

Care as Concern for Oneself

Cosmetics in Modern Japan

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Introduction

Encouraged by the popularization of feminism, the essentiality of care in the face of increasingly precarious environmental conditions, and the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, people in Japan have been taking a growing interest in self-care practices, regardless of gender. As a means of showing consideration for one's body and pursuing self-transformation for the sake of personal pleasure, the use of cosmetics¹ has been playing an important role in these self-care practices. Cosmetics, which I define as embodying both elements of self-expression and self-gratification, were not initially considered representative of such concepts.

According to existing literature, cosmetics were not considered an expression of individuality until the 1970s (Yamamura 2016; POLA 2016). In addition, women's choice to publicly wear personalized cosmetics only gained positive recognition as a symbol of freedom over time (Yonezawa 2006, 2008). While these studies have assumed that cosmetics are primarily a means of self-expression, and there is a lack of historical perspective on how and why the consumption of cosmetics became a criterion for evaluating both self-expression *and* self-pleasure (particularly among women).

On the other hand, another stream of scholarship on cosmetics culture has focused

on the popularization of Western-style cosmetics and the transformation of women's body ornamentation in modern and contemporary Japan (Aoki 2016; Takahashi 2007; Koide 2016), with little focus on men. This has been attributed to the exclusion of men, who were required to have "productive" bodies as part of the government's policy of fostering industry, from the "unproductive" realm of cosmetics. But, in fact, both men and women partook in cosmetic rituals in Japan until the 19th century, and at the end of the 20th century cosmetics gradually resurfaced among Japanese men. Despite these transitions, we cannot fully discuss cosmetics culture in Japan without highlighting the earlier exclusion of men.

Therefore, it is important to clarify for what purpose earlier cosmetics rituals were practiced. In particular, there is a need to focus on the process by which cosmetics went from being a relational and heteronormative mandate to being an exercise of individuality, or even a private ritual for oneself. Furthermore, gendered differences in the experiences men and women have had with cosmetics cannot be ignored either.

Based on the above considerations, this paper aims to explore how the discourse on cosmetics as a form of self-care unfolded in Japan during the 1900s to 1940s among intellectuals, critics, and beauticians. In doing so, I shed light on how the discourse surrounding cosmetics in modern Japan reproduced and enforced the male/female binary, as well as show how cosmetics, which were initially conceptualized as personal products, became embedded with underlying social norms such as self-control, discipline, and "national character" during this historical process. Evidently, cosmetics, as a form of care for oneself, serve two main characteristics or functions: the first is voluntary attention to one's body; and the second is self-transformation with the purpose of self-gratification.

In this paper, I first examine the role that cosmetics served until the end of the

Meiji period. Next, I examine how the concepts of *danseibi* (male beauty) and *joseibi* (female beauty) were discussed among intellectuals from the end of the Meiji period to the wartime period. Finally, I assess the information about cosmetics that beauticians, who worked most intimately with cosmetics, transmitted to both men and women.

1. Overview of historical cosmetics

Since at least the sixth century, Japan has absorbed various customs, laws, religions, and other aspects of culture from China and the Korean peninsula through social and commercial exchanges. Cosmetics and application techniques are also believed to have been initially brought to Japan via the Asian continent. However, it was not until the mid-Heian period that the influence of continental cosmetics replaced earlier traditions of Japanese cosmetics. During the Heian period, the aristocratic class, established the foundations of traditional Japanese cosmetic practices and tools such as *oshiroi* (white powder), *beni* (makeup with red pigments), *ohaguro* (black teeth), and *mayukeshō* (plucking the eyebrows and then drawing on eyebrows with ink). These traditions were passed down during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, when political power shifted from the aristocracy to the bushi, military class (Yamamura 2016: 10; Hiramatsu 2009: 84-127). In this age, cosmetics were worn regardless of gender as a strategy for the ruling class to retain its dominance, as well for members of the lower social classes to appease the upper class.

During the Edo period, cosmetics became widespread among common women. In addition to carrying an element of status, makeup also took on the role of outwardly expressing age and marital status. Until the early Edo period, cosmetics were regarded as a reflection of faith and were considered part of the married woman's *midashinami*

(appearance) for her husband. Excessive makeup was discouraged. Toward the end of the Edo period, some specialized books on cosmetics were published for common women. A small number of these specialized books endorsed the use of cosmetics beyond the conventional *midashinami* and empowered women to apply cosmetics according to their own individual tastes. (Suzuki 2003: 6-10). However, this brand of individuality inspired by the concept of “individual cosmetics” was less about self-care, in the sense of paying attention to one's own body, and more about “rising to the occasion” to express oneself. As mentioned above, previous research on male cosmetics is limited, making it difficult to clarify the historical reality surrounding male cosmetics. We can at least confirm, however, that the aristocratic eyebrow trend that began in the Edo period spread to common men and gave rise to a culture of beard trimming.

To catch up with the West, the subsequent Meiji government adopted a series of civilization and enlightenment policies that sought to import elements of the Western lifestyle into Japan. Among them was a ban among aristocratic women and men on the wearing of traditional Japanese-style cosmetics such as *ohaguro* and *mayukeshō*, which foreigners deemed unsightly. This was accompanied by the introduction of Western-style cosmetics into Japan, which became popular and especially so among upper-class women. By 1910, at the end of the Meiji period, Western-style cosmetics spread to the common people and at the same time were gradually adapted to Japanese tastes (POLA 1986, 2016). Even with the introduction of Western cosmetics, cosmetics were still considered central to *midashinami*, and women from schoolgirls to the bourgeoisie were required to apply cosmetics with meticulous attention. On the other hand, as part of the push for industrial modernization, the male body came to be controlled by state power, which demanded that men cultivate efficient and productive bodies. Under the influence of these policies, the

Japanese male body, as those of men in Western industrializing countries, was reconfigured for labor and came to be excluded from the realm of aesthetics (Ishita 2009: 83).

In this way, by the Meiji period cosmetics had been established as part of a feminine *midashinami* that seemingly excluded men. However, when considering the fact that cosmetics were used by both men and women in Japan until the Edo period, it seems absurd that Japanese men would immediately stop wearing cosmetics simply because prohibitive Meiji Restoration policies were implemented. In addition to that, with the emergence of trends that emphasize skin care, including *biganjutsu* (hygienic facial techniques), it is possible that men continued to wear cosmetics but modified their usage to suit their circumstances. As such, the application of cosmetics naturally evolved into a self-care practice for both men and women.

2. Discourse on *danseibi* and *joseibi*

After highlighting the types of cosmetics people wore, as documented in previous studies, we now look at how intellectuals and critics viewed cosmetics after the Meiji Restoration, by analyzing the discourses of *danseibi* and *joseibi*.ⁱⁱ

Beginning in the late 1900s, the term *danseibi* started to appear in the world of Japanese social commentary. With its appearance came a growing number of editorials contrasting the perception of women's beauty with that of men's. These discourses share the following characteristics. First, distinctions between masculinity and femininity are often discussed, and such differences tend to be regarded as natural. Therefore, men and women were considered to have an aesthetic appropriate to their own gendered nature,

expressed through particular adjectives. For example, *danseibi* was associated with concepts such as *shitsujitsukougen* (sincere and sturdy) or *yusouidai* (heroic and magnificent), while *ioseibi* was described with the terms *karenyuubi* (lovely and graceful), *onwa* (mild), and *teishuku* (chastity).

Secondarily, these discourses raised a profile of *danseibi* over that of *ioseibi* through anatomical and biological arguments, with the ethos that the female body was inferior to the male's. Hence, women faced an additional imperative to embellish themselves as *ioseibi* was cast as fleeting and artificial. On the other hand, men were said to possess innate natural beauty, suggesting that their aesthetic was more timeless. It is important to note that the superiority of *danseibi* here implied that men did not need to embellish themselves. What's more, society tended to regard aesthetic beauty as belonging to the realm of women, and was therefore critical of efforts by men to enhance their outward beauty. The cultivation of male beauty was not "useful for society,"ⁱⁱⁱ and those who advocated for it were "like those who engage in song, dance, and music."^{iv} Against the backdrop of this criticism of aesthetic men was a context in which the citizen (i.e., the Japanese man) was forged to steer the new modernizing nation-state apparatus, created in reference to the Western nation-state model of the late nineteenth century. The training of masculinity to fight for the nation as needed was essential, and it is not hard to imagine the state's swift elimination of men interested in decorative activities. In one statement, this discursive space was exemplified by the notion that, "Western culture should be seen as a model of 'male beauty,' and the 'feminine Japanese culture' should be modified to '*danseibika* (male beautification).'"^v The emphasis on the physical modification and intellectual excellence of Japanese men over looks, for "national interest" and "national defense," invoked Western ideals.

Following World War I, the development of a consumer society in the late 1910s to 1920s, and the social advancement of women heralded an change in direction different from the trends mentioned above. What might be described as the “masculinization of women and feminization of men” became a growing trend. In line with this trend, the discourse of male beauty turned into criticism of *seinen* (young men). Feminization, sissy youth, and the “luxurious and inert” lifestyle characteristic of young people were viewed by critics with disdain and shamed as being devoid of modesty. Furthermore, as the Yomiuri Shimbun newspaper wrote, “The mother should take precautions for the future of her children, who should be healthy national citizens,”^{vi} placing the responsibility for preventing dispirited youth squarely on women. Some discourses therefore advocated the ‘beautification’ of feminized men in order to inspire such dispirited people. The idea to implement “beautification” education was based on the ideal image of a young man who possesses the true Japanese spirit of *shitsujitsukougen*, and integrated patriotic morals by positioning the young man as the future bearer of the Japanese nation.

In the 1930s, discussions of male beauty virtually disappeared, but the few that remained, were imbued with the *seishinbi* (spiritual beauty) of bushido samurai ideals. This was also the result of *seishinbi*’s use as a rhetorical device to recruit soldiers during the resurgence of military spiritualism.

Joseibi, on the other hand, is characterized in part by ideals that overlap with the above-mentioned characteristics of *danseibi*, namely the necessity of decorative elements to compensate for the inferiority of the female body. Second, such narratives about those practices, including the use of cosmetics, contrast with discourse on women’s “inborn instincts.” These narratives called for the rejection of unnatural makeup, such as “heavy cosmetics” and “false cosmetics,” and praised the application of “true cosmetics” which

develops one's natural beauty. Here, a double standard emerged: women who did not wear makeup were viewed as masculine and therefore unacceptable, yet excessive makeup was also deemed inappropriate because it attracted attention for appearing promiscuous. The issue of *joseibi*, including the use of cosmetics, was perceived as not only the individual woman's problem, but it was also recognized in the 1910s as a major issue related to the dignity of the nation and ethnos. In the 1920s, *joseibi* became an influential factor behind whether a woman could marry well, be considered appealing to men, and use it to contribute to society as a “privilege that women should be proud of.”

Those who objected to the previous definition of cosmetics raised the profile of the “new beauty method,” which were especially popular in the discursive space from the 1930s onward. The newness here was expressed by the term ‘individuality,’ particularly the cultivation of physical beauty through physical education. As health gained recognition as an element of beauty, people also began to talk about beauty for enjoyment. In addition, many articles appeared after 1937 that rejected women's cosmetics and emphasized the importance of health over cosmetics. As one writer insisted, “cosmetics are only a means to demonstrate beauty, and a passive one at that. The true beauty of a woman can only be obtained through her health.”^{vii} This critique targeted the extravagant nature of cosmetics and encouraged the idea that it was better to cultivate of hygienic and spiritual beauty, in lieu of wearing makeup, for the sake of the nation and ethnos.

Through the discursive analysis above, it is clear that from the turn of the 20th century to the wartime period, intellectuals and critics focused their gaze upon the male body, but in such a way that called for a transformation of the male body and the spirit that supports the body in order to become a warrior. One description advocates for men to pay attention to their own bodies and abandon “powdered false cosmetics” in favor of

clean “manly beauty.”^{viii} With good hygiene being the only exception, male cosmetic practices are always regarded as an obstacle to the nation, race, and society. On the other hand, women's natural cosmetics were praised as attractive to men, and the preference for *keshōbi* (cosmetic beauty) changed to *eiseibi* (hygienic beauty) during wartime. Likewise, women's transmission of hygienic education within the family was seen as an act of service to the nation. Thus, in the discursive space of intellectuals and critics, the concept of ‘cosmetics as self-care’ became invalidated for both men and women, yet a gendered asymmetry emerged in which only women were cast as bearers of care education.

3. The Activities of “Beauticians”

As mentioned above, the late Meiji period saw the government-led abolition of *ohaguro* and *mayukeshō* as well as the introduction of Western-style cosmetic methods and cosmetics to Japan and the domestic production of soap and lotion to imitate imported products. From the beginning, Western-style cosmetics were popular mainly among the upper classes, but gradually spread to the lower classes while being adapted to Japanese tastes. In the process of their spread, people called “beauticians” continuously disseminated information on cosmetics.

This study focuses on four of Japan's most influential beauticians^{ix} of the 1900s-1940s: Fujinami Fuyo,^x Endo Hatsuko,^{xi} Oguchi Michiko,^{xii} and Kitahara Tomio.^{xiii} This discursive analysis considers the views these beauticians took on cosmetics, for women and men, and whether or not they recognized cosmetic rituals as forms of self-care in their practices.

First, it must be pointed out that much of the information on cosmetics disseminated

by the beauticians who became active in the late Meiji period followed the Edo period interpretation of cosmetics. All four beauticians analyzed here repeatedly endorsed cosmetics as part of a feminine *midashinami*, referring to “feminine virtue.” This is no different from the conventional assumption in women's literature, based on Confucian morality, that cosmetics should reflect a woman's fidelity. The beauticians, with the exception of Koguchi, saw women's cosmetics variously as a means of showing “courtesy to a good man,” conveying “a husband's respectability,” and preserving “family honor,” describing cosmetic rituals as something that could ultimately become a *katei no migoto* (admirable thing in the family). While individualistic cosmetic methods were stressed to the fore, the emphasis on cosmetic practices that express status and age, exemplified by the notion that “a schoolgirl should look like a schoolgirl, and a noblewoman should look like a noblewoman,” was not very different from Edo views on cosmetics.

However, while some aspects of the Edo tradition of cosmetics retained popularity, new cosmetic methods, too, were often promoted through the influence of Western cosmetics. One example is the definition of conventional cosmetics as “artificial, unnatural, old-fashioned makeup,” which contrasts with natural makeup that “does not look like makeup even if makeup is being worn” using “artificial techniques that conform to nature.” In fact, as far back as the Edo period, there was a conservative custom of encouraging the general public to wear light makeup, because women believed that it was a form of courtesy to their husbands to wear makeup, and that the makeup they wore for their husbands in the home did not need to be conspicuous (Suzuki 2003). As mentioned, after the Meiji Restoration, women's cosmetics were often discussed in relation to women's husbands and families, but there were two schools of

thought that once again advocated the wearing of light makeup. One regarded ‘natural’ Western cosmetic practices as progressive, driven by the public’s newfound fascination with Western culture. The other stemmed from health concerns after an incident involving poisoning by *enpakufun* (white lead powder) at a Tenran Kabuki performance held in 1887. The general people began to realize that *enpakufun* was harmful to the body. Since thick makeup made with *enpakufun* became considered unhealthy and unhygienic, lead-free and non-toxic cosmetics that were generally imported were gradually adopted. In addition to these qualities, Western cosmetics had thinner coverage, so makeup trends naturally became lighter.

In the discourse that advocated for these natural cosmetic methods, the most important element was *akanuke no shita hada* (clear skin), and the importance of *kiji no bi o ikasu* (making the most of the skin’s natural beauty) was repeatedly discussed. In order to achieve this “clear skin,” daily skincare rituals were believed to be essential. Specific methods presented to the public included shaving unwanted hair, massaging the face, and using creams to prevent rough skin. Building upon the traditional cosmetics discourse, two new elements were introduced here. The first called attention to specific body parts. It is said that the overall harmony of *keshōbi* (cosmetic beauty) could be achieved only by focusing attention on the body and properly tending to the skin, hair, wrists, feet, and teeth from the scientific perspectives of “hygiene” and “medicine.” Another point was the strong endorsement of *biganjutsu* (hygienic facial techniques). Although there is still much controversy over who first introduced facial techniques to Japan, the author’s research suggests that Shibayama Kentaro, a barber, and Endo Hatsuko, a beautician, learned a massage technique called “biogenic facial culture” from American doctor W. Cambreau around 1905. The technique was later popularized by the

term's Japanese translation, *biganjutsu*. It is a skincare method that comprehensively utilizes cosmetics, such as creams, and special equipment. Focusing on transformation from the inside out, this technique manipulates the internal organs to beautify the body. It can be said that the facial massage performed during this treatment was presented as a medical treatment, as it aimed to adjust the nerves, muscles, and blood inside the face by stimulating them from the outside with hands and instruments. Beauticians of the time did not directly claim its medical benefits but rather stated that it was “the best way to revive a weak and waning face” (Fujinami 1916). Moreover, they believed that “facial techniques are the method and technique to make both born beauties and non-beauties look beautiful and healthy without losing their natural beauty” (Kitahara 1910).

The introduction of these elements is important because it emphasized how the application of external techniques and instruments could directly support the living body. This modern notion reimagined the skin as something that could die (Uchida 1994). By way of the Western-derived “politics of hygiene and health preservation” that assume individuals' lives to be finite, beauty practices targeting specific body parts signify the struggle against inevitable death, and become subjectified as a matter of individual concern. Moreover, considering the fact that a few readers had submitted to the idea that the whole body could be healed through the application of such beauty treatments, hygienic facial techniques could indeed have been called a form of self-care.

To achieve such effects, however, *biganjutsu* must be considered impossible without the use of cosmetics or some other product. Since the aforementioned beauticians often sold cosmetics through mail order sales via the ad sections of women's magazines, or ran their own beauty salons, the commercialized aspect of the hygienic facial technique itself cannot be ignored. In addition, it was argued that such cosmetic

methods focusing on skincare are only applicable to women up to age 20. Thereafter, *keshōbi* (wearing makeup) is necessary to maintain one's beauty. In other words, there is an aspect of rationality used in Japan to emphasize age-appropriate cosmetology. It is possible that a life event or biological change excludes a person from partaking in such therapies after the age of 20.

Furthermore, when looking at why natural cosmetic methods should be adopted, reasons such as “not causing others discomfort when socializing,” “it's an indicator of high society,” and “the availability and usage of cosmetics are related to the national economy,” were mentioned. These explanations depart from the earlier discourse surrounding husbands and families, which implies that social values shifted toward the public. The underlying message is that one should pay attention to the perspectives of others in society, and that cosmetics should be associated with social civilization and the national economy; not with the individual. Phrases such as “for your own needs” and “considerations for our body” did not appear at all in the beauticians' discourse. This is also consistent with the beauticians' reinterpretation of the benefits of *biganjutsu*.

Regarding men, on the other hand, Fujinami rejected the “fake cosmetics” of actors and advocated that men should apply cosmetics in a *sappari* (clean) and *junketsu* (pure) manner. He requested that men use “everything except for white powder, blush, and grease,” meaning that all cosmetics except for makeup were acceptable (for men). In a consultation column in a women's magazine that Fujinami managed, several men asked about decorative makeup techniques (i.e., highlighting and makeup that stands out), but Fujinami did not respond to their questions. Instead, he stated that he could not understand these men's desire for highlighted skin because there was a “gap” between male and female beauty. The remaining beauticians did not directly present their

opinions on male cosmetics, but like Fujinami they often advocated for men's skincare, and after introducing skincare methods including *biganjutsu* they often instructed, "men should also follow this method." In this context, it was discovered that barbers also actively perform *biganjutsu* on men. Unlike women's descriptions of facials, men's emphasis on "cleanliness, hygiene, and a good appearance" and their encouragement of attention to the individual body were more evident. When referring to the relationship between male hygiene and beauty in the 1920s, there is a small but impactful body of discourse that attributed this connection to the responsibility of mothers.

4. Conclusion

Through analyzing cosmetics-related discourses uttered by intellectuals, critics, and beauticians, this study has focused on the debate over Japanese "beauty" and examined how this discourse had developed from the 1900s to the 1940s. First, in the discursive space of intellectuals and critics, the value of *danseibi* was placed in the "larger politics" of national advancement, and male acts of ornamentation were perceived as an obstacle to the nation, race, and society. On the other hand, women's natural cosmetics were praised as something desirable by men and something that could beautify society. During wartime, using cosmetics was seen as an act that contributed to the nation in terms of hygiene management, including caring for others. Second, in the discursive space of beauticians, cosmetics were regarded first as a part of women's *midashinami*, following an early modern view of cosmetics. Breaking with such views after the 1910s, cosmetics became interpreted as a public practice that others actively noticed, and therefore should be used so as to not cause discomfort to others. In addition, as Western makeup methods

were first introduced, light makeup “appropriate” for Japanese people was advocated through a nationalist lens.

In both of these discursive spaces, it is difficult to say that there has been a discourse that interprets cosmetic rituals as a form of care for oneself. *Biganjutsu* was a beauty treatment that works on the surface of the skin, not to make the skin look pretty, but to actually heal the skin. It is an extremely active approach to caring for one’s own body. But the reinterpretation of *biganjutsu* by beauticians has diverged from the practice’s original meaning, replaced by the idea that *biganjutsu* should be done as a way to be considerate to others. On the other hand, men’s decorative makeup was rejected by beauticians, but what can be called modern skin care methods were often advocated to men. This can be seen as a way of addressing individual attention to the body, yet also has the potential to lead to physical obsession or excessive self-control.

Thus, the classic dichotomy of inner individuality and outer relationships is strained, confused, and complicated by the hegemonic cultural expression of cosmetics in modern Japan. For the future, it is necessary to continue to examine the process by which cosmetics came to be perceived as self-care tools. From the 1910s onwards, manufacturers and distributors of domestic cosmetics appeared one after another in Japan, following the discussions and suggestions of intellectuals and beauticians outlined in this paper. In this study I did not discuss the influence of cosmetics manufacturers’ promotional activities on cosmetics discourse, which developed with the advent of mass consumerism. I would like to conclude this article by presenting this as a topic for future research.

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ⁱ Cosmetics in this context includes a broad range of applications and tools from skin care to makeup and is not defined in a specific way. This is because Cosmetics is a continuous and dynamic process, and this study focuses on the historical evolution of the concept of cosmetics itself.

Therefore, this study uses the term cosmetics to refer to *kesho*. When the term “makeup” is used, it refers to cosmetics in the narrow sense, such as applying foundation, lipstick, blush, etc. to make the face look beautiful.

ⁱⁱ The following discourse analysis is based on the results of searches for *danseibi* and *joseibi* in the National Diet Library Digital Collections and the journal search database “Web OYA-bunko” of the Oya Soichi Library.

ⁱⁱⁱ Higashi Ousho. “Danseibi nitsuite no shokan” *Nihon oyobi nihonjin* (*Japan and Japanese*). September 1920: 139.

^{iv} Ukiyo Sanjin. *Uchiakehanashi* (*Confidential Talk*). 1917: 83-84.

^v Inage Sofuu. “Danseibi joseibi”, *Nihon hyoron* (*The Japanese Review*). January 1917: 130.

^{vi} “Otoko no hitotachi mo okeshosuru katei no tsumi ka soretomo syakai no fucyo ka”, *Yomiuri Shimbun*. 27 March 1917: 4.

^{vii} Oota Takeo. “Joseibi,” *Teisou no bunseki*. Asukasya. 2016.

^{viii} Higuchi shigeji, Sanbonmatsu Seikichi. *Kateijitsuyou biyoujyutsu*, Jitsugyo no Nihon Sha, Ltd. 1915.

^{ix} The selection criteria for the beauticians analyzed in this study included active contributors to influential newspapers, magazines, and other media. Specifically, I selected experts from the magazines *Shufu no tomo*, *Fujin koron*, *Fujin kurabu*, and *Fujin gaho*, which were known as the “four major women's magazines” pre-wartime because of their large circulation. *Fujyokai* and *Fujin no tomo* are comparable to those magazines in terms of circulation.

^x Fujinami Fuyo was a cosmetics advisor to the *jyoshi buntansya* (Women's Literary Society) and *kesho kenkyukai fujin syuyoukai* (the Women's Makeup Research Association), as well as a member of a *kouke* family. He was later in charge of the Beauty Consultation Q&A column of *Jyoshi buntan* (1911-1913), *Nihon* (1912-1913), *Shojo* (1913-1916), *Fujin gaho* (1913-1933), *Fujin zasshi* (1914-1915), *Fujinkai* (1920-1921), and *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1924-1925). The following perspectives from Fujinami are mainly from his books *Shinshiki kesho hou* (Methods of Wearing New Cosmetics, 1910), *Ahase kagami* (Infinity Mirror, 1911), *Bisho* (Cosmetics, 1916), and *Shin Bisho Hou* (New Cosmetic Methods, 1916), as well as from the magazines and newspapers that ran the above beauty consultation columns. Detailed notes are omitted.

^{xi} Endo Natsuko was a beautician who opened the *Riyoukan* beauty salon in

1905 and introduced American-style *biganjyutsu* (hygienic facial techniques). She began manufacturing and selling cosmetics in 1910, and later took charge of the Beauty Consultation column in the magazines *Fujin no tomo* (1919-1920) and *Fujyokai* (1926-1928). In 1925, she established the *Tokyo fujin biyou kyokai* (Tokyo Women's Beauty Association) as a liaison organization for beauticians. Her main clients included the imperial household, women in the political and business world, and celebrities. Endo's perspectives are mainly taken from her books *Keshou to kitsuke* (Cosmetics and Dressing) from 1918 and *Tadashii kesho to kitsuke* (Correct Cosmetics and Dressing) published in 1926, as well as the women's magazines *Fujinkai*, *Fujin kurabu*, and *Fujin no tomo*. Detailed notes are omitted.

^{xii} Oguchi Michiko was involved in the “Heiminsha” and the movements for women's political participation and women's liberation in the early 1900s, and later became involved in the movement to establish the beauty art law. In 1907 she became an apprentice of Endo Hatsuko, and in 1919 she established the *Fujin biyouhou kenkyukai* (Women's Beauty Method Study Group) at her home, which later trained beauticians and manufactured and sold cosmetics. She was in charge of the Beauty Consultation column of the magazines *Shufu no tomo* (1917-1930) and *Fujin kurabu* (1920-1931). Oguchi's perspectives are mainly taken from her books *Midashimi no jyoushiki* (Common Sense in Personal Appearance, 1927) and *Shinshiki fujin keshohou* (New Women's Cosmetic Methods, 1936) as well as from the women's magazines *Shufu no tomo* and *Fujin kurabu*. Detailed notes are omitted.

^{xiii} Kitahara Tomio is the beautician who opened the Tokyo Beauty Salon in 1906 and invented lead-free, non-polluting skin-colored face powder. In 1921, he opened the Japan Women's Beauty Art School and focused on training beauticians. Kitahara's viewpoints are mainly based on his books published in 1910, *Mizukara hodohoshiuru biganhou* (The Art of Self-Applied Facial Beautification) and *Jissen biyoujutsu* (Real Beauty Techniques), as well as from his comments in the magazines *Shufu no tomo*, *Fujin kurabu* and *Fujinkai*. Detailed notes are omitted.