OXFORD ASIAN TEXTILE GROUP

Newsletter No. 21 February 2002

Twenty-year-old Mayu dressed for the coming-of-age celebrations. See p.21.

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

An editor's lot is not a happy one! - although it has its compensations. As you will all often have read on the last page of the newsletter, my deadlines are on the first Mondays of February, June and October. The weeks starting on each of these days are run to a very tight schedule, which usually works. Most times the bulk of the material has come in before - sometimes a long time before - the deadline, and I make up the newsletter as it comes in. Working under not too great pressure I can get the copy to the printer by Wednesday noon, in order that he can deliver the finished goods to the Ashmolean on Friday morning. With Ruth's help, I manage to despatch it the same day, so that most of you receive it on the Monday a week after the deadline.

That is what usually happens. This time, however, I have been bedevilled, possibly by one of those demons warded off by the amulets Marion Maule talks about; perhaps I should get one! First, I always tell contributors that their articles can be *any* length they like, and I mean it, but this time the writers of all three main articles wrote rather long pieces - not that I am complaining; I am always aiming for a fatter newsletter. Two of them, however, arrived at the last minute, putting pressure on the vital week, and the illustration to Jane Wilkinson's have failed to arrive - held up in the post somewhere, I suspect. If they had come, I should have been proud to send you a 32 page issue this time, but as they have not, I have had to settle for 28 (since the format requires me to work in blocks of four pages), which means that I have had to hold over some material till next time and leave out events listings altogether.

So, apologies! First to the people I have been badgering to send me their copy in time, who will now have to wait until June to see it in print and will probably be reluctant to respond to my urging another time. Next, to Jane Wilkinson as well as to all of you, for presenting her article as five densely packed pages of unrelieved typescript. I have left her plate references in, however, and, on the assumption that they will arrive shortly, intend to include the illustrations next time, so if you hang on to this newsletter you will be able to marry them together in June. Finally, an apology to all of you for the countless errors you are sure to find, for with all this hassle I have not had time to check the typescript properly.

All that said, I hope you will enjoy this special Japanese number: the first time we have ventured on a special issue. In principle, I think it has been a success and hope to repeat it - without the gremlins - another time. It is our contribution to *Japan 2001*, which ends next month. I hope you have enjoyed the festival as much as I have - even without Marion's festive clothes!

PROGRAMME

Wednesday 20 February at 5.45 p.m.

Hemp and Ramie

by Gina Corrigan

The Miao hill tribe women of south west China still weave the material for their costumes from hemp and ramie they have grown and prepared themselves. The cultural practices associated with these unusual fibres will be explored.

at the Pitt Rivers Research Centre, 64 Banbury Road, Oxford.
Refreshments will be served from 5.15 p.m.
Members free Visitors welcome, £2

* * *

Wednesday 24 April at 5.45 p.m.

Themes and Symbols in Japanese Art and Textiles by Marion Maule

Why are some more popular than others? Was it war, romance, religion or prophylaxis which prompted their adoption, transformation and application to a host of objects?

at the Pauling Centre for Human Sciences, 58 Banbury Road, Oxford
Refreshments will be served from 5.15 p.m.
Members free Visitors welcome, £2

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Further information may be obtained from one of the Programme Co-ordinators:

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AINU TEXTILES AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF SCOTLAND

I remained staring,
after the many needle paths
after the countless needle paths
and in the paths of my needle
there would take form
many swirling patterns
countless swirling patterns
The upper clothing racks
would bend under the weight
of the beautiful robes
which I had embroidered.

Extract from an Ainu Yukar (Phillippi 1979)

During the last week of January 2002, seven Ainu artists from Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost island, visited the National Museums of Scotland. Mr Akibe Tokuhei from Kushiro, Mr Urakawa Tahachi from Urakawa, Mr Kaizawa Tohru from Nibutani, Ms Kato Machiko from Sapporo, Ms Kawagishi Reiko from Shiraoi, Ms Sunazawa Yoeko from Tomokumae and Ms Yokoyama Mutsumi from Noboribetsu. They came to Scotland to research the Gordon Munro collections of Ainu material at the National Museums in order to replicate certain important items of the collection on their return to Japan.

Dr Neil Gordon Munro (1863-1942), a Scottish doctor, was the medical director of Yokohama Hospital for thirty years then spent his retirement after 1930 living amongst the Ainu in the village of Nibutani on the Saru river in Hokkaido. An amateur archaeologist and anthropologist, Munro had a life-long passion for Japanese culture and donated just under 200 Ainu objects, the main part of the Museum's Ainu collection, to the Royal Museum between 1909 and 1914.

The Ainu are the indigenous people of Hokkaido, Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. There are over 25,000 Ainu in Hokkaido to-day and a smaller community near Tokyo. They have no written language but a rich oral tradition. At festivals in the past they would listen to a well-known storyteller, usually an elder invited from another village, who would orate yukar stories about Ainu gods or heroes. To-day they live among the Japanese who arrived in Hokkaido in large numbers at the end of the nineteenth century. In the past they suffered discrimination and lost much of their original way of life, but in the last twenty years this has been changing, and the Ainu have reclaimed their identity and cultural heritage. A new law, passed in 1997, recognized this and set up a Foundation for the Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture with funds from central government.

The Foundation is mounting an exhibition of the D.N. Gordon Monro Ainu collection at the Hokkaido Historical Museum in Sapporo in April 2002 and Kanagawa Prefectural Museum in Yokohama in July 2002. Apart from those at the National Museums of Scotland, some collections remained in Japan and a few items were also deposited at the British

Museum and the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. This will be the first time the collections will all be shown together, and the exhibition is in honour of the Scottish doctor who is still remembered and loved by the Ainu people.

In the Ainu household there is a careful division of labour between the sexes and this is also true of the domestic crafts. Ainu men carve bowls, knife sheaths, make the parts of the loom with carved decoration and also make the offerings and libation sticks for the gods. Producing mats, travelling bags and braiding bands was all women's work. They are also responsible for the weaving, embroidery and applique that produced the distinctive traditional dress of the Ainu.

Travelling bags were a neat construction of woven bulrushes made on the upright loom in the same way as the mats (see below), though finer reeds would be chosen. The width of the bag is turned up at one end to form a bag with added insets, latterly of imported woven cotton as the example in the Museum collections (plate 1, Reg.No. 1886.15). The long lid wraps round the bag and is tied with cord at each end, to which a forehead band is attached. The lid of the bag has been dyed in a geometrical design using black and rust-brown provided by natural plant dyes. The bags were used to carry a new wife's belongings to her new house in her husband's village. They were particularly useful for carrying foodstuffs collected in the forests or along the shore, or for carrying personal belongings and stores on a hunting trip.

Forehead bands, used for carrying heavy loads, were made of braided cord. The threads making up the cords were made of fibre produced from nettle or vine. The nettle was prepared by steeping it in stagnant water and then pressed, scraped and combed. The thread was made up of twisted two-ply. A finer version was used for sewing and embroidery. Vine produced coarser fibre. The bast of the vine was seeped and fermented to make it stronger and less coarse. Forehead bands were usually made from four plaited cords uniting to make the rectangular piece for the forehead. They were often soaked in a stiffening substance. A forehead band made with three cords, as is the example in the Museum's collection (plate 2, Reg.No. 1909.499.44) was used exclusively for carrying the dead, wrapped in specially made mats.

Reeds were also collected for making mats. Mats were used to partition rooms into smaller spaces. They were hung along the walls and lined the floors for extra warmth or were used at entrances as windbreaks. Women made mats and travelling bags on an upright loom, which consisted of a horizontal rod supported at both ends at a convenient height. This was notched at intervals of an inch or more according to the size and quality desired. The weft or binding threads were strands of linden each wound equally around two elongated stones at each end. These were placed over each of the notches so that the stones hung at the end of 9" of stretched cord either side of the loom. The warps were usually leaves of bulrushes and laid individually on top of the horizontal beam. As each reed is laid on the loom alternate pairs of stone bobbins are crossed over it binding each reed in place. The stones act as both bobbins and weights to keep the weft cords taut. The reeds usually overlap the body of the mat, producing neat looped edges. Obviously the length of the mat is

determined by the length of cord wound onto the bobbins, as the width corresponds to the number of cords employed.

Mats with designs were only used in religious ceremonies. They were also wrapped about the dead for burial. Inserting the dyed inner bark of linden into the design created geometric designs. Ainu women used plant dyes. They either soaked or boiled the material to be dyed in a water solution containing the dye. The inner bark of walnut produced black and black alder gave a red. Any inner bark boiled with ashes of oak or maple produced a reddish brown. All these colours were used in the decoration of mats for ceremonial use and travelling bags when used to carry a woman's dowry. Large mats are still made for special occasions. They are hung on the walls of a concert hall when a recitation is performed, or made for exhibition. The Foundation has acquired several large mats, which are kept in their collection of contemporary Ainu crafts.

The main material used for weaving was the unspun bast of the elm, or attush. In the past men and women went on expeditions into the mountain forests in search of elm and linden, from which they stripped the inner bark. This was soaked in marshes or swamps until it was no longer slimy. Slimy fibres are too stiff for weaving. After soaking, each layer of the bark comes off like tissue paper. When dry, the bark was pulled into threads and wound into balls. If strands were needed immediately, the small amounts of stripped bark were soaked and swished in warm water to remove the sap and soften it. Munro reports only one village making coats out of attush when he was there in 1930. Although used occasionally in Hokkaido, fur, fish skins and sealskin were more typical of Ainu clothing in Sakhalin, and in the Kurile Islands birds' feathers were also used.

To-day attush is woven rarely, usually as a commission for a museum or as a craft demonstration and commission for the Foundation. The loom is of simple construction and portable, so that it could be set up whenever and wherever it was needed. In good weather the loom could be set up out of doors, but in the winter evenings women were more likely to weave inside their homes. Outside, two spikes would be pounded into the ground about twenty feet apart. Inside, a pole making up the frame of the house was used for the furthest end and any available immovable object at ground level, including another member of the family, as the second point of attachmenmt, as this was only needed until the loom had been set up. The weaving apparatus is laid out and the header attached to a second position, from where the weaver will start weaving. The header becomes the roller for the finished cloth. The reed for spacing the warps is placed between the two warps near to the header. Both warp and weft are continuous strands of the inner bark of elm, attush. To stretch the warp, one end of a ball of attush is joined to the first position and wound round the header at the second position. It is passed through one hole in the reed in each direction until enough warps have been strung for the width of the cloth, or the reed is full. Each space in the reed takes a pair of warps, an upper and a lower one. The loom in the Museum collection has warps which are 28ft long and the cloth is 120" wide.

A semicircular back-strap worn by the weaver is attached to the header around the weaver's waist. The header remains in front of her as she provides the tension for the warps,

edging slowly towards the first position when weaving. Before she starts to weave, the heddle or shed stick is attached to the lower warps between the header and the reed. The reeds are not used to beat the weft into place as in other looms. Ainu women use beaters, which come in different sizes to suit the cloth, and have a sharp edge for beating in the weft after the full shuttle is passed through the shed. These also have a broad flat dimension which, when turned on end, expands the second shed, produced by raising the heddle. This makes it easier to pass the shuttle before beating in the second weft. A loom for making narrow fabric was acquired by the Horniman Museum as part of a collection of Ainu articles displayed at the 1910 Anglo-Japanese Exhibition in London. The reed is a simple wooden frame with four holes in the top and bottom. Bundles of filament were passed through these holes and it acted as a primitive warp spacer and shed stick in one. This loom was used for making girdles, sword belts and ties for aprons. Various articles of clothing were made of woven cloth, including leggings, aprons, under-garments and the distinctive Ainu coats.

Decoration in the weave of the cloth can be made by adding imported Japanese cotton to the warp at intervals along the width of the cloth. This striped blue patterning can be seen in a coat acquired by the Museum in 1909 from Gordon Munro (Plate 3, Reg.No. 1909.499.48). The hem, sleeves and front of the coats are usually edged in imported blue cotton. Other forms of decoration are appliqué and embroidery. A ceremonial coat worn by a village chief was woven from nettle fibre, which is much softer than the bast of elm. It took longer to prepare and bleach and was a luxury. Some coats have patches of woven nettle incorporated into the collar or hem.

Appliqué patterns are carefully cut out with no aid of a paper pattern or chart. They are sewn onto the coats and then lovingly embroidered in couched thread or chain stitch. The back of a coat is given as much attention as the front, and a whole coat could take as much as a year to decorate. Some are elaborately embroidered with no appliqué.

Imported cotton cloth was used for appliqué, and later the coats themselves were made out of this, decorated with appliqué in patterned or different self-coloured cloth in traditional Ainu patterns. At first cotton cloth was only available from old kimono or bed covers and in pieces which were not large enough to make a whole coat. Therefore the first cotton coats were made up of several pieces which were bartered over several years. The appliqué on these earlier coats was applied in strips and the coats are described as ruunpe, the Ainu name for the technique (plate 4, Reg.No. 1914.221). As cotton became more readily available in the second half of the eighteenth century, there was no longer any need to piece the coats together and a new appliqué technique developed alongside ruunpe, known as kaparamip (plate 5, Reg.No. 1959.53). The width of the bale of cotton was used. A piece was laid across the shoulders of the coat down the front and the back, tacked into place, and the patterns were cut out of the cloth. The whole was then embroidered. Both these forms of appliqué are still practised for selling at craft demonstrations, wearing for festivals and special occasions and on smaller items for selling as souvenirs.

Brackets are a common element of Ainu embroidered design. They are called aiush in Ainu and they point outwards or inwards. They often edge a garment (plate 6, Reg.No.

1882.22.1), used singly or doubly, each bracket running into the next. Design motifs based on a comma similar to the magatama (Japanese jewel) are very common. They are known as moreu in Ainu, which is sometimes translated as spiral (Ohtsuka, 1993, p.124). Often they are backed or facing in pairs, repeated in mirror form, making up a design component of four. They are also used in rows, singly or in pairs of opposing or facing commas. The commas can have a squared off extension, giving them the appearance of a hook.

There has been much research and discussion of Ainu design amongst Japanese scholars. Whilst it is objective in the most part, it is important to refer the results of this discussion back to concepts known to be part of Ainu culture, and beware of the author's own cultural influences.

Ainu designs are usually symmetrical, especially when applied to large areas such as the front and back of coats. However, because the designs are applied by hand they are not always exact repetitions. Their origins have been traced to the thirteenth century (Ohtsuka, 1993 pp 11-20). The decoration is often concentrated around openings at the neck, cuff, hem and front and on the back, which were seen as areas of vulnerability, or where demons could enter.

There are almost as many theories about Ainu design as there are about the origins of the Ainu race, and in some cases design is used as proof of origin (Sternberg 1929 pp.767-783). His argument cites many examples of Ainu patterns derived from the snake. His illustrations and reference to the importance of the snake in Ainu rituals concern childbirth and the curing of disease, which are also described by Munro (1962, pp.749 and p.108). It is possible that Ainu women would use designs related to the snake on clothes because of the protection this deity could give against illness. The so-called thorns applied to the end of curves and spirals, which are said to protect the wearer from evil[1] could be said to resemble snake tongues (Plate 7, Reg.No. 1886.1). However, in time, theories putting their origins as far back as the Jomon period may well be vindicated (Munro 1911, pp.288-291; Sternberg 4929, pp.767-770).

The copies made by the Ainu artists who recently visited the Museum will be bought by the Foundation for the Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture for their collection. Dr Munro's collection is being used to revitalize the traditional crafts. By copying these objects made at the turn of the last century, the Ainu artists will discover ancient techniques and invent new solutions, which will re-energize their work and provide examples, which will remain in Japan as examples for the reference of future artists and scholars. The whole project is being televised by NHK, Japanese national TV, and will be shown as a documentary at the time of the exhibition, so introducing Ainu culture to a larger audience.

[1] I was told this in Hokkaido in 1991 by Man Kodama and others.

Jane Wilkinson
Senior Curator of East and Central Asian Collections
National Museums of Scotland

TEXTILES AND JAPANESE ARMOUR

Japanese armour was never the work of one person, being instead a co-operative effort between armourer, lacquerer, leather-worker, braid-maker, weaver, dyer and the worker of soft metals. For the most costly productions, these artists would form a team led by the armourer, to plan and execute both the design and the work. For less expensive productions, the customer would select from ready-made elements that would then be incorporated into an armour lacquered and laced to his taste. Even a cursory glance at armours made from the sixteenth century onwards, shows that they incorporated virtually identical items, such as armoured sleeves and masks, indicating a considerable trade in mass-produced components. This article sets out to show how the textile elements, lost from most European armours by the ravages of time, played both a constructional and a decorative role in the make-up of the armour worn in Japan.

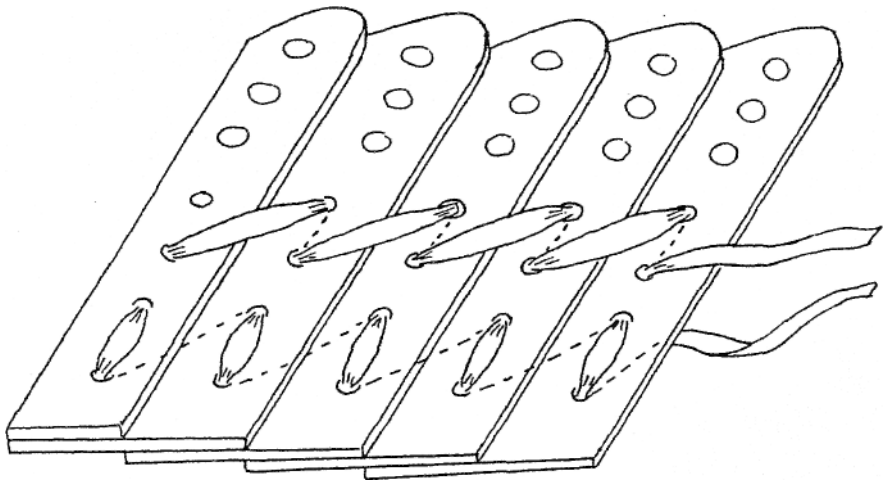

Fig. 1 Lamellae either of rawhide or iron laced together with leather thongs.

Deriving originally from armour worn on the Asian mainland, the type of armour used in Japan had, by the early years of the last millennium, evolved into a distinct national style designed for mounted archery. Like the armours that inspired them, they were lamellar, that is made up from thousands of perforated plates called lamellae, of rawhide or iron. Where iron lamellae were used, they were alternated with ones of rawhide to keep the weight to a minimum. These plates, about 6cm x 2cm, were assembled into horizontal rows, each plate overlapping its neighbour by half, by sewing them together through a group of eight holes in the lower part of each scale with two leather thongs (fig. 1, above). At first the lamellae were individually lacquered before being laced together, to protect them from the wet. Later it was more common to lacquer the completed rows, a change of technique that helped prevent the rows sagging as the sewing stretched.

The complete rows were then assembled into a piece of armour by more lacing, the *odoshi ge,* that used a further five holes in the upper part of each lamella to attach each row, overlapping vertically, to the row above. At the top of each element of the armour was a

solid iron plate, generally covered with patterned leathers, that supported the rows of lamellae hanging from it. This lacing, being external and covering most of each black lacquered row of lamellae, was the most conspicuous element of these armours. At first it was of deerskin, dyed with a solid colour or stencilled in a repeat pattern, but was soon replaced by a flat silk braid. Being available in longer lengths, braid made the process of lacing easier as well as being more consistent hi strength and thickness than deerskin.

Armour braid was the product of a specialist maker and in later times had become the monopoly of the province of Shimotsuke. So important was it to the economy of the province that the local lord, Ozeki Kurobane no Kami Masanari, wrote a book called *Shika Suyo (A Treatise on Ending* War) in which the techniques used within his province are described in somewhat coded form. The processes described involved the use of lacquered twisted paper handles to the ends of which were fastened the threads, their other ends being attached to a hook some distance away. Each handle was passed from one hand to the other hi turn, being manipulated over and under the other handles. From time to time the worker tightened the forming mesh by means of a sword-shaped beater pivoted to a sliding block so that it could be moved as the braid formed and operated by a string tied to the foot. When only simple braids were requireed, this technique produced two lengths at the same time, one each from the threads attached to the top and bottom handles. There is evidence that by the first half of the nineteenth century braids were being produced on a machine that incorporated a circle of oscillating heads, operated by a simple wooden gearing, that passed the bobbins of thread from one to another.

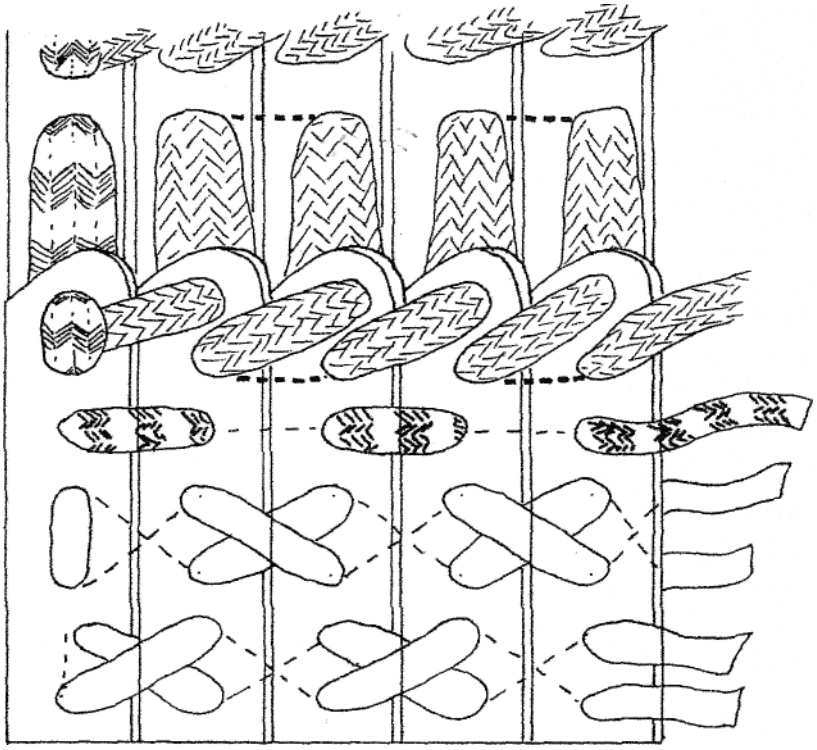

Fig. 2, The lowest row of a piece of armour, showing the silk cross-knots and variegated braid below the ordinary lacing.

Armour braid was generally a solid colour, but some armours survive that were laced with braid woven with threads of different colours, giving it a pattern. Even when the armour was laced with ordinary braid, a length of this variegated braid was almost invariably used down the edges and along the bottom row of lamellae of the piece. Because the bottom row of any piece of armour was only partially covered with lacing, the leather thongs holding this row of lamellae together were visible. At first this sewing, in the form of two rows of cross-knots, was picked out in red lacquer, but on later armours it was hidden beneath cross-knots of braid (fig. 2, previous page). Irrespective of the colour of the other lacing, these knots and many of the cords fastening parts of the armour together were generally dyed red.

Attempts have been made to associate the colours of the lacing with particular families or clans, but an examination of paintings of battles shows that both sides tended to use armours of familiar colours. During the first few centuries of the last millenium, bright red was popular, being the colour of war, with indigo blue, green, white, purple, brown and yellow occurring in roughly that order of popularity. Later it became more common for armours to be laced with rows of different colours or some other pattern, A special variant of this was to have the uppor or lowest row of a piece of armour laced white then the other rows in deepening shades of one colour. A few armours were laced in such a way as to work a heraldic device or other symbol into the lacing. This involved groups of lamellae in various rows being lacquered in different colours to complement the colours of the lacing threaded through them, the lacing itself crossing from row to row at different angles to conform to the shape of the symbol.

Complementing the lacing were round cords of various sizes and types, *himo*, that fastened the elements of the armour together. Apart from their use with stirrups, buckles were hardly ever used in Japan, their place being taken by toggles of horn, ivory or metal, fastening through loops of cord. These cords were of silk, stiffened and reinforced by being braided around a core of hemp threads. Cords intended to be tied in knots are of similar braid but have the core omitted so that they are softer and more flexible. Where maximum strength was required, such as the fastenings for the shoulder straps of the cuirass, the cords were formed by sewing stencilled deerskin around hemp threads, the raw edges at the joint being concealed by over-sewing, alternating from one side to the other, with a number of differently coloured silk threads to produce a chevron-patterned piping woven around the seam, this same decoration was also used on the leathers covering the solid plates where two different leathers abutted.

Initially only lacquered plate shin guards were worn with these armours, the arms being defended by the large rectangular shoulder guards fastened by tasselled cords to the shoulder straps of the cuirass, that terminated around the elbow. Defence for the arms was soon supplemented by the adoption of armoured sleeves, at first only for the bow arm but subsequently for both. These were of plate and mail sewn onto a fabric base that extended onto the shoulder, being held in place by ties of crepe silk attached to the upper edge that passed under the opposite armpit and fastened on the chest. Up the inside of the arm the armoured sleeve was laced together by a cord that could be adjusted to fit. In a similar way the upper part of the leg eventually gained protection in the form of scales, mail, or a

combination of mail and plates, sometimes sewn onto loose knee-length trousers but more often onto a divided apron with tabs sewn to the edges that fastened behind the leg.

The foundation for these limb defences was a core of coarse, loosely woven, hemp cloth stiffened with the juice of unripe persimmons, a treatment that inhibited insect damage and acted to some extent as a waterproofing agent. On the outside, the hemp core was covered with a decorative fabric, sometimes of silk, but on the earliest surviving sleeves, of pale indigo dyed hemp cloth with circular designs of wisteria in reserve. All manner of fabrics were used for this covering: gold, silver and coloured brocades, damasks, printed hemps and, at a later period, imported velvets and cotton prints. However decorative they might be, brocades suffered from the problem that they were easily damaged, and many practical warriors opted for hemp fabrics even on the most expensive armours. Most often this was indigo dyed with a design in reserve, but one specialty, from the province of Satsuma, was to stencil the design onto the dyed cloth with an adhesive to which gold leaf was then applied. The interior of these fabric elements of the armour were generally lined with hemp cloth, but silk was used for particularly rich armours.

All three layers of fabric, the outer covering, the core and the lining, were fastened together around the edges by a binding of thin leather or a soft silk braid having a ribbed surface. Adjacent to the binding, silk chevron patterned pipings, formed from two threads twisted in opposite direction, might be sewn to give a touch of luxury and finish. Armourers went to great trouble over the appearance of these fabric elements of the armour, often pasting paper over the core fabric at strategic places to stiffen the structure and to ensure a flat surface for the plates and covering to lie on. Stencilled leathers were sewn onto those places that needed reinforcement. To give a more luxurious appearance these were packed underneath with layers of paper and bordered by more pipings (fig. 3, below). Where the

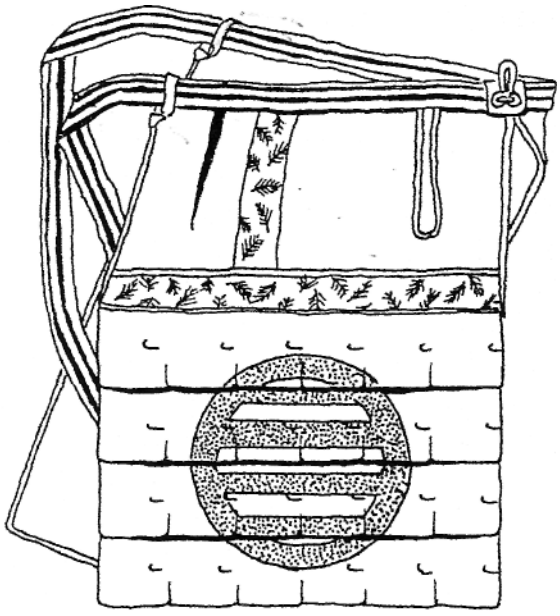

Fig. 3, A later form of thigh armour, *haidate*, of lacquered plates sewn to a divided apron of fabric reinforced with leather.

outer fabric was particularly expensive, it was quite normal, even for the finest armours, to paste strips and off-cuts onto the core to underlie the gaps between the applied mail and plates, a procedure that is undetectable once everything was sewn into place.

Fig. 4, A warrior armed in the style of the early 15th century for fighting on foot.

Thus arrayed in glorious multi-coloured armour worn over garments of shimmering brocades, the nobles of Japan fought their internal wars, and the two attempted invasions by the Mongols during the thirteenth century. By the fourteenth century, changes to armour were being made as a result of the increased tendency to fight on foot following the Mongol attacks (fig. 4, above). Different styles of armour were produced, more suitable for this tactic, and the basic structure was being refined. One such change was that helmets became lighter, and the original heavy conical lamellar neck guard moved away from the shoulders to

give greater freedom to the arms. Helmet linings began to be fitted, obviating the need to wear a soft cap as had been the practice previously. These linings were made from two pieces of hemp cloth with their weaves arranged at 45 degrees to each other and a covering layer of vermilion silk crepe. To create the required shape, a very close spiral of tiny running stitches, invariably in green silk, was started in the centre, the fabric between the stitches being allowed to pucker. The final result was a hemispherical quilted lining with no seams to cause discomfort. This was sewn to the lower edge of the solid helmet bowl, lifting it from the head and absorbing some percussive effect when struck.

During the 1460s a dispute arose in the capital city, Kyoto, that led to a vicious urban war as the nobles from around the country took sides and joined in the lighting. After ten years, not only was the capital in ruins, but so too was the social structure. Returning to their provinces, many who had fought in Kyoto found their estates had been usurped or divided by those they had left in command. Noble families of ancient lineage disappeared into oblivion and brash usurpers of more lowly birth sprang to power. Large armies were built up, often containing units recruited from the non-warrior class, as sporadic but widespread civil wars broke out. All of these troops needed weapons and armour, a demand that the armourers found difficult to meet. Traditional manufacturing techniques that had satisfied the needs of the nobility were too time consuming and costly for producing armour for the masses. Armourers sought ways to simplify production.

What evolved from these experiments were armours that used solid plates in place of the traditional rows of lamellae. Armour of plate dictated different styles and different techniques for its production. For the best quality armours, the plates were covered with hemp cloth glued in place with lacquer. This was then given further coats of raw lacquer to fill the weave before being coated with layers of filler made from powdered stone, rice paste and lacquer, each layer of filler being polished smooth with whetstones and water. Once a satisfactory base had been achieved it was covered with several coats of black lacquer, this time being rubbed down with charcoal and water. The final coat of lacquer was applied with paper and polished with a smear of oil on the worker's hand. The finished plates were assembled with lacing as before, but generally in a totally different way. Pairs of braids were used, spaced across the width of the piece with considerable gaps between them (fig. 5, overleaf). From the practical point of view there was less lacing to get dirty, infested, damaged, and, even more importantly, wet. One disadvantage of the old style of lacing was that when wet the large amount of braid absorbed a lot of water and almost doubled the weight of the armour. The new style overcame this problem, but was hardly decorative, especially since the most popular colour of lacing during this period of aggression was a very dark blue.

To make up for the lack of colour, some armours were finished in coloured lacquer, red and gold predominating. Others might have the plates covered with stencilled leather, brocade, fur, or even feathers. One famous armous had the plates of the cuirass covered in brocade and the tall helmet covered with peacock tail feathers. Many wore brightly coloured surcoats, or *jinbaori*, over the armour, even in action. The lower ranks could not of course afford such luxurious equipment and had to be content with what was issued to them by their

lords. This usually comprised a simple black lacquered cuirass of horizontal plates riveted together, with their lord's device lacquered in gold or red on the front, a flattened conical iron hat and generally a simple pair of sleeves. Despite the higher initial cost, these armours are generally laced with braid made from hemp rather than silk because of its enduring qualities (fig. 6, opposite).

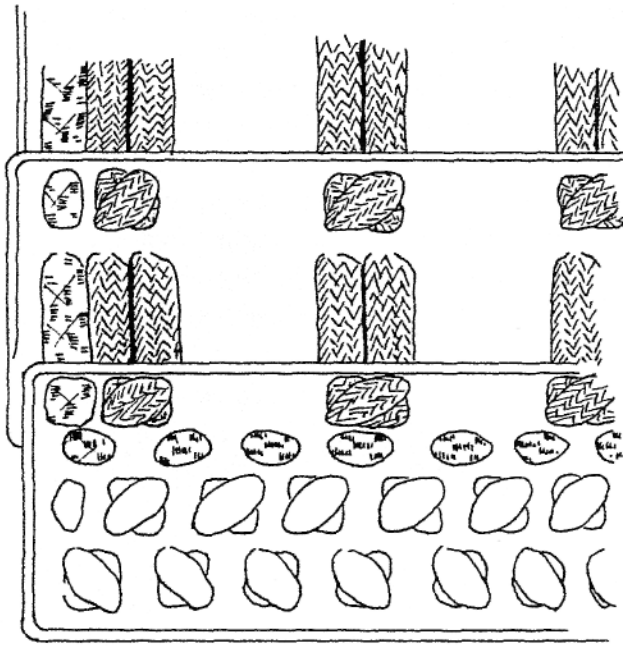

Fig. 5, The lower section of a piece of plate armour, showing the use of pairs of lacing spaced across the plate. Cross-knots and the variegated braid were normally retained for their decorative value.

The desire to stand out on the battlefield and have one's valiant deeds noticed led to the fashion for wearing outlandish helmets modelled on animals, plants, insects, inanimate objects and a host of more abstract shapes. The basis for these creations were simple plate helmets of iron, modified and added to with wood, leather, paper and lacquer. Because these superstructures were light, helmets that towered a metre or more above the head or extended from either side were not uncommon. Most warriors wore flags of allegiance and other insignia flown from poles attached to the backplate of the cuirass. These flags were of hemp or silk, painted and stencilled with devices that might be heraldic but were often just striped or marked with a device chosen by the commander.

Not all plate armour was necessarily colourless. One very common technique was to perforate the plates of the armour like a row of lamellae and model the surface with filler under the lacquer to give the same ribbed effect as a row of scales. Using the construction, armours could be made that appeared to be lamellar, with its abundant colourful lacing, while retaining the simplicity of plate construction. Properly done, it is only by close scrutiny that this construction technique can be distinguished from a true lamellar one.

It was during this terrible period of civil wars that three Portuguese arrived in Japan bringing with them their guns. Although guns from China were already known, imaginative commanders soon realized that the style of gun carried by the Europeans had greater potential. Even the lowliest peasant armed with a gun could, after training for a week or so,

bring down the finest swordsman who had spent a lifetime perfecting his skills. Within a few decades, warriors such as Odo Nobunaga and later Toyotomi Hideyoshi began the process of unification, wresting province after province from the war-lords. Despite these wars, it was a period of luxury, imported goods of all types being highly popular. For a short while there was even a vogue for wearing armours that incorporated European elements obtained by trade. Chinese brocades and Indian prints were in great demand and supplied by the Portuguese and later the Dutch. Both the Dutch and the English brought woollen cloth for trade but there was little demand for it for use as clothing; a reluctance that was not helped by the fact that the traders themselves insisted on wearing silks. Woollen cloth did, however, become popular for *jinbaori* and the covers for military equipment. These were generally decorated with heraldic devices couched on in a contrasting colour. Being fire-resistant, woollen fabrics were made into special protective clothing for wearing when the all too frequent fires broke out in the cities. Gunners wore bibs of woollen cloth over their armour and clothing to keep them clean and resist the sparks from the discharge of the gun.

Fig. 6, A low ranking soldier from the 16th century armed with a matchlock gun as well as two swords. The round ball shapes slung around the shoulder are meals of rice tied in a long cloth.

After a period of unrest and two abortive attacks on Korea, control of Japan fell, in 1600, into the hands of Tokugawa Ieyasu who assumed the title of Shogun and established a dynasty that was to rule Japan until the middle of the nineteenth century. In order to secure their position, the Tokugawa Shoguns established strict rules by which the various strata of society had to live. The nobles were compelled to maintain a mansion in Edo (the Shogun's capital), in which their wives and children were forced to live. The nobles themselves had to distribute their time between their home provinces and Edo, marching to and fro twice a year in vast processions that might contain several thousand retainers and servants. Being members of the warrior class they were expected to maintain armour and weapons and naturally vied with each other in putting on a show as they marched through towns and villages. At the head of the procession were men carrying tall spears with scabbards that had heraldic significance. Many were simply lacquered in a distinctive shape, colour and texture. Others might be covered in hair or feathers or have covers of woollen cloth embroidered with the family's crest. Porters carried lacquered trunks of clothing or armour, again with covers blazoned with crests. Bodyguards would carry guns, bows or spears, all provided with cloth bags to protect them on the march. Everyone involved was dressed in appropriate costume. Such outlays ensured the noble's resources were stretched to the limit, discouraging any thought of insurrection.

Being a period of peace, the warrior class never expected to have to use the armour and equipment they owned, but a mood of nostalgia developed for the glories of the past that culminated in the second half of the eighteenth century with the re-adoption of old styles of armour. By the beginning of the nineteenth century almost perfect copies of ancient armour were being recreated for the wealthy. The past was being re-invented, but it was to be short lived. During the mid-nineteenth century the rest of the world began pushing open Japan's door and insisting on trade. In the 1850s the Americans concluded trading treaties and the feudal system began to crumble as foreigners flocked into the country. Within a decade or so power reverted to the Emperor, the Shogunate was abandoned and the making and wearing of swords and armour virtually ceased overnight. For the first time in centuries members of the warrior class were forced to earn their living in other ways. Arms and armour became curios and souvenirs for the tourists who were arriving in ever-increasing numbers.

Among those who visited Japan at this time was Algernon Mitford, later Lord Redesdale, who describes the forlorn sight of the last Shogun's final entry into Osaka castle, followed "by warriors dressed in the old armour of the country, carrying spears, bows and arrows, falchions curiously shaped, with sword and dirk, who looked as if they had stepped out of some old pictures of the Gempei wars in the Middle Ages. Their *jinbaori*, not unlike heralds' tabards, were as many-coloured as Joseph's coat. Hideous masks of lacquer and iron, fringed with portentous whiskers and moustachios, crested helmets with wigs from which long streamers of horsehair floated to their waists, might strike terror into any enemy. They looked like the hobgoblins of a nightmare."

Ian Bottomley
Senior Curator of Oriental Arms and Armour
Royal Armouries

JAPANESE TEXTILES IN FESTIVALS AND CELEBRATIONS

Thousands of *matsuri* (festivals) and *iwai* (celebrations) run like multi-coloured threads through the fabric of Japanese society. They link communities and families with local Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples. The *kanji* (Chinese character) for *matsuri* consists of flesh, hand and altar, indicating that a festival originally included an animal sacrifice being placed on an altar. The character for *iwai* also includes an altar. Obviously predating Buddhism's abhorrence of causing suffering to animals and Shinto's emphasis on purity and no blood, these characters nevertheless show that religion was then, and is now, inextricably related to festivals. Japanese festivals had their roots in the struggle to survive in a precarious environment. The success of the rice planting and harvesting cycles was vital, and appropriate rituals provided by priests enabled worshippers to contact the *kami* (gods) to ask for their assistance. Banners, curtains, ropes and streamers indicated the consecrated spaces within which the gods could descend and be entertained. They would then be transported around the community in *mikoshi* (portable shrines). The distinctive clothing of the priests and textiles in the halls created an atmosphere of awe, gravity and proper respect. Textiles continue to be an essential feature of festivals and celebrations marking rites of passage. Scrupulous adherence to traditional colours, patterns and designs provide a direct link to a past when nature and the unknown appeared more threatening.

Awareness of textiles can start even before birth! Before birth? Yes! Many Japanese women still put on a *hara obi/iwata obi,* a long cotton bellyband inscribed with auspicious characters, including "dog", when they are five months pregnant. Why dog? Dogs do not have complicated deliveries!

The local shrine is the setting for *omiva-mairi* (a baby's first real public appearance). Wrapped in a white outfit (left) or kimono whose colour is gender-indicative, the 31 or 32 day-old boy or 32 or 33 day-old girl is presented to the gods whose protection is invoked. *Omamori* (amulets) in little brocade bags and a fan are attached to the kimono, which may be re-used for the *Shichi-go-san* (Three-Five-Seven) festival (discussed later), in the past, the baby was given some hemp because it symbolized strength, and a papier-mache dog in the hope that they would grow up "as healthy as a puppy".

Some years of age are considered *yaku-doshi* (unlucky). A shrine is visited, a blessing sought and amulets are bought to exorcise the bad luck.

In the Kansai area, it is mostly girls of thirteen *(in-san)* who visit a shrine in their first full-size kimono (with tucks) for *Jusan-mairi*. Some parents believe that a five- or seven-coloured kimono (often worn again for *Seijin-no-hi*, discussed later) will provide special protection. Nineteen and thirty-three are also believed to be unlucky for women. Special *yaku-doshi* amulets made of purple, white, red, blue, green, yellow and pink threads may be purchased at a shrine and long articles, such as sashes, of seven colours may be worn. A person of sixty is considered to be at the beginning of their *kanreki* (second life) and to have become an *akachan* again. As *aka* means red, a red cap, sleeveless vest and cushions are often given. A ninety-three year-old may celebrate his longevity by distributing *tenugui* (hand towels) inscribed with "wants to work hard"! (Calligraphy below.)

When else might textiles play a significant role? in the eighteenth century, one roll each of red and white habutae silk, two skeins of silk floss and an obi were among the *Yuino mono* (formal engagement presents). Nowadays reeled flax or silk thread may be one of the five or seven items covered with a *fukusa* (special square cloth). Traditional weddings may be celebrated at a Shinto shrine. A traditional Japanese bride will wear a white kimono to symbolize her purity, "death" to her family and willingness to be "dyed in her husband's family ways", and a heavy red *uchikake* (unbelted kimono) embroidered or woven with auspicious symbols such as cranes, turtles, pine trees, mandarin ducks, etc. She may change her clothes up to four times during the reception to mark her change in status. Her husband will be dressed in a black kimono, *hakama* (pleated skirt) and a *haori* (coat) with five *mon* (family crests).

Mourners wear undecorated black, instead of white, kimono and *obi* (sashes) these days. In preparation for the afterlife, the corpse is given a new name and laid out in a white *kyokatabira* (shroud) symbolizing purity and innocence - or in his or her favourite clothes. Since Buddhists believe in the afterlife, the funeral service is usually conducted according to Buddhist rites. Death is a source of pollution according to Shintoism and its priests prefer to deal with birth and other celebrations.

Pollution may also affect one's house. Before building starts, a Shinto priest may be invited along to purify the ground. Textiles form part of the *joto shiki* (topping out) celebration. Blue, white, red, yellow and purple banners join special paper fans on the roof when the frame is completed. When streamers, banners and curtains arrived with Buddhism in the sixth century they were soon integrated into the shrine environment. The *samurai* (high-class warriors) used *nobori* (banners) to indicate the shogun's presence, surrounded the

camps of their generals with auspicious red and white curtains and fixed *matoi* (personal standards) to their helmets. In addition, they identified their armies with *hatashimono* (standards) bearing a family crest and the names of deities. Banners, flags and streamers are just a few of the many textiles which make Japan's annual festivals such a visual feast. Let us take a closer look at some of them.

Osho-gatsu (new spirit) is the most important festival. Being at the beginning of the year, many objects and textiles carry symbols expressing a desire for prosperity, longevity, fortitude and fertility. Some, like the pine, bamboo and plum blossom appear on kimono *furoshiki* (wrapping cloths), lacquer-ware and fans. Millions of new amulets in brocade bags (pictured above) are sold to families paying their first visit to a shrine or temple *(hatsumode).* In Kyoto, mediaeval costumes are worn by court ladies playing cards and courtiers playing *kemari* (football). Young girls dressed in red kimono covered with protective symbols play with *ito mari/temari* (thread balls), originally made from threads left over from kimono weaving (illustrated below).

New year kimono

On January 2nd, among the many "firsts" of the year ladies do a little bit of *nuizome* (sewing) to show that "idleness is frowned upon". *Dekizome shiki* (first fire-fighting ceremonies) take place in, among others, Tokyo, Shiznoka and Nara. Firemen in boldly patterned cotton or leather jackets *(kaji-banten)* parade and perform tricks on ladders. Young men of 20 appear soberly dressed on January 15th, *Seijin no hi* (Coming-of-Age Day), when they accompany twenty-year-old girls in their best *furisode* (swinging-sleeve kimono) to a ceremony at their local Town Hall. Twenty-year-old Mayu (see photo on p.l) wears a sprig of rice, symbolizing a wish for fertility, in her hair. Her *obi jime* (sash cord) is tied in a circle, symbolizing a hope for peace.

One festival which has survived and preserved the costumes of almost 1250 years ago is Emperor Shomu's Memorial Day on May 2nd. The Todai-ji Temple in Nara, festooned with the five cosmic colours, provides an impressive procession of priests and others in spectacular silk robes and a curious range of shoes. The more "recent" arrival (in 1854) of hundreds of foreigners is commemorated in the Yokohama Minato Matsuri by an international fancy dress party. From ports to fish! In May it is impossible to miss the cotton *koinobori* (carp streamers) fluttering outside many Japanese homes: they proclaim the tally of males living there. The wonderful continuity of Japanese festivals is reflected in the *Aoi* (hollyhock) *Matsuri* which dates back to the seventh century. In Kyoto at that time hollyhocks were believed to deter thunder and earthquakes. Hollyhocks still adorn the

"walking tapestry" of participants dressed in traditional court robes, and oxcarts. Nature still poses a threat and the gods are still needed!

The rice planting festivals of June afford a welcome glimpse of non-court costumes. The rice planters wear indigo-dyed clothes, thought to keep leeches and snakes at bay, with red *tasuki* (cords) around the shoulders to stop their sleeves getting in the way. Their heads are covered with white towels or hats. At the many *Inari* shrines, the age-old dances of the *miku* (shrine maidens) in a statelier manner invite the gods to bless the crops. Believed to be the descendants of shamans, the *miku* are dressed in red silk *hakama,* white kimono and white "surplices" decorated with pine sprigs.

Those who need to improve their weaving, spinning and sewing skills can pray for assistance during the *Tanabata* (Weaver Stars) festival which takes place on July 7th. Because it commemorates a celestial weaver who can only meet her husband for one night across the Milky Way, it has also become a festival for desperate lovers. In Tokyo bamboo poles decorated with five-coloured streamers are festooned with love messages on long strips of paper. Chinese in origin, this festival has many other curious facets. In the eighth century Shoso-in repository in Nara, where almost all the objects are Chinese, there is a tray with three long (male) needles and four short (female) needles. In China these seven needles and seven silk threads would be wrapped in the five cosmic colours. In Kyoto, the Fujiwara family celebrates this festival with a display of many symbolic objects, including textiles, and a tray with red, yellow, black, blue and white threads. These threads, as well as spools, water plants, stars and thin bits of cloth are also used in other parts of Japan to decorate bamboo poles in commemoration of shrine maidens who wove textiles for the gods. In Nagano, some people display their most colourful kimono and place offerings in front of them.

The kimono makers of Kyoto put their most sumptuous textiles on display during the Gion Matsuri. Originally devised in 869 to ward off epidemics, it lasts for nearly a month and finishes with a spectacular parade on floats on July 17th. Nothing can prepare one for the sight of thirty-one immense (some are 25 metres high) floats, draped with priceless tapestries, laden with musicians and chanting men waving fans, surrounded by people in a variety of wonderful costumes and taking hours to pass by (illustrated overleaf). In the first of the floats there is a young boy dressed in white silk. He is the *ochigo* (page) whose innocent presence ensures that the god to whom the festival is dedicated will attend.

There are many river festivals for which participants wear *yutaka,* those for men usually having white patterns on a blue ground while those for women have blue patterns on a white ground, the designs suggesting cooling water or summer flowers. Men are likely to wear headbands, originally worn by warriors who thought that the act of tying was "sacred, brought good luck and prevented head ailments". Tying two ends together produces a whole, a circle, perfection.

October 10th is a public holiday to allow *Undokai* (athletics meetings) to take place. Children in red and white caps, students and adults participate in a range of sports. The

children are probably blissfully unaware that the colour of their caps commemorates the many battles between the Minamoto and Taira clans in the twelfth century. The Minamoto warriors carried red banners and the Taira white. The reds won in 1185.

Textiles from the Heian period (794-1185) through to 1894 can be enjoyed at the *Jidai Matsuri* (Festival of the Ages) in Kyoto on October 22nd. More than 1700 riders, courtesans and commoners gather in the grounds of the Imperial Palace for their long procession to the Heian shrine, built in 1894. They are all dressed in authentic period costumes. No expense seems to have been spared, no detail too small. These time-travellers are a vivid reminder to both participants and spectators of the long, colourful and often turbulent history of Japan.

Japanese festivals are addictive! One is drawn in by so many different elements - the colour, the energy, the dedication, the joy of the children, and the awareness that in Japan the gods seem to be omnipresent. But it is, above all, the incredible diversity of textiles that linger longer in the memory and give form and meaning to Japanese festivals and celebrations.

Marion Maule

REPORT OF O.A.T.G. MEETING

The Story Cloths of Bali

Following the Annual General Meeting on 24 October, Joseph Fisher, author of *The Folk Art of Bali,* lectured on the story cloths of Bali. His collection of these embroidered pieces was fascinating, as were the stories behind the cloths, which he told so vividly.

All Balinese villagers are brought up hearing and seeing performances based on a large body of traditional narrative, both prose and poetry. This world is full of gods and demons, heroes and ogres. The humblest folk tale to the grandest epic is learned by heart and recited from memory. The oldest stories are derived from the Indian Ramayana and Mahabharata. The narrative embroideries of Bali may be divided into six types, each distinguished by size, content, and use:

1. *Ider-ider*- long rectangular cloths attached to eaves;

2. *Tabing* - square or rectangular cloths in various lengths, from 2 - 5 metres, to hang from walls;

3. *Lamake*- small offering cloths attached to shrines or altars;

4. *Laluhur* (also *liluhur)* - square canopies hung from ceilings in houses or religious buildings;

5. *Umbul-umbul* - pennants used as decoration in temples and villages on special traditional occasions;

6. *Langse* - large ceremonial curtains which may be hung in houses, temples or special ritual places.

These story cloths are embroidered by women for income generation as well as creative pursuit. The techniques vary according to the skill of the embroiderer. Tamboured chain stitch and a variety of embroidery stitches are used simply or combined to create a more intricate effect. The embroidery is done usually on a medium weight cotton background. Natural dyed cotton yarn is used for the work, and sometimes metallic yarn and gimp are worked in. The charm of these story cloths is that no two are the same, and the maker embroiders her own version of the tale.

Modern economic realities are hastening their decline, and disappearance of these story cloths is a sad loss for everyone, especially in that, as an important folk art tradition, it is the least well studied and documented of all

Dorothy Reglar

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Lloyd Cotsen Textile Documentation Project

Dear Editor,

I am writing in response to Sonja Nielsen's contribution to the last newsletter, in which she set out the aims and achievements of the Lloyd Cotsen Textile Documentation Project at the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.. Sonja is Project Director and has been responsible for the compilation of terms and developing the structure of the Thesaurus. As I have been involved with the project from "the other side", so to speak, by being one of the providers of information, I think members may be interested in reading about my experience.

In March 2001 I was invited to go to Washington as a Cotsen Scholar, to assist with the analysis of the Textile Museum's eastern Indonesian collections, and also to comment on some pieces in the Museum's collection of Indian mediaeval textile fragments traded to Egypt (so-called Fustat textiles).

It is always a delight to visit the Textile Museum, both for the pleasure of congenial company and for the atmosphere of the building itself. The Museum is housed in the former residence of its founder, George Hywett Myers, and with its oak-panelled, carpeted interior and views of a beautiful and slightly overgrown garden, it retains the aura of comfortable domesticity that is so characteristic of much American private architecture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its location in one of the leafy side streets between Dupont Circle and Georgetown further contributes to this impression. Many of the collections housed here provide highlights for the study and appreciation of textiles worldwide, and it is indeed the appropriate institution for this attempt to establish a standard tool of reference in a subject that is technically very complex.

The eastern Indonesian collection is relatively small; there is a total of forty pieces, with Flores (14 objects) and Timor (12 objects) best represented. It is generally of representative quality for these islands, although there are also two ikat textiles from Lembata which are simply the most stunning pieces I have ever seen from the region: they are really world class in quality. Unfortunately I have no illustrations available. The majority of textiles are warp ikat dyed women's skirts (sarong) or large shoulder cloths worn by men, but there are also some examples of supplementary warp and weft weaving. They are looked after by the curator of Eastern Hemisphere Collections, Carol Bier, and we gathered in Carol's office, which also serves as the study room for Asian and Islamic textiles. Carol and her assistant curator, Sumru Krody, were present, as was Mattiebelle Gittinger. Mattiebelle is a research associate at the Museum and its advisor for South-east Asian textiles; of course her work is well-known to everyone with an interest in South and South-east Asian fabrics. Sonja and a technical assistant also joined us.

The textiles were brought out one at a time, and I was asked to comment on each one. It was up to me to decide how to approach the material; I began by identifying or confirming the provenance, which I expanded on by defining regional styles. The technical

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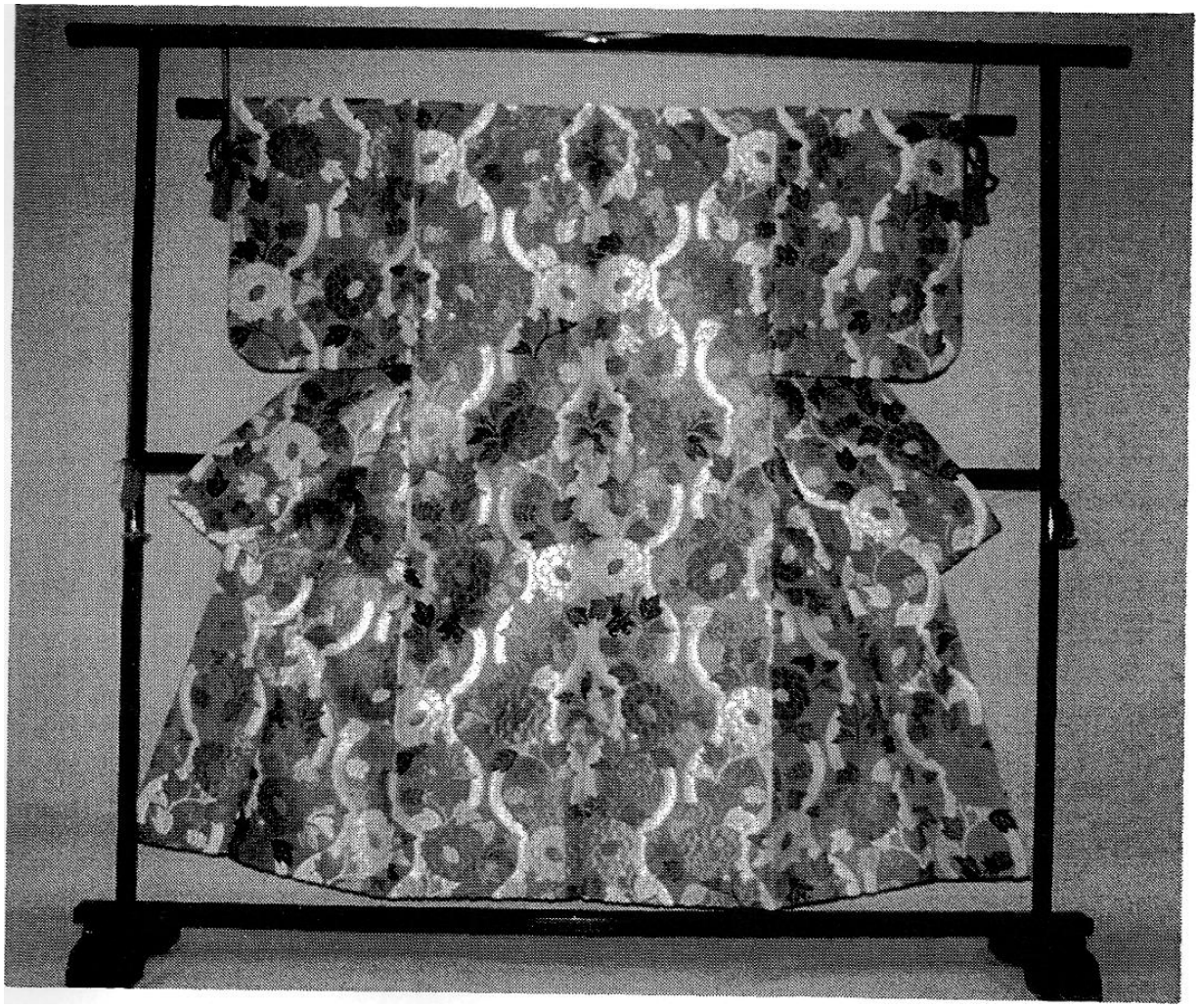
EXHIBITIONS

Woven Dramas: Costumes for the No Theatre by Yamaguchi Yasujiro



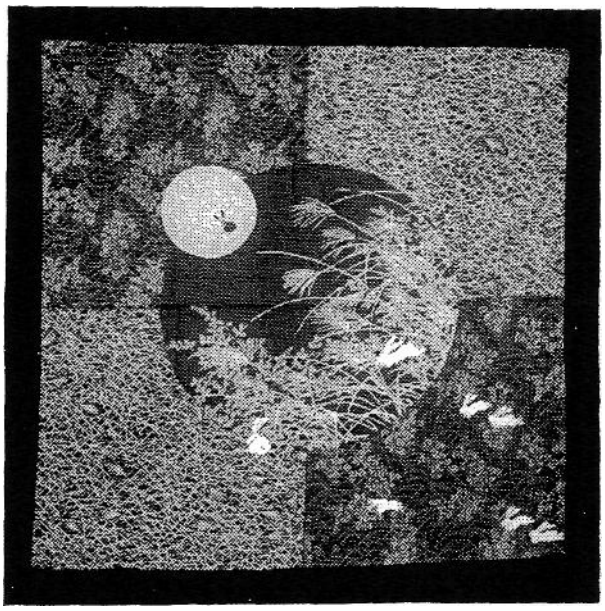
Karaori peonies on a ground of undulating vertical lines, 1980.

The richly coloured costumes of the No theatre are among the most spectacular textiles ever created in Japan. This display at the Victoria and Albert Museum from 20 February to 31 March features some of the magnificent No robes created by Yamaguchi Yasujiro who, at the age of 97, is one of the master weavers of Kyoto. Seven robes will be exhibited at one time and the display will be rotated on 11 March. A video showing some of the costumes being worn in performance will also be screened.

No is a dance drama with a poetic, sung text set to the accompaniment of three drums and a flute. All the performers are male and the actor in the lead role wears a mask. No first flowered in the fourteenth century. It was supported by the ruling military class and the robes worn by the actors were presented to them by their patrons. During the early Edo period (1615-1868) the robes became increasingly lavish, with particular styles being used for specific roles. Since that time they have been specially made in the Nishijin weaving district of Kyoto. The heavy, stiff costumes, with their emphatic designs, suit the slow deliberate movements of the No performance, which takes place on a virtually bare stage.

Various styles of robes are worn in No theatre. The most elaborate is the *karaori* which is worn for female roles. *Karaori* have very complex woven designs that combine supplementary wefts of gold and silver with long floats of brightly coloured, glossy silk. *Atsuita* costumes are also technically complex, but they generally have bolder patterns than *karaori* and are used for male roles. Some of the robes can be used for male or female roles depending on the play and character portrayed, and these are referred to as *karaori-atsuita.* Other types of No robe featured in the display are *kariginu,* which are in the form of hunting tunics used at the imperial court and are worn by actors performing the role of nobles or deities, and delicate, unlined dancing cloaks called *choken.*

Anna Jackson
Exhibition Curator



Autumn *furoshiki* (Marion Maule)

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DEADLINE FOR THE NEXT ISSUE - MONDAY 3 JUNE

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