KAFFIYEH *Kaffiyeh* is used to refer to a large square head cloth, or a long rectangular head cloth, or neck scarf worn by men in the Arab world. The same term is used to refer to checkered red and white or black and white head cloths and to plain white ones. In Arabian societies all three colors are used: plain white, checkered red, and checkered black. On top of the kaffiyeh men place a band or circlet of twisted black cord made of silk or cotton thread known as agal (spoken Arabic for 'uqal).

Headgear for men in the Arab and Islamic East is variable in form, use, and terminology. Arab men of all persuasions and faiths distinctively covered their heads long before Islam. It is safe to distinguish three broad kinds of head cover for men: traditional secular, religious (Islamic or Christian), and revolutionary or resistance. These kinds not only refer to differences in form and appearance but also in function and meaning.

Historically in the region, there was as much head cover politics concerning men as concerning women. Turkey, after the fall of the Ottoman regime and the creation of a republican government, issued sartorial measures prohibiting traditional male headgear and encouraging Western hats. After the various revolutions in the Arab world in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly the 1952 Egyptian revolution led by Gamel Abdel-Nasser, the fez (*tarboush*) worn by men of the urban middle and upper classes, which had entered sartorial traditions with the reign of the Ottomans and remained, fell from favor. The fez became a symbol of classist, colonial interventionist messages which the antiroyal coups and revolutions were keen on removing. Many men who removed the fez went bareheaded permanently after that.

In the 1970s, when the Islamic movement began, urban middle-class men and college students who had until then been wearing jeans and slacks to college and work, began to wear a gallabiyya (*jellabib*) and a white kaffiyeh (pronounced *kufiyyah* in Egyptian Arabic). This new appearance marked a revitalization of Islamic identity and a desired return to forms of appearance that were innovatively envisioned, particularly by male and female college youth in urban Egypt, as reproducing historically Islamic clothing. The movement continues to this day and has spread throughout the Arab world.

The checkered kaffiyeh became internationally visible after the 1970s as a symbol of Palestine. Many people, especially students, around the world, including in Europe and the United States, showed their support for the Palestinian cause by wearing checkered kaffiyehs as neck scarves, which evoke images of Palestinian youth. The president of the Palestinian authority, Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), Yasir Arafat, always wears military fatigues with a checkered kaffiyeh as head cover, with a triangular fold at the center above mid-forehead. This fold is characteristic of the Palestinian style of wearing the kaffiyeh and can be seen also in Syria, Arabia, and the Gulf.

The style of solid long rectangular white kaffiyeh worn flat on the head and hanging down on both sides of the head, tends to be worn by pious Muslims or those in religious leadership positions. Seen throughout the Arab world, this style of wearing the kaffiyeh is understood as a symbol of commitment to religious values. The king of Jordan and his Hashemite royal men typically wear a kaffiyeh and *agal.* This communicates the king's identity as belonging to a long line of Hashemite bedouins indigenous to the region.

Like the "veil" or women's head cover, the kaffiyeh is not a fixed or static object of clothing. It can be manipulated to cover head or face. Thus a religious man may use the white kaffiyeh worn on his head to cover part of his face, including mouth and nose, in certain situations that need a symbolic separation in space, such as gender separation. Similarly, Muslim women in India, for example, manipulate their head covers to partially cover their faces in situations in which men who are their in-laws are nearby. In the case of Muslim Indian women, manipulating the head cover to partially veil the face communicates affinal kinship distance, whereas a Muslim man manipulating a head cover to partially veil his face communicates gender separation in public space.

Superficially resembling the kaffiyeh, the *'imama* (turban) is another kind of male headgear worn differently and is made of a much longer piece of cloth (118 inches, or 3 meters, or longer) wrapped around on top of one's head a number of times. It is predominantly white today, but a black *'imama* was worn by male members of the newly formed Islamic community in the seventh century in Arabia. This marker of male Arab identity that goes back before Islam, continues into the early 2000s.

Jordanian man in *kaffiyeh.* The *kaffiyeh* experienced a rebirth in the 1970s as a affirmation of Islamic identity and a symbol of piety. © PETER TURNLEY/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Early in the history of the Islamic community, the form of headgear distinguished Muslims from non-Muslims. While predominantly men's headgear, the *'imama* was worn by some women in Egypt to the consternation of religious authorities in the thirteenth century. While conservative religious authorities disapprove of sartorial gender crossing, ethnographic evidence shows that the borderline between genders in Arab clothing styles was fluid, and more importantly, the sharing of meaning and function of head covers of both sexes was often conceptually embedded in the culture.

The exact origins of the kaffiyeh are not clear. What is clear is that pious Muslims wear it as a secular head cover for marking Arab identity, as a symbol of nationalistic or revolutionary struggle, and as religious headgear.

See also **Djellaba; Hijab; Jilbab; Turban; Veils.**

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Fadwa El Guindi

KAIN-KEBAYA The *kain-kebaya* is a jacket-blouse and wrapper ensemble that forms the basis of national dress for Indonesian women. The long-sleeved *kebaya* comes in two lengths, at the hip (*kebaya pendek*) and near the knees (*kebaya panjang*). The five-centimeter-wide collar-lapel runs from neck to bottom hem. The *kebaya* is closed in two ways—one (*Kartini kebaya*) in which the collar-lapels meet from breast to hip and are closed with broaches or concealed pins, and the second (*kebaya kutu baru*), in which the *kebaya* is open like a jacket, with a rectangular panel bridging the collar-lapels on either side to cover the breasts. The panel is closed at center with four small buttons, or at the side with snaps by the collar-lapel. The *Kartini kebaya* style of closure is found on short and long *kebayas*, while the *kebaya kutu baru* closure style is found on short *kebayas* only. The *kebaya* is made of light-weight material in lace, cutwork, or embroidery, in printed or solid silks, cotton, and synthetics. As Javanese wedding apparel, the *kebaya panjang* comes in velvet with gold embroidery.

Kain literally means "cloth"; a traditional Indonesian *kain* is approximately 87 inches (220 cm) long by about 40 inches (100 cm) high and, when wrapped at the hips, extends to ankle length. A *kain* can be batik, silk, or other cotton. A *kain panjang* (long cloth) refers to a batik, a cloth, traditionally cambric cotton, whose surface design has been created by means of wax and dye steps. The *kain panjang* ends could be pleated or arranged in a special drape for formal wear. The *kain* can also be a batik sarong, a rectangle, shorter in length than the *kain panjang*, around 100 inches (180 cm) to 87 inches (220 cm), whose end seams are sewn together to make a tube. A woman wearing a *kebaya* and a batik sarong would still be described as wearing a kain-kebaya.

The kain-kebaya is worn for both everyday wear and formal wear, distinguished by quality of material and addition of accessories. Central to the kain-kebaya is the "belt"—a corded cotton band, *stagen*, that is 40 feet (12 m) long by 5 inches (12.5 cm) wide, that is wrapped around hips to just under the breasts. For formal wear, a solid-colored stole, or *selendang* (88.5 inches [2.25 m] by 20 inches [.5 m] wide) is draped over the right shoulder, folded to a band of about 4 inches (10 cm) wide. In everyday use, the *selendang*, generally in batik, would be worn as a baby carrier in front, or to carry a basket of goods at the back. Hair would be pulled back into a large chignon (*konde*) at the nape of the head; low-heeled sandals, earrings, a necklace, and rings would complete the formal dress.

Origin of the *Kebaya*

The *kebaya* has its origins in a garment brought over by Moslem traders from India. Prior to Moslem influence,

women wore flat textiles wrapped about their body; Moslem influence required that women cover their arms and torsos. They brought over cut and sewn garments. The *baju panjang*, a long-sleeved, knee-length gusseted garment still worn in the early 2000s in the south coast of Sumatra, was the forerunner of the *kebaya* up until the late nineteenth century. The Moslem presence remained in the coastal regions of Java and nearby islands from the fifteenth century, but a central Javanese sultan was aggressive in his spread of Islam by the seventeenth. While no certain evidence exists, it's possible that the *baju panjang* was being worn even then.

As early as 1840, Eurasian women in the north coast of Java began designing and manufacturing batiks for sale to Europeans, Chinese, and other Eurasians. Their batiks made for sarongs were characterized by bold colors, an overall repeat punctuated by a wide panel of triangle border or floral bouquet. Eventually, as evidenced in late nineteenth-century photographs, the predecessor *baju panjang* shortened to the *kebaya pedek* (the short *kebaya* is the default *kebaya*) to better show off the vibrant north coast style of batiks.

The *kebaya kutu baru* (short *kebaya* with panel over the breast) seems to have developed in the late nineteenth century as well, though this subject deserves more research. Djumena states that the panel insert was an innovation developed in Yogya and Surakarta courts, but does not give a date. A photograph dated 1905 of a Javanese regent's family shows one woman in a *kebaya kutu baru* and four others in other styles of *kebaya*.

Taylor calls the kain-kebaya "a costume for all women" in the nineteenth century, because women in villages, royal courts, and European spouses of colonialists (though only at home, as morning attire) all wore them. The quality of the kain-kebaya linked women to the social status of their spouse.

National Dress

Indonesia's first president declared the Javanese kain-kebaya as Indonesia's national dress for women. In the 1950s and 1960s, it consisted of a *kebaya kutu baru* (with the panel) in sheer floral or lace, with a brassiere visible underneath, the *stagen* exposed, and a central Javanese style batik with or without pleating, the hair in a large *konde* with a jeweled hairstick, low-heeled sandals, narrow, solid-colored *selendang*, pendant on a chain, and stud earrings. This style of dress would be worn for formal occasions.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the kain-kebaya as national dress included stylistic variations as Indonesian fashion designers incorporated textile traditions throughout Indonesia and fashion trends from the Western hemisphere. Iwan Tirta introduced several variations. His *selendang* and *kain pajangs* were matching *batiks*, and were draped on the arm like the 1980s' world fashion of wearing big scarves on the shoulder. His *kebayas* were always a solid color, and when puffed sleeves were stylish in the mid-1980s, his *kebaya* had them. He popularized the *kebaya panjang* and *Kartini kebaya* that closed in front with ornate broaches. It became acceptable to wear other textile traditions besides batik as national dress. As late as the early 2000s, Indonesian fashion designers popularized the *kebaya*, creating a variety of styles and making it part of leisure world-dress ensemble, as worn with jeans, or skirts, or shorts for middle-class Indonesian women.

See also **Asia, Southeastern Islands and the Pacific: History of Dress; Islamic Dress, Contemporary.**

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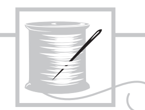
Heidi Boehlke

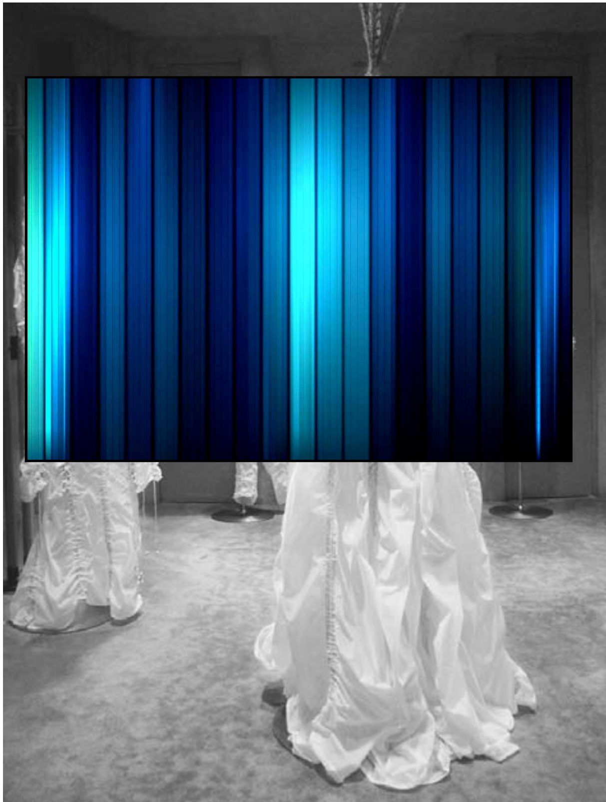
KAMALI, NORMA

KAMALI, NORMA Considered one of America's most original fashion designers, Norma Kamali created innovative and influential garments during the 1970s and 1980s. In the early twenty-first century she continued to market forward-looking fashions. Born Norma Arraez in New York City in 1945, her fashion career might be said to have begun with her outrageous personal style of dressing during her teenage years. It was later refined through formal studies in illustration at the Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT) in New York. After graduating from FIT in 1964, Kamali took several jobs making sketches for Seventh Avenue buyers, only to leave in frustration



STUDENT TEACHING

The Manhattan Chamber of Commerce gave Norma Kamali the *2001 Business Outreach Award* for her outstanding work with public school students, particularly those at her alma mater, Washington Irving High School. There, in Room 741 (her former homeroom class), she has created a state-of-the-art design laboratory where she instructs students in fashion design every other week.



Kamali-designed wedding gown of parachute nylon, 1998. Norma Kamali's fashions have extended beyond clothing design to include skin care, cosmetics, and perfume. These new avenues, however, have not detracted from the popularity of her designs. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

at the restrictive, stifling environment. Deciding that she wanted the freedom to travel, Kamali took an office position at Northwest Orient Airlines. The airline job allowed her access to cheap travel, a benefit she exploited with frequent weekend trips to London and Paris. There she enthusiastically explored the swinging fashion scene burgeoning in the 1960s.

Her friends and associates coveted the clothes that Kamali brought back from her travels in Europe, and provided the impetus for her to open a boutique in partnership with her husband, Eddie. The shop opened in 1968 on Fifty-third Street and was stocked with garments Kamali purchased abroad. Teaching herself to sew, cut, and make patterns in a very hands-on approach to her design business, she soon began supplementing the inventory with clothes of her own creation.

From the beginning her designs were fresh, original, and entertaining. Inspired by pop culture and street fashion combined with a sense of practicality, Kamali created bold pieces, such as hot pants and leotards. When the store moved to Madison Avenue in 1974, Kamali turned to designing more refined clothing, including tailored suits. Her divorce in 1977 and subsequent opening of OMO (On My Own) on the Upper West Side marked her true emergence as a designer. Through OMO, Kamali revealed her interest in and identification with a newly independent and creative female customer base.

Kamali is credited with introducing some of the most recognized looks of the 1970s and 1980s. She became a household name after the success of her influential 1980 collection of day and evening wear made from sweatshirt fleece. Inspired by the sleeping bag she supposedly used after her divorce, her quilted down coat design has become a fashion standard. Especially notable is Kamali's drawstring parachute jumpsuit from the mid-1970s, which was included in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition *Vanity Fair: A Treasure Trove of the Costume Institute* in 1977. In the 1980s, Kamali stressed exaggerated shoulders in her garments and is widely acknowledged as a contributor to the revival of the big shoulder look of that decade.

Kamali has also been a pioneer in swimsuit design. Her earliest pieces were daringly revealing bikinis and gold lamé maillots (one-piece swimsuits for women). She is also credited (along with Calvin Klein) with introducing high-cut bathing suits in 1976, a look that dominated swimsuit styles in the 1980s. In 1985 Kamali introduced a shirred, 1940s-inspired maillot, revealing her deep interest in retro fashions. Kamali's fresh, updated vintage styles, such as the "Ethel Mertz" wrap dress of the mid-1980s, anticipated the postmodern reprocessing of retro styles that occurred in the next decade. Even in the early 1990s Kamali was ahead of the retro curve, including flared trousers, reminiscent of those styles popular in the 1930s and 1970s, in her collection.

Kamali's creativity has been recognized through a number of awards from such fashion institutions as the Coty American Fashion Critics, Council of Fashion Designers of America, the Fashion Group, and the Fashion Walk of Fame, to name just a few. She remains in 2004 one of America's most inventive and witty designers.

See also **Retro Styles; Swimwear.**

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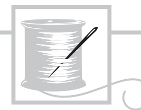
Lauren Whitley

KANGA Proverb cloths, called *leso*, *kanga* (*khanga*), or *lamba hoany*, are used and worn throughout coastal East Africa and Madagascar. Often worn in pairs, these lightweight cloths make a lasting impression not only for their brightly colored designs, but also for the messages that are emblazoned upon them.



In Tanzania, borders are called *pindo,* while the ground (or town) is *miji,* and the four corner motifs (guards of the town) are called *vilindo* (*African Textiles,* June/July and August/September, 1984).

History

As early as the 1850s or 1860s, women in the coastal regions of Kenya and Tanzania (perhaps around Lamu or Pate, but most likely in Mombasa or Zanzibar) began buying uncut lineal sheets of six handkerchief squares, called *leso* in Portuguese, cutting the lengths in half and sewing them together lengthwise to create larger rectangular cloths with two rows of three pattern squares each. By 1875, enterprising merchants in Zanzibar began to import modified leso from England, Switzerland, India, and the Netherlands. Leso eventually also took the name of khanga, possibly because a popular early print included small spots similar to the coloration of the guinea fowl, called *khanga* in Kiswahili. Around the turn of the century, leso/khanga became especially popular in Zanzibar, appearing at the moment that many former slaves were intent on visually separating themselves from their past and redefining themselves as newly independent, and fashionable, individuals.

In the 1920s a merchant named Kaderdina Hajee Essak (nicknamed Abdullah) in Mombasa, Kenya, began adding Arabic script to the lower center section of these brightly colored rectangular cloths. Kiswahili or English phrases in Roman script appeared in the 1960s. Inscriptions incorporate proverbs, popular sayings, greetings, warnings, and political or religious slogans. Use of proverb cloths has since spread along the coast and to the island of Madagascar, with the accompanying text in the appropriate languages. In the middle of the century, textile factories in Africa and Madagascar also began to create proverb cloths for their own markets, although factories in India became dominant cloth-producers for all the regions. Misspellings frequently occur on proverb cloths, probably because many are made abroad for a foreign market in a foreign language. In Madagascar, it is said that lamba hoany must have misspellings to be considered true lamba hoany, suggesting that this is part of their mystique.

The Cloths

Proverb cloths are traditionally cotton, but are also made of rayon, polyester, or a variety of blends. Generally three feet high by five feet wide, they have a patterned border (approximately five to nine inches deep) surrounding a patterned interior that usually includes a central design, often within a large circular orb, with four smaller versions of the central design in the four corners. Designs, in either bright and showy colors or quieter earthen tones, typically employ two to five colors upon a white base, and may incorporate virtually anything, from genre scenes to a variety of objects from nature or images of technology, or food. Specific designs may or may not correspond to the accompanying text, which is located within a box just below the central motif if there is one and just above the patterned border of the long bottom edge.

Lightweight and versatile, proverb cloths are worn primarily by women, although men may also wear them, especially in Madagascar. Often worn in pairs, one may be wrapped around the upper torso and the other worn as a skirt. They can be worn singly as dresses: a girl wrapping the cloth around her body with the two ends overlapping in front and their upper corners tied behind her neck, a woman wrapping it around her body with the upper edge above her breasts and then either rolled under or over itself or the two upper corners tied in a knot. They can serve as an outer cape to protect one from cold or heat, with the top edge raised over the head to form a hood if necessary. Women often wrap proverb cloths around their waists as a protective layer over their other clothes while working. Proverb cloths can cradle a baby against one's back, with the ends either over both shoulders, under one's arms, or one over and one under an arm, the ends twisted, tied, or held in front. If twisted lengthwise and curled into a flat spiral or doughnut shape, proverb cloths make cushions when carrying a heavy or unwieldy load on one's head. They are often used to wrap objects or parcels, or to cover the contents in a basket. They are also increasingly used as wall hangings, bedspreads, curtains, or seat covers. Finally, in some regions, kangas are essential accessories when attending funerals or weddings.

Communicative Tools

A person may communicate through a proverb cloth depending on how, where, or when it is worn, displayed, or given. A person can wear a cloth so that the intended recipient of the message may see it, by walking past their house or business, by visiting a neighbor, or by wearing it at home. Messages may warn a gossiping neighbor, a rival co-wife, or an erring husband, or may indicate one's friendship or love. For example, a woman may show her affection by wearing the cloth that her husband has just removed, or she may place her cloth on her husband's pillow to indicate that she would like his attentions. Proverb cloths can also be given as gifts, by one's mother,

EXAMPLES OF PROVERBS

Utabaki na chokochoko utaambulia ukoko. "By continuing to create discord, all you'll end up with is just leftovers." Tanzania (Hassan).

Kunisalimia tu haitoshi. "It is not enough just to greet me." Kenya (Troughear).

Fanahy tsara no maha olona. "A good character makes the person." Madagascar (Green, personal translation).

spouse, parent, grandparent, lover, rival, or friend. Lovers may also send perfumed cloths to emphasize their romantic intentions.

Meanings behind messages, the identity of a message's recipient, as well as the intent of the sender can be ambiguous. However, a person can wear a proverb cloth without intending to send a message, or can wear it with a very specific person(s) in mind. Moreover, the symbolic proverbial sayings may have multiple interpretations or meanings. The responsibility of recognizing a communicative exchange, therefore, rests with the viewer, who must decide whether a message is intentional, and if so, if it applies to him or her. A woman can therefore send a rival or friend a message without risking the social stigma of inciting argument or confrontation, since she can always deny that a message was intended. The woman wearing or giving a cloth, who has the exclusive knowledge of its intent, is therefore in a position of power, and the recipient, who has the disadvantage of not knowing whether a message is intended, is disempowered (see Beck for an extended discussion). Proverb cloths, therefore, are a beautiful yet complex mode of communication and power.

See also **Africa, North: History of Dress; Africa, Sub-Saharan: History of Dress.**

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Rebecca L. Green

KARAN, DONNA Donna Karan (1948–) was born Donna Ivy Faske in 1948 in New York City. Her father, Gabby Faske, was a custom tailor who died in a car accident when Donna was three years old. Her mother, Helen Faske, had been a showroom model turned fashion sales representative. Helen's second husband was Harold Flaxman, who was also involved in the garment business. The family moved to Long Island after the marriage. By the time Karan finished high school, she had already staged her first fashion show. She attended the Parsons School of Design for two years, leaving at the age of nineteen to work for the ready-to-wear designer Anne Klein. Klein fired Karan in short order, but rehired her two years later. When Anne Klein died of cancer in 1974, Karan was put in charge of Klein's Seventh Avenue sportswear company at the age of twenty-six, just days after having given birth to a baby girl.

During Karan's decade-long tenure as head designer, she built Anne Klein into the most profitable sportswear company in the United States. She launched Anne Klein II, a so-called bridge line of clothes priced slightly lower than the signature collection and meant for the working woman. So successful was the concept that the company's financial backers, Tomio Taki and Frank Mori, invested $10 million in working capital for Karan to start her own collection. She turned over the reins at Anne Klein to her assistant, Louis Dell'Olio, in 1984.

Long since divorced from Mark Karan, the father of her ten-year-old daughter, and remarried in 1983 to her business partner Stephan Weiss, Donna Karan set out to "design everything I needed, so I wouldn't have to think about it anymore" (Agins, p. 145). To this end, she devised a sophisticated twist on the mix-and-match concept and called her line Donna Karan Essentials. It consisted of a bodysuit, tights, dress, skirt, jacket, pants, and accessories—"seven easy pieces" meant to be replaceable with minimal updating. It was a modern way of dressing de-

signed to go from day to evening, pack easily in a travel bag, and be ready to wear at a moment's notice.

"I don't like fashion," Karan once said. "To me, it's the woman, the body." She described herself not as a fashion designer but as a "doctor for women's problems." She added, "In all the chaos I live in, I always want to create calm." In the 1980s, a time when many professional women in the United States were dressing in pinstriped power suits and collared silk blouses with bows at the neck, Karan provided an attractive alternative. Her system of dressing was based on a cashmere bodysuit, on top of which could be layered silk body blouses, sweater-like jackets, unconstructed blazers, and easy-fitting skirts or trousers. "I have seen women transform themselves when they put on her clothes," said Kal Ruttenstein, fashion director of Bloomingdale's department store. "They make you look sexy and strong, a rare combination."

In addition to answering her own needs and those of many other women, Karan drew inspiration from the pace and attitude of New York City, naming her collection Donna Karan New York. Soon the label included fragrance and beauty products, a men's collection, a children's line, and a home furnishings collection. In 1989 she launched DKNY, a casual line of less expensive, more youthful fashions. Designed by Jane Chung but overseen by Karan, DKNY also quickly expanded to include a wide range of licensees.

The company was publicly traded on the New York Stock Exchange for the first time in 1996. In April 2001 Donna Karan New York was acquired for $643 million by the French luxury goods conglomerate Moët Hennessy Louis Vuitton (LVMH). What was then known as Donna Karan International had over eighty freestanding Donna Karan and DKNY retail locations worldwide, including the original two stores in London and three in New York City. Karan has been a six-time winner of awards from the Council of Fashion Designers of America.

See also **Seventh Avenue; Sportswear.**

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Liz Gessner

KENTE Kente cloth is probably the most universally recognized of all African fabrics. The word "kente" means basket, and the cloth is so-named because of its resemblance to a woven basket design. The Asante peoples of Ghana and the Ewe of Ghana and Togo weave it on horizontal, narrow-strip, men's treadle looms. Individual strips of kente typically feature alternating segments of warp-faced (yarn extended lengthwise in a loom) stripe patterns with weft-faced (yarn running crosswise) geometric patterns. The woven strips range from three to five inches in width and are sewn together edge-to-edge to produce men's cloths of approximately twelve feet by six feet (twenty-four strips) and women's cloths of six feet by three to four feet (nine to twelve strips). Men's cloths are worn toga style, draped around the body with the left shoulder and arm covered and the right shoulder and arm exposed. Women wear two cloths of different sizes as upper and lower wrappers and often have a third piece as a baby carrier. Queenmothers and more recently other women of stature may wear a single cloth like a man. Regardless, kente is primarily festive dress worn at a variety of annual festivals. It is also used in other traditional contexts as a drum wrapper, a palanquin liner, umbrella fabric, fan and shield covering, amulet casing, and even loincloths. More recently it has been used as a wall hanging in Ghana's Parliament House and in the United Nations. Traditional usage aside, some African and African American scholars still vehemently contend that the use of kente should be restricted to clothing for special occasions.

Weaving in what is now southern Ghana was certainly introduced from the north where strip-woven fabrics are known from at least the eleventh century in the Bandiagara escarpment region of modern Mali. There is considerable debate between the Asante and Ewe over the historical preeminence of their respective traditions. Since both are derived from more northerly practices, the argument is largely irrelevant, but for ethnic pride. Asante kente is held in high regard, and has had by far the more pervasive international significance. As the Asante kingdom rose to power in the late 1600s, the weaving of kente became the exclusive prerogative of the Asante king and his designates. Royal control of this elite fabric persisted for two hundred years, but toward the end of the nineteenth century, kente became increasingly accessible to those who could afford it. Beginning with the conquest of the Asante in 1874 by the British, the history of kente is one of increasing democratization.

Part of the appeal of Asante kente is not just visual. The Asante value the names of various cloths as much as they do their appearance. Cloths are named after their warp stripe patterns and may reference past kings, and queenmothers, historical events (for example, the "Queen comes to Ghana," commemorating Queen Elizabeth's visit in 1961), the plant and animal kingdoms ("little peppers," "guinea fowl feathers"), and other natural phenomena ("gold dust," "the rainbow," "the rising sun"). Traditional proverbs are among the most popular names. One pattern is titled "When you climb a good tree you get a push," that is, if your intentions are good people will help you. Another is called "Kindness does

not travel far," referring to the idea that bad deeds attract more attention than good. The above aside, only rarely is there a visual correlation between the cloth's name and its appearance. Although the overall cloth is named after the warp pattern, weft designs are also named. Here there is more visual correspondence with the name, with designs called "comb," "hat," "knife," and "drum" being relatively descriptive. The narrative and indeed intellectual component of kente nomenclature is also undoubtedly important to its popularity in international fashion.

Kente cloth first gained exposure on the international scene with the rise of Kwame Nkrumah and the independence of Ghana in 1957. As the first sub-Saharan African country to regain its independence from colonial domination, Ghana, with Nkrumah as its first President, attained enormous symbolic stature for the rest of Africa and for African Americans—many of whom visited Ghana just before or after independence. This includes such renowned figures as Maya Angelou, Muhammad Ali, John Biggers, Ralph Bunche, W. E. B. Du Bois, Thurgood Marshall, Adam Clayton Powell, Roy Wilkins, Richard Wright, and Malcolm X, to name only a few. Most, if not all, returned with a piece of kente as a potent connection with their African heritage and identity.

Of equal or greater importance, Kwame Nkrumah visited the United States in 1958 and 1960 with an entourage of kente-adorned Ghanaian dignitaries, who appeared in photographs in many of the most important publications of the day, including *Life*, *Time*, and *Ebony* magazines, and *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* newspapers.

Since Americans were unaccustomed to wrapped and draped clothing, kente was first used primarily as interior decoration—a furniture throw, wall hanging, or even a bedspread. But very quickly kente cloth was tailored into women's blouses, skirts, and dresses and even men's jackets, all of which otherwise followed styles prevalent in the 1960s and 70s. During this period kente wedding attire was especially popular.

The fact that handwoven kente was expensive, difficult to obtain, often uncomfortably warm and heavy, and hard to tailor led to the production of mill-woven roller-printed cloths in a variety of kente patterns beginning about 1960 and continuing into the twenty-first century. Asante and Ewe weavers naturally object to calling this material "kente," but it has entered popular parlance as such.

Both hand- and mill-woven kente have entered the contemporary fashion world in a variety of forms. Kente-covered jewelry includes earrings, pins, and bracelets, and is still popular, as are a variety of hair ornaments such as headbands, barrettes, and scrunchies. Kente hats, purses, shoes, and sandals can still be purchased in Ghanaian markets, and kente backpacks and book bags are popular tourist items.

While kente fabrics and designs can still be found internationally in a number of contexts, the use of kente in the United States persists, especially at liturgical and academic events where the robes of choirs and church leaders, as well as graduation robes, either incorporate or are augmented by a single strip of kente called a "stole." Since religion and education are of paramount importance to African American communities, it is fitting that kente still plays a profound role in these life-sustaining and family-centered institutions.

See also **Africa, Sub-Saharan: History of Dress; African American Dress; Kente; Weaving.**

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Doran Ross

KEVLAR. *See* Techno-Textiles.

KHAKIS. *See* Trousers.

KILT

The kilt has come to signify a natural and unmistakable masculinity, but it has a long history of outside intervention and deliberate reinvention. From its origins as the basic garb of the Highlander, Scotsmen and non-Scotsmen alike have embraced it as uniform, formal and semiformal wear, and casual, everyday wear. The kilt's ability to remain recognizable while responding to changing circumstances and consumer demands has been instrumental in maintaining its popularity through successive generations and, increasingly, throughout the world.

Form and Evolution

The kilt as we know it today originated in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Known to the Gaelic-speaking Highlander as the "little wrap" (*feileadh beag*), it evolved from the "big wrap" (*feileadh mor*), or belted

plaid, the first identifiably "Scottish" costume that emerged in the late sixteenth century. Earlier, the Scottish Gaels had worn the same clothes as their Irish counterparts, namely a shirt known in Gaelic as the *léine* and a semicircular mantle known in Gaelic as the *brat.*

The belted plaid consisted of a four- to six-yard length of woolen cloth about two yards wide. In *Highland Costume* (1977), John Telfer Dunbar explains how the belted plaid was arranged on the body. It was laid out on the ground and gathered in folds with a plain section left at each side. The man lay down on it with one selvage at about knee level, and fastened it with a belt. When he stood up, the lower part was like a kilt, and the upper part could be draped around the body in a variety of different styles. Several dress historians, however, have discounted this method on the grounds of impracticality. They propose that the most pragmatic and time-effective method was to gather the pleats in the hand, pass the plaid around the body, secure it loosely with the belt, and then tighten it after a final adjustment of the pleats.

The kilt as worn in the early 2000s is the lower half of the belted plaid with the back pleats stitched up. Its invention is credited to Thomas Rawlinson, an English ironmaster who employed Highlanders to work his furnaces in Glengarry near Inverness. Finding the belted plaid cumbersome, he conceived of the "little kilt" on the grounds of efficiency and practicality, a means of bringing the Highlanders "out of the heather and into the factory" (Trevor-Roper 1983, p. 22). However, as Dorothy K. Burnham asserts in *Cut My Cote* (1973), it is more likely that the transformation came about as the natural result of a change from the warp-weighted loom to the horizontal loom with its narrower width.

Romanticism: The Kilt as National Dress

Not long after the kilt's invention, the Diskilting Act was passed in the wake of the Jacobite Uprising of 1745. This rebellion, organized by Prince Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie), marked the final attempt by the Jacobites to regain the British throne. As in the previous Jacobite risings, the "Young Pretender" sought and won the support of many Highland chiefs and their clans. When the Jacobites were defeated at the Battle of Culloden (1746) by the duke of Cumberland and his troops, a campaign of "pacification" of the Highlands was undertaken "beginning with fire and the sword, and leading on into social engineering of various kinds" (Chapman 1992, p. 125). The latter included the proscription of Highland costume, which was seen as a symbol of rebellion and primitive savagery.

The Diskilting Act made an exception for those serving in the armed forces. Originally, the Highland regiments were dressed in the belted plaid, but in order to conform to the other regiments of the British Army they wore a red coat cut away at the skirts to allow for its voluminous folds. Other distinctive Highland features of the uniform included a round blue bonnet, a small leather sporran, red and white knee-length hose, and black buckled shoes. By about 1810, however, the Highland regiments had replaced the belted plaid with the little kilt. At the same time, the small, practical leather sporran developed into a large, hairy, decorative affair. This early-nineteenth-century military style was to have a lasting impact on civilian dress. Several dress historians have claimed that Highland costume would not have survived in civilian form had the Highland regiments not been raised and uniformed in elements of their native dress.

In 1782, through the efforts of the Highland Society of London, the Diskilting Act was repealed. By the time of the repeal, the kilt had fallen out of use as an item of ordinary dress, allowing for what Malcolm Chapman in *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth* (1992) calls the "romantic rehabilitation of Highland dress." The romantic gaze was a reaction against the urban and the industrial and a celebration of the untamed wilderness. No longer the threat from the North, the image of the Highlands could represent this wilderness within the bustling economy of the "new" Britain. Rather than dangerous, bare-legged barbarians, the Highlanders became admirable, a kilted version of the noble savage.

The romantic rehabilitation of the kilt reached its apotheosis with King George IV's carefully stage-managed state visit to Edinburgh in 1822, during which he disported himself in full Highland dress. This "publicity stunt" promoted the kilt as fashionable wear among the Scottish nobility and, in so doing, helped establish the kilt as the national dress of Scotland. However, the king's clothes, like those worn by Scottish noblemen, were far removed from those worn by the Highlanders of the previous century. Given the fact that they were largely designed for the levee, assembly, and ballroom, the emphasis was on the dramatic and spectacular. As Hugh Cheape points out in *Tartan* (1991), "'Highland dress' turned into 'tartan costume.' A practical dress with style became . . . a fashionable dress with little regard for function" (Cheape 1991, p. 52).

Throughout the nineteenth century, aristocratic patronage continued to provide cachet for this new urban-based national style, which began to have "correct" items and styles of wear for day and evening. From the 1840s, it was given new impetus through Queen Victoria's cult of the Highlands. Queen Victoria shared King George IV's romantic vision of Scotland, and in 1852 Prince Albert bought Balmoral Castle in Aberdeenshire. Parts of the interior, most notably the queen's private suites, were decorated with tartan. Queen Victoria herself wore dresses made from "Dress Stewart" or "Victoria" tartan, sparking a trend for tartan fashions worldwide. It was not until the twentieth century, however, that women embraced the kilt as fashionable attire. After World War II, a simplified version of the kilt emerged in the form of a pleated, wrap-around skirt belted at the waist and secured near the hem with a large pin. Popular with middle- and upper-class women, it also formed a component of the

uniforms of private girls' schools in England and America, thus maintaining the kilt's connotations of wealth and class privilege.

Re-contextualization

As Scotland gained a new level of cultural and political confidence toward the end of the twentieth century, "a new generation of [young] radical Scots . . . reclaimed the wearing of the kilt from the embrace of nearly two hundred years of establishment, commodified gentrification" (Taylor 2002, p. 220). The Victorian styles of day wear and evening wear gave way to contemporary usage. Many younger Scotsmen began to wear their kilts for everyday use with a T-shirt or sweater, a denim or leather jacket, sneakers or chunky, heavy-soled boots, and woolly socks falling around the ankles. As Lou Taylor observes in *The Study of Dress History* (2002), "Now young Scotsmen wear their kilts according to their own cultural codes and on their own national identity terms" (Taylor 2002, p. 220).

Recently, the kilt has become increasingly popular among non-Scotsmen wishing to project a self-confidently fashionable image. This can be attributed, at least in part, to the immense success of such films as *Rob Roy* (1995) and *Braveheart* (1995). In the tradition of the Romantic movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, these films portray the Highlander as "warrior hero," embodying timeless, masculine values. This image has been reinforced in the arena of sport, most obviously through the Highland Games, now broadcast around the world. In putting the shot, tossing the caber, and throwing the weight, men of obvious stamina are shown competing in kilts. Most recently, however, Scottish football supporters have promoted the Highlander as a beau ideal. Their tribal antics and kilted uniforms received widespread publicity in France during the World Cup in the summer of 1998. Through such images, the kilt has come to represent a ready access to Highland male sexuality. For non-Scotsmen, it provides the means of asserting a self-consciously yet unambiguously masculine persona.

Contemporary designers have drawn heavily on the kilt's hypermasculine connotations in their attempts to appeal to the young fashion-conscious male. At the same time, various designers have attempted to blur the lines between the "kilt" and a "skirt" by re-working elements of the kilt's design. Most typically they have focused their efforts on foregrounding the cut over the culturally specific tartan, employing nontraditional "street" materials like denim or leather, and even adapting its cut, length, and construction. These "skirt-kilts" offer men a means of expressing a frank masculinity while simultaneously projecting a self-confidently unconventional persona. As such, they have proved particularly successful among youth and countercultural movements such as punks in the 1970s and new romantics in the 1980s. Since the early 1990s, kilts and skirt-kilts have entered the lexicon of gay fashion. Worn by gay men as an expression of hypermasculinity and a flaunting of perceived femininity, the kilt has become a standard item in the masculinized gay wardrobe.

See also **Europe and America: History of Dress (400–1900 C.E.); Gender, Dress, and Fashion; Tartan; Uniforms, Military.**

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Andrew Bolton

KIMONO Around the world, the kimono is recognized as the national dress of Japan. Made from a single, long fourteen-inch-wide bolt of silk, the kimono has an overall T-shape, with its component parts joined mostly in straight, vertical seams. In contrast to typical Western garb, the kimono is flat rather than three-dimensional, and angular, not form-fitting. It is more an expression of surface design by means of dyed and/or embroidered patterns than a product of tailoring and weave.

The term "kimono" was coined during Japan's first era of modernization, the Meiji Period (1868–1912), in response to the heightened awareness of the Japanese to Western clothing, customs, and ideas. Japan had recently emerged from an enforced period of isolation with feelings of self-consciousness in regard to their dress as compared to that of occidentals. A dichotomy was established distinguishing Western clothing (*yōfuku*) from native dress (*wafuku*).

Kimono, the best-known article of traditional clothing, takes its name from the verb *kiru*, meaning "to wear," and *mono*, meaning "thing." In its narrowest sense, the kimono is the descendant of the *kosode*, a former undergarment that emerged prior to the Edo period (1603–1868) as the principal article of dress most sensitive to changes in styles and fashion. More broadly, kimono can refer to any traditional Japanese T-shaped garment, whether worn by men or women in any con-

text—sacred or secular, for weddings or funerals, onstage or at festivals, or simply for relaxing at home.

Kosode/Kimono Parameters

The kosode takes its name from the adjective *ko*, meaning "small," and *sode*, for "sleeve." In that a kosode/kimono sleeve has the appearance of a large pouch, it is difficult to consider the kosode sleeve as being small. In fact, what is small relative to the overall sleeve size is the opening through which the hand passes. The kosode sleeve opening is so-named in contrast to the *ōsode* sleeve, which is entirely open and unsewn.

The kosode took precedence over the ōsode as the primary vehicle for fashion, while the ōsode was relegated to conservative milieux such as court rites, religious rituals, and the no theater. Other variations in construction include the absence or presence of a lining, wide lapels that overlap or narrow ones that abut, a flat collar, and the occasional use of padding. When the front panels of the robe are wide enough to overlap, the left front panel is always closed over the right side. The obi is a sash used to secure the robe around the body.

Distinctions existed among kosode of the past, some of which are still current in kimonos. One type of kosode, the *furisode* (literally, "swinging sleeves") has sleeves especially long in their vertical dimension. The furisode is reserved for unmarried girls. The *katabira*, for which the nearest modern descendant is the *yukata*, was unlined and not made of silk, but rather of a bast fiber (usually hemp or ramie). Two other types of kosode, called *koshimaki* and *uchikake*, were worn as outer robes on top of another kosode. The koshimaki was densely embroidered with small auspicious motifs and draped around the hips while held in place by an obi. It became obsolete; however, the uchikake, worn like a cape and not fastened at the waist, had a thickly padded hem and was still being worn at marriage ceremonies in the early 2000s.

Early Styles

After the kosode ceased to be the plain, unpatterned silk garment worn next to the skin under layers of voluminous robes, as in the Heian Period (794–1185), it served as outerwear, initially for the lower classes and eventually for the samurai class and the aristocracy.

One of the first discernible styles in kosode, *nuihaku*, featured decoration in embroidery (*nui*) and metallic foil (*haku*). In some examples, the robe's markedly contrasting sections differ in both motifs and color schemes. Another early style, known by the poetic name *tsujigahana* (literally "flowers at the crossroads"), was technically exacting, involving careful tie-dyeing, delicate ink painting, and, occasionally, embroidery and applied metallic foil. Some kosode patterned in this fashion were only decorated at the shoulders and hem, with the midsection left empty.

Kanbun Style

The earliest style for which there is considerable pictorial and written documentation, as well as extant garments, is known as Kanbun (1661–1673) after the Japanese era of that name. Order books from the Kariganeya clothing atelier in Kyoto, which catered to samurai class and aristocratic clients, reveal an exuberant asymmetrical style often featuring large-scale motifs in a sweeping composition extending from the shoulders to the hem, with the left body panel (as viewed from the back) mostly free of decoration in its midsection. The broad, flat expanse of surface area and the T-shape, two characteristics inherent in *kosode* construction, are exploited to their full design potential in such robes.

In Kanbun kosode, tiny tie-dye spots were used extensively in the creation of individual motifs, and in combination with embroidery in polychrome silk threads and gold and silver threads. Occasionally, written characters in a flowing script were incorporated into the design scheme, adding a literary aspect and creating deeper levels of meaning in the pattern by combining words with individual design motifs.

The two most elite (and, eventually, most conservative) levels of society, the aristocracy and the samurai class, were patrons of this bold and innovative style. The earliest published kosode design books (*hinagata-bon*), printed from wood blocks to allow for wide dissemination, also featured the Kanbun style, indicating there was also a popular audience for this new fashion. Members of the nouveaux riche merchant class had the money to afford such expensive robes, although they were at the bottom of the social scale, below farmers and artisans.

Kosode design books allowed a larger public to keep pace with changing fashions. A client would select a design from such a book, then choose colors from an album of dyed fabric swatches; after which a kosode maker, in collaboration with a dyer, would produce the finished product. The concept of ready-to-wear clothes for both Western-style garments and kimono did not have an impact in Japan until after World War II. Even as late as the early twenty-first century, most finer kimonos were still made to order, like haute couture in the West.

Genroku and Yōzen Styles

The next dominant style is named for the Genroku years (1688–1704). During this time women's obi grew wider, and therefore more prominent as a fashion accessory. Many different methods were invented for tying the obi, adding another element to the repertory of styles available to fashionable women. The obi was now usually knotted at the back.

As the obi widened, the sleeves of the furisode-type kosode lengthened even more and its unpatterned space diminished, although the shoulder-to-hem Kanbun-style sweeping design composition was more-or-less preserved. The overall effect was one of opulence, as the de-

sign filled up more space and the wider obi added a further expanse of decoration.

The Kabuki theater, a new and raucous form of popular entertainment, enjoyed a wide audience in the urban centers where the merchant class was based. Since women were banned from the Kabuki stage, male actors also played the female roles. They launched fashion trends in women's kosode, particularly by popularizing certain shades of colors and individual design motifs. Woodblock print publishers had eager urbanites lining up to buy the latest images of Kabuki stars, and also of geisha, who were the female trendsetters of the moment. By this time, men's kosode were no longer interchangeable with women's dress, except within the Kabuki and brothel demimonde.

Another style that emerged during the Genroku years was named after a Kyoto painter, Yōzensai Miyazaki, and is simply referred to as *Yōzen.* He is believed to have popularized a technique that combined freehand painting and paste-resist dyeing using a wide variety of colors and allowing for the production of highly pictorial imagery and unusual shading effects on kosode.

Yōzen kosode represented a uniquely Japanese achievement in the costume arts. Whereas technological advances in textile production had previously been initiated on the Asian mainland (especially in China) and were later copied and refined by the Japanese, a new means of decoration involving the skill of the dyer and the hand of the painter had been created in Japan itself. The nearest equivalent to Yōzen in textiles outside of Japan is Indian chintz, which, however, utilizes cotton fabric rather than silk and makes less use of freehand painting and shading effects. Yōzen remains a popular technique for the decoration of kimono in the early 2000s.

Late Edo–Period Styles

Extravagance in Genroku and Yōzen-style kosode led the Tokugawa authorities to enact sumptuary laws from time to time, leading to restrictions on the use of certain colors for the lower classes and to controls on some of the more costly textile techniques. Apart from the sumptuary laws, which were randomly enforced, a reaction against flamboyance and excess became the underlying basis for a new style.

Esthetic terms such as *iki* and *shibui* were used by trendsetters who dressed in kosode with a simple striped pattern in subdued colors, or who chose a quiet ikat-patterned fabric for their robes. Other kosode were decorated only along the hem, with the remainder of the garment devoid of design except for traditional family crests arrayed across the shoulders. Subtlety, with a touch of luxury, could be conveyed by wearing a plain kosode with a richly decorated lining.

Excess was not completely forgotten during the late Edo period. The Bunka-Bunsei years (1804–1830) saw the production of many densely embroidered kosode rich in gold thread and that were often chosen by brides for their weddings. Even Buddhist monks commissioned extravagantly woven ritual robes during this period.

A trend in kosode of the Samurai class played on the juxtaposition of certain design motifs alluding to literary works from Japan's medieval period. Another style, which continued into Japan's modern era, was based on the work of the Shijō-Maruyama school of painting, whose artists were influenced by Western painting techniques such as the use of perspective. Several of these painters were recruited to work on kosode designs, and were able to successfully adapt their landscape, bird, and flower themes to the T-shaped garment.

Meiji Period (1868–1912)

In the 1850s, Japan was forced to end its policy of isolation when militarily superior Western powers demanded trading concessions. China, which had historically been the fount of culture for Japan, as ancient Greece and Rome had been for the rest of Europe, was then under the yoke of Western imperialism and was no longer considered to be a suitable role model for the Japanese.

When power was assumed by the Meiji emperor in 1868 after the shogunate collapsed, the elite of Japan embarked upon a serious program of studying and emulating Western technology and customs, including dress. In 1887, the Meiji empress issued a statement denouncing the wearing of kimono as harmful to the female body and advocated the Western blouse and skirt as a more practical form of women's wear.

However, only wealthy women who moved in international circles felt the need and had the means to dress Western style. The long kimono and its wide, tightly bound obi made chair sitting a challenge. In the traditional Japanese home, kimono-clad women sat on a tatami mat–covered floor with their lower legs folded under their thighs. Most women continued to wear kimonos, as they did not lead public lives and had no occasion to experience Western-style interior decor. The daughters of Meiji women did, however, improvise a sort of Western two-piece outfit to serve as school dress. They wore their kimonos tucked into *hakama*, the traditional skirtlike trousers, which had most recently served as part of formal dress for samurai-class men during the Edo period.

For urban men, whose lives were led in public while their wives stayed home, uniforms based on European models were worn in the exercise of certain professions. If a man had the means, he could visit a tailor and be fitted for a suit, which would invariably be made of wool, a fiber Japan itself never produced. Otherwise, at least a token article of Western dress would be worn in public, such as the bowler hat.

Meanwhile, in the West, kimonos appealed to certain sophisticates who developed a passion for things Japanese. Numerous portraits were painted of Western women in kimono during the latter part of the nineteenth

century. The kimono could add both an exotic and an erotic flavor to a painting. Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* and Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado* put the kimono on stage in front of large audiences in Europe and the Americas. Fashion designers such as the Callot sisters and Paul Poiret were inspired by the kimono shape.

Taishō Period (1912–1926)

Japan continued to modernize and prosper during this period. When a major earthquake seriously damaged Tokyo in 1923, much of the city was rebuilt in a more Western style, making Western attire more practical in the new modern interiors. The kimono and other traditional dress for women were further marginalized as female students started to wear blouses and skirts instead of kimono tucked into *hakama* (although such an outfit can still be seen at graduation ceremonies), and as more women entered the workforce.

Shōwa Period (1926–1989)

Militarism came to the fore in 1930s Japan, eventually leading to the disaster and devastation of World War II. Rampant nationalism did not bring about a revival of the kimono. Women were needed to fill jobs abandoned by men in the armed forces, and kimonos were impractical as work clothes. Fabric was rationed, and the kimono was seen as wasteful, requiring more material than Western-style clothes. During the occupation period following Japan's defeat, many families were forced to sell or barter heirloom kimonos for daily necessities, causing yet another setback to the tradition of kimono wearing.

However, economic recovery and prosperity created a large middle class in Japan, resulting in an increase in disposable income and leisure time. Housewives now sought to cultivate themselves by engaging in traditional arts such as flower arranging and tea ceremony, for which kimono was the appropriate dress.

Department stores became major retailers of kimonos, which were still made to order from narrow bolts of silk. Brides continued to dress in kimonos for weddings (but would also change into a Western-style wedding dress for a portion of the ceremony), and might even enroll in a school at which the proper choosing and wearing of the kimono and obi were taught. Traditional annual events, such as New Year festivals and coming-of-age ceremonies, were further occasion for kimono wearing, although primarily for women and children.

Colors and patterns in kimono did change from year to year, but the burst of creativity in surface design and dyeing of the Edo period has yet to be equaled. The modern kimono represented a middle-class rediscovery of a traditional garment. Its role is minor, or nonexistent, in the lives of Japanese women in the early twenty-first century, with the exception of the geisha, who continued to wear kimono with a sense of style while entertaining men.

However, kimonos did experience another incarnation in postwar Japan as art objects. Certain artisans who continued to practice traditional crafts, including textiles, were designated "Living National Treasures" by the Ministry of Culture. Two of the best-known Treasures in the field of textiles, Kako Moriguchi and Keisuke Serizawa, had some of their fabric production made into kimonos, which were subsequently shown at exhibitions and collected as works of art. Their work, and that of other artists of their caliber, has extended the creative life of the kimono.

The Art-to-Wear Movement led to kimono-inspired artistic production in the West. Such pieces have been worn as clothing or displayed on walls, illustrating that the scope of the kimono has broadened well beyond that of a national costume.

See also **Japanese Traditional Dress and Adornment.**

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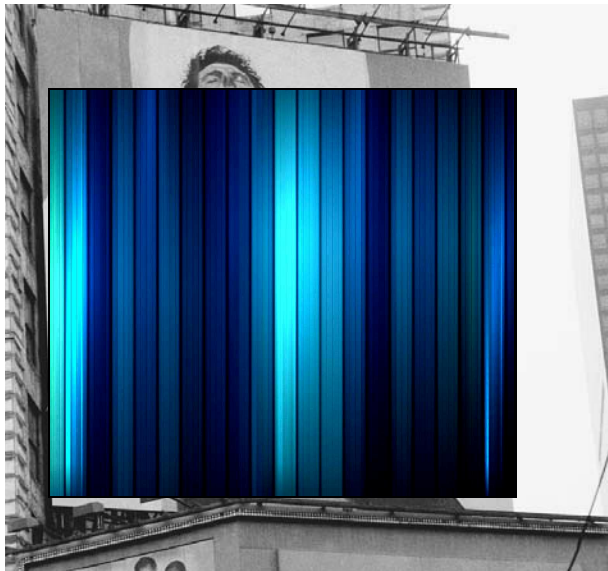
Alan Kennedy

KLEIN, CALVIN Calvin Klein was born in the Bronx, New York, on 19 November 1942. He attended the High School of Industrial Arts and the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York, where he studied fashion design.

Klein's first major position in the fashion industry was with Dan Millstein, a Seventh Avenue coat and suit manufacturer. He worked there from 1962 to 1964, starting as a pattern cutter and advancing to a full-fledged designer.



Billboard featuring Calvin Klein underwear. A visually striking and sexually charged advertising campaign helped make Klein's underwear line a huge success. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Klein's second position was with Halldon, Ltd., where he began to be recognized in the press for his designs.

Klein soon became frustrated by the design restrictions of moderate-priced fashion manufacturers. Encouraged by his parents and financed by his boyhood friend Barry Schwartz, Klein developed a collection of coats and suits under his own label.

Klein's first line was discovered by a buyer from Bonwit Teller, who was so impressed by the collection of finely tailored coats in fresh colors that he sent Klein to meet with Mildred Custin, then president of Bonwit Teller. Custin placed a large order with Klein, giving a jumpstart to the newly formed Calvin Klein Limited.

Early on, the savvy Klein developed relationships with fashion insiders, including the designer Chester Weinberg and *Vogue* fashion editor Nicolas de Gunzburg. The publicity agent Eleanor Lambert took Klein on as a client and was instrumental in guiding his early career. Klein's first *Vogue* cover was in September 1969, with his classically cut outerwear featured prominently in the New York fall preview editorial inside. Throughout the 1970s, Klein's designs were noted for their sportswear influence, muted pastel color palettes, and simplicity of design. Looks that are considered classic Klein were introduced at this time: the pea coat, the trench coat, the shirtdress, and the wrap blouse. Klein was also an early advocate of all-occasion or "day into night" dressing, with evening pajamas being his preferred form of formal wear.

As the decade wore on, Klein eased up his tailoring for a relaxed, sexy look. Klein also began to incorporate looks from active sportswear into his collection—swimwear and tennis outfits that could be used off the beaches and tennis courts by pairing them with wrap skirts or pants. Corduroy cargo pants, flannel shirts, and elegant fur-trimmed parkas were shown on Klein's 1970s fall runways. For all his innovations, Calvin Klein won his first Coty American Fashion Critic's Winnie Award—as the youngest recipient ever—in 1973. He won again in 1974, and in 1975 he was inducted into the Coty Hall of Fame. In 1978 Klein began designing a menswear collection that was licensed to Maurice Biderman.

The most groundbreaking piece of sportswear Klein showed on the runway first appeared in spring 1976: a slim-cut pair of jeans with his name embroidered on the back pocket. Although the idea of logo-emblazoned jeans was not brand-new, this was the first time that jeans had shown up on a designer runway. By 1978, with Puritan Fashions as manufacturer, Klein was selling 2 million pairs of jeans per month. The phenomenal success that Klein had with his jeans line was due in no small way to a brilliant and controversial advertising campaign starring a young Brooke Shields.

The 1980s

Klein's designs, even in the excessive 1980s, continued to evoke a minimalist aesthetic, with a relatively restrained use of embellishment and color. The core of the collection was, as always, made up of timeless pieces in good fabrics. The Council of Fashion Designers of America (CDFA) recognized Klein when he won designer of the year awards in 1982 and 1983 for his women's collection. Klein won a CFDA award in 1986 for both his men's and women's collections, the first time a designer had won both awards in the same year.

In 1982 Calvin Klein launched a men's underwear line. The collection revolved around a standard men's

"I didn't think I was doing anything different from what *Vogue* did when it used Brooke as a model. . . . *Vogue* put $3,000 dresses on her, but it wasn't expecting to sell those dresses to 15-year-olds. It was using her as a model and I was using her as an actress" (Quoted in Plaskin, p. 4).

With the Brooke Shields ads, Calvin Klein forever changed television commercials. Klein spent an unprecedented $5 million on marketing that year. Feminists were enraged by the jeans ads and felt that, rather than sales, the commercials—with slogans such as "You know what comes between me and my Calvin's? Nothing"—would provoke violence against women (Plaskin, p. 62).

brief, with Klein's name stamped on the waistband. Bold black-and-white photography on the packaging and an advertising campaign featuring celebrity models Antonio Sabato Jr. and Marky Mark in suggestive poses helped make the product appealing to both straight and gay men. The underwear line became a phenomenon when Klein took the same briefs and modified and marketed them for women. Warnaco purchased the underwear division in 1994.

By 1983 Calvin Klein, whose eponymous fragrance had produced a lukewarm reception four years earlier, was ready to give perfume another try. The result was Obsession and, again, with brilliant advertising—television ads directed by Richard Avedon and print ads shot by Bruce Weber—Obsession was a success. In 1986 Klein married Kelly Rector, one of his design assistants. The marriage, as well as the mid-1980s "return to family values" mood, inspired the designer's next fragrance, Eternity. A shared-gender fragrance, cK One, was launched in 1994.

The 1990s

In the 1990s Calvin Klein's worldwide expansion into Asia, Europe, and the Middle East markets brought his name international consumer recognition. The decade also saw Klein revamp the jeans/sport division of the company, creating the cK collection, made to appeal to a younger, hipper customer. Klein had been farsighted enough to realize the importance of archiving his work, so a constant recall of his roots was readily available. The cK line, largely inspired by these vintage collection pieces, was recognized by the CFDA with an award in 1993.

Klein surrounds himself with people who share his aesthetic, and he is known in the fashion world for his intensely collaborative relationships with those who work with him. Most noteworthy is Zack Carr, who was Klein's creative doppelgänger for almost thirty years. Jeffrey Banks, Isaac Mizrahi, and Narciso Rodriguez are also notable Calvin Klein alums.

The twenty-first century began with litigation between Klein and Warnaco over underwear and jeans distribution. The case was eventually settled out of court. Klein and his partner Barry Schwartz sold Calvin Klein, Inc., to Phillips–Van Heusen in December 2002. Since that time Klein has stepped down as creative head of the company that bears his name and has assumed a consultant role.

The name Calvin Klein represents so many different things—controversial advertising campaigns, the leading name in the designer-jeans phenomenon, stylish boyish underwear for women, and brilliant and ruthless business practices. So much of what Klein designed has become fundamentally what Americans wear that his clothing can rightly be called an American uniform.

See also **Avedon, Richard; Brands and Labels; Vogue.**

Calvin Klein. Considered one of the most prominent American designers, Klein launched his own clothing company in 1968, and rapidly became known for his line of designer sportswear. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

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Gretchen Fenston and Beth Dincuff Charleston

KNICKERS. *See* Panties.

KNITTING

Knitwear pervades people's everyday lives; it has been estimated that one in five garments worn worldwide are knits. While comprising an essential part

Man in knitted hat. Bolivian *chullos* (caps) such as this are knitted with a very fine gauge wool, allowing for very distinctive and intricate pattern work. © HUBERT STADLER/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of the industrial manufacture of clothing, knitting is also a widespread leisure practice with a burgeoning literature. The titles of some publications of the late 1990s and early 2000s on the subject—*Hip to Knit*, *Zen and the Art of Knitting*, *The Urban Knitter*, *The Knitting Sutra*—suggest that in addition to being a craft and an expressive art form, knitting is also a lifestyle.

Techniques, Tools, and Materials

Knitting is the formation of a textile from interlocking loops (stitches) of yarn. Each stitch on a horizontal row is locked into the stitches above and below, creating a durable, pliable fabric that has been used for clothing across the world over centuries. Knitwear's elasticity enhances fit, and its structural properties of absorbency and insulation render it highly functional. Additionally, the fact that the knitter may choose from hundreds of stitches and work with multiple colors offers an aesthetic richness that has led to knitwear becoming a creative, expressive form of dress.

Knitting is formed by hand with needles or by machine. It can be created in flat-shaped pieces that are then sewn together, or worked in the round. Hand knitters have used a variety of needles, usually of metal, through sometimes of wood, bone, bamboo, ivory, and, in the twentieth century, plastic. Needles typically have pointed ends, though in some countries, such as Portugal, they are hooked. The circular needle became increasingly popular during the twentieth century. This double-ended needle with a flexible central section is used for knitting tubular pieces, but also affords greater comfort for flat knitting, as the weight of the fabric rests in the knitter's lap. Sets of smaller double-ended needles are commonly used for knitting socks or for areas with a small circumference.

Although some of the earliest knitted artifacts have been discovered in Egypt, knitting has predominantly been developed in colder climates. The most common yarn has been wool, though some exceptionally fine early pieces were knit in silk. Cotton as a less elastic yarn has not been as popular a choice for hand knitters. The explosion in availability of artificial yarns and blends during the twentieth century offered knitters unprecedented choice of materials, and some of the most innovative design has resulted from the exploitation of the structural properties of these yarns and the surface manipulation of knitted textiles.

The way the knitter holds the yarn varies by region. In America and Great Britain, the yarn is carried in the right hand and thrown over the right needle; the left is used in continental Europe. In some areas, such as the Shetland Isles off the north coast of Scotland, one needle is anchored in a sheath. In Turkey, Greece, Portugal, Peru, and Bolivia, the yarn is often looped around the neck to create tension.

History

Knitlike structures dating from the later Roman period were long thought to be the earliest extant examples of hand knitting. However, it has been determined that these pieces were made by the nalbinding method, which was practiced in Scandinavia, Africa, and other areas to make socks, gloves, bags, and even dancers' costumes. Nalbinding produces a textile resembling a knit with a single sewing needle and short lengths of yarn.

The earliest surviving true knits are Islamic socks dating from 1200 to 1500, discovered in Egypt and often decorated with bands of ornamental Arabic script, and a meticulously crafted pair of thirteenth-century cushions recovered from a royal Spanish tomb. Medieval knitting was often associated with the church; there are even a number of late medieval and early Renaissance paintings that depict the Madonna knitting. In Britain, more utilitarian applications included cap-making—a flourishing and well-regulated industry.

The Englishman William Lee invented the first hand-operating knitting frame in 1589, in response to

consumer demand for imported silk stockings. He was denied a patent because of fears over the machine's impact on the hand-knitting trade. Subsequent advances enabled fabric to be produced in the round (early machines produced flat-shaped work requiring seaming), as well as with complex patterning, and use of multiple colors. But it took many centuries to produce on a machine what a skilled hand-knitter could produce on four or more needles. In fact, only as recently as 1998 was a completely seamless panty-hose product first produced.

In continental Europe, knitting guilds played an important part in regulating the industry, some of them surviving into the eighteenth century. Knits began to assume a significant role in import/export economies. During the sixteenth century, the male fashion for short full trunk hose inspired the import into Britain of expensive silk stockings from Spain, worn to display shapely legs to advantage. By the next century, wool stockings were exported from Britain to Germany, France, Italy, and Holland. While hosiery had been a mainstay of the knitting industry, other garments types such as shirts and jackets were being produced.

Despite mechanization, the hand-knitting industry continued to thrive; hand knitting could of course be executed with the minimum of equipment, at home, and between other work, and was a convenient means of supplementing income from rural industries. It was a craft practiced by women, men, and children, and could provide relief during periods of economic hardship.

Imperialism exported forms of European administration to the colonies, and also knitting. The example of Kashmiri weavers who adapted shawl motifs into knitted caps is a famous illustration of the hybridization of traditions. In America, schools were established to teach children to knit—for profit and to encourage probity—with hands and minds occupied in learning a craft, the apprentices were less likely to misbehave. By the American Civil War, knitting for soldiers became an expression of patriotism, repeated during both World Wars as well.

During the twentieth century, knitwear became an arena in which avant-garde designers experimented and excelled. It has also been a mainstay of street wear from the clinging garb of the 1950s' sweater girls to the pre-fleece cardigans of the next decades, to the ubiquitous sweat suits of the early 2000s.

Regional Traditions and Social Significance

Hand knitting has played an important role in regional economies, especially in Great Britain and Europe. Embedded as it is in the lives of local communities, the practice is rich in social significance. Many traditions have developed in response to the occupational and climactic needs of a region's inhabitants. The best known of these include the guernseys (or ganseys or jerseys), knitted for fishermen around the coasts of the British Isles. This piece of clothing is knitted in the round on the body and sleeves and in rows on the upper torso to create a seamless garment. Typically dark blue, the guernsey makes virtuoso use of juxtapositions of knit and purl, creating rugged, utilitarian structures that aesthetically delight. Knit stitches are formed with yarn held to the back, and the loops are drawn upward, creating an appearance of vertical rows; purl stitch is created with the yarn held to the front, and the loops drawn to the face of the fabric, creating horizontal ridges. As fishing is a peripatetic occupation, and as fishermen took wives from different regions, it is fruitless to tie motifs to specific districts. What initially started as production for family consumption developed during the nineteenth century into a contract business for a much wider market, further disseminating motifs. The patterns of the guernsey reflect the inventiveness of the makers, as well as the non-local nature of the fishing industry and the role of contract work in the local economy.

An offshoot of the Guernsey tradition with a very different history is Aran knitting, produced on the three Isles of Aran off the Irish Atlantic coast. Aran sweaters are knitted in flat pieces, usually in creamy white wool, and make prodigious use of high relief cables whose boldly chiseled forms are reminiscent of ancient Celtic interlacing. It appears, though, that the Aran tradition is a relatively new one, possibly dating back no further than the early twentieth century, and more commonly produced as fashion wear than work wear.

Some regions in Spain, Russia, and the Shetland Isles became significantly known for lace knitting, and home production was often supported by philanthropic efforts to avoid displacement of rural workers. Lace knitting was practiced during the nineteenth century by the Shetland islanders after the decline in demand for mass-produced hand knitting. The fine, silky wool of the Shetland sheep benefited the production of lace shawls so delicate they could be drawn through a wedding ring. Although methods of distribution varied, home production throughout Britain was certainly assisted by the introduction of the Parcel Post in 1840.

Fair Isle, a tiny island to the south of Shetlands, became known for the production of intricate stranded-color knitting. First noted in the nineteenth century, Fair Isle knitting was absorbed into mainstream fashion when the Prince of Wales donned this style for the golf course in 1922. Many countries have stranded-color knitting traditions, and it is difficult to establish a history of precedent and derivative. Established trading between Scotland, Scandinavia, Western Russia, and the Baltic states, and the fact that all these regions have comparable knitting styles, suggests a vibrancy of cross-fertilization rather than the importation of a dominant tradition.

South American countries developed distinct styles of stranded-color knitting, often in imitation of indigenous woven textiles. Intricately patterned Bolivian *chullos*, or caps, knitted with a very fine gauge, are some of

the best known. As with the Shetland Isles, availability of fine wool—in this case alpaca, llama, and vicuña—stimulated this industry. Cooperatives continue to assist South American knitters in the marketing of their work, and it is common to see sweaters from Bolivia and other South American countries for sale in the high street.

A prominent twentieth-century example of the promotion of knitting as a means of economic stimulus was the Bohus Stickning collective, created in Sweden in the 1930s to provide work for the wives of unemployed stonecutters. This company was innovative in its use of trained designers to create garments targeted at a high-end market.

Fashion Design for Hand Knitting

Despite mechanization of the craft, hand knitting continues to contribute to local economies and also functions as a fast-growing leisure pursuit. Since the 1970s, fashion designers, often trained in universities and art schools, have inspired hand knitters to take a more adventurous approach to texture, color, and construction.

Mary Walker Phillips has been at the forefront of the movement to promote knitting as a fine art, publishing books on innovative stitches and experimental structures. Patricia Roberts has revolutionized the way in which the leisure practice of hand knitting is marketed. Discouraged by the poor yarn selections in stores, she began in 1974 to sell mail-order kits with patterns and yarn. In 1976, she opened a specialized yarn shop in Knightsbridge, London—the beginning of an effort to market her line internationally. The format of her high-quality fashion publications for disseminating her designs has been much emulated.

The designer knitting boom has been fed by improvements in yarn availability for home consumption. In 1978, Stephen Sheard co-founded Rowan Yarns in Yorkshire, England, which in the early 2000s remains a prominent manufacturer of natural fiber yarn in exciting color palettes. Rowan works with some of Britain's most innovative designers such as Kaffe Fassett, originally of California, whose works inspired by Oriental ceramics, kilims, and Indian miniatures demonstrate that even inexperienced knitters may achieve results of lush, glowing color.

Many designers produce for the home knitter, as well as the fashion industry. Examples include Jean Moss, a virtuoso Fair Isle designer who has worked for Laura Ashley and Ralph Lauren; Susan Duckworth, a painter whose early clients included Joseph Tricot; and Martin Kidman, a designer of clever pictorial knits who has worked for Joseph as well.

Couture and Ready-to-Wear Knits

Certain couturier knits have become design icons—for example, Chanel's jersey-knit suits and Schiaparelli's butterfly-bow trompe-l'oeil pullover. Some design houses have built their oeuvres on knitwear. Missoni, for instance, created its unmistakable striped and zigzag motifs on the family's warp-knitting machinery, previously used for producing shawls. The Benetton company created a niche producing upliftingly colored sweaters and cardigans, often in lambswool, to a mass market.

Some designers have reinterpreted classic knitting traditions. Solveig Hisdal for Oleana transforms Norwegian folk traditions. Jean Paul Gaultier often manipulates the scale of Aran motifs, while Vivienne Westwood jests with argyles and knitted lace. The design house TSE is well-known for fine-gauge intarsia.

Perhaps the most innovative approach to contemporary knitted clothing lies in its construction. Some designers retain a couturier approach to knits, such as John Galliano, who cuts and seams with aplomb. Yohji Yamamoto manipulates garment shapes, playing with reversibility and layering. Hussein Chalayan is master of the trompe-l'oeil, creating garments that deliberately deceive as to their construction. Possibly the most radical in this field is Issey Miyake, whose concept A-POC (A Piece of Cloth) combines mass manufacture with mass customization—a potential revolution for clothing manufacture. A-POC, which has been featured in museum fine art exhibitions, creates clothing modules from enormous rolls of tubular knitted fabric.

The type of technological advance that allowed A-POC has provided fertile ground for fashion designers' experimentation. The mechanization of knitting is a complex and still-evolving subject. Developments in machinery and yarn have been symbiotic; machines are now capable of knitting "yarns" of metal wire and plastic. A further step has been the utilization of processes that permit the surface manipulation of knitted textiles—processes such as heat-bonding, laminating and rubberizing, that tend to explode the boundaries between knits as utility and art.

See also **Crochet; Knitting Machinery.**

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Lindsay Shen

KNITTING MACHINERY Knitting machinery is the primary means of producing fabrics by the knitting process outside of the crafts businesses. Mechanical production of knitted fabrics began in England in the sixteenth century with the invention of the circular knitting machine by William Lee. In the 1700s knitting machines were attached to power drives moved by water or wind for the first time and the individual production of knits as a cottage industry began to decline.

The function of an automatic knitting machine is dependent on the design and function of the knitting needles the machine uses. The knitted stitches in the fabric body are identified by component rows of needles. The stitches formed along the yarn feed direction are courses. Those formed along the position of each individual needle are the wales. There are three major categories of knitting needles for automatic machines: spring beard, latch hook, and compound (or bipartite). Each of the needle types is designed so that when it is extended, it contacts a yarn on the lower, or shank, end of the needle. It is retracted to capture the yarn inside a hollow head formed by an outer hook, and forces a previously formed loop of yarn over the outer hook to hold and form a loop with the internally held yarn inside the hook head. As the needle is extended, the internal yarn slides out of the hook interior and the head of the newly formed loop relaxes so that it cannot return into the hook interior, but rather must slide along the shank and over the hook head to capture and form the next loop of yarn in the needle. With the spring beard and latch hook needles all of the actions are entirely passive and require no external activation. The compound needle is machine activated.

Machine knitted fabric types fall into two broad categories: weft knits and warp knits. Weft knits are characterized by the use of one set of feed yarns that form loops on each successive row of previously formed loops in rows that are known as "courses." They may be produced in either circular or flat form, but require no manipulation of the weft yarns other than by the knitting needles themselves.

Warp knits are fed from warp beams very similar to those mounted on looms, but they do not require the interlacing of weft yarns for fabric formation. Like weft knits, they form interloopings of yarns in courses. Unlike weft knits, they do not interloop individually with themselves but rather require outside manipulation of their paths over or under neighboring knitting needles. Manipulation of the warp knit yarns is effected by means of needle guide bars that hold eyelet guides used for the major motions of warp knitting—the swing (front to back) and the shog (left to right). The swing and shog motions combine to produce bindings among weft knit yarns in both the wale and course directions and may be altered to produce open, long shogs, tighter, short shogs, reverse side underlaps or looser overlap loops in the structures. These knits may have inlays of yarns that are orthogonal to the warp yarns that are known as weft yarns, but they do not act like the weft yarns in a woven fabric because they are not required for the structure to hold together.

See also **Knitting; Needles.**

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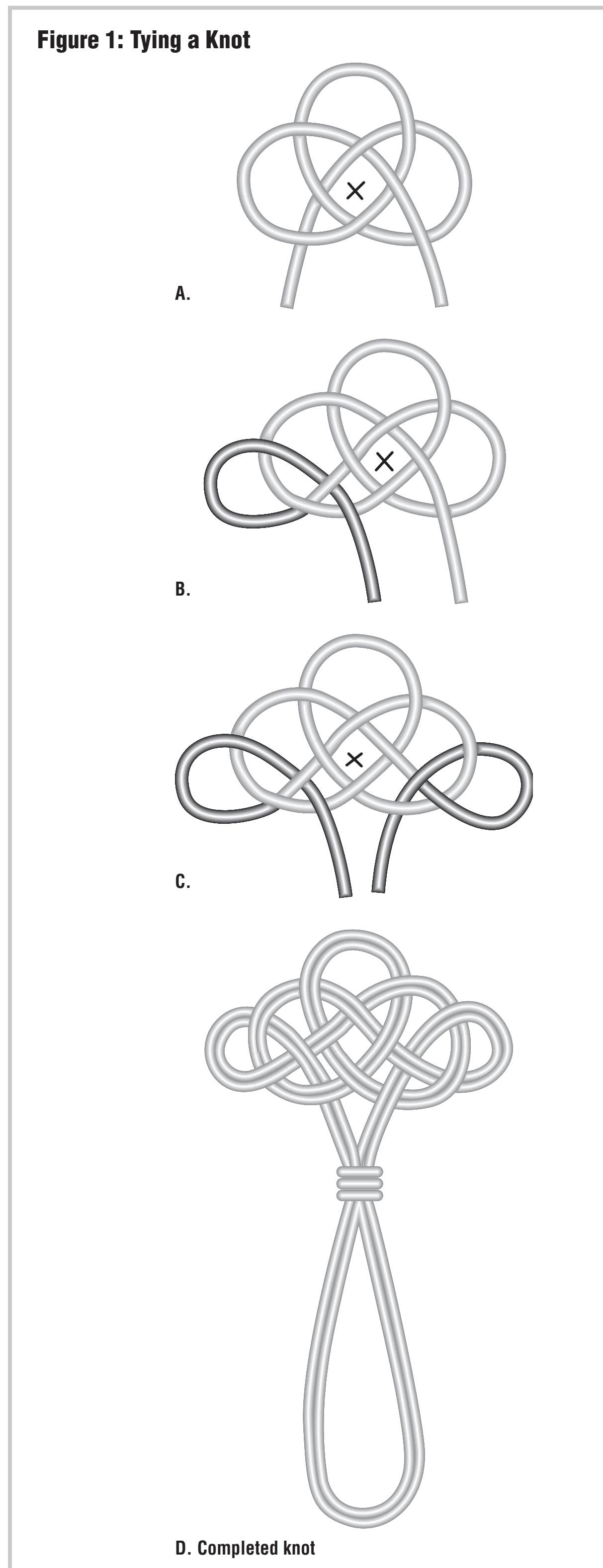
Howard Thomas

KNOTTING Knots by themselves are any accidental or intentional entanglement of cord, braid, ribbon, beading, fabric or other material that will create a new shape or structure by forming loops, intertwining, and weaving of the base fabric. The new structure may be used to enhance or accessorize many forms of dress. Simple knots and complex knots can be created using a few simple instructions from craft books. Using cords, beading, braiding, trims, ribbons, or other appropriate flexible material, the knowledgeable designer can enhance the appearance of any simple fabric by forming knots.

Knots are made by folding or twisting the cord over and under the standing part of the original cord. The end used to form the knot is termed the working end and the other part of the cord is the standing part. Cord may be formed into bights (a 180-degree turn with no crossing), loops (a more than 180-degree turn with crossing of the standing part), or combined into more complex shapes (a knot, bend, hitch, weave, braid, or multiple loops and bights) depending on the desired look. Fabrics may be twisted into a rope prior to knotting, whereas when ribbon is used, it is typically formed flat into bows, using bights pulled through the knot instead of pulling through the ends. Beading uses knots between the beads, to ensure that they do not all fall off if the support cord is broken.

Knotting originated with prehistoric humans tying grasses and twigs, and later using sinews, into lashings used to hold together sticks and stones to make tools.



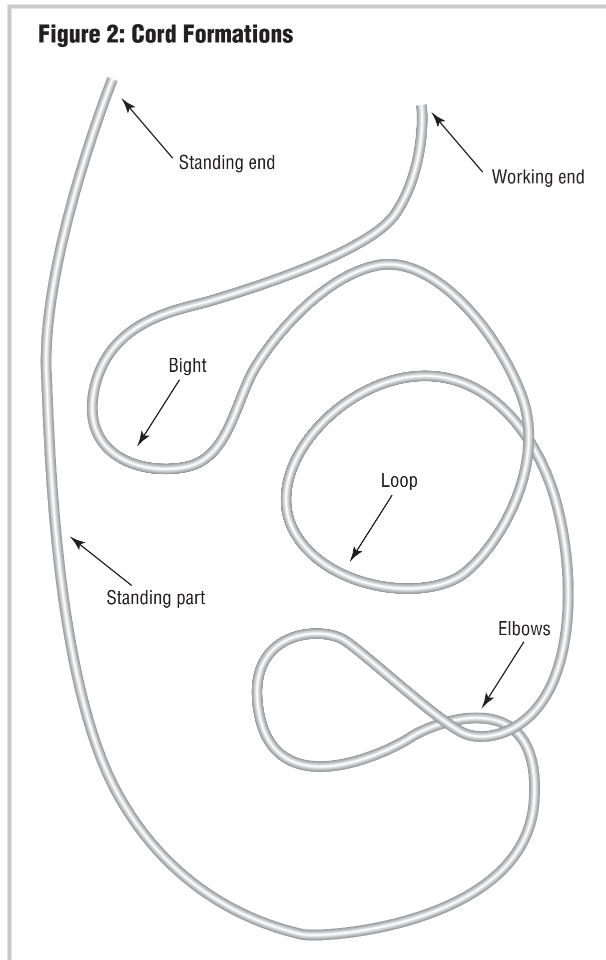
Knot tying illustration. Knots can be formed by a variety of materials, from cord to beading. Both simple and more complex knots can be created by referencing instructions in craft books.

Knotting also took on survival significance in the form of knotted garments and woven fencing and roofs to keep out the cold of the Ice Age. Knotting later took on religious and political significance and appeared throughout the world as carvings in stone and wood, in the shape of magical knots and heraldry symbols.

The most well-known form of knotting is macramé. Macramé (from *miqramah* in Arabic, which means "coverlet," or *maqrama* in Turkish, which means towel), originated in the thirteenth century in what was then known as Arabia with the tying together of the cords that formed the foundation of the carpets, for which the region was already famed. Macramé work spread from there to Southern France in the fourteenth century, then fell into disuse for several more centuries, until the early part of the nineteenth century. A slightly different form of macramé was also known by sailors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as McNamara's Lace, a form of pulled-thread canvas work, in which silks and ribbon were fed through in place of the weft and in which the warp threads were knotted together to form patterns of knots, after the weft threads were removed. Warp threads are those that are parallel with the salvage, the vertical edges of a fabric; weft threads are those that cross the warp threads. Sailors would weave these pieces from scraps of twine, ribbon, silk, and rope that they carried in their ditty bags, which were often highly decorated canvas bags made of macramé and McNamara's Lace combined.

Jewelry of woven gold and silver wire also produced rings, necklaces, anklets, and bracelets in adornment of simple medieval dress, while fancy knotted and braided leather belts were used to hold clothing in place, everywhere from Argentina to Canada and beyond. Knotting took on special significance in East Asian dress, where certain types of knots (usually rather elaborate ones) were considered charms capable of conferring health, wealth and well-being. Knots were used in Korea as adornments of wedding costume (*maedup*), and throughout the region as elements of Buddhist temple decorations and vestments. In Japan, special knots were used as ties to adorn gift-wrapping.

Knotting took the form of free interpretive art with the resurgence of macramé in the 1960s and again more recently with the use of macramé pieces added to enhance the look of retro fashions. European and American dress has moved beyond the look of mesh, netting, and knotted articles to a more demure and international look in knotted shoulder straps, scarves, sarongs, pareos, and sandals, imitating Grecian and South Pacific styles. The elegance of lace and tatting also has not been lost to another age, but has seen recent moves to reintroduce these fine woven and knotted fabrics to enhance or highlight evening dress necklines and cuffs. Knots used in the early 2000s include the overhand knot, the Carrick bend, plaiting and braiding, the sheet bend, and the square knot. Knotting's simplicity and its intrigue add a touch of mys-



Cord formations. Cord can use several forms to create knots, including bights (180° turn, no crossing), loops (more than 180° turn, crossing the standing part), and multiple loops, as well as more complex shapes.

tery and insouciance to a wide variety of forms of modern dress, and accessories.

See also **Braiding; Weaving.**

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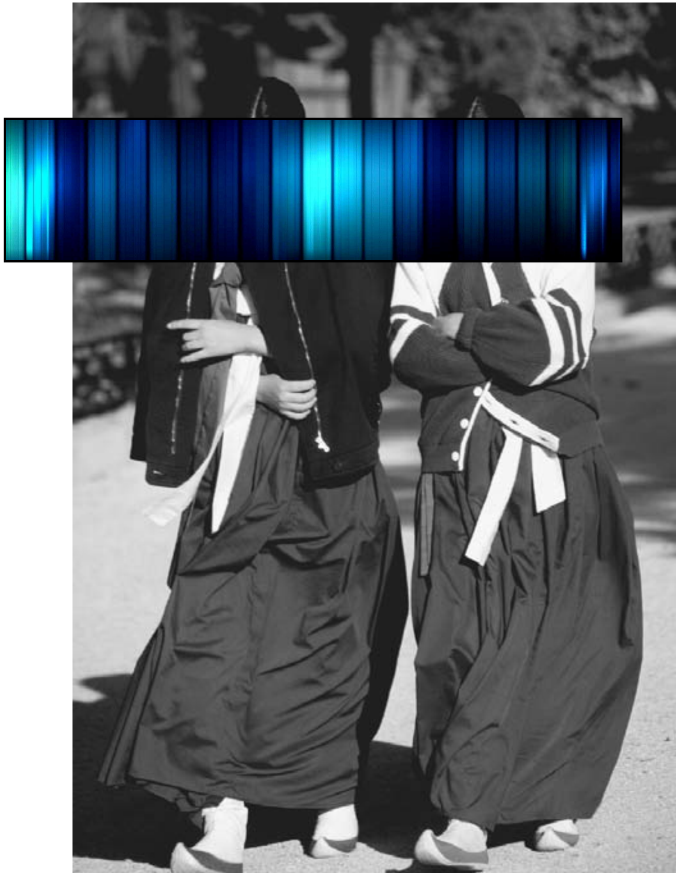
Lindsey Philpott

KOREAN DRESS AND ADORNMENT The dress of the Korean people reflects the breadth and depth of their experiences and has resulted in a continuously evolving amalgamation that includes Korean traditions as well as borrowed elements. In the twentieth century, both North and South Korean societies have experienced immense change as a result of the Korean War and the division into South and North Korea. South Korea has experienced rapid industrialization, modernization, and population shifts from rural to urban areas. Provoked by invasions and foreign occupation, South Koreans forged a strong national identity.

During its thirty-five-year annexation, Japan attempted to assimilate the Korean people into the Japanese mainstream and destroy the Korean national identity. Freed from Japanese rule and distanced from their own heritage by almost two generations of occupation, South Korea embraced the culture of their new ally, the United States, following the Korean War, to the extent that any historical customs or ideas contrary to Western culture were seen as old-fashioned and out-of-date, and the traditional culture became the subordinate one. Modernization became the goal, but new values were not securely grafted to those of the traditional. Therefore, while modernization succeeded as an economic and manufacturing goal, it failed as the basis on which to create a new national identity.

In the 1970s, South Koreans realized the necessity of rediscovering their traditional culture to create a unified and identifiable future for their country. Since then, Koreans have been more aware of their traditional values and the symbols that reflect them. They have worked diligently to redefine and reinvent their traditions.

Hobsbawm uses the term "invented tradition" to include both traditions actually invented, constructed, and instituted formally, as well as those emerging in a less traceable manner, but nonetheless establishing themselves within a brief time period. Inventing traditions is a process of formalization and ritualization characterized by reference to the past. "Invented tradition" is defined as "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature," which seek to affirm certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, and automatically imply continuity with the past (Hobsbawm and Ranger, p. 1). In a society such as Korea's, with so many rapid changes taking place, tradition had become a necessity to provide a sense of integration and unity for individuals.



Korean women in traditional dress. While the retention of traditional dress is seen as important to their culture, many Koreans are not averse to the addition of contemporary elements. © ROBERT HOLMES/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Korean traditional dress helps Koreans define their traditional values, such as philosophy, religious attitude, and family relationships. But Koreans have not felt a contradiction in the coexistence of traditional values while adopting those of foreign cultures or searching through their own culture for new ways to express their past. The expressed need is to maintain a culture suitable to the Korean circumstance while continuing the rediscovery and rearrangement of the traditional culture. The valuing of tradition is considered not just sentimental but a necessary aspect of Korean culture.

Traditional dress has become a blend from both traditional Korean history and Western elements, and its form and definition are ever changing, but in an evolutionary process. This helps to interpret and enrich the statement of Linnekin that culture is passed on with each generation creatively adding to its construction.

Traditional Dress Defined

The term Koreans use for traditional dress is *hanbok*, which means "dress of our race," while *yangbok* is used to refer to Western dress. These two categories are worn in Korea simultaneously. Though both *hanbok* and *yangbok* have influenced each other, they appear distinct from each other in Korean society.

Korean forms of traditional dress for females and males contain many similarities. When stored flat, the parts are basic rectangular shapes, such as the full skirt of the female and the trouser of the male. The prescribed direction and manner of fastening of the parts of the *hanbok* are very specific. Fabric textures are similar and may be a smooth linen or cotton for everyday and silk or silk-like fabric for ceremony and special events.

Female *hanbok* consists of two main pieces: the full, floor-length skirt, or *chima*, which covers the lower torso and legs, and the *chogori*, which covers the upper torso. The *chima*, made of three widths of fabric gathered onto a two-and-a-half-inch-wide band, wraps tightly around the body directly under the arms and fastens just above the breasts. The middle skirt panel is placed at the center front of the body and wrapped around to overlap and open on the back left side. The tie band is brought around and secured with a front knot to fasten the skirt. The skirt is fitted to the body at the chest area, and the gathers curve from the chest and then fall to the floor.

The *chogori*, worn on the upper torso, has a V-neck and is asymmetrical, with an overlap to tie on the wearer's right side. The sleeve is a rectangular shape but with a slight curve on the underarm. The neckband, referred to as the *git*, began as a rectangle but has evolved to a curved line. The *dongjung* is a white detachable neckband made of stiff cardboard and wrapped in fabric. It is basted onto the neckband, making it both decorative and easy to replace when soiled. The *otgoreum* is a tie band that closes the *chogori* and, when fastened with a one-sided bow, results in a vertical asymmetric line that trails and extends onto the *chima*. The *norigae* is a hanging ornament, carefully selected as an accessory that attaches to the tie band. It often consists of beads, tassel, or fringe that swings freely when attached to the skirt band and *otgoreum*. A long coat, or *turumagi*, is worn over the *chogori* and *chima* in cold weather.

Traditionally the hair is arranged by pulling it back from the face, and secured in a low knot or chignon for married women or a braid for unmarried women. The resulting small, neat head shape is considered an appropriate and pleasing proportion in contrast with the voluminous skirt. A headdress, once an important aspect of traditional dress, is no longer worn. On the feet are worn padded white socks, referred to as *beoseon*. The padding provides a modified curve that relates to the gentle curves of the rest of the costume. The slipper shoe, *komusin*, is worn over the padded sock and repeats the gentle curve. Historically made of braided rice straw or silk, by the early twenty-first century the slipper was composed of rubber or leather.

Male traditional dress consists of two parts, *paji*, the trousers, and a top, *chogori*. The trousers are cut and sewn

Korean family in the early twentieth century. Korean involvement in several world conflicts helped foster a strong national identity, and traditional dress became an important factor in society. © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

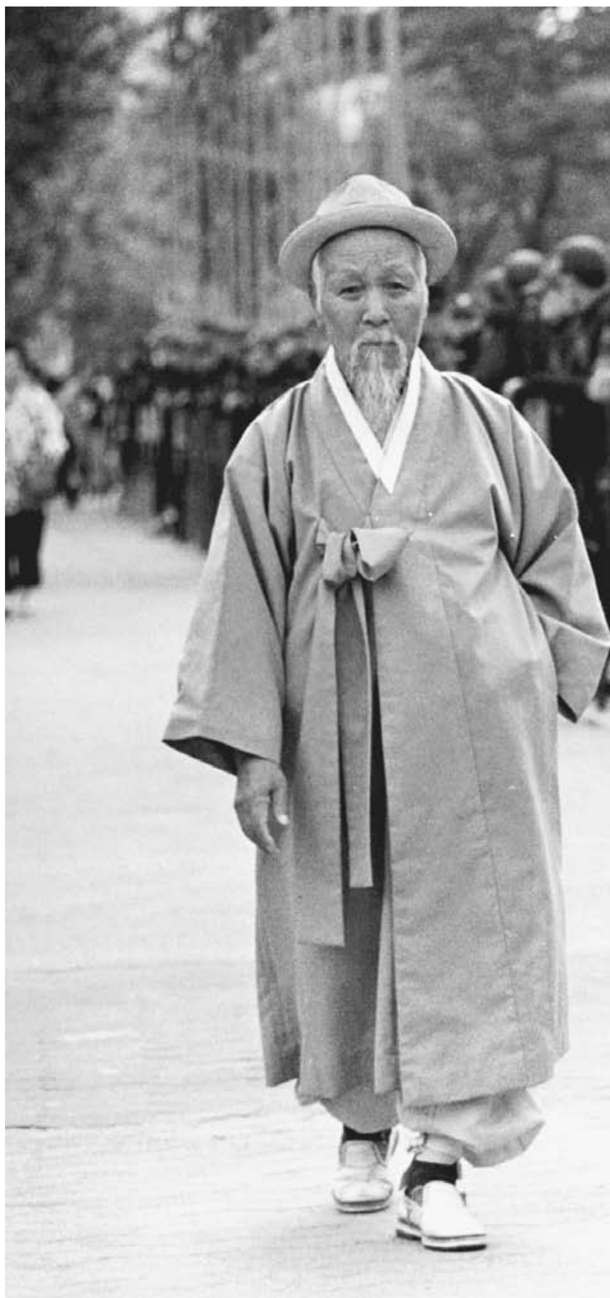
from rectangular and triangular shapes. They can be folded flat for storage but are shaped on the body by folding to the right side and fastened with a separate fabric tie. The man's *chogori*, while similar to that of the woman, is longer, with a wider neckband and shorter ribbon tie. It fastens on the right and has a V-shaped neckline, with a curved neckband and white, stiff detachable band similar to the one worn by the female. A vest of contrasting color is worn over the *chogori*, then a jacket over the vest to complete the ensemble. The vest and jacket are often of the same color, but contrast with the color of the *chogori.* A *turumagi* of dark or subdued color is worn outdoors, and a muffler added in cold weather.

Young males and females wear shapes similar to their adult counterparts, but the fabrics used are more intense primary colors and warmer in hue, such as yellow and red. Another age-based difference is seen on a young child who, for a special event such as a first birthday, wears a *chogori* with rainbow stripes on the sleeves.

Traditional colors in Korea are primary ones such as red and blue, but muted in intensity. In contrast to the West, white is the color of mourning, though it is also used for trimming the neck of the *chogori.* Traditional wedding costume is brightly colored, with red for the bride and blue for the groom.

The adoption of certain colors, such as fuchsia or hot pink, resulted from an interaction with Western culture. When Elsa Schiaparelli introduced the color in the 1930s, Koreans discovered that hot pink was flattering to their physical coloring, and thus hot pink was adopted for engagement garb of both young men and women. By the early 2000s, the use of hot pink had come to symbolize the special celebration of the engaged couple.

Some colors are traditionally worn by the elderly or by the married woman with a child, and therefore those colors have become recognized as reflecting the individual wearer and his or her respective status. The use of a color may be identified with a particular year because of



Elderly Korean man. Traditional dress in the twenty-first century is more frequently worn by older Koreans, who see it as a symbol of their heritage and value system. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

its popularity. To be valued, Korean traditional dress must be constant in silhouette and details of layout, but have up-to-date colors and design motifs.

Intricately embroidered panels and motifs used on the elaborate wedding attire of the bride and groom are symbolic of Korean history. For example, the phoenix, a mythical bird, may be combined with clouds, animals such as tigers and deer, or recognizable flower patterns, such as the chrysanthemum. Motifs may become symbolic of cultural values such as long life, or happiness. Many of these motifs originated in China but now have been thoroughly assimilated into Korean culture. Many traditional motifs embedded in Korean history and that were worn by royalty in the past have been adopted by the modern bride or groom and worn as a part of the wedding ceremony. Many ornaments have traditionally been designed to ward off the evil eye. For example, vials of perfume or certain colors have been worn to deflect attention of the evil eye, thus acting to protect the wearer in a symbolic way.

The Role of Korean Traditional Dress

An observer walking on the streets of Seoul, South Korea, would discover that normal everyday dress is Western, or *yangbok.* There are a few differences when compared to Western dress of other cultures, especially a greater adherence to formality in the appearance of the Korean people. Both men and women in professional positions wear a coordinated suit ensemble, and men adhere to the dark formal business suit, white shirt, and tie for work. Also, because of the physical coloring of the Korean people, certain favorite colors, such as muted golds, browns, and blacks, are often worn. Because the average Korean is small-boned and between five-foot-three and five-foot-seven in height, fit is especially important in the sizing and scale of clothing.

The role of traditional dress in modern Korean society is primarily that of celebration and ritual, with traditional dress most often worn for special occasions such as birthdays, weddings, and other significant events. To serve in a celebratory manner, Korean traditional dress needed to be removed from daily use, as suggested by Hobsbawm. With its use for everyday seen as impractical and not conducive to modern life, historic Korean dress went from being a daily convention to a symbol of the traditional values of the Korean people. For those who continue to wear Korean traditional dress, such as a Buddhist monk or a waitress in a Korean folk restaurant, such modifications make it more wearable for daily use, such as shortening the skirt to ankle length or using washable and durable fabrics. However, some Koreans object to the modifications of traditional dress. Perhaps a modified Korean traditional dress doesn't function as well for celebration because it is more practical and thus loses some of that special celebratory quality.

Traditional dress is a sign and a symbol of Korean culture. To maintain its respected stature within Korean society, some changes in the formal properties of Korean traditional dress are permitted to evolve continuously and yet be perceptible to the informed eye. Shades and hues used for traditional dress may change, but these are not viewed as drastic alterations. Korea's history itself provides much of the justification for change.

Slight variations in detailing and coloration seem to be acceptable in Korean traditional dress, while changes in the silhouette are not so prevalent. The silhouette, shapes, and proportion of the *chogori* and *chima* are what make Korean traditional dress recognizable to Koreans. The neckband and asymmetrical tie are details that remain more fixed. Color is a characteristic that identifies Korean traditional dress with specific events and with an individual's selections. For example, pink is for an engagement dress and blue is a good choice for the mature woman. The use of color identification and change in some detailing does not alter the salient characteristics of silhouette, providing a clue to historical continuity and acceptance.

In Korea, traditional dress is worn to express the country's heritage and values. Korean females place importance upon their traditional dress and appearance and appreciate its symbolic nature. As in many cultures, women are usually the purveyors of culture, the arts, and traditions. The use of Korean traditional dress by females as a source of celebration is indicative of gender difference in upholding cultural traditions. Korean women wear traditional dress to show their love for their country and pride in its unique heritage. Korean males wear traditional dress more sparingly in celebration of life events, such as for a first birthday, weddings, or a sixtieth birthday.

An examination of the role historical dress plays in Korean society can illuminate those aspects that make for traditional character. To instill pride and continuity with the past, the traditional garments need to be perceived as stable, even though changes in color and surface motif do persist. Korean traditional dress changes in subtle ways, yet quite regularly, and thus is accorded a fashionable aspect. When questioned, Korean women will express the need to change their traditional dress every three to five years to keep it fashionable. However, this fashion is not determined by the United States, Paris, London, or Milan, but prescribed by Korean dressmakers and scholars of Korean traditional dress. Designers are constantly working on historic renditions of Korean traditional dress that help to interpret the past and then seem to trickle down from a couture house to being more widely available through a dressmaker or department store.

Perceptions of Korean traditional dress are a function of country of residence and age. For example, Koreans living in America have a somewhat different perspective about traditional dress than Koreans living in Korea. Age is a factor in defining perceptions of Korean traditional dress. The younger person is more accepting of modified forms and variety in wearing. These perceptions highlight the amount of change that had occurred in the late 1990s and early 2000s. However, changes in traditional practices of Koreans who live in both the United States and Korea do not seem to signify a lack of respect for traditional habits, but rather, a change in lifestyle.

Peoples of other countries use forms of traditional dress derived from their past that similarly communicate their unique history and culture. In a country where traditional and Westernized components can coexist within the same objects of tradition, its people can draw upon the influence of both. The resiliency of the Korean people has enabled a unique national character to remain paramount, while foreign elements simultaneously become deeply fused to a strong cultural base.

Present Uses of Korean Traditional Dress

Korean traditional dress has been an enduring aspect of Korean culture, historically worn every day by men, women, and children. While it is not unusual to see the elderly man or woman in traditional dress on a daily basis, the younger man or woman restricts its use to more special occasions, and unmarried youths may not wear it at all. While most men rarely dress in traditional garb, the practice of wearing it is far more prevalent for Korean women; still, evidence exists that conventions and routines are changing based upon age and other cultural ties such as marital, economic, or maternal status. With its use primarily restricted to ceremonial occasions, Korean traditional dress is still surrounded by rules of etiquette: who should wear what, how to wear it, and when it should be worn.

Certain occupations require traditional dress for everyday wear, but usually as a symbolic gesture. Those who represent the Korean culture to foreign countries often wear traditional dress. The wife of the president, flight attendants, and even the elevator operator in an international hotel in Seoul may wear traditional dress as a symbol of their country's characteristic dignity and grace.

While traditional dress remains a valued part of Korea's history, to be highly valued it also must appear fashionable. Although traditional dress by definition would seem to demand invariance, in Korea, traditional dress changes quite regularly—but in subtle ways—and is thus accorded a fashionable aspect.

See also **Ethnic Dress; Ethnic Style in Fashion.**

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