THE EVOLUTION OF JAPANESE WOMEN'S KIMONO
FROM A.D. 200 TO 1960

by

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B. S., Fukuoka Women's University, 1963

A MASTER'S REPORT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

General Home Economics
College of Home Economics

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1967

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Costume expresses a relationship to the ideals and the spirit of the country during a particular time. Hurlock states in *The Psychology of Dress*:

> In every age, some ideal is developed which predominates over all others. This ideal may be religious or political; it may relate to the crown or to the people; it may be purely social or artistic, conservative or radical. No matter what it is, or from what source it has arisen, its influence is felt keenly in the dress of the time. The costumes of the people are thus one of the material records of the ideals which have swayed nations and which have left their indelible mark on the history of mankind.¹

Kettunen and Laver also express the same general thought.² Hurlock further points out:

> The question is often raised as to whether the ideals of the age influence dress or whether the style of the dress is responsible for the ideals. History points to the former solution of the problem.³

Supporting Hurlock's statement, Lester and Parsons stress the powerful influences of geography, time, social, political, religious, and

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³Hurlock, *loc. cit.*
economic conditions on costume. 4

Many experts in the field of dress have expressed their opinions concerning the origin of clothing. Hiler sums up the following theories: (1) the economic theory (clothing as a protection against the elements), (2) the mosaic theory (as the expression of modesty), (3) the theory of possession (for the attraction of the object of his affection), (4) the theory of sex attraction (the suggestion of the desire of men and women to make themselves mutually attractive), (5) the totemistic theories (for the purpose of magically insulating certain organs are tattooed), (6) the theory of amulets (wearing of life giving substances for protection), and (7) an aesthetic theory (aesthetics as an instinct, distinct from sex). 5 However, the majority of scholars regard the aesthetic sense as the motive that led, in the first place, to the adoption of clothing. 6 Flugal states in regard to this theory:

Clothes serve to cover the body, and thus gratify the impulse to modesty. But, at the same time, they may enhance the beauty of the body, and indeed, as we have seen, this was probably their most primitive function. 7

Thus, clothing originated from the human aesthetic instinct. This instinct has also existed throughout cultural configuration from


7 Ibid., pp. 21-22.
the lowest to the highest. Parsons states that the aspect of costume in relation to the beauty and human instinct must be observed on the development of clothes:

Whether we will or not, they also express the individual and the national beauty in color and in form, satisfying in this way the demands of the aesthetic instinct.\(^8\)

Thus, the changes in costume of a country during a particular time take place in association with the changing of the ideals and spirit of the country of that period with the most prevalent aesthetic sense of the time.

Striking changes in costume have occurred in western countries such as France, England, Italy, Spain, etc. But in oriental countries like China, India, Korea, and Japan, fewer changes have occurred. Evans gives two factors which contributed to this phenomenon, such as (1) the sequestered lives and (2) religion.\(^9\)

Blessed with extraordinary natural beauty and isolated by sea, Japan has developed and preserved uniquely its artistic appreciation and expression in the national women's costume\(^10\) within its ideals and spirit.

The basic elements of costumes that are described as square-cut body with square-cut sleeves whose style of costume may be called kimono have not changed for fourteen hundred years. Its major varia-

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\(^8\) Parsons, _op. cit._, pp. xxii-xxii.


tions have been in its size, material, design, and also in the number worn at a time.\textsuperscript{11}

However, since the Meiji era (1868-1912), western costume has supplanted the kimono, along with the democratizing the country, changes in the role of women, and the mode of living.\textsuperscript{12} Consequently, women's kimono has begun to be forgotten in its traditional sense, especially among the younger generation in Japan and other countries. For instance, the writer has found in the United States only limited sources about Japanese women's costume.

Although Japan has been inhabited at least 5,000 years, the dress of the people is in evidence from the Yayoi period (200 B.C.-A.D. 200).\textsuperscript{13} The first documental record about Japanese dress is found in contemporary Chinese history, The History of Three Kingdoms written in 238. It mentioned that the Japanese wore a tunio-like one-piece dress. In this record, it is also stated that Japan first presented silk textiles to the Wei Kingdom.\textsuperscript{14}

Evidence of the existence of the art of weaving has been found by the archaeological excavation of looms in the ruins at Karako in

\textsuperscript{11}Helen Benton Minnich, Japanese Costume (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1963), p. 27.


Nara Prefecture and at Toro in Shizuoka Prefecture. Evidence is also shown on impressions on the bottom of the Yayoi pottery. Staff members of Tokyo National Museum state in Pageant of Japanese Art that with the introduction of the art of farming and raising hemp about the second century B.C., they also discovered how to make thread from the fibers of hemp as well as those of the mulberry and paper mulberry. Therefore, it is thought that the art of weaving was known. Staff members of the Tokyo National Museum conclude that the weaving was possibly transmitted from China.

No archeological evidence of Japanese design has been found. Therefore, the design based on the Yayoi pottery which used geometric form is also only conjecture. Actually the information about Japanese dress in this period is very scarce. It was not until an establishment of Yamato state that Japan began to have reliable information about dress and that some elements of the kimono were recognizable.

The purpose of this report was to present a survey of the important changes of Japanese women's kimono from A.D. 200-1960. To reach this purpose the writer described the political factors that were associated with changes in costume in selected periods. Details such


17Staff Members of Tokyo National Museum, loc. cit.

as changes in colors, materials, and designs that developed from A.D. 200 to 1960 were given.

This study, it is hoped, will contribute to the deeper understanding and higher appreciation of the evolution of the Japanese women's kimono and Japanese culture and an awareness of the new direction of Japanese women's costume in the future.

The changes of Japanese costume may be approached in several ways: by (1) chronological dates; (2) the history of the nobles, warriors, or common people; (3) the history of the people in the city or province; or (4) the style of dress. However, according to Hurlock, "In the past, fashion reserved its rule for the wealthier classes, ... now its influence is felt everywhere." In Japan in the past, the wealthier and ruling classes had been changed from time to time and from place to place. As the purpose of this report was related to the important changes of Japanese women's costume, the writer approached the subject through the style of dress which was worn by the wealthier and the rulers. This survey was divided into the style periods which were used by Kawabata in his book, *History of Kimono*. The periods were:

1. Hu-style period (A.D. 200-552)
2. T'ang-style period (552-894)
3. Osode-fashion period (Big sleeved garment, 894-1477)
4. Kosode-fashion period (Small sleeved garment, 1477-1868)

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20 Hurlock, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
CHAPTER II

HU-STYLE PERIOD (A.D. 200-552)

Political situation. With the progress of the iron age at the beginning of the third century, many political leaders began to unite. Chinese described the Japanese condition of this time as being under the rule of a queen whose country was situated in the district called Yamato.\(^1\) The Yamato dynasty was established about A.D. 300. The location of this Yamato is controversial among experts. According to Sansom, it was situated in Northern Kyūshū through the west end of Honshū.\(^2\) By the middle of the fourth century, this Yamato group conquered the whole country, except the northern districts and the southern part of Kyūshū. They also sent troops to Korea. It is assumed the Yamato group settled in Yamato, the present location of Nara, at least by A.D. 400 and there they set up an Imperial court.\(^3\) The Yamato court allowed local leaders to rule over the people in their own districts. The central government ruled over those inhabiting the domains under its direct control.\(^4\)

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\(^3\) Ibid., pp. 16-17.

The mode of dwelling changed. The well-to-do came to live in the houses which were high above ground, simple and clean but graceful. Sansom accounts for these characteristics of cleanliness, purity and simplicity in the following manner. Because of the scarcity of natural resources, except agriculture, and the necessity for use of materials at hand, Japanese people lived close to nature and were accustomed to a simple and frugal existence in surroundings which were agreeable to the eye. People prized purity of mind and ideals, and cleanliness of body, and believed that the universe was charged with eerie, mysterious powers. Therefore, they performed rites in order to drive away the evil spirits, to be cleaned and purified, and to gratify beings who were superiors. These rites became annual events. It was this belief that was developed into the subsequent national religion, Shintō, which brought about beliefs and customs of loyalty to the Emperor and love of country and love of humanity. Later it was combined with other religions.

It also became customary to respectfully bury the dead in a coffin by building sepulchral mounds called "tumuli." From these tumuli many specimens of antiquity have been unearthed. Particularly noteworthy are clay images of implements, animals, furniture, and men, called haniwa, which give some ideas of the manners and customs of the time.

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6Sansom, op. cit., p. 5.
7Ema, op. cit., pp. 5-7; and Sansom, op. cit., pp. 5, 21.
8Ienaga, op. cit., p. 11.
In the fifth century the intercourse between Japan and Korea became more frequent and Japan opened official relations with China. Consequently, many Koreans with advanced skill in the manufacture of silk and sericulture began to be naturalized as Japanese. Chinese culture also directly or indirectly flowed into Japan. The most powerful influences of this century were the introduction of Chinese script and of Buddhism into Japan. The introduction of Confucianism was also at the same time.

Dress of the period. For the costume worn in this imperfectly recorded period, the haniwa figurines are taken to be the most reliable reference. The dress of the women of this time therefore was thought to be composed of two pieces: a _kimu_ and a _mo_ (Plate 1, p. 11). The _kimu_ was a three-quarter length green tunic-like blouse with tight sleeves. It had a round or a V neckline fastened on the left side with red ribbons below the intersection of the neckline and at the waistline. The _mo_ was a skirt which was sometimes pleated at the waistline. The length of the _mo_ covered the ankles. It was wrapped around and held at the waist by a piece of string. Kawabata, for example, conjectured from the impressions on the haniwa figurines that the fabric designs of the _mo_ were stripes.

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9Aiba, _op. cit._, p. 22; and Ienaga, _op. cit._, p. 15.
10Aiba, _op. cit._, p. 23.
11Minnich, _op. cit._, p. 53.
12Endō, _op. cit._, pp. 9-12; and Kawabata, _op. cit._, pp. 28-30.
13Kawabata, _op. cit._, p. 32.
EXPLANATION OF PLATE I

Dress of Hu-style Period

The dress is composed of \textit{kinu} and \textit{mo}.

This costume is thought to be that of the Hu-people who were central Asiatic nomads, and it was introduced from the end of the **Yayoi** period in the fourth and fifth centuries from China or through Korea. It came into fashion at the time of the **Yamato** period.\(^\text{14}\) Goodrich states that because of its practicality this costume was adapted as early as 307 B.C. in China by warriors. From the fourth and fifth century to the **T'ang** times, the use of this costume was firmly established.\(^\text{15}\) The Japanese people naturally immediately adopted the costume at the time when the Chinese culture penetrated Japan.

The dyeing and weaving is assumed to have made rapid strides as the result of the number of naturalized immigrants from Korea, among whom were many of Chinese lineage.\(^\text{16}\)

According to Kawabata, the materials used at this time were hemp fibers, paper mulberry fibers, ramie, wisteria vines and silk.\(^\text{17}\) Among silk fabrics Minnich points out that the most noticeable Japanese costume was the **sha** and **ra**, or loose open mesh fabrics, and also **nishiki**, or brocades, the designs of which were simple geometric lines, squares, triangle, lozenges, ellipses, and circles.\(^\text{18}\) Kawabata indicated that the colors used generally in dress were red, black, and blue.\(^\text{19}\)

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\(^{16}\)**Staff Members of Tokyo National Museum, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

\(^{17}\)**Kawabata, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

\(^{18}\)**Minnich, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

\(^{19}\)**Kawabata, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
CHAPTER III

T'ANG-STYLE PERIOD (552-894)

Political situation. Although Chinese culture had influenced Japan during the previous periods, it was not until the official introduction of Buddhism that the entire Japanese civilization became permeated with Chinese influence.¹ This event took place in 552. From that time until the end of the diplomatic relations with China in 894, there occurred the greatest Chinese influence in Japanese history. The main cultural influence was that of the T'ang dynasty which flourished from 618 to 901. The influence of T'ang culture at its zenith was far and wide. Students and merchants from not only India, Saracene countries, and Rome came to Chang'an, T'ang's capital. It was the international city and the cultural center of the cities of the world.²

The arrival of a mission from the Korean Kingdom of Paikche, or Kudara into Japan, is usually considered the starting point of the subtle development of culture in Japan. It brought not only Buddhism, but also the highly developed Chinese culture.³ For a time the fate of Buddhism was uncertain in Japan. The power of the chieftains had grown, especially after the Soga family, who annihilated the Mononobe clan became

¹Munsterberg, op. cit., p. 17.
²Ienaga, op. cit., pp. 24-25.
³Munsterberg, loc. cit.
A knowledge of the political situation on the continent both in Korea and China, where the strong central powers had obtained control, awakened the government of Japan to the need for the centralization of power.\(^5\)

At the turn of the century there was an important political event in Japanese history. It was the appointment of Shōtoku Taishi, or Prince Shōtoku, to the Regency.\(^6\) In 603 he set twelve court ranks within which one could attain promotion according to his ability and merit without the distinction of birth.\(^7\) In 604 Shōtoku also drew up a constitution of seventeen articles which expressly said that the people should revere the three precious things: namely, the Buddha, the law and the priesthood.\(^8\) The purpose was to set up the central power by bringing both land and people under direct control of the court. However, Shōtoku's political precepts did not take concrete shape during his lifetime.\(^9\)

Shōtoku also contributed to opening diplomatic relations with the Sui dynasty of China in 607; the same as Japan had done with the Southern court in the fifth century. The purpose of his opening an

\(^4\)Sansom, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 49.
\(^5\)Ienaga, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 16.
\(^6\)Aiba, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 58.
\(^7\)Ibid., p. 59; and Minnich, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 53.
\(^8\)Munsterberg, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 15.
\(^9\)Ienaga, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 17.
official relationship with the Sui dynasty was (1) to raise Japan's status as compared with Korean countries, (2) to know the background of his own nation better, (3) to import directly the superior culture, and (4) to advance his own country.

A number of Buddhist priests and students crossed the sea to study in China; some were destined to become active political advisors at the time of the Reform of Taika in 645. This reform was the translation into action of the political thought cherished by Prince Shotoku and was accomplished by Prince Naka-no-Oe with the assistance of his right-hand man, Fujiwara-no-Kamatari. This reform was modeled after the T'ang government.10

The following year the edict of Reform was pronounced. The principles of the Reform of Taika were summarized successively in several ritsuryō (codes) and completed as the Taika ritsuryō in 701. The centralized government was intended to encourage men of talent and took the form of a bureaucracy. But in fact the government tended to keep the hereditary privileges and aristocracy. From 552 to 710 it was called the Asuka period.11

Another notable outcome of the reform was the establishment of a capital modeled after T'ang in Chang'an, in Nara in 710. The Nara period (710-794) was the golden age of Japanese Buddhist art.12 At this period, the cultivation of new land was promoted in the northern

10 Aiba, op. cit., p. 29; and Ienaga, op. cit., pp. 17-18.
11 Ienaga, op. cit., p. 20.
12 Aiba, loc. cit.
part of Japan. Under this political and economic development, the assimilation of the tribes who lived in northern and southern parts of Japan was accomplished.\textsuperscript{13}

The government also made an effort to develop resources such as gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead which were used for the tools and implements for industrial arts. In cooperation with the development of production, the first official city market was established. At the same time the government set about minting coins after the example of China and encouraged their circulation.\textsuperscript{14}

The discrepancy between the Taika code and the actual policy was brought about by the cultivation of new land which was encouraged in order to meet the needs of an increasing population, and to build new temples and shrines. This brought about the issue of the new law for land ownership. Once this law began to take effect the people who had enough funds to cultivate new land could do so. These people were mainly aristocrats, Buddhist priests, and Shinto priests.\textsuperscript{15}

During the reign of the Emperor Kammu the capital was removed from Nara to Heian (presently Kyoto). The main object of transferring was to escape the political interference of the great monasteries of Nara. This capital was also modeled after the Chinese capital, Chang'\textsuperscript{an}.\textsuperscript{16} Heian was the political and cultural center from 794 to the

\textsuperscript{13}Aiba, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 42-43.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., p. 44.
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 49.
\textsuperscript{16}Ienaga, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 36; and Munsterberg, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 55.
beginning of military government in the twelfth century and was destined to continue as the seat of imperial government for nearly 1,100 years. 17

After the removal of the capital to Heian, the power of the Fujiwara family grew greater and greater because of the maternal relationship with the Imperial House. Most of the emperors were of Fujiwara stock, and the Fujiwaras came to a great wielding of influence never before seen. This was particularly in evidence from the ninth century on, when the Fujiwara house came to monopolize the position of the chief minister of the state and the highest rank attainable, called Kampaku. All important political posts were occupied by members of the Fujiwara clan. 18

The permission of the private ownership of lands led to the birth of manors and their growth. The people who had the privilege of owning this land became more and more wealthy. 19 The court of Kyoto attempted in vain to deprive the manorial lords of their privileges, but it could not stop the development of aristocracy. 20

The main cultural influence throughout this period from 618 to 894 continued to be that of T'ang, only now it was the late T'ang culture of the end of the ninth century. The year 894 when the Japanese government decided not to send any more embassies to the T'ang court

17 Ienaga, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
18 Ibid., pp. 37-38.
19 Ibid., p. 41.
20 Ibid., p. 42.
is usually considered the beginning of prosperity of the Heian culture.21

Dress of T'ang-style period. The development of diplomatic relations with China resulted in the high advancement of Japanese culture. It was, however, after the seventh century that Japanese culture reached its zenith as an imitation of all things which were like that of the T'ang dynasty. Clothes among the upper classes, especially, came to be an exact replica of those of China.22

There are few existing references about women's dress of the Asuka period (552-710). Although at the time of Suiko, Prince Shōtoku prescribed that men should wear caps according to twelve ranks whose pattern and color were regulated according to Confucian moral catalogue. From this time Japanese began to show their ranks in caps and dresses. However, women who had no responsibility for the official life did not have prescribed dress regulations.23

What was at one time reported to be the oldest known piece of Japanese embroidery, mandala, made by Shōtoku's wife, Chūjohime, is the best information source of the women's dress of that time.24 It would seem women's dress was like that of the previous period, although it was a mixture of Korean, Sui and Hu costumes. The trimmings at the neckline, cuffs, and at the edge of the blouse were characteristic of

21Munsterberg, op. cit., p. 55.
22Ema, op. cit., p. 9.
23Yamabe, op. cit., pp. 15-16.
the dress of that time.25

From the Reform of Taika to the Taikōritsuryō enacted in 701, men's official dress code had been changed several times. But about women's dress no reliable references have been found. Kawabata conjectures women's dress of this time to be the transition from that of Hu-style-like costume to T'ang-style costume.26

Under the direct T'ang influence the elaborate regulation on court costume indicated not only the rank of people but also the occasion of the particular dress worn. This was modified in 718 to the style regulation in the Yōryōritsuryō which still exists. According to the Yōryōritsuryō, Kawabata and Yamabe described women's dress at that time as follows: formal state wear, ordinary court wear, and uniformed dress.

Women's clothes for formal state wear used on such solemn occasions as coronation ceremonies were worn by the women who were above the fifth rank. The best information source would be the portrait painting of Kōshijō-ten in Yakushi-ji. Their dress in detail was prescribed as follows: kinu or a blouse; hiramī or a skirt; uwamō or an overskirt; and hataobi or a sash (Plate II, p. 21).27

KINU was a kimono-like garment that opened at the front and had big sleeves. The left front panel was placed over the right front panel. This placement was immediately adopted in Japan after the Chinese court

25Kawabata, op. cit., p. 34.
26Ibid., p. 35.
27Ibid., p. 39, 43-44; and Yamabe, op. cit., p. 20.
EXPLANATION OF PLATE II

Dress of T'ang-style Period

This plate shows the dress of the formal state wear. The dress is composed of kinu, hirami, uwamo, hataobi, karaginu, heishitsu, and hire.

Yukio Yashiro, 2000 Years of Japanese Art
made this regulation. The reason was that Chinese disliked to continue any way of the Hu-people. In Japan the Hu-style placement, right over left, is now practiced as an indication of being in mourning.

The members of the Association of Costume Study explain in the book *Japanese Costume* that two *kinu*, an undermost garment and an outer garment, were worn. The undermost *kinu* was constructed in the *kosode*-style, that is, the opening of the sleeves at the wrist was sewn together only leaving a hole large enough for the wrists. The outer-*kinu* was constructed in *ôsode*-style, that is the opening of the sleeves at the wrist was not sewn together at all. It is explained that Kichijö-ten wears a *kosode*-style undermost *kinu* of white *aya*, the name for any material in which the design was woven by means of twills or plaited weaves; and an *ôsode*-style outer *kinu* of *aya* weave but designed in *kara-hana*, or Chinese flower. Minnich states that the color ranges of this *kinu*, in order of rank, were purple, lavender, crimson, and Indian red. Over the *kinu*, the *hirami* and the *uwano* were worn. Over these skirts, the *hataobi* was tied around the waist and its ends reached the floor. According to Kichijo-ten painting, the pattern of *hirami* is *ungen*, and the *uwano* is done in *sha* (gauze weave) which have some design; *hataobi* also had the *ungen* design.

Kawabata and Yamabe state that after T'ang dress regulations of

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30 Minnich, op. cit., p. 71.
31 Susuki, Yamabe, and Takata, loc. cit.
the following were worn: a sleeveless open front jacket called karaginu and heishitsu or an apron-like front covering. Karaginu was made of nishiki (brocade). The neckline and armholes were trimmed with different colors matching the garment. The designs of nishiki were the phoenix, conventionalized flowers and birds, and intricately interlaced geometric and floral patterns, as well as combinations of simpler stripes and lozenges. Many of these appear to be of Chinese inspiration.

Women's clothes for ordinary court wear that were used during the holding of ordinary court functions and minor rituals, were simpler than the formal state wear. These clothes were developed into the dress of nobles in the following period. The best source of information for this dress is the figure carved on the bamboo flute called shaku-hachi preserved in Shōsō-in. These clothes were composed of ashiginu, or a coarse silk blouse; shitamo, or a skirt, and sone-no-obi, or an additional sash. Later karaginu was also worn. According to Susuki, Yamabe, and Takata, the ashiginu was similar to kinu, although it had tight, long sleeves. The ashiginu was worn over an undergarment and was dyed by kōkechi, which was one of the representative dyeing methods at this period, later extremely developed, and was done by knotting or tying. These designs were fish or flowers. Instead of

32Kawabata, op. cit., p. 45; and Yamabe, op. cit., p. 20.
33Minnich, op. cit., p. 78.
34Kawabata, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
ashiginu, a kinu which was woven in aya and dyed in rōkochi which is also one of the representative dyeing methods at this time and was done by wax resist. The designs were fish and grasses. The shitamo was woven in sha with designs, or a white ashiginu instead of a shitamo was used. The soeno-obi was tied around the waist over the shitamo. The designs of the soeno-obi were often ungen. Karaginu which was the most gorgeous dress made of nishiki (brocade) was worn over the ashiginu.36

For the dress of women who did not have rank, no rules were made, because their dress was not important. However, colors they could wear were limited to light green or yellow kinu, and green, yellow, blue, or red shitamo.37

The art of dyeing and weaving first came into prominence in the reign of the Empress Suiko, regency Shōtoku. But the first dyeing and weaving of Japan comparable to that of the Chinese began after Reform of Taika. During this period especially in Nara and the beginning of Heian periods and, as a result of constant communication with China, weaving and dyeing progressed rapidly and spread to all parts of the country.38 Minnich gives the most influential example as that of the patronage of Empress Gemmyo. She said Empress Gemmyo intended to set looms of nishiki (brocade) up in all provinces and ordered the Imperial Weaving Bureau to send out masters of nishiki in 711. As a result more than twenty new centers of nishiki weaving were established.39

36 Susuki, Yamabe, and Takata, op. cit., pp. 40-44.
37 Kawabata, op. cit., p. 52.
38 Ibid.
39 Minnich, op. cit., p. 78.
A great influx of Chinese culture is shown in the treasures which have been preserved in Shōsō-in in Nara. Yamabe states that there are 66,812 fragments of fabrics in the many different designs, colors, and weaves, especially some designs of which were done by Persian or Byzantine manner.\footnote{Yamabe, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 3.}

The dress of the beginning of the Heian period was still copied after that of T'ang. However, the dress began to be worn loosely fitted. The width of sleeves became wider, providing more comfort in the summer. Summer in Japan has high humidity and high temperature. People think that it is easier to bear the coldness of winter than the heat of summer. Winters are cold because of low humidity and low temperature, therefore the loosely fit sleeves also allowed one to wear many layers of kimono. This Japanization of dress was accelerated by the discontinuation of the adoption of the regulation of T'ang costume.\footnote{Kawabata, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 64.}
Political situation. The year 894, when the Japanese government decided to send no more embassies to the T'ang court, was the beginning of the development of the purely Japanese culture. Since the people were permitted to own private fields under cultivation in the eighth century, the nobility and clergy had large tracts of land opened up with a view to enlarging their private land property.

In the tenth century the people who cultivated the land of the shōen, or manor, began to claim the land and became the new owners of it. They found it expedient to give nominal rights of ownership of property to one of the more noted noblemen and regard him as the master of their head house, while retaining the real title to the land themselves. With the increase of the private land and the decrease of public land in such a way, the government revenue diminished, while the wealth of the nobles accumulated.

Among such nobles, the most noteworthy was the Fujiwara family which had achieved power earlier in the seventh century. The power of the

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1Münsterberg, op. cit., p. 69.
2Ienaga, op. cit., p. 38.
3Ibid., pp. 38-41.
4Aiba, op. cit., p. 64.
Fujiwara family continued to grow greater and greater, and monopolized the position of Kampaku, the chief minister of the state, and the highest rank attainable. The Fujiwara's held the reins of government from the end of the tenth to the beginning of the eleventh century. At its zenith, the wealth of the Fujiwara family was believed to exceed that of the Imperial House. The culture of the aristocracy reached its height at this time. The culture of the time was in all phases aristocratic in character, and represented the Fujiwara family. The end of the diplomatic relation with the T'ang dynasty and the Fujiwara family led to Japanization of the culture which had been just an imitation of that of T'ang's in the previous period.

One characteristic of the culture of this time was the appearance of the utilization of ideographs, not for their meaning, but for their phonetic value. This is a system of using abbreviated Chinese characters, each one of which represents a single Japanese sound, and is called hiragana. This brought about tremendous advance of Japanese literature an example of which is Genji written by a woman, Murasaki-shikibu, and which ranks comparably to that of the Boccasios Decameron.

Another characteristic was the Japanization of Buddhism. Instead of the worship of Amida, the Buddha of Boundless Light became popular; consequently the prevalence of Buddhist art.

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5Ienaga, op. cit., pp. 41-42.
6Aiba, op. cit., p. 68.
7Ibid., p. 69.
8Munsterberg, op. cit., p. 71.
Other expressions of the time were the new style of housing called Shindenzukuri, Yamato-e painting, court music, industrial products such as gold lacquerware, pottery, and the clothes which were most elegant, decorative and sophisticated.\(^9\)

The rule by the aristocracy neglected the task of governing the people. In both urban and rural areas, many robbers were rampant over whom the impotent government had no control. Therefore, the manorial lords had to maintain self defense by force of arms.\(^{10}\) But the nominal owners of manors were members of the aristocracy who lived in the capital. Therefore, it was expected that the managers of manors and other local chiefs would become more powerful than the absent landlords. The managers of manors' relationship with the peasantry who worked for them was one of lord and vassal. Thus, the necessity for protection led to the birth of the warrior class called bushi.\(^{11}\)

In order to deprive the Fujiwara of their power, in 1086 the Imperial House inaugurated the new system of government under the name of in-sei, or rule by cloistered emperors. However, this brought about the rise of another aristocracy who supported the cloistered emperors and allowed a warrior class to enter the court.\(^{12}\)

Since the tenth century rebellion arose here and there and this was now suppressed only by the help of bushi. Two chief warriors:

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\(^9\)Ibid., pp. 71-88.

\(^{10}\)Ienaga, op. cit., p. 59.

\(^{11}\)Ibid., pp. 57-58.

\(^{12}\)Ienaga, op. cit., p. 59.
families came into prominence: the Genji or the Minamoto and the Heike, or the Taira. With the rise of powerful warrior families in districts, the central culture was transplanted to the provincial areas.¹³

During the middle of the twelfth century the Heike obtained the strong power. Once the political power was handed to the Heike they took to the aristocratic mode of living as the Fujiwara had done. This attitude brought about the opposition of the local warriors against the Heike. Consequently, within twenty years the power was overthrown by the Minamoto.¹⁴

In 1185, a military dictatorship was established by Minamoto Yoritomo, who moved the capital to Kamakura, a provincial town in eastern Japan. The move was made in order to protect the warriors from the over-refined atmosphere of Kyoto. In 1192, Yoritomo was appointed sei-i-taishōgun, or generalissimo, and founded bakufu, or Shogunate government, and had complete control of the country.¹⁵ The Shogunate government at Kamakura became more and more influential and as time went on it became more powerful than the court of Kyoto.¹⁶ Originally, the Shogunate organization was established to control the warriors; therefore, the structure of the Shogunate was extremely simple.¹⁷

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¹³Ienaga, op. cit., p. 59.
¹⁴Ibid., p. 61.
¹⁵Aiba, op. cit., p. 89.
¹⁶Ienaga, op. cit., p. 60
¹⁷Ibid.
After Yoritomo's death the actual power resided in the hands of
the Hōjō family, relatives of his wife's clan, who established a regency
in 1205. At the time of Regent Hōjō Yasutoki in 1232, a law called
Joeishikimoku was enacted. The notable feature of this law was that the
women's social position was highly raised. This law was by no means
a mere imitation of Chinese, but a codification of the time-honored cus-
toms transmitted among the people.

In the shōen (manor) domain, the tendency for the land stewards
and peasants to own the public and private land was given more impetus.
The new ownership brought about increased agricultural products that in
turn caused the development of manufacturing and therefore the merchant
began to circulate freely. The diplomatic relations with China, now
the Sung dynasty, were again begun; and perfume, medicine, books, tex-
tiles, and other miscellaneous items were imported.

Even after the establishment of the military government at
Kamakura, the court nobles still controlled culture at Kyoto. In con-
trast to the culture of the nobility, a new type of culture arose from
the advance of the warrior class which was more vigorous, more realis-
tic, and simple. As time went on there was a merging of the two trends,
that of aristocracy and that of warriors. However, compared with the
previous period, there was a marked decline in almost all fields of

19 Ibid., p. 92.
20 Ibid., pp. 93-94.
21 Ibid., p. 96.
The most important cultural development was the rise of the popular salvation sects of Buddhism. There were Jodo sect, Jodo Shinshu sect, and Zen sect. The Zen sect enjoyed great popularity among samurai, to whom its emphasis on self-discipline and simplicity greatly appealed.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, Gōchō, Khan founded the Mongol Empire in the continent. The fifth Emperor, Kublai Khan, conquered the Sung dynasty and established the Yuan dynasty. He demanded submission from Japan and twice sent the great navy to northern Kyūshū. However, his projects were defeated by Japanese soldiers and by the violence of typhoons. These Mongol invasions were one of the remote reasons for the downfall of Kamakura Shogunate.

From olden times it was only occasionally that the emperor himself ruled over the people directly. Some emperors attempted to eliminate this military government. In 1331 the Emperor Godaigo attempted to do so with support of the loyalists. And in 1333 the reins of government were restored to the court. This political change is generally known as the Restoration of Kammu. However, Ashikaga Takauji, ambitious to bring back a military government, rose in revolt against the Emperor and was appointed sei-i-taishōgun in 1338. He established a new bakufu in Kyoto and founded the second military government.

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22 Kunsterberg, op. cit., p. 90.
23 Ibid., p. 91.
24 Aiba, op. cit., pp. 98-100.
25 Ienaga, op. cit., p. 80.
26 Ibid., pp. 81-82.
The structure of Muromachi Shogunate was modelled on Kamakura bakufu's. However, none of the Ashikaga-shoguns had the caliber of Hōjō Yasutoki. Yoshimitsu built the famous Gold Pavilion and Yoshimasa imitated it in silver. He also indulged in luxury that resulted in financial difficulties and bad government, and finally brought on a terrible civil war in 1467.27

Industry that began to take long strides in the Kamakura time continued to progress. In the field of agriculture the practice of raising two crops a year, the use of oxen and horses for cultivation of fields, water wheels for irrigation, and the cultivation of the tea plant had been popularized. In the fifteenth century cotton began to be grown in Japan. The production of ceramics, gold, silver, and copper was increased. Provincial chieftains called daimyō encouraged industry, especially the mining industry.28

The self-supporting economy was chiefly agricultural. After the advent of the military age, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the production of merchandise increased. Division of labor gradually became a regular practice; and consequently, artists, traders and merchants increased in numbers. People of professions or trades organized a body called Za which was similar to the medieval guild.29

The increase in merchandise led to the demand for some form of currency. Coins were made at home from the eighth century to the tenth

27Ibid., pp. 83-84.
28Ibid., p. 89.
29Ibid.
century. Therefore, upon resuming diplomatic relations with the Sung court, copper coins were imported from the continent. At the time of Ashikaga, active trade with the Yuan and the Ming dynasty, especially the Ming, led to the great importation of the latest Chinese fashions in art, literature, and Zen Buddhism as well as copper coins, silk yarn and silken fabrics.30

The love of luxury of the Ashikaga shoguns who had a passionate desire for everything new that came from abroad developed great culture in literature, poetry, architecture, painting, music, noh-play, tea ceremony and flower arrangement. Zen Buddhism became an official religion. Such culture of the time was a beautiful fusion of that of nobles and that of warriors.31

The importance of this age in the cultural history of Japan is that many of the concepts and ideals which were introduced during this time are today looked upon as typically Japanese. The love for extreme simplicity and restraint, the emphasis upon subdued colors, and the dislike of ostentation were not typical characteristics of Japanese culture, but were Chinese importations which were introduced by Zen monks. These ideals deeply penetrated into the Japanese way of life.32

Dress of the Osode-fashion period. The end of the diplomatic relation with T'ang in 894 was the end of cultural interchange, as the result of which the Japanization of women's costume was accelerated.

31Ibid., pp. 128-133.
Women's costume became more and more ample in cut, high in collar and loose and gentle in fit.  

The second factor which influenced women's costume was the life circumstance. When the political power was handed to the Fujiwara families, the emperors were nominally situated and political affairs were formalized and acted only at annual functions without any real powers. The dress which was originally practical became formal and exaggerated. The women of the wealthy aristocracy did not perform strenuous physical labour, but spent much of their time indoors, sitting in palaces, writing poetry, and appreciating pictures painted by master artists, or in talking of their amours; therefore, they had enough time to develop a gracious sense and taste of costume. 

Such aristocratic costume reached its culmination with the Emperors' encouragement and protection of weavers and dyers from the latter half of the tenth century to the eleventh century, at the time of Michinaga, kampaku, a chief minister of the state. This costume is still regarded as the apex of the art of personal adornment in Japan. 

From the apex of this time, the women's costume made its way to the simplification of today. Costumes of this period can be studied only through traditional writings and paintings. The Genji tale and other writings which were written by the women of the times are good informa-

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Women's costume of the Fujiwara period was a deviation of the ordinary court wear of Nara costume. There were three types of costumes: nyōbo-shōzoku, kouchigi, and uchigi-hakama.

Nyōbo-shōzoku "court ladies' attire" was vulgarly called the jūni-hitoe, meaning "twelve-layered dress." Nyōbo-shōzoku was worn at the important functions and ceremonies and was composed of hakama (a skirt), hitoe (an underwear), kinu (a kimono), uchigorinu (a lustrous kimono), uwagi (a kimono which was worn over the kinu), mo (an outer-skirt), and karaginu (a cloak) (Plate III, p. 37). This costume, somewhat modified and simplified, survives today to be worn by female members of the Imperial Family at such important court functions as weddings and coronations.

Hakama was, so-called, "hi-no-hakama" meaning hakama which is dyed in vermilion, from light to dark vermilion, depending upon the age of the person. This was often worn as an undergarment directly over the skin.

Hitoe, kinu, uchigorinu and uwagi were the same type of kimono, differing as to where they were worn. The hitoe was worn directly over the skin and the colors used were red, green and yellow, of which red was the most popular. However, from the end of the Heian period to the

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36Kinnich, op. cit., p. 106.
37Kawabata, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
38Ibid., pp. 87-88; and Yamabe, op. cit., p. 36.
40Yamabe, op. cit., p. 36.
EXPLANATION OF PLATE III

Dress of Ōsode-fashion Period

This plate shows the dress of Nyōbo-shōzoku "court ladies attire." The dress is composed of hakama, hitoe, kinu, uchiginu, uwagi, mo, and karaginu.

Kamakura period a white kosode came to be worn under the hitoe, and in
the Edo period another undermost garment called hiyo became popular
under the white kosode. The hitoe lost its characteristic as the under-
garment as time passed. Kinu wore worn over hitoe and were lined.
Some times as many as twenty layers of kimonos were worn at one time de-
pending on the season and the occasion. The color interest was centered
in the many layers of kimono. Minnich states concerning this color
interest that many of them were of silk, sheer enough that lower colors
could sift through those above; but the most important were the strati-
fied harmonies revealed at the neck, at the front edges, and at the wide
openings of the full flowing sleeves. These harmonies were also made
in uchiginu and uwagi. The uchiginu was worn over the kinu and was
prized for the lustrous effect of silk. The uwagi was worn as the
outermost garment. Colors, materials, and designs all were important.
Yamabe explained that the women's uwagi had a number of designs of the
flowers of the seasons, even grass covered by snow, and the colors were
always pale ones, such as sapanwood, cherry pink, and pear pink. Over
this a sweeping fanlike pleated train at the back, called mo, was tied
around the waist. Over this a narrow sleeved short cloak, called
karaginu, was worn. These two were made of nishiki (brocade) or kara-sya
type of weave, and extremely bold, free designs were often applied by
dyeing, free-hand painting or embroidery on them. Particularly the
most popular designs on mo were wavy ones.

41 Yamabe, op. cit., p. 37.
42 Minnich, op. cit., p. 41.
43 Yamabe, op. cit., pp. 36-38.
Thus, infinite care and study were given to various garments, especially in color. Members of the staff of the Imperial household who wrote the account for Volume V of *Pageant of Japanese Art* give some of the examples of color combinations of the layers: such as, pine color schemes, wisteria color schemes, or azalea color schemes. In the pine color schemes costume, the two upper layers were of dark and light shades of sapanwood—a reddish brown; underneath these were increasingly dark layers of yellowish green; and the final garment underneath was vermillion red. Thus the ideal beauty of costumes for women was derived from the elegant effect created by combinations of manifold monochromatic garments called *Kasane-no-irome*.  

*Kouhiri* was an abbreviated form of this *nyōbo-shōzoku*, that is the *mo* and the *karagimbo* were omitted from it.

*Uchiri-hakama* was an every day costume composed of a *kimono* and a *hakama*.

Thus, the costume that had been a mere imitation of the Chinese costume declined and the native Japanese costume was built and developed on the foundation of it. It reflected typical Japanese taste that was soft, elegant, luxurious, delicate, and refined, and that harmonized with and fused into nature. It reached its height at the time of Michinaga (966-1027).

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45 Kawabata, *op. cit.* p. 89.  
46 Ibid., p. 90.  
47 Ibid., p. 91.  
One of the other features of this time was the birth of emblematic designs among the court nobles, known in later periods as family crests called mon. They were woven on their garments as a certain distinction of the family. This was later adopted by warriors and further by shōnin (town people) in the Edo period. They were eventually used by all classes of society. These motifs were derived from an enormous variety of different sources, therefore, the fundamental units of Japanese designs were to be found in these family crests.49

When Samurai (warriors) took over the political leadership, the manners and customs of the time followed the military ways. Loyalty was the first virtue. Simplicity, frugality, fortitude, a keen sense of honor, and protection of the weak were highly valued as the noblest virtues of Samurai (warriors). Samurai were deeply affected by the philosophy of Zen Buddhism which fitted in well with their stern beliefs.50 Therefore, the dress of Kamakura period was also simplified and became practical.51

The samurai class created and carried out a new system; however, their culture could not help but be influenced by that of nobles who had outstanding elegance and delicate refinement of culture in the Heian period. In case of the dress of women of warriors, they also adopted that of the court nobles in more simplified manner.52 Yamabe

50Ema, op. cit., p. 15.
51Kawabata, op. cit., p. 99.
52Ibid., p. 108.
described women's dress of warriors as between that of the court nobles and that of the common people.53

The dress of court nobles, however influenced by the philosophy of warriors, became simple and practical. Kawabata explains this from the literature of the time that their full dress was composed of *hakama* (a divided skirt), *hitoe* (underwear), *kinu* (kimonos), *uwagi* (a kimono which was worn over *kinu*), *mo* (an outerskirt), and *karafuinu* (a cloak). *Uchigimi* which was worn in the Heian period was omitted. The number of *kinu* was from one to five. However, as time passed the number of *kinu* were reduced. Thus, the simplification in dress brought about the adoption of a *kosode* as an outer garment which was worn by common people as everyday wear. A *kosode* was made not only of white fabrics but also of red and often had designs. The *mo* and *karafuinu* were sometimes omitted, too.54 In the every day life of the nobility even the *hakama* began to be discarded.55

The dress of *sumurai* 's women followed that of the nobility. However, the women of lower class warriors wore more simplified dress. They did not wear the *hakama*, and wore fewer *kinu* in everyday life.56 *Kosode* was tremendously accepted. Even on special occasions, only *kosode* and *hakama* were worn.57

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53 Yamabe, op. cit., p. 40.
54 Endō, op. cit., pp. 36-37; and Kawabata, op. cit., pp. 102-104.
55 Kawabata, op. cit., p. 104.
56 Endō, op. cit., p. 41; and Kawabata, op. cit., p. 108.
57 Minnich, op. cit., p. 108.
The ideals of simplicity also affected the weaving of designs. A coarseness of weaving and fixity of design had become very conspicuous.\textsuperscript{58} However, there was no restriction in dress except for the nobles. This led to free and rather picturesque designs on clothes of common people.\textsuperscript{59}

For fine designed silks, the country relied almost wholly on foreign importation. Kinran, or the gold-patterned, plain-colored silk, woven with gold thread, was most prized; however, it was only popular among the nobles and the priests.\textsuperscript{60}

Mon (crests) now became popular among the warrior's class. Minnich gives the oldest examples of designs of mon such as the chrysanthemum, the paulownia, the wisteria, a diamond shape, a group of six squares and conventionalized cucumber.\textsuperscript{61}

The Muromachi culture is characterized by its fusion of the elegant and delicate refinement of the culture of the nobles, and the simple masculine one of the samurai and the profound influence of Zen Buddhism which was adopted as an official religion. The style of women's dress was still toward simplification. Among court ladies, kinu-hakama or kinu and hakama and kosode-hakama or kosode and hakama were popular in public places. The dress of warrior's women was the same as the nobles. However, they dressed in kosode-hakama more often than kinu-hakama.\textsuperscript{62}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{58}Yamabe, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 126.
\item \textsuperscript{59}Kawabata, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 109; and Yamabe, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 60.
\item \textsuperscript{60}Minnich, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 126.
\item \textsuperscript{61}Ibid., p. 128.
\item \textsuperscript{62}Kawabata, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 114-116.
\end{itemize}
Such simplification of dross consequently greatly accelerated the development of free handpainted designs subdued both in color and designs.\textsuperscript{63}

Yoshimasa made no attempt to rehabilitate the weaving industry and he and his courtiers were only enthusiastic about Chinese silk. Above all kinran, karaori (Chinese brocade), and surihaku (splashed gold) were prominent but were mainly used for noh-robets.\textsuperscript{64} The local daimyo developed their own textile industry such as in Sakai, Hakata, and Yamaguchi. The introduction of cotton seeds and the production of cotton led to the great popularization of cotton fabrics which met the Japanese climate.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{63}Munsterberg, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 123; and Yamabe, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{64}Kawabata, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 116-117.

\textsuperscript{65}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 116; and Yamabe, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 6.
CHAPTER V

KOSODE-FASHION PERIOD (1477-1868)

Political situation. The last one hundred years of the Muromachi period was called the Senzoku Jidai, or the age of the country at war. The Muromachi government was so weak that many daimyō (provincial chieftains) sought power in various provinces in Japan. They struggled with one another for supremacy of their own princes.¹

Although it was an age of state disintegration, each daimyō controlled his own people by means of regulations called kahō based on the Jōei code of Kamakura. In order to strengthen the power of his country, however, each daimyō took different approaches of rule than the Muromachi and Kamakura Bakufu. They introduced a soale for examination of property, standardization of taxation, and protection of farmers. They also encouraged agriculture, mining, and handicrafts. The textile industry of hemp in Echigo and Shinano districts and of silk in Kyoto noted as Nishijin (high quality brocade) began at this time. There was also the development of merchandising. The abolition of the guild system gave good results toward this. Another prominent feature of this time was the development of the town around the fortress-castle.²

The most noticeable event of this time was the first arrival of

¹Ienaga, op. cit., p. 103.
²Aiba, op. cit., pp. 121-126.
European people in Japan in 1543. They brought not only guns but also Christianity. Their arrival also led to the opening of foreign trade with Southern Asian countries as well as with Europe under the protection of daiyō.3

The Imperial House was still just a nominal power. It was Nobunaga, a small daiyō of Owari province (the western part of the Aichi Prefecture of today) who took the first step to unite Japan by the defeat of another powerful daiyō in 1560. Victories of Nobunaga in successive wars resulted in the downfall of the Muromachi Bakufu in 1573 and he had a very good chance of achieving the great task of uniting the entire country. But he was assassinated by one of his generals, Mitsuhide, in 1582.4

Hideyoshi, Nobunaga's right-hand man, attacked Mitsuhide, 100 days after Nobunaga's assassination. Hideyoshi's successive wars made him victorious. In 1590, he accomplished the unification of the entire country and took the position of kampaku, the chief minister of state, that had not been granted since the Kamakura period.5

Hideyoshi took up the ideals and policies of Nobunaga and accomplished much of his program. Under the new government he redivided the land, abolishing whole shōen and gave new land to the daiyō who would govern it. This system was especially strengthened by the Tokugawa rulers. Hideyoshi also founded a firm class distinction of the following

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3Ibid., pp. 136-137.
4Ienaga, op. cit., pp. 103-104.
5Ibid., p. 104.
order: warriors, farmers, artisans and townspeople called chōnin, and prohibited the change in class. Another work was the standardization of the scale of land judgments, both of size and quality. Taxation policies that had already been initiated in Sengoku Jidai were carried out. He also worked for the organization of currency over the entire country and developed industry and commerce. The development of Nishijin weaving resulted from his patronage.

His positive policy in foreign trade led to the rapid development and advancement of Japanese culture. This work was continued by Ieyasu who was appointed sei-i-taishōgun (generalissimo) in 1603 and who set up a shogunate government at Edo (the present Tokyo), after the death of Hideyoshi. As the result of trade, Japenese towns developed in southern Asian countries.

Nobunaga protected Christianity but Hideyoshi prohibited Christianity when he was told that Christians were envoys of colonial policy of Portugal and Spain. But as he encouraged foreign trade, there was no effect felt of the prohibition of Christianity. Later in order to accomplish the prohibition of Christianity thoroughly, Tokugawa Bakufu closed the country.

Tokugawa Bakufu which was established in 1603 became the practical master of Japan after the annihilation of Hideyoshi's son, and this

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6Aiba, op. cit., pp. 143-146.
7Minnich, op. cit., p. 176.
8Aiba, op. cit., pp. 146-150.
9Ibid., pp. 150-151.
was destined to last for some 270 years. This time was not only one of the most important in art history but also in the entire history of Japan, for it was during this time that modern Japan was founded. In art it was characterized by the growth of a more worldly culture, and from this period on a further decline of Buddhist art that ceased to be a major factor in the artistic development of Japan. However, the Buddhist sect still was favored to a certain degree.

Most representative of the Momoyama period was its huge fortress-castles and the walls and screens painted in it. The tea ceremony which was begun for the aesthetic appreciation of the tea utensils and for the taste of the tea itself was patronized by Hideyoshi and became popular.

The system of government for the uniting of the country which was initiated by Nobunaga was perfected by the Tokugawa Bakufu. In fact, the structure of the Bakufu became more complicated than before. But the principle was simple and practical and the same as the former military government.

The object of the Bakufu was to consolidate and secure its position by keeping all the daimyō under perfect control. To perform this objective, the Bakufu issued thirteen articles of Law of the Military Houses called Buke-Shohatto and kuge-shohatto that imposed rigid restrictions on the activities of emperors and nobles in 1615. They also established the system of sankinkotai in 1625 which compelled the daimyō

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11 Ibid., p. 126.
to leave their families in Edo when they were in their own domain. The daimyō had to spend enormous sums of money for periodical journeys from domain to Edo to accomplish sankin-kōtai, because it was done as a procession of a feudal lord and his retainers. This system was very effective in preventing a revolt of the daimyō.13

Another work of this feudal lord was the complete seclusion of Japan from foreign countries from 1633 to 1641.14 The Bakufu achieved the centralization of power under strong feudal thought. This was accelerated by the adoption of Confucianism as official learning since it emphasized loyalty and obedience and fused into Shinto religion. In fact, Confucian philosophy of government and Confucian ethics completely controlled the thought of the Edo period, and even now it is the single most important factor in the Japanese society.15 Beck gives the influence of Confucianism in The Story of Oriental Philosophy by a quotation of the Japanese people:

This mighty influence was accepted by Japan, and in a very subtle measure it molded the nascent character of that great people. Many Japanese have said to me, 'Whether our people are Shinto or Buddhist we are still Confucian. It clashes with neither of the others. It is a part of our being.'16

In feudal times it was the yield of the farms that constituted the sources of stipend for ruling classes and warriors. The rulers were careful to see that agricultural production was augmented. Seri-

14Ibid., pp. 151-152.
15Münsterberg, op. cit., p. 160.
culture, cottons, and hemp became widely popularized. Especially at
the time of the seventh shogun the encouragement of sericulture brought
about the tremendous development of the raw silk production, that had
been dependent upon the importation from China previous to this time.\textsuperscript{17}
Japan's industry at this time was still at the stage of handicrafts.
Each daimyō patronized the industries of his own domain, and all kinds
of industries made their appearance throughout the country.\textsuperscript{18}

Among those that were especially nominal was the textile industry.
The places that acquired a reputation for silk products were Kyoto,
noted for its Nishijin brocade, Kiryū, Ashikaga, Isezaki, Yonezawa,
Sendai and Fukuoka. The production of cotton textiles was almost
everywhere, but the most representative centers were Kurume in Kyūshū,
famous for its fabric of splashed pattern known as Kurume-gasuri, and
Kokura, also in Kyūshū. Kyoto also earned fame for its production of
a printed silk called yūzen.\textsuperscript{19}

Such development of industry and the system of sankin-kōtai
brought good overland and water transportation. The Bakufu also regu-
lated the monetary system and organized the entire country under the
new system.\textsuperscript{20}

The development of transportation facilities and the new organi-

\textsuperscript{17}Ienaga, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 142.
\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{19}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 143.
\textsuperscript{20}Aiba, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 180.
furthering the commercial and industrial development. This gave rise to a clear division of labor between artisans and tradesmen. These tradesmen became the great commercial capitalists of the times. Money gradually came to play a valuable part in Japan's economic world. Such commercial and industrial development gave impetus to the population of urban areas. Edo and Osaka were the most important centers. The position of merchants had hitherto been regarded with contempt. Now these wealthy merchants began to take leadership in the cultural development.

The economic development of the town people brought about the initiation of culture to themselves which was based upon realistic life and its needs. The seclusion of the country was destined to develop Japan's own culture. The immediate cause of the popularization of culture among chōnin (town people) was the spread of education that began in the Muromachi period.

The first epoch of this culture in the Edo period was the Genroku era (1688-1709). The second epoch was the Kasei era (1804-1835). Architecture, Ukiyoe-painting, jōruri, literature such as poems, waka, haiku, and dress were popularized among common people.

However, on the other hand, the learning of Confucian philosophy rose among warriors. The cultural development related to Confucius was predominant, and also influenced tremendously the other studies and brought about scholars among common people.

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22 Ienaga, op. cit., p. 148.
23 Ibid., pp. 152-153.
Several shoguns such as Yoshimuno (1717-1741), Ionari (1792-1803), and Iyoshi (1836-1862) took up the task to reform the situation of warriors and return to warriors' ideals. They could not achieve this because the Japanese economy was now based upon the use of currency and the self-sufficient economy was a contradiction within the feudal policy.\textsuperscript{25} Warriors became impoverished, especially in lower stipend groups, and began to show a leaning toward revolutionary ideas.\textsuperscript{26}

There was more violent change within the foreign situation. Spain and Portugal had given place to new rising powers such as England, France, and the United States, and the world moved into a democratic society.\textsuperscript{27}

It was Russia that sent an envoy to Japan to open the commercial relations in 1792. The King of Holland also advised Japan to open the country. However, it was not until Commodore Perry came from the United States that the Japanese government accepted the advice for opening the country in 1854. Two years later Japan signed a treaty of commerce with the United States. Simultaneously with the conclusion of the treaty, Japan signed treaties of commerce with Holland, Russia, England, and France. Thus, Japan's formal trade with the West was begun.\textsuperscript{28}

After these treaties Japanese economy became confused and this caused the downfall of the Bakufu and the emperor came once more to

\begin{footnotes}
\item[25]Ienaga, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 174.
\item[26]\textit{Loc. cit.}
\item[27]\textit{Ibid.}, p. 175.
\item[28]Ienaga, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 176-177.
\end{footnotes}
form a bond of national unity.\(^{29}\) In 1868 the Tokugawa Bakufu returned the reins of government to the emperor which ended the 200 years of long military regime.\(^{30}\)

**Dress of Kosode fashion period.** Basically in previous periods kosode was an undergarment of nobles and upper classes and an outer garment which was usually worn over an innermost garment for lower class people. Kosode was a final stage of the evolution of Japanese national women's dress and complete Japanization of the kimono.

It is apparent that kosode was at least perfected from the point of construction. By the end of the Heian period the opening of sleeves at the wrist was small. The kosode of that time was found in a coffin of Fujiwara Mochihira in Iwate Prefecture of northern Japan in 1950. However, it was the time of Senjoku (war in entire country) that kosode began to be worn as an outer garment from a point of costume-style.\(^{31}\)

The economy of Japan was exhausted by the great war of Onin (1467-1477). The people of upper classes could not afford to buy the intricate and expensive type of previous dress. The situation ended with the simplification of dress. The people of upper classes began to take off their extravagant outer garment and adopted the style of the kosode of lower classes. This style immediately became popular among the people of all classes. (Plate IV, p. 54)\(^{32}\)

\(^{29}\)Ibid., pp. 177-189.  
\(^{30}\)Aiba, op. cit., p. 190.  
\(^{31}\)Yamanabe, op. cit., p. 67.  
\(^{32}\)Yamanabe, op. cit., p. 68.
EXPLANATION OF PLATE IV

Dress of Kosode-fashion Period

The dress is composed of kosode and obi.

When women wanted to appear well dressed, they wore underwear, kosode, and uchikake (a long cloak). Kosode was tied by a small narrow obi at the waist. Uchikake which is the same type garment as the kosode was cloaked over this without tying, but opened at the front. In summer they wore koshimaki which was also the same type as kosode but was only worn around the waist.33

Despite the popularity of Chinese silks in the previous period, the Sengoku-jidai brought about a scarcity of Chinese silks because of great values. The Bakufu which could not control all the country gave a chance for piracy to rise on the seas. Wars also impoverished the would-be consumers. Therefore, since domestic weavers were unable to meet the demand for silks, the substitution of a hand-decorating process was developed. It is incomparable how this hand decoration contributed to the new simplicity of kosode. To imitate the designs of formerly fashionable Chinese materials, craftsmen of the period used many different devices. For imitation of gold thread, kinran, applied gold leaf called kirigane was used with which such simple allover designs as squares, triangles, and circles were made.34

Zōgen, inlaid process, which had already been developed in the Heian period was changed into surihaku, impressed gold foil. When the surihaku was applied on the embroidery, it was called nuihaku. If the threads of embroidery were imported from China, it was called Karanui.35

33Kawabata, op. cit., pp. 121-122.
34Minnich, op. cit., p. 143.
The successive wars required some symbol of identification of the family. For that, the family crest, or mon, became popular at this time.\textsuperscript{36} Many persons of lower ranks who could not afford to order the imported silks woven with the family crest, or embroidered ones, made their kimono of several contrasting colors and designs. This also became popular among people of all ranks.\textsuperscript{37}

Another notable feature of the design techniques was the popularization of tie-dyeing. In previous times this fabric was cheaply imported and only used for children. However, the impoverishment of upper class brought the application of this technique into their kimono as an imitation of brocade and time-consuming nuihaku. After 1800 the techniques of combining tie-dyeing and embroidery was extensively refined.\textsuperscript{38} The tsujiga-hana which consisted of paintings and tie-dyed figures came into wide use.\textsuperscript{39} Minnich expresses these designs as gaiety with a touch of sadness, a florid delicacy combined with a negative feeling of quiet elegance.\textsuperscript{40}

Two techniques of nuihaku and tsujiga-hana became primal and were brought into the following periods and perfected. The designs preferred were simple such as forms of flowers, leaves, lattices and scrolls. When they were used on kosode, they were mostly applied to shoulders and

\textsuperscript{36}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., pp. 164-165.
\textsuperscript{38}Ibid., p. 166.
\textsuperscript{39}Staff Members of Tokyo National Museum, op. cit., p. 17.
\textsuperscript{40}Minnich, op. cit., p. 167.
at the bottom of it, because they wore koshimaki and uchikake over it.\footnote{Kawabata, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 128.}

The colors appeared very soft and subtle due to the Zen influence.\footnote{Minnich, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 166.}

Moreover, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese merchants brought European textiles, such as figured satins, velvets, and Gobelin tapestries, giving for the first time an important western influence to Japanese textiles. Batik brought in by Portuguese from Siam and Malay also had its influence on the industry.\footnote{Board of Tourist Industry, \textit{ABC of Japanese Art} (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, Japanese Government Railways, 1937), p. 40.}

The Momoyama period, which Hideyoshi inaugurated, was characterized by grandeur, strength, and splendor, qualities which were also reflected in the kimono.\footnote{\textit{Japanese Textiles}, p. 43.} This period was the time for completion of the kimono and the techniques of designs. Few changes were observed. The neck facing was wider and the corner of the sleeve was more or less rounded. Thus, it was natural that major interest was centered entirely on the decoration of the garment.\footnote{Minnich, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 181.}

In previous times most obi were narrow and short, but in the time of Hideyoshi they were wider. Minnich states that when Hideyoshi's troops were camping in Nagoya of Kyushu, the courtesans of that city wore a simple knotted cord wound and tied around the waist with the long ends in front. She further states that the wide obi was brought in by Chinese craftsmen long before the campaign.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 181.} Ema says that the wide obi was

\footnote{Kawabata, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 128.}
\footnote{Minnich, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 166.}
\footnote{\textit{Japanese Textiles}, p. 43.}
\footnote{Minnich, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 181.}
\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 181.}
introduced by a Korean who came into Nagoya from Korea at the time of the campaign. Thus, the origin is obscure, but it can be concluded that this style became popular in Japan after Hideyoshi's campaign in Korea.

In previous times, designs were comparatively simple by the Chinese standards. However in this period, there was creative achievement. The Kanō school of painting influenced the design of the kimono. The freedom and an elaboration of design which was magnificently developed in the early Tokugawa period appeared. Kimonos were now being made of softer and lighter materials, small all-over patterns were supplanted by bold patterns of wave scrolls, pine bark or angular frets. Nuihaku (embroidery and foil) became bold and flamboyant. Surihaku (gold leaves) were applied all over the kimono. Tsujigahana dyeing began to be bolder and more exuberant. There was little restraint and sadness in colors. However, only red, white, yellow, green, blue, black and brown were used. The virile simplicity of designs was more effectively done by this scanty color range.

In weaving, the development of the Nishijin weaving in Kyoto was the most noticeable. Hideyoshi's love of luxury was shown by the patronage of this weaving. He invited Chinese skilled weavers who sought the protection of the Japanese government because of the decline of the Ming dynasty. They introduced the method of gold-thread paper

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47 Ema, op. cit., p. 56.
49 Ibid., p. 184.
New ways of weaving were innovated by Nishijin weavers such as imitation of European textiles and embroidery. This imitation of embroidery by means of weaving was truly Japanese. The subjects of designs were flowers, animals, plants, clouds, water, sea waves, mountains, and inanimate objects such as wheels, bamboo fences, arms, armor, fans, and bowls. For the softer kimono, mon-chirimen which is a heavy crepe with mon; saya or a silk with a lustrous satin surface; or rinzu, a soft crepe was used.

After the fall of the Toyotomis, the Tokugawas took the dictatorship of Japan. The style of kosode changed little except for the length of the sleeves until the Genroku era (1686-1703). Even then the difference was only in the designs of kimono and the width of the obi. The influence of Konō school on the designs of the kimono reached its height during this period. The nuihaku and the tsujiga-hana continued to be the most important and popular techniques for designs.

Kawabata states that at the early beginning of Tokugawa period the government had to control the country by means of military power. This was symbolized in magnificent fortress castles and was reflected in the flamboyant and bold designs with a background of an all-over small design or with gold background on the kimono, harmonizing with its architecture.

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51 Ibiu., pp. 179-180.
It was during the Kambun era (1661-1672) that large designs with now boldness and freedom appeared, and the principal motif of the designs broadened in scope. Motifs were flowers, birds, insects, fish, and animals; natural phenomena such as rain, snow, running water, and thunder; and houses, bridges, boats, musical instruments and calligraphies. The designs were applied across the shoulders or diagonally down the back. These designs had been brought into the gay abandon of the Genroku culture that was characterized by the prosperity of both cultures of warriors and townspeople.

In the course of development of the costume there were several factors and events which influenced the costume. First of all there was the rise of townspeople by the industrial and commercial development. Edo now became not only the political center but also one of the most important industrial, commercial and cultural centers. The system of sankin-kotai brought about gay society in Edo. Second was the devastating fire which occurred in Edo in 1657 and in Kyoto in 1661. By these two conflagrations, many of the kimonos were lost. Therefore, there had to be an innovation in dress. Until that time, the obi was narrow and short and it was simply tied or sometimes twisted or tucked in. When people fled before the fire, the obi became loose and the kimono flung wide open. After that, the obi began to be tied securely.

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55 Staff Members of the Tokyo National Museum, op. cit., p. 26; and Yamanabe, op. cit., p. 7.
57 Ibid., p. 189.
The third influence was the woodblock prints of the ukiyo-e school. These gave simpler and quicker devices for decoration and therefore became popular for the decorative kosode. The woodblocks are also one of the sources of information of the time. The fourth was the issue of the strict sumptuary laws in the Tenna era (1680-1684). This brought about the unbridled reaction in the Genroku era (1688-1703) and many methods of now dyeing. The fifth was the prosperity of the prostitute. Prostitution had already been legalized in 1528 under the Muromachi Bakufu. It was not until the Edo period that the tremendous prosperity allowed prostitution. The prostitute contended for first place in the matter of dress. Gay designs were favoured by them. Yōen-na and rich kosode was the product of it. There were three factors which contributed to this condition: the development of commercial economy and private property (women were considered as private property) and the family system which was strongly characterized by Confucianism.

The sixth was the prosperity of dry goods stores. They contributed to distribution of many types and qualities of kosode. The seventh was the popularization of Kabuki play. Many actors innovated new fashions for dress, such as the new way of tying the obi and its greater width.

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60 Ibid.
63 Kawabata, op. cit., p. 141.
64 Minnich, op. cit., p. 282.
When was the beginning of the adoption by townspeople of the costume of the upper classes? Minnich recounts an event which took place at the time of the third shogun. When Iemitsu died in 1651, some 3,700 members of his household were dismissed to flood Edo society with gay costumes which were given them by their mistresses and festivity to which they were accustomed.65

Thus influenced by many events and conditions, the kimono was crystallized as typically Japanese in the Genroku era. Their designs were magnificent, flamboyant, and yōen, yet elegant, fresh and delicate. The previous motifs continued to be used. Until the innovation of Yūzen dyeing, the techniques for decoration were the same as before—nuihaku and tsujiga-hana.66 The designs began to be applied separately between the shoulder and the bottom of the kimono because the width of the obi became wide and long. About the Kambun era (1661-1672) the width of the obi was around four inches. At the time of the Tenna era (1680-1684) it was seven inches wide. From this time on, with kimono styles softer in line and fabric, the greatest demand for brocades was for the ladies' obi. Nishijin weaving most contributed to this role, which remained under the Tokugawa's patronage, although the art of decorative weaving played a minor role throughout the period. The width of sleeves was also changed from one foot, four inches at the beginning of the Edo period to two feet in the Genroku era.67

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65Minnich, op. cit., p. 199.
66Kawabata, op. cit., pp. 141-142.
67Yamabe, op. cit., pp. 72-73.
In dyeing many new methods were improved beyond the limitation of the law after the Tonna era.68

From the Genroku era (1688-1703) to the Hōreki era (1750-1764) the art of decoration progressed tremendously. The most outstanding phenomenon was the appearance of the Yūzen style of dyeing. By this method kosode could be decorated using free multicolored pictorial designs. Its procedure was to draw detailed designs with a small stick and rice paste. The most gorgeous results could be freely achieved by this method. The designs which were produced by this method struck the luxury-loving people of the age and became widely popular among the people of all classes.69

It is said that the Yūzen style of dyeing was discovered by a painter, Yuzensai Miyazaki, who was active in Kyoto around the Genroku era (1688-1703). However, the facts concerning this artist's life and the origin of the new dyeing are obscure.70

Yūzen dyes developed in the Province of Kaga (presently Ishikawa Prefecture) as well as in Kyoto. They are known as Kaga Yūzen and as Kyo Yūzen. The difference in dyeing process of these types was not known, but the Kaga Yūzen gave the colorful effect by using much green and light green with red, vermilion, and purple. Yūzen dyes were also combined with embroidery, tie-dyeing, and gold and silver foil to give a more brilliant, flamboyant, and magnificent effect.71

68Minnich, op. cit., p. 247.
69Staff Members of Tokyo National Museum, op. cit., p. 28.
70Ibid.
71Ibid.
The latter half of the Edo period seesawed between sumptuary policies and reactions against them. The accession of the eighth shōgun, Yoshimune, put an end to Genroku extravagance and encouraged return to samurai ideals. He issued the strict sumptuary laws. He permitted them to wear any fine kimono they already had but forbade them to buy new ones. Silk was under the ban. Yoshimune himself and also daimyō wore cotton kimonos. The textile industry suffered much at first but later stringencies were relaxed.72

This political situation was reflected in the designs and colors of kimonos. The designs were small, gloomy and sober. Komon, or a fine pattern with such designs as cherry petals, snowflakes, and sharkskin were produced by resist-dyeing or tie-dyeing. Small stripes and checks were much used. The colors were usually plain black, dark brown, or gray.73

After the death of Yoshimune, reaction came. Pompous and effeminate ways of life swayed. The prostitute and the kabuki plays prospered. The introduction of new styles of obi, designs, and colors by kabuki actors were copied by the ladies of the age. However, the fashion of designs and colors were represented by the sobriety which they thought the most tasteful. The asanoha, or the conventionalized hemp leaf; ichimatsu taken from the name of the actor, Ichimatsu, or checkered patterns; dot; small stripes; and checks were modes of designs at the time. After the intimidating restrictions, more and more elaboration centered in the obi, the width of the kimono became one foot and many

73 Ibid., p. 286.
ways of tying the obi were developed.

The large old-style designs at the bottom continued in favor, however, under the restrictions. They were finally eliminated entirely and confined to the wrong side of the hem. This decoration began to be applied to all the edges of a kimono, including neck and sleeve openings. This is still found in Japan. Colors also continued to be subdued ones. Danjūrō cha, or Danjūrō tea color (brown), the name taken from the name of an actor, was popular. Other brown colors were also popular. The eleventh shōgun, Ienari, appointed Matsudaira as one of a council to improve the situation of the return of the gay activities, but he was so strict that he was forced to retire by Ienari.

The retirement of Matsudaira led to the extravagant and decadent lives of both warriors and of common folk, which was represented in the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1805-1829). This was the final stage of the development of kosode designs. The culture of townspeople reached its height. The beauty of the form of ceremonial kimono also reached its height. However, the trend toward the subdued and shibui (quiet) taste was also more and more refined. Small patterns, stripes, checks, and dots were popular. The local daimyō had built up a flourishing textile industry by the middle of the Edo period. Each had its own speciality. They contributed to the production of shibui fabrics such as Kihachijō.

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74 Ibid., pp. 313-315.
75 Ibid., p. 313.
76 Aiba, op. cit., p. 168.
77 Kawabata, op. cit., p. 150.
characterized by stripes, Yuki Tsumugi characterized by plaids, Echigo Chijimi, characterized by splashes, Oshima characterized by its deep brown dye, and Kasuri, characterized by the cotton splated weaves and deep blue indigo dye. The kimonos were extremely decorated with this embroidery and Yuzen. The designs applied were pictorial. They are still produced, although there was a noticeable tendency toward decline.

At the time of Ieyoshi the reform of Tempo (1841) was too strict to succeed. After the reformer, Mizuno, retired the social condition became unstable.

The visit of Perry to Japan accelerated the uncertainty of the Japanese mind. The men's dress became more practical but the women's dress changed little because women's social rank was low and women were unimportant in public life.

Embroidery had been less and less important in kimono decoration since Genroku, but in late Edo, when the use of silk was forbidden, it had a short but effective revival in application to cottons. Japanese also freely imitated Chinese importations of Nanking, Sarasa, block-printed in European patterns.

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78 Yamanabe, op. cit., p. 48; and Staff Members of Tokyo National Museum, op. cit., p. 32.
79 Yamanabe, op. cit., p. 48.
80 Yamanabe, op. cit., p. 75.
82 Endō, op. cit., pp. 86-87.
83 Kawabata, op. cit., pp. 204-207.
84 Endō, op. cit., p. 90.
With the sudden opening of Japan to the western world, the influx of new ideas were almost overwhelming. Around 1880 there began to be some touches of brighter color in the kimono and better materials were used, but well into the twentieth century the Yūzen decoration of ceremonial kimono was for the most part confined to the lower front corners and the five family crests.\footnote{Kawabata, op. cit., pp. 208-209.}
CHAPTER VI

JAPANESE-WESTERN PERIOD (1868-1960)

Political situation. The opening of Japan by Commodore Perry led to the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and this resulted in a complete change in Japanese government. The new government centered around the Emperor Meiji. This came to be referred to as the "Restoration" of imperial rule of 1868. In that year, the Emperor moved his court from Kyoto to Edo which was later renamed Tokyo and it became the capital of Japan.¹

In Europe feudalism was crushed by the citizenry, but in Japan it was done by the samurai of the lower rank. Most of the leaders of the new government were samurai who had rendered meritorious services in achieving the political reform. The Meiji era (1868-1912) was one of the most epoch-making in the history of Japan. Western culture permeated into every aspect of Japanese life and changed it. At its close Japan emerged as a modern military and industrial power.²

In 1868 the new government made a five-point oath emphasizing the importance of respecting public opinion. In 1871 in order to strengthen the centralized policy, the new government abolished the old administrative districts and divided the entire country into pre-

¹Aiba, op. cit., pp. 218-219.
²Ienaga, op. cit., p. 185.

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features which were governed by appointees of the government. In 1872 the abolition of class distinction was finished. 3

The main problem of post-Restoration Japan was how to make up the leeway and lift the nation to the level of the Western nations. To reach this purpose, the reality of national prosperity needed to be achieved and the military power strengthened by developing industry along modern lines. There being no sufficient accumulation of private capital, the government had to take the initiative in fostering modern industry. The government put mining, coal mining and factories under direct control and built and operated model factories such as silk factories, spinning mills, woolen mills, and printing. They invited Western officials, technicians, and mechanics to act as advisors and to help them set up factories. A capitalistic economy was, thus, founded. 4 The government further encouraged private enterprise by leasing equipment or granting subsidies. As a result, the textile industry and other branches of light industry made rapid progress in the nineteenth century. The beginning of the twentieth century was marked by the growth of heavy industries. About the time of the out-break of World War I, the chemical industry, too, became independent of the West. 5

Another work of the government was the modernization of the traffic and communication network. Especially in ocean-going services,

3Aiba, op. cit., pp. 219-220.
4Aiba, op. cit., pp. 223-224.
5Ienaga, op. cit., p. 198.
they came to monopolize the Far East. Before World War II Japan came
to be ranked third in the world in naval power.\textsuperscript{6} To defend the country
the government issued the military conscription.\textsuperscript{7}

With the direct impact of Western democracy after the opening
of the country, there was the movement to seek and to enjoy liberty
and equality. It was Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901) who played the most
prominent role in such a movement. The field of education, policies,
and social activities took on a concrete shape as the result of his
work. His work included the promulgation of the first constitution in
1889 and the educational system and its successive reformation. The
labor movement did not take concrete shape until the end of World War I.\textsuperscript{8}
Aiba states that elementary school attendance was 98 per cent at the
close of the Meiji era.\textsuperscript{9} For women's education, Morosawa credits the
contribution of Fukuzawa, Mori, and Christian missionaries. By the end
of Meiji the many universities for women were established.\textsuperscript{10}

By economical development, political renovation, and social
amelioration, Japan's growing power began to be recognized by foreign
nations. The situation between China and Japan was not certain, although
Japan and Korea established amity. Japan and China had a conflict of
interest over the matter of leadership in Korea, which ultimately led

\textsuperscript{6}Ienaga, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 194.
\textsuperscript{7}Aiba, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 226.
\textsuperscript{8}Ienaga, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 189, 204-208.
\textsuperscript{9}Aiba, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 269.
\textsuperscript{10}Yoko Morosawa, \textit{The History of Japanese Women}, Vol II (Tokyo:
to the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. Japan emerged victorious and obtained Formoso, Boko Island, and the Ryoto Peninsula from China. Ten years later from 1904 to 1905, Japan was in the Russian-Japanese War, and they succeeded in obtaining South Sakhalin, a lease of Kwangtung, and the South Manohuria Railway. The expansion of territory led to greater Japanese prosperity. The annexation of Korea in 1910 further increased Japan's sphere of influence and prosperity.\textsuperscript{11}

In the arts the impact of Western civilization was almost overwhelming. Architecture, painting, poetry, and music were all from the West. Especially during the early years of the Meiji era there was frantic Westernization in arts as well as in other aspects of Japan's life.\textsuperscript{12}

The Meiji era (1868-1912) was followed by the Taishō era (1912-1926). The work started in the Meiji era was brought to completion in this era. The Emperor Hirohito was enthroned in 1926 and Japan as a modern state reached the zenith of its power about that time. It was World War I that brought Japan to such supremacy. This began in 1914 and gave Japan a chance to expand with little risk and effort. As the ally of England, Japan proceeded to pick up German colonies in the East. The war in Europe also cut off the cotton mills of England and the factories of Continental Europe from the markets of Asia. Japan took full advantage of this golden opportunity to expand into these rich markets.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{11}Ienaga, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 202-203.

\textsuperscript{12}Münsterberg, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 170-171.

Thus the war in Europe brought unprecedented prosperity to the Japanese land. Light and heavy industries as well as the chemical industry became highly developed. Japan now received official recognition as one of the "Big Five" in the world.\textsuperscript{14} Morosawa emphasized that these long strides of Japanese capitalism had depended on the female mill hand who had endured the bad working conditions which were unchecked because of the social distortion in the relationship between men and women.\textsuperscript{15} With this economical development, the industries were controlled under the financial capital which was monopolized in the form of Konzern by a few Zaibatsu (oligarohy of the plutocrats).\textsuperscript{16}

In opposition to this monopolized financial capital and in order to improve working conditions, the labor movements became frequent. The democratic thought, so-called Taishō democracy, was now fairly and practically applied to inner politics. In 1918 the first party cabinet was established, and in 1925 the universal suffrage took concrete shape and passed although it was limited to men who were twenty-five years old.\textsuperscript{17}

In urban areas the women began slowly to free themselves from their traditional position as domestic drudges. Women office workers became a feature of the new social system.\textsuperscript{18}

The great literary movement started. Thousands of books poured

\textsuperscript{14}Ienaga, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 222; and Aiba, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 265-266.

\textsuperscript{15}Morosawa, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 154.

\textsuperscript{16}Aiba, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 266.

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., pp. 268-269.

\textsuperscript{18}Reischauer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 154.
from the press and the literature of the whole world became available. Millions of newspapers and magazines were circulated. Higher education was sought more and more by all men from all classes, and higher education for women finally was allowed to start.\(^{19}\)

Despite the phenomenal industrial development, the outward progress and prosperity of the nation and the practical application of the principles of democracy and autonomy, there was something unnatural about the rapid progress Japan achieved. The standard of living of the bulk of the people was kept at a low level. The bureaucrats tended to be self-righteous. In 1927 Japan was seized with a financial panic by overproduction, and in 1929 the world panic accelerated the Japanese depression. The military, acting under the authority of the Emperor, interfered with government policies.\(^{20}\)

The relationship with China could not get back to normal. In 1937 war spread over a vast area in China. At home military powers crashed the political parties and controlled the Diet (similar to the American cabinet). A dictatorial form of administration was set up by the militarists, the bureaucrats and the nationalists. Meanwhile, they also controlled public thought. Aligned with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, Japan eventually declared war upon the United States and Great Britain in December, 1941.\(^{21}\)

Immediately after the start of World War II Japan occupied a

\(^{19}\)Reischauer, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

\(^{20}\)Ienaga, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-225.

fairly extensive area in the southwestern Pacific. But four years later, in August, 1945, Japan had to surrender under the terms set forth in the Potsdam Declaration. Japanese territory was occupied by the Allies under the supreme command of MacArthur. Japan was reformed in large scale to turn into a peaceful and democratic state. Women's suffrage was passed. The greatest reform was the proclamation of a new constitution in 1946. The new constitution stipulates that the Emperor shall be the symbol of the State; that the Japanese people shall forever renounce war and shall not maintain war potential; that the people shall not be prevented from enjoying any of the fundamental human rights; that the right of workers to organize and to strike shall be guaranteed; that laws shall be enacted on the basis not only of the equal rights of husband and wife, but also of essential equality of the sexes; that the Diet shall be the highest organ of State power; and that the prime minister shall be designated from among the numbers of the Diet by a resolution of the Diet.22

The emancipation of the tenant farmers and the dissolution of zaibatsu (oligarchy of the plutocrats) gave new life to Japanese economy. Protected by law, the labor unions became larger and larger.23

In other cultural aspects there were foundations laid for the long strides for progress. The co-education system brought about the conspicuous improvement in all human aspects of life. The occupational advancement which is particularly important from the standpoint of

22Ienaga, op. cit., p. 230.
women's status has been tremendous. 24  

Thus, Japan was occupied by the Allies, although actually all the personnel was from the United States. The conventional mode of life was destroyed. The practical and reasonable American culture that at first poured into Japan tended to be imitated superficially, but after independence in 1952, there was a refinement and harmonization of cultures, the Japanese and the Western. 25 While Japan was advancing a pace on the road to rehabilitation, the world situation changed drastically. "Two opposing worlds" eventually sprung up.  

Another thing that merits attention is the phenomenal development of nuclear weapons in the world. Another aspect of world situation was that there has been many new independent countries in Asia and Africa. The Japanese role is very important both outside and within.  

After Japan became independent she began to be acknowledged as the most progressive country in Asia. Situated close to Communist China and dependent on foreign trade, Japan's future as a democratic country is not easy. 26  

Dress of Japanese-Western period. Since the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japanese women's costume has had an epoch-making evolution. Until the Meiji Restoration, Japanese women's costume had mainly been influenced by China and Korea. During the Momoyama period (1573-1615)  

25 Aiba, op. cit., p. 238.  
somo western influence had been seen, but it was not so strong as to change the conventional and traditional Japanese women's costume. However, the contact with highly developed western civilization brought about new ways of life in Japanese women's costume. That is, the history of Japanese women's costume began to walk on dual roads; Japanese kimonos and western style dress. Sometimes westernization of dress stopped because of nationalistic feelings, and at other times a compromise was made and the best of the two was combined.

One reason why the Western dress was so enthusiastically adopted by Japanese women is that the Japanese have looked over the Western civilization and in order to catch up with it the Japanese tried to imitate and to digest it. Another more crucial reason is that it had been adopted not only by the women of upper class but also by lower class women and working people. Such modernization of Japan as the mechanization of industry, the speeding up of activities, the emancipation of women from slavish social status, and the increase in the number of working women, gave a chance for Western dress to permeate whole classes of people.

It was during Rokumon-kan time (1882-1886) that the Japanese absorbed everything which was Western. Women's dresses with bustles became fashionable among the women of upper classes. However, the women of middle class and of lower class adopted only the shawls and umbrellas. Kimonos that were still worn had smaller designs.

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27 Yamabe, op. cit., p. 78.
28 Kawabata, op. cit., p. 212.
The obishime (a very narrow string which is used to keep the obi in place) began to be a decorative one. The obi began to be tied higher, and the way of tying the obi at the front had almost disappeared.29

As a reaction to this enthusiastic Westernization, there was a movement for the preservation of national characteristics. The event which contributed to this movement was the Sino-Japanese war in 1894-1895. Japan’s prosperity was felt among geisha girls. Their dresses were associated with the business plan of large dry goods stores and they became the fashion setters of the time. The designs of kimonos became big and splendid.30

Another new feature of kimono style was the popularization of reddish brown hakama of muslin or Kashmir. It was a long skirt without a division tied in the same manner as before. This was innovated among working women or students in higher institutes. This was worn over the kimono with wide hanging sleeves or tight sleeves without an obi. It was a very practical dress for working women. This was worn until the end of Taishō era (1912-1926) as the dress of transition from kimono to western dress.

Another fashion was the women’s haori coat with mon (crest) as a semi-formal dress. This was innovated among mistresses of the upper class people. Quiet designs and colors in kimono were preferred among upper classes which continued the taste of the Edo period. With the dissolution of class distinction in this period, upper people came to

29Endō, op. cit., p. 98.
30Ibid.
feel that the taste of the samurai was more gracious and refined. Such quiet dress was the only means for them to show their distinction from lower class people. This fashion continued until the middle of the Taishō period.31

While the influence of Western costume among working women continued to be felt, at schools and factories people began to adopt the uniform dress which was devised to meet working conditions.32

World War I (1914-1918) gave another opportunity for Japan to prosper. Economic prosperity was immediately felt in the dress of the time. The designs and colors of kimono of all classes became more and more gay.33 However, Gunsaulus in Japanese Costume published in 1923 makes the following statement:

Brilliantly colored and gaudily decorated kimono are worn only by geisha girls and courtesans and much that has appealed to European taste would be disdained even by these women.34

Therefore, it can be concluded that although there was a trend for all classes of women to wear gay and splendid kimonos, there was still differences in taste between the geisha or courtesans and other women.

The techniques used for designs were embroidery, painting, and weaving. Flowers or nature motifs appropriate for the seasons were chosen.35

31Yamabe, op. cit., p. 80; and Kawabata, op. cit., p. 213.
32Endō, op. cit., p. 100.
33Ema, op. cit., p. 104.
35Ibid.
The prosperity of industries gave more chance to women to work outside the home. The working women in the factories, waitresses in coffee shops or restaurants, bus girls, and movie stars were the fashion setters of western dress or the Westernized kimono of the time.\textsuperscript{36}

The earthquake in Tokyo in 1923 destroyed most of the old buildings. People were obliged to build new buildings. The company buildings, the offices, and the stores were built in Western style. Western was seemingly only the appropriate style for such buildings. The Western style of dress was adopted and became tremendously popular after this event.\textsuperscript{37}

The increase of the dominance of militarism in Japan drove the Japanese people to World War II (1941-1945). Successive restrictions on everyday life were announced from the government. People were obliged to wear less expensive dress. During the war specific standards of dress for women were devised and recommended.\textsuperscript{38}

At that time most of the women stayed at home; only a few women had opportunities to work outside. The women who stayed at home had to work as hard as those who worked outside of the home and found Western dress useful, too.

After World War II, the American influence was felt in every aspect of Japanese life. The Western dress was popularized among all classes of women, even older women, although women over forty years of

\textsuperscript{36}Endo, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 106.

\textsuperscript{37}Kawabata, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 218.

\textsuperscript{38}Endo, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 107.
age regard the kimono as more or less an evening or cocktail dress and they wear it more frequently. However, lately there has been some trend for young women to wear the kimono for special occasions (Plate V, p. 82). Fujikawa, principal of Fujikawa Gakuin, explains that synthetic materials have been encouraging the return of the kimono fashion. Nishijin weavers continue to rely on time-tested techniques for brocades although there have been some innovations.

How long the kimono fashion will continue among young women for special occasions is hard to tell. Yamabe gives two directions of the kimono for the future. One is the complete discard of the kimono and the other is the adoption of the kimono for some special occasion which has been completely discarded from everyday life. Morita found that the kimono makes not only Japanese women but also the women of the whole world more beautiful. However, she feels that there is a danger that it will disappear in Japan.

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40 Enko Fujikawa, "The Beautiful Little World of Nishi'jin," This is Japan, 12:40:239-240, 1965.


42 Yamabe, op. cit., p. 98.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE V

Dress of Japanese-Western Period

The dress is composed of kosode and obi.

"May be Happy, Forever," *Women's Magazine*,
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary. The beginning of the third century A.D. was marked by the introduction of Chinese civilization whose dress-style was that of Hu-people who were central Asiatic nomads. The dress was composed of kinu (a blouse) and mo (a skirt). This style was popularized through the fourth and fifth centuries, as the result of the establishment of Yamato state and contact with China and Korea where people had already adopted this style.

With the introduction of Buddhism in 552 and the constant official relationship with China after 607, Japan received the highly developed culture of T'ang. Although the T'ang culture only permeated into the upper or ruling classes, the dress of those people which was a complete replica of China's became the foundation of the kimono. The dress of this time was regulated as follows. Formal state wear was worn on solemn occasions by women who were above the 5th rank. This dress included a kinu (a blouse), hirami (a skirt), umamo (an overskirt), and hataobi (a sash). Ordinary court wear which was worn during the holding of ordinary functions and minor rituals was simpler than the formal state wear, but became the base of the dress or kimono of the nobles in the following period. These clothes were ashiginu (a coarse silk blouse), shitamo (a skirt), and soeno-obi (an additional sash). The dress of women who did not have rank was considered unimportant.
and no regulations were made.

However, such foreign style of dress was not allowed to survive for a long time in Japan where the climate is different and customs and manners were also different. At the beginning of the Heian period the Japanization of dress began to be seen.

The end of official relationship with China in 894 accelerated the Japanization of costume. The Fujiwara nobles now prospered as never before and completely controlled all matters of the country. At the time of Michinaga (956-1027) the Fujiwara culture reached its apex. Women's dress also reached its culmination. There were three types of costume: 

- Nyōbo-shōzoku
- Kouchigi
- Uchigi-hakama

Nyōbo-shōzoku so-called "twelve-layers dress" was worn at the important functions and ceremonies and composed of hakama (a skirt), hitoe (underwear), kinu (kimono), uwagi (an outermost kimono), mo (an outerskirt), and karagimu (a cloak). It was gorgeous in color, fabric, and design and is still regarded as the highest development in Japan's history. A simplified style is still used at court on special occasions.

Kouchigi was an abbreviated form of nyōbo-shōzoku. The mo and the karagimu were omitted from it. Uchigi-hakama was an every day costume composed of kinu and hakama.

After samurai (warriors) took over the dictatorship of Japan in 1192 the kimono was influenced by their ideals which were simple and frugal and the kimono became simple. During the Kamakura period and until the middle of the Muromachi there was no particular creation in kimono but simplification. The corruption of politics after the middle of the Muromachi period brought about the sensoku-jidai (the war
all over the countries).

The senzoku-jidai was one of the most noticeable epochs in the history of Japanese costume. The adoption of kosode as an outer garment, originally an undergarment, and the long strides in techniques of decoration such as muihaku (embroidery and splash gold) and tsugiya-hana dyeing (varigation and brush painting) were the result of the poverty of the country during the war.

The Momoyama period (1573-1615) was the time when the power was assumed by the strongest individual. Tradition and convention were neglected, which accelerated the use of the kosode-style and colors and designs which were splendidly grand and magnificent and which were very strong in hue.

The Meireki fire in 1657 of the Edo period played a part in changing the taste of the people for the design of the kimono. The new designs which had to be produced in great quantities were not splendid, but, with new design books, more gorgeous, fresh, and magnificent designs were created. The kimono was crystallized in style, color and design as typically Japanese thirty years after this event in the Genroku era (1688-1704). The sleeves of kosode became wider (two feet) and the width of the obi was also wider (seven to eight inches). The color and design were magnificent, flamboyant, and yuzen, yet elegant, fresh, and delicate. In addition to embroidery and tsujiga-hana dyeing, Yuzen dyeing became popular and had a vital effect on the taste of the time. It was the fusion of culture of samurai (warriors) and of chōnin (townspeople).

The corruption of politics after the Genroku era caused Yoshimune
to attempt a reform. The reform brought about strict sumptuary laws, which became the origin of quiet taste.

But the rise of power of chōnin (townspeople) could not be stopped. The reaction came after the death of Yoshimune. Matsudaira under Iemari-shōgun tried to reform again, however, his retirement again led to reaction. This led to a mature chōnin culture in the Bunka-Bunsei eras (1806-1829). Dress assumed the formality and overdecoration which caused a decline of art in creating the kimono.

The opening of the country in 1854, the Meiji Restoration (1868), and the introduction of Western civilization brought about change in every aspect of Japanese life. Western costume was adopted by only upper classes at the beginning of Meiji era. However, the penetration of democracy into all classes of people changed the role of women, and the Japanese mode of life, and led the women, especially the younger generation, to adopt practical Western costume.

After World War II, this trend became prominent. However, there was another trend for young women to wear kimonos for special occasions.

There are several opinions about the future of the kimono, such as disappearance, adoption for special occasions only, or a preservation of the kimono as a work of art which will be above everyday utilization.

Sansom states that throughout their history the Japanese have believed in firm government and rigid social order; they have been obedient to their governors and superiors.¹ In clothing behavior, this

¹Sansom, op. cit., p. 5.
fact has also been shown directly and indirectly. Therefore, it is predictable that the future direction of the kimono will depend upon the politics as far as Japanese people keeping the same beliefs and customs. The former American Ambassador, Edwin O. Reichauer, states that the future of the Japanese nation is not determined because of two future problems which will help to determine not only Japan's political structure but also her whole future as a nation.² The problems are external pressures exerted by a divided world and explosive internal pressures of a precarious economic situation. Therefore, it can be concluded that the future direction of the Japanese kimono is unpredictable.

Recommendations.

1. The writer recommends the further study on the history of Japanese costume be conducted using primary sources of information.

2. Since this study included only women's costume, the writer feels it would be advantageous for a study to be made on men's costume.

3. As this study includes society in general, it is thought that pertinent information as to the effect of social class and economics on the clothing choices would need to be studied further.

4. The writer believes that a study of similar nature to the one that has been done could be carried out in cooperation with people in other disciplines as sociology or psychology and the effect of clothing on the individual be studied.

²Reichauer, op. cit., p. 156.
A. BOOKS


B. PUBLICATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT

C. PERIODICALS


THE EVOLUTION OF JAPANESE WOMEN'S KIMONO
FROM A.D. 200 to 1960

by

MASAKO TOYOSHIMA
B. S., Fukuoka Women's University, 1963

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

General Home Economics
College of Home Economics

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1967
Costume has always been influenced by contemporary conditions—social, religious, and political. The purpose of this report was to present a survey of the important changes of Japanese women's kimono from A.D. 200 to 1960. To reach this purpose the writer described the political factors that were associated with changes in the kimono in selected periods. Details such as changes in colors, materials, and designs that developed from A.D. 200 to 1960 were given.

In the Hu-style period (200-552) Japan began to be united in one country under the Yamato dynasty. The influence of China and Korea was felt in dress at this time. The dress changed to two pieces composed of kinu and mo.

The T'ang period (552-894) is described as an epoch making period in culture, politics, and dress that were the exact replica of that of T'ang. During this period Buddhism was introduced, the government became centralized under the new laws which established class ranks and opened up new land. Clothing became that of T'ang and was regulated by the rank of the person. The dress of this period was the direct ancestor of the kimono. According to dress regulations the dress was divided into formal state wear, ordinary court wear, and the uniform.

The end of diplomatic relationship with China in 894 began the development of purely Japanese culture. The Fujiwara noble prospered and controlled the country. Japan reached the apex of its culture. The dress was also highly developed and became the so-called "twelve-layered dress." It is regarded as the highest development in Japan's history and a simplified style of it is still used in court today.

When Samurais took over the dictatorship of Japan, the dress was
influenced by their ideals and became simple. However, the corruption of politics in the middle of the fifteenth century brought about the sensoku-jidai and poverty to the country. This accelerated the adoption of the simple kosode formerly worn as an undergarment and also created new techniques of decoration on clothing. The close of the country at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the Edo period, the peace of the country, and the growth of townspeople brought about the highest culture of townspeople. The kosode was developed into the modern style kimono.

The opening of the country to outsiders in 1854 and the Meiji Restoration in 1868 brought into Japan the highly developed western civilization. The philosophy of politics was changed from feudalism to democracy. The change in roles of women and mode of living caused the adoption of practical western dress. However, another trend in Japanese clothing practiced at a later time was the adoption of the kimono for special occasions.

Costume has thus been influenced by contemporary conditions of political situations. The future of the Japanese nation is not determined therefore the direction of the kimono in the future is also unpredictable.