

中英文摘要及關鍵詞

(一) 中文摘要。百貨公司夢想曲？ 商品幻象、消費政治和吉辛、詹姆斯及吳爾芙的倫敦小說

關鍵詞：百貨公司 女性和消費 城市現代性 吉辛 詹姆斯 吳爾芙

都市現代性向來被建構成男性主導的經歷，而女性（除了娼妓/「公共」女人）則囿於家庭而缺席/排除於城市的公共空間，但在 19 世紀末、20 世紀初的現代時期，隨著商品文化的蓬勃興盛，確實有大量的體面女性不需陪伴出現在街頭，雲集於輝煌時髦的商店，享受消費和瀏覽樂趣，而百貨公司作為新興女性公共出現的最重要目的地和原動力，則成為女性體驗城市現代性、參與公共領域的重要場域，演繹女性和現代商品文化之間錯綜模稜的關係，本計畫將背景設置在現代時期百貨公司匯集的倫敦西區，從同時期英國城市小說中的種種體現來探討都市現代性的重要一環——百貨公司、商品文化和女性主體等相關議題。

現代百貨公司因大量使用顏色、光線、玻璃和鋼鐵的最新發展技術，強調視線的幻覺 (phantasmagoria) 和消費過程的戲劇化色彩，再加上以從所未有的多樣「令人炫目又刺激肉欲」(Miller 167) 的商品展示特意營造迷宮般的幻覺，以達到讓消費者分心 (distracted)、迷亂、喚起永不滿足的擁有物欲的效果，因此不遺餘力推銷其遠離凡俗日常生活的「夢幻之宮」的形象。而現代論述中，以研究第二帝國時期巴黎文化著稱的克洛克 (Kraucauer 22) 也強調百貨公司的「神話般庇護地」(fairy grotto) 的「神奇」形象，如「舞臺」般「保持神妙幻覺」「不受日常規律束縛」；班雅明 (1999: 403) 也指出百貨公司（及其前身拱廊商街）是「大眾的睡夢之所」，瀰漫其中的商品拜物以魔幻商品麻醉大眾，割裂其對現實的真實意識。但同時百貨公司又是個深深立足於現代時期、浸透各種階級、種族和傳統街頭性別政治等政治力衝突的真實世界，百貨公司的大片透明玻璃溶解了室內室外疆界，成為公共街道的自然延伸，各階層、各性別的大量人潮從四方合集，免費入場觀賞帝國擴張下四處蒐集的奇異商品，百貨公司也就成為濃縮現代真實世界的關鍵性公共場域，而百貨公司的炫目「景觀」後面最重要的經濟原則——買賣關係，更是反映現代消費文化的根本運作原則，也是商品文化的最重要展示和消費空間。因此雖然現代時期的女性主義者（尤其以關注女性工作和生活為己任的女性雜誌）將百貨公司視為一個承迎和鼓勵女性單獨離家外出、掙脫傳統「隔離領域」、提供女性參與公共領域的重要出口，從爾將消費/上街和女性解放、進步相連（也見證女性主義和資本主義商品文化的某種同謀性），但是因為百貨公司內涵錯綜的政治議題，因其遠非理想園般的真實世界縮影，而使其成為一個既促使又威脅女性公共主體建構的複雜場域。

儘管百貨公司是城市現代性的重要場域（班雅明筆下的 *ur-landscape of modernity*），但因為都市現代性長期以來的男性化建構，而消費則因和女性相聯而長期被女性化和瑣碎化，使得都市文化的重要環節——消費文化，以及女性在都市現代化中角色扮演這些議題直至近年方受到重視，本計畫立足於近年學界對這些議題日漸重視的潮流中，在現代時期以倫敦為題材的小說中找到女性和百貨公司、商品文化的文學體現，尤以吉辛 (George Gissing) 的《女王登基六十週年》 (*In the*

Year of Jubilee 1895)、《漩渦》(*The Whirlpool* 1897), 詹姆斯的《卡莎瑪絲瑪公主》(*The Princess Casamassima* 1908)和吳爾芙的《達拉威夫人》(*Mrs. Dalloway* 1925)為重點。這幾部作品發表年限都在所謂的現代時期, 各間隔約十年, 正好反應倫敦百貨公司發展的三個重要階段, 吉辛作品發表時, 倫敦商店尚缺乏巴黎和美國百貨公司的規模和商業手法, 但已嘗試 1851 年水晶宮世界博覽會 被後人封為「第一個百貨公司」(Richards 17) 的視覺展示手法; 到了詹姆斯的 1908 年, 以服務中上層顧客、講究正式禮儀、家長式權威經營著稱的哈羅茲在十年間崛起為倫敦牛津街的龍頭; 而到了 1920 年代, 美式賽芙萊茲(Selfridge's)帶給百貨業者的革命性影響到處可見, 牛津街的百貨公司(如吳爾芙的 Army and Navy Store)早已從早期只服務上層客戶、甚至沒有窗戶的會員制俱樂部型百貨, 演變成透明門戶大開、展示熱鬧俗麗、大量服務中下階層客戶的商品景觀(Adburgham 148)。

百貨公司和帝國旅遊

有關消費的研究大多以中產階級女性的消費經歷為中心, 尤以其廣泛化的主動性和被動性為重點。本人去年的國科會研究已詳討上述議題, 此次則計畫進一步探討在現代百貨公司裡另外三種不同的女性經歷, 以期對相關的社經政治議題有更完善的脈絡處理。其一牽涉到女性消費和帝國的錯綜關係, 其二和其三則關注百貨公司裡另兩種「門檻化」(liminal)的女性經歷 女店員和窮女人的經歷。現代百貨公司對展示「異色」商品趨之若鶩, 更時時上演具有濃厚觀光色彩的真人土著秀(Nava 67), 這種「異色」商品消費和景觀的蓬勃發展, 和帝國的政經擴張有密切聯繫, 不啻於在國內商店複製另一個小型帝國, 百貨公司消費也變成另一種帶有強烈探索和觀光色彩的帝國旅遊(如吉辛《漩渦》中的 Sibyl 以大肆購買異色商品以複製早年殖民地旅遊)。因此新興女性參與現代消費文化或許對女性公共自我的塑造有正面解放意義, 但其和帝國擴張的共謀關係, 對殖民剝削的默許和加深、及對進步/落後等殖民意識型態的進一步鞏固等議題, 仍不容忽視。

女店員的身體：商品展示、裝扮和勞動

現代商品文化的興起提供了中下階級女性當女店員的工作機會和經濟收入, 在吉辛(《女王登基六十週年》)和詹姆斯的小說裡女店員還常需身兼商品展示(多為服裝)的模特兒角色, 到了詹姆斯筆下「牛津街那偉大百貨公司」(《卡莎瑪絲瑪公主》67) 極可能是哈羅茲 的時代, 女店員身體被商品化的程度更明顯加劇。女店員在百貨公司裡的商品交換過程中常扮演既是主體又是被動物體的矛盾角色, 作為購買者和商品間的媒介者, 三者構成錯綜的欲望三角形, 女店員便成為現代購物經歷的重要一環。女店員多以美麗身體、仕女舉止而受聘展示被欲望之商品和理想女性形象, 其商品化的身體是誘使購買者戀物式崇拜/幻想乃至購買的標的, 因此既貼近傳統街頭的娼妓形象 班雅明(1999: 861)口中濃縮現代商品文化中所有工作者(包括都市遊人 flâneur) 淪為商品化角色的最佳體現, 又展現被模仿的理想女性形象; 顧客的戀物式凝視將女店員/模特的身體切割成分裂的部分(如帽子、頭飾、上衣和裙子等), 也威脅其自我的完整性。但在同時, 作為被凝視物體/商品的女店員/模特, 某種程度也是商品(展示的服裝)的消費者(即使是臨時), 就像班雅明筆下的三明治人身招牌(sandwichman)一樣具有觀察和回視的能力(Buck-Morss 111), 她們是流行知識的掌握者, 又善於對汨流不息的顧客人群做出職業、地位的精確判斷, 因此也不乏具有都市遊人(flâneur)般無所不視的權威觀察地位(如吉辛筆下的 Nancy)。女店員/模特的理想中產階級女性形象的表面展示其實是靠借來/不真實的衣服/物品支撐, 因此其

「扮假」(passing)的角色最能體現包含裝扮/表演可能的女性自我展示，解構性別角色的社會建構性，故其在出賣但也操縱身體展現的同時，不乏有主動的空間。不過另一方面，這種對女性自我型塑/裝扮的強調，仍不能忽視女店員的身體只不過是百貨公司剝削性經濟機器中小小一齒輪的物質現實(Lancaster 179)，女店員在展示其女性形象時也同時不得不犧牲其部分女性經歷(結婚懷孕即遭解雇)，為了維持其商品化展示的「靈光」(aura)，女店員常不得不得成為有錢男客(正是因為其身體展示而看中她們)的情人來補貼微薄收入(如詹姆斯筆下的 Millicent)，再次坐實女性展示有被男性性物化的危險。因此女店員參與商品文化的經歷既促使又威脅其女性主體的塑造。

窮顧客和戀物欲的代價

現代百貨公司的免費入場政策讓無力購買者也能參與撩人商品景觀的觀賞，而學者也樂觀指出消費似可有助於跨越階級疆域、緩解階級緊張(Cross, Johnson, Fiske)。到了吳爾芙的1920年代，深受美式百貨公司「民主化」的「走逛型」(walkabout store)商店影響，牛津街百貨公司不再雇用「助步員」(floor-walkers)提供顧客專家意見同時又驅趕「假顧客」(《卡莎瑪絲瑪公主》422)，窮顧客也能自由走逛，溫暖明亮的百貨公司搖身變成朋友聚會的社交場所(賽芙萊茲更是打出「社區中心」的招牌)(Rappaport 93)。但是，儘管商品文化對外表/身體展示的強調導致商品展示——維柏倫(Veblen)口中的「醒目消費」(conspicuous consumption)——模糊了傳統的階級疆域，但其作為新的等級符號象徵對無力展示者的排斥/疏離作用、對其低下地位的加深和確認，同樣不可忽視。參與百貨公司的商品景觀凝視，同樣喚起強烈的戀物欲望，但卻無力如中產階級女性一樣可通過擁有而滿足(那怕是短暫)，窮顧客這種被割斷的戀物凝視，更強烈體驗物品的嘲諷回視、體驗自我在回視下的他者化和匱缺(如吳爾芙筆下穿著廉價雨衣代替大衣的 Miss Kilman 在百貨公司的失態、迷惑和羞恨)。因此百貨公司裡的女性戀物，除了包含在性別關係中物化女性的可能內涵外，也包含因囊中羞澀的女顧客無法完全參與戀物經歷而衍生的階級層面，此時的戀物牽涉到的性差異，在性別框架之外又有階級的框架。也因此，此時的物品(Kilman 凝視的女內襯裙，一件極具色欲象徵的商品)因其地位象徵和符號引伸，反而帶上了班雅明認為在大眾生產時代所不可能的另一種「靈光」。現代商品文化無所不在，物品演變為商品，窮人無法拒絕參與商品化景觀，在百貨公司色欲化商品氛圍下，Kilman 無法將襯裙限制在其使用價值之意義內，也無法克制被喚起的戀物欲望，昂貴花俏內衣所代表的文化資本——中產階級理想女性性慾正是她所表面不屑而內心渴望卻不得的。被強烈喚起卻無法滿足的欲望，只能以偷竊、或是無法抑制的廉價消費來補償(Kilman 則是貪婪吞食廉價食物)，階級意識和仇恨似乎更加確認。

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上述女性在現代百貨公司的經歷，見證在其幻想和輝煌意象下面，在商業主和女性主義者多少合力塑造的代表女性解放和進步的形象之下，作為現代商品文化指標的百貨公司其實濃縮了現代都市所浸淫的各種政治議題，商品文化帶給女性前所未有的公共空間，但也將女性及其塑造主體性的努力拋入加劇的衝突和危險之中。本計畫擬以吉辛、詹姆司和吳爾芙的倫敦小說為重點，參照三位作家對商品和商品文化、都市現代性和女性角色的觀點，並大量參考當時的女性雜誌、百貨公司自設刊物和史料，探討反映在現代百貨公司這個論述場域背後，互為錯綜的都市現代性、消費、視覺等議題，及釐清其和階級、性別、種族的糾纏。

(二) 英文摘要。

The Dreamland of the Department Store—Commodified Fantasy and

Consumption Politics in the London Novels of Gissing, James, and Woolf

Urban modernity has habitually been conceived as a primarily male experience, with women excluded (except as the prostitute or the elusive Benjaminian *passante*) from modern public space. However, with the acceleration of a modern commodity culture since the late 19th century, there does seem a rapid expansion of acceptable public space for pleasurable consumption and rambling by unaccompanied, respectable women. The department store, as the ultimate destination and motivating force for women's new en-masse public presence, is an important site where the ambivalent relationship between women and commodity culture, a crucial part of women's experience of urban modernity and participation in the public sphere, is to be played out. This study locates its setting in London's West End during the late 19th and early 20th century, where almost all London's department stores congregate, and focuses on the representations in modern British urban novels of the intricate issues of the modern department store, commodity culture and female public identity.

The modern department store uses the latest technological development in color, light and glass production to highlight optical phantasmagoria and theatricalize the experience of shopping. With its maze-like display of an unprecedented variety of "dazzling and sensual" (Miller 167) goods intended to distract and dizzy its customers and arouse an insatiable desire of imagined ownership, the store vigorously promotes its image as a fantasy palace distant from mundane reality (Bronner 112). In modern discourse, it is also seen as a "fairy grotto", a "magic" realm "exempt from natural laws", "preserving marvelous illusions" like the "stage" (Kraucauer 22), or the "dream houses of the collective", promoting commodity fetishism and deluging the population with fantastical images that help to sunder them from consciousness of reality (Benjamin 1999: 403).¹ However, the department store is also a crucial site firmly embedded in the realities of urban modernity, an arena saturated with the real-life strains of gender, class and race. The store's transparent windows break the interior-exterior boundary – Benjamin calls that "revolutionary" (1985: 228), making it an extension of the public street outside, its free entry and fantastical displays of exotic goods from imperial expansion attracting throngs of heterogeneous crowds, turning the store into a stage and a microcosm of the real world of modernity. The

¹ Benjamin's idea of commodity fetishism is derived from but differs from that of Marx. To Benjamin, it involves concepts like the deification of the industrial product and the eroticisation of the inanimate object, but commodities are not to be understood solely as the source and concrete manifestation of "false consciousness", a mere product of ideological mystification attending economic exploitation. Instead, commodity fetishism also indicates a dream consciousness, a projection of unfulfilled utopian impulses and genuine aspirations. Thus, the department stores and its antecedent, the shopping arcade, apart from being a mesmerizing "dreamland", also harbors, like the commodity fetishism they promote, utopian potentials of awakening. See Gilloch (1996) 116-31, (2002) 123-39.

store's integrated "spectacle" (Debord 32) disguises its instrumental operating principle, that of buying and selling, which underlines its role as the key site reflecting the fundamental economic principle of the modern consumer society. Thus although the department store as a quasi-public space forms one of the most important outlets for domesticity-bound women into modernity's public sphere by encouraging the public appearance of unaccompanied women (an image promoted by both the capitalists and, curiously, the feminists of that time through the many women's magazines, suggesting in this sense a sort of complicity between the two), its intertwining network of gender, class and race politics, its role as microcosm of real world rather than an Edenic dreamland, turns it into a site where the formation of women's public identities are both enabled and endangered.

In contradiction with the importance of the department store (the Benjaminian "ur-landscape" of urban modernity), but also reflecting the relative late arrival of modern aggressive merchandizing in England as compared with America and France (Chaney 22-5), the subject of the department store has not received, in the literature of modernity in England, detailed attention, probably because of its association with consumption which has traditionally been feminized and trivialized in modern classical discourse. Literary treatment is found sporadically in the texts of modern writers with whom London is a favorite subject. This study places itself in the background of the recent increase of academic interest in the importance of consumption and in women's role in urban modernity, and proposes to analyze the literary treatment of the subject of women and commodity culture in George Gissing's *In the Year of Jubilee* (1895), *The Whirlpool* (1897), Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima* (1908) and Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925). The texts chosen were published with a space of about ten or so years between each other, but are all falling within the period roughly defined as modernity, and each reflecting a key stage in the growth of the modern department store in England. Gissing's time marks the beginning of the shops' experimentation with visual display, after the success of the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibitions often dubbed the "first department store" (Richards 17). James's work was published in a decade of domination of London's Oxford Street by Harrods, the quintessential formal British store with paternalistic management and an upper-middle-class clientele. By the 1920s, stores like Woolf's Army and Navy Stores had changed from a member-only club-style shop in the late 19th century to a commodity spectacle of shining window and raucous display catering to an "unfashionable" lower-middle-class clientele, thanks to the revolutionary impact of the American-owned Selfridge's (Adburgham 148). All three writers locate women at the center of the modern department store and tackle women's ambivalent relationship with the burgeoning commodity culture.

The Department store as a miniature Empire: shopping and the imperial tour:

Research on consumption has mostly focused on the experience of the middle-class female shopper especially concerning universalized issues of agency or passivity.² Having examined these issues in my last year's NSC research project³, this study moves on to analyze three other types of female experience in the modern department store so as to achieve a greater awareness of socio-historical contextuality. The first concerns the female shopper and issues of Empire, and the second and third tackle the more liminal positions within the department store of the shopgirl/model and the economically disenfranchised shopper. Imperial expansion underwrites the exotic commodities and the touristic "oriental extravaganza" on display in the store, implying a role of complicity in the ideology of imperialism for the practice of consumption and shopping (Sibyl in Gissing's *The Whirlpool*). While the store replicates a miniature Empire with its exotic displays, middle-class women's shopping experience becomes a virtual exploratory Imperial Tour where they could be tourists to their own desires with an Empire at home. Thus whatever liberating effects on the formation of women's public identity brought by their participation in modern commodity culture has to be further qualified by a deeper exploration into the possible colonial exploitation that might entail. The analysis of this first issue in Gissing's novel will also be supported with references to contemporary historical data and shopping journals.

The Shopgirl: commodity, masquerade and labor

The rise of modern commodity culture has also provided public space employment and income for lower-middle-class women as shopgirls. Gissing's and James's novels portray the experience of the shopgirl who often also has to pose as the model for the display of commodities, usually clothes, but by the time of James's "great store in Oxford Street" (*Princess* 67)--very likely Harrods--, a marked intensification in the commodification of the shopgirl's body is discernible. The shopgirl is often conflictingly both the subject and object of commodity exchange. Mediating between customer and goods, she forms a triangle of desire with shopper

² Two approaches typify the academic scholarship on the female shopper. Marxist-informed scholars tend to emphasize women's manipulation by masculinized producers through deception and commodity fetishism; recent scholarship tends to emphasize the positive potential of the shopping experience as contributing to the formation of a female public sphere and as harboring possibilities of resistance and agency by the consumer. See

³ My last year's NSC project, now in the form of a paper entitled "Women Entering the Cityscape: Streetwalking, Consuming Spectatorship and Turn-of-the-Century London in Gissing's Urban Narratives", and accepted by *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly*, basically argues that the en-mass presence of shopping and rambling women in turn-of-the-century London streets has problematized the masculine engendering of urban modernity. Their en-masse nature and their role as consumer have also entailed a change of research method from the Benjaminian theory of the individualistic and elitist flaneur to De Certeau's theory of subversive use (including walking and consumption) of urban space by ordinary people.

and commodities, and becomes thus an important link in the modern shopping experience. Chosen often for their physical beauty to display the desired commodity, the shopgirl's commodified body, the object of the customer's fetishistic worship/fantasy, draws them into uncomfortable proximity with the prostitute, who is seen by Benjamin (1999: 861) as the very embodiment of the commodified status of all workers (including the flâneur) in modern commodity culture. The customer's fetishistic gaze fragments her body into discrete parts (hats, dress, etc.), threatening the materiality of her self. At the same time the shopgirl as commodity/object of gaze is capable, like the Benjaminian sandwichman, of observation and gazing back (Buck-Morss 111).⁴ Their fashion expertise and ability of judging the status of customers give them a flâneur-like position of all-seeing authority (Nancy in Gissing's *The Year of Jubilee*). Displaying ideal middle-class femininity yet on borrowed objects/clothes, the "passing" shopgirl/model epitomizes deconstructively the female masquerade and the performative nature of gender roles. Selling but also manipulating her bodily representations, the shopgirl attains a degree of agency/subjectivity. However, such masquerade/self-fashioning should not ignore the material reality of the shopgirl's body as a laboring cog in the economically exploitative machine of the department store, nor the intricate working of sexual and socio-economic politics within the "dream-land". The shopgirl agrees to put her femininity on display while also having to forsake part of her female destiny (marriage and pregnancy leads to dismissal). To keep up the "aura" of their commodified body-display, the shopgirl is often forced to supplement their meager income with love-affairs with rich male clients (who want them because of their display) – thus again confirming that women consumer in order to display body for sexual objectification by men (Millicent in James's *Princess Casamassima*). The shopgirl's display of femininity could thus both endanger and enable the formation of their subjectivity.

The poorer shopper: the cost of fetishistic desire

Modern consumption is often seen as leading optimistically to the defusion of class tension and transgression of class boundaries (Cross, Johnson). The department store used to employ "floor-walkers" who advised customers but also drove out "false purchasers" (*Princess* 422). By Woolf's 1920s, the Americanization of the "democratized" "walkabout" stores means that the poorer shopper were more free to

⁴ Benjamin writes of the flâneur that "his last incarnation is as sandwichman" (562). Yet Susan Buck-Morss (1986:122) also points out one fundamental difference between the two, despite the identification – "they remain the 'other' for him [the flâneur], a field of symbolic rather than experienced meaning." She writes that for the flâneur, "projection ... entails not the loss of self, but incorporation of the world as fantasy images within one's own day-dreams (and then losing oneself in *them*) (italics original). Thus to equate the sandwichman's or the whore's sense of selfhood/agency that of the flâneur would be too risky and over-optimistic.

just look and turn the place into a warm, free, bright social center for meeting friends or for visual entertainment (In fact Selfridge's actively promoted its image as the "community center"). But although the new commodity culture's emphasis on surface/body-display threatens to blur class distinctions, with people dressed in ways disproportionate to their social rank and with the display of commodities, or Veblen's "conspicuous consumption", as the new indicator of status, there is another side to the apparently democratizing effects of commodity culture. With the department store's power of arousing insatiable fetishistic desires on the consumer, the inability of desire-appeasing (however temporarily) through ownership leads to greater bitterness and gnawing awareness of the mocking counter-gaze of the commodity and the alterity of the self and its failure/lack (Miss Kilman's disorientation and bitter confusion in Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway*). Instead of the Benjaminian flaneur forgetting shame in the worship of commodity, the poorer shopper is doubly reminded of it, being rejected "empathy" by the commodity (Benjamin 1973: 55). Female commodity fetishism is traditionally seen as leading to the objectifying display of women for the benefit of men, but here another class dimension is inherent in the inability of the poorer female consumer to fully partake in the fetishism of the store, because this fetishism negotiates a sexual difference of class instead of the purely binary differences of gender. In this sense, the commodity (the petticoat in Miss Kilman's case, highly eroticized code), with its cultural signification as well as status indication, takes on an "aura" that Benjamin has not seen as possible in the new era of mass production, albeit in a new sense based on exclusivity. The inability to possess the commodity//cultural capital denotes a harsher cultural rejection (in Kilman's case a lack of a fulfilling female sexuality), and the aroused but thwarted desire finds a compensating outlet in (if not kleptomania) the indulgence of cheaper purchases (in Kilman's case a devouring of cheap food), prolonging the economically crippling cycle of insatiable desire.

The above-mentioned three types of female experience in the modern department store are important parts in women's participation in modern commodity culture, and provide crucial contextualized evidence to the ambivalent relationship between modern consumption and female public subjectivity. This project thus focuses on the literary representations of such female experience in the London novels of Gissing, James and Woolf, but also seeks to use other contemporary sources like women's magazines, department-store's in-house journals and historical data as supplementary materials, in order to unravel the embedded issues of consumption, modern urbanity, the scopic regime and their interaction with gender, class and race, all conflated in the discursive site of the modern department store.

