HÁSKÓLI ÍSLANDS
Hugvísindasvið

Japanese Dolls
Then and Now

Ritgerð til BA-prófs í Japönsku máli og menningu

Guðrún Emilía Halldórudóttir
Sigrún Lea Halldórudóttir

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Guðrún Emilía Halldórudóttir
Sigrún Lea Halldórudóttir
Kt.: 220591-2719
220591-2639

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Abstract

In this thesis the evolution of the Japanese *ningyou* (doll) from a shamanistic religious phenomenon to a commercialised good will be looked into.
The first Japanese *ningyou* to surface was the *Dogu*, being a very probable fertility symbol; it was of a large importance to the Japanese people, as fertility of the earth, animals and the people and was therefore very important to the society.
With the *Haniwa*, the Japanese ningyou received another meaning; protection.
These two elements, fertility and protection became the two most important factors of the Japanese *ningyou* over the centuries to come.

With the appearance of the *Amagatsu* and the *Hoko*, the *ningyous'* significance deepened and with their evolution, the ningyo received a more permanent place in society. However, in modern times, such values have come to not matter as much. As time passed and the ningyo succumbed to immense popularity they also succumbed to the effect of commercialisation. Due to this the *ningyou* slowly lost its connection to fertility and protection and their importance shifted to the aesthetics side.
Other modern ningyo have also succumbed to commercialisation; the *Kokeshi* in the form of the *kindai Kokeshi ningyou,* and the Ball jointed dolls, even though the idea of them is not originally Japanese, the execution of the Japanese and the Japanese commercialised society has made them what they are.

Thus this thesis comes to the conclusion that the ningyo that used to be highly valued as a shamanistic and religiously important in the lives of the Japanese people, is now merely a product of commercialisation.

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"'Human shape' could serve both heaven and hell. It could cure and kill. It symbolized life and death. In its first phase, it was fate petrified, but personified, too." (Baten, 2000; 9)

Introduction

This essay is about Japanese dolls, or *ningyou*, the human form. The word *ningyou* applies to all things human shaped and will be used instead of dolls, as it gives a more accurate description of the term that is the Japanese doll; as a *ningyou* is simply not just a toy.

Dolls have been an immense interest of ours ever since we were young. Even as we started to grow up from playing with them we still enjoyed owning dolls and even today we enjoy, and collect dolls. From our interest in dolls and Japanese culture, it was only a matter of time that we would become interested in the Japanese dolls, which we later did.
As we grew older, however, our interest started shifting from the dolls that children usually play with, and shifted more into collectible dolls. For example, dolls called *Pullip*[1] and later on a type of dolls called Ball-jointed dolls, and in that category are dolls of many sizes and forms, from many companies. However they all had one thing in common, they all have a body that can be posed in ways often similar to the human body. We will also touch on that subject in our thesis as the BJD's (short for Ball-jointed dolls), as they are known in modern times, originate from Japan.

One of our first encounters with a *ningyou* was when visiting our great-grandmother. Sitting in her window was a Japanese *ningyou* (which we later on learned is called *Ichimatsu ningyou)*, fully dressed in a beautiful red *kimono* - traditional Japanese clothing with a beautiful golden *obi,* a sash used to hold the *kimono* together, tied around her waist. That was our only encounter with a real Japanese *ningyou* for some years. Aside from *Ichimatsu*[2] we also had an encounter with a *Kokeshi ningyou* upon entering Japan. The *Kokeshi ningyou*[3] that we encountered were usually *kindai Kokeshi ningyou* **(**modern *Kokeshi ningyou*) style of the *Kokeshi ningyou*, which many Japanese collectors argue are not real *Kokeshi ningyou* (McDowell, 2011: 33).

The *Kokeshi ningyou* originated from the *Tohoku* (North-east part of Japan) as a toy made out of leftover wood for children to play with. The *Kokeshi* will be better expanded upon later in the chapter on *Kokeshi ningyou*, where misunderstandings about the *Kokeshi*

[1] Asian fashion doll, originating from South Korea (http://hubpages.com/hub/Facts-About-Pullip-Dolls).
[2] A dress able doll made in tribute to the Kabuki actor, Sanogawa Ichimatsu I (Baten, 2000: 39).
[3] Wooden doll, has a cylinder body with a round head (Baten, 2000: 55).

will be explained alongside the commercialisation of the *Kokeshi ningyou* and the *Kindai Kokeshi ningyou* (modern *Kokeshi ningyou*, post WWII) will also be explained (Pate, 2008: 168).

Originally in the making and using of *ningyou* in Japan there was usually a purpose for the *ningyou*, whether it was for purification or protection, there always seemed to be a certain usage of the *ningyou*. What this thesis seeks to look into, alongside with the history of the *ningyou*, is how the purpose and use of the *ningyou* changed from what it used to be; that is how the *ningyou* went from being a highly religious phenomenon, and how the love of aesthetically beautiful things became more valued as the modern times drew in and the *ningyou* slowly lost its ties to the gods.

In this thesis we will discuss the shamanistic and religious importance of Japanese *ningyou* within a historical framework, and argue that even though the *Hina matsuri* (A Japanese festival also known as Girls Day) is still prevalent and a big part of the Japanese culture, the original societal importance of the dolls has changed and seems to have been replaced with the aesthetic value of the dolls. To prove this we will go into detail of the history of the first ningyou, the *Dogu* and the *Haniwa,* and the *ningyou* after them, the *Hina ningyou*, *Kokeshi ningyou* and the Ball-jointed dolls. Then as we move onto modern times we will go into the topic of commercialisation and how that has changed the use of the Japanese *ningyou*.

Where are the Origins?

What can be categorised as a doll? If one takes the Japanese word for dolls, 人形 (read as *ningyou*), and scrutinises the meaning of this word, it can be seen that the two *kanji*[4], mean both human (人) and form (形). Seeing as such, the Japanese *ningyou* refers to dolls of human form. It might then be possible to take every man made human form in Japan and put it under the category of dolls. Researching the Japanese *ningyou* books, most of them include the *Dogu* and *haniwa* figures as the beginning of the Japanese *ningyou*; since according to resources these two *ningyou* are the first ones to have been made in Japan (Gribbin, 1984: 6, 8; Pate, 2005: 9).

The *Dogu* are clay figures in the shape of a human of which most are often women that seem to be pregnant (Dogu, 28th of May 2013). The first instances of *ningyou* in Japan have been argued to have been the *Dogu.* They were originally made in the *Jomon Period*, ca.12.000BC–250BC, however, according to one source the origins of the *Dogu* can be traced to ca. 3000-200BC. However the first surviving samples of the *Dogu* are from the middle of *Jomon period* (Gribbin, 1984: 6; Pate, 2008: 177; Pate, 2005: 9).

The purpose of the *Dogu* is believed to have been for ritual uses. Although there are no written accounts on the use of *Dogu*, the shape and looks highly suggests that they were used as fertility charms for people, animals and plants; since survival relied heavily on the continuity of life. Based on the location that the *Dogu* have been found in, it has been concluded by some that the *Dogu* were ritually sacrificed to the earth for fertility and conception. Other than being sacrificed to the earth, they are believed to have been distributed within the community after being ritually broken. This is believed to be, as the *Dogu* appears to have been created in a way that allowed them to be easily broken (Gribbin, 1984: 7; Baten, 2000: 9, 25; Pate, 2005: 9).

These speculations of the *Dogus'* use and importance are mostly drawn from how many of them were in the form of pregnant women, and their shamanistic look, but thousands *Dogu ningyou* have been excavated. Seeing as how many of them exist, their importance to the Japanese people of their time cannot be denied (Pate, 2005: 9; Baten, 2000: 25).

[4] Kanji is the writing system that the Japanese adapted from China (Fahr-Becker, 2006: 720).

Haniwa are considered along with the *Dogu* to be the origin of the *ningyou.* The *Haniwa* were developed during the *Kofun Period,* (250-552AD) otherwise known as the Tomb Period (Gribbin, 1984: 7) - although there are differing theories that state that the *Kofun Period* was AD 300-710, not AD 250-552 (Fahr-Becker, 2006: 579). According to the chronicles of the history and origins of the Japanese race, the *Nihongi* (written ca. 720), the *Haniwa* were made as substitutes to human and animal sacrifices, and also made to follow their lords to the afterlife as a protective measure, This is most likely why the *Haniwa* appear in so many shapes, such as soldiers, falconers, dancers and jolly farmers wearing straw hats. The physical appearance of *Haniwa* is in a way very similar to the *Terracotta army* in China (Baten, 2000: 9; Gribbin, 1984: 8-9).

The *Terra Cotta* army, built by the order of the First Emperor in China[5], *Huang Di*, was an army of clay statues that were placed in the Tomb of the First Emperor, and it is believed that the *Haniwa* could have been inspired by the Terra Cotta army with the knowledge that the *Men of Wa* brought with them to Japan. The First Emperor could just as well have used life sacrifices, but he most likely realised that those sacrifices would follow him to the other side, making it so that there would have been no protection in the living world, nor would they be able to fight. So for his tomb to have protection, a human shaped statue would be a better choice (Man, 2008: 128).

The *Men of Wa* came to Japan through *Kyuushuu* from China, later on migrating to what is today called *Nara*, during the *Jomon* period, right before the *Kofun* period. With them they brought more advanced culture than what the *Jomon* people had, and most likely also the idea of *Terra Cotta* – which then turned into the *Haniwa*.

Aside from the advanced culture that they brought, they also brought with them rites and rituals, which they put great emphasis on. These rites and rituals were pantheistic in nature and would later on inspire ritual objects, including the *Hitogata*, *Amagatsu* and *Hoko* (Gribbin, 1984: 7-8).

The use of the *Haniwa* in the tombs was for protection, sharing similarities to the *Terra Cotta*, although the *Haniwa* where placed and half buried around the Japanese tombs. The reason for the *Haniwa* being half buried must have come from the tradition that the personal attendants of the deceased being taken and half of their bodies buried in the ground

[5] Although commonly referred to as the first emperor, Huang Di was not the first emperor (Man, 2008:128).

while they were still alive. There, they were left to die a slow and painful death (Pate, 2005: 10).

The first *ningyou* in Japan were the *Dogu* and *Haniwa*. The *Dogu,* appearing in the Jomon period while the Haniwa was most likely an influence by the Chinese Terra Cotta. Originating from different periods they both had a deep meaning to the Japanese society in that they held protective and fertility elements that were important to the Japanese people.

With the early introduction of these two *ningyou* in the Japanese culture, the importance of talismanic figurines can be seen. The Japanese society demanded an easy belief system, something that they could use as a means of spiritual survival, and these *ningyou* served as exactly what the society needed at the time. Then with the introduction of Buddhism following the end of the *Kofun* period, the use of the *Haniwa* and *Dogu* faded and a new form of *ningyou* got introduced that later evolved into the *Amagatsu* and *Hoko* (Pate 2005: 10).

Hina

There are quite a few types of the *Hina ningyou*, the *Amagatsu*, *Houko*, *Tachi Bina*, *Kan'ei Bina*, *Kyouho Bina*, *Jirozaemon Bina*, *Yuzoku Bina*, *Kokin Bina* and the Muro*machi Bina*. However the latter six dolls are all different types of the *Dairi Bina*, who respectively are evolutions of the *Amagatsu* and *Hoko*.
These *Hina* are the ones that best represent the *ningyou* forms that developed during the *Edo* period (1600-1868). In fact, these *Hina* always appeared in pairs, and these pairs would always be placed on the highest part of the *Hina* display. These *Hina* as pairs were called the *Dairi Bina*.

The development of so many kinds of the *Dairi Bina*, instead of only one kind of the *Dairi Bina*, could be said to be the direct influence of the growing market for *ningyou*, and therefore the growing market for the *Hina* and all the dolls around them.

Two of the most important dolls would most likely be the *Houko* and *Amagatsu*, which have been thought to be the predecessors of the *Dairi Bina*. The *Houko* and the *Amagatsu* are thought of as a pair, where the *Amagatsu* is the male equivalent while the *Houko* is the female one.

Although not strictly a part of the *Hina ningyou*, the *Nademono*[6] (Rubbing thing) also played a large part in the history of Japanese *ningyou*, as they are believed to be *Amagatsu's* ancestor. The *Nademono* was used to cleanse the evil from the body and soul, by rubbing it against the body and then breathing on it. The *Nademono* was then released into the river and was then allowed to float away with all the evil it had cleansed from the body. This was known as *Suma no harai*. Although first made out of grass, it later evolved into being made out of paper. This tradition originally came from the Chinese festival called in Japanese; *Yomi no Sekku* (Festival of the snake), which happens on the third day of the third month. As a consequence, it was not long before the Japanese had adapted this festival to their culture.

Another *ningyou* that played a large part of the doll display is the *Tachi Bina*, but the *Tachi Bina* also bears a lot of liking to the *Amagatsu* and *Houko*.

[6] Also known as *Nagashi Bina* (Drifting doll), due to them floating away in the river (Baten, 2000: 69).

Furthermore, not only is the *Tachi Bina* very similar to the *Amagatsu* and *Houko*, but in most probability is the idea of the *Tachi Bina's* form drawn from the *Amagatsu* and *Houko*. This likeness will be further explored in a later section about the *Tachi Bina* (Pate, 2005: 84-94; Baten, 2000: 13; Gribbin, 1984: 18; Casal 1967: 37, 40, 41).

The *Dairi Bina* were seen as temporary resting places for gods that came down to earth during the *Hina matsuri.* This resting place is known as *Yorishiro* by the Japanese people (Pate, 2008: 54; Pate, 2005: 93).

> " *Yorishiro* is a native Japanese concept in which an object, be it natural such as a tree or a rock, or a fashioned object such as a shrine or a sculpture, could serve as a temporary abode, a vehicle through which the *kami*[7] could dwell within the human realm and become an active participant in the community for a short duration before returning to the other world" (Pate, 2005: 93)

The spirits stayed in the *Dairi Bina* and there they were entertained and in turn gave their blessing to the home for the year to come (Pate, 2005: 94).

The shape of the *ningyou* was talismanic to the Japanese people, and as such they looked for protection in the *ningyou* for their children. The *Amagatsu*, born from these beliefs, was made for each child before they were born to protect them from malevolent forces, and then placed next to the child at birth. Babies and young children were seen as especially susceptible to evil spirits and sickness. Important factors that protective toys for children had to have were that they either should be red, could move, make noise or have a terrifying expression to frighten away the bad things that they were protecting the children from (Baten, 1995: 18).

The *Amagatsu* was believed to absorb illnesses and ward off evil forces. Magic formulas were written and glued on the *Amagatsu* for protection. Then the *Amagatsu* was draped in the children's clothes for cleansing, put on the *Kamidana* (the god shelf) to protect the mother; and also put next to a sleeping child to guard it while it was sleeping (Baten, 2000: 13; Casal, 1967: 41).

The *Amagatsu* was brought with the child on shrine visits as protection. One of the important shrine visits would be the visit to *Miyamaira*, where the newborn child is taken to

[7] Kami is the Japanese word for god (Fahr-Becker, 2006: 720).

the shrine to be presented and blessed. The *Amagatsu* was taken along, so that it too, would be blessed with the child. As Pate states, the *Amagatsu* were life-long partners to the Japanese people, however Baten states something different; she states that the *Amagatsu* followed the boys until they turned 15, but with women until they married, Baten is supported in this statement by Casal. Whereas according to Pate, the *Amagatsu* was often buried with the women that had owned them. However Pate also states that upon marriage women would often replace their *Amagatsu* with another *ningyou* called *Otogiboko* (nursery crawling doll) alongside with the *Inu Bako*, as both of these *ningyou* were held high in regards to fertility symbolism (Pate, 2005: 84-85; Gribbin, 1984:12; Baten, 2000: 13; Casal, 1967: 41; Pate, The Hina Matsuri – A Living Tradition).

The *Amagatsu* is relatively simple, its T-shape body is made of two wood or bamboo pegs, held together with paper woven around them, then both pegs are wrapped in white silk, but in these practices white was a popular colour as the Japanese saw it as a purifying colour. On the other hand the bottom ends were often wrapped in red silk, but red was used to scare away evil. Beside from being used to scare away evil, red also represented vigour and good fortune (Baten, 1995: 18; Casal, 1967: 52). Before these paper wrappings are added on the *Amagatsu*, there were often prayers and magical formulas written on them to magnify the *ningyous*' protective elements.

The body was then inserted into the peg that made the hands, and thus formed the signifying T-shape of the *Amagatsu*. The head was also inserted into the arms and is made out of paper maché or wood and covered in silk, with a face then painted on the silk. Additionally the nose is a part of the head itself, being visible from beneath the silk. Like mentioned above, aside from the silk in which they were clothed, the *Amagatsu* were also often dressed in children's clothes in the hopes that the *Amagatsu* would draw the evil forces to itself rather than being drawn to the children. Thus the white silk often acted as undergarment for the *Amagatsu*. However aside from drawing evil forces to itself, instead of the child, it was also a favourite pastime of the aristocracy to dress the *Amagatsu* in seasonal clothing. While the *Amagatsu* was seen as the aristocrats', the commoners had the *Amagatsu's* counterpart, the *Houko* (Pate, 2005: 84-85, 91; Baten, 2000: 13; Gribbin, 1984: 12).

The commoner's version of the *Amagatsu*, the *Houko*, has a soft body unlike the hard body of the *Amagatsu*. The *Houko* was made out of padded white silk sewn together so that

the arms and feet point out from the body. The head was made out of wood and had a long neck that was inserted into the body (Gribbin, 1984: 13). The *Houko* had hair on its head, but for its hair either real human hair or black silk thread was used, and was usually parted down the middle and then braided into two braids. The nose of both the *Amagatsu* and *Houko* was carved into their face, so it bulged out, whereas other facial features of theirs were drawn on the silk that was put on the head (Baten, 2000: 37; Pate, 2005: 90).

The origin of the *Houko* is unclear, they might have appeared first in the *Muromachi period* (1338-1573) but it is also said that it developed from an earlier date, along with the *Amagatsu* and *Hitogata* (human shape) during the *Heian period* (794-1185) (Gribbin, 1984 : 10, 13; Breen, 2013: vii; Muromachi period, 2nd of August 2008).

Due to the *Houko's* appearance and lack of information on it, it has been thought of as being the doll of commoners, like mentioned above. The *Houko* having a lot in common with the *Amagatsu* was also used to protect newborn children from evil forces and diseases. It was placed near women as they were giving birth, both to ease the woman's pain and to protect her child when it arrived into the world. Another thing that shows off the *Houko's* use of warding off diseases was that the silk that the *Houko* was sewn from was dyed with Safflower, or *benibana*, but the red colour of the flower was used to ward off disease (Pate, 2005: 89).

The *Amagatsu* and *Houko* pair are believed to be the ancestors of the *Dairi Bina*, but the *Hina* display that is displayed during the *Hina matsuri*, revolves mostly around the top *ningyou*, called the *Dairi Bina*, and as mentioned above they are considered to be the temporary lodging places for the gods. During the *Hina matsuri* the gods would come down to inhabit the bodies of the *ningyou*, and to secure the blessings and protection for the home. The people of the house would include other *ningyou* with the *Dairi Bina*, and offerings, as a means to satisfy the gods. These *ningyou*, made to accompany the *Dairi Bina*, first appeared in the eighteenth century. The first ones made were the *Gonin Bayashi (Five musicians)*, followed by *San'nin kanjo* (three ladies in waiting), *Zujin* (attending ministers) and *Shichou* (three footmen). These *ningyou* together make up the basic form of the *Hina* display (Pate, 2005: 94; Pate, 2008: 54, 57; Murguia 2011: 235).

The *Amagatsu* and *Hoko* evolved from the *Nademono*, seen as a pair they had very similar purposes; protection from evil spirits and diseases. The *Amagatsu* was regarded as the

ningyou for the aristocrats, while the *Hoko* was for the common people. This pair then evolved into the *Dairi Bina* pairs, which became the main part of the *Hina matsuri*, taking its place as a *Yorishiro*.

Although the *Hina* display does not have a longer history than from the *Edo* period (1600-1868), the celebrations around it had been prominent since the *Heian* period (794-1185) (Murguia 2011: 235). The *ningyou* themselves, although not in the exact form as they hold today, have a longer history, as the *Dairi Bina* pair evolved from the *Amagatsu* and *Houko* pair. Due to the continued popularisation of the *Hina* they continued evolving through the *Edo* period (1600-1868).

The Evolution of the Dairi Bina

The *Dairi Bina* is a name for the pairs that always sit at the top of the *Hina* display. These *ningyou* began as very simple *ningyou*. However throughout the centuries they received new forms, and new names, becoming more extravagant with each new addition.

The *Dairi Bina* is a pair of two *ningyou*, one called *O-Bina* (male doll), which is believed to have evolved from the *Amagatsu*, since the early form of the *O-Bina* also had outstretched arms, while the *Me-Bina* (female doll) comes from the *Hoko*. The development of these dolls began in the *Muromachi* period (1338-1573) (Gribbin, 1984: 12).

Two other types of *Hina ningyou* are the *Tachi Bina (Standing doll)* and the *Suwari Bina (Seated doll)*. *Tachi Bina* are dated back to the early 15th century, the male *Tachi Bina*, with his outstretched arms resembles the *Amagatsu*, the female one however has no arms. Before the *Suwari Bina* were developed, the *Tachi Bina* were the only *ningyou* connected to the *Yomi no sekku* celebrations, these celebrations will be further explained in a later chapter. However the miniscule form of the *Kan'ei Bina* represents the first steps in the evolvement of the *Suwari Bina* (Gribbin, 1967: 22, 23; Pate, 2005: 93).

Tachi Bina are among the oldest known *ningyou* in Japan. They are likened with *Nademono* and the ancient Chinese purification rites, which were assimilated into Japanese *Shinto-ism*[8]. The *Tachi Bina* are always made and sold as a pair, the pair also has old protective and fertility connotations (Baten, 1995: 57).

In the earlier form of *Tachi Bina* the body was made out of paper, whereas the head was made of wood. Although the name *Tachi Bina* implies them standing, as *Tachi* means to stand, they are not able to do so without support (Gribbin, 1984: 23).
Tachi Bina's clothes are flat and made out of paper. From the look of the clothes, and the fact that they are made out of paper, it can be concluded that they are closely related to the *Ane-san ningyou*[9] (Gribbin, 1984:24). The *Tachi Bina, similar to the Ane-san ningyou,* were made

[8] *Shinto* is the indigenous religion of the Japanese people. *Shinto* literally means 'the way of the Gods' (Shinto, 29th of October 2013).
[9] Ane-san ningyou are flat folded paper ningyou that mothers made for their daughters to play with (Baten 2000: 15).

as toys for children, but they had the same meaning of protection as the *Houko-Amagatsu* pair and the *Nademono* did (Baten, 2000: 83).

The male *Tachi Bina* has outstretched arms, whereas the female one has no arms, this is not their only difference as the male *Tachi Bina* is 5.08cm taller than the female *Tachi Bina*. The origin of this difference is not known, but possible reasons of this size difference could be related to the *Amagatsu* and the *Hoko*. However this distinction in height could also be to show the difference in rank between men and women.

The older type of *Tachi Bina* had a round face, but as the *Edo* period (1600-1868) passed their faces started to elongate. Their noses were a blob of *Gofun*[10] while narrow lines were painted as their eyes. Near the males' hairline there were two black dots painted, while on the female's hairline hair was painted (Gribbin, 1984: 24).

The clothing of the *Tachi Bina* was either printed or painted with beautiful designs on paper. Later on the paper was replaced by stiff fabric that allowed the *Tachi Bina* to stand independently (Pate, 2005: 93). The head and the clothing of the *Suwari Bina* are extraordinarily beautifully made. Although their clothes are extravagant their bodies are only made out of tightly bound rice straws. While the *Tachi Bina*'s face started as a round face and later developed into a more elongated shape, the face of the *Suwari Bina* can be both. The long faces of the *Suwari Bina* being more of a modern take of the head (Gribbin, 1984: 21, 25, 26).

Even though *Houko* and *Amagatsu* continued to be made and used into the *Edo* period (1600-1868), somewhere along the way, probably late 15th early 16th century, an evolved version of them emerged under the name *Dairi Bina* (Gribbin, 1984: 18).

With the commercialisation and high demand, the *Dairi Bina*, like mentioned above, evolved through time into six different pairs, the *Muromachi Bina*, *Kan'ei Bina*, *Kyoho Bina*, *Jirozaemon Bina*, *Yuzoku Bina* and the *Kokin Bina*. These pairs developed in the Tokugawa period where *Hina ningyou* became quite sought after, making it so that the demand for higher quality *Hina ningyou* became higher and higher.

Muromachi Bina is named after the *Muromachi* period (1336-1568). But even though they were named after this period, some Japanese scholars argue that they were made in the *Momoyama* period (1568-1603) and early *Edo* period (1600-1868). The scholars argued that

[10] *Gofun* is made out of crushed oyster and clamshells, combined with animal-based glue (Pate, 2008: 265).

the materials used for making the *Hina* were not in use during the period, which they got their name from.

Even though the *Muromachi Bina* where in seated position, their posture is very much like that of a male standing *Hina ningyou*; the arms of both the male and female stand out to the sides, however they do not have any hands nor do they have feet.

The *Muromachi Bina's* are very common looking *ningyou*, their attire being that of ordinary folks putting on their best clothes. Both male and female would wear a simple *kimono* using the same pattern (Gribbin, 1984: 26).

Kan'ei Bina received its name from the period that it first appeared in, the *Kan'ei* period (1624-1644). Before the appearance of the *Kan'ei Bina* the *Tachi Bina* were the only dolls associated with the *Yomi no sekku* festival, but the *Kan'ei Bina* represents the first steps of the development of the *Suwari Bina*. What makes the *Kan'ei Bina* significant is that they mark a dramatic shift in emphasis towards *ningyou* as a central defining feature of the *Hina matsuri*. Up to the time that *Kan'ei Bina* appeared, *Tachi Bina* had been prevalent, however with the coming of the *Kan'ei Bina* they started to be replaced by them (Pate, 2005; 94).

Kan'ei Bina were also used in the *Hina Asobi* (Playing with dolls) among the elite classes. But *Hina Asobi* is believed to have been not just play, but of ritual aspects too, done to entertain the gods and dispel impurities (Pate, 2005; 94).

The *Kan'ei Bina* holds many characteristics that became prevalent of most *Hina ningyou* over the next several hundred years. These characteristics were their wooden heads covered with *gofun*, their facial features and black hair painted on, along with the *okimayu* (sky brows). They wore simple court dresses, with arms stretched sideways. The *Kan'ei Bina's* simplicity is in contrast to the complex *Hina* forms that developed during the Edo period (1600-1868). The colour red was prevalent in these dolls until the appearance of the *Kokin Bina* in the late 18th century (Pate, 2005; 94, 96; Baten, 2000: 110).

The male doll, *O-Bina*, wears a traditional cap, the cap and the head being made out of one piece of wood, with a long sword at his side, his trousers are broad and shelf like. While his female counterpart, the *Me-Bina,* was known for her *ben*i red skirt and her painted on hair (Pate, 2005: 94; Baten, 2000: 110).

The change in the facial features of the *Kan'ei Bina* is an important change for the *Hina ningyou* that came after it. The faces of the *Kan'ei Bina* were longer than those of their predecessor, still with their chubby cheeks, however this change was the beginning of the

long-faced, life-like type of *Hina ningyou* that became popular with the round-faced type throughout the *Edo* period (1600-1868), even up to the present day.
There was not a lot of modification done to their bodies, except that while the females' arms continued to stick out, the male gets a hand so that he would be able to hold the imperial sceptre (Gribbin, 1984: 27).

With the *Shogunate*[11] in *Edo* still in its infancy, and long awaited peace, the society could finally begin building a cultural patrimony, making the *Kan'ei* period a big part in the development of *Hina ningyou* (Pate, 2005; 94).
A big boom in creativity throughout the country planted many seeds of artistry and cultural endeavours, and this is also true for the *Hina ningyou* and the *Hina matsuri* (Pate, 2005: 95).

Kyoho Bina, also known as the *Edo Bina*, as it was made in *Edo,* was an answer to a demand of newer, more elegant form of *Hina ningyou*. Just like the *Kan'ei Bina*, they are named after the time period in which they first appeared, the *Kyoho Period* (1716-1736). They are thought to be in many ways similar to their predecessors, the *Kan'ei Bina*. Easily recognised for what they are by their size, facial details and textiles, as they are much more elaborate than earlier models. With popularity and demand the *Kyoho Bina* strayed away from the original sizing and could even be up to 30 inches tall. The *O-Bina* also grew legs, dressed in white socks, instead of only painted hair; either silk or real hair was used for them. The *Me-Bina* received an elaborate crown similar to the *raikan* headdress worn at enthronement ceremonies (Pate, 2005: 97; Casal, 1967: 48).

These *Hina ningyou* are by many considered the finest *Hina ningyou* ever to be made. They draw inspiration from the *Kan'ei Bina*, specifically from their long faces. The *Kyoho Bina* was very uniquely different from other *Hina ningyou* with their bent arms. *Kyoho Bina* had hands, feet and fine clothing. Their clothing pattern and colour were a bit primitive in the sense that both the male and female wore the same patterned and coloured *kimono*. Their body, also primitive, was angular and flat, reminiscent of the *Tachi Bina*. However these are the features that gave them the reputation of the finest *Hina ningyou* ever made. They reached their peak around the 19th century and by that time they had achieved a form of elegance, that had never before been achieved, and never again reached by another *Hina ningyou*.

[11] Shogunate was the government of Japan from 1192-1867. It was a hereditary military dictatorship with a shogun, the highest-ranking military officer ruling (Shogunate, 1st of February 2011).

The face of the *Kyoho Bina* is covered thickly with *gofun*, eyes heavy-lidded and with sensual mouths. The hands only lightly whitened have long spiky fingers. Their attire was mostly green and pale orange-red, which was the typical colour scheme in mid-*Edo ningyou* costumes. These colours were achieved by using *tade ai* (Japanese indigo) and *Beni Bana* (safflower). Their *kimono*s were then multilayered and made out of thickly padded silk, crepe and figured brocade. The edges were bound in silk and gradated colours, the outermost *kimono* decorated with cross-stitching.
The older *Hina ningyou* have elaborately detailed clothing, with the female *Hina ningyou* often dressed in as many as seven layers of thickly padded *kimono* in a court style dress known as *itsutsuginu*[12].

The appearance of the *Kyoho Bina* is seen as very disciplined and their elegance very low-key. As such they received a lot of popularity from the *samurai*[13] class. With the decline of the *samurai* in the mid-to-late *Meiji (1868-1912)*, so did the popularity of the *Kyoho Bina* decline. Before their popularity declined, however, they also got caught in the wild demand, where the bigger the better was the rule. Still surviving pairs of *Kyoho Bina* stand as tall as 61cm, and those of the best quality were often made in sets with ladies-in-waiting, musicians and pages (Baten, 2000: 141; Gribbin, 1984: 28, 29).

The first appearance of the *Jirozaemon Bina* in its form that it has become known by was in the *Enkyo* period (1744-1747). *Jirozaemon Bina* came to be when the market demanded a new version of the *Dairi Bina*. The *Jirozaemon Bina* is quite similar to the *Muromachi Bina*, except that their arms were bent (Pate 2005; 103, 106; Gribbin, 1984: 27).

The *Jirozaemon Bina* are called after the artist who made them; *Okada Jirozaemon*. He was associated with a *ningyou* store in *Kyoto* called *Ohinaya* (literally meaning a doll shop), this store was distinct for the fact that it was the official supplier of *Hin*a *ningyou* to the Imperial family. They soon became widely popular, and were more correctly proportioned. However due to their popularity many *ningyou* shops in *Kyoto* and *Edo* copied *Jirozaemons'* work and due to that, all *Hina ningyou* with a round face are now called *Jirozaemon Bina*, whether they are old or new (Pate, 2005; 103; Gribbin, 1984: 27; Casal, 1967: 48).

[12] A five-layered silk dress (Sorai, 1999: 182).
[13] The samurai's were aristocratic warriors in Japan (Farh-Becker, 2006: 725).

They started out as a very common-like *Hina ningyou*, similar in attire to the *Kan'ei Bina*. However they steadily became more refined and beautifully dressed. By the beginning of the 19th century their clothing consisted of the finest silks and brocades, duplicating the attire of the *Heian* court. By this time they had also developed hands, but the true *Jirozaemon Bina* that *Jirozaemon* created had started out without any hands (Gribbin, 1984: 27).

Jirozaemon Binas' attires are closely related to actual court wear. Black was a widely used colour in their attire, but the *O-Binas' outer* clothing was very often black, while on the other hand the *Me-Binas'* innermost garment was black. Their faces were relatively simple as no features were carved in their faces, the noses made with a blob of *gofun*, while other features were painted on. These facial features of the *Jirozaemon Bina* are very similar to the *Hoko* and *Amagatsu*. Along with the round face of the *Jirozaemon Bina*, which makes them differ from the other *Hina*, their clothing was what made them distinctive, wearing the most formal attires of the upper class people, the *sokutai*[14]. The *Jirozaemon Bina* dressed in the same was as the upper class people during the *Edo* period (1600-1868) (Pate, 2005; 103, 106).

The *Yusoku Bina* made its appearance at a similar time as the *Jirozaemon Bina*, only a few years later, in the year of 1755. The *Yusoku Bina* was made to cater to the needs of those that kept to the reality of the court life, but the *Yusoku Bina's* attire and look was made to look like the people of the court (Pate, 2005; 106, 108).

What distinguishes the *Yusoku Bina* from other *Hina* are the textiles used in their attire. The *O-Bina* has five different coat styles, from formal to semi formal. These coats are worn over a single *hitoe* (unlined under *kimono*) and *sashinuki* (trousers). Then he has a *kanmuri* or *eboshi* style court headdress; in hand he holds a *hiogi* (fan) or a *shaku* (sceptre). The *Me-Bina* wears a *kouchiki* (outer robe) with a *hitoe*; under it she wears a *nagabakama* (long divided skirt). Her hair is a single braid down her back with the front either pulled back or braided in two side braids, which would indicate a either engaged or married status, and then the *Me-Bina* would usually hold a *hiogi* (Pate, 2005: 108, 109; Baten, 2000: 124).

The *Yusoku Bina* got its name from the court people, as there existed manuals for the court people called the *Yusoku.* In these manuals the court people learned how they were supposed to dress and behave, and due to these manuals the *Yusoku Bina* received their name.

[14] Clothing worn by the Emperor at important ceremonies and coronations (Sokutai, 23rd of September, 2013).

The attire of the *Yusoku Bina* was the correct court dress that the people of the court wore, and as such befitting as a name for them (Pate, 2005; 108, 109; Gribbin, 1984: 79).

The *Osaka ningyou* artist, *Hara Shugetsu*, made the *Kokin Bina* in 1770. Around that time *Edo* was very conscious of the many aesthetics in life and everyone followed closely by the newest trend. The *Hina ningyou* were ever growing in popularity from the 18th century and onwards, with the perceived market leader, the *Hina Ichi* (Doll Market) constantly producing new *Hina ningyou* as per order. Many *Hina ningyou* were made, although not nearly all were successful. However, the *Kokin Bina* came out as a success. The *Kokin Binas'* popularity was such that a comedy was made about a *Jirozaemon Bina* pair, complaining of the new style from *Kyoto*, the *Kokin Bina* (Baten, 2000: 112; Gribbin, 1984: 29; Pate, 2005: 114, 116).

The faces of the *Kokin Bina* brought out a new bolder and a greater aesthetical realism, with their long chubby face and painted chins. Compared to the stylised *Kyoho Bina* and the round *Jirozaemon Bina* the *Kokin Bina* shows a much better quality in sculpture (Pate, 2005: 116; Gribbin, 1984: 29).

The *O-Bina* wears a Silk *hou* (outer layer *kimono*) in black, and *sashinuki* pants. On his head he has a *Kanmuri*, in his right hand he holds a *shaku* and a slightly curved sword rests at his left hip. The *Me-Bina* is dressed in excessive brocades, and a *karaginu* (Short sleeved jacket), their clothes similarities were that they were made out of the same fabric for the majority of the clothes. On her head she wears a sophisticated metal crown. Both the *Me-Bina* and *O-Bina* have *ohaguro* (Blackened teeth), but the *Me-Bina* has the *okimayu* while the *O-Bina* does not.

The *Kokin Bina* pair is greatly treasured, as they represent the finest of the long faces, elaborately dressed, seated *Hina ningyou* (Pate, 2005: 116; Gribbin, 1984: 25).

The first evolution of the *Dairi Bina* from the *Hoko-Amagatsu* pair was the *Muromachi Bina* in the year 1336. The *Muromachi Bina* was a straightforward doll, as it was made out of straws with a woodenhead. After them there was the *Kane'ei Bina* in 1624, taking the first steps towards the *Suwari Bina* form, they made the path for future *Dairi Bina*. Becoming more detailed the *Kyoho Bina* got introduced in 1716, they were larger and had more elegance than their predecessors. About 30 years later, in 1744, another *Dairi Bina* developed, called the *Jirozaemon Bina*; starting out plainly, they became more refined with

time, mimicking aristocratic clothing. Only a year later a new *Dairi Bina*, the *Yuzoku Bina,* was created. They did not only mimic the aristocracies' clothing, but adhering to strong rules their attire was like that of the Aristocrats. Bringing in more realism the *Kokin Bina* appeared in the year 1770. Being considered the finest of the *Dairi Bina*, they are greatly treasured. With the *Dairi Bina* pairs becoming more elegant and extravagant, their original purpose as a dwelling place for the gods diminished and they turned into a status symbol.

This evolution of the *Hina ningyou* was far away from being shamanistic or religious, it was however very much influenced by the commercialisation brought on by modernity. The commercialisation of the *Hina ningyou* did not only affect the looks of the *Hina ningyou*, but also the whole aspect of the *Hina matsuri* surrounding them.

Doll Festival

The biggest festival in Japan surrounding dolls is the *Hina matsuri*, or the Doll festival, even though the *Hina matsuri* is still celebrated today the original meaning of the festival is lost to most Japanese people. In ancient times the *Hina matsuri* was about the cleansing of body and soul, but as it moved closer to modern times, it was the festivities and beauty of the festival that mesmerised the Japanese people (Murguia, 2011: 232).
The form of *Hina matsuri* that is known today to most people is a relatively new one.

The name of this festival, *Hina matsuri* comes from *Hina Asobi*[15], a game that was played during the *Heian* Period (794-1185), but this game copied court life with the use of *ningyou*, dollhouses and models. This in no way means that this particular game is related to the festival, however from this game the word *Hina* came to be used when talking about paper *ningyou*, and later it became associated with the *Hina matsuri*. As mentioned in the chapter about the *Hina ningyou*, the *Hina ningyou* had by the *Edo* period (1600-1868) received a name and a form, followed with a tremendous increase in popularity. *Hina matsuri* started to spread over Japan, reaching even the most isolated places. Just as the *Hina ningyou* became popular in a short while, they also became an important aspect of the Japanese peoples' life very quickly. Where a home without a display of the *Hina ningyou,* on the 3rd of March, was a sad home. This is due to the fact that a home without the *Dairi Bina*, would not be able to greet the gods into their home to entertain them, in turn receiving blessings from the gods.

The *Hina matsuri* is an old festival that used to be known as *Yomi no Sekku* (Day of the snake). *Yomi no Sekku* is an old festival originating from China, and after making its way to Japan, was recognised by the Japanese court in 701. The festival is largely adapted from China, but the first records of the festival are from the year 485. At that time *ningyou* were thrown in water as a rite of purification (Baten, 2000: 141; Gribbin, 1984: 20, 21; Roy, 2005: 429; Pate, 2005: 82; Yasuda, 1996: 10).

[15] A game that copied human life using ningyou and other miniature furniture's, but historically this game is believed to have had some ritual aspects to it as well. Such as entertaining the gods and dispelling impurities (Pate, 2005: 94)

During this festival *Nademono* were rubbed over the body to take away evil forces, and then thrown into the river as a purification rite (Pate, 2005: 93). They were believed to possess the power to drive away misfortune and as such names of children were written on the *Nademono* and then they were rubbed on the child in the belief that sicknesses and bad fortune would be transferred on the *ningyou*[16] (Coppock, 2000: 53).

The act of throwing away *ningyou* is still done every year at the *Awashima Shrine,* in *Wakayama*, but with this part of the *Hina matsuri,* that still exists today, we can see traces of the older traditions where the *Nademono* were thrown in the river. In the *Awashima* shrine women dedicate their old *ningyou* to the shrine deity to pray for good fortune in marriage and childbirth. Then on the third day of the third month the *ningyou* that have accumulated throughout the year at the shrine are, after a purification rite, released at sea, in a wooden boat. This would purge all the sicknesses and evil that could haunt the women.
In one *Shinto* ritual that was performed for purification on the third day of the third month, paper dolls called *Kata Shiro* would be cast into water or burned, taking the users sins with them[17] (Pate, 2005: 82).

Although Alan Scott Pate writes in his book that the *Hina matsuri* had mostly to do with the purification of the emperor, and as such also the purification of the nation; not with children as it does now a days, the original purpose of the festival was the purification of the body and soul, as it began with the *Yomi no sekku* (Pate, 2005: 82).

After the festival began it has developed and changed. As it developed in the form of the *Hina matsuri,* as it is known today, the *ningyou* themselves gradually became more extravagant as they evolved from *Nademono* and other *ningyou*, such as the *Amagatsu* and *Hoko*. These *ningyou* had very similar purposes in purifications for children and as their talismans (Pate, 2005: 83).

What marked the beginning of *Hina matsuri,* as we know it today are the occasions when *Tokygawa Iemitsu*[18] gave Princess *Okiko* a *Hina ningyou* set in 1628, and a year later in 1629 when Princess *Okiko* ascended the throne. It was then, at only seven years of age that her nursemaid gave her a *Hina dogu*[19]. With Princess *Okiko* being the offspring of *Tokugawa*

[16] http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/jshoaf/Jdolls/hina.htm
[17] http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/jshoaf/Jdolls/hina.htm
[18] Third ruler of the *Shogunate*, he ruled from 1623 till 1651 (Pate, 2005: 95)
[19] Accessories for the *Hina ningyou* (Pate, 2005: 96)

Iemitsu's sister, *Tokugawa Masako*, the *Tokugawa* family[20] now had power both in *Edo* and *Kyoto*. This change is seen as to have direct impact on the development of the *ningyou* and the *Hina matsuri*. This impact can be seen in the year 1629 when the *Hina* display was fixed into the calendar. Then in March the year the Princess ascended the throne, the *Yomi no sekku*[21] celebration was held at the palace. During these years of *Yomi no sekku* celebrations, a very particular set of *ningyou* was displayed. This display was a mark of the beginning of modern day *Hina matsuri* (Pate, 2005: 95, 96).

Starting out as a primitive festival, the *Hina matsuri* has evolved through the centuries from being a ritual of cleansing your body and soul with the *Nademono*, into becoming a festival were the gods could come down to rest and have fun.
With the ascension of Princess *Okiko*, the *Hina matsuri* started to evolve into the form that is practiced today. Not only that but the festival, or rather the *ningyou* involved in it, also turned into a symbol of status and commercialised goods. Now being mostly a commercialised product of the modern period.

Although *Hina matsuri* is translated as the Festival of the Dolls, the word doll is not conveying the exact meaning like it is held by the Japanese people, as western people view the word *ningyou* or doll, far differently than Japanese people do. To western people a doll is a plaything, whereas Japanese people consider *Hina* to be a doll to be looked at and admired (Casal, 1967: 36). The *Hina* display in today's society fulfils those requirements, as even though it is dedicated to young girls, it is not to be played with, only admired from afar.

[20] The family that ruled Japan for the longest time, with their skilful management of the domestic economy (Gribbin, 1984: 13).
[21] The *Yomi no sekku* celebration is the ancient festival that has now been named *Hina matsuri.*

The Hina Display

In the beginning of the *Hina* display it was just a pair of *ningyou*, but by the middle of the *Edo* period (1600-1868), other *ningyou* accompanying them started surfacing. At first these *ningyou* belonged to sets belonging exclusively to the court nobility. Over time the idea reached the middle classes, the *ningyou* grew in numbers and accompanying furniture also did. Subsequently this caused the *ningyou* to shrink in size as to make space for other *ningyou*. The *Hoko* and *Amagatsu,* previously mentioned in the chapter about *Hina,* were stored away for aesthetic reasons (Gribbin, 1984: 32).

The *Hina* display itself started as a two level dais, draped with a red cloth. Each level was quite deep, but as the *Hina ningyou* grew in numbers so did the levels and they also became shallower. With the *Hina ningyou* arranged by rank, the *Dairi Bina*[22] decorated the top, in front of folding screens.

Maybe the idea of the *Hina* display came from the *kamidana*[23]. But in every Japanese person's home there was a *kamidana* where they would put up the *Nademono* before they were used. There, the gods would be offered food and drink as was done with *Shinto* divinities and ancestors. Important amulets would also have been placed on the *kamidana* and prayed to, but from these traditions the custom of keeping the *Hina* display on shelves arose. During the *Hina matsuri*, girls would put up the display and prepare food on lacquer trays to place before the *Dairi Bina* (Baten, 1995: 123; Casal, 1967: 40).

The continuous evolution of the *Hina* display is most likely thanks to *Tokugawa Ienari*, the reigning *Shogun* from 1787 to 1837. He had a very large family, including over 50 children. Presumably many of those would have to have been girls. So in trying to keep his girls happy, he laid great importance on the *Hina matsuri*. He had a special atelier, where several workmen worked on making *Hina* for him and it is very probable that in *Ienaris'* court the festival became more elaborate and standardised to some extent (Casal, 1967: 51) The aesthetic value of the *Hina* display became so highly valued that the *Tachi Bina* were removed from it, being considered too big and clumsy for the rest of the display (Pate, 2005: 114).

[22] The *Dairi Bina* were the dolls the gods come down to rest in.
[23] *Kamidana*; meaning a god shelf, is a household shelf which serves as an altar for the Shinto gods.

The *Hina* display most likely evolved from the *kamidana*, as they served similar purposes, only that the *Hina* display evolved into a status symbol, while the *kamidana* maintained it previous purpose. With the *Hina* display becoming grander, the *Tachi Bina* was taken out of it as it was considered to be too big and inelegant.

The *Hina ningyou* changed from being shamanistic and of religious aspects, in to being a commercialised product of the modern day. They were not the only *ningyou* in the modern times to get commercialised, however other modern *ningyou* never had the great importance that the *Hina ningyou* used to hold.

Kokeshi

The *Kokeshi ningyou* are *ningyou* that originally came from the *Tohoku* (a region in north-eastern Japan) area. Due to the innocent look of the *Kokeshi ningyou*, they are by few people thought to have been created as a memorial to lost children, whether the loss was abortion, death or a girl sent to a brothel. Due to the harsh circumstances of life it was not uncommon that children died, or were even left out to die, for there was no food to feed them, due to harsh and long winters. This could explain the name of the *Kokeshi ningyou, ko* (子) meaning child, while *keshi* (消し) means to erase. Although not believed by all, as the *Kokeshi ningyou* is donned with a playful smile and extravagant colours. The name *Kokeshi* can also hold another meaning, where *ko* (小) would mean small and *keshi* (芥子) would mean poppy. *Kokeshi ningyou* are always made to look like girls (Baten, 2000: 55; Gribbin, 1984: 57-58; Kanno, 1998: 265).

Looking through the souvenir stores in the *Narita* airport when leaving Japan, a moderately good selection of modern *Kokeshi ningyou* were available, along with them an explanation of *Kokeshi ningyou* (both in English and Japanese), declaring the *Kokeshi ningyou* to be a toy. However is that really the original meaning of the doll? The *Kokeshi ningyou* has a serene face and a cylinder body, with no arms or legs. But why the lack of limbs on the *Kokeshi*?

With the harsh living conditions in the *Tohoku* area during the 19th century, with the little food there was to live on, there had to be population control, both with new-borns and with the elderly, like *obasute*[24] (Ikels, 2004: 224; The Ballad of Narayama, minute 1:30:40~), and the ratio of the sexes was very important. When a new baby was born there had to be taken a decision whether to keep it or not. Although the *Kokeshi ningyou* are always in the form of a girl, it was in some areas more common to throw out boys, as girls could later be sold for salt, which was not an easy product to get one's hands on (The Ballad of Narayama: 14:40-10:01).

Returning the focus back to the topic of the body of the *Kokeshi ningyou.* With the need to control the population, there also had to be ways to kill the newborn, and the

[24] *Oba* means grandma, and *sute* means to throw away. Taking old people to the mountain was done to control the population and save food.

Japanese had a few. One was when the midwife took care of it by moistening a piece of paper and laying it over the child's mouth and nose. Other when one pressed the child's chest with their knee. Then there was the *usugoro* (mortar killing), which the mother usually took care of. With the *usugoro* the mother wrapped her child in two straw sack lids, tied it up with a rope and laid the wrapped up child on a straw mat. With that she rolled a heavy mortar over the child until it was no longer breathing. Then it was buried and the mother went on with her normal duties (Booth, 1995: 129). With the child being wrapped up like that; with no limbs, it highly suggests that it is the inspiration for the *Kokeshi ningyous'* cylindrical body.

Aside from the *Kokeshi ningyou*, not *many ningyou* are without limbs. Those without limbs are *Daruma*, *Izumeko*, *Oshira sama* and *Teruteru bouzu*. In comparison, these *ningyou* do not have as gruesome reason for having no limbs as the *Kokeshi ningyou*.

The *Daruma is* a popular roly-poly toy in Japan got its name from an Indian legend about a Zen Buddhist that supposedly brought Zen Buddhism to Japan. But *Daruma,* as was his name, sat and meditated for nine years almost without sleep and during that time rats gnawed at various parts of his body and upon trying to stand up, at the end of his meditation, he found out that his legs had wasted away during this time.

The *Izumeko* is a child in a basket, and although the *ningyou* itself appears not to have any limbs, it is technically not a *ningyou* without limbs. The *ningyou* comes from the tradition of putting a child in a basket, as a solution for babysitting.

The *Oshira sama* is seen as the ancestor of finger and hand puppets in northern Japan. *Oshira sama* usually came in a pair and was a phallic and protective god of the household, in the *Aomori* and *Iwate* Prefectures of Tohoku, but they were made out of a stick with clothes of multitude of clothes strips, or dressed in cloaks with a collar made of bells.

Then it is the *Teruteru bouzu*, made out of rag or paper with wool rolled up and placed in the middle with a string then tied around the neck to form a body and a head. The name meaning 'shine, shine, shaven head', is referring to the shaven heads of monks shining in the summer sun. As the *Teruteru bouzu* is put up in hope for good weather (Temple, 2008: 25; Baten, 2000: 41, 77, 89). However is it true that the name *Kokeshi* means to erase a child? Can the *Kokeshi* be given such a gruesome story, only because it has no limbs and a serene face? Has *Kokeshi* always had the second meaning of child erase?

Kokeshi ningyou came to be between 1804 and 1811, but between 1830 and 1843 it fully developed into a children's toy. Around 1920 when hand made toys started falling out

of favour and factory made ones became popular, the *Kokeshi ningyou* started gaining popularity with Japanese traditional folk toy collectors. But these traditional *Kokeshi ningyou* were popular with collectors, who believed it to be important to preserve the *Kokeshi ningyou*, as it was a symbol of Japan's unique character and national heritage (McDowell, 2011; 20).

According to Pate the *Kokeshi ningyou* started out as a hot spring *omiyage*[25] for farmers, made out of scrap wood. These farmers bought the *Kokeshi* as an *omiyage* for their children. Before long it were not only the farmers in the *Tohoku* that started frequenting the *Tohoku* hot springs, but also people from other regions. These people came to be able to buy the *Kokeshi ningyou* as an *omiyage*. Nowadays *Kokeshi kojins*[26] often live in communities close to hot springs due to this (McDowell, 2011: 17; Pate, 2008: 168, 169).

Then if it is as Pate states that *Kokeshi ningyou* started out as an *omiyage* and a children's toy, how is it that it has this story about being a memorial for lost children? According to McDowell this misunderstanding came to be through books, TV series and a song.

After the Second World War the word *keshi* in *Kokeshi* started to gain a new meaning through colloquial speech in detective novels, as it was used in the same meaning as killing and murder. The TV show that also fuelled this misunderstanding was the *Shin nihon kikou futatabi, kokeshi no uta* from the TV station NHK. This series was originally shown in 1971, but in 2006 it was revisited. This show only explored one theory behind the name of the *Kokeshi ningyou*, and was the research behind it not thorough as no *kojin* was consulted about the origins of the *Kokeshi ningyou*, bringing the obvious out, that NHK had not done all the research that they should have done. As can be seen with this TV series, even now in modern times there continue to be misconceptions about the *Kokeshi ningyou*, one recent occurrence was in 2008 when an *enka*[27] singer talks about her song, *Kokeshi Monogatari*, on a radio show. She explains that her song describes the sad history of *Tohoku* and the *kogoroshi*[28] that happened during the harsh winters in *Tohoku* (McDowell, 2011: 176, 177, 178, 180).

[25] Souvenir
[26] *Kojin* being the name for the *Kokeshi* artisan.
[27] Japanese folk songs that have a special vocal style. The songs are describes as being sentimental and self-pitying (Hughes, 1990: 19).
[28] Child killing (McDowell, 2011: 180)

The misunderstanding of the name of the *Kokeshi ningyou* outside of the *Kokeshi* community caused concern among *kokesh*i collectors, as *kojin* and collectors of the *Kokeshi ningyou* show much disgust when infanticide is mentioned in context of the *kokeshi* (McDowell, 2011: 174,179).

So what does *Kokeshi* stand for? During 1940 in trying to separate *Kokeshi ningyou* from other wooden *ningyou, Kokeshi* club members decided to finalize the name of the *Kokeshi ningyou* as *Kokeshi.* In deciding the name, local dialect words were chosen to represent how the *Kokeshi ningyou* is made. These were *ko*, for tree, *ke*, abbreviation for the word *kezuri*, meaning to sharpen like a pencil, and *shi* as a conjunctive particle. Not only was the name not made with the meaning of child killing, but was the word *kesu* not connected with the word at the time (McDowell, 2011: 171).

Due to misleading interpretations of the name of the *Kokeshi ningyou*, people have been assuming that *Kokeshi* means to erase a child, this misunderstanding came to be through detective novels, TV program and a song. As when the name was finalized, *keshi* was in no way connected to erasing a child. The connection of erasing a child to the *Kokeshi ningyou* came with the saying *ko wo kesu* in a novel by the author *Fukuzawa Shichiro* (McDowell, 2011, 176). This is however not the meaning of the name of the *Kokeshi ningyou*, as it was not made as a memorial for lost children, rather a toy for them to play with.

The majority of people that know the meaning behind the *Kokeshi ningyous'* name are the collectors and the *kojin*; they however do not like the connection that has been created recently, connecting the kokeshi with child death. They are however the majority of those that buy the *Kokeshi ningyou*, as the *Kokeshi ningyou* are not aesthetically pleasing to most people outside of the collectors and *kojin* communities.

Collectors

The culture around the *Kokeshi ningyou* is quite different than around other Japanese *ningyou,* because of how they are collected. This hobby has become popular with middle class women and men; as for many collectors this hobby provided a remembrance of the olden days (McDowell, 2011:10, 119).

Kokeshi collectors can be found as early as 1923 in *Sendai*, as during that time the *Sendai Kokeshi Association* was founded, only to end with the death of its chairman in 1999, another Association continues to meet up until today and that is the *Aoba Kokeshi Association*. Previous members of the *Sendai Kokeshi Association* formed the *Aoba Kokeshi Association* in 1984.

The end of one Collecting Association comes to no surprise as after the collecting boom in the 1960's and 1970's the popularity and availability of the *Kokeshi ningyou* dwindled. Where once had been four stores in *Sendai* selling *Kokeshi ningyou*, there is now only one (McDowell, 2011: 16, 17). What had originally prompted the collecting boom in 1970s was the production of the *kindai Kokeshi ningyou*, as the collectors feared that the *Kokeshi ningyou* would be overshadowed by the *kindai Kokeshi ningyou* (McDowell, 2011: 96).

The fall in popularity with the *Kokeshi ningyou* could perhaps be related to the invention of the new *Kokeshi ningyou*, where the form and rules are not as strict as with the "traditional" *Kokeshi ningyou*.

These new styles emerged after the Second World War. These styles were the *shingata* (New style) and the *sosaku* (Creative), collectively known as *kindai Kokeshi* (Modern *Kokeshi*). These new styles gave wood turners new jobs and increased income in the hot spring areas (McDowell, 2011:95). Even though this *kindai Kokeshi* was made in almost the same way as the *Kokeshi ningyou*, the main difference being that the lathe is turned by a machine, not by hand. This made the *kindai Kokeshi* more commercialised as it could easily be made in bulk orders. Thus the collectors make a big difference between them, as to them the *kindai Kokeshi ningyou* is not a real *Kokeshi ningyou*. Their reasoning behind that statement is that it is not "traditional" in the way of the Japanese word *dento*, meaning passing down tradition, nor do the *kindai kokeshi ningyou* artists adhere as strict rules as the *kojin* do (McDowell, 2011: 23, 33, 113). Those families that pass down their *Kokeshi*

ningyou, can often count back as many as five generations as *Kokeshi kojin*. These *artisans* are commonly referred to as *Kokeshi kojin*, or even just *kojin* (McDowell, 2011: 32). The artists that make the *kindai Kokeshi ningyou* have free choice over how they paint their *Kokesh*i *ningyou*, as they are not copying an older design (McDowell, 2011: 95). Giving them more freedom. This also means that for the *kojin* even a small change from the original design would push it into the category of *kindai Kokeshi ningyou*, even if the *kojin* were to only use traditional patterns (McDowell, 2011: 109).

During the Second World War new *omiyage kokeshi ningyou* were produced, from the late 1940s to about mid 1960s. These new *omiyage Kokeshi ningyou* represented local specialties. However not all these *omiyage Kokeshi ningyou* were in the human shape, therefore not recognized by many collectors as *Kokeshi ningyou*. *The omiyage Kokeshi ningyou* were not only disregarded as *Kokeshi ningyou* by the collectors, but *Kokeshi* sellers also did so, however they had to sell them as the customers liked the new shapes of them (McDowell, 2011: 102).

For *Kokeshi* collectors the quality and look is not always what had them buying the *Kokeshi* as the *kojin* behind the *Kokeshi ningyou* was a big factor in the final decision. A *Kokeshi ningyou* in a deep brown colour with faded facial features could demand a high price if the *Kokeshi ningyou* was produced by a *kojin* which popularity outweighed the quality of his *Kokeshi ningyou*. Even with poor condition *Kokeshi ningyou*, or even damaged, if the *Kokeshi ningyou* was produced by the *kojin* during a certain time of the *kojin's* life, it could factor in and drive up the price (McDowell, 2011: 87, 88). A price for a small *Kokeshi ningyou* by a popular *kojin* can go as high as 10.000 yen, as a small *Kokeshi ningyou* by a *kindai kokeshi* artist would cost 4800 yen (McDowel, 2011: 116, 134).

This price is, though highly controlled by the *Kokeshi* collectors, as it is they that decide the popularity of the *kojin's Kokeshi*, and can they be quite the demanding collectors as can be seen with *Kokeshi* museums. *Kojin* families do not favor *Kokeshi* museums, as there their work can be viewed, both the work that they are selling, and the work they have discontinued. This makes it so that if a collector sees in a museum a design he likes, he could potentially pester the *kojin* about the design. Not only was it because of the collectors that they disliked the museum, also did the *kojin* fear that their design could be copied by others (McDowell, 2011: 140).

Why is it that some designs are more valued than the others? According to McDowell

many *Kokeshi* collectors collect *Kokeshi ningyou* that remind them of the times they went to the hot springs with their parents, that the *Kokeshi ningyou* reminded them of their time as children. This could then be the reason why they do not consider the *kindai Kokeshi ningyou* as real *Kokeshi ningyou* as they do not produce the same nostalgia as the *Kokeshi ningyou* do (McDowell, 2011: 119).

When it comes to buying the *Kokeshi ningyou*, collectors would rather go to the home of a *Kokeshi kojin* to buy a *Kokeshi ningyou*, than to go to an event, feeling that festivals are too commercial, but the *Kokeshi* ningyou are traditional. This however is not to get the chance to meet the *kojin*, only to buy the *Kokeshi ningyou*, as the collectors show little to no interest in the *kojin* themselves, no matter how admired the *kojin* is.
Then again, after the economy failing in 1989, collectors have not gotten younger and sales of the *Kokeshi ningyou* have dwindled as the popularity has gone down, making the collectors the *kojins* main income (McDowell, 2011: 121, 124-125, 142).

Now the selling and buying the *Kokeshi ningyou* seems quite restricted inside of the collecting community as it seems only a small percentage of the sales goes to tourists and natives outside of the collecting frenzy. Could that be the reason behind the story of the *Kokeshi ningyou*? Could it be that during the governments nostalgic campaigns in the 1970s and 1980s, that they made up a story about the *Kokeshi ningyou*, to make it more interesting for the common people and tourists? (McDowell, 2011: 6)

Then how is it with other collecting communities within Japan? Another kind of collectable *ningyou*, the Ball-jointed doll, mainly the ones produced by a Japanese company called Volks, have a big community of collectors, and even though the structure of the community and events are the same the culture is widely different.

Ball-Jointed Dolls

A very modern phenomenon is the Ball-jointed doll, usually shortened to BJD. The BJD are collectible dolls that are made in such a way that everyone can find one that they like, and customise it however they want.
Though not the first modern doll, but maybe the most modern of the Japanese *ningyou*, the BJD has no religious, shamanistic, nor historical connotations and is purely the making of commercialism. These dolls made originally by the company Volks out of the need to bring in women customers soared in popularity, as both women and men caught on to their appeal.

In 1935 Japanese surrealists got to know the BJD through a daring photo book made by Hans Bellmer, a German born French surrealist artist, known for his dolls and surrealist photographs. Since then the BJD got more popularised in Japan[29]. Although BJD's are not originally Japanese, but a western tradition, it can be argued that it is thanks to Japan that they have achieved the popularity that they now have. The reason for the popularity behind these dolls is the many ways that they can be customised. Meaning that one BJD face sculpt can have thousands of looks, depending on the wig, eyes, faceup[30] and clothes the owner decides. These are not the only customisable things with the BJD, as some owners may choose to modify the doll in other ways. That is to say, sand the lips eyes, or even body parts into a desired shape.

Ball jointed dolls are dolls, that much like humans can move their limbs almost as well as any human. Though their ability to pose much depends on the company making them, along with what type of body they have. The BJD is usually divided into two categories when it comes to body type. The double jointed and single jointed. Double-jointed bodies are more flexible as compared to the single jointed, when the BJD is only single jointed they are however more dependant on the strings when it comes to their ability to move, rather than the resin piece, called peanut by most collectors, they have when double-jointed.[31]

[29] http://web.archive.org/web/20080527055417/http://www.japattack.com/main/node/140
[30] Faceup is the word used for the dolls makeup.
[31] http://bjd_wtf.livejournal.com/

To get a BJD, finding a company making these dolls would be the starting point, the first company to start to make and sell BJDs' as we know them today is Volks and is Volks one of the worlds most renowned BJD companies today[32]. Founded in 1972 it focused on making garage kits that needless to say mostly attracted the attention of young boys. However, the wife of the owner wanted to appeal to women also, and when she heard of a doll the sculptor *Akihiro Enk* gave to his wife, she found what it was that they were missing[33].

In 1999 Volks created the Super Dollfie, most often shortened to SD. The Super Dollfie was made out of the same material as the garage kits; resin. These dolls are customisable to the extent that their eyes, wig, faceup, and other body parts are changeable. This has received a lot of attention and publicity. This popularity was not short-lived, and not only bound to Japan as Volks have opened many stores around the world, not only that but many other companies have surfaced producing resin casted Ball-jointed dolls[34].

In the year of 2000, a well-known artist named *Gentaro Araki* made a new doll for Volks. This doll was a 60cm doll called U-noss. This doll was very different from the previous SD's that Volks had made, as it was a more mature type of doll, as such it had no compatibility with the SD's[35].

Although *Araki* did not continue on with this line of dolls for Volks, as they discontinued the line in 2004, he however continued on his own. He made 40 centimetre-sized dolls named U-noa, which through their rarity and difficulty in getting received great popularity. *Arakis* U-noas' were the first BJD's to receive the ability of changing facial expressions. This he achieved by making different faceplates. So, instead of making a head were you would usually take the back of the head off to change the dolls eyes, he made it so that the face itself, i.e. the faceplate was removable and thus changeable. He also included a eye mechanism that allowed the owner to change the direction of the dolls eyes, then he made body parts to allow the owner to change the sex of the doll. The U-noa is sold in a kit, meaning the owner would have to assemble the doll themselves, making it so that it is not beginner friendly. Due to the complexity of putting them together many people choose not to get a U-noa as their first doll. Collectors of U-noa hold much pride in these dolls, but the

[32] http://www.laweekly.com/publicspectacle/2011/11/14/pacific-media-expo-introduces-asian-ball-jointed-doll-programming-to-the-convention
[33] http://www.webcitation.org/60XZ0JAJG
[34] http://web.archive.org/web/20080527055417/http://www.japattack.com/main/node/140, http://www.webcitation.org/60Q7nbKA2, http://bjd_wtf.livejournal.com/
[35] http://web.archive.org/web/20080527055417/http://www.japattack.com/main/node/140, http://www.angelden.net/volks/other/unoss.php

collectors are as many and as different in social standing as in their numbers[36]. The U-noa are not readily available dolls, once or twice a year *Araki* opens up his store so that they can be ordered. However, some lines, such as the Unoa Zero are even harder to get, as potential buyers would have to enter a lottery. This lottery happens maybe once a year, and these dolls are usually around 1000 USD[37]. With the high customisability of the BJD, many collectors have started their independent works in creating items for the BJD. These items are furniture, clothes, accessories, wigs, eyes and other small props. Some outfits even cost up to 30000 yen, making up a very thriving business[38].

Admittedly, though Volks has been most known for their Super Dollfies in recent years, the Super Dollfies were not their first dolls. Before them they made the Dollfie, a doll they perceived as a hybrid of a doll and a figurine, hence the name Dollfie. These dolls were smaller in size than the Super Dollfie. So when they made the Super Dollfie, they used the Super to indicate their greatness in size over the "normal" Dollfie[39].

Super Dollfie is not the only BJD coming from Volks. They also have the Mini super Dollfie, a BJD that is around 45 centimetres, and the YoSD that is around 26 centimetres. These dolls have set the standard of what collectors call the dolls when talking about the size. The SD is for the 60 -70-centimetre ranges of dolls; the MSD is 40-45 centimetres while the YoSD is 16-26 centimetre dolls. Meaning that in today's BJD community, not matter what company the BJD comes from those measurement standards are used when talking about the BJD.[40]

Modern BJDs are generally made in Japan and South Korea. Ball jointed refers to the feature that is the joints of the dolls, but the joints are balls that allow better movement of the limbs. Although not all BJD are made out of resin, but also vinyl, many collectors do not recognise a vinyl doll as a BJD, even though it would have all the same features as a resin casted BJD[41].

The popularity of the BJD brings in many collectors. These collectors love meeting up with other collectors, to show off their dolls, talk about their doll plans and just hang out. A great place for these collectors are conventions. Usually these are American-based

[36] http://web.archive.org/web/20080527055417/http://www.japattack.com/main/node/140
[37] http://noppin.ocnk.net/news#10
[38] http://yaplog.jp/akichan1029/archive/706
[39] http://www.angelden.net/volks/vocab.php
[40] http://bjd_wtf.livejournal.com/
[41] http://collectdolls.about.com/od/dollcollectingglossary/g/balljointed.htm?rd=1

conventions and are focused more on anime and manga[42], but seeing as they focus a lot on Japanese culture, a big part is also doll collectors. At these conventions there are also many booths where people are selling things that they have made, and most often collectors can find something for their dolly needs, and many times doll companies host showrooms to further publicise themselves.[43]

The biggest doll convention is held in Japan and called Dollpa (short for doll party). This convention is organised by Volks and there hundreds of booths catering to dolly needs are set up. In this convention Volks also sell limited edition dolls, and one of the biggest event is the lottery of two dolls, unique as the only of their type in the world, drawing in many enthusiastic fans.

In a recent Dollpa, Volks celebrated their 40 year anniversary by holding a event where they got doll owners to bring their own dolls to have the dolls hold hands and make the longest line of dolls, around 3282 dolls were in this line, making a world record.

To get a ticket to a Dollpa, the requisite is to buy a magazine that Volks publish shortly before the convention about new releases.[44]

The toy making company called Volks made the BJD popular. In their pursuit of getting more female customers they made a highly customisable doll that due to its features received great popularity both in Japan and overseas. Due to their success in making the BJD other Asian and non-Asian companies followed suit, creating a very active and diverse community of collectors. The reason for these dolls to be included in this thesis is to further show how the culture of dolls in Japan has succumbed to commercialisation.

[42] Manga is a Japanese comic book, while Anime is usually an animated adaption of manga.
[43] http://www.laweekly.com/publicspectacle/2011/11/14/pacific-media-expo-introduces-asian-ball-jointed-doll-programming-to-the-convention
[44] http://www.webcitation.org/60Q7nbKA2, http://www.angelden.net/volks/vocab.php, http://bjd-wtf.livejournal.com/2645.html, http://www.dannychoo.com/en/post/27121/Dolpa+30+Dealer+s+Booth.html

Commercialisation

What changed the view of the Japanese *ningyou*? Why do its shamanistic values hardly exist today, except in the form of festival that merely appears as a product to sell?

With the 17th century came more peaceful times, wars were over and the Japanese people could spend their time more leisurely than they could have before. With this peace modernity and commercialisation soon made its appearance (Tokugawa period. 2nd of January 2014).

> Events, cultural practices, and sites seen as vanishing and materialized within the growing modernization of the nation are suspended at moments of impending disappearance. The unifying ideal and the embodiment of what it is to be Japanese were created from multiple images not necessarily connected, an illusion of something that existed, but never really did, facilitated by the idea that the past can appear and disappear through the participation in constructed moments of its reawakening (McDowell, 2011 : 7).

In the late 17th and early 18th century Japan the culture flourished greatly. The *Tokugawa Shoguns* had firmly established peace and the economy was rapidly expanding, led by the merchants of *Osaka* and consumers in *Edo* (Pate, 2005: 97).

As earlier mentioned the *Hina ningyou* were immensely popular and with such popularity follows great business. With the popularity of the *Hina ningyou*, many types of *Hina ningyou* made their appearance, some to disappear as soon as they came and others to stay. Those who ended up staying are now considered classical; these are the *Suwari Bin*a, *Tachi Bina and the Dairi Bina* pairs, mentioned in the chapter about *Hina* (Gribbin, 1984: 21). Other *ningyou* appearing at that time were the ones accompanying the *Dairi Bina* pair, as such they have no deeper meaning beyond their purpose of entertaining the gods during the *Hina matsuri* (Pate, 2005: 119).

The increasing popularity of the *Hina matsuri*, accompanied by the competiveness of the military and imperial elite was encouraged by the wholesalers and *ningyou* makers, which led to an explosion in size and sophistication of the *ningyou* in the middle of the 18th century. The *ningyous'* size became so big that some were the size of small children. Elaborately designed *ningyou*, decorated with beautiful brocades and precious metals, replaced simple *ningyou*.

This popularity and excess in *ningyou* making grew to such extremes that the government stepped in with new rules pertaining the festival. However, it did not stop just there. Too much splendour in the *ningyou* was not the only problem, the *dogu* made to accompany them were also getting out of hand. With the new laws, simplicity of the *Hina ningyou* and of the *dogu* was insisted on. All traces of gold lacquer decoration were also prohibited (Pate, 2008: 54; Casal, 1967: 46).

Up to the year 1800 laws concerning *ningyou* continued plaguing *ningyou* makers and *ningyou* collectors alike. Two *Edo* based *ningyou* makers; *Nanazawa Sensuke* and *Tachibana Shinano*, in an attempt to try something new went the complete opposite of what had been done to their day they created *ningyou* so small that they were hardly over an inch tall, called *Keshi Bina*. Such small detailed work was very expensive; nevertheless they sold extremely well, becoming a trend (Casal, 1967: 48, 49).

With popular demand, even more types *of ningyou* came to be and with each generation new styles were introduced showing how tastes and demography's of the Japanese people were changing (Pate, 2008: 54).

These extremely popular *ningyou* were expensive and like most beautiful things they were made with the elite in mind, but the *Hina matsuri* was not just for the elite.
The farmers and the poor ones made do with simpler *ningyou* that they usually made themselves out of paper, string, clay and sometimes even out of wild flowers (Pate, 2008: 54).

The emphasis shifted from the purification part of the *Hina matsuri*, to the aesthetic value of the *Hina* display, making it so that the *Hina ningyou* themselves were becoming more important than the meaning behind the *Hina matsuri*. Beautiful and extravagant *dogu* were also made to display with the *Hina ningyou* (Pate, 2005: 93).

With the appearance of the *Kyoho Bina*, during the *Kyoho* Period, the status of the *Hina ningyou* as a *Yorishiro* shifted to a status symbol, instead of its former status as a resting place for the gods. The festival that once had been a solemn ceremony in the homes of the aristocracy had turned into a vibrant public festival (Pate, 2005; 100).

> "The *Hina Asobi* originated as a divine ceremony which we inherited from mythical times, so it is not something which should be treated lightly. If we simply consider it girl's play then shouldn't we fear some divine retribution? This is something we need to celebrate with a respectful attitude. "
>
> Confucian scholar: Waterai Naotaka (Pate, 2005; 100).

Though the festival kept its original framework, its meaning was all but forgotten, leaving the focus on the beauty of the festivities (Pate, 2005; 100).

The demand for the *ningyou*, that was growing bigger as time went by, was also happening in more rural areas. First it was in the west, around *Kyoto*, but then also in the remote districts in the north (Gribbin, 1984: 15). Important marketing routes to these districts were provided by the peddlers and travelling puppeteers. These puppets of theirs inspired new fashions in *ningyou* designs and costumes, wherever they went by. Many local festivals and feasts started selling *ningyou*, providing more opportunities to buy *ningyou* within shrines and temples. The temples and shrines also started selling votive *ningyou*, which they have continued to do up to this day (Gribbin, 1984: 15).

Hina ningyou had become a big business, and in a big business developement, new and exciting products are essential. *Hina ningyou* are highly popular even today, and those made by top makers command significant sums of money, and while the *Hina matsuri* is one of the most popular festivals in Japan, the *Hina ningyou* still remain the main point of it all.

Ningyou merchants in Kyoto and Edo did not fail in that perspective. *Ningyou* became bigger and more extravagant. *Ningyou* accessories were also a big part of the display, or rather displays as it was not uncommon that during the 18th and 19th century that several sets were displayed, along with other *ningyou* (Gribbin, 1984: 21; Pate, 2008: 54). Showcasing even further the shift from a religious symbol to a status symbol.

As the business for the *ningyou* became larger, there came a need for *ningyou*-based markets. In *Edo*, markets were held from the 27th of February until the 2nd of March to sell *ningyou* that drew in big crowds of people eager to buy the newest and largest *ningyou*. Though *Kyoto* was the birthplace of the extravagant *Hina*, it was in *Edo* that the most aggressive customers appeared.

The *biggest ningyou* market of that time; *Jukkendana*, was in *Edo*, along the *Nihonbashi* section. There were hundreds of vendors and *ningyou* makers selling their craft there. These *ningyou* became an important *omiyage* during the *Edo* period (1600-1868), as well as a luxurious gift. The *Jukkendana* in *Edo* was the biggest, together with *Teramachi* and *Sanjo* streets in *Kyoto* and *Midomae-cho* in *Osaka*. These three markets became the most important *ningyou*-based markets of Japan during those times.

Like mentioned above, this eagerness of the Japanese people led to the government making sumptuary laws in an attempt to restrict people in spending money on *ningyou*. The

government not only made restrictions about the size of the *ningyou*, but also the clothing of them, but again and again *ningyou* makers found ways to circumvent those restrictions. However, if anyone should have tried to sell a *ningyou* bigger than 22cm, then the *ningyou* would have been confiscated and the seller would have to pay a fine of 30 *kammon*, or one thousand copper coins. From the year 1649 to 1790 at least seven "laws", like the one mentioned before, where put in place, although not always followed.

The authority itself was not excluded from the laws, although they did not always follow them, as there exists a picture of a *Dairi bina* owned by a *daimyou*[45], dressed to represent a scene from *Genji*[46], but the *Hina ningyou* themselves were almost the same size as the onlookers. Nevertheless, *ningyou* did become smaller by the end of the period, suggesting that these restrictions were starting to take their toll (Gribbin, 1984: 15; Casal, 1967: 47; Pate, 2008: 23).

After 1603 with the spread of the *Hina matsuri*, the popularity of the *Hina ningyou* grew, *ningyou* makers and people found ways to make cheaper versions of the *ningyou* usually in clay, lavishly decorated with paint. By this it can be seen that in the 18th century possessing a set of *Hina ningyou* became a must to the Japanese people (Gribbin, 1984: 20, 21).

Due to this demand of *ningyou*, the *ningyou* makers would often make dolls after celebrities to be able to sell more. A good example of that is the *Ichimatsu ningyou*. The *Ichimatsu ningyou* is named after a popular *Onnagata*[47]. *Ningyou* makers saw his popularity and in turn decided to use that to their advantage by making a *ningyou* of him (Baten, 2000; 39).

Then in the years around 1970s and 1980s the government in Japan started the nostalgia campaigns where they tried to commercialise the *Kokeshi ningyou* and other folk art and traditions. One such example was the show by NHK earlier mentioned. As that series might have been made to deepen the meaning of the *Kokeshi ningyou* and to make it more desirable outside of the collecting community (McDowell, 2011: 6).

Most *Kokeshi ningyou* collectors do not see the *kindai Kokeshi ningyou* as a real *Kokeshi ningyou* and seeing that most of the sales of the *kindai Kokeshi ningyou* are catered

[45] The *Daimyou* were regional lords during the *Shogun* rule (Fahr-Becker, 2006: 718).
[46] A protagonist from the early Heian novel: Hikaru no Genji. Written by the court lady Murasaki Shikibu (Shikibu, 2003: xvii).
[47] A man who plays the female role in a Kabuki show, Kabuki being traditional Japanese drama theatre, with singing and dancing performed in a stylized manner (Baten, 2000; 39; Kabuki, 2014).

towards tourists and Japanese people outside of the collecting community, the *kindai Kokeshi ningyou* market is considerably larger than the market for the *Kokeshi ningyou*. The *kindai Kokeshi ningyou* are also sold at a cheaper price, since they are mass-produced, while the *Kokeshi ningyou* is sold at a higher price and produced in limited quantities. One example of how they are sold is upon entering the duty free stores in *Narita* when leaving Japan, as majority of the *Kokeshi ningyou* available there are *kindai Kokeshi*, not *Kokeshi ningyou* made by a *kojin.*

The most recent phenomenon in the Japanese *ningyou* world are the BJD's, these *ningyou* being so popular have received fame all over the world with Volks opening up stores outside of Japan, different companies making their own BJDs and many other individuals and companies making clothes, wigs and other goods to cater to BJD collectors.
As mentioned above it is popular to make *ningyo* after famous people, however, with the BJDs' they are made to look like popular video game or anime characters, for example M.O.M.O and Cosmos from the video game Xenosaga and Hatsune Miku from Vocaloid[48]. These Dolls made by Volks are called Dollfie Dream and usually go for around 100.000 Yen[49].

Collectors of BJDs love to gather together with other collectors to show off their own dolls, meet other doll collectors, and to do that many events are held each year, both small local ones, and large events with booths selling items for the ningyo. This is quite different from Kokeshi collectors, as they do not like showing their collection to others (McDowell, 2011: 134, 135, 136). Like mentioned in the chapter about Ball-jointed dolls, the biggest of these events is the Dollpa; happening twice a year. At that event Volks releases special limited edition dolls, in which people would line up from 6AM for a chance to win in the raffle to get these BJD. Not only are there raffles to test a collectors luck, there are also auctions were a single item can go for 450.000 yen, an amount most BJD collectors do not hesitate to spend[50].

Dollpa is however not the only doll event in Japan - though the biggest, there are the Doll Show, Wonfest, Dollism Plus and many other smaller ones. These doll events however

[48] Vocaloid is a software that synthesises a singing voice. Made by the company Yamaha, its most famous character is the long, blue haired Hatsune Miku (http://www.vocaloid.com/en/about/)
[49] http://www.volks.co.jp/jp/xenosaga3/, http://www.volks.co.jp/miku/
[50] http://www.dannychoo.com/en/post/1702/Dolls+Party.html

do not only include Japanese BJDs and extras, but also from other countries such as Korea and China[51]. By this it can be seen that the market for BJDs is quite flexible, which explains why there is so much commercialisation around it.

With the *Tokugawa shogunate* (1603-1868) a long period of peace started. With this peace came prosperity, and with prosperity came a bigger market for the *Hina ningyou*, making them immensely popular. The *Hina ningyou* however became so popular that the government had to create laws around them; these laws had little to no affect on the makers of the *Hina ningyou*, as they found ways to get past them. This popularity and growing extravagance made it so that commercialisation overshadowed their original purpose as a resting place for the gods (McCannon, 2006: 201).

In the beginning of the 19th century the *Kokeshi ningyou* started selling at hot springs, bought by farmers for their children to play with. They had their golden age, however most *Kokeshi ningyou* sales go to collectors. The one that has most sales, as it is mass-produced, is the *kindai Kokeshi*, being that they are cheaper.

The most modern and commercialised dolls would be the BJDs, being highly customisable there are many companies and individual stores specializing in items catering towards them.

[51] http://www.dannychoo.com/en/post/27044/Doll+Show+38+Dealer+s+Booth.html, http://www.dannychoo.com/en/post/27099/Dollism+Plus+Tokyo+2013.html

Conclusion

Through this thesis we have discussed the topic of *Dogu*, *Haniwa*, the various kinds of *Hina ningyou*, *Kokeshi* and Ball Jointed Dolls, their connection to religious beliefs and how that has changed through the centuries.
The *Dogu* and the *Haniwa*, being the first *ningyou* they set the way for the ones to come. The *Dogu* were used as fertility talismans becoming very important to the Japanese society. Next, succeeding the *Dogu* were the *Haniwa*, inspired by the Chinese Terra Cotta army they replaced live sacrifices and acted as protection talismans for the dead. These ningyou and the *Hoko-Amagatsu* pair played a big part in the lives of Japanese people until the *Hina ningyou* took over.

Like we have shown above, the religious aspect of the Japanese *ningyou* used to be very important to the Japanese society. However with the reign of the *Tokugawa* and the relatively peaceful times that followed with their rule, the Japanese people needed something to occupy their minds. This turned out to be the *Hina ningyou* and other Japanese *ningyou*. While under the *Tokugawas'* reign the culture around the *ningyou* grew larger, more elegant. Before long the main point was no longer the religious aspect that the *ningyou* used to hold, but the height in status it showed. The rich and powerful, having the money to buy *ningyou* in large quantities, in all shapes and sizes, often had multiple displays. Then with all the rules applied to the *ningyou* during that time, there were reductions in sizes and the extravagance in their clothes. But the *ningyou* artisans always found ways to continue making more money than before. One of those ways as was mentioned in the chapter commercialisation chapter, was to make a tiny extravagant *ningyou* and sell them for a high prize. These *ningyou*, called *Keshi Bina*, sold for quite a high amount.

The *Kokeshi ningyou* had its golden age, except never at such a grand scale as the *Hina ningyou*. Now while the *Kokeshi ningyou* mostly stays out of the commercialisation, the *kindai Kokeshi ningyou* is much more prevalent, as *kindai Kokeshi ningyou* is the one that is sold to tourists and Japanese people outside of the collecting community. However, we believe that the government tried to commercialise the *Kokeshi ningyou* by making up a deeper more shamanistic story for the *Kokeshi ningyou*, creating the before mentioned misunderstandings.

The Ball-jointed doll was created purely as a commercialised product, as they were created to draw in more female customers in an already male dominated business, not only did it work, it also drew in more male customers.

With the change the Japanese *ningyou* underwent, we think it can clearly be seen that the shamanistic properties of the Japanese *ningyou* slowly disappeared with the progress of the *Hina ningyou* and the business that was created around them. The *Hina matsuri* still exist to this day, although its former properties have been lost.

Even though the *kindai Kokeshi ningyou* are not considered by collectors as real *Kokeshi ningyou*, they are highly commercialised just like the Ball-jointed dolls and both of them are well known outside of Japan, while the *Kokeshi ningyou* is not as well known. One example is that the kindai *Kokeshi ningyou* can be bought in different versions all over the world.

Our conclusion is that the Japanese *ningyou* has lost connection with its former religious origin, and thus the modern variant is merely a product of commercialisation. Based on this we conclude that unless considerable changes occur in the future, this progress will continue in a similar manner, resulting in commercialisation completely taking over the traditional form of the Japanese *ningyou*.

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