2018

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Okamoto, Keiko, "The Modern Development of Kyoto Textiles for the Kimono" (2018). *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*. 1105.

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The Social Fabric: Deep Local to Pan Global

**Textile Society of America 16th Biennial Symposium
Vancouver, Canada — September 19-23, 2018**

Published in *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings 2018*

Presented at Vancouver, BC, Canada; September 19 – 23, 2018

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The Modern Development of Kyoto Textiles for the Kimono

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In the latter half of the 20th century, when less and less kimono clad Japanese women were witnessed, more and more *yūzen* dyeing kimono textiles were manufactured and sold. But, those kimono seemed to be stored in the chest of drawers as family treasures so that even Japanese seldom had chances to admire them. Now, in the 21st century, those kimono are coming out into the second-hand market. In this paper, the author examined how *yūzen* textiles for the kimono were developed, manufactured, and marketed to consumers in the post WWII era to the present.

Background

The kimono and its textiles have a long history and have had interactions with Western countries.¹ When Japan reopened its country in the mid-19th century, Japan started exporting yarns and textiles in order to earn foreign currencies for its Industrial Revolution. What Japan imported were power looms, synthetic dyes, and screen and roller printing techniques. Wool muslin and rayon production method were also introduced. And Western motifs were used for textile designs for the kimono textiles, such as roses, tulips, peacocks, and so on. The Japanese kimono were also exported to Western countries in the second half of the 19th and early 20th century and they were admired as art-to-wear.² However, the popularity of the kimono in the Western art scenes declined in the latter half of the 20th century. For example, “Kimono: A Modern History” covers very limited information in the latter half of the 20th century,³ and “The Kimono Inspiration,” an exhibition catalog, focused on the kimono as a medium by American artists in the late 20th century.⁴ The Japanese kimono in the second half of the 20th century seemed to be isolated in the Japanese market. One of the reasons may be the wars and aftermath in the mid-20th century that interrupted the flow of the Japanese clothing culture.

Before WWII, *yūzen* dyeing for the kimono, especially hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing on silk fabrics, were for a limited few upper-class people. Patten print *yūzen* dyeing was used for underwear, futon cover textiles, and reasonably priced dress-up kimono because the quality of pattern *yūzen* dyeing was not yet high enough at that time. In those days, the main textiles for the kimono were cotton woven textiles for daily wear and *meisen* (woven) textiles made of knotty silk yarns. *Meisen* became popular as mass production methods were developed in the early 20th century.⁵

¹ Anna Jackson, Ed, *Kimono: The Art and Evolution of Japanese Fashion* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2015).

² Nancy A. Corwin, “The kimono Mind: Japonisme in American Culture.” In *The Kimono Inspiration: Art and art-to-wear*, ed. Stevens, Rebecca A. T., Wada, Yoshiko I. (New York: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1996), 23-76.

³ Terry S. Milhaupt, *Kimono: A Modern History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 234-246.

⁴ Julie S. Dale, “The Kimono in the Art-to-Wear Movement,” In *The Kimono Inspiration: Art and art-to-wear*, ed. Stevens, Rebecca A. T., Wada Yoshiko I. (New York: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1996), 79-127.

⁵ Ikumi. Toya, “Meisen no Rekishi to Kindaika” [The History and the Modernism of Meisen]. (2015), in *Kimono Modanizumu - Suzaka Kurasshikku Bijutsukan meisen korekushon*, [Kimono Modernism: Collection of Suzaka Classic Museum], (Tokyo: Ippan zaidan hōjin Suzaka-shi bunka shinkō jigyōdan, 2015), 12-16.

Penelope Francks, “Kimono Fashion: The Consumer and the Growth of the Textile Industry in Pre-war Japan”, in *The Historical Consumer: Consumption and Everyday Life in Japan 1850-2000*, ed. Penelope Francks and Janet

However, by the end of WWII, clothing was allotted by the ticketing system and the shortage lasted for several years after the war.

As the market reopened in the post WWII era, the textile industry both for the kimono and the Western clothing flourished. But gradually, the production and sales of casual woven textiles for the kimono started declining in the late 1950s because Japanese women found that Western clothing was more active as daily wear. However, *yūzen* dyeing production kept increasing. When almost all the Japanese women altered their daily wear to Western clothing, *yūzen* dyeing experienced its historical peak in production and sales in the 1970s.⁶ *Yūzen* production between 1968 and 1993 in Kyoto was about 200 million bolts,⁷ which was almost the same amount of *meisen* production between 1912-1937 when almost all the women wore the kimono every day.⁸

Kyoto Textiles & Yūzen dyeing

More than 80 percent of *yūzen* dyeing has been produced in Kyoto as a variation of Kyoto textiles.⁹ Kyoto has been the production and distribution center of kimono textiles because Kyoto was the capital of Japan for a long time. Kyoto used to be called *Kyō* so that textiles dyed in Kyoto are called *Kyō-zome*, meaning Kyoto textiles. Dyeing methods of Kyoto textiles vary, such as stencil dyeing, tie-dye, and Japanese batik, solid color (dip), brush dyeing, and gradation brush dyeing in addition to *yūzen* dyeing. Embroidery and/or gold leaf applications are sometimes added onto Kyoto textiles. Most of the time, *yūzen* dyeing combines with other dyeing methods of Kyoto textiles, such as gradation brush dyeing for the background color and/or tie-dye for accents. The combination of mixed methods made *yūzen* dyeing more gorgeous.

Figure 1 is an example of hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing with gold flakes and embroidery. It looks just like a printed fabric, but it is hand-painted. Hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing was developed in the 17th century when no other method could depict free-hand drawn lines. The method was named after the method developer, Mr. Yūzen-sai Miyazaki. The outlines are hand-drawn with a paste, then colors are applied with a paintbrush. *Yūzen* dyeing especially processed in Kyoto is called *Kyō-yūzen*.

The process of hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing is shown in Figure 2. Each step is processed by an artisan who specializes in that step. The coordinator, *Senshō*, manages loosely affiliated artisans. In picture 1) an artisan is draft drawing on a basted greige fabric, 2) another artisan is applying paste (outline of the motifs) on the draft drawn lines, 3) another artisan is coloring the motifs with a paintbrush, and 4) another artisan is applying gold leaves. As you can see,

Hunter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 151-175.

⁶ Compared to silk *yūzen* production from 1930 to 1938. Kyoto Chamber of Commerce and Industry Ed, *Kyoto Shōko Kaigisho Tōkei Nenpō, Shōwa 12 – Shōwa 17* [Annual Reports of Kyoto Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Shōwa 12 – Shōwa 17] (Kyoto: Kyoto Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 1938), 96-97.

⁷ *Kyō-yūzen Kyōdō Kumiai Rengōkai, Nendo Betsu Seisandaka Hikaku-hyō, Sozai Betsu Seisandaka-hyō (nendo betsu)* [Annual Production Trends, Production Trends on Fabric Types (Annual)] (Kyoto: Kyoto:Kyō-yūzen Kumiai Rengōkai, 2017).

⁸ “Isezaki Meisen Akaibusu,” [Isezaki Meisen Archives]. Retrieved from <http://iga.justhpb.jp/comparison.html>. on Sep. 14, 2016.

⁹ Koji Nakamura, “Wasō Sneshokugyō no Tokushitu to Kōzō” [Characteristics and Structure of The Dyeing Industry for Kimono Textiles]. *Doshisha Shogaku*, Vol, 38, No.5, (1987): 759-783.

hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing cannot be duplicated exactly the same because it is done all by hand.

Yūzen Dyeing 友禅 [use-en]

Figure 1: Fabric dyed with hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing, collection of author

Hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing 手描友禅

Figure 2: Processes of hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing

Kyoto Kōgei Sen-shō Kyōdō Kumiai Ed. *Kyō Tegaki Yūzen, Sen-shō - Dentō no Waza, Kyō no Kimono* [Kyoto hand-painted *Yūzen*, *Sen-shō* Traditional techniques, *Kyoto kimono*] Kyoto: Kyoto Kōgei Sen-shō Kyōdō Kumiai, n.d.

There had been a stencil dyeing method before *yūzen* dyeing, and later it came to be called stencil *yūzen*.¹⁰ Then in the late 19th century, when chemical dyes were introduced to Japan, a colorful pattern print method on silk fabrics was developed. It was named *kata-yūzen*, meaning pattern print *yūzen*.¹¹ And in the early 20th century, when screen and machine print (roller

¹⁰ Yoshio Ikutani, and Kenzo Fujii, *Kyō-yūzen Surizome – Rekishi to Gihō* [Kyō-yūzen Stencil – Its History and method.] (Kyoto: Kyoto Yūzen Kyōdō Kuiai, 2001), 62.

¹¹ In the beginning, it was called “*utsushi yūzen*.” B. Murakami, *Kindai Yūzen-shi* [History of Modern *Yūzen*], (Kyoto: Unsōdō, 1927).

prints) became available, they were also called *yūzen* dyeing.¹² Even inkjet print in the early 21st century is officially called *yūzen* dyeing. The reason why all these new prints were named *yūzen* dyeing was probably because of the fancy images of hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing. It was remarkable that even after simpler print methods were developed, Japanese people kept hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing as the most prestigious and desirable dyeing method for the kimono.

Stencil *yūzen* dyeing 摺り友禅

Figure 3: Printing process of stencil *yūzen* dyeing (Kyoto Yūzen Kyōdō Kumiai website)

Figure4: Fabric dyed with stencil *yūzen* dyeing manufactured in 1960, collection of author

Figure 3 is a picture of an artisan working on stencil *yūzen* dyeing. The method uses patterns, but the artisan has to color each pattern opening with a brush. It is a labor-intensive method. Figure 4 is the example of stencil *yūzen* dyeing, depicting chrysanthemums.

¹² *Kyō no yūzenshi* published in 1992 introduced 101 types of *yūzen* dyeing method.

Figure 5 is a picture of an artisan working on pattern print *yūzen* dyeing. Patterns and colored pastes enabled multiple productions so that this could be mass-production, but still, as can be seen, the artisan has to spread every color paste with a wooden squeegee by hand. And the pattern is made of Japanese rice paper laminated with persimmon juice. Figure 6 is a piece of fabric dyed with pattern *yūzen*.

Pattern *yūzen* dyeing 型友禅

Figure 5: Printing process of pattern *yūzen* dyeing (Kyō-yūzen Kyōdō Kumiai Rengōkai website)

Figure 6: Fabric dyed with pattern *yūzen* dyeing manufactured in 1960, collection of author

Figure 7 is a picture of an artisan working on screen print *yūzen* dyeing. Screen printing made the printing processes much easier, but still, most of the process is done by hand. Among these *yūzen* dyeing, the most prestigious dyeing method is hand-painted *yūzen* method, but as printing skills were improved, it didn't mean that hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing had higher quality compared to other methods. The quality depends on artisans' skills, textile designs and colors, and the quality of greige fabrics.

Figure 8 are the steps that are applied several times during the dyeing procedure of hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing. In picture 5) a dyer is brush dyeing the background color of the fabric, 6)

steaming the fabrics to fix the dye onto the fabric, 7) rinsing extra dyes, and 8) steam ironing. The last three steps. 6, 7, and 8 are also applied to other *yūzen* dyeing methods. Even at present, these applications were manually dependent compared to Western printing methods.

Screen *yūzen* dyeing スクリーン友禅

<https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/京友禅-《型友禅・色糊をつかって染める》/wGGVzpCJMWbZA?hl=ja>

Figure 7: Printing process of screen print *yūzen* dyeing

(Google Arts & Culture website, Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Koito Sengei: photo by Kengo Takayama)

Finishing processes

Kyōto Kōgei Sen-shō Kyōdō Kumiai

Figure 8: Processes of brush dyeing, steaming, rinsing, and steam ironing

Kyoto Kōgei Sen-shō Kyōdō Kumiai Ed. *Kyō Tegaki Yūzen, Sen-shō - Dentō no Waza, Kyō no Kimono* [Kyoto hand-painted *Yūzen*, *Sen-shō* Traditional techniques, Kyoto kimono] Kyoto: Kyoto Kōgei Sen-shō Kyōdō Kumiai, n.d.

Kyō-yūzen production trends

The growing era

Figure 9 shows *yūzen* production trends in Kyoto by dyeing methods between 1949 and 2016. The data source was not the same before and after 1968 because the artisans' association was reorganized in the late 1960s. The data between 1949 and 1965 did not indicate the dyeing methods: hand-paint, pattern print, or machine print.¹³ The early stage circled in blue was the time when the industry was recovering from the aftermath of WWII. The production numbers were small may be because 1) more daily wear kimono (woven textiles) were popular, and 2) there were many outsiders whose production numbers were not combined in this figure.

Figure 9: Trends in Kyō-yūzen production by methods, figure made by author
(Kyō-yūzen Kyōdō Kumiai, 1965 & Kyō-yūzen Kyōdō Kumiai Rengōkai, 2017)

¹³ Kyoto Chamber of Commerce and Industry and M. Ogata, Ed. *Kyō-yūzen ni Kansuru Chōsa* [A survey on Kyō-yūzen]. (Kyoto: Kyoto Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 1940), 26.

Figure 10: Shaped waist, two-piece kimono, and Western style coat from the Beautiful Kimono magazine
 Utsukushii Kimono [Beautiful Kimono] Left Vol. 3, (1954), 109. Centers Vol. 2, (1954), 73. Right Vol. 3, (1954), 3.

Pictures in Figure 10 are from the magazine, “Beautiful Kimono” in the 1950s. This was the time when more and more Western clothing was promoted in the Japanese market.¹⁴ The kimono and its textiles were affected by the growing trend of Western style clothing during this period. The traditional Japanese kimono was one-piece and did not have a shaped waist, but the magazine introduced the shaped waist, a two-piece kimono and a Western style kimono coat.

Figure 11: Beautiful Kimono magazine in 1962
 Utsukushii Kimono [Beautiful Kimono] Left Vol. 34, (1962,) 5, Centers Vol. 29, (1961), 132-133. Right Vol. 34, (1962), 17.

¹⁴ Andrew Gordon, “Like Bamboo Shoots after the Rain: The Growth of a Nation of Dressmakers and Consumers,” in *The Historical Consumer: Consumption and Everyday Life in Japan, 1850-2000*, ed. Penelope Francks and Janet Hunter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 56-78.

Figure 12: Photos from the *Beautiful Kimono* magazine
 Left Vol. 1, (1953), page not known. Center Vol. 4, (1955), 85. Right Vol. 1 (1953), page not known

Figure 11 shows photos from the magazine in 1961 and 1962. Western models in shaped waist and open neckline pose like Christian Dior “New Look” models. It seems that the magazine tried to bring new trends in kimono fashion. Textile designs also featured Western motifs or Western essences. Figure 12 shows *yūzen* kimono from the magazine in the 1950s. These textile designs were new for *yūzen* textiles, such as abstracts (left), large orchid motifs (middle), and large and abstract motifs that depict Japanese fans (right). Many innovative textile designs were developed in the 1950s in addition to the traditional authentic *yūzen* textile designs. Merchants and artisans also worked hard to improve its production techniques and color fastness that were not good enough in the previous era.

The next three photos are hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing manufactured in the 1950s and in the early 60s. These kimono with non-repeated motifs are usually hung on kimono hangers for display. Wrapped front parts are stretched out like a paint canvas. The main motifs come on the left front, flows to the back, and to the right front, and then jump up to the backside of the left sleeve so that the composition of the textile design can be admired as if it were a piece of textile art.

Hand-painted *Yūzen* Dyeing 1963

Figure 13: Hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing manufactured in 1963, collection of author

Hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing with non-repeated motifs was considered special and surely expensive. Figure 13 is hand-painted *yūzen* kimono on silk crepe. Hydrangeas were outlined with paste and leaves were painted without paste-resisted outlines. A closer look at it reveals it was hand-painted.

Figure 14 is another hand-painted *yūzen* summer kimono on silk crape. An abstract plant design on off-white background was very modern for a kimono textile design. These two kimono were not sold in the retail market because a Muromachi merchant (a maker/wholesaler of kimono textiles in Muromachi district in Kyoto) purchased them for his daughter right after they were manufactured. Textile designs, colors, and dyeing techniques must have attracted the merchant who was a connoisseur of *yūzen* dyeing.

Hand-painted *Yūzen* Dyeing 1961

Figure 14: Hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing manufactured in 1961, collection of author

Hand-painted *Yūzen* Dyeing 1955

Figure 15: Hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing manufactured in 1955, collection of author

The long flowing sleeve kimono in Figure 15 was for the 17-year old daughter of the merchant. She wore it at her brother's wedding ceremony and reception. In those days, young girls were supposed to wear warm background color kimono (in this case dark orange). This color was one of the typical colors for young women. The textile design uses Japanese traditional motifs, such as chrysanthemums and bamboo baskets, but the Christmas cracker like shapes made the kimono cheerful. The off-white belts with gold glitters add a dynamic movement on the textile design. Embroidery is added on some of the stems and chrysanthemums. Regarding hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing, it is very hard to capture the exact designs and trends because once the single piece of fabric (no duplicate) was produced and sold to a consumer, there was no way to keep a sample piece.

The peak era

Traditionally, the kimono means “things to wear” and it has a T-shaped, front wrapped style. It is sold by the bolt (14.6 inches in width x 13.3 to 16.6 yards in length) at retail stores and when Japanese say, “I bought a kimono,” means “I bought a bolt of kimono fabric and would have someone sew it into a kimono outfit,” or “sew it by myself.” So, the textiles (silk or cotton, etc.) and textile designs have been the most important aspects of kimono fashion trends (aside from coordination of *obi* sash belts, collar, strings, etc.) These textile designs were directed by a Muromachi merchant with provisions of greige fabrics to various artisans.

In the late 1960s, demands for daily casual kimono drastically declined as more Western clothing became popular. However, demands for dress-up and formal silk kimono manufactured with *yūzen* dyeing increased rapidly. It was because Japanese consumers, especially women, who had had very few chances to buy or wear silk kimono for a long time due to affordability, scarcity, or wartime restrictions before, during, and after the war, desired owning *yūzen* kimono as their family income increased.¹⁵ The Japanese bought relatively expensive silk kimono as family

¹⁵ Kuniyasu Izushi. "Muromachi Sen'i Oroshiuri Shijō Kōzō no Tokushitsu to Dōkō" [Attributes and Trends of the

treasures. So, the kimono production in this period was shifted from woven casual wear to dress-up and formal wear made of *yūzen* dyeing.

In the 1970s, in order to fill huge demands of *yūzen* dyeing, more pattern print *yūzen* dyeing method (including stencil, pattern, and screen *yūzen*) were used as seen in the red circle in Figure 9. Among *yūzen* dyeing, the degree of formality was usually determined by textile designs. For example, dress-up kimono used small repeated patterns (Figure 4 and 6), while formal and ceremonial attire used non-repeated textile designs (Figure 13, 14, 15, and 16). But growing market of ready-to-wear Western clothing gave Japanese women excuses not to wear the kimono very often. As a result, demand was gradually squeezed into formal and ceremonial attire with non-repeated textile designs. In order to manufacture labor-intensive non-repeated textile designs, Muromachi merchants optimized screen *yūzen* dyeing methods aiming for productivity and cost reduction.¹⁶

The kimono in Figure 16 is an example of non-repeated textile design dyed with screen print *yūzen* method. As you can see, different parts of the kimono have different layouts of motifs as if it were manufactured by hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing. But this kimono was actually manufactured using screen print *yūzen* method. Screen print *yūzen* enabled multiple production of the same textile designs possible, but it required as many screens as colors used in the textile design. When 15 body parts have different layouts of motifs, each of which use 15 colors and shades, for example, they need as many as 225 screens (ex. 15 screens x 15 parts.) Suppose the cost of a screen is about \$100, the total screen cost is \$22,500. The expensive screen costs could be depreciated if the production quantity is large (if the production quantity is 300, the screen cost would be \$22,500/300=\$75 per kimono), but when the production quantity is small, the screen cost burdens the cost of the kimono. The techniques of screen print *yūzen* methods had been improved so that multiple productions using screen *yūzen* methods made the production costs relatively lower compared to hand-painted *yūzen* dyeing, while keeping the quality of the textiles high. The production lot in the peak era was between several dozens to a few hundred of bolts per design. The strategy was successful in a way resulting many screen *yūzen* print factories were established and flourished during this period.¹⁷

Structure of Textile Wholesale Industry in Muromachi]. *Doshisha Shogaku*, Vol. 22, No. 5, 6, (1971), 234-237.

¹⁶ In discussion with Mr. Yoshiomi Honda, a president of Senshoku Shinpo-sha on Oct. 23, 2016.

¹⁷ Ibid.

**Pattern print *yūzen*
(*Kata yūzen*)
1984**

Figure 16: Pattern yūzen dyeing manufactured in 1987, collection of author

The kimono industry had been so thriving that no one seemed to be worried about the problems that underlaid with its old business model. By the 1980s, however, the overall demand for the kimono was diminishing and consumer preferences was shifting further towards formal and ceremonial attire, prices of the kimono textiles became extremely expensive compared to Western clothing. Some of the reasons were due to the labor cost increase and a long chain of distribution. Many middlemen involved in the distribution chain of the kimono business added their profits on the kimono. Others were impractical way of costing. The price of kimono textiles was not determined by the cost of greige fabrics or the dyeing method but it was deeply affected by the degree of formality and the textile designs. In addition, when demand declined, additional profits were added as there were no fixed prices at retail stores. These made consumers skeptical about pricing and the kimono business.

In the late 1980s, textile designs gradually shifted to “traditional” and “authentic” to be applicable to the majority of consumers. Colors of the textiles became subtle; the size of the motifs were reduced and more scattered as consumers’ average age increased. Furthermore, in order to make cost-effective kimono, several different seasonal motifs were put on one kimono so that it could be worn for different occasions in different seasons. Traditionally, the kimono textile designs limit the wearing season because motifs were taken from the natural scenery that the Japanese had been surrounded by in that season. For example, cherry blossoms were to be worn in spring, dayflowers in summer, maple leaves in autumn, and so forth. But all these seasonal motifs were put on one kimono and marketed as “all year-round wear,” or “celebratory motifs.” And less and less innovative textile designs were developed.

The critical era

By the 1990s, the kimono became ceremonial wear for most of the Japanese. When the bubble

economy burst in the early 1990s, the trend, cheaper is the better, prevailed in the Japanese entire market, which was in complete opposition to the direction of kimono marketing over the years. The cost of *yūzen* dyeing remained high because artisans' labor costs were already high by then, and the dyeing applications were still labor-intensive. Furthermore, the basic kimono business model among Muromachi merchants, middlemen, retailers, and artisans hadn't been changed for almost 60 years since the pre-war period. As a result, the entire kimono business kept shrinking into the 2000s; some by closing the business, changing the business, and others went bankruptcies. The diminishing number of artisans lead to the disconnection of the production loop. Finally, as seen in a green circle in Figure 9, the production trend between 1995 and 2016 kept decreasing. The production quantity of *yūzen* dyeing in Kyoto in 2017 was down to about 365,000 bolts including 52,000 inkjet *yūzen* prints.¹⁸ This number was about one-fortieth of the peak year in 1972.

Contrary to the decline, however, the kimono pop culture has been spreading out to young Japanese and to overseas recently. This is a good thing, but the popularity comes from T-shaped kimono outfits, not from kimono textiles. The new types of kimono could use a variety of mass-produced textiles. It is less likely those kimono will use labor intensive expensive *yūzen* dyeing. Moreover, the decline in demand for Kyoto textiles limits the opportunities for artisan successors to obtain skills that have been passed down over the years, which will eventually result in the extinction of Kyoto textiles. Something has to be done for the Japanese craftsmanship.

Conclusion

The environment for kimono fashion has changed dramatically in the last 150 years since Japan's reopening to the West. The kimono experienced the Industrial Revolution, wars, and exposure to Western clothing culture, yet it has survived every challenge. It could have been completely replaced by Western clothing somewhere along the way, but it was not because it found a secure niche among the changing fashions. Western clothing became the norm for business and casual attire for Japanese everyday life, leaving the kimono for ceremonial attire.

But the admiration of the kimono and its textiles by Western observers did not last in the post-WWII era. As for the Japanese, they feel that nothing has changed in the kimono, but a closer look at it revealed that the kimono has been changing continuously to the present, just like Western clothing fashion trends. The rise and fall of the kimono business after WWII transformed the kimono trends, such as textile designs and colors, and the types of greige fabrics which eventually limited the variation of Kyoto textiles compared to those from the previous era. Moreover, advanced technologies used for manufacturing traditional Kyoto textiles more efficiently must have distracted Western observers who had been looking at the kimono as a represent of exotic Japan.

The kimono at present is not the same as what Japanese had in the past, and it will keep changing into the future. Those future changes, we have seen, will almost certainly lead to the virtual extinction of traditional handmade Kyoto textiles if their only use continues to be as kimono

¹⁸ Kyō-yūzen Kyōdo Kumiai Rengōkai, *Nendo Betsu Seisandaka Hikaku-hyō, Sozai Betsu Seisandaka-hyō (nendo betsu)*, [Annual Production Trends, Production Trends on Fabric Types (Annual)]. (Kyoto: Kyō-yūzen Kyōdo Kumiai Rengōkai. 2017).

textiles. To take them to the next stage where they can once again be admired by observers around the world, Kyoto textiles will need to be discovered and admired apart from the present kimono outfits.

As seen in this paper, the kimono textile designs in the 1950s and 1960 were dynamic, not like those we see today. And even in the peak production era, artisanal great Kyoto textiles including hand painted *yūzen* dyeing must have been produced among thousands of mass-manufactured kimono textiles. But unfortunately, those kimono are currently being stored in the chest of drawers of Japanese consumers and there is no way to locate them at this moment. It is hoped that those textiles are to be discovered by textile loving collectors and to be exposed to the public in the near future.

I believe that the preservation of applications is important, and those artisanal Kyoto textiles that have been manufactured and stored in deep local for the last 70 years should be discovered and brought to textile lovers around the world. I would like to propose that for the survival of Kyoto textiles, one should create a new, living future for them as a form of art or art-to-wear.

*Acknowledgement

I would like to express my special thanks of gratitude to Mr. Y. Honda, the president of Sen'i Shinpo-sha, Mr. K. Shiraki & Mr. S. Shiraki from Shiraki Senshō Co., Ltd., Mr. H. Tsugita, a retired Muromachi merchant, and Kyoto Orimono Oroshi Shōgyō Kumiai for providing information and introducing to the industry. I also would like to thank Mr. T. Koito from Koito Sengei Co., Ltd., Kyō-yūzen Kyōdō Kumiai Rengōkai, Kyoto Yūzen Kyōdō Kumiai, Kyoto Kōgei Senshō Kyōdō Kumiai, Ritsumeikan Art Research Center, and Hearst Fujingaho Co., Ltd. for providing permissions to use pictures and videos.

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