



講演会&見学・体験会「外から見た家政学～江戸の色を学ぶ～」について 十文字学園女子大学 徳野 裕子

企画について

平成29年9月16日（土）1日を通して日本の文化、江戸の文化を堪能できる企画が、関東支部共催、日本家政学会からの助成を戴き、関東支部若手の会によって開催された。午前中は、東京都新宿区西早稲田に位置する「東京染めものがたり博物館」で、伝統の染物に関する講演、染物体験と施設見学を行った。午後は、日本女子大学に移動し、日本文化や和装に造詣の深いイギリス出身シーラ・クリフ氏（十文字学園女子大学教授）にご講演いただいた。

長年続けられてきた関東支部若手の会がこの企画に至るまでには、転機となる企画があった。平成25年度関東支部若手の会会長渡辺明日香氏（共立女子短期大学教授）を中心に進められた「これからの働き方を考える」であった。平成28年度まで続き6名の講師をお迎えし、延べ100人以上の参加があった。活発な交流が広がり、今回は、平成29年度関東支部若手の会会長濱田仁美氏（東京家政大学准教授）を中心に関東支部若手の会幹事の皆さんによって企画された。（これまでの企画の詳細は日本家政学会関東支部若手の会ホームページに記載）

シーラ・クリフ氏について

クリフ氏は、「Kimono Culture：着物の美」などの講義を受け持たれ、着付けを勉強され、その後着物に魅せられご自分の力でKimono文化を新たな形で切り開かれ、2017年3月にイギリスの出版会社から「THE SOCIAL LIFE OF KIMONO」を出版され、世界の人々へ着物文化を発信されている。正しく今回のテーマ「外から見た家政学」を着物文化から講演された。

Yuko TOKUNO

十文字学園女子大学人間生活学部健康栄養学科・准教授・博士（学術）
著者紹介（略歴）日本女子大学卒業、同大学院修了後、十文字学園女子大学人間生活学部食物栄養学科専任講師を経て現職。
〔専門分野〕公衆栄養学、公衆衛生学、健康科学

講演内容について

クリフ氏の講演の第一声から、私たちの価値観に衝撃的だった。「なぜ、着物はファッションではなく、伝統衣装としての扱いなのでしょう。ホームページでの着物の紹介も、すべて冠婚葬祭に着的着物と昔を懐古させるような着物しか紹介されていない。」（Section1, Trend hunter and myth buster!）と。ファッションという概念を定義（Section2, Defining Fashion）された上で、平安時代や江戸時代の着物文化は、洗練された世界に先駆けたファッションであった（Section3, Sophisticated Statements in Heian and Edo）と。西洋ファッションは、上級社会から下級社会へと流れた。それに対し、日本の着物ファッションは、例えば、武士社会で絞りや刺しゅうが使えたが、庶民の生活では禁じられていた。だからこそそれに似せた新しい技法による新たな着物ファッションを作った。やがて、その庶民の着物ファッションは、上流社会でも好まれ粋なものと評価された。明治以降では、海外の研究者の中には、着物は女性の着るものであり、西洋の洋服よりも古風と人々は考えていたと発表している人もいる。それは間違っており、明治以降の近代化により着物がより簡単に作られるようになり、デザインを駆使するようになった。その象徴が銘仙の着物である。世界恐慌の時であっても、銘仙は様々な柄が各地域で作られ、1950年まではほとんどの女性が着物でファッションを楽しんでいた（Section4, Re-democratization and documentation）。1990年代、新しい着物の概念が生まれてきた。着物の専門家からではなく、生活を主体としたファッションナブルな人々からの着物の発信である。形式的バージョンではなく、その人のライフスタイルを混ぜ合わせた着物文化である。高価な着物ではなく、低価格な着物や、古い着物、リサイクル着物などを使って自分を表現するようになった。結果的に、今フォーマルな着物市場も少しずつ活気づいてきている（Section5, Re-democratization and documentation）。



写真1. クリフ氏の講演



写真2. 東京染めものがたり博物館 染物体験

最後に

クリフ氏の講演の中で、印象的な日本人像があった。それは、東インド会社の日本でのビジネスに関する手紙資料からの分析である。その手紙によれば、日本人は当時から目新しいことに興味を持ち、多く輸入された製品には興味なく、難破を逃れたどり着いた貴重な品々には、

大金を払ってでも購入する傾向があったようだ。着物文化にも外からの人間にしか見えないことがあると。今、従来の着物関係者は着物を売る事しか考えられず、若い人はファッションとして着物をとらえている。やがてそのことがファッションとなる。だからこそ、新しいものをもっともっと評価していかないと着物文化は広がらないのではと言われていた。

■ 外から見た家政学 江戸の色を学ぶ

十文字学園女子大学 シーラ・クリフ

Section 1. Trend hunter and myth buster!

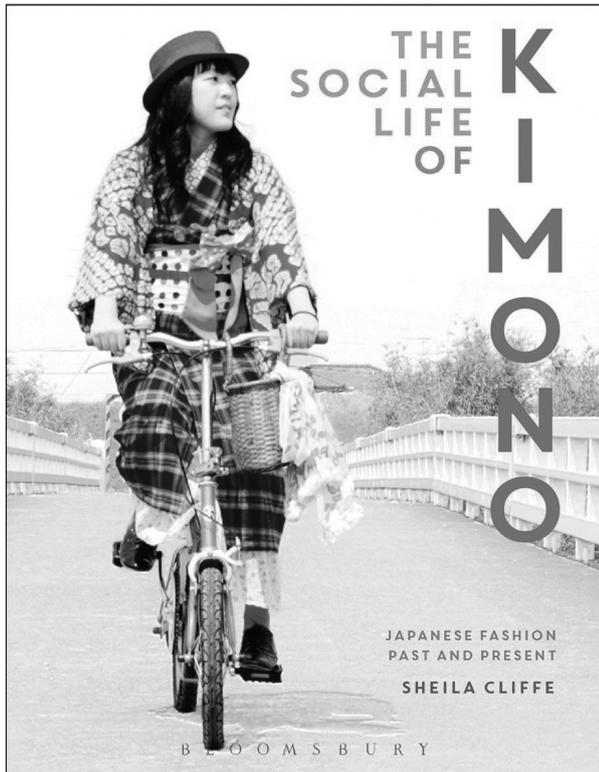
Why is it important to sometimes look from outside the box? Because sometimes you have to be from outside the box to see. I came to Japan, and then to kimono with no ideas, no history, no baggage. I was completely an outsider to kimono culture. Of course I had no Japanese family from whom I could inherit kimono either. In a similar way, the significance of fashion is often understood from the outside, usually by looking back in time. At the time when things happen, it is difficult to understand what is going on, but often we can understand in retrospect.

In my own journey, I went from loving all kinds of fashion, to loving kimono. When I discovered kimono, I trailed

the kimono stores and also bookshops in order to learn as much as I could about this wonderful, silk garment. I went from looking to buying, from learning to teaching, and also am involved in collecting and dyeing (as a hobby). Once I was learning about kimono from my kitsuke teachers, but now I am learning about Japan from kimono. The kimono is my teacher. I am always watching what is going on in the kimono world, and therefore I consider myself a kimono trend hunter. I am also against orientalism and the western idea of the kimono being fixed in time, that never changes, (a non-fashion item). I also consider myself as a myth buster. This is because I want to increase understanding about the kimono in other countries, and I want to tell people what it is really like, which is not the fixed image but a living and changing garment. From this came my Ph.D. topic, "Revisiting Fashion and Tradition Through the Kimono". This thesis first sets up a definition of fashion to work with, then looks at kimono history in the light of the fashion definition, and finds it to be fashion. This

Sheila CLIFFE

十文字学園女子大学語学教育セクター・教授・Ph.D.
著者紹介(略歴)立教大学、埼玉大学、東京家政大学非常勤講師後、
十文字学園女子大学短期大学部文学科英文専攻専任講師を経て現職。
2013年 リーズ大学博士課程修了 Ph.D. 取得
[専門分野] 和服、ファッション



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definition and methodology could be used to examine other non-western fashion systems and I think it is a useful tool to use for this purpose.

Section 2. Defining Fashion.

There is a myth that is still alive in fashion discourse in the west, that says that fashion was born in Europe and could not have been born anywhere else. Most often there are three reasons given for this. 1) Because of the flexible social system, 2) Because of the technology and economic conditions, 3) Because fashion is about change in shape. Even though there are some new voices in fashion theory, this myth is not dead yet. It is still alive and well, often quoted, even by Japanese fashion professors. If you doubt the reality of orientalism, it is easy to see what it looks like by investigating the word “Kimono” on Getty Images website. Here can be found images of maiko and geisha, coming of age, seven five three, and martial arts and tea ceremony pictures. The ordinary Japanese woman wearing a casual kimono does not exist. This is a disturbing state of affairs, when you consider that the internet has made information available so easily, across the globe. The west clings to the orientalist images, and perhaps Japan itself

exports an orientalist image, knowing that this is what the west would prefer to see.

Something is not fashion because I consider it interesting or cute or beautiful. Fashion has a role to play in society. So from the published fashion theory I developed a five point definition of fashion, in order to test the kimono to see if it could be considered as a fashion garment as well as a traditional one. This became the first chapter of my thesis, and I also use it as the first chapter in my book, where it is followed by two chapters of fashion history and then three chapters that cover the kimono world today: publishing, makers and marketers, and end users, (wearers) of kimono. My working definition of fashion that I developed from western fashion theory, is as follows.

- 1) It is an economic system requiring the technology to make the goods, a distribution system, a market, buyers and users, and a system that publishes the discourse about the products.
- 2) It values new over old. The old is regularly replaced by new and more fashionable goods on the market.
- 3) It values form over function often resulting in clothing that is not practical but has extraordinary shapes for effect. Examples are such items as corsets, bustles, neck-ties, stiletto heels.
- 4) Fashion is group behaviour. There are always leaders and followers. Leaders, also termed early adopters, could be style icons among the rich and famous: actresses, singers, wives of heads of state etc, or popular staff members at 109 store in Shibuya.
- 5) Fashion is also a vehicle for personal expression. While marking ourselves as part of a group, we also want to identify ourselves as individuals and decide whether to stand out from the crowd, or blend in with it.

Section 3. Sophisticated Statements in Heian and Edo.

Using my definition of fashion I then went back in time, by examining clothing, and written documentation, in order to determine if these factors were found in kimono history. I studied the Heian and Edo periods as in these particular periods Japan had little contact with the outside world, so the domestic influence is very strong. There are few written documents from the Heian period, and I relied on the English translations of Makura no Soshi, and Genji Monogatari. Makura no Soshi provided a lot of evidence of clothing behaviours. Being more of a diary, or a list of observations more than a story, I was able to find numer-

ous references to clothing, indicating that what one wore, was a very important part of Heian noble life.

We need to look no further than the noble woman's dress, the *junihitoe*, to see that clearly form was more important than function. This dress was completely debilitating for women. It has been suggested that they shuffled on their knees rather than actually walking. Such a level of debilitating clothing reminds us of the crinolines of western Europe. However, western women went out and were seen, but Heian women were not going out. They were inside the house. If the layered clothing was for practical reasons, such as keeping warm, it would be logical to assume that men's clothing would develop in a similar way, but it did not.

Practical explanations for this garment fail. We have to look a little deeper to uncover the reasons why women wore this clothing, and what it meant. The Heian system of marriage was a loose one, and men would visit women at their parent's houses, rather than setting up a house with their partners. So the women, who did not even show their faces publicly, were playing a waiting game. If they could not interest their partner with the visual affect of their layered clothing, it was likely that he would stop his visitations. In the western fashion system, eroticism is expressed in a series of changes in shape, widening hips, emphasizing breasts etc. There must be a way to express eroticism in other clothing systems too, and I propose it is the series of coloured edges, that embody an erotic invitation. It is an example of the "chirarism" that is still characteristic of Japanese fashion today. The eroticism of the glimpse. An edge points to a way in, to something that is not available to the eyes, and ultimately to the body itself.

Wearing the *junihitoe* was an example of group behaviour, practiced by all the noble women, and mastering the system took some skills. Many of the *kasane*, layerings, were named after plants. The layers of colours were not random. One had to pre-empt not the women around you but the blooming of the plants in nature. The calendar was divided into seventy two seasons, and so women had to constantly pay attention to what was happening in the seasons in order to be ahead of the game. Being a fashion leader was to metaphorically bloom before nature did, and that pre-empting encouraged nature into producing those flowers in the natural world. The women became flowers in the house. Their selection of the shades allowed for personal expression, but dressing behind the times, (out of season) brought scorn from Sei Shonagon. The layers

could also be considered as the face of the woman, as their faces remained hidden behind blinds. The poetic meanings embodied in the *junihitoe* are as deep as the clothing was, and very meaningful.

There are other examples of group clothing behaviour to be found in *Makura no Soshi*. Sei Shonagon complained about the high clogs worn by young males of the court, a trend she found uncomfortable. As a youngster across the globe over one thousand years later, I received similar comments from my own mother, and this makes us realize that the warnings about clothing practice from one generation to another, across time and space, are, in reality, not dissimilar. Even in the Heian period we can find how the new was valued in quickly changing fads, how form overtook function in high shoes worn by young noble men. This is evidence of fashionable behaviour. Every factor of fashion was present in the Heian period except for the full blown economic system. Only a small group of people in the capital had access to the resources that made such extraordinary fashion possible.

Edo in the Edo period was an extraordinary place. It was a brand new city, which became the largest city in the world, far outpacing the growth and population density in Paris or London. The clan wars over, it was a relatively peaceful period, which meant that there were advances in many areas. Engineering advances led to the excellent system of roads that were built, connecting the provinces to Edo, which ensured that transportation of goods was possible. Farming techniques advanced, and education levels and literacy were high. Technology in printing and textiles also improved, making the production of books, posters and literature widely available. The social system was inflexible, but the lower classes had cash to spend, and one of the things they enjoyed spending it on, was clothing. To dress up is an easy way to demonstrate to the public, that one is wealthy enough to purchase extravagant clothing. By the Edo period, it is safe to say that fashion as an economic system was completely manifested. There was an economic system with an active marketplace, the technology for producing the goods, which were brought into the capital on a series of extremely well developed roads, which linked the provinces to the capital. Discourse was spread by the developing printing industry. The *hinagata bon*, popular pattern books which filled various roles such as dyers samples, catalogues and guidebooks, were being circulated well over one hundred years before fashion plates were circu-

lating in England and France.

The government was well aware of the power of fashion, and the lower classes dressing beyond their station was seen as a serious social problem. It is easy to see how advancing technology could influence fashion, but perhaps less obvious that repressive clothing laws would. The lower classes, subject to severe clothing restrictions could not give up their fashion, so it was moved to less obvious places. Colourful underwear and linings are seen peaking out from dull, plain or striped kimono in ukiyoe prints. Evidence of the import of foreign goods is available in the East India Company records, and also in the diary of the warehouse foreman, Richard Cocks. The British mission to Japan lasted only ten years, from 1613 to 23, and it ended in total failure, but the remaining records provide a look into the sartorial behaviour of the Japanese. The traders noted that the Japanese did not want to buy imported cloth with patterns that were popular the previous year, and also that they would buy items that were rare and expensive, rather than ones that were cheaper and plentiful. A predominance of dull colours sold well, whereas bright colours were not popular. Further evidence must be available in the records of the Dutch East India company who continued their business long after the British pulled out.

Interestingly, the fashion movements in the Edo period largely come from the street. They demonstrate bubble-up diffusion rather than trickle-down diffusion that was more common in Europe until the pop revolution of the 1960s. While the upper classes, with no restrictions, continued to purchase shibori or embroidery, townspeople, who were forbidden such luxurious fabrics, favoured the new yuzen dyeing technique which produced a more painterly image, in a comparatively quick and easy manner. Domestic cottons became popularized after the industry was established in 1624, bringing the price of cotton to an affordable level. Edo komon, first worn by the samurai, was popularized in the city and a playful repertoire of designs was developed by the townspeople. Bathing habits developed during the Edo period, and the sento, bathhouses became popular. With this came the rise of the yukata. It went from bathrobe to high fashion at the end of the Edo period, with the complex and fine nagaita chuugata stencil dyeing becoming highly desirable. Similarities can be drawn between the rise of the yukata and the rise of jeans in the west, (originally work wear). A similar popular movement happened in the 1920s, when meisen kimono

became popular because of the availability of cheaply woven and dyed silk.

Fashion developed into sophisticated and oblique statements in the Edo period. The developments in technology making an increasing number of textiles available, but laws and social mores, prohibiting their usage. However, the desire to dress up was insuppressible so fashion went underground, for the ordinary person in the street. The hidden and forbidden, were glimpsed at the edges, in a similar way to the coloured layers of the Heian period. Again, the importance of chirarism, the glimpse is revealed. On the surface, the colours of later Edo appear dark and dull, but one must not assume that everything lies on the surface. There is more to Japanese fashion than what meets the eye.

Section 4. Modernism and modernism revisited.

As Japan masculinized itself in the Meiji period, literally by going into trousers, in order to join the club of western 'developed' nations, the kimono remained the go to wear for most women until the 1950s. Suggestions that kimono embodied the old styles or old order, and that western items were more popular, are not borne out by the work of Kon, in the 1920s and 1930s, or in the amount of attention given to meisen kimono in magazines and publishing of the early 20th century. Considering that Japan, and indeed the whole world, was in a severe depression, the demand for meisen cloth was astounding. Meisen started off as home wear, but became street style for the masses. Its evolution is another story of a fashion that bubbled-up, rather than trickled down from the upper classes. Meisen was kimono for everyone, and was the only kind of silk kimono to have been manufactured on a large scale. It was widely marketed through department stores and kimono stores sales and literature, and women's magazines. It was very much a part of the seasonal fashion that we know today. It was not until the wealthy post war years that kimono became somehow 'special', reserved for the rich, or upper middle classes, for ceremonies and for those cultured enough to drink tea. As everyday wear disappeared from the shelves, expensive silks became synonymous with the word kimono, and wool, cotton or other materials were no longer found in the exclusive kimono shops. The kimono shops realized that the generation growing up after the war were the first generation growing up without wearing kimono, and if they could not wear it, they would not buy it. Hence the start of the kimono

school system, originally as a way of teaching customers to wear their kimono. The kimono became unnaturally standardized, and a rule-governed system, and once it became a rule-governed system, it was possible to make mistakes. The majority of Japanese became outsiders to the world of kimono.

However, since the 1990s kimono has started to be re-democratized, and normalized. A new discourse about kimono is emerging, and it is emerging from outside the kimono circles. It is only from outside, that it was possible to view what had happened in the kimono world and the downward spiral in which the kimono was falling. The new discourse emerged largely from publications and it was spread through the internet. A modern way of communication led to a re-evaluation of the kimono in general, and a desire for the kimono of the modernist period, is an interesting aspect of today's revival. The colourful and flamboyant colours of that time, in particularly on meisen, fulfill the requirements for young people today, wanting something bright and cheerful, and cheap in a time of economic depression. The kimono of the Taisho period resonate with the beginning of the following century. Today's young kimono wearers did not grow up in kimono, nor saw their parents in it. They are, in a sense outsiders.

Section 5. Re-democratization and documentation.

The new magazines have come from women who are publishing savvy, but are not experts on the kimono. The discourse in them is less about rules and more about advice and listening to experienced wearers. New publications have focused on everyday and fashionable wear, rather than the formal wear that is less easy to use for making personal statements. The new kimono is a kimono that is easier to blend with one's lifestyle than the formal version, generally cheaper, easier to care for and mixed with older and pre-used items. This is a normalization of kimono. To only have formal kimono, at artificially inflated prices, was an abnormal state for the kimono to be in. The regeneration of everyday and cheap kimono, will eventually lead to some increase in the formal kimono market as well, because those who choose kimono for everyday, will also choose it for formal occasions. These are interesting times for those who are studying clothing and textiles in Japan.

In spite of all the information that is available on the internet, there is still however, a strong orientalism

remaining within fashion discourse and in the images that circulate on the internet. (As previously mentioned search on the word kimono in Getty images will demonstrate this very clearly). Those images are what sells in the west and what is reproduced in the west. At times Japan joins in, especially by selling Kyoto as a city of maiko and geisha. Therefore it is important for researchers in Japan to examine the reality carefully. (This is easier for an outsider) and to record and analyze real information, in order for future generations, who are also outsiders, to be able to know this generation. Therefore I am involved in two projects which I will introduce here. I believe that they are both very pertinent to the present and future of kimono in Japan.

First is my research project, "The Kimono Closet" or "Tansu Biraki". In line with my mission to be a myth buster and to tell the kimono story how it really is, I am investigating the kimono closets of 50 Japanese women in age group categories, in order to examine what they contain, how the kimono were obtained and the influences and problems that the owner has experienced. This project can be seen on Facebook at the Kimono Closet, and also on: kimonocloset.com. This will provide a sample of kimono from the rarely studied angle of the kimono wearer, the end user of kimono. This research will be presented in both photography and in two languages, English and Japanese, in order to be accessible to as many people as possible.

I have also been involved in the production of a new photographic book of kimono. This is comprised of over one hundred images, the work of Akira Times. His photographic and graphic images first appeared on the internet as a series of magazine covers called "Kimono Times". These covers caused an internet sensation among kimono fans internationally, with over 10,000 fans looking at the images. People even went to the bookshops to ask for "Kimono Times". With no formal training or education in fashion, kitsuke, photography, graphic design or using the computer, Akira Times has set out, using the minimum of kimono and accessories, the challenge to make the image of a perfect Japanese beauty. His images, influenced by the works of Klimpt, Mucha and Serge Lutens are a new and modern take on Japansime. Privileging this quest for the image of a beautiful Japanese woman, the kimono is pared down to its most simple elements. Underwear or padding are usually absent but Akira's love for kimono is evident in every photograph of this remarkable text. For



KIMONO times: Wafuku Anarchist, 2017年10月20日
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Akira, kimono is fashion, and his desire is that Japanese play more, with kimono fashion. Akira, living in Yamagata, is an outsider to the world of kimono which is based in Kyoto and Tokyo. His images are both a challenge to the established kimono world and also point a way to a future with kimono. His favourite saying is: Life with an extra dress-code, must be so exciting.



講演者 シーラ・クリフ氏モデルによる AKIRA 氏制作
「BANANA TIMES」

This is an English language summary of the speech presented at the Japan Kasei Research Group Kanto Section and Young Researchers Group.