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Article:

Hayter, IE (2015) Modernism, gender and consumer spectacle in 1920s' Tokyo. *Japan Forum*, 27 (4). pp. 454-475. ISSN 0955-5803

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09555803.2015.1075576>

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Modernism, gender and consumer spectacle in 1920s Tokyo

Journal *Japan Forum*

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Acknowledgements Research for this article was supported by grants from the Japan Foundation Endowment Committee and the Great Britain Sasakawa Foundation as well as a Japan Foundation Short-Term Fellowship. Early versions were presented at invited lectures at the Japan Research Centre, SOAS, University of London and the Nissan Institute for Japanese Studies at the University of Oxford. I am grateful to the organizers and to the audience for their comments. Thanks are also due to Kerstin Fooker for last-minute help with materials.

word count (main text, endnotes and reference list): 10, 495.

abstract

A lot has been written about how in the first decades of the twentieth century cinema validated new perceptual structures and how these affected literary narrative. But the department store was also a vital part of the mobile spectacle of modernity. Ginza and its department stores provided experiences of urban flâneuring and visual consumption that would have important effects on gender and subjectivity. This essay focuses on three short stories published between 1922 and 1931, all set in department stores or on the Ginza: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's 'Aoi hana' (The Blue Flower, 1922), Itō Sei's 'M hyakkaten' (The M Department Store, 1931) and Yokomitsu Riichi's 'Nanakai no undō' (Seven Floors of Exercise, 1927). The stories share a radically experimental modernist form: fragmented interior

monologues, montage-like juxtapositions, abrupt shifts of narrative perspective. They are also connected in their preoccupation with looking, with the drama of seeing and being seen. My analysis traces how the domain of vision becomes a place of struggle over subjectivity, how gendered visual hierarchies are undermined and at least temporarily reversed.

keywords

gender; visibility; department stores; Tanizaki Jun'ichirō; Itō Sei; Yokomitsu Riichi

The December 1927 issue of the arts magazine *Bungei shunjū* carried a portmanteau literary piece titled 'Tokyo Allegro', which consisted of five vignettes on Ginza and its department stores authored by Yokomitsu Riichi, Kataoka Teppei, Iketani Shinsaburō, Ishihama Kinsaku and Suga Tadao. It was not commissioned by the magazine or by department store ad men: the idea originally came from the writers themselves (Wada 2005, p. 600). All five were amongst the founding editors of the highbrow modernist journal *Bungei jidai* who came to call themselves *shinkankakakuha*, new sensationists. By 1927 they were feted by the media as the stars of the literary avant-garde, established enough not to need to write bread and butter work. It is curious why such *bona fide* modernists would be interested in the department store, especially since they advocated an almost mystical literary absolutism; an art for art's sake removed from pragmatic concerns.¹ 'Tokyo Allegro' itself provides some clues: there is Teppei's observation that the space of the department store is discursive (*sanbunteki*) and Iketani's reflexive comment that once you start writing about department stores, your brush suddenly starts moving in the manner of the department store (*hyakkatenshiki ni ugokidasu*) (Yokomitsu *et al.* 1927, p. 134, 137).

A lot has been written about how in the first decades of the twentieth century cinema offered new perceptual relationships and how these affected literary narrative. But the department store was also a privileged space for the consumption of images, an important part of the mobile spectacle of modernity. In the years following the First World War and especially after the 1923 Great Kantō earthquake, strolling along the Ginza and inside its department stores became a novel kind of urban play that encouraged new modes of perception and experience, new subject positions. Importantly, this was a form of flâneurie open to women. It emerged at a historical juncture that saw the entry of women into the public sphere, their newly found mobility challenging the state's rigidly gendered divisions of public and private space. The office girls in Western clothes on their way to Marunouchi, the business centre of Tokyo; the café waitresses; the elegantly dressed middle-class wives out shopping were often the objects of a curious and appraising male gaze. But on the Ginza and in the department store, just as in the cinema, the women's gaze on men was also possible.

This essay brings together domains normally kept apart: literature, cultural history and feminist visual studies, in the hope of going beyond the scholarly reflex that juxtaposes the verbal and the visual or highbrow art and mass culture. It explores the new perceptual experiences provided by Ginza and their effects on modernism, particularly on the level of literary form and the way gendered subjectivities were written. The essay outlines the rise of spectacular urban culture and its gender implications, before focusing on three stories published between 1922 and 1931, all set in department stores or on the Ginza: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's 'Aoi hana' (The Blue Flower, 1922), Itō Sei's 'M hyakkaten' (The M Department Store, 1931) and Yokomitsu's 'Nanakai no undō' (Seven Floors of Exercise, 1927). Literary histories do not discuss Tanizaki, Itō Sei and Yokomitsu together. Tanizaki emerged on the scene much earlier than the other two, in 1910. His work from the 1910s and 1920s features sensuous, sometimes lurid explorations of decadent beauty and deviant sexuality, which draw on Western aestheticism. Yokomitsu, on the hand, is an undisputed modernist, a

leading figure of the new sensationist movement in the early twenties. Itō Sei comes later – ‘The M Department Store’ is one of his first stories. He was critical of new sensationism because it refused the characters any psychological interiority and was preoccupied with surfaces: Itō Sei himself advocated Joyce’s stream of consciousness and a total expansion of interiority (Sasaki 1995, p. 133). All three stories appear neglected by scholarship. In the volumes of critical commentary on Tanizaki there is no in-depth reading of ‘The Blue Flower’. Itō Sei’s early stories are viewed as imitations of Joyce or just preludes to his more serious activities as a critic. In his study of Yokomitsu Riichi, Dennis Keene devotes only a couple of sentences to ‘Seven Floors of Exercise’, noting how the story shows the new sensationist style in a form so extreme as to read almost like a parody of it (Keene 1980, p. 166).

The aim of this essay is to dislodge the stories from the *oeuvre* of each writer and stress commonalities instead of the differences and categorizations of literary history. My readings are not exhaustive; rather, I seek to recover a broader field of discourse and think about the relationships between literature, gender and visual consumer cultures at this particular historical moment. Apart from the setting, the stories share a radically experimental modernist form: rapid and discontinuous associations in the characters’ stream of consciousness, montage-like juxtapositions of fragments, shifts of narrative perspective. They are also connected by their concern with looking: with a distracted look that slides across people, images and things for sale, but also with the drama of seeing and being seen, with the possibilities of interrupting and returning the gaze. The analysis traces how in the three stories the domain of vision becomes a place of struggle over subjectivity, how gender binaries are undermined and at least temporarily reversed.

The city as spectacular space

The 1923 earthquake and the subsequent reconstruction of Tokyo is a particularly charged moment in the transformation of the organic, historically motivated city of the shogun into a

rationally planned modern metropolis dominated by the visual register.² The new street plan was much more centralized and the ratio of streets to total area was much higher. The widening of streets entailed the removal of rows of houses and inner alleys, despite the tenacious resistance of their residents (Jinnai 1995, p. 129). Streets from eleven metres to forty-four metres wide were opened up across the *shitamachi* wards. The aim of the reorganization of these areas, which suffered most devastation, was not the rebuilding of living environments, but the reordering of ward boundaries and structures, in a departure from traditional spatial orders (Yoshimi 2008, p. 249). Forces of urban decontextualization and specularization were also behind the gradual move of factories and other sites of production outside Tokyo.

The shift of urban play from Asakusa to Ginza after the earthquake again implied a different perceptual relationship to the city. Although Asakusa was richly visual, its traditional attractions and shows retained something embodied and tactile (Maeda 1980, pp. 265–266). Visuality coexisted with other forms of urban sensory experience. The mode of engagement remained communal and intersubjective; it was all about being amongst people and jostling in crowds.³ Asakusa still retained its transgressive undertones, its association with outcasts and unlicensed prostitutes. Those who flocked there were often people working physical labour. Ginza, on the other hand, had always been the place where modernity was *visualized*, made possible to *see*. Even the fact that it was built on a grid is significant. After the earthquake, along with the boutiques selling luxury foreign goods, Ginza acquired the trendy cafés and the department stores, both attractive and absorbing sites for visual consumption. Its ‘high class’ image attracted new types of largely white collar, middle class, younger visitors (Tipton 2013, 192–193).

The Matsuzakaya department store was the first to come to Ginza, in 1924. Matsuya followed in 1925 and Mitsukoshi opened its Ginza store in 1930. Cultural historians trace the origins of Japanese department stores to the national exhibitions of industry from the early Meiji years and the so-called *kankōba* emporiums where the exhibited goods were sold.⁴ Miriam Silverberg (2006, p. 29) describes the exhibitions as ‘the most spectacular of spectacles ... that best illustrated the ambiguity of the relationship of the subject to consumption and the tension between the state and mass-produced consumer culture’. The emporiums featured display cases and the items for sale had price tags: both were novelties. Compared with the old specialized shops, they sold a dizzying variety of eclectic products. The Echigoya dry goods store was the first to adopt such forms of display and sale. In 1904, it changed its name to Mitsukoshi and declared itself a department store. Others soon followed suit.

The department stores were much more visual than the old dry goods stores, where shop assistants brought in fabrics from the back of the shop for the customers, or even visited middle-class matrons in their homes: the stock was spread out to view, there were display cases and show windows. They were designed and built to be truly spectacular places, with atria, light wells, majestic columns and grand staircases. The architecture was meant to project images of significance and monumentalism (Young 1999, p. 63). Mitsukoshi’s building in Nihonbashi, completed in 1914, was in a neo-Renaissance style, with baroque elements thrown in, and complete with two lions flanking the entrance that were copied from those in London’s Trafalgar Square. The mixture of architectural styles, detached and dehistoricized signifiers of Westernness, reinforced the impression of places without past and memory. After the earthquake construction incorporated the latest technologies: plate glass, for example, allowed for enormous show windows all around the store’s frontage. Again there were light-filled interiors, wide aisles, mirrors. Night illuminations made the

department stores even more spectral. This was architecture dematerialized; the actual build space was beginning to resemble an image. Behind the glossy surfaces were the realities of production: the warehouses and the distribution channels that extended into the regions and beyond national borders in the colonies. Department stores were phantasmagoric places both in the original meaning of the term (optical illusions produced by magic lanterns were called phantasmagoria) and in the sense made famous by Marx and later Adorno: the commodity as a purely visual presence that mystified the history of its production.⁵

Kataoka Teppei, in his piece in *Tokyo Allegro*, noted how the light flooding these buildings mimicked sacred spaces. The rays of light were ‘the smiles of the gods of vanity, who want to squeeze as much as possible from the various social classes in the metropolis’ (Yokomitsu *et al.* 1927, p. 135). Teppei was sensitive to the dreamy states induced by consumer spectacle. He called the department store ‘the somnambulistic haunt of animals’ and commented sarcastically that the government really cared for the mental health of the proletariat, hence the crackdowns on opium dens, but for some reason it encouraged the intellectual paralysis of the bourgeoisie in the department stores (Yokomitsu *et al.* 1927, pp. 134–135).

Subjects in motion

Walking and looking around industrial exhibitions and *kankōba* emporiums was becoming a fashionable urban pastime during late Meiji. After the earthquake, this form of mobile visual consumption even acquired a name, *ginbura*, a contraction of ‘*Ginza de bura bura suru*’, or strolling, loitering, drifting aimlessly along the Ginza. The cultural critic Kon Wajirō has a special section on the structure of *ginbura* in the first chapter of *Modernologio* (1930), a collection of his famous urban ethnographies. In May 1925, Kon and his associates estimated

that between eight in the morning and eight in the evening almost sixty thousand people walked the Ginza between Kyōbashi and Shinbashi. Those walking the east side (where the Matsuya and Matsuzakaya department stores are) outnumbered the ones on the west side. Surprisingly, most of them were men in their thirties and forties and college students, almost twice as many as women (Kon 1930, pp. 10–11). Kon's findings countered the perception that the department store, that temple of consumption, was a female space. In the two decades around the turn of the century, the advertising and PR materials of the department stores targeted women, encouraging them to identify with the images and the mannequins in the show windows and normalizing their position as objects to be looked at (Odaira 2000). This reflected domestic gender politics, but was also something learned from Western retail and marketing techniques: Émile Zola's *Au bonheur des dames* (*The Ladies' Paradise*, 1883), the most famous novel about a departments store, presents it as a sensual, quintessentially feminine space of irrational desire. Kon's 1930 study, however, found that men and women entered Mitsukoshi in roughly equal numbers, but women stayed longer, hence the impression that women dominated. Department store visitors were of similar social types to the people walking the Ginza: male and female college students and people in their twenties and thirties (Kon 1930, pp. 209–210). Kon (1929, p. 71) provides an indirect explanation of this relatively even gender balance in another of his writings on Tokyo, *Dai Tokyo annai* (A Guide to Greater Tokyo): department stores were much more than shops; they had rooftop gardens, cafés, restaurants, lecture halls and exhibitions spaces.

The mode of sensory engagement on the Ginza was overwhelmingly visual, contrary to the more tactile, embodied experience of Asakusa. Kon and his researchers studied the way people looked at the spectacle of consumption. They distinguished between those who simply passed by the show windows, those who threw a glance sideways and kept walking and those who stopped and looked attentively at the displays and at the people inside. The

last group, made up mostly of manual labourers and students, people without the means to shop in department stores, amounted to almost a tenth of all passers-by. Inside, the picture was similar: there were the people actively choosing things and shopping, their gaze alert and intent, but there were also those who were completely enraptured (*mihoreteiru*) by the things for sale (Kon 1930, p. 207). Others just strolled aimlessly and looked mostly at the other visitors. But Kon was conscious that these types of visual experience could be very unstable and fluid: even people who entered the department store with the purpose of buying something specific, after their purchase drifted (*bura bura suru*) and looked distractedly (Kon 1930, p. 12, 207). Importantly, Kon's typologies are not gendered; this is another crucial detail that subtly undermines all those discourses that figured woman solely as consumer. (In Zola's department store, by contrast, all customers are women. 'Pale with desire', they look at the sensuous fabrics for sale; their relationship with the commodities is described as seduction and loss of self-control (Zola 1991, p.93)). We can assume that men could be equally captivated by the aura of the commodity, or that women could also look disinterestedly. On the Ginza, women could enjoy the 'purposeless purposeful drifting', in the words of Miriam Hansen (1987, p. 194), that Benjamin attributed to the flâneur, one of the most potent tropes for the experience of modernity.

Feminist visual theorists such as Ann Friedberg (1993) and Giuliana Bruno (1997) have argued that from the late nineteenth century onwards, new urban mobilities and cultures of consumption brought about gradual but profound changes to the visual regimes of modernity. Western modernity has always been associated with a way of seeing structured by linear perspective. The observer is an abstract disembodied entity, a static eye/I standing outside the scene. Things in the visual field can be measured and mapped. This mode of seeing defined the dominant regime of knowledge and the concepts that are central to Western rationality: the oppositions of subject and object, mind and matter; the idea about

the human mastery over nature.⁶ But the new culture of exhibition halls, department stores and cinemas meant a new spatio-visibility; new relationships between urban perception and bodily motion (Bruno 1997, p. 11). Instead of a fixed viewing position and a look marked with distance and power, there emerged what Friedberg (1993, p. 2) calls ‘a mobilized “virtual” gaze’ (‘virtual’ because it was not direct, but received perception often mediated by representations). In the cinema, the spectator was still, but through various techniques the *motion* pictures encouraged her to align her gaze with that of the camera and the way it captured the moving urban culture. ‘Film viewing’, Giuliana Bruno writes, ‘is an imaginary form of flâneurie, a “modern” gaze that wonders through space, fully open to women’ (Bruno 1997, p. 11). These commodified visual experiences were distracted and evanescent; the gaze was becoming dispersed and fluid. Because the objectifying eye of Western science and painting had always been a male eye, these changes in the visual economy would have far-reaching effects on gender and subjectivity.

Japan’s modernizing project included the internalization of the Cartesian visual regime and its rationalist dualism. But the changes theorized by Friedberg and Bruno were palpable during Japan’s dizzying 1920s and 30s, especially on the Ginza, the place that incarnated the new visibility of consumer culture. Kon Wajirō’s researches document the newly found female mobility and visibility on the Ginza; the ways both men and women walked; the different modes of looking. Visual consumption can be yet another example of the tensions and ambiguities in the relationship of mass culture to imperial ideology studied by historians such as Minami Hiroshi (1987) and Silverberg (2006, pp. 1–47). Loitering, distracted looking, staring at people and things for sale, excessive fascination with commodities: such behaviours did not fit in the productivist ethos and the rational organization of daily life promoted by the state.

The visual pleasures of Ginza were available to everyone, regardless of class and origin: from day labourers and factory workers to upper middle-class matrons and gents; from Tokyoites to visitors from the provinces. Kon and his associates catalogued meticulously clothes, accessories and manners, reading in them occupation and social status. They noted how well dressed and made up most people in the department stores were, as if they were going to the theatre (Kon 1930, p. 71). As Yoshimi Shun'ya (2008, pp. 253–266) has argued, this theatricality of seeing and being seen, of being both observer and observed, was the essence of the Ginza experience. The three stories chosen for this essay present distinct configurations of this theatricality: an actress subjecting men to an appraising gaze; men who direct an objectifying look at themselves in mirrors; a shop girl who sabotages the visual commodification of woman.

'The Blue Flower'

Tanizaki's story is an unsettling exploration of the dreamlike states induced by consumer spectacle and of the proximity of woman-as-fetish to the commodity. The protagonist Okada, a married middle-aged man, takes his young mistress Aguri for a stroll on the Ginza and later to the foreign boutiques in Yokohama. She looks at the rings in the show windows of Ginza, then in Yokohama tries on luxurious western-style undergarments. They need to be taken up, so the couple wander the streets of the foreign settlement for a while and then come back to the boutique. Not much happens in terms of plot.

The narrative begins abruptly, *in medias res*, and ends unexpectedly, although one gets the impression that it could have continued to drift aimlessly. Okada's scattered daydreams and increasingly troubling hallucinations make up most of the story. These are not anchored by any causal or temporal relationships. The temporal structure is quite unclear as Okada's thoughts wander forwards and back. He is out in the public spaces of Ginza and Yokohama, but has moments when he is intensely absorbed in his private fantasies: '[h]e was walking

the streets under the dazzling May sunshine, but his eyes did not see the world around him; his ears did not hear a thing; his mind was turned oppressively, stubbornly inward' (p. 236).⁷

At times Okada can be quite detached from his environment, his bodily experience dissociated from his interiority. External stimuli often set off hallucinatory chains of association. Random thoughts drift into Okada's consciousness just like shop signs enter his mobile gaze:

ALL KINDS OF JAPANESE FINE ARTS: PAINTINGS, PORCELAINS, BRONZE,
STATUES...the sign on an antique shop entered his vision. MAN CHANG DRESS
MAKER FOR LADIES AND GENTLEMEN...probably a Chinese tailor. There is one for
JAMES BERGMAN JEWELLERY...RINGS, EARRINGS, NECKLACES. E & B CO. FOREIGN
DRY GOODS AND GROCERIES...LADY'S UNDERWEARS [sic]...DRAPERIES, TAPESTRIES,
EMBROIDERIES... the sound of these words was somehow like the timbre of a piano,
solemn and beautiful (pp. 237–238).

This litany of shop signs is the most extreme example of what happens in the whole story: the causal-temporal structure of narrative is replaced by a flow of impressions and visions. The resonances between Tanizaki's story and Walter Benjamin's work on the arcades and department stores of Paris are striking. For Benjamin, the phantasmagoria of commodities on display conjures up illusions and half-forgotten memories. Meaning dissolves in kaleidoscopic fragments. In this dream-world, 'things appear divorced from the history of their production and their fortuitous juxtapositions suggest mysterious and mystical connections' (Buck-Morss 1986, p. 106).

On the Ginza Aguri sees a ring in a show window and waves her hand in front of it, folding and opening her 'soft, slender... alluring' fingers (p. 227). They remind Okada of wild spring

grasses. This image summons a fantasy with undertones of dismemberment: how sweet these fingers would look in a small flower pot, Okada muses, like that *amur adonis* plant that blossoms in the coldest of winter and ushers in spring (p. 228).⁸ Desire moves metonymically: staring at Aguri's fingers, he sees in the hustle and bustle of Ginza the familiar lines of her sloping shoulders, the curves of the belly, the buttocks. In these fetishistic fantasies Aguri's body is fragmented; body parts are enlarged and lovingly caressed by Okada's gaze. In another of his visions Aguri is a white marble statue in a dark space framed by black velvet curtains resembling a magician's stage set. In the scene where Aguri is trying on western underwear this image gives way to that of a mannequin: she loses her usual vivaciousness and shrinks under the gaze of the male shop assistant (p. 240).

In Freudian thought the fetish is a defence mechanism, 'a token of triumph over the threat of castration' represented by woman (Freud 1927, p. 154). Techniques such as close-up, cutting and montage make the cinema a peculiarly potent site for fetishistic investment: Tanizaki himself wrote that in the close-up, 'every aspect of a person's face and body, aspects that ordinarily will be overlooked, is perceived so keenly and urgently, that it exerts a fascination difficult to put into words' (quoted in LaMarre 2005, p. 68). Okada's fantasies are very close to the strategies of fetishistic avoidance of castration anxiety discussed by Laura Mulvey (1975) in relation to classical Hollywood film: not only the fragmentation of the close-up and the substitution of a fetish object — fingers, pieces of underwear, and so on — but also the making of the woman into an icon, symbolically immobilizing her to assure that she would remain a passive object of the gaze.

But what is also striking in Tanizaki's story is that this logic of the fetish is associated with the spectacle of consumption. The things in the show windows are brightly lit up, but at the same time for Okada they possess a dark, mysterious lustre; a voluptuousness (p. 237).

Irotsuya (lustre) and *namamekashiku* (voluptuously) are normally used for people or at least

for animate beings. *Ayashii* (mysterious) appears earlier in the text and describes Aguri. The language establishes an equivalence between Aguri's seductions and the allure of commodities. This effect is reinforced by another parallel construction: 'there was money in his pocket and there was white skin under clothes' (p. 238). The absolute divisions between inorganic and animate, inside and outside are blurred as clothes become skin: for Okada, Western women's clothes are not things to wear, but a second skin; they imprint themselves on the body like tattoos (p. 238). The clothes are eroticized: blouses are women's breasts and skirts are women's hips. It is as if the gradual unravelling of Okada's subjectivity releases libidinal flows that cathect onto inanimate objects. Towards the end of the story, Okada is assailed by a disturbing hypercommodified fantasy: as the shop assistant recites the prices of the undergarments, in Okada's mind the boutique suddenly becomes a slave market where they are selling Aguri herself.

All this makes it difficult to see Aguri as autonomous. The story is told entirely from Okada's perspective. Aguri remains opaque: the fixed narrative point of view does not allow her an interiority and she speaks only a couple of sentences throughout the story. It is true that some of Okada's daydreams are openly masochistic: he imagines being trampled on by Aguri or suddenly dropping dead in the summer heat in the broad daylight of Ginza while she remains cold and visibly annoyed, thinking only about his money. But even when he pictures Aguri as a panther, she is still something between a pet and a wild animal: knowing well how to please her master, but still ferocious at times. It has to be stressed that it is always Okada who directs this theatre of exquisite cruelty. *He* is imagining her words and thoughts; her agency is *his* fantasy.

The scenario of visual control, however, is complicated by the fact that the fetishistic look that dwells on parts of Aguri's body or freezes her into static tableaux belongs not to a disembodied eye, but to an embodied subject. Okada turns the same scrutinizing gaze

towards his own emaciated physique. A friend they encounter by chance on the Ginza remarks in a worried tone that Okada has got even thinner and is not looking well. This comment plunges Okada into anxious thoughts about his wilting flesh. The verb *yaseru* (to grow thin, to lose weight) is repeated several times in different forms in the paragraph. It has become almost an obsession for Okada to look at himself in the mirror every day after his bath. The gaze he directs at his reflection is self-objectifying, almost anatomical: he subjects his body in the mirror to something like a medical examination (*kensa*) (p. 225):

When did his legs become so pathetically skinny? His ankles and knees had been soft and plump like rice buns, with cute dimples on them. For some time now his bones had been sticking out, their movements visible under the skin. . . . His buttocks had flattened out; when he sat on a hard surface it felt as if two wooden boards were knocked together. Until recently, it was not possible to make out his ribs, but now they were plainly visible under the transparent skin, a ghastly illustration of human bone structure. . . . His arms, two wooden sticks, did not look like human arms any more. They resembled two pencils dangling beside his torso (p. 226).

The male gaze in the story does not seem to be solely about mastery and phallic power. Okada has moments when he longs to regress, to step down from Oedipalized subjectivity. On the Ginza he feels fatigued and giddy; his tightly fitting western clothes, a signifier of his social status, suffocate him. He wants to cry; to ask Aguri to carry him on her back, the way Japanese mothers carry their babies. His own mother, long dead, appears in his hallucinations. In psychoanalytic terms Okada's retreat from the symbolic is emphasized by the crisis of narrative in the story. Motifs of masochism, of submission to 'woman as image'

(LaMarre 2005, p. 306) run through many of Tanizaki's stories and novels from the 1920s. In most of them, however, the self-integrity of the male gaze and subjectivity is not questioned; the masochist is in control. The significant thing about 'The Blue Flower' is that together with the fetishistic containment of woman, it also stages the disintegration of male subjectivity — and that this disintegration happens whilst walking past the show windows of Ginza and along the boutique-lined streets of Yokohama.

'The M Department Store'

Tanizaki's Aguri can be objectified and aligned with the commodity because she is denied a narrative voice. In Itō Sei's story, however, we have a female character who is an active spectator with a rich interiority. 'The M Department Store' is a collection of the stream of consciousness narration of three characters: the student Kusano Hitoshi, the actress Miwa Kiriko and Shikayama Minoru, Kiriko's partner on the stage of the Parnassus theatre. The story is divided into four sections, one narrated by Kusano, one by Shikayama and two by Kiriko. Of all three characters, Kiriko's two interior monologues take the most space. Each section begins with a bracketed explanation in the third person that reads like stage directions or notes to a film script. Here is the beginning:

The student Kusano, on his way home after picking up the Western books he has ordered from the bookshop, runs into the actress Miwa Kiriko on G—. Kiriko is married to his friend Narumi Umekichi. Kusano decides to take a walk and accompany Kiriko for some shopping. Together they join the crowds inside the M department store (p. 232).⁹

Standing at the cosmetics counter behind Kiriko, Kusano watches her fingers toy with some brightly coloured perfume bottles. His eyes wander between them, the beautiful line of Kiriko's neck, exposed by her short haircut, and the face of the sales girl with her rather prominent nose. The movement of the gaze makes radically heterogeneous things equivalent, turns them into entities of the same order: fingers, perfume bottles, a beautiful neck, a face (Nakamura 1989, p. 482). Further on we encounter similar constructions: 'Read this in a teach-yourself-French textbook. Kiriko's neck' (p. 232). 'Shawls, down-stuffed futons. Feel elated today as I am walking with Kiriko' (p. 234).

This becomes a recurrent figure in the story. Associative chains link together the abstract and the stubbornly material, objects and moods, memories and eroticized body parts, in a quintessentially modernist mode. While these associations are random, they are not free, as Franco Moretti (2005, p. 197, emphasis in original) has argued vis-à-vis Joyce's *Ulysses*: there is a driving force behind them that is external to individual consciousness: '...the stream of consciousness is eminently paratactic: the absence of internal order and of hierarchies indicates its reproduction of a form of consciousness which is subjugated to the principle of the *equivalence of commodities*.' Ito Sei's story displays a heightened awareness of the complicity between the commodity and the stream of consciousness as a literary style. The setting of the department store, with its delirious array of objects perceived by a drifting, mobile gaze, makes this complicity obvious, even literal.

But what is even more remarkable about 'The M Department Store' is that it is a tense drama of looks. It is all about the dialectic of looking and being looked at (Nakamura 1989, p. 483); about the power of the male gaze, but also about the possibilities to return it, to dismantle its dominance. Kusano's gaze on Kiriko lingers on libidinally charged body parts: her hands, her neck, and especially her legs. It is again a fragmenting, fetishistic gaze

resembling that of the film camera. But similarly to Okada in 'The Blue Flower', Kusano can direct an equally probing look at himself:

In front of them is a huge mirror. It reflects their bodies from head to toe as they climb the stairs. Kusano gazes dispassionately at their reflections. A tall youth in a student uniform with two books under his arm and next to him Kiriko in an understated green outfit. *Seen walking side by side like this, we make a handsome couple. I look good because I'm tall. This suit my uncle gave me is a bit old, but still good, I should wear it. Kiriko looks rather ordinary in such clothes, but her eyes are beautiful and her legs are so slender. Kiriko's legs. Flesh white as snow. I have seen her naked. I went to see Narumi at the Parnassus, but he wasn't there — luckily for me, it turned out. I opened the door of Kiriko's dressing room. She was naked, bending down as she was changing her clothes. She didn't look flustered, didn't cover herself. Just shook her head. 'Not now, Kusano-san'. It's true what they say, that all actresses are exhibitionists.* (p. 236)

There is something alienated, almost self-objectifying, in the gaze Kusano aims at his reflection. He refers to himself in the third person. Kusano internalizes the look of others: he and Kiriko make a handsome couple. Earlier in the story he muses that the people around them in the department store probably think they are lovers. Even here, in Kusano's interior monologue, we get a hint of Kiriko's power to withstand the gaze and hold Kusano in helpless fascination. In her own first-person narration this power renders her an active spectator, the *subject* of a curious, scrutinizing gaze. Sitting with Kusano on the roof terrace of the department store, Kiriko stares at the hustle and bustle on the street below: the show window of the A— bookshop which specializes in Western books; next to it the Q— clock store, the Y— food store, and then three or four doors down *Cannes*, which sells Western-

style ladies clothing. In front of it Kiriko's eyes find a man in smart golf clothes. 'He has a *nice* body', she thinks, 'and he dresses well' (239, emphasis in original). Watching Kusano try to light his cigarette in the wind and fail twice, Kiriko thinks he is still a *botchan*, a spoilt rich kid. At university he dabbles in literature and philosophy, but his uncle is a big shot in some steel manufacturer. Kiriko is perfectly conscious that Kusano was in love with her before she married his friend; she senses that maybe he still has childishly romantic feelings for her. He avoids her gaze when talking to her, but when she is on the stage stares intently with burning eyes. She sees him always sitting on the balcony of the theatre, but never applauding. She pretends not to notice.

Thoughts about looking conjure up in Kiriko's consciousness the eyes of Shikayama, her former partner at the Parnassus — his are the only eyes that she finds scary. 'Being seen by him is like being made to drink something bitter' (p. 246): Shikayama's gaze is experienced by her like a strong bodily sensation. He is associated with physical strength that is at once gentle and overpowering. Kiriko is not even sure if the person she glimpsed in the department store cafeteria is Shikayama, but even this quick look brings back very tactile memories of being held by him on the stage.

All three characters have moments of looking distractedly while absorbed in their thoughts, of absent-mindedly scanning rows of clothes, pot plants and perfumes, but there are also times when seeing or being seen causes powerful emotions and physical sensations, from brief voyeuristic or exhibitionistic pleasures to profound anxieties. The intensity of this drama of looks is achieved through the reversals of point of view — from Kusano to Kiriko to Shikayama and then back to Kiriko. Shikayama's eyes are scary, but Shikayama himself is a bit shaken when unexpectedly he catches sight of Kiriko and Kusano in the opposite corner of the department store cafeteria. He tries to leave unnoticed. Seeing Kiriko sets in motion

memories aching with desire. The two aborted love stories in Shikayama's life — with Haruko, his teenage sweetheart, and then with Kiriko – are stories of misread looks and gestures, of trying to reach beyond appearances, but never quite daring to speak his feelings or to act.

The cinema has a lot in common with the department store: both are places of transit, palaces for the consumption of images. Both encourage new, montage-like perceptions and a mobilized gaze, real or imaginary.¹⁰ Both embody the shifting social underpinnings of gender and the changing boundaries between public and private at a time when women walked in urban space. But the ways gendered subject positions were constructed visually on the Ginza and inside its department stores differ from the voyeuristic cinematic regime of the keyhole, where the observed is not conscious of being looked at and cannot return the gaze, what Hansen (1991, p.35) has termed 'unauthorized, isolated and unilateral scopophilia'. We are dealing with a visuality that the starkly dichotomous formulation of Mulvey (1975) — man as subject, woman as object of the look — does not fully explain. The fact that Kiriko is a theatre actress and both an exhibitionist and a voyeur and the shift of point of view from the male characters to her suggest a more *theatrical* mode of visuality in which there is a certain reciprocity, or in the words of Metz (1982, p. 94), 'an active complicity of the gaze'. Metz draws on Freud's idea of the reversal of the drive into its opposite and of a change from activity to passivity: a sadist shares in the pleasures of masochism, the same person can be an exhibitionist and a voyeur (Freud 1915).

With Itō Sei the reversals belong to a larger dynamic of inversion made possible by the spectacular urban culture. Objects, people, body parts caught up in mirrors, images, bits of writing from advertising banners and billboards: all these fragments that are so vividly present in the story not only encourage unexpected connections and montage-like

perception, but also weaken and even reverse ontological and conceptual divisions regarded as absolute: between subject and object; between the real and the artificial, the material and the virtual; between daydream and reality. Benjamin (1972 cited in Buck-Morss 1986, p. 106) wrote that in the arcades of Paris, precursors of the department store, time became 'a dream-web where the most ancient occurrences are attached to those of today'. In 'The M Department Store' as well, mundane mass-produced objects trigger deep associations and vital memories: after he has left the cafeteria in a hurry to avoid being seen by Kiriko, Shikayama strolls through the florist department. His eyes absent-mindedly take in the Latin names of the plants in alphabetical order, but then a red camellia unlocks a primal memory of Haruko, his first love, and of a night saturated with the smell of apple blossom and the voices of croaking frogs. The sensuous richness of the memory contrasts sharply with the managed ambience of the department store and the artificial flowers. Kusano too is sensitive to this controlled environment and to the mechanical quality of the Schubert melody coming from the electric gramophone. The masses, he thinks, are moved by such old-fashioned sentimentality and department store managers know that with their profit instinct (p. 234).

The interior monologues and the reversals of point of view allow the story to move beyond appearances and reveal glimpses of what is concealed by the glossy surfaces of the department store. Kusano remembers one of his professors calling department stores 'palaces for the masses':

Palaces of exploitation belonging to large-scale financial capital. The sales girls are exploited. The masses are exploited. Why? Monetary value. Small shops are being destroyed. But this sales girl doesn't have the slightest idea. There was a newspaper article that said that a certain radical faction had infiltrated department stores (p. 234).

Behind the facade there lies cynical exploitation — of both the labour and the utopian desires of the masses, desires that the department store channels skilfully into image consumption — but also radical politics. The sales girl appears to Kusano to be completely unaware of these. Unlike Kiriko she is not given a narrative voice. The sales girl is there simply to be looked at. She is very close to the commodities she sells, both physically and metonymically. Similarly to Okada in 'The Blue Flower', it is Kusano who endows the girl with some sort of inner life, with an imagination. He projects on her some mildly erotic fantasies:

Did the girl picture [me and Kiriko] walking together through the suburbs on a sunny afternoon, kissing in the shade of the trees, going to see new films at the cinema, then lying on a big bed in some hotel?...Did she imagine us standing next to the bed and taking off our clothes?...(p. 236).

The sales girl is the obverse of Kiriko's more active subjectivity and gaze, a reminder that the reversals of the patriarchal economy of the look may be only limited and temporary.

Kusano dislikes the artificiality in the appearance and manner of the sales girl, but knows that many students visit department stores every day and buy the same cheap thing just so they can talk to the girls (p. 234). The media commentator Kitazawa Hidekazu who in 1926 wrote about the sales girls in the serious intellectual journal *Kaizō* also noted how attracted the young generation was to these girls, as opposed to café waitresses. Kitazawa insisted on calling them *shoppu gāru* (rather than the plain Japanese *uriko*) because they were *haikara*, they had something Western about them. For Kitazawa the sales girls were a *visual* presence: the flowers of the metropolis, chosen by the managers for their beauty. It was their increasing numbers and *visibility* that made them a sensation. At the same time, he

was confident that the relative independence they had and the freedom to move between the household and the public domain would bring a change to their ideas and attitudes. The sales girls were a social phenomenon, an entirely new moment in women's history (Kitazawa 1925).

Traditionally shop assistants had been men, so the sight of young women serving customers and handling money was itself a novelty. The girls used their charm to sell things, but they were not explicitly sexualized figures like the café waitresses. If the café waitress belonged to an established lineage of women who poured drinks and sold not sex, but what Silverberg (2006, p. 80) calls 'eroticized social intercourse', the sales girls were decidedly modern. They were more accessible than film actresses or dancers from Asakusa revues. Shop girls were trained to behave in a meek and caring manner, to conform to traditional femininity, but were not confined to domesticity — they inhabited the space of light-filled modern buildings (Tamari 2000, pp. 76–77). It was perhaps this ambiguity, this in-betweenness that made them objects of fantasy and projection: they were tinged with the allure of the commodity, but did not sell sex; they were both demure and modern; there was something glamorous about them, but they were also somehow attainable.

'Seven Floors of Exercise'

In Yokomitsu Riichi's story the deferential, fantasized shop girl takes centre stage as a rebel against both capital and patriarchy. The story uses the architecture of the department store and the rhythmical sequence of its spaces as a structuring device. From the very first paragraph we are confronted by a bold montage of temporal and logical leaps, staccato sentences and unexpected metaphors:

Today is the continuation of yesterday. The lift still has a bad case of vomiting. A woman jumps into the chocolates. Another dives beneath the socks. High-necked dresses and opera bags. The shop girl who raises her head above a hedge of parasols is Noriko. Mirrors inside compact powder boxes. A column of hats next to the soaps. Down pillows around a forest of walking sticks (p. 447).¹¹

This is a style very different from Zola's naturalism in *The Ladies Paradise* which, in the words of Rita Felsky (1995, p. 67), 'enacts the very commodity fetishism it seeks to describe' by its exhaustive enumeration of the multiplicity of consumer objects and the taxonomic descriptions of their types, colours and styles. Yokomitsu himself plays with similar form in *Tokyo Allegro*, organizing his impressions of the three Ginza department stores in matter-of-fact lists resembling a stock inventory, with headings such as 'distinguishing features' and 'weaknesses' (Yokomitsu *et al.* 1927, pp. 132–133). Here, however, the style is more expressionist than naturalistic: the department store 'comes to the boil' towards noon, 'in tune with the march of the banknotes' (p. 448). The critic Kannō Akimasa (quoted in Nakagawa 2005, p. 27n13) has stressed the visual nature of these descriptions, the quickly moving gaze that defamiliarizes the mundane layout of sales counters and the everyday consumer goods displayed there. Indeed, Yokomitsu's bizarre juxtapositions have the effect of making the inanimate organic and vice versa, subjecting everything to the equalizing logic of the commodity and destabilizing the boundaries between life and matter; a motif that we already encountered in Tanizaki and Itō Sei. The passage above has the women as impulsive and irrational, overwhelmed by the oceanic mass of commodities.

This direct, presentational nature of the writing makes it difficult to summarize this short work. It consists mostly of dialogue interspersed with expressionistic detail. Unlike the other two stories here we have a third-person non-focalized objective narration that eschews

interiority. The shop girls on every floor are captured in a single eccentric image: Keiko, in self-abandon inside the mountain of perfume bottles; the delicate Momoko like a label amongst the other stationery. The girls are revealed in their utterances: we do get a sense of the boredom and the fatigue, of their desire to meet a marriageable man and quit the job, or even seduce the son of the department store owner. The only exception is Noriko: her looks are not mentioned at all and her words do not reveal her. Noriko's motivations remain opaque throughout of the story.

Kuji, the playboy son of the owner, climbs the seven floors of the department store every day — this is his exercise, he says — and stands beside the counters, not to sell things and earn a living but to 'taste' (*nameru*) each girl and create his 'eternal woman' (p. 448–449). She is a composite of them all:

Keiko will be the torso and Noriko the head. As for the shoulders, the arms and the legs, they move between the blankets and the desks on the seventh floor: Yōko, Toriko, Funako, Momoko, Utsuko. . . Utsuko: the right thigh of the eternal woman (p. 449).

Kuji stops in front of the counters on every floor to flirt with each girl. He thrusts some banknotes into the *obi* of their kimonos when he leaves. Kuji always has the upper hand in these verbal exchanges. His exercise proceeds smoothly until he reaches Noriko, the head of his eternal woman. Kuji loses some of his self-control when he is with Noriko: 'the world topples over, fresh and new' (p. 455). She goes along with his flirting, but never yields to his seductions. Kuji's gifts for psychological manipulation desert him; he is like a gambling addict on a losing streak and she is like a strong drink (p. 452). He endures everything from teasing to outright humiliation:

'Why are you giving me this money?'

'Because I know there's no chance you will accept it.'

'I'll take it then. You are a fool, though.'

'No, you are simply smarter than me... Come on, be the only person who plays against the rules of the department store.'

'Is that why I get this money?'

'No, this is your pay for making fun of money.'

'I'm making fun of *you* giving me money....When you do this, you suddenly turn into a bunch of banknotes.'

'Are you saying you don't see me as human?'

'You're like some technical device that measures how much human instincts can be aroused by money. How do I fare in your research?' (p. 452–453)

Noriko threatens that she will scatter the money from the seventh floor, so that everybody working in the department store can help themselves. 'If you are not careful, you will end up becoming a socialist', Kuji warns her. 'I am a worker at your store. I am the one who wants to say, "Workers of all countries, unite"', she responds (p. 453).

After this exchange the narrative 'cuts' to a car speeding along the streets. Kuji and Noriko are going to a hotel. For a few moments, the story feels like one of the Hollywood screwball comedies that were so popular at the time, in which the spirited heroine makes a dissolute but attractive man forget his ways and fall in love with her. On the hotel terrace, Noriko tries to drag Kuji into a dance; he refuses and she whirls around the room on her own. When she shares her urge to do a handstand on the railings, Kuji calls her a barbarian. Noriko responds

that she likes barbarians and mocks Kuji that like all so-called civilized people, his ideas about sophistication extend only to appearances. Indifferent to clothes, she would rather dance naked. After some more verbal sparring, Noriko leaves the hotel room, refusing Kuji's advances and his rather reluctant offer of marriage.

The last paragraph of the story follows the first, with a crucial difference:

Today is the continuation of yesterday. The elevator still has a bad case of vomiting. A woman smells the opera bags. Another woman dives into the compact powders. *Décolleté* gowns with trains and long high-necked dresses. From early morning Noriko is amongst the hedge of parasols, plumping the down-filled pillows. . . . During the break, Kuji climbs seven floors to contemplate the arms and the legs of his headless eternal woman (p. 459).

This repetitiveness holds in tension the linear thrust of narrative. Not much has changed since the beginning. Kuji mocks Noriko about her love of barbarians, saying that she does not know evolution, but she hurls his words back at him – Kuji is indeed the one who has not evolved.

While the story intentionally avoids the visual (no descriptions of the appearance of the girls, no references to looking), what structures the narrative *is* a form of hegemonic visuality: namely, Kuji's movements up and down the floors of the department store, sizing up and tasting the shop girls as elements of his composite eternal woman. His quest fits into a long tradition of aestheticization that freezes a living, breathing woman into a surface image, a strategy very similar to Okada's fetishistic defence in 'The Blue Flower'. Yamoto Koji (1997,

pp. 39–40) has traced references to the eternal woman in the cultural discourse contemporaneous with Yokomitsu's story: in an Akutagawa essay that associates her with the holy virgin in Goethe's *Faust* and in an article by the critic Masamune Hakuchō in which the eternal woman is related to Dante's Beatrice. Both figures represent gentle, submissive femininity. Against Kuji's bloodless ideal, the story emphasizes the harsh physical reality the girls live: crushed in the early morning trains, on their feet for hours on end, sweating in the summer heat.

What is new and decidedly modernist about Kuji's eternal woman is that she is a composite of body parts. This is again the dynamic of the fetish which we encountered in Itō Sei's 'The M Department Store' and which plays such a prominent role in Tanizaki's 'The Blue Flower'. Here the symbolic dismemberment of the female body, the mechanism of the fetish so common in advertisements and cinematic close-ups, is taken to an extreme, literalized and parodied. There is something so exaggerated, almost comic, about this set up that it acquires a certain reflexivity: it has the effect of denaturing the gaze that sees woman as a sum of objectified body parts. If in Tanizaki the Freudian fetish is associated with consumer spectacle, in Yokomitsu's story it is even more closely related to the Marxist idea of the fetishism of the commodity. Both Marx and Freud build on the residual meaning the term has in anthropology: an inanimate object believed to possess magical powers. The Marxian and the Freudian fetish both work visually and imply some sort of obfuscation, a screen of fantasy concealing reality. They are united by a logic of displacement and disavowal. For Marx, when a simple man-made object is connected with money, the universal form of exchange, its use value and the labour of the worker that has gone into it are obscured and instead the monetary value appears as inherent to it. When the product becomes a commodity, it 'transcends sensuousness' (Marx 1976, p. 163) to become only appearance. In the department store, this dynamic is even more heightened. Ordinary objects can be

separated from the banality of the everyday when they are arranged in new juxtapositions, displayed in glass cases and lit up (Bowlby 1985, p. 2). Their sensuous presence is diminished, they are made to approximate images. Similarly, in Yokomitsu's story the women's bodies are not only symbolically fragmented; their materiality is purified into the visually pleasing abstraction of Kuji's eternal woman.

The traffic of desire is shown to follow the same circuits as the commodity, what Kuji calls the rules of the department store. All girls except Noriko can be bought. They are fixed into the logic of circulation and exchange just like they are bound to their sales counter. They are caught up in the metonymic movement of small differences, their autonomy is eroded. By rejecting Kuji and his gifts of money, Noriko manages to suspend the rhythmical circulation of money and women, to be *outside* it. Noriko is emphatically associated with movement: if she stands still, she says, she will turn into grass. The paintings of 'barbarians' on the walls in the hotel room make her want to fly, her body 'swells like the wind' (p. 457). Barbarianness stands for a more authentic, embodied existence. There is more to Noriko's desire to dance naked and do handstands than simply a childish impulse. Read in larger terms, it can be a utopian attempt to transcend the alienation of both body and subjectivity. It can give back materiality and agency to a body which capitalism constantly threatens to deterritorialize. It can restore density and multiple sensuousness to a *female* body that is too often reduced to a play of surfaces. Woman-as-image can be easily objectified if she does not possess an embodied voice. It is deeply meaningful that in the story Noriko's agency is expressed through her *body* and through her *voice*. Noriko controls the verbal confrontations with Kuji; she prevails by her words. It is the power of the voice that counters the domination of the visual and subverts Kuji's fetishistic project.

Conclusion

Okada's delirious linkages of memories and daydreams, the interior monologues and shifts of point of view of Itō Sei's story, Yokomitsu's fragmented cinematic style and startling metaphors: all three stories are resolutely modernist in their formal experimentation. The spectacular urban culture validated such radically new perceptual and formal structures; judging from the comments of Yokomitsu's fellow new sensationists Iketani and Teppei in 'Tokyo Allegro', writers were conscious of that.

The new visual experiences of urban flâneuring around the Ginza and its department stores — the look that was captivated by commodities; the absent-minded, disinterested gaze; the heightened awareness of seeing and being seen — made possible subject positions different from those sanctioned by the state. The stories of Tanizaki and Itō Sei reveal a male subjectivity that could not be further away from the ideals of masculinity laid down by imperial ideology: less assured of its self-identity and mastery; no stranger to experiences of objectification that can even be pleasurable. The masochism of Okada and similar Tanizaki protagonists is fraught with contradictions, but it still represents a relinquishing of traditional patriarchal authority.

The spaces of urban spectacle provided possibilities for disruption of the gendered economy of vision. At the same time, conservative discourses moved in to reassert the beauty of being a wife and mother; as Elise Tipton writes (2007, p. 136), the construction of the women visible in the public domain as either sexualized workers or passive consumers had begun. What is remarkable about these three stories is that they project on the department store (and on visual consumer cultures in general) certain emancipatory possibilities, however limited. We get flashes of a female identity not associated with consumption or eroticized

social interaction; glimpses of woman as an active spectator and subject, autonomous and even politically conscious.

Notes

¹ See the collective editorial statement in the inaugural issue of *Bungei jidai* (October 1924) in Kawabata, Y., et al., (1973).

² On the complex politics of post-earthquake reconstruction see Schencking (2013).

³ This argument is developed in Yoshimi (2008, pp. 253–266).

⁴ The most notable studies of Japanese department stores are Hatsuda (1990), Tamari (2000, 2006), Tipton (2012), Yoshimi (1996) and Young (1999).

⁵ In *Capital*, Marx writes that

The commodity form, and the value relation of the products of labour within which it appears, have absolutely no connection with the physical nature of the commodity and the material relations arising from this. It is nothing but a definite social relation between men themselves which assumes here, for them, the phantasmagoric form of a relation between things (Marx 1976, p. 165).

For Adorno (1981, p. 84) phantasmagoria is ‘the occultation of production by means of the outward appearance of the product’.

⁶ Studies of modernity and visibility are too numerous to be exhaustively named here. My summary draws on Lowe (1982), Jay (1988) and Lamarre (2012).

⁷ Page numbers in the text refer to Tanizaki (1981). All translations from the Japanese are mine unless otherwise indicated. An English translation of the story has been published as ‘Aguri’ (Tanizaki 1963). I keep the original title because of its reference to the ‘*blaue Blume*’, the metaphysical object of desire of German romanticism. It is an ironic, almost tongue-in-cheek choice for a story of very *physical* pleasures and pains. For Miyoshi (1991, p.31) the title is an oblique comment on the solipsistic perceptions of the protagonist.

⁸ *Amur adonis* or *fukujusō* in Japanese (literally ‘a grass of good fortune and longevity’), a plant from the buttercup family native to East Asia, is a traditional New Year’s gift in Japan.

⁹ Page numbers in the text refer to Itō (1989). An English translation can be found in Itō (2005).

¹⁰ See Bruno (1997) for a beautifully articulated argument about the spatio-kinetics of film, which proposes the viewer as voyeur, rather than voyeur. For Bruno moving images that have to do with inhabiting and traversing space cannot be explained with theories of the (static) eye only.

¹¹ Page numbers in the text refer to Yokomitsu (1981).

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