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STAGING GOOD TASTE, STAGING ‘JAPANESENESS’ CONSUMER CULTURE, THE DEPARTMENT STORE *MITSUKOSHI* AND PERFORMANCE OF MODERN IDENTITIES IN JAPAN

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I

First, I should connect the topic of the symposium – ‘performance’ or ‘performing cultures’ – with ‘consumption’ and ‘consumer cultures’ as an important focus of my own research into the construction of modern identities in twentieth-century Japan. ‘Performance,’ initially describing performing arts, today generally means social and cultural practices, emphasizing the aspect of activity, of a communicative and sensual representation, of presenting “attitudes, of modes of being, materials, signs, lines and colours” (Fiebach 2002, p. 755). In general, as it is argued, daily life is characterized by cultural performances. As concrete acts of communication they “are not simple reflectors or expressions of culture or even of changing culture, but may themselves be active agencies of change, representing the eye by which culture sees itself and the drawing board on which creative actors sketch out what they believe to be more apt or interesting ‘designs for living’.” (Victor Turner, quote in Fiebach, p. 753).

In this sense the concept of performance comes close to that of ‘lifestyle.’ Lifestyle is understood here as the cultural forming of acting, as a spectre of specific forms of articulation and practices as well as objects by which social individuals are identifying themselves and distinguishing themselves from others. Here we have a link with the topic of ‘consumption,’ long understood mainly as an economic category and as such as a passive behaviour. Only in the last two to three decades has it become a regular topic of cultural studies treating it also as an act of communication between subjects, in which they are not simply using objects to satisfy their needs and their natural longing for happiness. Following Baudrillard, it is instead a social act to relate oneself to another in order to create hierarchical differences and identities (Baudrillard 1998).

Since then, theoretical and ideological controversies on consumption as a form of presentation and/or re-presentation, as an act of self-realization/self-stylization and/or subordination have been vacillated “between the dangers of an excessively romanticised ‘consumer freedom’ on the one hand and the paranoid fantasy of ‘global control’ on the other” (Morley 1999, p. 466). In this paper applying the concept of ‘performance’ to the problem of ‘consumer culture’ I am going to avoid this kind of ‘either-or’ logic, distinguishing between two aspects of ‘lifestyle’ (linked closely to processes and institutions of consumption) which nevertheless in reality are inseparable and intertwined: the *vertical* aspect of lifestyle referring to a certain origin, claiming authenticity and essentiality, and the *horizontal* aspect referring to diversity via combination, plurality, and interchangeability. Discussing both aspects of lifestyle, I do not intend to present them in a teleological manner, as a ‘history of progress’ from the first to the second, to more freedom and individuality. Rather we have to see them as interwoven, and we have to ask how the balance between them is changing within Japanese society, in which (as in other modern societies, too) the typical fields of everyday taste and lifestyle – clothing, food, housing (*i-shoku-jū*) – become more and more commercialised. One way to track down this changing balance is to scrutinize how the presentation of these fields, *i-shoku-jū*, has changed in the mass media, especially in an only recently ‘re-discovered’ corpus of texts: so-called company or house magazines (*kikan zasshi*) edited by commercial companies such as department stores, mainly in the first half of the twentieth century. In this paper I will set the focus on *Mitsukoshi*, a house magazine of the Mitsukoshi department store, published 1911–1933 (under a different title before 1911), in order to trace, how a certain kind of lifestyle – in those days called Mitsukoshi taste (*Mitsukoshi shumi*) – was presented and created through this medium.

To illustrate what the two aspects of lifestyle mentioned above mean, let me now introduce two statements, which came from different media and different periods of time.

(1) “*You are not what you wear.*” In autumn 2001, this advertisement rolled through London on its famous red double-deckers, trying to open the European market for the successful Japanese ‘fast retailer for casual clothing’ *Uniqlo* (Jpn. *Unikuro*, Fig. 1). With the slogan “Clothing forever and for everybody” (*eien no minna no fuku*) in the mid-1990s the company had already caused a sensation in Japan at a time, when well-established department stores like Mitsukoshi were being forced to close one branch after the other.

(2) “*Clothing and body-accessories tell us of the people’s inner selves. Women have to consider this, because through make-up they are expressing their characters in a particular manner,*” a dermatologist starts his article on “The taste of civilized (or cultivated) women” (*bunka fujin no tashinami*) in the 1927 June number of the department-store magazine *Mitsukoshi* (Fig. 2).

That clothes are not saying anything about who you are, is the message of the first statement; that you can deduce the heart of a person from her outward appearance is that of the second. The first one can be seen as a kind of self-portrait of all post-modern societies as consumer and affluent societies. Not regarding all problems, caused by the so-called ‘affluence,’ in this self-perception consumption contributes to a plurality of life styles and produces a kind of democratisation. Lifestyle in this horizontal understanding today no longer represents affiliation to a certain social group or even class. Lifestyles are to understand as active performances by individuals, who are putting on stage their competence to create their own style and to design their own cultural projects, their ability to question identities or to affirm them. Wearing cheap and simple clothes (that *Uniqlo* is advertising) is as little a sign of poverty (or of what Bourdieu has called “a taste of necessity”) as carrying a *Mitsukoshi*-bag still symbolizes membership in the elite. To live in the right milieu, to have access to information and knowledge and to certain spaces for living or health – these, it is argued, today are the much more important elements of distinction and indicators of social inequality than “conspicuous consumption” (Veblen) or the demonstration of richness. “We won’t tell you what to wear or how to wear it. [...] By offering a wide range of well-made, logo-free basics, we aim to give you the choice to create your style,” the *Uniqlo* homepage is telling us concisely (cf. <http://www.uniqlo.co.uk>, April 2003).

In contrast, the second statement gives very concrete instruction how young women in particular, as potential brides to valued sons (*taisetsu na musuko no yome*) should carefully take care of their face and skin. Because, even if they are not favoured by ‘mother nature’, a well-groomed skin might tell something about their education and family. As mentioned above, this article was published in the journal *Mitsukoshi*, published by the prestigious department store *Mitsukoshi*. This monthly was far more than a mere catalogue. Each issue offered, above all, old and new seasonal patterns for kimono and their accessories, along with other commodities, including products from Western countries. They invited entries for pattern and other competitions and published the names

of winners. Western fashion trends were introduced and fashion as a social phenomenon, both in the West and in Japan, became a theme for discussion, also through short stories focusing on the topic. For that purpose a network of artists, writers, journalists, and scholars was established who gathered in various research and discussion circles organized by the staff of Mitsukoshi department store. For many years, the journal *Mitsukoshi* reported on the monthly work of the 'Fashion circle' (*ryûkôkai*) and also published the lectures given there.

Later I will present a more detailed discussion of this journal, which is similar to those published by other Japanese department stores, and its inexhaustible advice and instructions, but first I would like to draw attention to similarities between the spatial order of the department store as a modern institution and the structure of journals like *Mitsukoshi*, both taking part in the production of modes of perception, of knowledge or of lifestyles. First, on the catalogue pages advertised commodities and goods often were presented by referring to the departments where they were sold, sometimes with the help of small maps, particularly when, as during the 1920s, new branches were being opened close to centrally located railway stations. (Fig. 3).

Second, we find so-called 'how-to-do-articles' as a kind of advisor. Their content too was structured largely by the logic of a kind of 'departmentization' of the body according to gender or age, or of everyday commodities and luxury goods according to the typical lifestyle fields of clothing, food and housing. The departments were separated also by the criteria of 'ethnicity and civilization.' For example, an article, published in October 1922, titled "On oriental taste" (*Tôyô shumi ni tsuite*, Fig. 4) introduced merchandise that could be bought in the 'Oriental department' (*Tôyô hinbu*). Discussing the term 'Orient,' being created by the 'Occident,' the article uses stereotyped language, as is typical for these journals and is linked to the corresponding goods, purchasable in the particular departments: there are goods in an 'Oriental' and a 'Western style' (*tôyôfû* and *yôfû*), but also in a 'Japanese style' (*wafû*). The article notes that, although Japan is part of the 'Orient,' the 'Oriental department' of the Mitsukoshi separated Japan proper (*Nihon hondo*) and collected merchandise from China, Korea, Taiwan, Java, and India in this separate 'Oriental department.' This material and verbal presentation of goods can be seen as an important factor in discourses of national and ethnic identity, which at that time were also influenced by Japan's ambiguous status as an 'anti-colonial colonizer,' among other things (cf. Robertson 1998).

Here we find a close linkage to the third homology. Namely, the journals include another category of texts that refer to a very specific characteristic of

Japanese department store culture. Since Mitsukoshi sponsored exhibitions of art and products in specific rooms within the store, the journal published lectures and articles by experts to introduce the reader to the material in them. Because of their historical seriousness and precision, as well as their intellectual quality, most of these articles can be characterized as a kind of enlightenment literature. As a modern company Mitsukoshi also played the role of a modern cultural patron. Under its roof and its sponsorship, various study groups of experts, for example, the 'Fashion circle' mentioned above, gathered to discuss topics relevant to the company and society. One of the topics was the question of 'taste' (*shumi*). Before asking why this topic was so important and how it permanently was 'performed on the stage' by Mitsukoshi as a kind of *taste-space*, I first would like to return to the two statements about the brand *Uniqlo* and the 'cultivated women' that exemplify the two different aspects of lifestyle.

"*Bunka fujin no tashinami*" – the term *tashinami*, above translated as 'taste', implies the meaning of etiquette, i.e. a system of commonly accepted conventions which (especially the female) readers of this article ought to become acquainted with. Thus, by using cosmetics – e.g. the French perfume or the body lotion which are promoted on the same page (Fig. 2) – the female reader has to fashion her look according to a certain ideal of beauty, or, more generally, she has to adapt to a certain lifestyle and to exhibit this lifestyle, the lifestyle of a *bunka fujin*, of a modern woman. Such a modern woman at that time usually came from the upper middle or upper classes. Essential for this vertical aspect of lifestyle, therefore, is the close interrelationship of a certain understanding of modernity, of *bunka seikatsu* or "cultured (cultivated) life" as an expression of a social status, and at the same time with Mitsukoshi as its purveyor. The products and services of Mitsukoshi thus shape and stage this status, and those who consider themselves as belonging to this status are staging a style, which for a certain time even was called the "*Mitsukoshi shumi*" or "*Mitsukoshi konomi*," both of which might be translated as "Mitsukoshi taste" (cf. Jinno 1994, p. 198 ff.).

In contrast, brands such as *Uniqlo*, designed in Japan by the 'fast retailer' and produced in China, aim at the aspect of taste and lifestyle that assumes the ability of individuals to combine and select their own pattern from a huge variety of suppliers and objects, to fit themselves to a certain code instead of being fitted. Rolf Lindner characterizes this aspect as "horizontal differentiation in lifestyle groups instead of vertical representation of status differences" (unpublished manuscript). Euphemistically articulated as 'freedom', this aspect gains importance with an increasing de-traditionalization. Increasing spatial and

social mobility seems to go hand in hand with the vanishing of classes, and of regional and professional forms of networks and ties. This forces the 'released' individuals to "construct new forms of coherence" (cf. Jehle 2000, p. 107), created more and more by consumption as a social act of production of differences and – at the same time – of identity-creation. By purchasing and staging goods and commodities, individuals thus constitute groups with a common code, a kind of ambience, distinguishing themselves at the same time from other groups (cf. Baudrillard 1998, p. 92ff.). That means, lifestyles do not lose their character as 'signs', but they become more sketchy and floating.

Here we have to ask once again how the balance between the two aspects of lifestyle is changing within a more and more commercialised society. The more 'sketchy and floating sign character' of the horizontal aspect implies at the same time a tendency of fragmentation of the past thus becoming a potential reservoir of permanent and arbitrary re-combination. And this, again, involves a certain danger of wear and tear of tradition, in favour of a rootless *hic et nunc* (here and now) without any substance. This, however, is an ambivalent 'business.' Is this a condition hostile to nationalistic (and other) ideologies or, on the contrary, is it a breeding ground for them to prosper? Is such a 'here and now'-situation the other side of an omnipresent commercialism and consumerism, or is it a chance to develop responsibility in dealing with values and goods? These are 'big questions' my interest in the relationship of consumption and modern identities in Japan are based on. There cannot be an answer in general. Rather we have to reconstruct concrete socio-cultural contexts and texts, with the concrete protagonists acting with their specific cultural practices to perform their own interests. So let me now scrutinize how some typical topics of everyday taste and lifestyle in the fields of clothing, food, housing were presented in the *Mitsukoshi* journal in a certain period. This will be done in order to get an insight into how this medium, as an element of a much bigger context, including, for example, the reader of the journal, took part in the lifestyle construction.

II.

To most Japanese the above mentioned fields of clothing food and shelter, *i-shoku-jū*, are often understood as synonymous with 'everyday life' (*nichijō seikatsu*). This becomes clear by a diachronic analysis of texts classified under the topic of *i-shoku-jū* in the catalogue of the *Ôya Sôichi bunko*, the biggest

private library of popular magazines in Japan. Furthermore, reading these texts reveals the changing content of this concept, a process I would like to summarize as 'de-essentialization,' from a culturalistic understanding of *i-shoku-jū* as a symbol of profound (vertical) Japaneseness to Japaneseness as a pool of modular identities that can be easily obtained and, of course, can also be thrown away easily.

The just mentioned 'easiness,' I suppose, is largely shaped by a new media landscape of lifestyle, city, and fashion magazines, such as *Pia*, *Nonno*, *Popeye* etc., that have prospered since the 1980s and address their information and messages to a certain clientele, and thus take part in a seemingly new kind of segmentation of society – the so-called 'partial mass' *bunshū* (in contrast to *taishū*, the 'big mass') and social spaces. There is much interesting research by Japanese mass media and gender specialists, for example, Yoshimi Shun'ya and Ueno Chizuko, who have taken a look at media, commercial, and financial complexes like *Seibu* as the socio-economic background of those changes.

In the remainder of my essay, I would like to illustrate how the company magazine *Mitsukoshi* contributed to the discourses on Japaneseness via everyday life-topics like *i-shoku-jū*, particularly in the 1920's and early 1930's, which are known as the 'age of a cultivated life' (i.e., a modern one, *bunka seikatsu no jidai*). Differing from the preceding Meiji era (1868–1912) with its omnipresent catchphrase of 'civilisation' (*bunmei*), 'culture' and 'cultivated modern life' (*bunka, bunka seikatsu*) became a very popular slogan in the wake of the 'daily life improvement campaign' (*seikatsu kaizen undo*), initiated and conducted by the state in 1918. Promoted by scholars, artists and reformers around the journal *Bunka seikatsu*, the meaning of this concept was widely discussed in other media too, among them *Mitsukoshi*. To give one example, the first number of 1923 included a New Year wish, which can be summarized as follows (Fig. 5): This year, finally, not only arms restrictions, but also *bunka seikatsu* and *seikatsu kaizen* will be realized – something we can be very happy about. Therefore, the department store too makes every endeavour to offer more low-priced top-quality products, to improve its facilities, to train the staff, to satisfy each customer and visitor, to serve the society as a whole (*shakai hōshi no jitsu o ageru*), and to contribute to the cultivated, modern life of our nation. In this short text the emphasis on the vertical aspect of lifestyle is evident.

A distinguishing feature of the medium *Mitsukoshi* is that general explanations of modern lifestyle always go along with the presentation of concrete objects of everyday life, as commodities and as exhibits. For example, the demand to implant 'Western rationality' into the 'Japanese context', i.e. to

harmonize it with ‘Japanese taste’, is often linked to historical flashbacks to the heydays of this taste in the past, mostly to the Edo period (1600–1867), as *Edo no shumi*. At the same time, the idea of modernity is materialized through catalogued objects and goods, pictures and photos that have to fulfil three functions: (a) to illustrate the instructions for their use (their utility value); (b) to inform about the price (the exchange value); (c) to be testimony of good taste (the symbolic value).

These three values could qualify very different things or phenomena for being a manifestation of ‘culture’ (*bunka*), as the following two topics may illustrate:

- a) Above I have quoted the cosmetic instructions given by a dermatologist to young women to help them to become ‘cultivated,’ i.e. to become good and beautiful brides. Following the rhythm of the seasons, on the first pages of *Mitsukoshi*, annual event and art exhibitions are announced, followed by descriptions of items from the departments of *i-shoku-jū* (referring to the rhythm of the seasons, as well). At the end of each number are published summaries of discussions in the regularly held study groups or complete papers from lectures on topics such as how the relationship of the Japanese people to nature and to the seasons had changed during the process of modernization.
- b) In the early 1920’s, Japanese intellectuals gave particular attention to the problem of housing when dealing with the ‘mission’ to define and to implant cultural, modern life into the citizens’ daily lives. According to George Sand, at that time mainly three groups competed for the ‘right understanding’ of what it means to live in a ‘tasteful, modern, cultivated’ house (*shumi no yoi jūtaku*, *bunka jūtaku*): “the older group of Meiji bourgeois proselytizers, rich in both social capital [...] and cultural capital (primarily Western knowledge),” [...]“a vanguard of Taishō intellectuals, rich in cultural capital but lacking the kind of access to political power possessed by their Meiji predecessors,” and the more marginal intellectuals, purveying “new, largely Western tastes” to the “new middle class,” the *shin chūkansō*, then often called “the educated unpropertied class” – *yūshiki musan kaikyū*, or “paupers in Western clothes” – *yōfuku saimin*; (Sand 2000, pp.101–102). The *bunka jūtaku* models, presented on the pages of *Mitsukoshi*, represented the mentioned *Mitsukoshi*-style (*Mitsukoshi shumi*), referring to the social status of the upper and the upper middle class, who fit into the first two groups mentioned by Sand.

To support this statement, I would like to give some more examples of lifestyle presentations in the journal *Mitsukoshi*. The first is an essay written by Ōkuma Yoshikuni in July 1925 to introduce his own house, designed by himself: *Watashi no setteishita jûtaku*, (pp. 2–5, Fig. 6 & 7). Ōkuma, an architect and professor of engineering at Tôkyô University, was official head of the "Culture village" (*bunka mura*) at the Peace Exposition (*heiwa kinen Tôkyô hakurankai*) held in 1922 in Tôkyô's Ueno park. In this 'village' the best models of a *bunka jûtaku* contest were exhibited, chosen before by a jury, mostly consisting of members of the Society of Japanese Architects, among them Ōkuma (cf. Sand: 100). The second is an article by Nishimura Isaku (1884–1963), entitled "The new house. What meets with our taste" (*Atarashii ie. Ware ware no shumi ni kanau*; Fig. 8) and published in January of the same year (1925/1, pp. 6–9). In 1921 Nishimura together with other liberal intellectuals, among them Yosano Akiko, Yosano Tekkan, Ishii Hakutei and Kawasaki Natsu, founded the "Academy of Culture" (*Bunkagaku-in*), which aimed at independent and individual education of children. Because of this, it was shut down by government order in 1943, but it was revived after the war and continues to flourish. Compared with Ōkuma, Nishimura certainly did not belong to the bureaucratic elite, but there are some interesting features common to both texts. The most important, probably, is the way they present their ideal *bunka jûtaku*, describing it against the background of two kinds of unsatisfactory alternatives (*ayamarareta bunka jûtaku* or *akushumi no bunka jûtaku*): those with insufficient space and design, i.e. ones too shabby, and those that are too luxurious or too fashionable. An article in the February number of 1925 illustrates the latter problem. It introduced the best models from a modern kitchen contest organized by the magazine. Members of the jury, again including Ōkuma (Fig. 9), in discussing the results of this contest had to justify why they did not award a first prize. The jury conclude, as Ōkuma explained, that among the nearly 600 proposals, there were too many 'bourgeois kitchens' (*burujua kaikyû daidokoro*) with a size of six to eight *jô* (about 10 up to 13.5 m²), but too few 'proletarian kitchens' (*puroretaria kaikyû daidokoro*), the ideal size of which was assumed to be about three to four *jô* (5–7 m²). Here *Mitsukoshi* and its player describe and prescribe in a very concrete way, what is considered to be 'normal' or 'luxurious.'

Their own ideal regarding interior decoration, number and arrangement of rooms, can be summarized in Nishimura's words: *sukoshi no nijû seikatsu* – "a moderately dual life." That means, on the one hand, a "truly modern, cultural house" (*hontô no bunka jûtaku*) has to combine economic efficiency with a certain level of material and mental comfort, including a room for the maid and a

study which, if necessary, can be used as a guestroom, as well as of a blend of taste with scientific principles and hygiene. On the other hand, a moderately dual life means a skilful mixture of 'Western' and 'Japanese' elements (*yōfū* and *nihonfū*). For himself, Nishimura tells us, he prefers houses of common Japanese people – so-called *minka*, but because it is difficult to modernize them with the desired light, heating system, kitchen location, etc.), he decided in favour of a Western-styled rustic house which comes closest to the *minka*. The Japanese, he claims, are people with an elevated and noble taste (*naka naka jōhin na shumi*). Therefore they have to select the most elegantly styled from among the Western houses.

This aspect of *Mitsukoshi* as being both a space/location and a publisher of a medium as well, can be generalised. Staging good taste means not only to produce social distinctions, but also to represent national identity, Japaneseeness. Whether they were conscious of it or not, Nishimura and Ōkuma took part in this process, even if the ideological character of such a Japaneseeness, formed commercially and aesthetically, changed over time and within different contexts. *Mitsukoshi* numbers published in the early 1930's, i.e., after the worldwide economic crisis, support Kashiwagi Hiroshi's assessment of Japanese designers: "Rationalization and reform, once cultural movements, thus became political ones, just as industrial rationalization aimed at rescuing the nation from economic crisis was transformed into a rationalization campaign aimed at building and controlling the nation for the war regime." (Kashiwagi 2000, pp. 70–71).

For instance, the two top kimono patterns of the 1931 spring collection are introduced by the February number of *Mitsukoshi* as follows: The first one is called *Shinkonjaku monyō* ("new pattern of old and new times") because its primary colours go back to the end of the 7th century under the reign of Empress Jitō (r. 686–97) as one source of ancient Japanese beauty thinking. At the same time, the anonymous author continues, it takes up new impulses from Western fashion, and the harmony of both sources should be trendsetting for the world of fashion. The name of the second one is "Silhouette" – a term directly adopted from the Western fashion world and referring to the subtle change of light and shadow. Further, the colouring of the first pattern is described as graceful and representing the aesthetic consciousness of ancient Japan, whereas the second is said to symbolize the lively freshness of artistic activity of the new Japan. Both together are at the top of the 1931 spring fashion. Colouring in fashion (*shikichō*), the article states, is quite similar to the spirit of the age (*kichō*). Autumn fashion of the same year is introduced nearly by the same kind of argument. Offering the two cloth patterns, *kosode* and *hikari*, *Mitsukoshi* – as Japan in

general – joins the worldwide economic and mental trend by remembering cultural highlights of the past Edo period, on the one hand, and by processing new trends of art into new products on the other. Therefore *Mitsukoshi* is described as a 'pacemaker' for the anticipated economic boom.

To sum up, this manner of presenting old and new cloth patterns and their colouring can be seen, to be sure, as a specific manifestation of increasing nationalism in the context of *Mitsukoshi*. Good taste should not only be more deeply anchored in Japan's history, it becomes also increasingly fixed to the Japanese national character (*kokuminsei*). But such an interpretation does not mean that Japanese society in general fell into a 'vertical' traditionalism or Japaneseness fundamentally opposed to modernity/vertical diversity. Rather, the last examples demonstrate the above mentioned entanglement of both aspects, especially in the context of commerce and consumption. Fashion, life-style phenomena in general, function not only as means to increase profit or to create distinction, but also as an instrument to reconstruct and to fragment the past, thus becoming a potential reservoir of permanent and arbitrary re-combination. Whether such a fragmented, re-combined past can be abused in the framework of nationalistic ideologies or deployed against them (or even undermine them) depends on the concrete political and social situation in a certain society. It is this ambivalent connection between ideology, history and consumption in the process of formation of modern identities in Japan (and elsewhere), that leads me to take an interest in research on consumption cultures and department stores. Once again, to find out the mechanisms for mobilising the past for certain present purposes, we each time have to reconstruct the concrete socio-cultural contexts and the concrete protagonists with their specific cultural practices (and texts) to perform their own interests.

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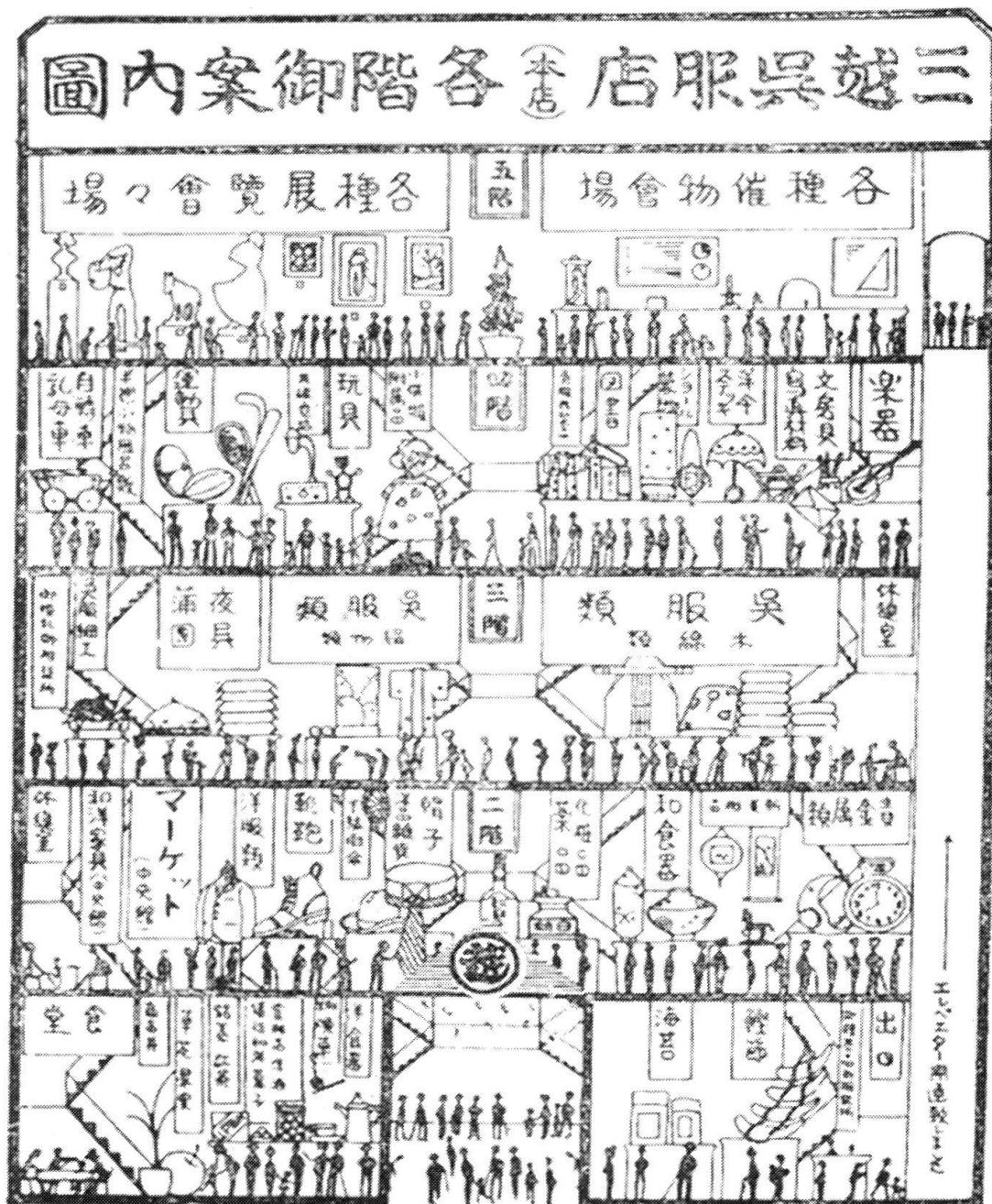
Illustrations



Figure 1: "You are not what you wear."



Figure 2: "The taste of civilized (or cultivated) women." (Mitsukoshi, 1927/2)



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Figure 3: Catalogue page with advertised commodities and goods presented by maps. (Kabushiki kaisha Mitsukoshi [ed.], 1991, p. 92.)



Figure 4: “On Oriental taste.” (*Mitsukoshi*, 1922/10)



Figure 5: "Welcome of the year Taishō 12." (Mitsukoshi, 1923/1)



Figure 6: "A house designed by myself." (Mitsukoshi, 1925/7)

大抵の人は自分の往む處を一軒は建築して住み得ると信じます。其人の收入、資産等に相應なものであり、見榮のため、虚勢を張るためでないなら、少し心を用ひたら自分の家を得ることは難くないでせう。

一丈四方の家でも、櫛大の山小屋でも、自分の所有する家であり、自分で自由にそれを手入れし、増築することが出来、いつ迄も自由に出されずに住み得るならば、立派な住家で

幸福な生活のために、先づ住家を悪くせねばならぬ。金だ、事業だ、名譽だといつても、若し我々が楽しい家を得ななかつたら、實に不愉快な生活だと云ふことは、現代のわれものが切に感じて居ることです。

我々の趣味に適ふ

新しい家

文化學院長 西村伊作

りも安心した樂しみを持つでせう。

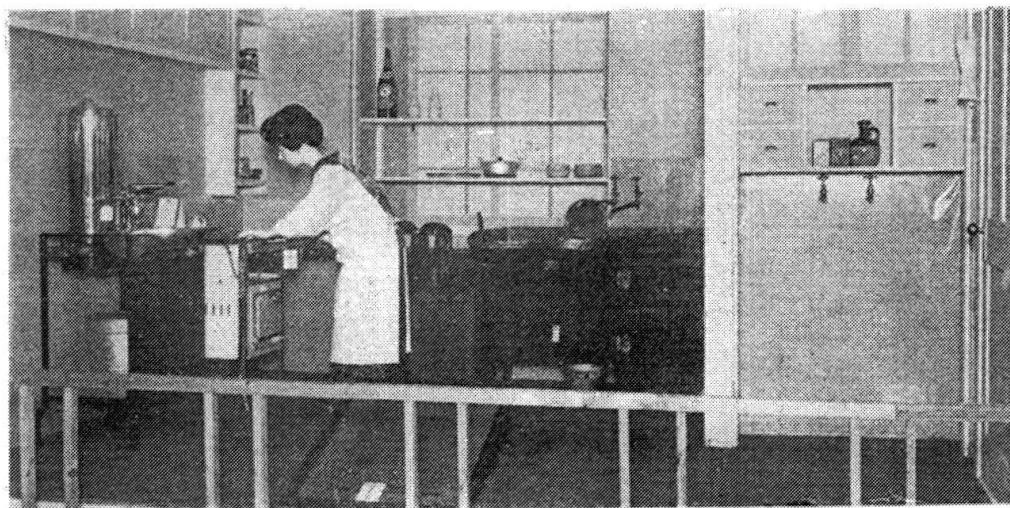
書い趣味の生活をするために、我々の住家をよく工夫して作らねばなりません。

家を建てるには先づ善い敷地を探ねばなりません。風景の善いことよりも生活の便利を考へる可きです。山の頂上など風が強くて不便です。済みしきに過ぎるのも不可。水の質については誰も考へるところ。職業のために交通の便如何。子供の

日當りのよい郊外

Figure 8: "The new house. What meets with our taste." (*Mitsukoshi*, 1925/1)

(のものとして立組に地實を席二等二) ……品出會覽展所臺



贅澤過ぎる設備

工學博士 大熊喜邦

應募圖案六百餘種を通覽して、最初に感じたのは、其の廣さにしても、内部の設備にしても非常に入がかりで、且つ贅澤であることでした。これは募集條件が餘りに漠然としてゐて、何等一定の標準を示さなかつたからでもあります。が、たとへば其の廣さにしても八疊から十疊敷居にしたのがあり、内部の設備にしても、之れを實現するには、餘程の金を要するのが澤山ありました。

然し一般中流社會の生活狀態から考へて、臺所の廣さは、三疊が四疊、せいぜい四疊半ぐらゐで用は足りると想ひます。處が、今度應募したものは、その當選圖内のものでも六疊から八疊ぐらゐのが多かつたやうです。其設備にしても、なるべく金をかけないで出来る便利な器具や設計が、もつと工夫されてほしかつた。之れまで臺所は兎角輕蔑されて、家を建てるにしてもお臺敷の方にばかり金をかけて、臺所はなるべく簡略にして置くといつた風であります。が、近頃臺所の重要なことが大分注意され、以前とはちがつて、出来るだけ金もかけ、設備も便利にするやうになつて來たのは、大變喜ぶべきことであります。

さういふ時代の企てとして、今回の懸賞募集は中々有意味を催して、世間一般に對し、臺所問題に對して注意を與へるに十分效果のあつたことと思ひます。

ただ其の募集の標準があまり漠然としてゐた結果として、一般中流家庭に應用するには、少し大がかり過ぎ、又贅澤すぎるやうなものが多く集まつた嫌ひがありあつた。一口に云へば、ブルジョア階級の臺所が多く、プロレタリア階級の臺所が少かつたのを、遺憾に思ひます。

そこで、此の不滿を補ふために、更に第二回の募集を企て、今度は標準條件をもつと狹く定めて、直ちに中流家庭に應用出来るやうなものを發表せられんこと

Figure 9: “[Kitchen] Equipments which are too luxurious.” (Mitsukoshi, 1925/2)

