

Original Paper

Ningyō (人形) and the Doll:
Kami sama (神様) and the Alter Ego

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Abstract

While conducting research for a dissertation on the early self-portraits of MORIMURA Yasumasa (1951-), the researcher found a variety of themes related to the different cultural perceptions of the crafted human form emerging strongly, generating further cross-cultural, phenomenological inquiry which revealed a sharp culture-based division of perception and projection toward such objects. The question arose as to whether three dimensional representations in the shape of a person are believed to host resident souls, or not, and for what reason. The differing character of the triangulation between the maker, the image and the observer is also observed, suggesting that this dynamic might be a mirror of self identity prevailing in the character of I- Thou relationships modeled by the host culture.

Conventions:

Foreign words will be italicized and kept in forms characteristic of that language, for example, one *ningyō*/two *ningyō*. Foreign words that have historically been rendered into English by the addition of suffixes will not be italicized: *Shintō*/Shintoism. Long vowels will be represented by a macron except in cases where conventional usage has established otherwise (*butō*/*butoh*). Every effort is made to use key words specifically in term of their cultural loads. The word ‘doll’ will carry references to Western doll forms in the main; *ningyō* will represent those associations with the crafted human form particular to Japan.

‘Doll’ has a range of meanings, some of them negative: dummy; pretty but stupid; elegant and ostentatious dress; and ‘effigy’: a figure of a human being which used as a surrogate for good intentions as well as for clandestine purposes or as a vehicle to contain ambivalent spirits. ‘Doll’ can be used as an offensive term of address. The general, positive meanings of the word refer to small scale images of human forms, often a baby or child, which are used as playthings or toys for children. The term can also mean an attractive person and can be used as a affectionate term of endearment.

‘*Ningyō*’ is cited as the translation of ‘doll’ in Japanese but it carries very different cultural information. The term, since the Meiji period (1868-1912), has come to include the sense of the Western doll, as that form does exist in Japan. But historically, *ningyō* has a broader range of references: the puppet, figurines, masks, the mannequin, the ceremonial bride and groom as well as robots. In contemporary usage, ‘*Musha ningyō*’ can refer to a handsome, dashing man, after the style of the *samurai*. The term includes a reference

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to a beautiful woman without heart or feelings. And when a person is threatened with bullying or social discrimination of any kind, they might say that to cope with it, they become a '*ningyō*'. But overall, *ningyō* appears to be less embedded with negative associations than is the Western idea of 'doll'.

The use of the term 'the figure' will refer to images of the human form peculiar to the intentions of the fine artist, while 'crafted human form' will connote images appropriate to the Western sense of 'craft', as distinguished from 'fine art'. That distinction does not apply to Asian cultures. 'Human image' will include both the two and three dimensional but 'human form' will mean only three dimensional images. Terms such as 'icon', 'image', 'figurine' are presented here as culturally neutral, inclusive and available to be used cross-culturally. The researcher employs a methodology based in interdisciplinary phenomenology.

Introduction

Earliest Human Forms

The oldest three dimensional forms of the human body to survive the millennia in Europe are from as early as 31,000 BCE.[1] In Asia, the oldest figurines yet found are from Korea, animistic figures from the Neanderthal period (100,000-40,000 BCE) have been discovered in the Korean caves of Chommel, near Chechon and from Turubong, near Chongju. The oldest yet discovered *ningyō* in Japan are from Iwata, Shizuoka prefecture, and date from the peak of the last Ice Age (19,000 to 16,000).[2]

It is thought that these early images, worldwide, were not playthings but votive, magico-religious imitations of the human form intended to act as intermediaries between the living and the unseen powers. Often female, they were invested with the power to affect vital procreation. When male, they are frequently shamanistic and used to intercede with the spirits of the gods and the dead, as well as to act as a vehicle for the healing powers.[3] Early effigies were used in rites to protect against the dangers of the hunt, the perils of childbirth and to even the score with enemies through the ritual administration of selected tortures. Since, to date, no crafted images of the human form have been found in the graves of children of the prehistoric period,[4] it is believed that children were not allowed to play with objects of such power and mystery.[5]

There are rich cultural practices worldwide which continue to employ potent images of the human form. The making as well as the wearing of human-like emblems as a ritual accessory is a classic aspect of shamanistic practice from prehistoric times, continuing into the modern era. Overall, this kind of imagery presents as a highly invested diversity of art forms organized around deeply embedded cultural concepts expressing primal notions of things spiritual and range widely in form and content from the talismanic *ongon*[6] fetishes of the Darkhat Mongols, to the thousands of roadside icons of *O-Jizō sama*[7] in Japan, charged with the protection of children, to the richly robed figurines of Our Lady of Fatima celebrated in street festivals in many Hispanic cultures and widely believed to have the power to heal.[8]

Triangulation

For this artist/researcher, the interest offered by the theme of forms made in the shape of a person is, firstly, it's differing presence (or lack of presence) in terms of the formal approach to the making of the object as well as the intended meaning of the content, among world cultures. Indeed, some cultures prohibit the making of any representations of the human form as well as most animals and plants.[9] But from very early times, worldwide, crafted human forms were intended to represent a triangulation of forces and energies thought to originate from outside the form, as this dynamic included the maker of the form as well the observer.

For millennia, this triangulation linked the participants in a shared reverence for the mysteries of life and death. Rites using human forms mediated the dichotomies of order and chaos, purity and pollution, danger and safety, good and evil as well as the human and the divine. At some point in the evolution of Western cultures, that triangulation broke down for three main reasons. First, Christian doctrine teaches that the perception of spiritual content must not be projected onto images of human beings, animals or any other form with the intent to empower them. Forms of any kind are to be regarded only as symbols of spiritual ideas or to serve as a visual focus, assisting in prayer and meditation. It is interesting to note that the words ‘idol’ and ‘doll’ are derivations of ‘*eidolon*’, Greek for ‘phantom’.[10] Secondly, in the West, crafted forms which are highly invested by their makers have been relegated to the fine arts and, therefore, to collectors, galleries, museums and a privileged clientele. Figurines for broad public consumption are no longer made by known artists who invest their forms with a depth of intent and assume responsibility for their content. Dolls are now machine made and solipsistic, posed to mirror the projections of the possessor. They are superficially seductive but without soul. They have become manufactured alter egos offered as playthings to the public by anonymous designers, organized for mass production and consumption, principally for economic gain. Thirdly, images crafted in the form of a person can be seen as important signposts in the historical phenomena of and post-modern challenges to evolving notions around self-identification. They continually record the past and appear as new identities and cultural traditions are forged and serve as metanarratives in the changing dialogue between the self and the other.

Character: Projected and Received

“Barbie”

‘Fashion’ dolls appear in Europe in the middle of the last millennium, made of wax, wood, papier-mache, with ceramic heads and soft leather bodies. In the 19th century, exquisite, hand-made French porcelain fashion dolls, *poipees modeles*, were made by the workshops of Jumeau, Bru and the House of Worth. In the late 1800s, German dollmakers such as Simon and Halbig began mass production of porcelain dolls that were affordable and available in mail-order catalogues. Dolls were no longer seen as a luxury but as a necessity and their educational value became significant. Dolls were being designed to be more like the children who played with them.

After WWII, doll manufacturers appeared in England, Japan, Italy and especially the United States where new materials used included composition, rubber, tin, and celluloid. Women at that time still went from childhood to motherhood, so cheaper ‘baby’ and ‘toddler’ dolls were available to the masses. But as post-war recovery progressed, by the 1950s, families enjoyed more disposable income, the social concept of the ‘teenager’ emerged and became the market target.

At first, fashion dolls looked like children with adult bodies. But as Mattel toy manufacturers Ruth Handler and her husband Elliot were vacationing in Switzerland, they were struck by a small, sexy doll call “Bild Lili”, which was modeled on a popular cartoon character of the time which ran in the German newspaper *Bild*. The Handlers purchased several of the vampish dolls with elongated, pouty faces and subsequently produced a similar American fashion doll which was named after their daughter, Barbara, in 1959, making her at the debut New York City toy fair. Ken, Barbara’s real life brother, found his namesake in 1961.

Barbie was envisioned as being without a preconceived personality. Many changes of costumes, accessories and props were created for sale to offer a wide range of possibilities. It was intended that the child develop a personal perception of what Barbie should be like. With the arrival of the 1960s, Barbie was joined by a bevy of ‘friends’, with a politically correct racial and lifestyle diversity. Barbie’s evolution

continues to this day and every new manifestation is heralded in the media.[11]

A recent survey by the researcher reveals that in 1995, Barbie got 'smart', appearing in a cheerleader's outfit with pompon and *diploma*. The 'Drag Queen' Barbies came out in 1996, and the steroid-built, anatomically correct "Billy" also arrived on the gay doll scene. "GI Joe" requested that he be called an 'action figure', not a doll and Itochu Fashion Systems announced a new line, designed to fit 15 to 25 year olds, which replicated the high points in the history of Barbie fashion, all with the "Barbie" status logo prominently embroidered.

Nineteen ninety-seven was a big year for changes. Barbie (now 38 years old) got a 'face lift' resulting in more natural features with a less elongated face and lighter make-up. She also got a wider waist, narrower hips and a smaller bustline. At the same time, she introduced a new line of sexy lingerie including a matching pink satin corset with garters, thong panties, and lace-topped stockings.

Issues concerned with diversity pressed on in '98 as "GI Joe" was presented as a *nisei*, a Japanese-American member of the famed 442nd Combat Battalion. Also in '98, Barbie made her first appearance as a disabled person in a toy wheelchair. The 'invisible middle-aged woman' was celebrated in the guise of "Ciotka Kena" (Ken's aunt, in Polish), with a decidedly matronly silhouette, size 18, bulging in a one-piece heavy elastic corset while on view at New York's Institute of Contemporary Art, after Polish installation artist Zbigniew Libera, had modified more than a dozen classic Barbies. Mattel had linked up with the art crowd in 1997, initiating their "Great Artist Series" with the "Water Lily" Barbie, her hair and gown design taken from Claude Monet's 19th century water lily series. In 1998, a Barbie was issued dressed as one of van Gogh's sunflowers in coordination with a van Gogh exhibition at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. But it was not until the year 2001 that a free-speech ruling freed Barbie to pose nude for artists in sexually explicit or controversial photographs.

Patriotic in '98, Barbie appeared be-sequined in red, white and blue with gold crown and torch held aloft, impersonating the Statue of Liberty and American bikers wiped out the stock of the first "Biker Barbie", dressed in black leather from top to toe. More, a fashion designer at the University of Cincinnati, Professor Voelker-Ferrier, was profiled in a scholarly publication with her collection of 500 Barbies which is historically complete and includes most of the international versions.

Mattel celebrated Barbie's 40th birthday with a living look-alike parading in front of New York's Stock Exchange and Worth's of London offered the world's most expensive Barbie, bedecked with \$80,000 worth of diamonds. The U.S. Postal Service issued a commemorative stamp in 1999 and another mid-life make-over was showcased at Germany's International Nuremberg Toy Fair (less vamp, more socialite).

But it was the 1998 documentary film, "I, Doll", an unauthorized biography of Barbie by San Francisco director Tula Asselanis, which humorously detailed the 50 year history of the famous 'air-head bimbo' and revealed that there are more Barbies in the U.S. than people. "I, Doll" was given a special screening at the respected Tokyo Photography Museum which was followed by a slide show and lecture by photographer Miyoko MIZUHARA, by reservation only.[12]

The presence of the *ningyō* and the doll is a striking phenomenon in the current visual culture of Japan. "Licca *chan*", the Japanese counterpart of "Barbie", celebrated her 30th anniversary in 1996[13] with a major exhibition at Fujita Corporation's toy museum in Tokyo. The researcher notes numerous weekly listings for exhibitions of the crafted human form in Japan's galleries and museums including tradition-inspired *ningyō* and dolls as well as forms that mix the two with stylistic elements drawn from *manga*, *anime*[14] and contemporary figurative work in the Fine Arts from around the world. Monty DiPetro, art reviewer and critic for the *Japan Times*, in his article "Cute art: clued-up or clueless? Dolls center-stage at a new Koji SEKIMOTO exhibition", observed that 'cuteness' in contemporary Japan has subsumed all previous and hallowed Japanese aesthetics which had evolved for centuries, based in the spiritual

traditions of *Shintō* and Buddhism. He urges the reader to consider the symbols commonly used for financial institutions: the eagle with bared talons for fortitude and the Doric column suggesting solidity and strength, then, to observe the logo for the mighty Asahi Bank: a bunny rabbit, in a pink smock, walking along with five baby ducks. He opines that two of the most important exhibitions of the year, Takashi MURAKAMI and Yoshitomo NARA were so dripping with cartoonish cuteness that they looked like they were made for the totally clueless adolescent. Sekimoto avers that his are classical compositions, challenging the viewer to see contemporary figures, emotions, and relationships, not through brush strokes, but Barbie dolls.[15]

Most surprising, and an historic milestone, is the late fall 2001 issue of ‘Mommy’ Licca. Great with child and wearing the obligatory frumpy maternity dress (pink, trimmed in red and white polka dots with white choir-boy collar), she arrives with various accoutrements of infant care. But the buyer is obliged to forward a prepared postcard and receive, a couple of weeks later, an encapsulated infant with a ceremonial pink key by which the *aka-chan* may be birthed at the owner’s convenience. Although some silhouettes of the primitive *Haniwa* and *Dogū ningyō* might suggest pregnancy, that fact cannot be confirmed, making Licca the only clear manifestation of a fertility image in Japan, a happy compliment to the long awaited birth of a daughter to the crown prince and princess in December, 2001. This potent and highly suggestive effigy also coincides with the lowest birthrate in Japanese history.

Contemporary Hybrids

A recent marker indicating the highly embedded dynamic around the crafted human form in Japan is the August 1999 (No.455) special feature, “*Ningyō Love*” of *Taiyō*, (*The Sun*), which was dedicated to an overview of the current phenomenon of ‘artist’s dolls’ and reviewed the work of eight *ningyōshi*, *ningyō*-makers who regard themselves as contemporary artists, in a series of essays collectively called: “*Ningyōshi* and their Alter Egos”. Themes presented include “Beyond Pygmalion”, “Falling Angels from the Universe”, “Super Mannequins Who Lived”, “Eve Who Never Blinked”, as well as “The Virtue of Silence”, an article by MORIMURA Yasumasa about a French dollmaker, Verner Faucon, who worked in the first half of the 20th century. Morimura writes:

...*Ningyō* are being forgotten...*Ningyō* are very much about ‘silence’...People nowadays do not like silence... Talkativeness as a self-expression is required visually and aurally these days... This is weird and I miss the past when Japan was a *ningyō*...the old fashioned and quiet Japan... But, is silence really so old-fashioned? Being so talkative keeps us from seeing the depth of eternal time and space. *Ningyō* know about this, don’t they?...A person who loves *ningyō* is the one who knows about life very well...They choose *ningyō* after they have gone through the pain of their life. It is enlightenment rather than escape. Those who think *ningyō* are a lower level of existence than human beings, only superficial copies, shells with nothing inside, are the ones who have not understood the depth, subtleties and bitterness of life. People should know that talkativeness is just a ‘bubble of silence’.[16]

Kisekae ningyō

Between 1985 and 1995, Morimura produced more than 100 wide-ranging and exploratory self-portraits, which explored numerous aspects of identity and required many costumes, elaborate make-up techniques and props. A majority of these images were recycled into a personal mythology, in a *manga* narrative,

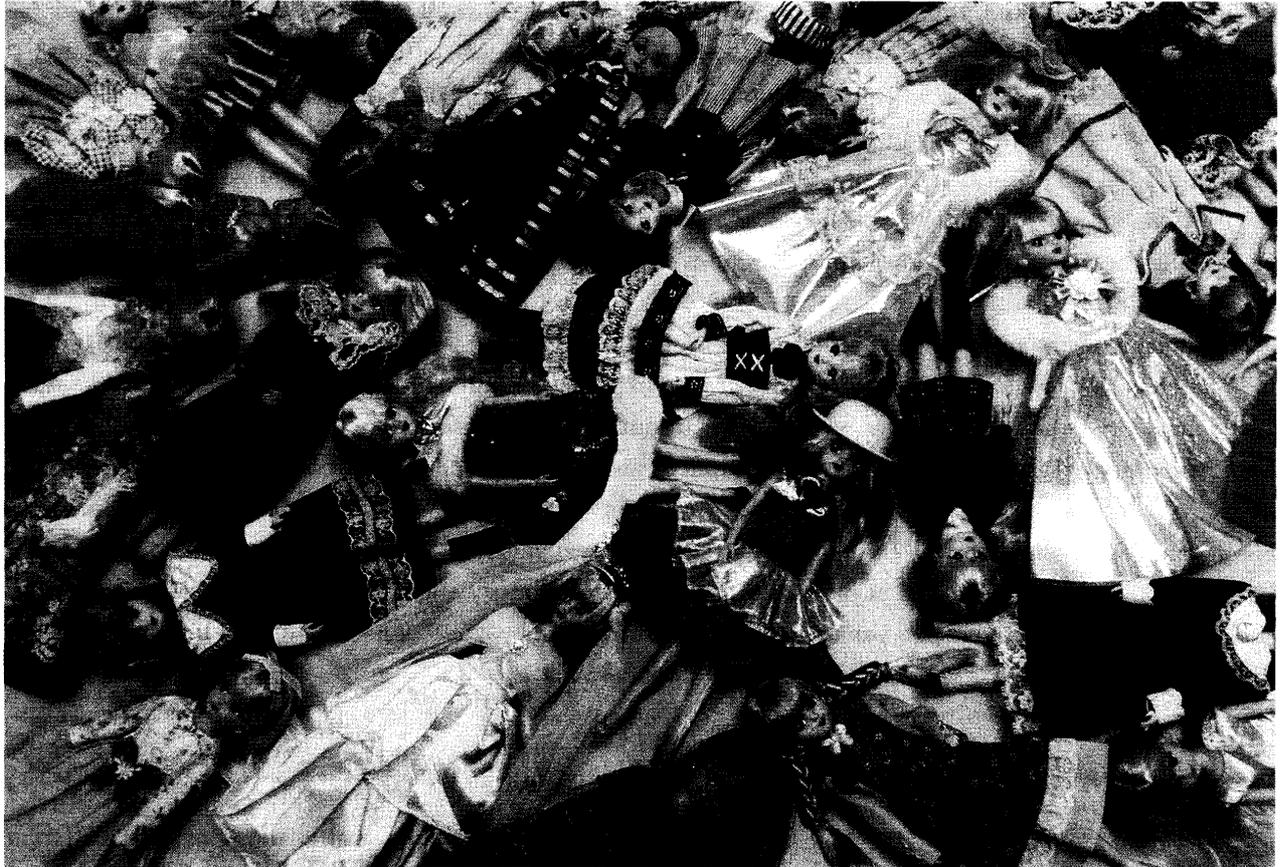


Fig. 1 Licca-*chan*/Barbie dolls, as seen in: MORIMURA Yasumasa, *Kisekai Ningen Daiichigo*, 1994 pp. 52-53

discussed further below. The *manga* is organized around a storyline detailing the afflictions of a half-doll, half human hero/ine, which resolves into classic elements characteristic of the call, initiation and mission of a shaman. The *Kisekai Ningen Daiichigo*, 1994,[17] references numerous imagery traditions from a variety of periods and cultures, including the Egyptian.

Ushabti

Ancient Egyptian culture, with its cultural values posited in the arts and spirituality, marks the earliest abundance of votive figurines representing the classic triangulation of maker, source and object. The profusion of Egyptian effigies is in stark contrast to the early Hebrews of the same period and the later Islamic cultures prohibiting graven imagery for fear of the potential of any resident spirit, 'idol', to corrupt and lead astray.[18] This notion appears to be embedded, worldwide, in human awareness on some primal level.[19]

Ushabti,[20] "the one who answers", are ceramic funerary figures made to house the souls of the servants and workers who attended to the needs of the deceased royal and who were mercifully spared the earlier tradition of live burial with their masters by this innovative practice. *Ushabti* were not playthings but highly invested fetishes with a magico-religious function. But there are, however, other small Egyptian figure forms, as early as 2000 BC, which appear to be true toys.

Preoccupied with the question of life and its relationship to some imagined hereafter, the Egyptians routinely commissioned the making of named effigies, which were not true portraits. They were seen as

necessary earthly residences for the returning spirit of the deceased, royal and commoner alike, and were placed in tombs by very respected artisans. The designation ‘artist’, as an occupation in the contemporary sense, did not exist but evidence suggests that these ancients occupied a special position within Egyptian culture, which was dedicated to the idea that the whole of life is a preparation for death and the afterlife. The Egyptian term for the occupation of carver or sculptor meant ‘preserver of life’.[21]

The purpose of making an image of and for a specific individual was to create a dwelling for the soul to return and which was thought to be a critical accommodation for the life hereafter. Egyptian artists also developed the practice of mummification and mask-making to house and preserve the body for the person’s spirit, *ka*. The *ba*, a second part of the spirit, rose up toward the sky and returned like the sun-bird. The *ba* had to be able to recognize the dead person’s mummy or its double, *ka*, in order to pass the stage of judgement and successfully enter into the afterlife, as the *ba* was also thought to have the face of the deceased.[22]

The Concept of the Creative

The notion of creativity for the Egyptian artist was not regarded as vested in the skill of the artist/person, per se. These ‘preservers of life’ did not aspire to be unique in their personal possession of creative insight, as in the contemporary West. Rather, the dynamic generating things ‘creative’ was believed to be vested in the image of *Ptah*, the local God of Memphis, who created the heavens, all the other gods, human beings and animals. Creation was not a physical act, but an action of the spirit: the heart imagined the creation and the tongue spoke its name. *Ptah*, as the patron of Egyptian artists and artisans,[23] symbolized an apex in the initial triangulation of object/source/artist. Adding the observer to the mix, the triangular dynamic expands to a pyramid with the divine source of generative creativity at the apex, with all parties sharing in the communion of that spirit.

Ningyōshi

In Japanese culture, something of the ancient investment of ‘unseen powers’, *kami*, has always resided in the concept of the *ningyō* and has taken numerous forms beginning with the prehistoric *dogū* of the Jōmon period (10,000 to 300 BC). With respect for that long tradition, since 1955, five master craftsmen have been designated Intangible Cultural Properties, (*mukei bunkazai*), popularly called ‘Living National Treasures’, *ningen kokuho*,[24] as properly befits a maker of such potent items, which are still regarded as *kami*, or the repository of *kami*. [25] Japanese versions of Western style dolls also appeared on the market during the Meiji period (1868-1912) and by 1936, the making of such images had also become a respected art form.

The August, 1999 issue of *Taiyō*, cited above, in the article “Falling Angels from the Universe”, details a conversation between the artist/sculptor GOUDA Sawako and the critic TANEMURA Suehiro in which they agree that there is a fundamental difference between Japanese *ningyō* and Western dolls. They make a distinction between sculpture, which, being less dependent on material than the *ningyō*, intends, in their opinion, to pursue ‘spirituality’, whereas the *ningyō* is the opposite. They offer that *ningyōshi* are ‘great’ because they invest their heart and soul into the material “...and they swallow the consciousness of human beings.”[26] Gouda and Tanemura emphasize the idea that, historically, *ningyō* are “...skins to be covered but the inside is empty...*ningyō* are made by skins, like *kami*, which are invisible, except for the outside...the image of *kami* is nature itself.”[27]

Gouda and Tanemura relate this idea to the work of the founders of the contemporary dance form,

Butoh, by dancers ONHO Kazuo (1906-) and HIJIKATA Tatasumi (1928-1986), for whom the concept of ‘emptiness’, of emptying the body, is key to the choreography.[28] The shell of the body, once empty, is ready to be filled and that ‘filling’ is well described by NISHITAKATSUJI Nobusada, the head priest of the Dazaifu-*Tenmangū*, an ancient *Shintō* shrine (since 919 CE) near Fukuoka. In *Shintō*, there is a basic concept, *musubi*, which is roughly equivalent to the word ‘creativity’ and which is found flowing through all things, indeed, serving as the source of all things. It is mediated through great and virtuous personages. Those who live in the truth of *musubi* as it is manifested in human relationships, the giving of one’s whole self to the other and those who form human ties in pure devotion, find therein the outflow of creativity which is concerned not only with a positive, nurturing creativity within the human psyche. They also recognize the psyche’s dark side, crisis begetting life-giving reconciliation, then, reconciliation broken by destructive forces demanding new harmonizing responses.[29]

The founding of *Butoh* marks a significant revival of traditional Japanese aesthetics in a native art form. The connection to the concept of the *ningyō* is everywhere evident in the form. Even the master and founder of the troupe “*Sankai Juku*” uses the name AMAGATSU Ushio, ‘*amagatsu*’ being a Heian period (794-1185) *ningyō* for boys, with the counterpart for girls called *hōko* (*bōko*). *Amagatsu* and *bōko* were effigies used to protect children by serving as their ritual substitutes. Sometimes kept in families for generations, an old *ningyō* would be sitting on the family house altar, either the *Shintō kami dana* or Buddhist *butsudan*, undressed during the pregnancy (like the child in the womb) to be then dressed immediately after the child is born and taken to the family shrine where it was presented to the tutelary deities of the family (*ujigami*). It was believed that the *ningyō* would confuse supernatural forces which might harm the child in the form of illness or other misfortune.[30]

After denouncing the modern, commercial ‘dress-up’ (*kisekae*) dolls as evidence of feminine narcissism, Gouda and Tanemura recall the folk practice of making “*Shiora-sama*”, *ningyō* regarded as the *kami* of sericulture from Japan’s Northeast regions, famous for silkworm production. *Shiora-sama* begin as a simple stick onto which a new little silk kimono is layered every year. One of these *kami ningyō* was reported to have been wearing 300 layers - like an extreme version of the *jūnihitoe*, the Heian period (794-1185) court costume with twelve layers of silk kimono.[31]

Countenance

Alluding to the primary importance of the exterior, Gouda and Tanemura state that Japanese *ningyō*, traditionally and intentionally, have no facial expression. It does appear to this observer that the popularity of a Japanese *ningyō* image and its survival in time depends on the degree to which the image can attract admirers from a broad section of a population and maintain its grip on the imagination through the years. A generalization of features and appearance, rather than a specific character or likeness, seems, over time, to attract significant embedments as to meaning. The tradition of this kind of imagery in Japan is more than 2000 years old. One Japanese *ningyō*, the “*Ichimatsu*”, offers a unique exception.[32]

Ichimatsu Ningyō

Even though small wooden figures excavated in Nara dating from the ruins of Heijokyo (the capital from 710-784) may point to the use of *ningyō* as playthings for the privileged, it wasn’t until the Edo period (1600-1868) that *ningyō* as toys became widely known among the middle and peasant classes. The *Ichimatsu* originates from this period when unique art forms flourished in Japan along with the rise in affluence of the middle class. It is the first Japanese *ningyō* to have a naturalistic body which was soft and

cuddly and could be played with like a baby. The name is said to have been a marketing ploy inspired by a famous Kabuki actor of the time, ICHIMATSU Sanokawa, a stylish rave in Osaka during the 1740s and 50s. The stage-face was abandoned at an early date and more child-like faces emerged as this *ningyō* became popular with both the children and the mothers of affluent families, who treated them like an additional member of the family.[33]

But the distinctive characteristics of the *Ichimatsu*, which are most admired today, emerged in the Meiji period. The realism of their faces, not always attractive in the classic sense, and certainly not cute, do display remarkable, possibly haunting, individuality. The *ningyōshi* of the Meiji era often used their own children or the children of their clients, as models, investing the *ningyō* with a soul of special charm. By the end of the Meiji era, the *Ichimatsu* changed into ‘pretty *ningyō*’, often sold in pairs of boy and girl, elaborately dressed in traditional festival clothing, posed under glass, and put up well out of the reach of children.[34]

Shamanic *ningyō*

The preferred translation of ‘doll’, ‘*ningyō*’, is an archaic pronunciation of the same *Kanji* as that reading ‘*hitogata*’, both meaning ‘human form’. The early shamanic *dogū*, clay and stone *ningyō* used as household *kami*, date from the Jōmon period (ca. 10,000-300 BC) and evolved into the *Haniwa* of the Kofun period (ca 300-710) in the form of fired clay human figures as well as animals and architectural forms that were used to encircle the tombs, *kofun*, of the ruling class rather like talismen or guardians. Through the Nara to the Momoyama periods (710-1600) effigies called *hitogata*, *katashiro*[35] or *nademono*[36] were used as scapegoats to remove defilement, absorb malevolences, and prevent disease.

The belief that *ningyō* possessed souls of their own has given special poignancy to the long tradition of Japanese puppets, strong sympathetic magic being associated with these effigies. Jane Marie Law, in her seminal *Puppets of Nostalgia* 1997, offers readers the most comprehensive survey yet available of the character of the *ningyō* in Japanese cultural history as she details the life, death and rebirth of the *Awaji ningyō shibai*, the unique form of ritual puppet theater in Japan found on Awaji Island since the 16th century. *Awaji ningyō*, handmade and kept for centuries, were used in rites aimed at maintaining strict codes of purity to keep malevolent spiritual forces appeased and at bay. From this tradition evolved the rich dramatic ballad form, *jōruri* as well as the *Bunraku*, for which Japan is famous. If the puppeteer is skilled, the *ningyō* come alive, the amalgamated body parts transform into a living, moving, and even ecstatic being. When the performance is finished, the puppet must be put down according to rite, face first with its sleeves folded in front for a proper sleeping position. In every gesture and pose, the *ningyō* point to the other side of life, and as the puppeteer puts the *ningyō* to bed, it becomes again, only the sum of its parts.[37]

During the Kamakura period (1185-1333), *ningyō* played specific roles in *Shintō* ceremonies and didactic functions in the moralistic dioramas set up along the roadsides by Buddhist monks. Charms, *tsuchi ningyō*, made of earth or clay, (*tsuchi*), unique to each temple and shrine, became common and a new kind of figurine, appreciated for its aesthetic value, evolved from them. In the Edo period (1600-1868), *ningyō zukuri*, effigy-making, flourished as a craft in connection with shrine celebrations where the *ningyō* were wheeled through the streets on tall, elaborate two-wheeled carts, *hōko*. [38] Displays of ancient *ningyō* atop such floats has occurred in Kyoto every July since the 12th century in the largest festival in Japan, the *Gion Matsuri*, which celebrates the end of murderous plagues which had ravaged Japan at that time.

Girl's Day and Boy's Day *ningyō*

The modern form of the *Hina Matsuri*, or “Girl's Day”, which has been celebrated on the third of March since Heian times, requires the making of at least fifteen elaborately robed *Hina Ningyō*, many times more, sufficient to people a seven-tiered display stand, *hina-dan*, in a symmetrical, extended family arrangement topped by an imperial couple, and set up in almost every household, shrine, temple, restaurant and hotel entrance, ward office and school. Later, in May, another kind of *ningyō* called a *Gogatsu* (fifth month: May) *Ningyō* was set up in the household to celebrate *tango no sekku*, “Boy's Day” (now called “Children's Day”). Three kinds of *ningyō* are traditional for this observance. Soldiers on horseback in the Western style uniforms of the Meiji period were popular from the Meiji period until World War II. But the other two are deeply embedded with the fabled legends of the past.

Legendary *ningyō*

In earlier times, the figure of the warrior Yoshitsune, a member of the famous Minamoto (Genji) clan which gained everlasting glory when they defeated the Taira (Heike) clan in 1185 was popular as an image for boys. But most arresting as a symbol for “Boy's Day”, is the pair of *ningyō* representing the legendary shaman and Empress, Jingū Kōgō along with her General/consort, Takenouchi-no-Sukune, who holds their child, the future emperor, Ōjin, in *his* arms. Jingū Kōgō is dominant, posed standing in an aggressive stance in full battle regalia with Takenouchi kneeling on one knee beside her. A legend, recounted in the *Kojiki*, tells of Jingū's invasion of the Korean peninsula in 200 CE, while great with child and forestalling the birth by means of a large stone held in place by her girdle. Only when victory was secure did she leave the battlefield to give birth to Ōjin, later deified as Hachiman, the God of War.

In the eighteenth century, artisans developed complex and sometimes large mechanical *ningyō* which were jointed, with life-like movement. *Mitsuore ningyō*, while not actually portraits, were often modeled after real people, notables, and were sold with elaborate wardrobes. Often, children received naked figures of the *mitsuore*, ‘three fold’, type for which they designed and fashioned little costumes. Very popular were the *anesama ningyō*, ‘elder sister dolls’. Toward the end of the Edo period, life-sized mannequins which were covered with live flowers, frequently chrysanthemums, *kiku*, appeared on public display and *Kiku ningyō* are still seen today in museum displays in late autumn during chrysanthemum season.

Hitogata

Among the *ningyō*/doll images in the work of MORIMURA Yasumasa, we first see something like ‘paper dolls’ in the three ‘*La Source*’ images, as early as 1986, and again in the ‘*Maya*’ series of 1990. Paper and *papier-mache* effigies have a centuries old history in Japan with the folk toy tradition, *mingei*. The secondary reading for the *kanji* read as *ningyō* is *hitogata*, a term also meaning human form and originating in the Heian-Kamakura period (749-1339) which is regarded as the era producing the first true dolls in Japan. The *hitogata*, flat cut-out images, were also called *katashiro*, divine shape (referred to above). They were human forms used to represent a deity which was deliberately summoned to earth through the mediation of a shaman, priest, or *miko*, a *Shintō* shamaness. These were the precursors of many kinds of subsequent Japanese *ningyō* — effigies and amulets, which are invested with the power to absorb evil. *Hitogata* were most often of thin wood but they were also made in soft metal. The paper figures were sometimes up to six feet tall.[39]

Villagers create any number of the 200 paper gods for use in ritual divination, prayers for the sick and the worship of local deities, the mountain gods and their ancestors. Each god-image is cut from a single piece of traditional Japanese paper, *washi*. The art is handed down by *tayū*, ritual experts, who are today less able to interest young practitioners in learning the art and mythology of the sect.

The practice still exists today, but is diminishing. *Izanagi-ryū*, an eclectic mix of elements from *Shintō* and Buddhism, uses no permanent imagery for worship. In the village of Monobe, Kōchi Prefecture, nestled deep in the mountains of Shikoku, this folk religion has worshipped paper *kami* for generations. Villagers create doll-like paper cut-outs only when they hold rituals for divination, prayers for the sick and worship of local deities, ancestors and mountain spirits. The 200 different kinds of paper *kami* are each cut from a single piece of *washi* and each pattern has a name associated with a particular occasion. The name of the sect has obvious connections with one of the primordial twins, *Izanagi*, but details of the origin have been lost to memory. The practice of making the *Juni no Hinago* paper *ningyō* has been designated a Japanese National Intangible Cultural Asset since 1980.[40]

Kokeshi

The Gribbins (1984) posit that the long history of the very popular and currently collectible ‘*kokeshi*’ icons of the traditionally *Shintō* area of Tōhoku, Northern Honshu, are evolved from the *dogū*. Tōhoku is legendary for its severity of climate and the grim lifestyle of its historically impoverished citizens as reflected in its folktales and arts. Far from cuddly, the *kokeshi* are iconic, vertical, armless and legless cylinders of wood, turned on a lathe with a wooden ball, neckless, stuck on top for a head. Painted features are charming if minimal, applied with small, restrained strokes in black and one or two bright colors.

Old *kokeshi*, found in their present form as far back as the Edo period (1603-1868) are dark with age, worn and clearly show that they were frequently handled and possibly played with, but records indicate that this was not originally their purpose.[41] According to Gribbin and Gribbin (1984), the word *kokeshi* can be read as ‘*ko*’, child, and ‘*keshi*’, extinguish. William LaFleur, in his 1992 study, *Liquid Life: Abortion and Buddhism in Japan*, speculates that infanticide, *mabiko* (thinning out), especially of female babies, was commonplace for centuries as an early form of family planning. Early infant mortality from disease was also frequent. *Kokeshi ningyō* representing the deceased children, *mizuko* (literally ‘water children’), were kept for generations, passed around, remembered and cared for.

The *ningyō* and the *zō*

If objects made in the shape of a human being do indeed concretize inner emotions and spiritual states, then, the role of protector of children and the favored effigy standing in for deceased children, *O-Jizō sama*, is especially noteworthy. Ubiquitous alongside the roads, at street corners and in graveyards, *O-Jizō sama* is most often seen wearing a child’s bib, usually red, white or small print and with a knitted cap, also usually red, all lovingly hand made. As Morimura illustrates in his *manga*, the faces of *Jizō* often show red or pink lips recently painted on, even though the figure itself might be so old that the features have worn away. The whole face is often painted, as well. The layered associations in the figure of *Jizō*, a kind of *ningyō*, a *bodhisattva*, and a remembered child, all at the same time, are at once remarkable as well as intentional and as a group, are doubtless the most abundant evidence of the character of investment that the Japanese have historically made in their effigies.

Easily the strongest visual presence of doll-like imagery in Japan, especially since worshippers often adorn figures of the saint with layers of handmade bibs and knitted caps, *Jizō* is not referred to as a

ningyō, but as a *zō*: *seki-zō* if made of stone and *do-zō* if rendered in metal. The term *zō* is used for crafted human forms which are typically larger than *ningyō*, around life-size or larger, which implies that it cannot easily be carried around. This form falls more into the category of sculpture than *ningyō* or doll forms, but images of *Jizō*, which can be quite small, and carried around, are nevertheless, not *ningyō*. 'Zō' is reserved for images of human beings, saints and the fabulous creatures of the *Shintō* and Buddhist pantheon. It also applies to mythological figures as culturally remote as the Statue of Liberty. And as with *ningyō*, the term implies that a soul or spirit is in residence.

The researcher discovered an interesting exception to these general notions in the large figural work of the currently 'hot'[42] contemporary artist, MURAKAMI Takeshi, whose aesthetic is based in *manga*, *anime*, Western 'Pop' art as well as cheap pornography. Even though his large plastic *anime* figures are called 'zō', they are not thought to house a soul, as they originate in the commercial world of *anime*. The concept of soul, or no-soul, in contemporary images of the human form has its most recent origins in the Heian period, when the rich visual traditions of Buddhism, especially Buddhist portrait sculpture, was imported into *Shintō* Japan, which heretofore had no felt need for any such elaborate imagery. According to Gribbin and Gribbin (1984), the tradition and technique of Buddhist sculpture greatly enriched the

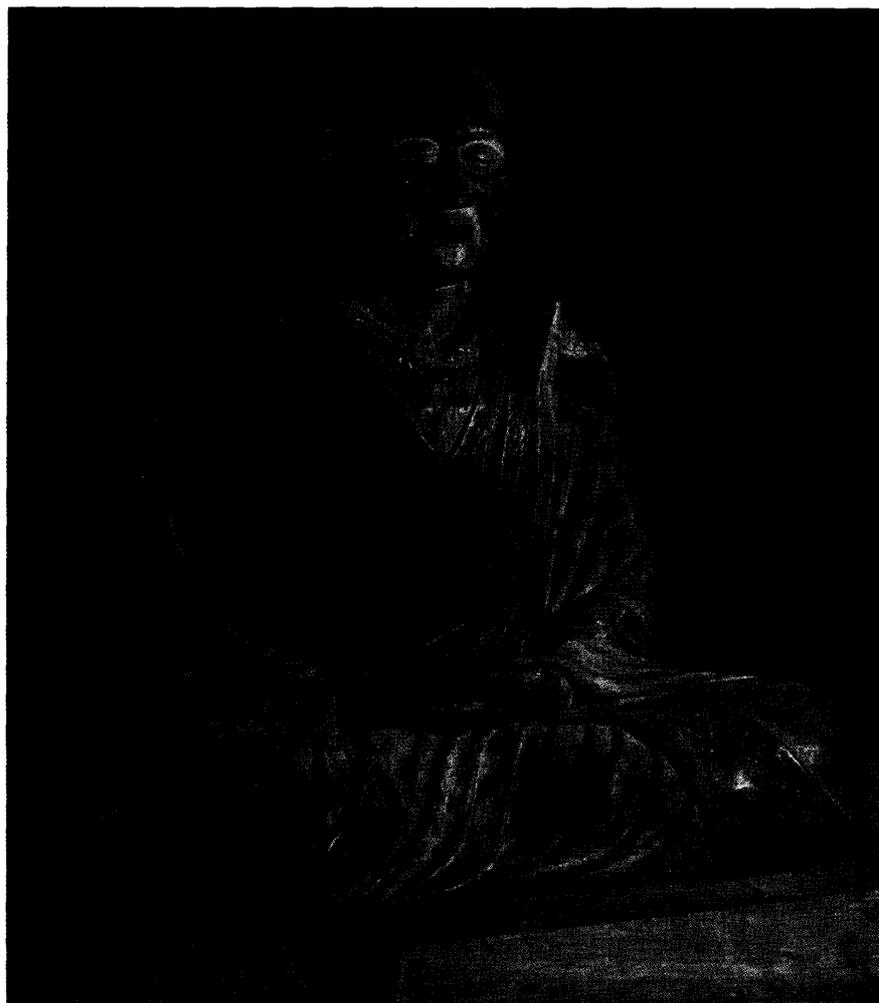


Fig. 2 Ganjin (Chien-chen), d. 763 Late Tempyō, Tōshōdai-ji, Nara Dry lacquer, 80.5 H
鑑真和上 763 ごろ 乾漆・彩色 高 80.5cm 唐招提寺御影堂

perceptions of soul, or spirit, residing in crafted images of the human form.

The earliest yet surviving sculptural portrait in Japan is the dry lacquer figure[43] of the eighth century Buddhist Priest Ganjin (688-763), founder of the Toshōdai-ji in Nara.[44] Thought to have been made by an artist who knew the priest, legend has it that one of the novices had a dream in which one of the main beams of the temple broke. Taking this as a prediction of the death of Ganjin, the idea of a portrait sculpture was initiated. About the year 750, on the island of Hainan, off the southern coast of China, Ganjin had seen an effigy of the Buddhist patriarch Hui Neng (638-713) which had been preserved by natural mummification and sealed with lacquer. Ganjin tried to prepare his own body for this state as he died. Through extreme discipline and self denial, he hoped to create a kind of shell,[45] like a cicada, with the spirit evident within. But the climate of Japan is too humid and not conducive to natural mummification, so an alternative had to be found. After the cremation of the holy man's body, the ashes were mixed with clay, modeled into a close likeness of the sage and finished with lacquer.[46] Like its counterpart in China, this image was respected as a simple likeness, *nise-e*, while also presumed to be 'inhabited' by the soul and full of supernatural power.[47] This very early work in human imagery in Japan has been so revered that the investment of perceived spirituality in the form transfers to many other images of both the human being, animals, fabulous creatures as well as stuffed animals and *mamori*, amulets.

Awajima Jinja

In Japan, worn-out *ningyō*; children's stuffed toy animals, *nuigurumi*; as well as masks, *o-men*, *maneki neko*, the ubiquitous 'welcome cat' seen at the entry of businesses; stuffed dead animals, *hakusei*; and the wooden *ningyō* called *kokeshi* are emphatically not *gomi*, trash, to be put out with the household garbage. The Awashima Jinja, a *Shintō* shrine in Kada, Wakayama Prefecture, is one of the shrines of Japan especially charged with receiving such unwanted or outgrown objects and it is the primary site for the *Hina Matsuri*. Celebrated on the third day of the third month, it had traditionally been 'the day of the snake', in China, a day of purification and ceremonies for ridding oneself of evil influences. By breathing on or stroking an effigy, one could transfer sins and sickness to *ningyō*, called *katashiro*, which were then cast into running water so as to carry the malady as far away as possible.

The exorcism is still practiced at Awajima Jinja today. This site is also the most auspicious site for women to bring effigies to offer in petition for *anzan*, ease of childbirth, *fujinbyō*, relief from female disorders and *kosazuke*, to be gifted with the birth of a child. Of the thousands of *ningyō* and stuffed animals delivered into the care of the *jinja* annually, the best are reserved for the permanent collection while the rest are set about in repose around the buildings and grounds until the new year when most are dispatched back into the great cosmic mixmaster of souls by sacred fire.[48]

Contemporary Manifestations

Related phenomena in contemporary Japan deserve mention here relative to the ongoing special status of the crafted form: the Kewpie,[49] the Tamagotchi[50] and the Primopuel. The Kewpie doll is seen everywhere and discussed in the Japanese press regularly, recently in a lawsuit involving the International Bank of Japan which had illegally appropriated the image for its public identity.[51] *The Japan Times* gave a full page review and short biography of the Kewpie in the 1995 retrospective of Kewpies at the IMAX Gallery in Nagoya. Apparently, the German dollmaker J.D. Kestner made the first clay Kewpies in 1913 but production shifted to the United States with the onset of the war. After the war, Japan quickly became the major producer of the early celluloid dolls. Their variety and popularity soared and

they are practically venerated, even today. The earlier Taishō period (1912-26) had seen the super-cute, sexless[52] Kewpies dressed as *Kabuki* actors and cowboys, posed like Rodin's "The Thinker" as well as *Rakugo* storytellers.[53]

Virtual *ningyō*

Tamagochi

The sensational 1997 Tamagochi craze caused widespread concern over the possible neglect and abuse of the techno-pets by immature parents to the point that a Tamagochi adoption center was discussed. As alarm grew over the galloping accumulation of 'dead' Tamagochi, (*tamago*, egg), numerous inquiries regarding the proper disposition of the little souls still in residence in the techno-eggs plagued the priest Takada *shudōshi*. He agreed to receive the techno-corpses by mail and offered to post a virtual Tamagochi graveyard adjacent to the virtual *ō-haka* (graveyard) on the temple's website. It was a great success. There was much reported relief as well as substantially improved annual income for the temple.[54]

In an article for *The London Times*, Robert Whyment reviews the social situation leading to the current severe drop in the Japanese birthrate and offers that the reluctance on the part of Japanese women to have babies worries the government and has *ningyōshi* working overtime. Adding another commercial success for Bandai Corporation, following on the Tamagochi craze, is a doll for grown-ups which never demands to be fed, washed or attended to in the middle of the night. "Primopuel" is a name mixing Latin and Italian, meaning 'first boy' but it replaces the 'r' of *puer* with the 'l', accommodating the Japanese tendency to reverse these two sounds. Forty-five pounds and about the size of a two year old, the alien-like creature looks like a cross between a human child and a monkey with a cute human-like face, pointed ears and a stuffed tail like a cat. It is fitted with seven sensors which prompt it to respond when being cradled, petted or spoken to. It has 200 verbal responses in an electric memory and can return affection. It also sneezes, coughs and whines but it doesn't need to have its diaper changed, does not cry and is never naughty. Little "Pu" has become popular with working women living alone who have been known to take them on dates. The parents of these women dress them up and treat them like grandchildren.[55]

Shudōshi TAKADA Yukihiro *san*, the priest at the Kannon-*in* Buddhist Temple in Hiroshima, referred to above, despaired of his dwindling attendance and income from congregational contributions as Japan's population became more mobile and his parishioners moved away due to job relocation, education or marriage. The parishioners weren't happy either, feeling stressed several times a year at being unable to visit the ancestral *ō-haka*, graveyard, on required holidays and whenever one feels an *on*. [56] So, Takada *shudōshi* had a home page designed for the temple with a virtual graveyard and, for a contribution, farflung parishioners could secure a gravestone icon and have it placed in the schematized *ō-haka*, ever available for devotional visits through the world wide web at address: <http://www.urban.or.jp/home/kanjizai>.

Kisekai Ningen Daiichigo

Representation and allusions to both the doll and the *ningyō* are numerous and varied in the *oeuvre* of MORIMURA Yasumasa. Indeed, there is a doll-like quality in most of his images as they do not attempt to hide that fact that they are contrived; that they allude to varieties of idealization; they are costumed, made-up, posed, and clearly isolated and unavailable to the viewer. Even in the case of groups of figures within the same frame, each figure seems to exist in its own psychological space.

We see the use of large paper cut-outs, recalling the tradition of the *hitogata*; images with artificial eyes

alluding to the *dogū*; and the use of the ever popular ethnic dolls available in gift shops all over the world with the elaborate traditional dress of their culture. *Bunraku ningyō*-like are Morimura's over-dressed caricatures of King Kong, the vampire, mummy, Frankenstein, Aqua-monster and werewolf-matador. His images refer to the 'elder sister', *anesama ningyō*; *kiku ningyō*, chrysanthemum *ningyō*; as well as the ancient warrior Empress Jingū. His classic 'baby doll' caricature and his 'Licca-chan', a *kisekae ningyō*, dress-up *ningyō*, are in dialogue with popular culture in both Japan and America. But it is in Morimura's *manga*, *Kisekae Ningen Daiichigo*, 1994, where the archetypal significance of the many themes potential in the crafted human image emerge. In that narrative, the protagonist is the tormented offspring of a *ningyō* and a human being, the embattled product of a forbidden union.[57]

Morimura's self portraits of the period 1985-1995 make numerous references to members of typical family, despite the fact that he is an only child. He names brothers, sisters and mother images repeatedly during this decade but only one mention of 'father'. His 1991 image of "Death of the Father" remains a solitary reference to the 'father' until the publication of *Kisekae Ningen Daiichigo*. The father pictured in the *manga*, as with all the characters in the narrative, bears the likeness of Morimura's countenance. He is described in the narrative as a positive image who first arrives, incognito, in the kindly voice of a doctor, to rescue the hero/heroine of the text who has fallen unconscious in the street because of some chronic affliction of the body and spirit.

The hero/ine awakens fitfully, dimly aware that s/he is in a laboratory, on an examining table. But a soothing voice explains that the operation has been successful and there will be no after effects. The patient asks, as if struggling up from a fog, "Where am I" and "Who are you"? A figure dressed all in white with white hair and beard stands with his arms folded and introduced himself as Dr. Kisekae (Dr. Dress-Up). With dignity and calm, the doctor advises that s/he is vulnerable because of having just been hatched from a cocoon with the doctor's timely assistance. To explain this unusual event, the doctor revealed that the patient's mother was a beautiful *ningyō*, and due to the inheritance of her DNA, this difficult transformation was necessary.

Having successfully pupated, the hero/ine then embarks on a succession of adventures, learning of the healing power of love and eventually returns to the laboratory, now empty. But a huge electronic screen in the lab lights up and the doctor's voice speaks again, affirming the recent heroic deeds of the protagonist and revealing more biographical details to the astonishment of the hero/ine. It becomes clear that the doctor is the same father who had married the *ningyō* and saved his newborn from the attack of those outraged by this transgression. He had sent the *ningyō*/mother and the child away to live in seclusion, never seeing either of them again until the day of the rescue in the street.

Before leaving the screen, forever, the father gives the hero/ine his blessing, saying that everything that has happened brings him joy and deep satisfaction. That being so, he can now leave to begin a journey, an eternal trip, never to return. And the mature, evolved *ningyō*/human hybrid is now committed to the shamanic mission of disseminating love.

Conclusion

Throughout history, most crafted images of the human form were not intended as symbolic representations of living or once-lived persons. They were regarded as distinct entities in and of themselves, objects of veneration, the foci of the mysteries of procreation, life and death, of healing and protection with the power also to do evil and it was the artist/shaman who was responsible for the character of the form as well as the spirit-content of the object made. These forms, central to ritual and worship, have been continually reconstructing the past and acting as markers for new identities evolving. In modern times, votive figures,

icons, talismen and effigies still survive but the majority of crafted images, dolls, have essentially devolved into solipsistic projections of a commercially produced 'self', a narcissistic loop existing only between the object and the owner. The manufacturers of the form recognize no responsibility for the interaction. However, in Japan, the traditional crafted image of the human form, the *ningyō*, retains much of its long, strong and complex tradition as the product of the creative dynamic between the artist, the observer, the object and the unseen powers.

Notes

1. Human figure of stone, 3" high (7.4 cm) found at Galgenburg, Austria; collection the Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna. Marilyn Stokestad (1995). *Art History*. N.Y.: Harry N. Abrams, p. 19.
2. John S. Bowman (2000). *Asian History and Culture*. N.Y.: Columbia University Press, pp. 119; 606; 193.
3. In the Far East, small rice straw effigies are made and used to decorate the many wayside shrines. Such a figure keeps away *oni*, devils, *yurei*, ghosts, *hanya*, female demons, and other evil spirits until the next harvest. J.C. Cooper (1990). *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Traditional Symbols*.
4. Not to eliminate the possibility of human-like forms made of perishable fibers such as straw and twigs.
5. Antonia Fraser (1963). *Dolls*. London: Octopus Books, p. 5.
6. Upon the death of a powerful shaman, complex rites performed over a period of three years, converts the dangerous elements of the shaman's spirit into helpful ones which are believed to pass into a prepared effigy, *ongon*, which is hung in a shrine as a permanent, protective icon. Piers Vitebsky (1995). *The Shaman*. N.Y.: Little Brown and Co., p. 95.
7. *Jizō Bosatsu*; *Ksitigarbha* in Sanskrit; Considered in Japan as a venerable person, as a deity and as a *Bodhisattva* with various attributes; Most popular among his manifestations is his role of consoling the unhappy children in hell who spend their time on a sandy beach called "*Sai no Kawara*" building little votive structures out of small pebbles to increase the merit of their families and themselves. Each evening, demons, especially an old woman named Sozu no Kawara no Uba tears them down. Louis Frederic (1995). *Buddhism: Flammarion Iconographic Guides*, pp. 185–6.
8. Between May 13th and October 13th, 1917, six instances of sightings of the Virgin Mary were reported by three children in the village of Fatima, Portugal.
9. Islamic cultures permit only geometric designs incorporating a few biomorphic shapes but there are few culture-based traditions of symbolism aside from those used for language.
10. Fraser, Op. Cit., p. 5.
11. The preceding four paragraphs can be referenced in: Janine Fennick (1996). *The Collectible Barbie Doll: An Illustrated Guide to Her Dreamy World*. London: Quintet Press.
12. Notes on the dolls presented in the six preceding paragraphs can be referenced, respectively: _____. "She's a Smart Doll", *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Oct. 6, 1995, P. A8; _____. "Ken Comes Out", *The Japan Times*, Dec. 22, 1996, p. 11; Don Oldenburg, "Don't Call GI Joe a doll to these American boys", *The Japan Times*, May 8, 1996, p. 15; _____. "Fashion firm plans Barbie clothing line", *The Japan Times*, Dec. 27, 1996, p. 3; _____. "Barbie gets a face lift for more realistic look", *The Japan Times*, Nov. 19, 1997, p. 7; _____. "Barbie makers release doll in pink wheelchair", *The Japan Times*, May 23, 1997, p. 7; _____. "Recommendations", *Tokyo Journal*, August, 1997, p. 5; _____. "Pop Luxuries", *Tokyo Journal*, Aug. 1997, p. 17; _____. "Beyond Belief", *Art Forum*, March, 1997, p. 97; Barbara A. MacAdam, "Party Girl to Arty Girl", *Art News*, May, 1997, p. 29; Eric Bruce, "National Gallery Drawing on van Gogh's Massive Appeal", *The Washington Post*, Sept. 20, 1998, p. A12; Karen J. Winkler, "Social Historian Traces Changing Notions of Freedom in the Hearts and Minds of Americans", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Oct. 23, 1998, p. A15; _____. "Free-speech ruling

for Barbie to pose nude for artists”, *The Japan Times*, Aug. 15, 2001, p. 20; _____ “Harley-Davidson riders haul away Barbie in leather”, *The Japan Times*, p. 9; _____ “Go for Broke Battalion: New GI Joe a tribute to *nisei*”, *The Japan Times*, May 8, 1998, p. 2; _____ “Fashion Professor takes Barbie to Class”, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, July 3, 1998, p. A6; _____ “Barbie still reaching out”, *The Japan Times*, March 11, 1999, p. 6; _____ “Birthday Barbie”, *The Japan Times*, March 10, 1999, p. 9; _____ “Barbie Goes Postal”, *The Japan Times*, Aug. 26, 1999, p. 8; _____ “Midlife Makeover”, *The Japan Times*, February 6, 1999, p. 7; Giovanni Fazio, “Girls ‘n’ dolls pretty vacant products”, *The Japan Times*, Aug. 7, 1998, p. 17; _____ “Barbie hits the gig screen”, *The Japan Times*, July 18, 1998, p. 15.

13. See the *Licca-chan Perfect Data Catalogue: 30th Anniversary* (1996), Japan: Takara.
14. *Manga* is often translated as ‘comic’ book and the term *anime* is a Japanese modification of ‘animation’. As with *ningyō*, they have forms of Western reference but they carry such different cultural loads that they have become terms specifically for the Japanese genre.
15. *The Japan Times*, October 31st, 2001, p. 12.
16. *The Sun (Taiyō)*, No. 466, 1999, pp. 8–9.
17. Translated as “*Number One Dress-Up Person*”. A *kisekae ningyō* has many changes of clothes.
18. Used here in the political sense as when the sacred imagery of an ‘outgroup’ is denigrated in an attempt to justify allegiance to the iconography of the ‘ingroup’.
19. Fraser, 1963, p. 5.
20. *Ushabti* begin to appear in graves during Egypt’s Middle Kingdom Period, c. 2190-1674 BCE.
21. Susan Walker and Morris Bierbrier (1997). *Egypt*. N.Y.: Doubleday, *passim*.
22. Effigies intended to be portraits make up only a very small percentage of doll-like images worldwide. The first portrait dolls in the West were seen in the mid 19th century, replicating the visages of British royalty. Adolp Erman (1971). *Life in Ancient Egypt*. N.Y.: Dover Publications, pp. 306 ff.
23. Wolfhart Westendorf. (1968) *Ancient Egypt: Painting, Sculpture and Architecture*. N.Y.: Harry N. Abrams Co., p.167.
24. _____ (1993). *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*. Japan: Kodansha, p. 292.
25. Jono David “The Doll Temple”, *Kansai Time Out*, March 1997, p. 18
26. Gouda and Tanemura, “Falling Angels from the Universe”, *Taiyō (Sun)*, August, 1999, pp. 42–43.
27. Ibid. *Kami*, according to Brian Bocking (1995). *A Popular Dictionary of Shintō* (1995), Surrey: Curzon Press, is best left untranslated. *Kami* refers to the divine, the sacred, the spiritual and the numinous quality or forces of energy in place and things, deities, spirits of nature and place, as well as divinised heros, ancestors, rulers and statesmen.
28. Ibid.
29. Rosemary Wright, “*Ugetsu*: Revisited”, *Kawasaki Journal of Medical Welfare*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1995, pp. 25–33.
30. Jane Marie Law (1997). *Puppets of Nostalgia*. Princeton University Press, p. 35.
31. Gouda and Tanemura, Op. Cit., pp. 42–43.
32. Jill and David Gribbin (1984). *Japanese Antique Dolls*. N.Y.: Weatherhill, *passim*.
- 33-34. Gribbin and Gribbin, Op. Cit., pp. 53 ff.
35. *Katashiro* were paper images used at purification ceremonies. Gribbin and Gribbin, Op. Cit., 1984, p. 11.
36. Literally, a ‘stroking, petting or patting thing’.
37. Jane Marie Law, Op. Cit., p. 47.
38. _____ (1993). *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, p. 92.
39. Gribbin and Gribbin (1984), Op. Cit., pp. 11–12, preceding four paragraphs.
40. Oshima, S., “Religious Art Meets Shamanism”, *The Japan Times*, February 26th, 2000, p. 15.
41. Gribbin and Gribbin (1984), Op. Cit., p. 57.

42. Showing large exhibitions at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo and the Boston Museum of Fine Art, summer of 2001.
43. Danielle and Vadime Elisseeff (1985). *Art of Japan*. N.Y.: Harry Abrams, Inc.; MORI H. (1977). *Japanese Portrait Sculpture*. Tokyo: Kodasha International Ltd.; Mason, P. *A History of Japanese Art* (1993). N.Y.: Harry N. Abrams. Late Tempyō period (729-749), a sub-period of the Nara (710-749). At the Tōshōdai-ji, Nara.
44. T'ang dynasty monk of the *Ritsu* school of Buddhism, arriving in Nara in 754, after numerous tries to cross the China Sea, and blind after an accident while traveling. Founder of the Tōshōdai-ji. Ganjin's Chinese name is rendered in two Romanizations: Chien-chen and Jianzhen. *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion* (1986). Boston: Shambala Press, p. 70.
45. Specimens of this process of natural mummification can still be found in Tōhoku, the northern prefectures of Japan where severe winters and cool summers have preserved such corpses over the centuries. Elisseeff and Elisseeff, *Op. Cit.*, p. 179.
46. Elisseeff and Elisseeff, *Op. Cit.*, p. 179; 90 ff. During the Kamakura period commemorative portraits of living people, (*juzō*), were made in observance of some important life event. These images were placed in the tomb after death.
47. *Op. Cit.*, p. 180.
48. Jono David, "Laying the Spirits of the dolls to rest", *The Japan Times*, February 18, 1999, p. 14.
49. The Kewpie was originally conceived as a cartoon character in 1909 by the New York illustrator, Rose O'Neill. Unglazed bisque versions were produced in Germany in 1913 and soon after, thousands of plastic versions were made and distributed worldwide. Rita Reif, "Tiny Windows on the Past, With Playful Vistas", *The New York Times*, Sunday, December 22, 1996, p. 52.
50. Designed by 30 year old Aki MAITA for Bandai Company in 1997. The battery powered, egg-shaped cyber-pet, once turned on, runs a course of demands on the 'parent-owner' through messages printed on a tiny screen. If neglected, it promptly expires. If well tended: fed, played with, bathed and napped on demand, it lives well and as long as its built-in battery lasts. Peter McGill and Miranda Loney, "How I made billions for Bandai", *Asahi Evening News*, May 18, 1997, p. 7.
51. _____ "IBJ in Kewpie copyright suit", *The Japan Times*, February 12, 1998, p. 2.
52. Julia Cassim, "Kewpie Groupies Celebrate Sexless Mascot", *The Japan Times*, April 1st, 1995, p. 15.
53. Popular form of traditional comedy with the lone storyteller wearing *kimono* and accompanied by a drum and *shamisen*, but no scenery. *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (1993), p. 1246.
54. Yoko NISHIKAWA, "New Buddhist home page is to die for", *The Japan Times*, March 15th, 1997, p. 4.
55. Colin Joyce, "Living Dolls", *The Daily Telegraph*, Monday, November 6, 2000.
56. A debt of gratitude, a burden of concern, an obligation. Kenkyusha (1954), p. 1299.
57. *The onnagata*, male actress, of the *Kabuki* theater is often said to be the child of an illicit union between dream and reality. The central character, the *kisekae ningen*, is never identified as to sex in *Kisekae Ningen Daiichigo*, 1994, by MORIMURA Yasumasa.