Guise and Disguise: Nō Costumes in the Context of Cultural Norms

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Guise and Disguise: Nō Costumes in the Context of Cultural Norms

Monica Bethe

The costumes worn in nō derive from everyday garments of times gone by. Some have been altered in tailoring and patterning to create vivid outfits appropriate for characters of gods, demons, and ghosts. Others retain a close affinity to clothing worn by elite classes in Japan from around the thirteenth century to the mid nineteenth century. In fact, some costumes came straight off the backs of the samurai elite, due to a custom that was common from the fifteenth century through the early seventeenth of awarding actors on the spot with personal garments.¹

This is particularly true of the costumes for “real time” nō (genzai nō) featuring roles where most of the performers do not wear masks, as opposed to the costumes for more fantastic roles appearing in “dream” nō (mugen nō). A close correspondence in the garments worn on and off stage can be seen when depictions of historical figures are compared with costumes worn in nō and kyōgen for roles of daimyō, samurai, their servants, and priests. A few adjustments in the tailoring of nō costumes were made for dramatic effect or ease of movement. In addition, over time designs on the stage costumes took on their own distinct flavor.

This essay investigates the ways costuming can contribute to an understanding of a character by addressing how each role in the two genzai nō plays Ataka and Mochizuki is defined, or interpreted, through the garments that are worn. Attention is paid to the types of garments and their similarity to streetwear, to the way the outfits are draped, and to the impact of the designs.

¹ The practice of elite members of the audience taking off articles of clothing and presenting them to actors after a performance fed into this correlation of street and stage garments.
Ataka

Ataka is the story of effective escape accomplished through bravado and psychology. The shōgun, Minamoto no Yoritomo, fears his accomplished younger brother Yoshitsune and wishing to capture or kill him has barriers set up to block his movements. In order to escape, Yoshitsune (kokata), his loyal retainer Benkei (shite), and other retainers (tsure) dress up in the guise of yamabushi (mountain priests). Stationed at the Ataka Barrier, Lord Togashi (waki) has orders to kill all yamabushi seeking to pass through. The drama lies in Benkei’s ability to gain passage despite Togashi’s suspicions. In this sense, the psychology of the waki lies at the core of the play, and for this reason, I will start with the costume for the waki role.

Lord Togashi in patterned hitatare

The barrier guard, Lord Togashi (on the far right in fig. 4), is dressed in typical garb of a high-ranking samurai when not in the battlefield. The outer garment, a hitatare, is a suit consisting of matching jacket and pleated trousers (hakama). The nō costume replicates the standard lord’s outfit seen in the Illustrations of Military Garments (Buke shōzoku chakuyō no zu) by Ise Sadateke (1717-1784)—see figure 2.

The jacket of the hitatare is characterized by wide sleeves, straight collar, no overlapping lapels (okumi) in front, no side seams, tie cords attached at the chest (not always tied) and decorative cords on the sleeves (Drawing 1a).3 The pleated trousers (hakama), of the same material as the jacket, are bound at the waist with attached white sashes (Drawing 1b). Hakama for matched suits can be ankle length or have long trailing legs (nagabakama) as seen in the Illustration of Military Garments. Samurai dressed this way wore a sword and carried a fan.

2 The stage photos from Ataka are reproduced courtesy of Udaka Tatsushige. All drawings by Monica Bethe.
3 Hitatare refers to a basic male outfit worn from the Kofun period (second to sixth century) that evolved over time. The funnel-shaped sleeves gradually widened into open cuffed, broad sleeves. The pants took various forms. In the medieval period, hemp hitatare were worn by commoners and low-ranking samurai, but gradually hitatare were adopted as a samurai formal garb and made of silk, and then brocaded silk hitatare were incorporated into court wear.
Figure 2. Hitatare outfit from the *Illustration of Military Garments* by Ise Sadatake. Eighteenth century. National Diet Library.

Drawing 1a. *Hitatare* jacket.
What distinguishes Togashi’s hitatare as seen in figure 4 from a streetwear hitatare is the bold design. Other differences in his costume include the way his courtier’s cap (eboshi) is folded and that he dons a brocaded kimono-style garment (atsuita) under the hitatare rather than a lighter, striped garment. As an indication of his high rank, Togashi’s long-legged nagabakama are given extra bulk by wearing broad, stiff ōkuchi-style pleated trousers under them. (Benkei and the retainers wear ōkuchi as outer trousers). The design on the hitatare seen in figure 4 adds to the image of power: bold resist-dyed cranes and tortoises over a jagged lattice. Although this design is a common choice for the role today, the actor is free to choose any appropriate pattern. In fact, Edo-period paintings show Togashi wearing costumes with various colors and designs, including butterflies, bamboo, and diamond triads, as in figure 3.


4 Samurai hemp hitatare can be plain, decorated with household crests (daimon), or with dyed patterns. By the sixteenth century the method of patterning was primarily with paste resist using stencils.
5 Also see Takeda 122.
Togashi in *Ataka* is a complex character. After the shogun Yoritomo learned that Yoshitsune and retinue had disguised themselves as mountain monks (yamabushi) in order to escape, he sent orders to set up barriers and deny passage to all yamabushi. In accordance with this decree, Togashi kills a number of innocent yamabushi. When, however, the fake yamabushi appear, Benkei gives such a show of bravado that Togashi is convinced, or intimidated, or impressed sufficiently to let the impersonators go through the barrier unharmed.

One of the highlights of *Ataka* is the scene in the first act in which Benkei “reads” the subscription list (figs. 1 and 3). Unrolling a blank scroll and boldly reading out an invented story laced with an appeal for offerings to rebuild the Great Buddha in Nara, Benkei’s performance is so convincing Togashi accepts it as authentic and allows the yamabushi to pass through the barrier. As they proceed, however, Togashi notices the lagging porter, recognizes him as Yoshitsune whom he must kill, and waylays him. When Benkei responds by hitting the porter with his pole (an unspeakable act if he were truly his lord), Togashi changes heart, or at least he allows them to go by unharmed. Maybe he feels outnumbered by the line of aggressive “monks” (fig. 4).

![Figure 4. Final confrontation of Benkei and Togashi.](scholarship.claremont.edu/mimejournal)
The play would be quite satisfying if it ended with this success, but it does not. Perhaps because his suspicions are not yet allayed, or perhaps because he is in awe of Benkei’s audacity, or perhaps, as he himself states, because he is ashamed of having doubted them, he sends the departing yamabushi group some wine to wish them well as they continue on their way. At the ensuing party, Togashi asks Benkei to perform a dance based on an old imayō song. The words that frame Benkei’s dance echo those of Senzai, the role of “purifier” in the ritual no Okina. The vigor of his movements and the music reinforce this association with Senzai.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naru wa taki no mizu</th>
<th>The booming is water falling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Otokomai, a vigorous male dance]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naru wa taki no mizu</td>
<td>The booming is water falling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi wa teru to mo</td>
<td>The sun is sparkling light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taezu tōtari</td>
<td>Ceaselessly resounding, tōtari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taezu tōtari</td>
<td>Ceaselessly resounding, tōtari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reference to Senzai appears not only in the words of the poem, but also in the motifs on Togashi’s costume seen in figure 4. Senzai’s costume is also a hitatare with design of cranes and tortoises over a jagged lattice. The image of cranes and tortoises, both symbols of long life, is a recurrent theme in the ritual play of Okina. The implication of having the suspicious, defiant, and proud Togashi wearing a costume that for all its imposing impact references the solemnity and festivity implicit in Okina throws a new light on Ataka, particularly as its second half unfolds. Senzai in Okina purifies the performance area. So, is Benkei’s dance a form of purification? And who is celebrating what? Has Togashi switched sides and joined the celebration not as a spy, as suspected by Benkei, but as a compatriot? Is the real drama, not in the successful machinations of Benkei, but in the conversion of the barrier guard?

This might be a rather modern interpretation, influenced in part by the Kabuki rendition of the story, Kanjinchō. Still, it is interesting to note that at least one Edo-period depiction dated to the late seventeenth century (pre-Kanjinchō) includes cranes in the motifs on the barrier guard’s costume, as do some later Edo-period illustrations (Nakamura 62).

**Benkei and the Disguised Yamabushi**

The ambiguity of the real character of the barrier guard contrasts with the clarity of purpose of the fugitives. To escape the falsely inspired pursuit by Yoritomo, they chose disguise as their method. This deceit, if indeed Togashi is converted, serves to transform false into true. If Togashi remains suspicious, the deceit still becomes a vehicle for the fugitives’ safe passage.
Figures 5a and 5b. Yamabushi procession and *goma* ritual fire at Mibu Temple, Kyoto. February 4, 2011.
Photo: Monica Bethe.

Today yamabushi still practice austerities high in the mountains and appear at festivals, particularly at ritual *goma* bonfires in which they burn prayer sticks while chanting invocations (figs. 5a and 5b). Each element of their distinctive costume carries religious meaning. In no and kyōgen featuring yamabushi, recounting the symbolism of their outfit is a recurrent trope. This occurs in *Ataka* when Togashi announces the yamabushi must face death. Benkei and the other retainers defend themselves by reciting an incantation listing the powers of each costume element.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benkei</th>
<th>Sore yamabushi to ippa</th>
<th>Yamabushi are those who follow En no Gyōja’s practices.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>En no Mubsoku no gyōja wo uke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retainers</td>
<td>Sono mi wa Fudō Myōō no</td>
<td>Their bodies are Fudō Myōō’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sonnyō o katadori</td>
<td>Sacred Fire incarnate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benkei</td>
<td>Tokin to ippa</td>
<td>Their tokin caps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gogi no hōkan nari</td>
<td>are crowns bejeweled with the five wisdoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retainers</td>
<td>Jūni innen no hida wo</td>
<td>whose twelve pleats enfold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suete itadaki</td>
<td>the karmic forces on our heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benkei</td>
<td>Kue mandara no</td>
<td>Their persimmon-dyed robes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaki no suzukake</td>
<td>are nine-square mandalas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retainers</td>
<td>Taizō kokushiki no</td>
<td>Black as the Womb mandala are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Habakaki o haki</td>
<td>the leggings they wear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benkei</td>
<td>Sate mata yatsume no</td>
<td>And then, in their eight-eyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waranzu wa</td>
<td>straw sandals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retainers</td>
<td>Hachiyō no renge wo</td>
<td>on eight-leaf lotus flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fumaetari</td>
<td>they tread.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This incantation resembles the meditation on each costume element performed by real yamabushi. According to yamabushi practice, the costume itself contains the mystical power of Fudō Myōō, the fierce Wisdom King, a central deity in esoteric Buddhism. The very donning of the garments is said to transform the psychic state of the wearer. By reciting a meditation on his clothing, the adepts empower themselves. So, what about the fake yamabushi? Is it merely a disguise, or has the guise itself given them the strength to prevail?

Earlier we saw that Togashi as barrier guard was dressed in clothing paralleling what the medieval audience must have been wearing. The stage yamabushi are also dressed in recognizable elements of a real yamabushi costume, but there are differences. The stage costume is suggestive rather than a complete replica: it focuses on the key elements that immediately identify the yamabushi. Most prominent are the small cap (tokin) of twelve folds worn cocked forward on the forehead (drawing 2) and the narrowly folded rectangular surplice (yuigesa) with six decorative pompoms (bonten) symbolizing Fudō Myōō (drawing 3). These distinguish the yamabushi from all other Buddhist sects.
The rest of the stage costume for yamabushi (drawing 4) differs only slightly from ordinary nō costumes for priests. Instead of the real yamabushi’s suzukake (similar to the hitatare jacket), the nō yamabushi wears a broad, open sleeved “travel jacket” or mizugoromo (drawing 5). Instead of the pantaloons bound at the calf, the nō yamabushi wears broad ōkuchi (drawing 6) that add bulk and stature but would hardly be practical in mountain terrain. Instead of the straw sandals, split-toe socks (tabi) are all that covers their feet.

6 In nō, nameless Buddhist monks on a trip wear a mizugoromo travel jacket over a plain-colored kosode-style kimono and if they are higher ranking they wear white ōkuchi pleated pants as well.
The standard mizugoromo worn by the shite yamabushi has bold vertical stripes (shima mizugoromo), like that seen on Benkei in figures 1, 4, and 5. The other retainers in Ataka wear plain-color, plain weave mizugoromo, or monochrome open weave (yore) mizugoromo (see fig. 11). In figure 5, large Sanskrit letters with mystical power (bonji) that decorate the otherwise monochrome mizugoromo of the retainers are clearly visible.

In Ataka, Yoshitsune is doubly disguised. At the beginning of the play, when the fugitives learn that a barrier has been set up to waylay yamabushi, Benkei devises the plan to have Yoshitsune, whose noble looks will give him away, change places with the porter. For this, Yoshitsune exchanges his tokin cap for a conical sedge hat under which he can hide his face. He slips off the pompom yuigesa, shoulders the backpack, and picks up the thick stick belonging to the porter. Figure 5 shows him dressed as a yamabushi, figure. 6 as a porter.

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7 This is identical with Benkei’s costume in two other nō plays, Fun Benkei and Settai, though there he has a waki role.
The text describes Yoshitsune taking off the *suzukake* jacket and exchanging it for a hemp jacket. This change of attire takes place on stage with a symbolic removal of the *yuigesa* surplice and *tokin* folded cap which are replaced by the porter’s backpack and sedge hat. Even in this lowly outfit, however, Yoshitsune hardly appears a commoner, so he is admonished to pull the hat well over his face and to act the part by dragging his feet and lagging behind as if exhausted.
Acting the part is fundamental for all the retainers as well. As described above, Benkei is put to the test of convincingly acting the part appropriate to his outward appearance. He is helped by his childhood training in a temple on Mount Hiei where there are yamabushi. The rest of the retainers, however, must be restrained repeatedly to avert their actions from giving away their disguise.

Mochizuki

The need to avoid recognition by successfully acting a role lies at the center of the no play Mochizuki as well. Here, however, the goal is revenge, rather than escape. When the innkeeper Tomofusa (shite, standing on the right in fig. 6), a former retainer of the murdered Yasuda Tomoharu, discovers that Mochizuki (waki), his lord’s cousin and murderer, is under his roof, and that by chance his lord’s wife and child (tsure and kokata, kneeling on the left in fig. 6) are also spending the night, he devises a plan to avenge his former master. He suggests to the widow and child that they should pretend to be entertainers. He himself will perform a lion dance.

The widow, child and innkeeper dress up for these roles and proceed to perform. When Mochizuki falls asleep from the wine and watching, the innkeeper and son strip off their disguises and attack, proclaiming their true identities to the rudely awakened Mochizuki before stabbing him.

The costuming highlights the social relationships of the characters within the context of no conventions. Both Tomofusa and Mochizuki wear the customary everyday samurai-class outfit: suō. The suō is a simplified variation on the hitatare introduced above. The major differences being: the suō is unlined; it has no cords on the sleeves; the waist sash of the hakama for the suō is the same material as the garment, not white as on the hitatare. While Tomofusa wears the full matched suit of jacket and trailing trouser legs (drawing 7), Mochizuki wears the jacket (kake suō) over white ōkuchi pleated trousers (drawing 8).

Figure 6. The shite (Tomofusa, standing on the right), is dressed in striped noshime and suō matched suit with trailing legs. The tsure (Widow) wears a karaori brocade kosode (kimono-style garment). The kokata (Hanawaka) wears an embroidered nuihaku with ōkuchi broad pleated trousers. Mochizuki. Shite: Udaka Tatsushige. 1st Tatsushige no Kai. Kyoto, 2015. Still frame from video recording: Doi Shinjirō.

8 The stage photos from Mochizuki are reproduced courtesy of Udaka Tatsushige and Mikata Shizuka.
Certain differences in costuming suggest Mochizuki’s slightly higher rank: the ōkuchi add bulk (authority) and his under kimono, a brocaded atsuta, has a multi-colored woven pattern (more expensive) rather than the plain-weave bands and checks seen in Tomofusa’s noshime (fig. 6). The use of these largely hidden undergarments is dictated more by no convention than social customs, since the atsuta was never a standard male garb off stage.

Conventionally, the waki is the first character to appear on stage. Therefore, when a figure dressed in a costume often worn for waki or ai-kyōgen roles enters first, the presumption is he is the waki. In Mochizuki where the innkeeper (shite) is the first to enter the stage, there may be a momentary misappropriation of roles in the minds of the audience. The discovery that he is actually the shite foreshadows the reversal of power balance that will fulfill the story.

In Mochizuki, although hiding identity plays an important role, the overt costume disguise is minimal. Naturally, the widow, child and innkeeper dress up for the masquerade entertainment they plan. In the Kongō school version of the play, the widow merely uses a stick to indicate that she is impersonating a blind entertainer. She does not hide her face. In the Kanze school, the widow carries a stick and in addition dons a mizugoromo travel robe (drawing 9). She is led by her son, Hanawaka, who neither changes his clothes nor hides his face. He dances while playing the kakko hand drum (fig. 7).
Drawing 9. Widow (tsure) impersonates a blind entertainer. In the Kanze version of the play, her plain mizugoromo all but hides the high-class karaori beneath it.

Figure 7. Hanawaka holding his hand drum, wears a furisode child’s kimono and child’s ōkuchi.

The innkeeper, Tomofusa, performs a lion dance (shishimai). For his costume, he drapes an atsuita loosely over his shoulders. Instead of wearing a mask, he arranges two open fans (figs. 8 and 9) placed one on top of the other above his cloth covered face to symbolize the lion’s fangs. A shock of red hair hangs over the fans and cascades down his back. In the koshiki performance variant, white hair is used instead (fig. 9). Figs. 8 and 9 show two versions of the lion dance costume. In the standard performance version seen in fig. 8, Tomofusa changes trousers into ōkuchi. The loosely draped atsuita is pulled over the head to hide the figure as Tomofusa checks out the state of Mochizuki’s attentiveness. In the koshiki performance variant seen in fig. 9, Tomofusa continues to wear the long suō nagabakama. A white wig is used instead of the regular red wig.
Photo: Watanabe Shinya.

Figure 9. Mochizuki - koshiki. Shite: Mikata Shizuka. 29th "Théâtre Nou." Kyoto Kanze Kaikan, 2014.
Photo: Yamaguchi Hiroko.
At the moment for attack, the innkeeper, Tomofusa, discards the atsuta costume, revealing the bold horizontal stripes of his noshime under garment. Stripped to this minimal, unhampered dress, he and the son advance on Mochizuki. Declaring their identities, they strike. Nō convention reduces the murder scene to symbolic action; the waki slips away leaving only his lacquered hat to represent him (fig. 10).

Figure 10. The conical traveling hat represents Mochizuki when Tomofusa and the son strike. The bold horizontal bands on the noshime that are now exposed lend the figure strength.


Theatricality and Realism

In both these “real time nō” action follows in chronological order and conflict provides the focus. In both these nō, costumes reflect the clothing of the fourteenth to nineteenth century. Little distinguishes them from the garments worn by the audience, except boldness of design in some cases. There are two exceptions: the mizugoromo and the atsuta.

The mizugoromo is one of the most common garments seen on the nō stage, being worn by male, female, old and young, priests, peasants, and travelers. Although it has an affinity to several outer garments, none with the same tailoring exists as everyday clothing.

In Ataka, Benkei and the retainers wear their mizugoromo bound at the waist, open over the chest, and spread out over the voluminous ōkuchi. In the Kanze version of Mochizuki, the mother drapes her mizugoromo so it hangs loose from the shoulders, the lapels overlapping diagonally across the chest, but shifting as she moves her arms (drawing 9). Though the bold stripes of Benkei’s mizugoromo, the semi-transparent single color mizugoromo on the other retainers, and the sheer fabric of the mother’s mizugoromo appear to be distinctly different, in fact they differ only in color, type of silk thread, and density of weave. This most common looking garment was invented for the theater and takes on multiple guises when draped differently.
The *atsuita* (fig. 12) is a *kosode*-style kimono worn most typically as an undergarment (*kitsuke*) for male roles in *nō*, but it can also be worn by old women as an outer garment. Although there is a type of cloth known today as the *atsuita*, it is unrelated to the fabric used for the *nō* costume called *atsuita.*

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9 See Kitamura, 73. Nowadays *atsuita* refers to a plain weave cloth with float patterning, but originally it referred to a variety of brocaded textiles imported on thick boards. The *nō* *atsuita* costumes are woven with a twill ground and have diverse patterning techniques including discontinuous supplementary weft patterning, floated ground warps or wefts, checks in six-harness twill, or a combination of these.
In the two nō discussed here, the *atsuita* is ubiquitous. In *Ataka*, all the actors, including the kokata and one ai-kyōgen wear *atsuita* under garments. In *Mochizuki*, the waki and ai-kyōgen wear *atsuita*, as discussed above.

![Figure 13. Benkei in *Ataka* with the brocaded *atsuita* showing at neck and sleeve. *Ataka*. Shite: Udaka Michishige, waki: Takayasu Katsuhisa. 15th Udaka Seiran Nō. Kyoto, 2014. Photo: Stéphane Barbery.](image)

![Figure 14. The porter (ai-kyōgen) in *Ataka* in *atsuita* and *kukuri-bakama*. *Ataka*. Ai-kyōgen: Shigeyama Shime. 15th Udaka Seiran Nō. Kyoto, 2014. Photo: Stéphane Barbery.](image)
The yamabushi retainers in Ataka often, but not always, wear simple checked *atsuita*, while Benkei dons an *atsuita* densely patterned with multicolored motifs (fig. 13). The porter, having lent his hat and backpack to Yoshitsune, sits in the kyōgen seat with his *atsuita* exposed (fig. 14). The cloud patterns on the ai-kyōgen’s *atsuita* seen in figure 14 are rendered with supplementary floats on a checked twill ground, combining the most elaborate and the simplest of the *atsuita* patterning techniques.10

The multicolored pictorial patterning on the more elaborate *atsuita* exhibits some of the densest and most dynamic designs in nō costumes. When the garment is used as an outer cover, as for the lion dance in Mochizuki, these come into full play. In figure 9, the *atsuita* worn for the lion dance has three layers of weave structures: Scattered motifs of dragon rounds and clouds are woven in raised floats and appear to sit over a background pattern of squares comprised of four triangles in blue, red, brown, and white twill. Some of the squares include four-lobed symbols rendered in gold. Figure 15 shows a detail of this type of *atsuita* weave structure. During the lion dance the *atsuita* serving as an over cloak is draped loosely, which allows the patterns to swing in and out of view. As part of the dance, the sleeves are pulled taught while the actor shakes his lion head with shaggy mane back and forth. Finally, Tomofusa releases the waist sash, lifts the collar up over his head exposing the cavernous lining of the *atsuita*, and finding that disguise and role playing are no longer necessary, he flings the garment off.

In Mochizuki the makeshift *atsuita* disguise serves to heighten the theatricality of the performance. In Ataka the yamabushi disguise needs to be authenticated. This is done through textual description and acting the part. Yoshitsune’s re-disguise as porter uses key garments to re-identify him: exchanging of tokin cap for a sedge hat, discarding the yamabushi pompoms, and shouldering the porter’s backpack. For all the roles, the costuming has reflected everyday clothing and thereby served as an indicator of character, status, and profession.

Figure 15. Detail of fig. 12. This image displays the three-layer weave structure used for *atsuita* and *karaori*.

1) Ground weave in dense twill; 2) Gold threads held in place with the same warps, but in a more spaced twill; 3) Floss wefts in long floats that rest above the ground fabric.

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10 The sword bearer (ai-kyōgen) serving Togashi wears a similar checked pattern, but it may be woven in glossy plain weave, in which case it is a *noshime*.
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