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Modernization in Japanese Fashion and the Influence of Fashion Magazines in 1930s Japan: Focusing on the Case of *Fashion*

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Abstract

In the 1930s when contemporaneity was rapidly being realized all over the world, Japanese fashion experienced a dramatic change under the strong influence of Western fashion culture. This paper examines the modernization/Westernization of Japanese fashion and the role that fashion magazines had played in it. By analyzing the articles in *Fashion*, the first monthly fashion magazine in Japan, this study delineates what modern Japanese fashion aspired to and the issues it had to address. In the 1930s, a transition period from kimonos to the Western clothes, Japanese women had conflicted feelings about wearing Western clothes, thus *Fashion* encouraged them through articles which suggested easy ways to adopt Western clothes while publicizing the ideal body image as suitable for Western clothes. In addition, by considering the influences of fashion magazines on Japanese women in the context of a novel by Jun'ichirō Tanizaki, *The Makioka Sisters*, this study also examines the paradoxical effects of the new body image imposed on Japanese women, that the author depicted through the female character of this novel.

Keywords: Fashion, modernization, *Vogue*, Japanese literature, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō

The aim of this paper

The strong influence of fashion magazines on the perception of the body and fashion is today, widely recognized. In Japan, it was in the 1930s when

Japanese fashion experienced a dramatic change from the kimono, Japan's indigenous garb, to Western clothes. In Western countries, the epochal change in women's fashion had already been happening at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the late nineteenth century, it was in relation to the debate about the harmful effects of the corset, that controversy concerning the liberation of women's bodies arose. Consequently, in the first decade of the twentieth century, designers such as Paul Poiret started to create designs which allowed women to be free from constrictive garments and these fashions were shared through major ladies' journals. Although the modernization of fashion in Japan began in the 1870s for bureaucrats and uniformed people, when it came to the ordinary people, especially women, their style of dress had not changed significantly before the 1930s. This paper provides an example of the modernization in Japanese fashion, and the influence that fashion magazines had on it, by analyzing the case of *Fashion*, the first monthly fashion magazine in Japan.¹

Fashion was first published in 1933 in the Western region of Japan, Hanshinkan. The middle-class women who lived in Hanshinkan, in fact, led a privileged and prosperous life and major ladies' journals featured it so often that their glamorous images were circulated nationally. *Fashion* played the essential role of representing such women. Their life was demonstrated not only in *Fashion*, but also in the novel *The Makioka Sisters* (*Sasameyuki*), written in the period of World War II and published in the years following the war. Jun'ichirō Tanizaki vividly depicted the lifestyle and fashion of middle-class women who lived in Hanshinkan in the period 1936 - 1941.² Izumi Ishino pointed out that, in *Fashion*, "almost all the social events and mode of life"³ which are depicted in *The Makioka Sisters* could be seen. *Fashion* is thus valuable as archival material, too. However,

1 Although there was a phenomenon which could be called 'modernization' in the design of kimono, for example, adopting Western motifs such as Western flowers or geometrics inspired by Western art movements, this paper focuses on an acceptance of Western fashion and 'modernization' simply means 'Westernization' in this paper.

2 *The Makioka Sisters* was first published in *Chūōkōron* of January 1943 and March 1943, however, it was forced to give up continuing serialization by the wartime review activity. Having been printed as manuscript in July 1944, after the war, the first volume was published in June 1946 and the middle volume was published in February 1947. The last volume was serialized in *Fujin Kōron* from March 1947 to October 1948.

3 Ishino, 2002.

no great attention has been paid to this magazine until today and the articles have not been, so far, thoroughly examined.

Nestled between of Osaka and Kobe, Hanshinkan was geographically appropriate for residential land development. Having Mount Rokkō in the background, it provides a varied view of the ocean as well as the mountains, and also enjoys mild weather and a rich natural environment. It was the opening of the Hankyu Electric Railway in 1920 and the Hanshin Electric Railway in 1905 that connected these two big cities and largely helped Hanshinkan improve its quality of life. Since the Hankyu Electric Railway aspired to develop cultural richness in the area along the railway line, Hanshinkan grew to offer extensive educational facilities and consequently attracted more people as a newly inhabited area. The bourgeois, such as families of wealthy merchants in Osaka, moved by preference into Hanshinkan. After Tokyo was devastated by the Great Kanto earthquake in 1923, intellectuals in Kanto, the capital city and surrounding areas in Japan, including Tanizaki himself, also moved into this area. It brought more cultural maturity to Hanshinkan. Moreover, the area is close to the Kobe Port which served as a gateway into Japan and thus was exposed to the inflow of Western culture. As a consequence, in Hanshinkan, from the end of the Meiji Era to the Showa Era, based on the fusion of traditional cultures and Western cultures, the unique and prosperous culture led by the middle-class, called "Hanshinkan Modernism," bloomed. *Fashion* was born from this background.

Fashion was enthusiastic about introducing Western manners and trends and therefore led the modernization of women's fashion in Hanshinkan. It shares a lot of articles about Western clothes which were incorporated mainly from Western fashion magazines. In every issue, this included a number of images, which were excerpted from Western fashion magazines, with Japanese captions that introduced Western fashion trends; however, their original sources were almost never indicated. Editors added their own captions written for Japanese readers while referring to the descriptions of the original articles. In this paper, identifying its sources and analyzing the differences between the captions of the same articles in both magazines helps us understand what modern Japanese

fashion aspired to and what kind of issues it had to address. In addition, by considering the influences of fashion magazines in the context of *The Makioka Sisters*, this paper also examines what Tanizaki tried to express through the female figure of Yukiko, the main character of this novel.

What Fashion aspired to

Fashion was published for a very short period, from December 1933 to August 1939, by the female editor-in-chief, Akiko Shibayama, in a publishing company, "Fashion Co."⁴ Its authors include the personalities of the day such as Chiyo Tanaka, Masako Shirasu and Chōken Maruo.⁵ Each issue has approximately 35 to 50 pages and articles using extracts from foreign magazines account for about 5 to 10 pages. According to its "Editor's Note," *Fashion* was being sold at book shops in the terminal of the Hankyu Electric Railway or the Hanshin Electric Railway and department stores at the price of 35 sen per copy.⁶ At the height of its prosperity, the publisher of *Fashion* had local offices or sales offices in big cities such as Osaka and Kobe in Hanshinkan and broadened its market across the country.⁷

In the magazine, the editor-in-chief Shibayama intended to introduce and spread the style of Western clothes, which were largely believed to be alien in Japan in the 1930s. At the same time, she intended to create new trends for Western clothes in Japan. The following excerpt from Shibayama's "Editor's Note" demonstrates her vigorous determination:

From now on, we are planning to introduce you to something suitable for Japanese people and so on from foreign fashion magazines energetically. While at the same time, we also would like to research Japanese traditional manners in order to find out something nice and applicable to modern fashion. Then, we are thinking that we want to work together with you readers to make them popular.⁸

4 Katsu Shibayama worked under her pseudonym, Akiko Shibayama. The publishing company, Fashion Co., was based in Ashiya, the center of Hanshinkan.

5 A prominent fashion designer Chiyo Tanaka contributed "Wearing Western Dresses and Manners" in June 1936. An essayist Masako Shirasu contributed "Praise for Noh Plays" in January 1936. The writer and producer Chōken Maruo contributed "À la les Ailes" in January 1936.

6 "Editor's Note", *Fashion* (March 1936). 35 sen is approximately equal to 2.3 US dollar in 2020.

7 "Editor's Note", *Fashion* (July 1936).

8 "Editor's Note", *Fashion* (January 1934).

Fashion also organized the “Fashion Club” which included as its members prominent figures such as the wives and daughters from wealthy families based in Hanshinkan and actively accelerated interaction among readers by organizing events such as round-table talks or movie watching parties.⁹

We believe that the trends in Kansai should be created in Kansai and by the members of Fashion Club. [...] From now on, *Fashion*, with support from you readers, will try to guide trends for department stores and specialized shops. This is an aim and a mission of this club.¹⁰

The members of the “Fashion Club” were positioned not only as ideal figures for readers but also the main characters of the world of *Fashion*. Comparing *Fashion* with another Japanese fashion magazine, *Style*, which was first published a few years later than *Fashion* in Tokyo, accentuates those differences and helps us understand the particularity of *Fashion*.¹¹ *Style* mainly features Hollywood actresses and Japanese popular actresses such as Takako Irie, as well as geishas in its gravure picture pages, with small numbers of socialites such as wives from wealthy families. As is the case in Western countries such as Britain where the royals and figures in show business were the style icons, in *Style*, people who were out of public reach were introduced as models. On the other hand, in *Fashion*, famous wives and daughters living in Hanshinkan were the main subjects in their gravure picture pages, which means that *Fashion* believed the fashion icon for this magazine should be ordinary people who were accessible to general readers. In fact, geishas have never been in the pages of *Fashion*. It is obvious that *Fashion* makes a clear boundary between women in Hanshinkan and those who were engaged in the industry geared towards men; on the contrary, it reveals some sort of self-pride in seeing themselves as the priv-

9 Monthly membership fees cost 1 yen which is approximately equal to 6.4 US dollar in 2020. In 1935, average workers’ household monthly income was 91 yen and a monthly subscription fee for a major newspaper was 1 yen.

10 “Fashion Club: Round-Table Talk about Trend”, *Fashion* (July 1934). “Kansai” means the area including Osaka, Kyoto and the surrounding prefectures in Western Japan. Hanshinkan is included in Kansai.

11 *Style* is a fashion magazine published in June 1936 by a female author and a kimono designer, Chiyo Uno. It is often mistaken as a first monthly fashion magazine in Japan.

ileged and well-bred. In addition, comments such as “the trends in Kansai should be created in Kansai and by the members of Fashion Club” seen in the citation above also show a rivalry with the capital city, Tokyo.¹² As the privileged in Hanshinkan, they did not want to support the situation whereby every woman in Japan simply chases after the trends in Tokyo.

Thus, *Fashion* shows a strong enthusiasm for women themselves as central players in terms of fashion, who are eager to play a role as promoters of trends from Hanshinkan, working hand in hand with its readers. Such a character of this magazine was partly due to the fact that the readership of *Fashion* consisted of women who were backed with wealth, in other words, “ladies-who-lunch”, whose husbands or parents were affluent.¹³ In Hanshinkan at the time, there were many women like them. They could spend their time and money searching for trends, and developing interactions between women, since they did not need to work for a livelihood. One of the particularities of *Fashion* is attributed to the wealthy readership in Hanshinkan.

The import of Western fashion magazines before World War II

The contribution of Western fashion magazines to the modernization of Japanese fashion culture is unquestionably large. The import and acceptance of foreign fashion magazines in Japan, however, have not been thoroughly investigated so far. This is partly because many of the major book stores' records were devastated by World War II and sales records of the foreign fashion magazines such as *Vogue*, a major American fashion magazine, could hardly survive.

Before World War II, foreign books were imported to Japan mainly through the Japan Book Importers Association. In terms of import figures of the day, Britain and the USA ran second and third behind Germany, and imports from these three countries account for 90% of the total amount.¹⁴ The import figure from the USA, where *Vogue* was published, accounted for approximately 25%. With regard to the domestic market,

12 “Fashion Club: Round-Table Talk about Trend”, *op.cit.*

13 *Fashion* was supported by members of groups consist of prominent women in Hanshinkan such as ‘Nanoriso Kai’ or ‘Shōyō Kai’ (Horie, 1997, pp. 126-130.).

14 *Yōsho Yunyū Kyōkai Kaihō* (“Newsletter from Japan Book Importers Association”), vol.19, no.12, (December 1985). All the statistical information in this section is from the same source.

Maruzen, one of the biggest book stores in Japan today, held 80% of the market share in selling foreign books, followed by Nankodo and the Foreign Books Department of Mitsukoshi department store. Thus, *Vogue* was possibly being sold in Maruzen or Mitsukoshi in those days while Nankodo mainly dealt with medical publications.

Moreover, it is also possible that *Vogue* was imported to Japan through private imports. Back in those days, the Foreign Books Department in Mitsukoshi acted on behalf of individuals for imports of foreign books and it took six to eight weeks for them to be delivered.¹⁵ A column in *Fashion* shares a comment about anticipation for making the same dress featured in *Vogue* from a “trend worshiper”: “Well, I can’t wait for *Vogue* to be delivered. I will make a copy of the most outstanding model in it”¹⁶, testifying that individuals could have access to *Vogue* in Japan at that point.

How *Vogue* was accepted in *Fashion*

In Tanizaki’s works, *Vogue* is described as a favorite magazine for ‘modern girls.’¹⁷ The following is a quote from *Naomi (Chijin no Ai)*, a novel written by Tanizaki in 1924 depicting a man who descends into masochistic joy brought by his young ‘flapper’ girlfriend, Naomi.¹⁸

She [Naomi] also reads magazines like *Classic* and *Vogue*. Actually, she doesn’t read them; she studies the photographs of Western designs and fashions.¹⁹

Similarly, in *The Makioka Sisters*, Taeko—the youngest of the four sisters who follows the latest Western styles and hopes to study in France to be a full-fledged dressmaker—also reads *Vogue*.

¹⁵ *Mitsukoshi*, (September 1931).

¹⁶ Anon, “Random Thoughts about Fashion: In Respect of Trends,” *Fashion*, New Year Issue, (December 1936).

¹⁷ This paper only deals with the American version of *Vogue* which was first published in December 1892 by Arthur Baldwin Turnure, followed by the publication of French and British versions. It is being published in many other countries around the world today.

¹⁸ *Naomi* was serialized in *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* from March 20th to June 14th, 1924. After several months interval, the serialization started again in *Josei* from November 1924 to July 1925.

¹⁹ Tanizaki, *Naomi*, p. 247. *Classic* means *Motion Picture Classic* which was published in the USA by Brewster Publications Inc. from 1915 to 1931. From September 1922 to January 1924, it was being published under the name of *Classic*.

Long interested in Western clothes, she knew how to use a sewing machine. She made her own clothes, and clothes for Sachiko and Etsuko too, from models in such foreign magazines as *Jardin des Modes* and *Vogue*.²⁰

Thus, *Vogue* worked like a canon for Japanese 'modern girls' in those days.

As mentioned above, *Fashion* largely seems to emulate Western fashion magazines including *Vogue*. Probably based on the contents of Western fashion magazines, *Fashion* also features articles concerning interior decoration and seasonal events such as Christmas, in addition to the ones related to fashion trends.²¹ It copied not only the concept, but also the articles themselves a lot; however, almost all of those articles were unsourced.²² Some of the images used in *Fashion* have been identified as having been taken from *Vogue*. There are, so far, 11 articles which have been identified as extracts from *Vogue*, out of many other articles which were also obviously based on ones copied from foreign magazines. [fig. 1] In *Fashion*, images from *Vogue* were occasionally used without any changes and occasionally with edits and processing. Moreover, the Japanese captions added to the images had certain tendencies.

Fusion of Japanese and Western styles

The first characteristic of the Japanese captions added to the images is the idea of wearing Western accessories while wearing kimonos. It can be seen, for example, in the article of September 1934 that introduces a handbag. It is based on the *Vogue's* article of February 15th, 1934 saying "The smart new suede diadem bag has a decorative metal frame."²³ The following is a quote from *Fashion's* article corresponding to this.

20 Tanizaki, *The Makioka Sisters*, Book Two, p. 157. Hikaru Hosoe pointed out that *Jardin des Modes* meant *Cahiers du Jardin des Modes* published in France ('Apparatus Criticus', *Sasameyuki*, Middle Volume, 1955).

21 *Vogue* often features pictures and illustrations of smoking women. It sometimes shares articles about childcare as well. Although *Fashion* introduces children's clothes, it never refers to topics related to smoking and childcare.

22 In the article in *Fashion*, "One Corner of Mode Which Cannot be Overlooked" (April 1936) refers to its source as *Vogue*. Another untitled article in *Fashion* (September 1934) indicates that the illustrations were extracted from the *Vogue* issue of July, though actually it was from the June 1st issue. Apart from these two articles, all of them are unsourced.

23 "Gloves, Bags, Shoes", *Vogue*, February 15th, 1934, p. 64-65.

Next is a simple suede one[*bag*] with metal decorations. Both are for afternoon dresses, but they also look nice with kimonos. [...] It seems that these days, ladies have almost the same types of handbags and wear gloves regardless of whether they are wearing kimonos or Western dresses.²⁴

Fashion often suggests similar ideas of wearing Western accessories such as bags and gloves together with kimonos. Even if women were diffident about wearing Western dresses, it was possibly easier for them to adopt the idea of wearing Western accessories. In addition, *Fashion* seems to have intended to create a new trend in the style of traditional kimonos by adopting Western things.

Conflicted feelings about wearing Western clothes

The second characteristic of the Japanese captions added to the images is the attention to the conflicted feelings of women toward wearing Western clothes. An example of this characteristic can be seen in the article of June 1936 featuring dresses with matching jackets called ensemble. "But one thing they [the four costumes in these pages] all have in common is versatility— by taking off their jackets or capes, you open up new worlds for them to conquer"²⁵ is an original caption from *Vogue* of April 1st, 1936. The following is the quote from *Fashion* corresponding to this.

Ensembles are very useful. Frankly speaking, they are the kinds of clothes which work as a shelter for you. Have you ever felt somehow insecure or vulnerable, in other words, like you have no way out when you go out only in a Western dress? If you wear a jacket or a bolero of sorts on it, you can feel really relieved or confident. This is the advantage of ensembles. And whenever you can take off outer garments if needed, then dressy dresses will emerge. They could not be more suitable for the taste of the urban citizen.²⁶

Vogue emphasizes the versatility of the ensemble, where one can give different impressions when one wears jackets or boleros and when one

24 "Utilizing the Individual Characteristics", *Fashion*, September 1934, p. 6.

25 "Vogue's Finds of the Fortnight", *Vogue*, April 1st, 1936.

26 "Fashion of June: Prints and Ensembles", *Fashion*, June 1936, pp. 14-15.

takes them off. In contrast, *Fashion* states that people can feel safe when they wear them by covering Western dresses underneath. This is because wearing Western clothes was not so common among women in those days in Japan and they thus tended to feel shy about going out in Western clothes. Indeed, in 1933, 81% of women wore kimonos and only 19% wore Western clothes on the streets of Tokyo.²⁷ Even in 1939, in Osaka, the second biggest city in Japan, only one third of working women wore Western clothes and people tended to give women dressed in Western clothes a rather weird look.²⁸ Under such circumstances, *Fashion* hoped for women to feel free and enjoy wearing Western clothes, and intended to encourage women to wear them when going out.

New and ideal body image: bodies suitable for wearing Western clothes

The third characteristic of the Japanese captions added to the images is the new body view imposed on Japanese women who were thought to be short and thin in comparison to Western women. A caption from *Vogue* of October 1st, 1936 only shares the description of the design of the dress: “In the sporting mode— two-piece dress in Rabbit’s-hair Woolen with contrasting Suede trim! The skirt flares smartly— hipline smoothness is preserved by the Talon-fastened placket closure.”²⁹ However, *Fashion* added the perspective about how this style of dressing related to the Japanese body type.

This month, we show you the collection which consists only of models that are suitable for Japanese bodies. You will look great in these dresses regardless of how small in stature you are. [...] This is a slightly fancy two-piece dress. However, it is not too outrageous for Japanese to wear. The collar is made of suede. It is suitable for a stylish, happy and sweet lady.³⁰

This perspective on the relationship between the Japanese body and

27 According to the survey conducted on February 25th, 1933 in Ginza, Tokyo (*Tokyo Shūhō*, March 5th, 1933).

28 ‘Round Table Talk’, *Fujin no Tomo*, October, 1939, pp. 96-107.

29 “Advertisement page”, *Vogue*, October 1st, 1936. Talon is an American company manufacturing zip fasteners.

30 “Fashion of This Month”, *Fashion*, December 1936.

Western clothes also can be seen in the following quotes from an article introducing different styles of fur coats. A description about the design of the straight silhouetted coat in *Vogue* as “STRAIGHT: The advantage of straight lines lies in their casualness”³¹ is introduced with a comment about the stature of Japanese women in *Fashion* as follows: “Straight Line Type: Trendy Straight Line type, as we say, is especially important for short people like us.”³² Another description about the coat with a fitted silhouette in *Vogue* reads: “FITTED: Anything so flattering and so right for formal town wear as the slightly fitted long coat is bound to last,”³³ *Fashion* also refers to the body shape in relation to the silhouette of the coat: “Body Line Type: Although this name is a little strange, it is quite simply the natural line type that fits the body line perfectly. [...] It is the most appropriate for afternoon dresses.”³⁴ These descriptions in articles in *Fashion* appear to be intended to introduce mainly clothes suitable for the Japanese body type or for those that made the figures of Japanese women look better. At the same time, however, these descriptions thinly veil what the ‘ideal body’ is supposed to be. The ‘ideal body’ for Japanese women to achieve is healthy, curvy, and suitable for Western clothes; in other words, the ‘modernized body’.

The terms “Straight Line Type” and “Body Line Type” in the Japanese captions were possibly derived from the word ‘streamline.’³⁵ In the modernism movement, the ‘streamline’ was the typical style that dominated the world in 1930s following the emergence of the style of Art Deco design.³⁶ Also in Japan around 1935, streamline design became a craze not only in fashion but also in various fields such as furniture, home electronic appliances or vehicles.³⁷ The article below, “Let’s get the streamlined body” in *Fashion*, most clearly demonstrates the idea of the ‘ideal body’:

31 “Fur Silhouettes”, *Vogue*, August 1st, 1934.

32 “Fur: Coats in Mode: Special Selection by Fashion Co.”, *Fashion*, November 1934, pp. 10-11.

33 “Fur Silhouettes”, *Vogue*, August 1st, 1934.

34 “Fur: Coats in Mode: Special Selection by Fashion Co.”, *Fashion*, November 1934, pp. 10-11.

35 “Straight Line Type” became a prevailing word in those days. According to the *Enlarged and Revised Edition of New Words Dictionary*, the term “Body Line” has already existed in 1925, so the usage of “Body Line Type” seems to be created by editors of *Fashion*.

36 See also, *Modernism: Designing a New World*. Ed. Christopher Wilk, V&A Publications, 2006.

37 Shinya Hashizume, *Modernism’s Japan* (Modanuzumu no Nippon), Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2006, pp. 72-75, p. 141, pp.148-151.

A streamline era has come. Streamline, streamline. Cars, buildings, kimonos and Western clothes are all getting the streamline. Then how can our bodies be only left behind? [...] We absolutely have to obtain streamlined bodies for absorbing modernity, for beauty, and for our own health. [...] Please stand up and sit down in the right way. This will give you a decent streamlined body as a woman in the new era.³⁸

This article includes images of a Western woman in a swimsuit. It implies that her body was the one to which Japanese women had to aspire. In addition to the prevailing idea that people must exercise at that time, media, including fashion magazines such as *Vogue*, also spread the ideology concerning an ideal body worldwide.³⁹

The following is a quote from “Editor’s Note” in *Fashion* expressing an apology for not using Japanese women as models in the magazine.

Hopefully, we believe that it is not until we show you how Western clothes look on the Japanese stature and features, through pictures of Japanese people wearing them in the magazine, that we fulfil our real role. While we know that this is ideal, it is difficult to achieve. We are currently in the middle of a transition period for adopting Western clothing, so we are glad if you just know that we constantly face difficulties in this respect.⁴⁰

This implies that editors of *Fashion* did not use Japanese models wearing Western clothes in the pages featuring Western fashion trends because they believed Japanese women did not have the bodies suitable for Western clothes yet, and that Japanese models would not look as good as Western models in the original Western magazines.⁴¹ Although *Fashion* tried to import Western fashion that fit Japanese women, they could not be free from the ideology of the ‘ideal body’ at the same time.

38 “Let’s Get the Streamlined Body”, *Fashion*, September 1935, pp. 16-17.

39 See also, Katsumi Hara, *Beauty and the machine: discourse analysis of the healthy beauty in mass society*, Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2010.

40 “The Preserve of an Editor”, *Fashion*, no. 4, 1934.

41 Japanese women who lived in Hanshinkan were featured in gravure picture pages introducing their personalities.

The woman figure of Yukiko and a new body view for women in 1930s Japan

Tanizaki described the bodies of women who lived in Hanshinkan in his essay, "The City and the People of Osaka in My Eyes" written in 1932, which reveals not only how Tanizaki personally observed the Japanese women's bodies but also the ideal body image of that time to wear Western clothes.

Basically, a young woman in Western clothes has to look as if her plump body is filling out her clothes, and she has to look voluptuous by filling out her clothes completely. [...] Women of the upper-class in Kansai never look like that. [...] Lines from their waists to their hips obviously appear to be frail and poor. Furthermore, every time they walk, the joints of their waists look unsteady, the upper part of their bodies wobbles and chests come forward. [...] All you can see are flattering skirts on their skinny bottoms and no sign of flesh underneath. [...] In fact, their figures look really elegant in Western clothes; however, they seem showy, thin, and so fragile that they would fall over if pushed.⁴²

For Tanizaki, the bodies of the upper-class women in Hanshinkan, who might be a readership of *Fashion*, were too 'thin' to carry off Western clothes.

Considering this observation in the context of *The Makioka Sisters* helps us interpret the woman figure of Yukiko, one of the main characters in the novel. Yukiko, who always wears kimonos, happens to reveal such a 'thin' body when she dresses in Western clothes.⁴³

Surprisingly for her, Yukiko had on a one-piece georgette dress. She knew that she was too thin to wear Western clothes, and even in summer she preferred the strictest Japanese dress, down to the wide, binding obi. Perhaps ten days each summer were quite unbearable in kimono, but even then Yukiko wore Western dress only in the daytime and showed herself only to the family.⁴⁴

42 Tanizaki, 2015, vol. 20, p.359.

43 Although Tanizaki describes a lot about the relationship between woman's body and Western clothes in *Naomi*, this paper does not discuss it since *Naomi* was written approximately ten years before *Fashion* was published and the attitude of Tanizaki himself towards Western culture changed dramatically before and after moving into Hanshinkan.

44 Tanizaki, *The Makioka Sisters*, Book One, p. 106.

Since Yukiko most always wears a kimono, she seems to have a taste mainly for traditional Japanese things. However, she actually likes the piano, Western cuisine, and Western movies and also studies English and French. It is well known that Tanizaki depicted Yukiko's somewhat contradictory aspect through her taste: although she is seemingly a traditional Japanese woman, in fact, she has a penchant for being modern. Then, why does she remain traditional and so conservative in terms of clothing? Masako Mitamura pointed out that Yukiko chose to wear kimonos "to conceal her scrawny body" as well as "to make her look like a ladylike girl with good upbringing by 'wearing kimonos'."⁴⁵ This can be, however, more than a personal strategic choice made by Yukiko herself, but also a reflection of a new body view for Japanese women that they confronted in the 1930s, a period of transition from kimonos to the Western clothes. In other words, Yukiko likes to wear kimonos, and she is reluctant to wear Western clothes probably because she is strongly affected by the ideology of the 'modernized body' that *Fashion* imported along with a culture of Western clothes. It would appear that Yukiko represents Japanese women who are imbued with the idea that if they don't have a 'modernized body' as *Fashion* suggested, they should not wear Western clothes. Consequently, the modernization of fashion was challenged by the ideology of a 'modernized body', which accompanied it, and prevented some women from adopting it. What Tanizaki depicted through the female figure of Yukiko is the ironic reality of 1930s Japan, as the discourse on modernization itself discourages it.

Conclusion

In the 1930s, contemporaneousness was rapidly being realized all over the world and thus people could obtain information from foreign cultures with very short time lags. This was crucial, especially to the fashion industry, since keeping up to date is vitally important for it. In addition, as was the case in Britain in the late nineteenth century, in Japan, people started to assign more value to 'taste' and sought to have 'good taste' in lifestyles or fashion in the 1930s. In *Hanshinkan*, magazines for people looking for

45 Mitamura, 2009, pp. 319-320.

'good taste' such as *Hankyu Bijutsu* ('Hankyu Art'), *Tsubo* ('Vase') or *Shin-butō* ('New Dance') were published at that time. Under such circumstances, *Fashion* actively took advantage of information from Western fashion magazines to popularize wearing Western clothes in Japan. It did not force this at all, but tried to introduce them with due consideration to Japanese bodies, lifestyles, and existing clothing traditions. Furthermore, it encouraged women who tended to be diffident about wearing Western clothes while bearing in mind their feelings. It possibly could have been realized only from the editor-in-chief Shibayama's own point of view as a woman who might have had a conflicted feeling for the fashion of the transition period herself. On the other hand, assimilating Western clothes meant that it was imperative to assimilate the concept of the 'modernized body' at the same time. In the description in *The Makioka Sisters*, Tanizaki shed light on the difficulties brought to women by the ideology spread by fashion magazines in 1930s Japan, exactly as is the same for women in our time. He also highlighted the paradoxical reality of the modernization of the body and fashion.

[fig. 1] Table of Contents of Identified Articles in *Fashion*

Date of Issue	Titles of Articles in <i>Vogue</i>	Date of Issue	Titles of Articles in <i>Fashion</i>
February 15th, 1934	Gloves, Bags, Shoes	September 1934	Utilizing the Individual Characteristics
June 1st, 1934	On the Right Track		No Title
August 1st, 1934	Fur Silhouettes	November 1934	Fur: Coats in Mode Special Selection by Fashion Co.
January 15th, 1936	Baubles	April 1936	One Corner of Mode Which Cannot be Overlooked
	Hat Talk		

March 1st, 1936	Shoes—Up In Front!	May 1936	A Certain Change in the Trend of Shoes
May 1st, 1936	Advertisement		
April 1st, 1936	Advertisement	June 1936	Fashion of June: Prints and Ensembles
	More French Importations		
	Vogue's Finds of the Fortnight		
April 15th, 1936	Tailored or Frivolous	June 1936	Blouses for Early Summer
July 15th, 1936	Vogue's Finds of The Fortnight	September 1936	Trends for Next Season: Which is Your First Black Dress?
	Midsummer		No Title
September 1st, 1936	Shoes for Town and Country	Autumn Issue 1936	On Your Toes: Town Shoes and Country Shoes
October 1st, 1936	Advertisement	December 1936	Fashion of This Month

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