in the many layers of their uniform. This, in turn, would intensify their resistance to heat and flames.

However, due to the layers of cotton and *sashiko*-stitching, uniforms were also tremendously heavy. It has been estimated that when wet, the uniforms could weigh up to 38kg.¹⁵⁷ For some, there was an additional 20kg of weight from holding the *matoi* standard.¹⁵⁸ At the Edo-Tokyo Museum there is a replica of a *matoi*, which visitors are encouraged to lift (see Fig. 44). Having attempted this myself, I was struck by the heaviness and bulkiness of the *matoi*, which made it difficult to carry.¹⁵⁹ This strain is visible in Fig. 45, which shows a print by Yoshitoshi from 1876 of a firefighter being drenched in water. This physical experience of wearing *sashiko*-stitched hikeshibanten is important when considering the relationship of these items to the body of the wearer, as they required great physical strength to wear.

¹⁵⁵ Iwao Nagasaki, ‘The Tradition of Folk Textiles in Japan’, in *Beyond the Tanabata Bridge: Traditional Japanese Textiles*, ed. by William Jay Rathbun (Seattle: Thames and Hudson, 1993), p. 18.

¹⁵⁶ Iwao Nagasaki, ‘The Tradition of Folk Textiles in Japan’, *Beyond the Tanabata Bridge: Traditional Japanese Textiles*, ed. by William Jay Rathbun, (Seattle: Thames and Hudson, 1993), p. 17.

¹⁵⁷ Cynthia Shaver, ‘Sashiko-stitched Hanten Coats’ in *Hanten and Happi Traditional Japanese Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images*, eds. by Noriko Miyamoto, Cynthia Shaver and Sachio Yoshioka, (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1998), p. 6.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Matoi-Issha Edo Fire Fighting Memorial’ <<http://www.edosyoubou.jp/wearing.html>> [accessed 15 March 2022].

¹⁵⁹ Observation from a visit by the author to the Edo-Tokyo Museum, 22 January 2022.



Fig. 43. Unknown maker, *Fire-Resistant Coat with Dragon and Tiger*, Edo period (nineteenth century). Cotton embroidery with brush painting. Tokyo: National Museum of Art.



Fig. 44. Unknown maker, *Interactive Matoi Display*, no date.
Tokyo: Tokyo Edo Museum. Photograph taken by Euphemia Franklin, 22 January 2022.



Fig. 45. Tsukioka Yoshitoshi, *A fireman throwing water over the clothes of a fireman with the standard for district four*, 1876. Woodblock print on paper. Online: Yoshitoshi.net.

Though the making of townspeople's hikeshibanten was highly skilled work, they are not considered luxury objects. Unlike items studied in the first chapter, these were not made by *shokunin*, but by unnamed craftspeople using common materials. This places hikeshibanten in the category of *mingei*, or folk crafts. It is important to note, however, that the term '*mingei*' was not in use during the Edo and Meiji periods, when these objects were made and used. The Mingei Movement originated in the 1920s, headed by philosopher Soetsu Yanagi, alongside ceramicists Shōji Hamada and Kanjirō Kawai.¹⁶⁰ These three, among other theorists and craftspeople, wanted to draw attention to 'the beauty of everyday things', or objects that were used by ordinary people, as opposed to the luxurious opulence of works made by *shokunin*.¹⁶¹

This intellectual movement was celebrated in 2021–2022 by the exhibition at the MoMAT, *100 Years of Mingei: The Folk Crafts Movement*. Though hikeshibanten did not feature in the MoMAT's exhibition, the craft techniques of *aizome*, *tsutsugaki* and *sashiko* were visible in the displays.¹⁶² Additionally, hikeshibanten are often categorised as *mingei* objects in reputable books and exhibitions.¹⁶³ This dissertation takes the view that hikeshibanten must be viewed in the intellectual framework of *mingei*, as it highlights their use by ordinary people, or *chōnin*, and distinguishes their making from luxury objects. This does not lessen the technical skill and artistry involved in their making, but demonstrates how hikeshibanten were extraordinary objects made by and for ordinary people. However, in tandem with this,

¹⁶⁰ Hisaho Hanai, Katsuo Suzuki and Ayumi Yamada eds., *100 Years of Mingei: The Folk Crafts Movement* (The National Museum of Modern Art Tokyo, 2021), p. 33.

¹⁶¹ Quotation cited from Soetsu Yanagi, *The Beauty of Everyday Things* (London: Penguin Classics, 2019); Hisaho Hanai, Katsuo Suzuki and Ayumi Yamada eds., *100 Years of Mingei: The Folk Crafts Movement* (The National Museum of Modern Art Tokyo, 2021), p. 4.; and Soetsu Yanagi, 'The Way of Craftsmanship', in *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty*, 3rd edn. (New York: Kodansha, 2013), p. 198.

¹⁶² *100 Years of Mingei: The Folk Crafts Movement* (2021/2022) [exhibition] Museum of Modern Art Tokyo. 26 October 2021 – 13 February 2022.

¹⁶³ Including, but not limited to Noriko Hirai and Sachio Yoshioka eds., *Japanese Folk Textiles: An American Collection* (Kyoto: Shiksha, 1988); William Jay Rathbun ed., *Beyond the Tanabata Bridge: Traditional Japanese Textiles* (Thames and Hudson, 1993) and the corresponding exhibition; Robert Moes ed., *Mingei: Japanese Folk Art* (New York: Universe Books, 1985); and *Tsutsugaki: Indigo Textiles of Japan* (2013) [exhibition]. Guimet Museum, Paris: 10 July–7 October 2013.

awareness of the retrospective categorisation of hikeshibanten as *mingei* objects is important as this is not how they would have been labelled at the time of making.



Fig. 46. Unknown Maker, *Fireman's Coat*, Meiji period (1875–1900). Cotton, plain weave, quilted (*sashiko*), painted. Illinois: Art Institute Chicago.

As items of folk craft (*mingei*), many hikeshibanten linings made references to folkloric tales. One such example is Fig. 46, which shows a hikeshibanten in the Art Institute Chicago's collection. Dated to the Meiji period, between 1875 and 1900, the lining depicts a decadently dressed main figure riding a toad, pushing two rougher-looking figures out of their way. This is likely a reference to *Jiraiya Gōketsu Monogatari* 児雷也豪傑物語, or 'The Tale of the Gallant Jiraiya', wherein a robber is taught how to use magic by the Toad Spirit (Jiraiya) on the

condition that he only use these powers for good.¹⁶⁴ A similar tale is depicted in the ukiyo-e triptych in Fig. 47 where a toad spirit named Gama Sennin teaches magic to a pair of siblings. Toads also have auspicious meaning due to the homophone of the Japanese word for toad, *kaeru* 蛙 which can also be read as *kaeru* 帰る, 'to return'.¹⁶⁵



Fig. 47. Utagawa Kuniyoshi, *Gama Sennin, the Toad Spirit, Teaching Yoshikado and his Sister Takiyasha the Arts of Magic*, Edo period, c. 1800–1861. Woodblock print, triptych. New Hampshire: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College.

By having this vibrant motif of the Toad Spirit concealed in the lining, it can be interpreted that the wearer wished to evoke a feeling of supernatural power. Additionally, the meaning of *kaeru*, 'to return', is also of relevance as firefighters risked their lives through their activities.

Here, we see how the linings of hikeshibanten play into the psychology of the wearer;

¹⁶⁴ 'Japanese Firemen's Coats (19th Century)', *The Public Domain Review* <<https://publicdomainreview.org/collection/japanese-firemans-coats-19th-century/>> [accessed 15 March 2022]; and William Elliot Griffis, *Japanese Fairy World: Stories from the Wonder-lore of Japan* (New York: J. H. Barhyte, 1880), pp. 126–140, via <<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/g/genpub/AFL2812.0001.001?view=toc>> [accessed 15 March 2022].

¹⁶⁵ Author's own knowledge as a native Japanese speaker, also referenced in 'Kaeru / Japanese Creation of Myth', *Mingei Arts* <<https://mingeiarts.com/blogs/celebration-of-mingei-journey-through-japan/kaeru-japanese-creation-of-myth>> [accessed 15 March 2022].

beyond the material protection of the uniform, the decorative lining imbues the wearer with an additional spiritual protection and perhaps a sense of supernatural strength.

It is for this reason that motifs of ferocious creatures can also be found on hikeshibanten linings. For example, both Figs. 42 and 43 show hikeshibanten linings depicting ferocious tigers and dragons. In an article by the National Gallery of Art in New York, it is explained that, according to an ancient Chinese proverb, which was adopted by the Japanese, dragons summon clouds while tigers summon the wind.¹⁶⁶ The article proceeds, '...the dragon and tiger govern the elemental forces of wind and rain' and that 'their symbolic pairing was believed to bring about the blessings of rain and peace'.¹⁶⁷ In the context of firefighting, motifs of tigers and dragons add to the sense of protection, as firefighters could evoke the harmonious natural forces of rain and wind, or 'peace', to fight flames.

Hikeshibanten demonstrate how *iki* aestheticism was not limited to luxury craft objects. Within the menswear section at the TNM's kimono exhibition on kimono was a selection of hikeshibanten, which was titled 'The Iki of Edokko: Firemen's garments and Kuniyoshi Fashions'. The museum defines Edokko as 'spirited locals of the military capital of Edo'.¹⁶⁸ Although the description in the exhibition catalogue does not define *iki*, it correlates the designs of hikeshibanten linings to the ukiyo-e prints of Utagawa Kuniyoshi. The *Water Margin* series by Kuniyoshi was of particular inspiration to firefighters, some of whom tattooed themselves with these motifs 'in a display of male bravery and solidarity'.¹⁶⁹ In this sense, hikeshibanten demonstrate how *iki* taste was adopted by firefighters of the lower classes by the graphic imagery of their linings that was inspired by the bold characters of Kuniyoshi's prints. This builds

¹⁶⁶ 'Animals in Japanese Folklore', *National Gallery of Art* <<https://www.nga.gov/features/life-of-animals-in-japanese-art.html>> [accessed 15 March 2022].

¹⁶⁷ Ibid; and 'Japanese Tiger and Dragon', *Minneapolis Museum of Art* <<https://new.artsmia.org/programs/teachers-and-students/teaching-the-arts/artwork-in-focus/japanese-tiger-and-dragon>> [accessed 16 March 2022].

¹⁶⁸ Tokyo National Museum, *Kimono: Fashioning Identity* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 2020), p. 396

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

upon the discussion of *iki* in this section, as it demonstrates how *iki* sensibilities were expressed not only in luxury craft, but also in *mingei* craft.

This section has analysed the making and wearing of hikeshibanten and its protective qualities in the context of *mingei* craft. Though the material nature of hikeshibanten is highly protective – with thick, *sashiko* quilting and fire-retardant indigo – it is the highly symbolic *tsutsugaki*-dyed linings that present intrigue. It is through the duality of these hidden vivid linings and the plainer exterior of hikeshibanten that we can delve into the psychology of the wearer. The symbolic motifs suggest that the hiddenness of decoratively lined hikeshibanten served to embolden the wearer with extra strength and determination in the face of danger.

iii. Debating hiddenness in hikeshibanten

The decorative linings of hikeshibanten were not always hidden. In fact, it is thought that only when a fire had been successfully contained or extinguished would the firefighters reverse their jackets to reveal their impressive linings.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, the linings were also worn facing outward for ceremonial occasions and festivals, such as the Dezomeshiki 出初式 annual firefighters' festival.¹⁷¹ This section looks at the uses of decoratively-lined hikeshibanten and questions whether they should still be considered as hidden details of dress.

¹⁷⁰ For example, Tokyo National Museum, *Kimono: Fashioning Identity* (Tokyo: The Asahi Shinbun, 2020), pp. 396-397; Victoria and Albert Museum, 'Jacket | Unknown | V&A Explore The Collections', *Victoria and Albert Museum: Explore the Collections* </item/O1/O12/O127/O1278/O12783/> [accessed 16 March 2022]; and '[Kaji Shozoku] (Suit worn at scene of fire): Coat, Chest Cover, and Kitsuke Brown wool with [futatsu-hiki] crest', *Tokyo National Museum Online Database* <https://colbase.nich.go.jp/collection_items/tnm/l-3353?locale=ja> [accessed 16 March 2022].

¹⁷¹ For further reading on Dezomeshiki, see 'A Parade In Kinosaki: The Annual Dezomeshiki', *Visit Kinosaki*, 2022 <<http://visitkinosaki.com/news/a-parade-in-kinosaki-the-annual-dezomeshiki/>> [accessed 16 March 2022]; 'Kaga-Tobi Dezomeshiki Festival | Official Ishikawa Travel Guide', *Ishikawa Travel* <<https://www.ishikawatravel.jp/en/spots/kaga-tobi-dezomeshiki-festival/>> [accessed 16 March 2022]; and 'Dezomeshiki: The New Year's Parade of Firemen!', *Japan Info* <<https://jpninfo.com/36512>> [accessed 16 March 2022].

It is important to note here that most hikeshibanten had plain linings. It was often only the leader of the brigade who owned a decoratively-lined hikeshibanten.¹⁷² In the Meiji period, the desirability of decoratively-lined hikeshibanten meant that some were commissioned by merchants who were not firefighters, but wished to use these jackets to promote their businesses. For these jackets, the exterior would sometimes have the business' logo where the fire brigade's emblem would usually be.¹⁷³ Since decorative hikeshibanten were worn by brigade leaders, it is likely that plainer hikeshibanten were worn by the brigade members who undertook the more dangerous tasks of firefighting.

The most extensive research in English on hikeshibanten was conducted by Japanese art appraiser Cynthia Shaver in 1998. Editing alongside Japanese textile specialists Noriko Yamamoto and Sachio Yoshioka, Shaver details the making and uses of hikeshibanten in a book centred around collector Ippei Sumi's selection of hanten and happi coats.¹⁷⁴ According to Shaver, decoratively lined hikeshibanten of the merchant classes were extremely expensive to make and were never worn in the act of fighting fires. Shaver notes the status held within their local communities, 'There existed a social etiquette related to fires, with unwritten rules and customs that were following in a fire's aftermath, requiring post-fire condolence visits, called *kajimimai*, and gifts'.¹⁷⁵ This presents a paradox, as museum collections describe how these jackets were worn to fight fires, while Shaver's extensive research suggests that their use was less for fighting fires, but more for formal occasions.

¹⁷² Noriko Miyamoto, Cynthia Shaver and Sachio Yoshioka eds., *Hanten and Happi Traditional Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images* (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1998), p. 42.

¹⁷³ Cynthia Shaver, 'Spectacular Garments and Colorful Customs: The Fire Fighters of Edo', in *Hanten and Happi Traditional Japanese Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images*, eds. by Noriko Miyamoto, Cynthia Shaver and Sachio Yoshioka (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1998), p. 145.

¹⁷⁴ Noriko Miyamoto, Cynthia Shaver and Sachio Yoshioka eds., *Hanten and Happi Traditional Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images* (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1998).

¹⁷⁵ Cynthia Shaver, 'Spectacular Garments and Colorful Customs: The Fire Fighters of Edo', in *Hanten and Happi Traditional Japanese Work Coats: Bold Designs and Colourful Images*, eds. by Noriko Miyamoto, Cynthia Shaver and Sachio Yoshioka (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1998), pp. 144–145.

Compared to the nagajuban and haori of the previous chapter, the reveal of the decorative linings of hikeshibanten take a very public form. While the symbolic imagery was intended to evoke strength and a sense of supernatural power in firefighters, the display of these linings in public events – such as condolence visits, festivals, and the celebration after a fire was contained – lead us to question to what extent they were intended to be hidden. There is a sense of boastfulness in the display of hikeshibanten linings, which, compared to the secretive luxury of haori linings and nagajuban, suggests a less private, and more public expression by the wearer.

This dissertation takes the view that hikeshibanten can still be considered as an example of hidden dress. This is due to the agency that the wearer holds when deciding how and when to reveal the hidden lining of their hikeshibanten. When hidden, the private self, or *honne*, is expressed, as the wearer chooses to keep the symbolic imagery to himself. Having the plain exterior facing out is a form of *tatemae*, or public expression, as the firefighter blends into the uniform presentation of their brigade.

When the lining is revealed, the wearer draws attention to himself and his brigade by boldly displaying motifs that denote bravery and strength. Here, the decorative lining switches from an expression of a private self, to that of a public-facing self, as the surrounding community is invited to see the imagery that is usually hidden. Therefore, these objects express both the public and private self, as the wearer could chose when to reveal or conceal the linings of their hikeshibanten.

iv. Senninbari in context

During periods of war, the fate of Japanese men over the age of twenty was decided by a red piece of paper. Known as an *akagami* 赤紙, or 'red paper' (Fig. 48), receiving this slip meant that you were conscripted into the army, provided you passed a medical and psychological examination.¹⁷⁶ Each soldier who went to battle with a senninbari would have experienced receiving such a letter, as this was the first official moment when men were told to join the army.¹⁷⁷

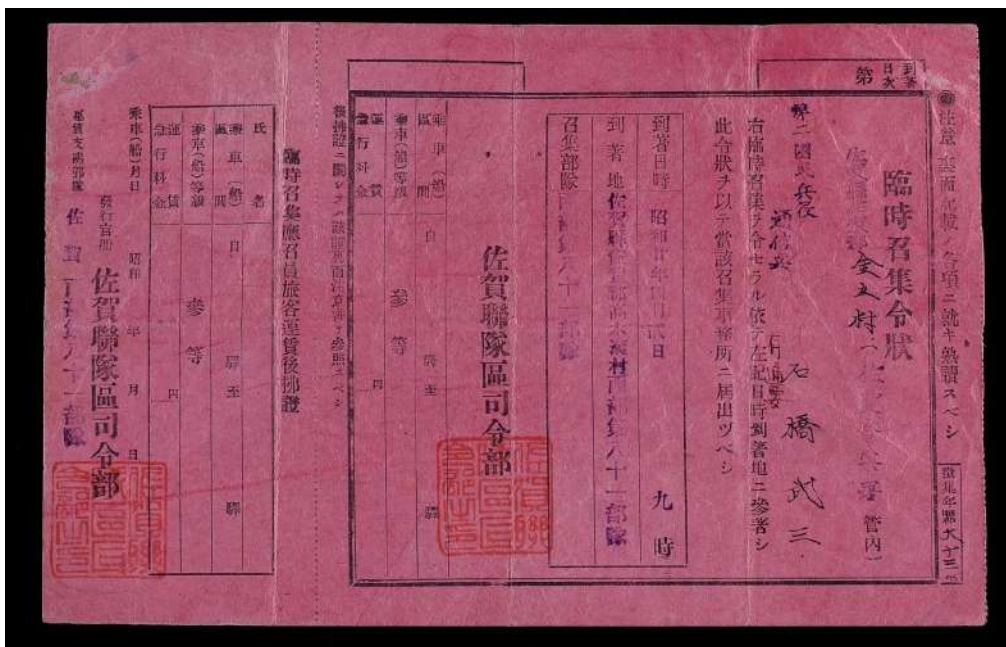


Fig. 48. Saga Prefecture Regimental Quarters, *Conscription letter to Takezou Ishibashi*, 2 April 1945. Print and hand-written text on paper, 152 x 238mm. Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

¹⁷⁶ “‘Dead’ Father Took Stand against War by Staying Unregistered | The Asahi Shimbun: Breaking News, Japan News and Analysis’, *The Asahi Shimbun* <<https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/14417203>> [accessed 22 March 2022].

¹⁷⁷ ‘The Battlefield Experience of Japanese Soldiers in the Asia-Pacific War’, *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* <<https://apjif.org/2020/19/Yoshida-Tao.html>> [accessed 23 March 2022]; and Hiroko Rokuhara, ‘Local Officials and the Meiji Conscription Campaign’, *Monumenta Nipponica*, 60.1 (2005), pp. 81–110.

The principle of *senninbari*, or ‘thousand-person stitch’ sashes, is a thousand knots, tied by a thousand women.¹⁷⁸ Using a length of cloth, usually either plain white silk or cotton, rows upon rows of knots would be embroidered by the hands of women using the *sagara-nui* 相良縫い, or French knot, technique.¹⁷⁹ The making of *senninbari* can be seen in Fig. 49, which shows three women gathered around a single length of cloth to stitch knots to make a *senninbari* in 1937, during the Second Sino-Japanese War. The finished *senninbari* were given to men to carry beneath their uniforms as they entered the army. The exterior appearance of soldiers can be seen in Fig. 50. Pictured on the right is Tsukimi Yamamoto, whose *senninbari* will be explored further in the final section of this chapter.



Fig. 49. Unknown maker, *Women stitching senninbari for men going to the front in China, Second Sino-Japanese War, 1937*. Photograph. Mainichi Newspaper Company.

¹⁷⁸ ‘千人針 文化遺産オンライン’ [‘Senninbari Cultural Heritage Online’]

<<https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/579266/1>> [accessed 10 February 2022].

¹⁷⁹ 「刺繍（ししゅう）」 | NHK 鑑賞マニュアル 美の壺 [‘Embroidery | NHK An Appreciation of Manmade Beauty’] <<https://www.nhk.or.jp/tsubo/program/file171.html>> [accessed 9 February 2022].

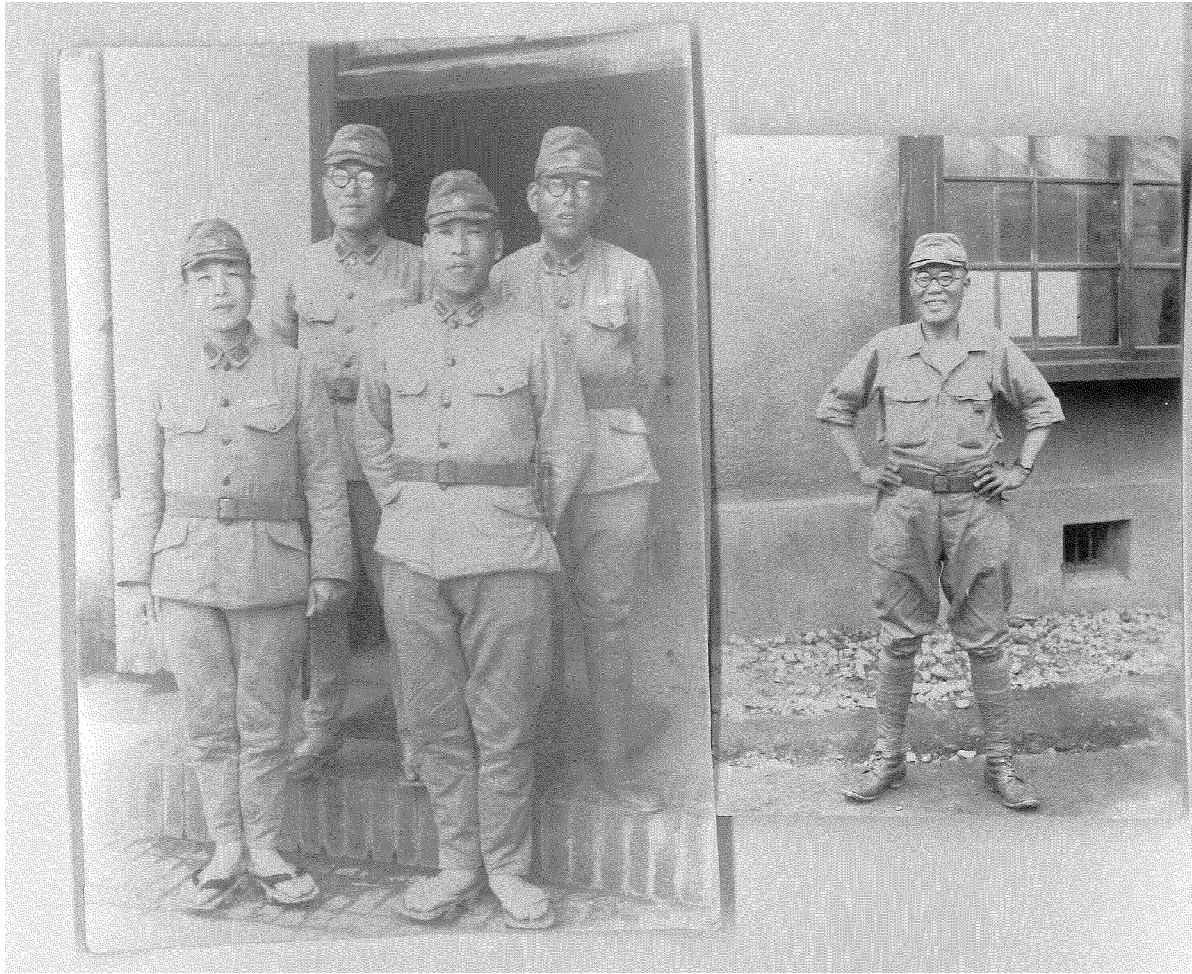


Fig. 50. Unknown maker, *Photograph of Tsukimi Yamamoto and fellow soldiers*, c. 1944. Duxford: Imperial War Museum. Digital scan of analogue photograph.

In order to conduct meaningful and sensitive analysis of these objects it should be noted that there are no 'standard senninbari'. Indeed, each senninbari expresses a unique relationship between maker and wearer. There is also variation in the relationship between the object and the wearer, since not all senninbari were worn directly on the skin or wrapped around the stomach. Some were folded and worn under the soldier's helmets, and others were placed in the pocket.¹⁸⁰ It remains, however, that senninbari carried a strong connection to the body of the wearer and were purposely hidden.

¹⁸⁰ Notes from meeting with Kohka Yoshimura (conversation with Euphemia Franklin at the Bunka Gakuen University, Tokyo, 26 January 2021).

It is within this specific framework that this dissertation draws comparisons to nagajuban, haori and hakeshibanten, as studied thus far. While luxury nagajuban and haori were hidden to circumvent the strict sumptuary laws of the Edo period, senninbari were hidden to conceal the private feelings of soldiers and their loved ones, while presenting the smart exterior of uniform. In each case there exists the individual's desire to express their private self through hidden items of dress.

Senninbari were born out of trepidation, at a time when Japan entered major international military conflicts for the first time in centuries.¹⁸¹ While this dissertation discusses the ways in which Japan began to situate itself globally after the Edo period, it adopts an object-centred approach to this history. The hiddenness of senninbari, as well as its material qualities, making and wearing, are placed at the core of this chapter, with contextual knowledge serving to aid our understanding of these factors.

The practice of making senninbari originated during the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), but it came to have a new lease of life, as well as new political connotations, during WWII (1939–1945). In January of 1873 the *chōhei-rei* 徴兵令 conscription laws were introduced by the Great Council of State, known as the Daijō-kan 太政官.¹⁸² These laws meant that men were drafted into the army at the age of twenty and would serve for a minimum of three years. Aside from practicing doctors and government workers, few were exempt from service.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Notes from meeting with Kohka Yoshimura (conversation with Euphemia Franklin at the Bunka Gakuen University, Tokyo, 26 January 2021).

¹⁸² '帰還への想い～銃後の願いと千人針～ | 昭和館' ['Prayers for a Safe Return – Prayers of the Home Front and Senninbari | National Showa Memorial Museum'] <<https://www.showakan.go.jp/events/kikakuten/past/past20120728.html>> [accessed 10 February 2022]; 'January 1873 | Conscription Order Issued: History of Japan' <http://www.archives.go.jp/ayumi/kobetsu/m06_1873_01.html> [accessed 10 February 2022]; and Delmer M. Brown [ed.], *The Cambridge History of Japan* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 232.

¹⁸³ 'January 1873 | Conscription Order Issued: History of Japan' <http://www.archives.go.jp/ayumi/kobetsu/m06_1873_01.html> [accessed 10 February 2022].

With mass conscription leading up to the First Sino-Japanese War and the proceeding Russo-Japanese War, women would pray for men to be spared from conscription. However, as this became unavoidable, the message of senninbari shifted towards prayers for soldiers' safe return.¹⁸⁴ Thus senninbari continued as a way for women to embed their prayers into an object for soldiers to carry with them.¹⁸⁵ By stitching the cloth with their fervent wishes for a safe return, it was thought that the senninbari would act as a repellent for any misfortune that might befall the soldier.¹⁸⁶

As explored in the *omoshirogara* section of the previous chapter, many significant intellectual exchanges took place between Japan and the West during the Meiji Restoration. With new ambitions to reform Japan, a large group of students and powerful political leaders set off on an 18-month expedition to the West to observe and gain first-hand experience of Western culture in what came to be known as the Iwakura Mission (1871–1873).¹⁸⁷ It is against this backdrop that the aforementioned conscription laws were implemented and Japan prepared itself for expansion and global trade in the late eighteenth century. While these strategic discussions were taking place among the political elite, it was not necessarily the case that the people of Japan held the same goals and determination.¹⁸⁸ It is therefore possible to consider whether the making of senninbari was a nervous reaction to

¹⁸⁴ Kazuhiro Watanabe, 「千人針の研究に向けての整理」 or 'Summary of Research on Senninbari' (Tokyo: Showakan, no date) [online PDF of article] <https://www.showakan.go.jp/publication/bulletin/pdf/06_senninbari_kenkyu.pdf> [accessed 15 March 2022], p. 59; and Takashi Arai, 「リサーチノート：千羽鶴・千人針」 or 'Research Note: Senbazuru and Senninbari' (2020) <<https://takashiarai.com/1000note/>> [accessed 15 March 2022].

¹⁸⁵ '帰還への想い～銃後の願いと千人針～ | 昭和館' ['Prayers for a Safe Return – Prayers of the Home Front and Senninbari | National Showa Memorial Museum'] <<https://www.showakan.go.jp/events/kikakuten/past/past20120728.html>> [accessed 10 February 2022].

¹⁸⁶ 「刺繍（ししゅう）」 | NHK 鑑賞マニュアル 美の壺' ['Embroidery | NHK An Appreciation of Manmade Beauty'] <<https://www.nhk.or.jp/tsubo/program/file171.html>> [accessed 9 February 2022].

¹⁸⁷ 「刺繍（ししゅう）」 | NHK 鑑賞マニュアル 美の壺' ['Embroidery | NHK An Appreciation of Manmade Beauty'] <<https://www.nhk.or.jp/tsubo/program/file171.html>> [accessed 9 February 2022]; and Andrew Gordon [ed.], *A Modern History of Japan*, 2 (Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 73–74.

N.B., The naming of 'Iwakura' was after a leading member of this expedition, Tomomi Iwakura (1825–1883).

¹⁸⁸ Notes from meeting with Kohka Yoshimura (conversation with Euphemia Franklin at the Bunka Gakuen University, Tokyo, 26 January 2021).

expansionist goals, which threatened to disturb the peace that Japan had experienced during the Edo period.¹⁸⁹

Reflecting on Japan's encounters with the West in the early Meiji period, Japan historian and translator Andrew Gordon writes, 'This newfound respect for the value and power of Western ideas coexisted with ongoing anger at the unequal political relationship between Japan and the Western powers'.¹⁹⁰ Gordon also notes the nuance of how Japan situated itself politically within Asia. While Japan saw the need for solidarity with neighbouring countries to combat 'the predatory imperialism of Western Powers', the 1870s saw a 'high-handed Asian diplomacy' and 'scornful attitude' as Japan saw itself as superior.¹⁹¹ This would suggest that Japan held both the Western powers and the neighbouring Eastern countries at arm's length, recognising the threats as well as the strategic benefits that both may offer in Japan's expansionist mission.

Major military conflict in the Meiji era began with the First Sino-Japanese War. Shortly after the Iwakura Mission, Japan's political leaders set about plans to open trade with Korea. At the same time, Japan applied pressure to the Korean monarch, the Gojong, to declare independence from China. Japan was therefore at loggerheads with China over Korea, with both parties demanding more control over the region. With the mounting tensions between the presence of Japanese and Chinese troops in Korea, it was agreed at the Convention of Tientsin in 1885 that both would withdraw troops to avoid an all-out war.¹⁹² However, ten years later, the terms of the Convention of Tientsin were broken, triggering the First Sino-Japanese War. After a year-long battle, war ended in April 1895 with the signing of the

¹⁸⁹ Notes from meeting with Kohka Yoshimura (conversation with Euphemia Franklin at the Bunka Gakuen University, Tokyo, 26 January 2021).

¹⁹⁰ Andrew Gordon [ed.], *A Modern History of Japan*, 2 (Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 73.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Marius B. Jansen, Samuel C. Chu, Shumpei Okamoto and Bonnie B. Oh, 'The Historiography of the First Sino-Japanese War', *The International History Review*, 1.2 (1979), pp. 200–203. NB. The Convention of Tientsin is also referred to as the Li-Itō Convention.

Treaty of Shimonoseki. Japan emerged victorious, as China officially recognised Korea as independent.¹⁹³

The success of the First Sino-Japanese War increased the political power of the militarists domestically.¹⁹⁴ This was further encouraged by Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War, when Japan and Russia fought tirelessly to expand into Chinese territories. After many bloody battles, the war ended with the Treaty of Portsmouth in September of 1905, mediated by the US President, Theodore Roosevelt.¹⁹⁵ This victory inspired the making of commemorative motifs in items of men's dress, which was explored through *omoshirogara* in the previous chapter (see Figs. 25 and 27).

With the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 fast approaching, many young men were drafted into the army. Photography from around this time provides a sense of the some of the conditions under which senninbari were made. For example, Fig. 51 shows a photograph of young women in Asakusa, Tokyo, stitching senninbari at a temple fair in 1937. This is similar to the scene depicted in Fig. 49, which shows women stitching while standing outdoors in the same year. These photographs demonstrate the communal aspect of making senninbari. In some instances, women were requested to make senninbari by local officials. This is visible in Fig. 52, which shows a group of women stopped on a street in Ginza,

¹⁹³ Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea and Hans van de Ven eds., *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945* (California: Stanford University Press, 2011); 'First Sino-Japanese War | Facts, Definition, History, & Causes', *Britannica* <<https://www.britannica.com/event/First-Sino-Japanese-War-1894-1895>> [accessed 20 March 2022]; '25 Jul 1894 Battle of Pungdo (Kowshing Incident) | The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895: as Seen in Prints and Archives', *Japan Centre for Asian Historical Records and the British Library* <<https://www.jacar.go.jp/english/jacarbl-fsjwar-e/smart/main/18940725/index.html>> [accessed 20 March 2022].

¹⁹⁴ Shin'ichi Kitaoka, 'The Army as a Bureaucracy: Japanese Militarism Revisited', *The Journal of Military History*, 57.5 (1993), p. 68; Ethan Segal 'Meiji and Taishō Japan: An Introductory Essay', University of Colorado <<https://www.colorado.edu/ptea-curriculum/becoming-modern/meiji-and-taisho-japan-introductory-essay>> [accessed 23 March 2022]; and 'Japan - The Emergence of Imperial Japan, Britannica <<https://www.britannica.com/place/Japan/The-emergence-of-imperial-Japan>> [accessed 23 March 2022].

¹⁹⁵ For further reading, see John W. Steinberg, 'Was the Russo-Japanese War World War Zero?', *The Russian Review*, 67.1 (2008), pp. 1–7; William Elliot Griffis, 'The Elder Statesmen of Japan: The Power behind the Portsmouth Treaty', *The North American Review*, 182.591 (1906), pp. 215–227; and 'Text of the Treaty of Portsmouth', *The Advocate of Peace*, 67.9 (1905), pp. 208–209.

Tokyo, by an officer requesting them to stitch senninbari for soldiers who were about to be sent to war.

Existing examples of senninbari largely date to the Second Sino-Japanese War and WWII. During this time, Japan's entry into WWII was cemented by the Tripartite Act in September 1940. With the combined signatures of Emperor Hirohito, Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, Japan was tied to the Rome-Berlin Axis.¹⁹⁶ Throughout the Second Sino Japanese War (1937–1945) and Japan's participation in WWII the making of senninbari continued.

During WWII, senninbari were propelled into the limelight as Japanese films, songs and posters depicting women stitching intensified their public visibility. Like the public-facing element of hikeshibanten discussed in the previous section, new questions arise on the quality of their hiddenness, as they were represented very publicly in the media, but were worn privately. By analysing examples of senninbari, the following section explores the symbolism and making of these objects, and their public and private existence.

¹⁹⁶ Zhang Baijia, 'China's Quest for Foreign Military Aid', in *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945*, eds. by Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea and Hans van de Ven (California: Stanford University Press, 2011), p. 295.



Fig. 51. Kineo Kuwabara, *Asakusa Koen, Niu-mon (Asakusa Temple Gate)*, 1937. Gelatin silver print. Online: [Artnet.com](https://www.artnet.com).



Fig. 52. Kōyō Ishikawa, *Scenes on Ginza Street (Request for Senninbari for Soldiers going to War)*, 1937. Tokyo: Tokyo Station Gallery.

v. Public making, private wearing: senninbari as an 'outside' craft

In contrast to the objects studied thus far, senninbari do not fall into the wider category of fashion. Though they can be worn as an item of dress, they were not constructed as garments, or produced in a fashion system of design, marketing and retail. Primarily, senninbari were talismanic textiles that held a strong relationship to the body of the wearer. Often referred to in Japanese as a form of *omamori* お守り, or amulet, it was thought that, when carried, senninbari would bring good luck and protection to the wearer. This section delves into the making of these objects and how each element was carefully considered to bring strength to the wearer.

Today, in Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples in Japan, auspicious *omamori* fabric pouches are bought by visitors (see Fig. 53). In the case of senninbari, however, they were made by the hands of ordinary people and were not issued by temples or shrines. Though there are religious connotations to their symbolism, the power of senninbari was not derived from official religious institutions. Instead, they were filled with the hopes and wishes of the women who painstakingly stitched 1000 knots into a length of fabric, as a way to protect the men who were fighting on their behalf.



Fig. 53. Konkai-Kōmyōji Temple, *Omamori*, 2022. Photograph taken by Euphemia Franklin. This is an example of an *omamori* from a temple in Kyoto, which I purchased in February 2022 during my research trip. It measures roughly 4 x 8 cm. Inside is a piece of paper with a blessing, though it is customary not to open the pouch. The length of string allows users to tie the *omamori* onto things such as bags, in order to carry them around.

It is important that women are represented in research on senninbari, as it was not only women who made them, but it was also their personal thoughts and prayers that were embedded into each senninbari. As explored previously, photography documents the making of senninbari from a third-person perspective as the viewer observes at a distance. A first-person perspective can be drawn from written accounts of women who have recorded memories of making these objects. The Asahi newspaper company has digitally archived letters relating to senninbari, under a collection of first-person accounts titled 'Voices of War'.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ '声 語りつぐ戦争：朝日新聞デジタル' 'Voices of War: Asahi Shimbun Digital' <<https://www.asahi.com/special/koe-senso/?tag=4>> [accessed 14 February 2022].

One letter is from Kaoru Soejima, aged 83 at the time of publishing in 2012, who made senninbari as a young girl in Chiba prefecture.¹⁹⁸ In 1937, Soejima was in her fourth year of elementary school. One day on her way home from school, she rushed to the local station where groups of women were making senninbari. In Soejima's case, the senninbari she helped to make was for a stranger. Still, her mother gave her items to be sent with the senninbari to the battlefield, such as canned rice, to provide the recipient with extra comfort. In return, the soldier who received the senninbari sent her a letter, expressing how he was delighted to receive the senninbari and other goods.¹⁹⁹ Soejima reminisces about the pride she took in making the senninbari, and how, reading this letter from the soldier in a foreign country over and over, she would cry from feeling overwhelmed.

However, it is worth maintaining a critical perspective when reading the letters in the Asahi newspaper collection of 'Voices of War'.²⁰⁰ While each letter details the lived experience of a Japanese person, all were written several decades after the end of the WWII. The focus of the collection is to answer the questions, 'What is war?' and 'What really happened?'.²⁰¹ Greater issues arise with the latter question, as the collection shares a selection of only Japanese perspectives. The same question asked to those who fought against Japan would provide a different, likely conflicting, perspective on the events and experiences of the same war. Therefore, while these accounts detail the making of senninbari, they provide a limited perspective on the lived experience of WWII.

¹⁹⁸ Kaoru Soejima, '心込め千人針を送った時代 | 声 語りつぐ戦争 : 朝日新聞デジタル' 'The Era of Sending the Senninbari with All My Heart | Voices of War: Asahi Shimbun Digital' <<https://www.asahi.com/special/koe-senso/?id=0304&tag=4>> [accessed 14 February 2022].

¹⁹⁹ This is written in the letter as とても嬉しい (*totemo-ureshii*) which I have translated in this context as 'delighted'. However, this term can also be read as 'glad' or 'overjoyed'.

²⁰⁰ For more, see 千人針/ Senninbari section, in '声 語りつぐ戦争 : 朝日新聞デジタル' 'Voices of War: Asahi Shimbun Digital' <<https://www.asahi.com/special/koe-senso/?tag=4>> [accessed 20 March 2022].

²⁰¹ See home page of '声 語りつぐ戦争 : 朝日新聞デジタル' 'Voices of War: Asahi Shimbun Digital' <<https://www.asahi.com/special/koe-senso/?tag=4>> [accessed 20 March 2022].

A film by contemporary Japanese artist Takashi Arai, *Anti-Monument for 1000 Women* (2020) provides a further record of the women behind senninbari, and a view of their making from multiple perspectives.²⁰² In the short film, we see three generations of women stitching senninbari outside of a former imperial army clothing factory in Hiroshima (Fig. 54). The oldest of the three, Mitsue, recalls her time making senninbari during the war as part of the *Fujin-kai* 婦人会, or Women's Association. From the film, we can gauge the first-person perspective of the grandmother, then the reaction to this by the mother and granddaughter (see Fig. 55). Arai presents the audience with a conflicted view; while senninbari is depicted as community-building, he also expresses a scornful view of Japan's actions during the war through the framing of this conversation as an *Anti-Monument*. This suggests that viewers should also see the making of senninbari in a critical light, as it was set against the backdrop of Japanese imperialism that put a vast number of lives at risk.

As a type of craft, senninbari is neither luxury nor *mingei*. Unlike the objects studied thus far, senninbari were not made by specialised craftspeople, but by women of all ages and skill levels. Additionally, senninbari had to be made quickly, as they were often given to soldiers between being drafted and leaving home. Many were made by those who were close to the soldier, while others were made by strangers.²⁰³ Some soldiers only received senninbari once they were in the field, such as we saw in Soejima's account.²⁰⁴ In the case of Mitsue from Arai's film, making senninbari was part of being a member of the Women's Association.²⁰⁵ Founded in 1901, the Women's Association was originally called the *Aikoku*

²⁰² Takashi Arai, Hayachine Arts, *Anti-Monument for 1000 Women and the Former Imperial Japanese Army Clothing Factory, Hiroshima*, 2020 <<https://vimeo.com/439846912>> [accessed 14 February 2022].

²⁰³ Kazuhiro Watanabe, 「千人針の研究に向けての整理」 or 'Summary of Research on Senninbari' (Tokyo: Showakan, no date) [online PDF of article] <https://www.showakan.go.jp/publication/bulletin/pdf/06_senninbari_kenkyu.pdf> [accessed 15 March 2022], p. 59.

²⁰⁴ Kaoru Soejima, '心込め千人針を送った時代 | 声 語りつぐ戦争 : 朝日新聞デジタル' 'The Era of Sending the Senninbari with All My Heart | Voices of War: Asahi Shimbun Digital' <<https://www.asahi.com/special/koe-senso/?id=0304&tag=4>> [accessed 14 February 2022].

²⁰⁵ Takashi Arai, Hayachine Arts, *Anti-Monument for 1000 Women and the Former Imperial Japanese Army Clothing Factory, Hiroshima*, 2020 <<https://vimeo.com/439846912>> [accessed 14 February 2022].

Fujin-kai 爱国婦人会, or 'Patriotic Women's Association', and was set up for women to provide support on the home front during the Russo-Japanese War. Among several other tasks, such as providing day care, cooking for the community and undertaking agricultural work, the Women's Association organised the mass-making and distribution of senninbari for soldiers.²⁰⁶ This dissertation takes the view that due to this range of makers and making-environments, senninbari constitute a form of 'outside' craft, as it sits outside the discipline of luxury objects made by *shokunin* or *mingei* objects made by craftspeople.



Fig. 54. Takashi Arai, *Anti-Monument for 1000 Women and the Former Imperial Army Clothing Factory*, Hiroshima, 2020. Film still. Online: [Vimeo.com/hayachine](https://vimeo.com/hayachine).

²⁰⁶ 'War and our Life' '戦争とわたしたちの暮らし', Fukuoka City Museum 福岡市博物館 <<http://museum.city.fukuoka.jp/sp/exhibition/537/>> [accessed 21 March 2022].



4:15



5:37



5:57



6:07



8:19



13:41

Fig. 55. Takashi Arai, *Anti-Monument for 1000 Women and the Former Imperial Army Clothing Factory*, Hiroshima, 2020. Film stills (times as shown). Online: [Vimeo.com/hayachine](https://vimeo.com/hayachine). The grandmother, Mitsue, speaks to daughter Tokiko and granddaughter Nao. Pictured last are the three generations of women, holding Mitsue's great grandson, Shouto, wrapped in the sennin bari they made together.

There is a range in the design of senninbari, as they were made by multiple communities across Japan. However, common themes can be found, most importantly the inclusion of 1000 knots. In Japan, the number 1000 holds special meaning of good luck. There is a saying, ‘Cranes live 1000 years’, and symbols of cranes are featured across many Japanese objects to represent longevity.²⁰⁷ Tigers can also be found on several senninbari and hold a particularly auspicious meaning (see Fig. 56). Alongside their ferocious qualities, there is the saying that tigers travel *sen-ri* 千里, and always return. *Sen-ri* is a thousand *ri*, an ancient form of measurement, which equates to approximately 4km. As tigers travel afar and return, it was thought that so too will the soldiers who wear senninbari. Such was the symbolic power of the tiger, that senninbari stitched by women who were born in the zodiac year of the tiger were thought to have greater protective qualities.²⁰⁸



Fig. 56. Unknown maker, *Senninbari*, WWII. Cotton. Tokyo: Setagaya Museum. The text on the right reads *inori* 祈 'prayer' and on the left, *bu-un chōkyū* 武運長久 'May you be blessed with military luck long and forever' (read top to bottom, right to left).

²⁰⁷ Takashi Arai, 「リサーチノート：千羽鶴・千人針」 or 'Research Note: Senbazuru and Senninbari' (2020) <<https://takashiarai.com/1000note/>> [accessed 15 March 2022].

²⁰⁸ Sachiko Yanagisawa, '無事を願って千人針縫った | 声語りつぐ戦争：朝日新聞デジタル' 'I stitched a senninbari praying for safety [Voices of War: Asahi Shimbun Digital]' <<https://www.asahi.com/special/koe-senso/?id=1020&chronology=2>> [accessed 21 March 2022]; 'War and our Life' '戦争とわたしたちの暮らし', Fukuoka City Museum 福岡市博物館 <<http://museum.city.fukuoka.jp/sp/exhibition/537/>> [accessed 21 March 2022]; and notes from meeting with Kohka Yoshimura (conversation with Euphemia Franklin at the Bunka Gakuen University, Tokyo, 26 January 2021).

Also in the 'Voices of War' archive is a letter by Sachiko Yanagisawa, aged 69 at the time of writing in 2008, who remembers making senninbari as a young girl born in the year of the tiger. Yanagisawa writes how, under the dim light during a blackout, she would sit with her mother and stitch knots into the cloth. As she was still very little, she was told only to stitch the number of knots of her age. Her mother also explained to her that this was the same for all people born in the year of the tiger, whatever their age.²⁰⁹ The rationale for this is not explained in the letter. However, the same is written in the Setagaya Museum's description of a senninbari in their collection, that those born in the year of the tiger were only required to stitch the number of knots of their age (Fig. 56).²¹⁰

Some senninbari feature 5-yen coins stitched into the cloth. Like the toad motif in the hikeshibanten of the previous section, the Japanese for 5-yen, *go-en* 五円 is a homophone. Written with different characters, *go-en* ご縁 can also be read to mean 'good fortune'. An example of such a senninbari is visible in Fig. 57, where the two knots of the tiger's eyes are stitched into 5-yen coins. In today's currency, 5-yen is equal to roughly £0.03.²¹¹ Rather than their monetary value, the use of 5-yen coins is a poignant symbol of good luck which plays upon the Japanese language. Further examples of the use of coins and tigers can be seen in Fig. 58, which highlights the variety of senninbari designs.

²⁰⁹ Sachiko Yanagisawa, '無事を願って千人針縫った | 声 語りつぐ戦争 : 朝日新聞デジタル' 'I stitched a senninbari praying for safety |Voices of War: Asahi Shimbun Digital' <<https://www.asahi.com/special/koe-senso/?id=1020&chronology=2>> [accessed 21 March 2022].

²¹⁰ 'Senninbari' '千人針', Setagaya Digital Museum 世田谷デジタルミュージアム <<https://setagayadigitalmuseum.jp/>> [accessed 21 March 2022].

²¹¹ '5 JPY to GBP - Japanese Yen to British Pounds Exchange Rate' <<https://www.xe.com/currencyconverter/convert/?Amount=5&From=JPY&To=GBP>> [accessed 21 March 2022].



Fig. 57. Setsuko Ohira, *Senninbari*, September 1945. Online: City.Mitaka.lg.jp / Tokyo: Mitaka City Digital Museum. Close-up of a *senninbari* belonging to Setsuko Ohira's father, who joined the Yokosuka Navy in 1945 as an engineer. This tiger is likely to have been drawn to look like a *hariko-tora* 張り子虎, a type of children's toy.



虎の図案に沿って玉留めが縫われたもの



あて布がされたもの



まじないの言葉が書かれたもの



5銭玉、10銭玉が縫いつけられたもの

Fig. 58. Unknown maker, *Senninbari*, no date. Online: City.Kamigahara.lg.jp / Kamigahara City Tourism Board. Images from an article by the Kamigahara City Tourist Board's *Bunkazai-ka* 文化財課, or Cultural Properties Division about senninbari. Japanese captions, from top: embroidering knots along the outline of a tiger; patches mending holes in senninbari; words written as a 'charm'; 5 and 10 sen (the former currency of Japan, before 'yen') coins stitched into the senninbari. It should be noted that by this time, yen was already in circulation. In Japan, 5 and 10 sen coins have an auspicious meaning as they overcome the unlucky numbers of 4 (*shi* 四) and 9 (*ku* 九), which in Japanese are homophones of *shi* 死 'death' and *ku* 苦 'suffering'.

During the war, efforts were made to show the making of senninbari in a positive light by encouraging women to take pride in this work. In September 1937, the song *Chimata no Senninbari* 街の千人針, or *The Senninbari of the Town*, was released by the record company Victor and was broadcast on the public radio as a national song.²¹² Sung by actress and singer Rinko Edogawa, the song has an upbeat, march-like rhythm and orchestral arrangement. Edogawa sings, alongside a chorus of female singers,

Last evening, returning home from the market
I held a needle while clasping my shopping under my arm
As my hands passionately stitched, the red sun set
*And I thought of the soldiers far away*²¹³

The song champions the making of senninbari as a way for the women at home, who could not fight on the front line, to express passionate feelings of appreciation towards brave soldiers. It also sheds light on the contrast between the roles of men and women during the war. While men were conscripted into the army, women contributed from home by expressing their support through senninbari.²¹⁴

The making of senninbari must also be viewed in the wider context of Japan's wartime propaganda. In his book about imperial Japanese propaganda of the twentieth century, Japanologist and WWII historian Barak Kushner defines propaganda as 'a collection of

²¹² '街の千人針 - Historical Recordings Collection'

<<https://rekion.dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1324989?itemId=info%3Andljp%2Fpid%2F1324989& lang=en>> [accessed 14 February 2022]; and caption of Rinko Edogawa, *The Senninbari of the Town (Chimata no Senninbari 街の千人針)* (1937) [song], via SP Records SP レコード同好会, 江戸川蘭子 - 街(ちまた)の千人針 (*Duophonic*), 2021 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mCt1nsNkaaM>> [accessed 21 March 2022].

²¹³ Rinko Edogawa, *The Senninbari of the Town (Chimata no Senninbari 街の千人針)* (1937) [song], via SP Records SP レコード同好会, 江戸川蘭子 - 街(ちまた)の千人針 (*Duophonic*), 2021 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mCt1nsNkaaM>> [accessed 21 March 2022], trans. by Euphemia Franklin, March 2022.

²¹⁴ Notes from meeting with Kohka Yoshimura (conversation with Euphemia Franklin at the Bunka Gakuen University, Tokyo, 26 January 2021).

techniques used to influence mass opinion', which, in turn, 'affects the social psychology of a population'.²¹⁵ Kushner emphasises the intention of propaganda from the issuing bodies, noting how public opinion did not necessarily reflect or agree with its message. Later in the book, a police memo from 1944 is referenced, 'the people's greatest interest at the moment is not the war but the problems they encounter trying to live'.²¹⁶ This demonstrates how, depending on the circumstances, people's preoccupations could vary. Therefore, it is plausible that the determination expressed in Edogawa's song was not always reflective of the public opinion at home.

Though there existed unity among women who came together to make senninbari, such as in the Women's Association, it is important to recognise the nuance of how individuals may have felt. Soejima's letter, Arai's film and Edogawa's song portray women as having collective, vehement support for soldiers fighting on their behalf. Such generalisations are incomplete as they neglect the nuanced circumstances of each individual. In the way that there was no 'standard senninbari', neither was there a 'standard experience' of war.

Here, we can return to the duality of public and private self, of *honne* and *tatemae*, and *giri-ninjō*. To accompany his work, Takashi Arai wrote an article on his website about his thoughts on senninbari.²¹⁷ The article heavily references writing by historian Kazuhiro Watanabe who wrote about senninbari in relation to folkloric beliefs and protection during the war.²¹⁸ Both Arai and Watanabe comment on the complexities and contradictions underlying senninbari. On the one hand, senninbari were made as an *omamori*, or talisman, which makers and wearers wanted to believe held a protective power. On the other hand, there

²¹⁵ Barak Kushner, *The Thought of War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda* (University of Hawaii Press, 2007), p. 4.

²¹⁶ Police memo (April 1944), cited in Barak Kushner, *The Thought of War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda* (University of Hawaii Press, 2007), p. 162.

²¹⁷ Takashi Arai, 「リサーチノート：千羽鶴・千人針」 or 'Research Note: Senbazuru and Senninbari' (2020) <<https://takashiarai.com/1000note/>> [accessed 15 March 2022].

²¹⁸ Kazuhiro Watanabe, 「千人針の研究に向けての整理」 or 'Summary of Research on Senninbari' (Tokyo: Showakan, no date) [online PDF of article] <https://www.showakan.go.jp/publication/bulletin/pdf/06_senninbari_kenkyu.pdf> [accessed 15 March 2022], pp. 53–71.

was the awareness that senninbari could not truly stop bullets. This is also expressed in the conversation between Mitsue and her family in Arai's film, where she and her daughter comment on the protective qualities of senninbari as a 'complete lie' (see Fig. 5, 6:07 and 8:19).

This expresses a form of *honne* and *tatemae*: outwardly, women presented senninbari as a form of talismanic textile, while inwardly many were aware that, rationally, such objects could not truly protect the body of the wearer from bullets. Yanagisawa's letter details how, despite the supposed luck from her being born in the year of the tiger, her father was killed in action by an enemy torpedo. The letter concludes, 'My wish for my father to travel *sen-ri* and return was in vain, and he, along with the senninbari, perished in the South China Sea'.²¹⁹ Towards the end of the war, many were faced with the same reality as several men died in action. There was an awareness that those conscripted as the war was ending would not be likely to return. Despite this, senninbari were still made as objects of hope, and served as a reminder of the soldier's loved ones.²²⁰

Giri and *ninjō* are also present in the messaging of senninbari. On many, the following characters can be seen: 武運長久 (Figs. 56 and 58). Read as *bu-un chō-kyū*, the message has been translated by the IWM as 'May you be blessed with military luck long and forever'.²²¹ In terms of the public self, *giri*, this message suggests strong support for the men going to war. However, the private expression, or *ninjō*, of many women was of fear and distress, as they

²¹⁹ Sachiko Yanagisawa, '無事を願って千人針縫った | 声 語りつぐ戦争 : 朝日新聞デジタル' 'I stitched a senninbari praying for safety |Voices of War: Asahi Shimbun Digital' <<https://www.asahi.com/special/koe-senso/?id=1020&chronology=2>> [accessed 21 March 2022]. Translated from the Japanese by Euphemia Franklin, March 2022.

²²⁰ Kazuhiro Watanabe, 「千人針の研究に向けての整理」 or 'Summary of Research on Senninbari' (Tokyo: Showakan, no date) [online PDF of article] <https://www.showakan.go.jp/publication/bulletin/pdf/06_senninbari_kenkyu.pdf> [accessed 15 March 2022], p. 53; and Takashi Arai, Hayachine Arts, *Anti-Monument for 1000 Women and the Former Imperial Japanese Army Clothing Factory, Hiroshima*, 2020 <<https://vimeo.com/439846912>> [accessed 14 February 2022].

²²¹ 'Sash, Personal, "One Thousand Stitch" (Senninbari): Imperial Japanese Army', *Imperial War Museums* <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30152749>> [accessed 14 February 2022].

did not want their sons, husbands and brothers to go to war, and to die or be injured. *Bu-un chō-kyū*, and by extension, the making of senninbari has mixed meaning: while it was meant to inspire luck and pride, it also expressed feelings of desperation for men to come home safely and not to die for their country.

It is also necessary to consider the feelings of the soldiers who wore them. *The Battle for China* collates essays which collectively grapple with the complexities of the Second Sino-Japanese War and WWII. In the book, American military historian Ronald Spector describes how, to the West, 'Japanese [soldiers] were seen as fierce, fanatical warriors, completely devoted to their divine emperor' and continues, 'As befitted citizens of a highly disciplined, group-oriented state, most had no ideas or thoughts of their own except to die honourably'.²²² Though in war it is a tactic to dehumanise the enemy, the second part of this quotation is unsubstantiated and therefore makes a problematic generalisation, as it is not possible to speak to the personal attitudes of an entire army.

In the same book, Japanese historian and sociologist Hitoshi Kawano takes a closer look at soldiers' feelings towards war.²²³ Adopting a case-study approach, Kawano's methodology involves the oral histories of one specific section of the Japanese army. Drawing on these accounts, Kawano observes, 'one's motivation to join the army can be quite different from one's combat incentives'.²²⁴ Indeed, some of the veterans interviewed by Kawano speak of the deep connections they felt towards their mothers, which motivated their desire to return home.²²⁵ The essay concludes, 'A pure form of nationalism, such as a love of one's hometown and the people around him [...] was much more significant than the imperialist

²²² Ronald Spector, 'The Sino-Japanese War in the Context of World History', in *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945*, eds. by Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea and Hans van de Ven (California: Stanford University Press, 2011), p. 474.

²²³ Hitoshi Kawano, 'Japanese Combat Morale: A case study of the Thirty-seventh Division', in *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945*, eds. by Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea and Hans van de Ven (California: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 328–353.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 343–344.

ideology motivating soldiers to fight'.²²⁶ This highlights the complexities of *honne* and *tatemae* in soldiers who presented a commitment to the Japanese Empire on the outside, while in actuality being motivated by the support they received from their families and loved ones.

Though there is no mention of *senninbari*, the combination of these accounts and those from women's perspectives shed light on the complex psychology behind these objects. Kawano writes about the 'socially constructed' loyalty and motivation of soldiers derived from their local communities.²²⁷ The communal making of *senninbari* can be read as a form of 'social construct', as it inspired the motivation for soldiers to return safely to the communities waiting for them at home.

Publicly, *senninbari* were made to express support and respect to soldiers fighting on behalf of women. Privately, however, they contained the fears, anxieties and prayers of the women who did not wish for men to die in war. The wearing of *senninbari* was kept private, to maintain the exterior presentation of uniform. This speaks to the motivations and fears of the soldiers, many of whom, as Kawano's study suggests, were more concerned about returning home to their families safely than giving their lives to the Empire.

²²⁶ Hitoshi Kawano, 'Japanese Combat Morale: A case study of the Thirty-seventh Division', in *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945*, eds. by Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea and Hans van de Ven (California: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 352–353.

²²⁷ Hitoshi Kawano, 'Japanese Combat Morale: A case study of the Thirty-seventh Division', in *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945*, eds. by Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea and Hans van de Ven (California: Stanford University Press, 2011), p. 352.

vi. Senninbari in the contemporary public eye

Japan's Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare has a section of its website dedicated to the repatriation of senninbari. The website implores,

Please know that it is of considerable heartache and sadness for the bereaved families, who are waiting to have the remains or other memorabilia of their loved ones returned to them, to see such memorabilia traded on online auctions.²²⁸

This highlights the sensitivities surrounding senninbari today, particularly those that are being sold online. This section examines what happens when senninbari are put on display and how different contexts affect the viewer's understanding of the significance of their hiddenness.

Visiting the IWM's archive in Duxford I was able to study two senninbari in their collection, under the supervision of curator Sean Rehling. Seeing senninbari for the first time in real-life, I was struck by their powerful presence. With each mark, stain and stitch were the traces of the soldiers who wore them and the women who made them. Studying the details of the objects heightened my awareness of the loaded context of senninbari, as they are the material manifestation of the extreme emotions and circumstances that Japanese people experienced during the war.

²²⁸ 'For Those of You Who Have Memorabilia of Japanese War Dead, Such as Nisshoki with Messages or Senninbari', Ministry of Health, Labour and Wellbeing <<https://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/policy/other/war-victim/memorabilia.html>> [accessed 21 March 2022].

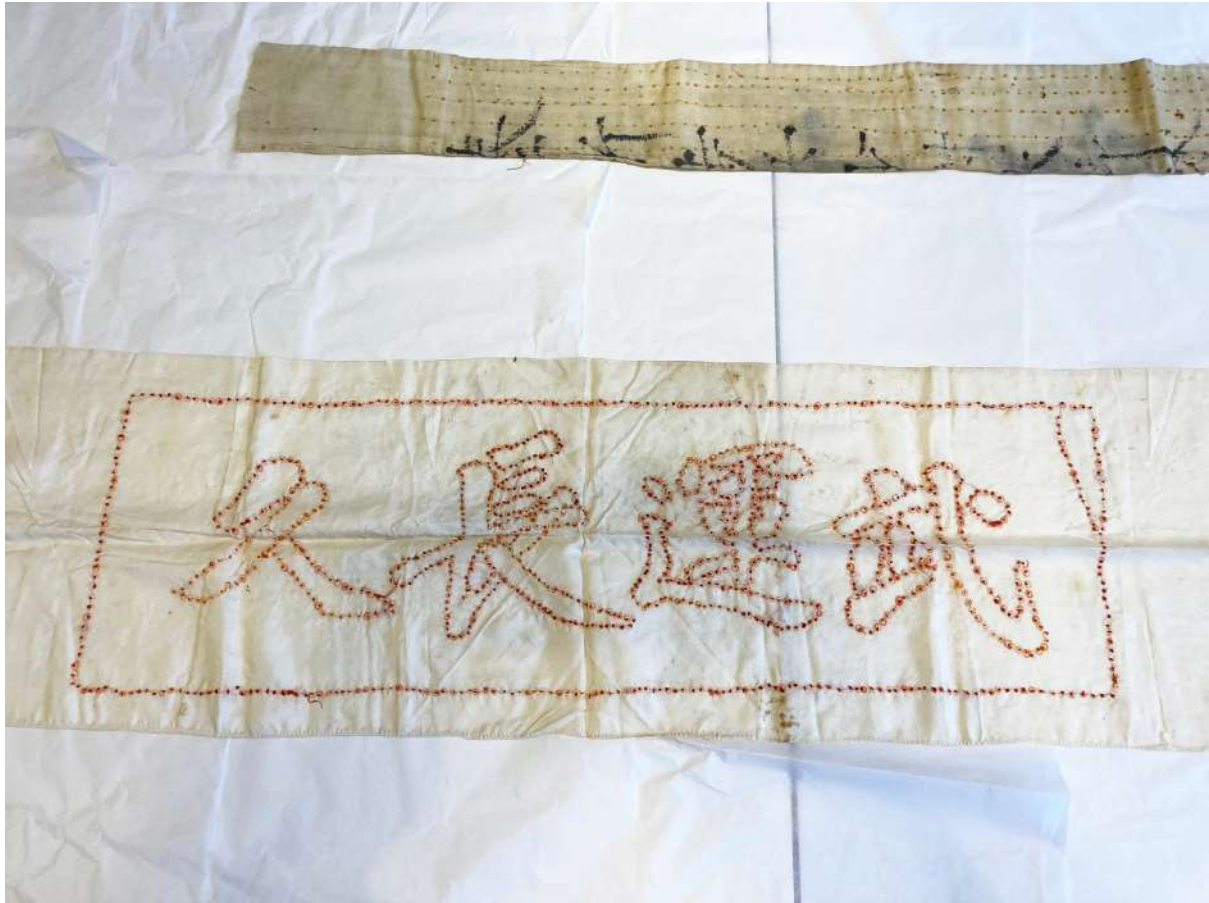


Fig. 59. Euphemia Franklin, *Two Senninbari in the Imperial War Museum Collections*, 2021. Digital photograph. Imperial War Museum Duxford. Image taken from a research trip on 9 December 2021. Pictured above is Senninbari A, and below, Senninbari B.

Viewing these objects within a British museum dedicated to empire and war affects how senninbari can be read. The two senninbari I studied can be seen in Fig. 59: pictured at the top is object no. EPH490 and below is EPH11680. These shall be referred to in this dissertation as Senninbari A and the Senninbari B, respectively. On the museum's online collections database, for Senninbari A it is written 'carried as a good luck charm' for historical context, while for Senninbari B it is noted '...given to Japanese soldier Tsukimi Yamamoto prior to his deployment during the Second World War'.²²⁹ Neither description addresses the hiddenness of senninbari, or the complexities of their symbolism, thus

²²⁹ 'Senninbari (Belt of a Thousand Stitches), Japanese', *Imperial War Museums* <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30080744>> [accessed 22 March 2022]; and 'Sash, Personal, "One Thousand Stitch" (Senninbari): Imperial Japanese Army', *Imperial War Museums* <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30152749>> [accessed 22 March 2022].

providing only a limited understanding of these objects. However, it is worth noting that the IWM has not yet displayed these senninbari in their galleries and, as such, they have been little researched.²³⁰ Should these senninbari ever be placed on display at the IWM, there would be a great challenge in their interpretation, as they are objects with deeply personal histories to Japanese soldiers and makers.

The provenance of the two senninbari help to explain why they are in the IWM's collection. Senninbari B belonged to a soldier named Tsukimi Yamamoto and was donated to the museum by his daughter-in-law, Naomi.²³¹ After corresponding with Naomi, I learned that it was by the suggestion of her English language tutor, a British man, that she and her husband decided to donate the senninbari to the IWM.²³² Records of Senninbari A, however, only state that it was donated to the IWM, among other objects, by the Kenyan government in 1948. While it is only speculation, it is plausible that the senninbari was retrieved from a Japanese soldier in Burma (now Myanmar) where Britain and its allies fought against the Japanese Imperial Army in 1944–1945.²³³ Here, Britain deployed the Fourteenth Army, sometimes referred to as the 'Forgotten Army', which recruited largely from its colonial territories in East and West Africa.²³⁴ It is therefore possible that Senninbari A came into the collection through a Kenyan soldier of the Fourteenth Army.

Inspecting Senninbari A closer, I was able to gather further information on its provenance. The senninbari is folded in half and stitched along the long edge (see Fig. 60). Along the senninbari are black marks, which indicate that a message had been written on the reverse,

²³⁰ Notes from meeting with Sean Rehling (conversation with Euphemia Franklin at the Imperial War Museum Duxford, 9 December 2021).

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Naomi Yamamoto, 'Senninbari' (email to Euphemia Franklin, 20 December 2021).

²³³ Notes from meeting with Sean Rehling (conversation with Euphemia Franklin at the Imperial War Museum Duxford, 9 December 2021).

²³⁴ 'The Forgotten Army | VJ Day 75 | Royal British Legion', *The Royal British Legion*, 2020 <<https://www.britishlegion.org.uk/get-involved/remembrance/remembrance-events/vj-day/remembering-the-forgotten/why-is-the-fourteenth-army-known-as-the-forgotten-army>> [accessed 22 March 2022].

before the long edges were sewn together (see Fig. 61). As it was not possible to open the seam, it was challenging to read the text inside. However, through taking photographs of the senninbari on both sides, I was able to piece each section together through Photoshop to decipher the text on the inside (see Fig. 62). From this collage, the characters appear to read *Inori Tatematsuru Hohei Shōui Ōno Rinnosuke Bu-un Chōkyū* 奉祈歩兵少尉大野林乃助武運長久. This would translate to 'Prayers for Second Lieutenant Infantry Rinnosuke Ōno, May You Be Blessed in the Fortunes of War'.²³⁵ This indicates that the senninbari belonged to a soldier named Rinnosuke Ōno, who was a second lieutenant in the infantry division of the Japanese army. This information has the effect of adding depth to the reading of this senninbari, as the name of the wearer is now known. This allows viewers to gain a sense of how each senninbari had a strong attachment to a single individual.

²³⁵ Translated from the Japanese by Euphemia Franklin, December 2021.



Fig. 60. Euphemia Franklin, *Senninbari A (EPH490)*, 2021. Digital photograph. Imperial War Museum Duxford. Image taken from a research trip on 9 December 2021. This senninbari is not silk, but more likely sew onto cotton or linen, and measures 13.5 x 195cm.



Fig. 61. Euphemia Franklin, *Close-up of Senninbari A (EPH490)*, 2021. Digital photograph. Imperial War Museum Duxford. Image taken from a research trip on 9 December 2021. Seam visible along the top edge.



Fig. 62. Euphemia Franklin, *Collage Investigation of Senninbari A*, 2021. Digital collage made on Adobe Photoshop.

Visiting the Yūshūkan Museum in Tokyo, I was able to see senninbari in a curated gallery. However, it is first important to address the political backdrop of the museum. The Yūshūkan is located within the grounds of the Yasukuni Shrine, a Shinto shrine that is largely dedicated to soldiers who died fighting for the Emperor.²³⁶ Among those buried at the shrine are fourteen soldiers who were convicted as war criminals in a tribunal by the Allied forces in 1948. Further controversy arose in the same year when it was revealed to the public that the shrine had commemorated these soldiers as deities.²³⁷ The museum's name is derived from *yūshū* 遊就, which translates to 'encouraging learning', and the museum website states that it was originally founded partly as 'a facility to show respect for the enshrined deities of Yasukuni Jinja'.²³⁸ The museum has been criticised for its biased narrative of Japan's military history, which makes no mention of the war crimes Japan committed.²³⁹ To see senninbari displayed in this context can have a powerful impact as these highly personal objects are situated within a highly loaded setting.

On display in the Yūshūkan is a senninbari which belonged to Sakae Miyauchi, a lieutenant in the Japanese navy who died aged 22. Sakae was also a member of the Kamikaze Special Attack Force, a division of the Japanese Army who were required to sacrifice their lives to attack enemy soldiers and ships. For this reason, kamikaze pilots are sometimes referred to as the 'suicide bombers', as the men who entered this division knew that their mission

²³⁶ 'Yushukan Museum | Yasukuni Jinja' <<https://www.yasukuni.or.jp/english/yushukan/>> [accessed 22 March 2022].

²³⁷ Reuters, 'Explainer: Why Yasukuni Shrine Is a Controversial Symbol of Japan's War Legacy', *Reuters*, 14 August 2021, section Asia Pacific <<https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/why-yasukuni-shrine-is-controversial-symbol-japans-war-legacy-2021-08-13/>> [accessed 22 March 2022]; for further reading, see Masaru Tamamoto, 'A Land Without Patriots: The Yasukuni Controversy and Japanese Nationalism', *World Policy Journal*, 18.3 (2001), pp. 33–40.

²³⁸ 'Yushukan Museum | Yasukuni Jinja' <<https://www.yasukuni.or.jp/english/yushukan/>> [accessed 22 March 2022].

²³⁹ Takashi Yoshida, 'Whom Should We Remember? Japanese Museums of War and Peace', *The Journal of Museum Education*, 29.2/3 (2004), pp. 16–20.

necessitated their own death.²⁴⁰ This is, to this day, a highly distressing topic in Japan.²⁴¹ As the senninbari includes the symbolic motif of a tiger alongside the inclusion of coins, it is particularly poignant that this was left behind, as Miyauchi knew he would not return.

It was extremely powerful to see a letter Miyauchi wrote to his mother and father displayed next to his senninbari (Fig. 63). The museum's biography of Miyauchi celebrates his life as a noble soldier who devoted himself to the Emperor and country, which are themes reflected in his letter – 'If you were here now, you would see my tears of joy. I vow to complete my mission to destroy the enemy and defend Japan'.²⁴² It is difficult to gauge whether these were Miyauchi's true feelings (*honne*) or whether he intended to hide his fear by showing a brave face (*tatemae*). Additionally, the response of the parents is unknown, particularly of the mother, who was likely to have made his senninbari.

Also within the museum's collection is the sword belonging to Admiral Takijirō Ōnishi, who devised the kamikaze scheme. Using this sword, Ōnishi ended his own life after Japan had surrendered in 1945, leaving a note apologising for the deaths of thousands of kamikaze pilots for which he was responsible.²⁴³ This object, along with a record of the note and Ōnishi's role in the kamikaze scheme, are not currently on display in the Yūshūkan.²⁴⁴ The use of Miyauchi's emotive letter and senninbari, and the omission of Ōnishi's sword in the context of kamikaze exemplifies the careful strategy of the museum, which fails to address

²⁴⁰ Emiko Ohnukitierney, 'Betrayal by Idealism and Aesthetics: Special Attack Force (Kamikaze) Pilots and Their Intellectual Trajectories (Part 1)', *Anthropology Today*, 20.2 (2004), pp. 15–21.

²⁴¹ Gathered from conversations with my Japanese mother, and of people I met on my research trip to Japan. For further reading, please see Hiroyoshi Nishijima, with Kazuo Odachi and Shigeru Ohta, *Memoirs of a Kamikaze: A World War II Pilot's Inspiring Story of Survival, Honor and Reconciliation* (Tuttle, 2021); 'Last Letter of Kamikaze Pilots', in 'Silence to Light: Japan and the Shadows of War', *Mānoa*, 13.1 (2001), pp. 120-123; Syohgo Hattori, 'Kamikaze: Japan's Glorious Failure', *Air Power History*, 43.1 (1996), pp. 14-27.

²⁴² English transcript of letter a from Miyauchi Sakae Mikoto to his mother and father, dated 13 April 1945. Tokyo: Yūshūkan Museum.

²⁴³ 'KAMIKAZE FOUNDER TAKES HIS OWN LIFE; Vice Admiral Takijiro Onishi Leaves Note Urging Youth to Keep Attack Spirit Text of His Message', *The New York Times*, 18 August 1945, section Archives <<https://www.nytimes.com/1945/08/18/archives/kamikaze-founder-takes-his-own-life-vice-admiral-takijiro-onishi.html>> [accessed 23 March 2022].

²⁴⁴ Observation by Euphemia Franklin, visit to Yūshūkan, Tokyo, on 21 January 2022.

publicly the trauma caused by this part of Japanese military history. This affects the viewer's reading of the senninbari on display, as its context is far more complex than what the museum presents.



Fig. 63. Euphemia Franklin, *Display dedicated to Sakae Miyauchi*, 2022. Digital photography from visit to the Yūshūkan Museum, Tokyo on 21 January 2022. Clockwise from top left: senninbari belonging to Miyauchi accompanied by original letter and reproduction, biography of Miyauchi, close-up of senninbari belonging to Miyauchi.

Returning to the quotation at the beginning of this section, viewing senninbari in public – be it on an online auction or in a public institution – can have the effect of ‘heartbreak and sadness’.²⁴⁵ For the families who continue to grieve, and for people who wish to engage with Japan’s military history, the context and format in which senninbari are presented is highly significant. At the IWM there was considerable distance, as I viewed the senninbari in private. However, this was still an emotive experience as the physical qualities of the senninbari evoked their makers and wearers. The Yūshūkan, however, was an entirely different experience which highlighted the bias of the institution and the deeply-rooted complexities of Japan’s WWII history. This dissertation argues that senninbari must be studied with the awareness of their loaded meaning and symbolism, as well as the intentions of the institution in which they are held.

vii. Concluding thoughts

As this chapter has explored, hikeshibanten and senninbari can be studied as examples of hidden men’s dress worn in extreme circumstances, including firefighting and war. In the case of decoratively lined hikeshibanten, this dissertation argues that these express a form of vanity, as they were mainly worn for formal occasions to display strength through impressive imagery. Thus, as a form of hidden men’s dress, hikeshibanten demonstrate how the wearer can have agency over when and how to reveal the hidden imagery. Senninbari, however, contain within them the complex thoughts and feelings of both makers and wearers. Though their making was public, the private wearing of senninbari amplifies the psychology of the women who made them and the men who wore them. Therefore, senninbari demonstrate how, in extreme circumstances, hidden men’s dress can transcend fashion and become a vehicle for human emotion.

²⁴⁵ ‘For Those of You Who Have Memorabilia of Japanese War Dead, Such as Nisshoki with Messages or Senninbari’, Ministry of Health, Labour and Wellbeing <<https://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/policy/other/war-victim/memorabilia.html>> [accessed 21 March 2022].

Conclusion

Hidden Japanese men's dress can be spectacular in many ways. For nagajuban and haori linings, the adoption of luxury craft techniques and vivid imagery enhanced their attractiveness. This is apparent in the nagajuban I visited at the NMJH, which is an example of extraordinary craftsmanship used for private, inconspicuous consumption. As flamboyant items worn under layers of plain dress, it became apparent through the research process that nagajuban and haori linings were core to the development of *iki* aestheticism and *tsū* savviness that emerged during the Edo period. Hikeshibanten are also a manifestation of the evolution of such taste, as their bold linings contrasted with the uniformity of their exterior. For these firefighting jackets, there was an element of spectacle, too, as firefighters would reveal their linings in public in celebratory moments and formal occasions. On the basis of the analysis of this dissertation, senninbari can be viewed as monumental items of hidden dress, as they contain the fears, anxieties and hopes of both the women who painstakingly stitched them and of the soldiers who wore them.

This dissertation has navigated the topic of hidden dress through these four object types, exploring the ways in which each expressed the public and private self. The first chapter analysed hidden dress in the context of luxury and inconspicuous consumption, focusing on the ways in which individuals expressed themselves within the restrictive climate of sumptuary regulation in the Edo period. By looking at the continuation of this style of dress in the Meiji period and the emergence of *omoshirogara* motifs, this chapter demonstrated the ways in which *iki* and *tsū* persisted long after the sumptuary laws were abolished.

The second chapter placed hidden dress in the more extreme context of firefighting and military conflict, through the themes of status, strength and community. The hidden dress of this chapter perform a spiritual function, as imagery contained within the layers of uniform were intended to provide the wearer with a sense of additional protection and courage.

Hikeshibanten and senninbari demonstrate how hidden imagery could have a highly significant meaning to the wearer by acting as a talisman. Senninbari takes this idea further, by incorporating the thoughts and wishes of the women who made them. Thus, hikeshibanten and senninbari show how hidden dress can be a vehicle for providing wearers with a sense of strength and for embedding private feelings into a material object.

i. Edo traditions, contemporary perspectives

Hidden decoration in men's dress is not limited to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Japan today, examples of *iki* sensibilities can still be found. On a visit to contemporary men's kimono tailor's Y&Son's flagship store in Tokyo, I met with the company's Assistant Brand Director, Gen Hiramatsu, who explained how the company provides customers with hidden detailing.²⁴⁶ One such product is the 'The Fireman Coat' from the Autumn/Winter 2020 collection, which draws inspiration from hikeshibanten (see Fig. 64). In the same season, avant-garde designer Yohji Yamamoto presented a menswear collection that featured expressive linings concealed under layers of black garments, which nods to the decorative nagajuban and haori linings explored in the first chapter (see Fig. 65). Both provide a contemporary perspective on the *iki* aestheticism of the Edo period, making it appeal to the current styles and taste of men's fashion.

Symbolic imagery can also be found hidden in Japanese men's dress today. At Kagaya, an over-100-year-old kimono shop on Asakusa's famous Nakamise-dori shopping street, customers can find garments made from repurposed fabrics. The outer layer of these garments are made from repurposed indigo-dyed kimono, while the inner layers use former *iwai-bata* 祝い旗, 'celebration flags' used for celebratory occasions and festivals (see Fig.

²⁴⁶ Notes from meeting with Gen Hiramatsu (conversation with Euphemia Franklin at the Y&Sons flagship store, Tokyo, 1 February 2022).

66). These flags are laden with auspicious imagery and their use in linings of these garments mark a contemporary twist on hikeshibanten.

Today, there are no sumptuary laws that necessitate the hidden decoration of Yohji Yamanoto's designs and, while both Y&Sons and Kagaya reference hikeshibanten, these are not made to be worn by firefighters. Rather, each of these three examples indicate how the establishment of *iki* and hidden dress in the Edo period have persisted and evolved right through to the present day. As an extension of this research project, further investigation into hiddenness in contemporary men's dress would question how the public and private self are expressed in Japan today. Additionally, it would be intriguing to bring this research question into a global context, cross-referencing hiddenness in contemporary men's dress with the *omoshirogara* of the Meiji period, when Japan increased its interactions with the West.

ii. Closing thoughts

Each of us have a public and private self, which are unique to our own circumstances. In Japan, this is characterised by the idea of *honne* and *tatemae*. Hidden Japanese men's dress reveal how expressions of the public and private self can take a material form. While the hiddenness of nagajuban and haori speak to the individual's desire for luxury and style, hikeshibanten and senninbari reveal both the vulnerability and bravery of firefighters and soldiers, and the communities they represented. As textile objects worn on the body, these items held a strong significance to the individuals who wore them. Each case is highly nuanced, as the type of craft techniques used, the person or group who wore the items, and historic context in which they sit determine how the public and private self are expressed. Through focusing on the element of hiddenness in men's dress, we can see how, in 1850–1945, nagajuban, haori, hikeshibanten and senninbari played a key role in the evolution of aestheticism and formed material expressions of the public and private self.



Fig. 64. Y&Sons, The Fireman Coat, Autumn/
Winter 2020. Online: Yandsons.com



Fig. 65. Yohji Yamamoto, *no title*, Autumn/Winter 2020. Online: Vogue.com. Above shows look no. 36 and the bottom shows look no. 37.



Fig. 66. Euphemia Franklin, Kagaya jacket made from repurposed kimono and iwai-bata, 2022. Digital photography from a visit to Kagaya, Tokyo 30 January 2022.

Appendix A. Annotated timeline of Edo–Shōwa

EDO	1603 – 1868	
	1853 – 1868	Bakumatsu era
MEIJI	1868 – 1912	
	1871 – 1873	Iwakura Mission
	1873	Introduction of conscription laws (<i>chōhei-rei</i>)
	1885	Treaty of Tientsin (Li-Itō Convention)
	1894 – 1895	First Sino-Japanese War
	1885	Treaty of Shimonoseki
	1904	Beginning of Russo-Japanese War
	1905	Treaty of Portsmouth / End of Russo-Japanese War
TAISHŌ	1912 – 1926	
SHŌWA	1926 – 1989	
	1937–	Second Sino-Japanese War
	1940	Signing of Tripartite Act (Japan formally enters WWII)
	1944 – 1945	Burma Campaign (Japan fights Allied Forces in Burma)
	1945	End of Second Sino-Japanese War
	1955	Formal creation of Living National Treasure status

Appendix B. Glossary

<u>Word</u>	<u>Japanese</u>	<u>Definition</u>
<i>Aizome</i>	藍染	Indigo dyed textiles.
<i>Akagami</i>	赤紙	Read as 'red paper', these were conscription letters sent to men in the lead up to, or during, war.
<i>Aragoto</i>	荒事	Heroic drama plays in kabuki theatre.
<i>Bakufu</i>	幕府	Edo period military government.
<i>Chirimen</i>	縮緬	Plain-woven silk crepe. <i>Chirimen</i> uses a high twist weft thread, creating a unique, lightly crinkled texture.
<i>Chōnin</i>	町人	Read as 'townspeople', this refers to the lower classes of the Edo period, including merchants.
<i>Daijō-kan</i>	太政官	Great Council of State.
<i>Daimyō</i>	大名	High-ranking samurai of the Edo period who ruled over a fiefdom.
<i>Daruma</i>	だるま	Another word for the founder of Zen Buddhism, Bodhidharma.
<i>Fujin-kai</i>	婦人会	Women's Association.
<i>Futon</i>	布団	Traditional Japanese bedding.
<i>Hakama</i>	袴	A form of kimono. Wide, pleated pants worn by both men and women.
<i>Hira-ori</i>	平織り	Plain weave textiles.
<i>Iwai-bata</i>	祝い旗	'Celebration flags' used for celebratory occasions and festivals. Typically found in Osaka.
<i>Jinbaori</i>	陣羽織	Formal surcoat worn over armour by samurai of the Edo period.
<i>Katana</i>	刀	A sword.

<i>Kenyaku-rei</i>	儉約令	Sumptuary laws of the Edo period.
<i>Kitsuke</i>	着付け	The act of kimono dressing.
<i>Kosode</i>	小袖	A type of kimono with short sleeves, which emerged in the Edo period.
<i>Kumi</i>	組	Firefighting brigade.
<i>Matoi</i>	纏	Firefighting standard with a large sculptural head to denote various brigades of the Edo period.
<i>Nagaya</i>	長屋	Read as 'long houses'. Rows of interconnect housing with shared amenities, used by the lower classes during the Edo period.
<i>Ningen-Kokuhō</i>	人間国宝	Read as 'Living National Treasure', this refers to the title awarded to a selection of <i>shokunin</i> .
<i>Obi</i>	帯	Belt worn with kimono. Sizes of <i>obi</i> can vary depending on the type of kimono it is being worn with and the occasion.
<i>Omamori</i>	お守り	A talisman, which is sometimes an amulet.
<i>Otokodate</i>	男伊達	Characters of kabuki theatre, who represent brave and principled men, usually born samurai, who defend the lower classes.
<i>Sagara-nui</i>	相良縫い	Embroidery stitch, also known as a French knot.
<i>Saké</i>	酒	Japanese rice wine.
<i>Sankin-kōtai</i>	参勤交代	Alternate attendance of <i>daimyo</i> between their region and the city of Edo, which was mandated by the shogun during the Edo period.
<i>Sarasa</i>	<u>更紗</u>	Chintz textiles from India and Indonesia, imported into Japan by the Dutch during the Edo period.
<i>Sashiko</i>	刺し子	Read as 'little stabs', a type of quilting which was used to strengthen textiles. It was also used to add decorative detailing.
<i>Shokunin</i>	職人	Craftspeople, or artisans, of high prestige associated with luxury craft.

<i>Suga-nui</i>	絣縫い	Embroidery technique that uses a horizontal satin stitch.
<i>Tsutsugaki</i>	筒描き	A type of indigo dyeing, whereby a resist paste is applied freehand to cotton.
> <i>Tsutsu</i>	筒	A conical nozzle used to apply resist paste in the <i>tsutsugaki</i> process.
<i>Uchikake</i>	打掛	Formal women's kimono worn as an outer coat for formal occasions. Usually <i>uchikake</i> feature a thick, padded hem.
<i>Ukiyo-e</i>	浮世絵	Read as 'pictures of the floating world', <i>ukiyo-e</i> refers to woodblock prints on paper.
<i>Wafuku</i>	和服	Japanese clothing. This encompasses all Japanese dress that is not Western, including kimono.
<i>Yūzen</i>	友禅	Free-hand silk dyeing method, which originated in Kyoto in the late seventeenth century.
<i>Itome-yūzen</i>	糸目友禅	A type of <i>yūzen</i> whereby the white lines created by the resist paste are left behind.
<i>Sekidashi-yūzen</i>	堰出し友禅	A type of <i>yūzen</i> whereby the entire surface is dyed, so that no white lines are left behind.
<i>Surigata-yūzen</i>	摺型友禅	A type of <i>yūzen</i> which uses a stencil. This emerged later in the Meiji period than the types above.
<i>Zeitaku-kinshi-rei</i>	贅沢禁止令	Another term for Edo period sumptuary laws, read as 'Laws Banning Luxury'.

Homophones:

<i>Kaeru</i> • <i>Kaeru</i>	蛙 • 帰る	Toad • To return
<i>Go-en</i> • <i>Go-en</i>	五円 • ご縁	5 Yen (¥5) • Good fortune
<i>Tai</i> • <i>Medetai</i>	鯛 • めでたい	Sea bream • Celebration

Appendix C. Persons and companies cited in text

Chiso	A <i>yūzen</i> dyeing company that was founded in 1555. The company continues to make <i>yūzen</i> -dyed kimono in the traditional manner.
Gen Hiramatsu	Assistant Brand Director, Y&Sons, Tokyo.
Kagaya	A kimono shop in Asakusa's Nakamise-dōri shopping street, which has been selling kimono, kimono fabrics and accessories for over 100 years.
Yuriko Katō	Director of the Institute of Chiso Arts and Culture, Kyoto.
Orikin Centre	A textile research centre in Kyōtango, in Kyoto prefecture. Here, shokunin, fibre engineers and researchers can collaborate with a focus on chirimen silk textiles.
Sean Rehling	Curator at the Imperial War Museum.
Dr. Kazuto Sawada	Kimono curator and researcher at the National Museum of Japanese History (Reikihaku).
Masaji Yagi	Proprietor of Azuchi-dō, an antiquarian bookdealer in Tokyo.
Y&Sons.	A contemporary men's kimono tailor based in Tokyo and Kyoto. Y&Sons makes bespoke, as well as ready-to-wear kimono.
Kohka Yoshimura	Curator at the Bunka Gakuen Costume Museum, Tokyo, who is currently conducting research on senninbari.
Yoshimura-shōten	Manufacturers of undyed <i>chirimen</i> silk (<i>shiroji</i>). Founded in 1830, the company and its weaving facilities are based in Kyōtango.

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