

DOCTORAL (PhD) DISSERTATION

Thesis Booklet

Virág Hársvölgyi

The Reception History of Japanese Children's

Play and Culture in the West –

The Reception of Japanese Doll through

International and Domestic Examples

2023

EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY

Virág Hársvölgyi

**The Reception History of Japanese Children's Play and
Culture in the West –
The Reception of Japanese Doll through International and
Domestic Examples**

DOI Identifier: 10.15476/ELTE.2023.286

Doctoral School of Education

**Head of the Doctoral School: Dr. Anikó Zsolnai,
DSc, University Professor**

Theoretical-Historical Pedagogy Program

**Program Coordinator: Dr. András Németh
Professor Emeritus, DSc**

**Sciences Supervisor: Júlia Dr. Timárné Dr. Szabó,
Associate University Professor**

Budapest, 2023

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	4
1.1. Justification of the Research Topic, Problem Statement and Purpose of the Research	4
1.2. About the Concept of the Doll	6
1.3. Overview of the Research History	8
1.4. Content of the Dissertation	11
1.5. Methodological Framework of the Research	12
1.6. The Structure of the Dissertation	14
2. The Summary of the research	19
Publications Related to the Doctoral Candidate's Topic	21
Works cited	23

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Justification of the Research Topic, Problem Statement and Purpose of the Research

"In today's 'doll cult,' dolls produced and used as symbols of identity are highly popular. Regional, ethnic, and national symbols are often associated with and expressed through dolls, typically dressed in traditional or 'national' attire. [...] The artistic use and interpretation of dolls further reinforce our impression that dolls, which mimic, imitate, and transform the human figure, play a significant role in culture. [...] The ways and occasions for illustrating and representing through dolls are extremely diverse, just as their role in arousing attention and serving advertising purposes in today's consumer culture." (Fejős, 2009, ed. 7.)

The above thoughts can be supplemented by the fact that we can perceive and appreciate the significance of dolls not only in our present era and cultural context but also from historical perspectives and when examining dolls from non-Western cultures, along the lines of cultural interactions.

The choice of the topic for this dissertation was inspired by the author's daily engagement with Japanese artifacts as a museum professional, coupled with the observation that certain elements of Japanese child and toy culture have appeared in significant numbers outside of Japan in identifiable ways. Primarily, dolls, especially the play doll closest to Western concepts, the *ichimatsu doll* (*ichimatsu ningyō*) have been present in the Western world since the 19th century as subjects of paintings, photographs, photo postcards, picture cards, product advertisements, literary works, and main and minor characters in theatrical plays. They have also been featured at world exhibitions, valued items in collectors' collections, curiosities in toy stores, and components of children's plaything environments. The question arises as to what causes the extensive and varied appearances of Japanese play dolls, what meanings are hidden behind individual representations, what value judgments are associated with them, what place, role, and function dolls have as cultural objects, what peculiarities they possess within their own cultural context (such as being ritual objects and/or children's playthings), and whether there is a change in meaning when dolls are placed in a new context, influenced by changing historical circumstances.

Recognizing this phenomenon and researching the related visual carriers can be found in international literature in various contexts. However, this topic has not been explored in the domestic context. Nevertheless, there is an opportunity to investigate these questions in the domestic environment as well. The presence of Japanese dolls (as well as other Japanese toys) can be traced in various aspects, including the purchases of Asia researchers, travelers to Japan, and art collectors, in the collections of toy enthusiasts, among curiosities in exhibitions, in the offerings of toy dealers, and as themes in paintings and graphic artworks. As the research progressed, the discovery of many diverse research possibilities also brought about the need to expand the research to encompass other elements of Japanese children's culture (such as toys and children's festivals) and, in a broader sense, to include the knowledge of Japan of domestic childhood, youth, and adult age groups. This expansion aimed to provide a comprehensive picture of the reception of Japan, including its portrayal and perception in Hungary. This also meant that the chosen title of the dissertation should reflect the broad scope of the research. The resulting title (main title) better represents the tasks undertaken in the research, in our opinion, while not creating tension with the strong theme of dolls (sub-title). This allows for a well-structured exploration of the related content and provides an opportunity to thoroughly examine the wide-reaching impact of Japanese culture, including the doll as a symbol of national identity.

Based on the above, the task of the research titled *The Reception History of Japanese Children's Play and Culture in the West – The Reception of Japanese Dolls through International and Domestic Examples* is to explore, collect, organize, analyze, and deepen the knowledge base related to the chosen topic. The aim is to contribute to the field of Japanese education and childhood history, uncover its aspects in the context of domestic research, explore its historical aspects related to toys, place them within theoretical and methodological frameworks, and draw attention to further research possibilities.

1.2. About the Concept of the Doll

"No one should doubt that dolls are as old as humankind itself. Since the first little girl grew up, there have undoubtedly been dolls in the world. Not the red-faced, smiling, movable-limbed, crying dolls that our children receive, but perhaps a long, narrow piece of stone or wood that a child's imagination transformed into a human being, caring for it, nurturing it, and feeding it, just like a mother does to her real baby. [...] It is difficult to doubt that this development began in prehistoric times", wrote Mihály Balla (1862–1955) in his article titled *A bábu nemzetségfája* [The Family Tree of Dolls] in 1909. (Balla In: *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1909. 56. évf. 12.sz. 233.) The doll – which in the domestic literature was often referred to as "bábu," [puppet] and in some languages is the same word for both "baba" [doll] and "bábu," [puppet] – is as old as mankind itself. Max von Boehn (1860–1932), a German cultural historian, also expressed a similar idea in the first volume titled "Puppen" of his two-volume work "Puppen und Puppenspiele" [eng. Dolls and Puppets, 1932] in 1929. He suggested that in the evolution of dolls, toy dolls only appeared in the last stage, but the *"doll form as the more or less complete representation of man, existed for thousands of years before the first child took possession of it."* (Boehn, 1929.4./1932.24.)

In the Japanese language, the commonly used word for a doll, "ningyō", also originally means "human shape" or "human form", and it is used for prehistoric human formed artifacts that have been discovered. (Yamada, 1962.1.) This aligns with the explanation provided by Boehn, indicating that the concept of a doll is much older than that of a toy. When discussing the concept of Japanese dolls, it is important to consider its rich layers of meaning and diverse forms of appearance and use. A significant part of Japanese doll culture, for example, includes dolls that are not meant for play and not intended for children but are displayed for adults, used for viewing, or expressing some form of good wishes (e.g., for childblessing). Even when talking about dolls made for children, it does not exclude their role in the adult world, and vice versa. However, this cannot be discussed in a generalized manner but only through the examination of specific types of dolls. Therefore, in this dissertation, dolls appear in various aspects, such as children's toys, dolls for adults, good luck talismans, ceremonial items, votive objects (made for offerings), souvenirs, gift dolls, and artisanal-hobbyist objects.

Among the numerous types of Japanese dolls, one stands out and takes center stage in the research: the "ichimatsu" Japanese play doll (or at least the one closest to the Western concept of a play doll). Many writings have been produced about it since the first foreigners, after Japan's almost 250 years of isolation, began exploring the streets of Japan and observed Japanese mothers carrying their babies on their backs, as well as young girls helping with baby-carrying, or even placing dolls resembling real babies in their clothing. (*Bozóky*, 1911.25.) The first type of doll in Japan with a naturalistic body that could be treated like a real baby was the "ichimatsu" doll. (*Gribbin–Gribbin*, 1984. 52–53.) It was this doll that traveled on the backs of young children instead of real babies, and it was seen by the first foreigners to visit Japan. The "ichimatsu" doll became a subject of photographs with Japanese women posing as if the doll was a real child, and it made its appearance at the first world exhibition in 1851, becoming a model for Western doll production. This doll became a symbol of Japan on Western picture postcards and was featured in Western fairy tales, collector's collections, accessories of theatrical performances, subject of paintings, graphical works, product advertisements, and an unique form of expressing goodwill, and then a symbol of the enemy in the doll exchange project of the first half of the 20th century. (*Shibusawa*, 2006. 23., *Kita*, 2018.)

The "ichimatsu" dolls appearance were inspired by the 18th-century kabuki actor Ichimatsu Sanogawa (1722–1763). The male actor who played female roles quickly became the center of attention, both in terms of his persona and appearance. Dolls modeled after his facial features soon gained great popularity, and they were named "ichimatsu dolls" based on the actor's name, incorporating a pun in Japanese. [The term "ichimatsu" means "checkered," referring to the checkered patterns often seen on the actor's kimonos. (*Takeguchi*, 2002. 50.)] These dolls represented both boys and girls, and their owners could dress them up as they wished. The hair of boy dolls was usually represented through painting, while girl dolls had hair that reached down to their shoulders, often with a bang on their forehead. Mothers who bought such dolls for their children could also buy the corresponding clothing, but they could also make the outfits themselves, allowing young girls to practice the art of dressmaking, and thus, the dolls also served an educational purpose. (*Takeguchi*, 2002. 50.) Ichimatsu play dolls can come in various sizes, from tiny ones that fit in the palm of hand to life-sized pieces. A characteristic feature of ichimatsu dolls from the Meiji era (1868–1912) was the lifelike appearance of their faces, which were not always cute and endearing but had distinct personalities. This was because the dollmakers of that time often modeled the dolls after

their own or their clients' children, resulting in different facial types. There were also versions of these dolls made for viewing, where dolls were paired and placed in glass cases. As Western-style versions of these dolls with round eyes and curly hair were also produced, the term "yamato" began to be used for those dolls made at the end of the Meiji era that had a purely Japanese appearance. This doll type, typically sold without clothing, allowed owners to dress them at home as they liked. (*Yamada*, 1962. 136.) Dressed ichimatsu dolls often appear in traditional Japanese kimonos with traditional accessories, making them symbols of Japan. (*Baten*, 2000. 39.)

1.3. Overview of the Research History

In Hungary, the study of the East, which can also be connected to the current research, has a long history. Its roots can be traced back to the search for our ancestors' origins in the East and played a role in fostering an interest in the Far East. Specifically, research on Japan has yielded significant results in terms of source history (*Buda*, 2010, 2012, 2014), art history (*Cseh-Gáspár-Umemura*, 2010, eds., *Dénes et al.*, 2016, eds.), cultural history (*Dénes-Fajcsák-Splawski-Watanabe*, 2020, eds.), historical, economic history, and, in general, the history of Japanese-Hungarian diplomatic relations (*Farkas et al.*, 2009, eds., *Tóth*, 2018), which celebrated its 150th anniversary in 2019. In addition to these, Hungarian researchers have also addressed historical and contemporary issues related to Japanese education and educational history. (*Mayerné Zsádon*, 1986, *Varrók*, 2004, *Gordon Győri*, 2006, *Harangi*, 2010, *Kéri*, 2010, 2015, *Endrődy-Nagy*, 2019a, 2020a,b) Scientific conferences (*Endrődy-Nagy*, 2017a, ed.), lectures (*Hársvölgyi*, 2017b, 2019b,c), and publications (*Endrődy-Nagy*, 2017b, 2019b, 2020a,b, *Hársvölgyi*, 2019a, *Papp*, 2013, 2016) have also explored the image of Japanese children and the visual sources used in the study of the history of childhood within a historical context.

It should be noted that the inclusion of the study of childhood through visual representations, primarily paintings, in the research on the history of childhood is not a new phenomenon (*Ariès*, 1962), and there have been significant publications on this topic in Hungary in recent years (see, for example, *Endrődy-Nagy*, 2015, *Támba*, 2017, *Kéri*, 2019), along with exhibitions (such as the temporary exhibition titled "Gyerek/Kor/Kép – Gyermek a magyar képzőművészetben" [Child/Age/Picture – Child in Hungarian Fine Arts] held between October 12, 2016, and February 19, 2017, at the Budapest History Museum) and research studies highlighting the results (see, for example, *Szabolcs*, 2019). In the history of research in Hungary, there is also a presence of studies related to Japanese and Japan-related toys and dolls in Hungarian public collections (*Haider*, 1981, 2004, *Hársvölgyi*, 2018, 2021), the presence of Japanese toys in Hungarian life reform communities (*Hársvölgyi*, 2017a, 2018), and efforts to popularize Japanese culture among young Hungarian readers (*Hársvölgyi*, 2015). Publications introducing the toy and doll collections of specific institutions (*Haider*, 1981, 2004), theses (*Csőke*, 2017), dissertations and studies examining the Hungarian history of collecting Japanese art objects along with international connections (*Bincsik*, 2008, 2009), doctoral theses summarizing personal creative inspirations (*Nagy*, 2013), and studies introducing a specific type of Japanese doll, kokeshi, created by contemporary Hungarian artists (*Hársvölgyi*, 2013), as well as publications promoting this type, have also been published (*Tóth-Vásárhelyi-Rácz*, 2019).

The aforementioned publications, lectures, and books are significant contributions to the research and popularization of Japanese culture in Hungary, indicating a desire to understand Japanese culture and, along with it, multicultural knowledge. However, within this longstanding history of connections, the comprehensive historical research and presentation of the textual, visual, and material world of Japanese childhood culture (including dolls and toys) within the Western world and especially in Hungary, is still pending. This includes the examination of Japanese knowledge among the young generation in Hungary through educational and literary works and media products, as well as the analysis of texts that conveyed knowledge about the Japanese child world and material culture, particularly those related to Japanese families, child-rearing, and child culture in materials intended for adults. The present work undertakes a reception-history approach to studying this topic.

It is important to note that just as research in the Western world has focused on the study of childhood, the world surrounding children, and the treatment of children (*Key*, 1908, *deMause*, 1974, *Cleverly–Phillips*, 1986, *Ariès*, 1962, 1987, *Shahar*, 2000), research on Japanese childhood has also seen significant contributions at the international level. These comprehensive works and studies have explored the topic from historical perspectives (*Sofue*, 1965, *Kojima*, 1986, *Uno*, 1990, *Platt*, 2005, *Jones*, 2010, *Page*, 2011, *Kinski–Salomon–Großmann*, 2015, eds.), historical, comparative, and contemporary viewpoints (*White*, 1994, *Jolivet*, 1997), in terms of educational history (*Yoshida–Litt–Kaigo*, eds. 1937, *Dore*, 1965, *Hong*, 1978, *Wollons*, 1993, *Holloway*, 1999), and from an anthropological perspective (*Bacon*, 1891/2015, *Gorer*, 1942, 1943, *Benedict*, 1954, *Benedict–Mori*, 2009), with a significant focus on the cultural role of Japanese dolls (*Gulick*, 1929, *Shibusawa*, 2010, *Shoaf*, 2015, *Kita*, 2018). However, this study does not aim to explore Japanese childhood history, the driving forces of changes, the historical, political, economic, social circumstances, and processes within its own context, or even comparative analysis to assess the applicability of Ariès' and deMause's paradigms of childhood history to the reconstruction of Japanese childhood. Such topics fall beyond the scope of this current work. Nevertheless, it should be noted that works such as Philippe Ariès (1914–1984) French historian's publication "L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime" [eng. Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life] published in 1960, inspired the establishment of the Japanese Kumon Children's Research Institute in 1986 and the subsequent research on the history of Japanese childhood.

The historical examination of knowledge related to the Japanese child world, both directly and indirectly, provides an opportunity for research that is no less intriguing, taking into account Western and, more narrowly, Hungarian knowledge. In this regard, beyond the analysis of the mentioned texts, an important role is played by the research of material culture, for which foreign-language Japanese toy and doll catalogs have provided essential reference points (*Yamada*, 1962, *Hillier*, 1968, *Cieslik–Cieslik*, 1979, *Lawitt*, 1983, *Gribbin–Gribbin*, 1984, *Baten*, 1986, 1992, 2000, *Theriault*, 1993, *Pate*, 2005, 2008, etc.)

1.4. Content of the Dissertation

The content of the dissertation is comprised of a carefully selected body of international and domestic knowledge on the subject. This encompasses, on one hand, documents that are primarily derived from the realm of written communication (such as newspapers and independent written works), on the other hand, visual mediums (such as artworks, photographs, postcards, illustrations, etc.), and thirdly, a selection of art objects collected from various public collections. Within this extensive body of knowledge, the organizing principle of the research revolves around the Japanese ichimatsu doll as a cultural-historical artifact. Beyond its significant role as a cultural mediator between East and West, this doll has had numerous interactions with various cultural areas. These points of interaction, traced through the history of trade, culture, and art, extend to the history of education, thereby justifying its central place in the research. Furthermore, topics related provide a broad perspective and rationale for their presentation.

The dissertation commences with a broad perspective and progresses from the international context towards domestic sources which continuously reflect on the international scholarly literature, and at times, distant texts engage in dialogue with each other across time and space. The text coherence is characterized by forward and backward references between chapters, which, by nature, may result in some repetition. However, this is necessary to aid the reader in understanding deeper connections and illuminating textual relationships. With a bird's-eye view of the historical background, the dissertation primarily examines Japanese children's culture, including the place and role of dolls and toys, from the second half of the 19th century to the first half/middle of the 20th century. This examination is primarily based on the information provided about them and the reflections on them. The dissertation explores the historical background and causes of the development of interest of Japan, the knowledge related to the Japanese child image and its reflections, the portrayal of Japanese education's perception of play and toys in domestic pedagogical texts, and the historical background and domestic cultural embeddedness of material culture, including dolls and toys. The dissertation follows a historical trajectory, tracking the evolution of knowledge about Japan, starting from sporadic reports to increasingly concrete information, as well as depicting the changing image of Japan.

1.5. Methodological Framework of the Research

The research process, including its progression, logic, and applied methodology, was fundamentally determined by two factors: first, the researcher's position, meaning the close relationship between the researcher, who has a background in art history, and the subject of the research. This relationship implies that the research cannot strive for complete objectivity but also does not consider it as the exclusive guarantee of quality (*Sallay–Martos*, 2018.14.). The second factor is that the empirical data and visual mediums served as the starting point for the examination of the phenomenon.

The research process can be described as qualitative, with an inductive logic, and it can be related to the methodological principles of Grounded Theory (*Corbin–Strauss*, 2015), especially within the framework of Visual Grounded Theory (*Sántha*, 2018). However, the researcher, who comes from the field of art history and whose research is also art-related, applied a theoretical model from their own discipline. For iconographic analysis, Erwin Panofsky's three-level model served as a reference point. The essence of this model is that, concerning the subject of the study, progressively deeper information can be unfolded through the process of "pre-iconographic description [phenomenal meaning] – iconographic analysis [semantic meaning] – iconological interpretation [documentary meaning/essential meaning]." However, Panofsky himself notes that in reality, this three-level model unites into a single organic process that unfolds through tensions and resolutions and is "theoretically divisible into autonomous elements and separate events" (*Panofsky*, 1984. 259). In this process, the interpreting person requires not only practical experience, a natural, almost intimate relationship with objects and events, but also prior knowledge of art history for contextualizing the examined artworks.

Based on Panofsky's system the research process can be described in the sequence of the following steps: "begins with the examination (and the pre-selection) of man made objects – which being dictated by a general historical conception –, then the objects have to be decoded and interpreted (important aspect is the placement on the space-time axis), the researcher uses documents for interpretation, which documents have to be checked against other documents, finally the results have to be classified and coordinated into a coherent system." (*Panofsky*, 1984. 264 –268.)

We do not aim to subject Panofsky's description to a methodological comparison with Grounded Theory, but it is worth noting that both process descriptions include similar operational steps such as theoretical background development, sampling, decoding, comparison, and category formation. The primary difference lies in the starting point: while "GT's original concept starts with a broadly defined problem and narrows and concretizes it as research progresses" (Sántha, 2018. 54.), in the case of iconographic analysis, we consider the initial problem to be more clearly defined, even though it naturally becomes more specific during the analysis.

From the perspective of presenting the results, the research process of this study can be described based on the following strategy: since the visual knowledge served as the initial basis of the examined phenomenon, a part of it was surveyed based on a given sampling set to determine what type of data might provide the starting point for acquiring information that makes the examined phenomenon understandable and explainable (*data collection*). It should be noted that as the research progressed, repeated and new sampling was necessary until saturation was reached. Based on the primary analysis of the acquired information, a thematic arrangement resulted in a categorized body of knowledge (*data analysis*). Through the illumination of content-related connections in chronological order, an interconnected system of relationships could be uncovered. By attempting to provide meaning, a possible narrative emerged (*theorizing*). However, this does not invalidate other approaches, it does not mean that the interpretation of a particular work can not be overruled, reconsidered (Virág, 2017), or corrected. Nor does it mean that the examined theme can only be described according to the aforementioned narrative. Nonetheless, in our view, the present research, through the application of Panofsky's model, Grounded Theory operational steps, the reception history research type, and the researcher's position, forms a synthesis that reflects the researcher's unique approach to the topic, a method that can produce new results.

1.6. The Structure of the Dissertation

The first chapter of the dissertation discusses the rationale for the topic under examination, its background, research questions, research objectives, methodological approaches, summarizing the main domestic literature on Japanese research, highlighting both loosely and closely related literature to our topic, and mentioning international references. Subsequently, the subchapter titled "The Concept of the Doll" examines the conceptual complexity of dolls in both European and Japanese contexts (*Boehn*, 1929, *Hathalmi*, 1901, *Yamada*, 1962).

The research proceeds to address the reception history of Japanese children's play and culture in nine chapters (2–10), exploring the international and domestic cultural embedment of Japanese dolls and, in the final 11th chapter, summarizes the research and discusses possibilities for further exploration.

The second chapter, titled *Japán és a világ* [Japan and the World] highlights historical points of contact between Japan and the Western world (*Kojima*, 1986), with particular emphasis on the circumstances of port openings, including a diplomatic event from which valuable historical information about dolls can be gleaned (*Houchins*, 1995, *Hodge*, 2013). Japan, opening up to the world, sent its treasures of toys and dolls through political, commercial, artistic, and tourist channels to the Western world, where the late 19th-century trend, japonism, contributes to the popularity of Japanese culture, including toys and dolls (*Pate*, 2008).

The third chapter, titled *Japán babák a nyugati világbán* [Japanese Dolls in the Western World] categorizes and examines the appearance of Japanese dolls in the Western world from various angles, grouped around eight major themes.

The subchapter *Világkiállítások japán játékképe* [Japanese Toys at World Expositions] follows Japan's self-representation (*Teramoto*, 2017, *Ukai*, 2017) through those world expositions that exhibit the material culture of Japanese children play and culture (*Pate*, 2008, *Alagón Laste*, 2016), including the first recognizable stage of the spread of Japanese dolls in the West (*Corson*, 2014). The impact of Western colonial thinking on toys is also discussed (*Bowersox*, 2013. 23.), and Hungarian press texts (*Liptay*, 1873) reflecting on the respective world exposition, as well as Japanese items from exhibition catalogs, are included in the analysis. The electronically available materials from the French National Library (Bibliothèque Nationale de France) in Paris, the National Diet Library in Tokyo, and the Internet Archive in San Francisco have greatly contributed to this research.

Under the subheading *Távol-Kelet, mint látványosság* [The Far East as Spectacle] the research explores the use of dolls/puppets in the performing arts, focusing on distinctive examples of performances featuring Far Eastern, mainly Japanese dolls, with references to domestic examples. The paper theater adaptations of Far Eastern-themed performances reveal the historical connections between consumer culture and the history of toys. (Farr, 2008, Michals, 2008, Cross, 2013, Császi, 2017, Tészbó, 2020b) Within the scope of spectacles, the theme and formal choices inspired by the Far East in certain toys of the late 19th to early 20th centuries are well-defined (Cieslik, 1988, Bas–Martin, 2014) and can be associated. The novelty of the product range of Hungarian trade at that time is also related to the visualization of Japan. In addition to the original Western toys and objects inspired by them, there are also visual representations that can be associated with the theme of spectacle: the glass slides used in magic lantern (*laterna magica*) presentations (Rosell, 2008). The research also mentions domestic examples of the use of East Asian and Japanese-themed glass slides and their use in education (Nádasi, 2008; Szabó Sóki, 2009). The topic also provides insight into the direction of photography as a genre born in the 19th century, through the photographs taken by travelers who visited Japan (Lang, 2011).

The subchapter titled *A Távol-Kelet, mint fogyasztási cikk* [The Far East as a Consumer Commodity] seeks to find and analyze visual and textual examples of product advertisements related to cleanliness, fashion, toys, and luxury goods, primarily those related to children, toys, and dolls, within the context of Japan. (Yoshihara, 2003).

Subsequently, under the subtitle *A Távol-Kelet, mint divat* [The Far East as a Fashionable Phenomenon] the focus of interest lies in Japan's influence on Western dressing culture, particularly in the context of lifereform, which is also explored through an artist's biography that extends towards the topic of dolls. (Axe, 1987; Formanek-Brunell, 1998).

The subchapter titled *A láthatóvá tett Japán. Képelemek Japánról – Globetrotterek fotóalbumai* [Visualizing Japan: Visual Memories of Japan – Photo Albums of Globetrotters] deals with commercial photography, particularly through photo albums of world travelers, including those held in domestic collections.

The subchapter titled *Japán babák a művészetben* [Japanese Dolls in Fine Art] examines the Japanese doll as a popular subject in fine art, categorizing it according to various painting genres and showcasing selected examples (Pate, 2008; Król, 2010). Additionally, it highlights some photographs that are relevant to the topic.

Also in this sub-chapter, the postcards appear as mass products, as well as period documents depicting Japanese dolls in thematic groups, and draw attention to the mentioned ichimatsu doll type, which is a frequent character in the images coming out of Japanese photo studios at the end of the 19th century, and can be interpreted as the symbol of Japan in the Western world.

The subchapter titled *Egy japán baba a századfordulós gyermekirodalomban* [A Japanese Doll in Children's Literature at the Turn-of-the-Century] examines the portrayal of the Japanese doll as a fairy tale character in a 1901 English-language children's book (Mayer, 1901b; Jagush, 2021). It also includes additional examples of the period from Western children's literature featuring the appearance of dolls (Wheeler–Wheeler, 1914; Cradock, 1916).

Following this, the subchapter titled *Japán babák a kultúrák metszéspontján – Japán baba, a jóakarát nagykövete* [Japanese Dolls at crossroads of Cultures – The Japanese Doll as Ambassador of Goodwill] presents the story of a doll exchange program that serves as an interesting and almost unique example of cultural exchange and mutual understanding between the United States and Japan, promoting peace and friendship. (Imaoka, 1929; Gulick, 1929; Kita, 2018)

Chapter four, titled *Hazánk ismeretanyaga Japánról a gyermek-és játékkultúra függvényében* [Knowledge of Japan in the Context of Children's Play Culture in Hungarian Text] systematizes knowledge related to Japan and examines the cultural representation of Japan from the earliest sources to materials prepared for education, popular literature for adults, children's and youth literature, and even youth plays performed on Hungarian stages.

To begin with, the subchapter *Kommentárok a válogatott magyar nyelvű szövegek értelmezéséhez* [Commentaries for the Interpretation of Selected Texts in Hungarian] discusses when and in what types of Hungarian-language texts knowledge related to Japan first appeared (e.g., Turzelini, 1757, Széplaki, 1834, Komáromy, 1855, Lukács and others, 1853, Sámi, 1867, 1875, and others) and what information they provided. The cultural credibility of these texts is illuminated through comparisons with other texts (Bacon, 1891/2015, Sugimoto, 1930, Kojima, 1986, Benedict, 1954, Benedict – Mori, 2009).

The subchapter titled *Nevelési-oktatási ismertető, tankönyvek, természethistóriai munkák, a korai pedagógiai irodalom* [Educational Descriptions, Textbooks, Natural History Works, and Early Pedagogical Literature] presents educational and informative works that, in some way, contained knowledge about Japan for children and youth. These works were primarily geographical and folkloric in nature (*Raff*, 1846/1986, *Nagy-Váradi*, 1814, *Bocsor*, 1847, *Kanya*, 1847, *Flóris*, 1857, *Almási*, 1862, *Lázár*, 1880) and partially focused on the history of education and teaching (*Garamszegi Lubrich*, 1874, *Somogyi*, 1901, *Fináczy*, 1906/1984, *Bezdek*, 1911a,b, 1912, *Sasaki*, 1928→quoted in *Relković*, 1928).

The subchapter titled *Útirajzok, országismertető* [Travelogues and Country Descriptions] literature intended for adult readership, based on personal experiences, and selected writings, find their place. (*Loti*, 1891, 1899, *Hopp*, 1901, 1904 a,b, *Kozmutza Kornélné*, 1913, *Barátosi*, n.d., 1906, *Kertész K.* 1906, *Gáspár*, 1908, *Hearn*, 1909, *Bozóky*, 1911, *Imaoka*, 1929).

The subchapter titled *Gyermek- és ifjúsági irodalom – Japán mesék, regényes elbeszélések, ismeretterjesztő írások* [Children's and Youth Literature – Japanese Fairy Tales, Novels, Informative Writings] introduces Japan's presence in the press for children (*Az Én Újságom*, *Magyar Lányok*, *Az Ujság gyerekrovata–Morgó bácsi*, *Jó Pajtás*, *Tündérvásár*) and the collected material in the field of standalone books (*Bezerédj*, 1840, *Eötvös*, n.d., *Spillmann*, 1900, *Akantisz*, 1901, *Sas*, 1904, *Szeghy* 1904/1905, *Jenovay*, 1909, *Kaffka*, 1918, *Kúnos*, n.d., 1923a,b,c, 1930, *Huld*, 1928, 1929, *Farkas*, 1930, *Ajtai*, 1935, *Harangi*, 1937, *Geszty*, 1937, *Balogh*, 1943) that included references to Japan.

The subchapter *Japán témák a hazai színpadokon játszott ifjúsági darabokban* [Japanese Themes in Youth Plays Performed on Hungarian Stages] presents performances (*A bababolttan /A babatündér* [Im Puppenladen/Die Puppenfee], *Narancsvirág. Két bábu históriája* [Orange blossom. History of two dolls]) that have thematic connections with Japan, including their choice of theme and visual elements.

Chapter five, titled *Hazai kiállítások japán gyermekfelfogása és játékképe a tárgy-kultúra tükrében* [The Japanese Child Concept and Playthings in Hungarian Exhibitions in the Context of Material Culture] examines nine exhibition occasions where Japanese toys and dolls were notably featured. These exhibitions encompass ethnographic, pedagogical, private collector, and applied arts exhibitions, as well as exhibition events combined with fairs, spanning from 1871 to 1928.

Chapter six, titled *Kereskedések áru kínálata a 19. század második fele és a 20. század első fele között – Távol-keleti és japán jellegű játékok* [Offerings of Trade: Far Eastern and Japanese-style Toys between the late 19th and early 20th Century] investigates the commercial offerings

during the specified period based on preserved sales catalogue in places where the presence of Far Eastern or products inspired by them can be traced (*Kertész Tódor nürnbergiáru boltja, Liebner Bácsi Játékboltja, Késmárky és Illés Árkád Bazar Játékáruháza* [Kertész Tódor's Nuremberg Goods Store, Liebner Bácsi's Toy Store, Késmárky and Illés Árkád Bazaar's Toy Department]). This is complemented by reports from the Hungarian Merchants' Journal (*Magyar Kereskedők Lapja*) regarding Japanese trade.

Chapter seven, titled *Japán játékok és babák hazai magángyűjteményekben a századfordulón innen és túl* [Japanese Toys and Dolls in Hungarian Private Collections from the Turn of the Century and Beyond] focuses on private collector collections discovered by the research. These range from the Japanese dolls found in the first Hungarian doll collector Etelka Gerde's collection to the collections of East-enthusiast collectors (Hopp Ferenc, Kertész K. Róbert, Barátosi Balogh Benedek), and toy collectors interested in the field of applied arts (Undi Mariska, Szablya-Frischauf Ferenc). Additionally, it briefly covers actresses doll collections formed through gift-giving. (*Viola*, 1900, *Hathalmi*, 1900, 1901, *Balla*, 1909, *Haider*, 2004, *Undi*, 1933, *Rózsaffy*, 1914, etc.)

Chapter eight, titled *A japán gyermek-és játékkultúra dokumentumai egy hazai közgyűjteményben – Válogatás a Hopp Ferenc Ázsiai Művészeti Múzeum gyűjteményeiből* [Documents of Japanese Children's Playthings and Culture in a Hungarian Public Collection – Selection from the collections of the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts] studies relevant objects from the Museum, where the examination of objects has represented essential reference points for understanding their meanings and typology. These objects are studied in conjunction with specialized catalogs, reviews, and studies on Japanese toys (*Yamada*, 1962, *Fraser*, 1966, *Baten*, 1986, 1992, 2000, *Theriault*, 1993, *Gribbin–Gribbin*, 1984, *Takeguchi*, 2002, *Pate*, 2005, 2008, *Gaudeková–Kraemerová*, eds. 2013). The chapter also takes into account recent research on Japanese children's festivals' material culture and Western perception (*Shoaf*, 2015) and their cultural embeddedness (*Papp*, 2013, 2016).

Chapter nine, titled *A japán kultúra hatása a hazai életreform mozgalomra* [The Influence of Japanese Culture on the Hungarian Life Reform Movement] investigates connections between various aspects of life reform and Japanese culture in areas such as clothing (*Hársvölgyi*, 2017), architecture-interior design (*Hársvölgyi*, 2018), interior design (*Tészabó*, 2020a), and explores the intersections between life reform elements and Japanese culture. It also examines children's art exhibitions in the subchapter *A gyermek művészete és művészet a gyermekek számára* [The Art of Children and Art for Children] from a pedagogical perspective. (*Nagy*, 1905, *Tészabó*, 2011a, *Bogdán*, 2018, *Petneki*, 2018)

Chapter ten, titled *Japán baba a magyar művészetben* [The Japanese Doll in Hungarian Art] provides examples from the field of visual arts (painting/graphics and applied graphics) where Japanese dolls are represented as elements of painting and graphics. This includes the works of Sándor Nagy and Laura Kriesch from the Artists' Colony of Gödöllő (*Tészabó*, 2005, 2011a, 2020a, *Remsey*, 2007, *Hársvölgyi*, 2017a, 2019c, 2021), the illustrations of the internationally recognized graphic artist Willy Pogány, born Pogány Vilmos András (*Menges*, 2009), and the artistic style related to East Asian culture by Emmy Róna. The chapter also discusses the portrayal of the East in visual culture, particularly in product advertisements. (*Kelényi*, 2018, *Török*, 2017)

Chapter eleven serves as a conclusion for the research, presenting the summary of findings and discussing possibilities for future research.

The dissertation includes illustrations, which, as a separate, physically structured document, is designed to facilitate simultaneous reading of text and viewing of images. This separation is motivated both by bookbinding considerations and the need for a holistic perspective, as the research required the simultaneous examination of text-based and image-based sources. The visual part of the dissertation comprises 250 items, including visual sources drawn from the research, internet sources, materials from foreign and Hungarian public collections, and the personal collection of the author. The inclusion of the author's personal collection serves to highlight their personal interest in the subject matter beyond their professional involvement.

2. THE SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH

The dissertation represents the result of several years of research. From the inception of the research, the core questions posed (the role and place of the Japanese ichimatsu doll in its own culture, its widespread presence in the Western world, its meanings, and changes in meaning) have remained central and have been refined and nuanced throughout. Moreover, the focus and specific areas of investigation have shifted, with some research areas crystallizing and becoming more defined, while consistently delving into an extremely information-rich domain. Furthermore, this research has guided the researcher into an incredibly information-rich domain. It allowed for the inclusion of various research areas, some of which have not too long ago (e.g., photography) or rarely (e.g., postcards, newspaper advertisements) been the subject

of scholarly inquiry. It is evident that these previously underexplored areas have yielded significant results for this study. The Japanese doll, as a diplomatic gift, curiosity, souvenir of globetrotters' travels, admirable exotic item, part of expedition collections, exhibit-worthy and collectible object, has been embraced by both ethnography and the fields of fine and applied arts. It has become a popular subject in painting, a recurring element in graphic reproductions, a symbol in advertising, an example of artistic play within the life reform movement, a tool for cultural sensitization prior to World War II, and an image of the enemy after the outbreak of the war. The interconnection and dialogue of visual representations have enabled us to examine the international and domestic reception of a distant culture, at a time when it was still very much graspable. By constructing this research predominantly on visual grounds, starting from an international context and aligning it with domestic knowledge within the context of play and child culture, we hope to enrich the spectrum of Japanese-Hungarian relationship history. It sheds light on various aspects and provides a fresh perspective on existing knowledge. As demonstrated throughout this dissertation, the examination of Japan's reception history, with a particular focus on Hungarian examples, goes beyond the study of traditional materials and engages with less or entirely unexplored topics and areas. Through the exploration of the appearances of Japanese dolls as cultural transfers in various contexts, such as trade, culture, arts, and everyday material culture, textual and visual elements have emerged that contribute to this research. Many of these have not been previously documented or explored. The identification of Japanese dolls in the collections of Hungarian collectors, their presence in specific exhibition contexts, their interpretation within consumer culture, their use as playthings, their presentation within a family history context, the study of Japanese knowledge within works for children and adults, and the illumination of points of connection between Japanese culture and the life reform movement are all notable achievements of this research. Likewise, the exploration of material culture is significant. We hope that this research has shed new light on the perception of Japanese dolls (and, in a broader sense, dolls in general), which may contribute to scientifically-oriented domestic research on the child worlds of distant cultures. It can be beneficial for comparative studies and may be integrated into research aiming to understand the impressions of other cultures in a domestic context. Moreover, it can serve as a stimulus for planning similar studies in the context of East-West relations, as several references in this dissertation suggest.

This research does not mark the end, but rather the beginning of numerous topics awaiting further expansion of the knowledge presented thus far. In a Hungarian context, there is a need for research into missionary collections. Further research and analysis are required for prestigious collector's collections, such as those of Baroness Dóra Groedel (1893–1957), Éva Moskovszky (1925–2010), and Marianne Karlóciné Kelemen (1925–2020), from the perspective of Japanese toys. There is also a need for in-depth research into doll and puppet makers' work (such as the Remsey family). On an international scale, investigating the appearance of Japanese-inspired dolls in the collections of European toymakers, including dolls from various world cultures or character dolls, offers a rich area of study. Additionally, studying the life's work of specific doll artists, such as Lotte Pritzel (1887–1952), and exploring the presence of dance and dance characters inspired by Japanese dolls within the performing arts, exemplified by artists like Niddy Impehoven (1904–2002), promises to be exciting avenues for future research.

PUBLICATIONS RELATED TO THE DOCTORAL CANDIDATE'S TOPIC

Publications

- Hársvölgyi Virág (2013): Japán kokeshi babák Magyarországon. Tóth-Vásárhelyi Réka babái. In: Fajcsák Györgyi (szerk.): *Japán vörös és fekete. Hagyományos viselet és kortárs magyar ékszerek*. Iparművészeti Múzeum – Janus Pannonius Múzeum, Budapest, Pécs, 135–139.
- Hársvölgyi Virág (2015): *Japán. Ázsiai kultúrákról fiataloknak*. A Hopp Ferenc Ázsiai Művészeti Múzeum Múzeumpedagógiai Kiskönyvtára 2. Hopp Ferenc Ázsiai Művészeti Múzeum, Budapest.
- Hársvölgyi Virág (2017c): „A ruha a fő és benne a nő”, avagy a csábítás eszköze: az egzotikus outfit. Esettanulmányok. In: Fajcsák Györgyi, Kelényi Béla (szerk.): *Sanghay–Shanghai: Párhuzamos eltérések Kelet és Nyugat között*. Hopp Ferenc Ázsiai Művészeti Múzeum, Budapest, 275–291.
- Hársvölgyi Virág (2018): „Pillanatfelvételek egy világkörüli sétáról”. Adalékok Kertész K. Róbert japán tanulmányútjához. In: Boreczky Ágnes –Vincze Beatrix (szerk.): *Reformpedagógia és életreform – recepciók tendenciák, intézményesülési folyamatok*. Gondolat Kiadó, Budapest, 135–157.

Hársvölgyi Virág (2019a): Magyar utazók japán fotográfiái, mint gyermekkortörténeti dokumentumok. *Pedagógiatörténeti Szemle*, 5.évf. 1–2. sz. 45–56.

DOI:10.22309/PTSZEMLE.2019.1.3

Hársvölgyi Virág (2019d): *HOPP. Ázsiai kultúrákról fiataloknak*. A Hopp Ferenc Ázsiai Művészeti Múzeum Múzeumpedagógiai Kiskönyvtára 4. Hopp Ferenc Ázsiai Művészeti Múzeum – Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest.

Hársvölgyi Virág (2021): „Ébred-e már a kis gazdánk?”, avagy japán babák az Egészélet Szigetén – Pintyő játéka. In: Öriné Nagy Cecília – Dr. Czeglédi Noémi (szerk.): *Nagy Sándor 150*. Gödöllői Múzeumi Füzetek 19. Gödöllő, 143–164.

Hársvölgyi Virág (2022b): Nagy Sándor, az életreformer művész baráti és ismeretségi köre. In: Daru Andrea, Vincze Beatrix, Németh András (szerk.): *Életreform és a művészetek – kapcsolati hálók, nemzetközi recepciós hatások, misztikus újvallásos és okkult irányzatok hatása a 20. század első felében*. Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest. 8.

Conference lectures

Hársvölgyi Virág (2017a): „Ébred-e már a kisgazdánk?” avagy japán babák az Egészélet szigetén. *Nagy Laura Pintyő babái*. „Reformpedagógia és életreform – elméleti megközelítések, új kutatási eredmények” című tudományos szimpózium, Eger, 2017. július 7–9.

Hársvölgyi Virág (2017b): *Magyar utazók japán fotográfiái, mint gyermekkortörténeti dokumentumok*. „Gyermekkép és oktatás Japánban” című konferencia. Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Tanító- és Óvóképző Kar, 2017. október 13.

Hársvölgyi Virág (2019b): *Keleti baba – nyugati kuriózum*. „Állandó és változó babakultúra” című konferencia. Szent István Király Múzeum – Hetedhét Játékmúzeum, Székesfehérvár, 2019. október 19.

Hársvölgyi Virág (2019c): *Ébred-e már a kisgazdánk? avagy japán babák az Egészélet szigetén*. *Nagy Laura Pintyő játéka*. „NAGY SÁNDOR 150. 150 éve született Nagy Sándor emlékkonferencia”, Gödöllői Városi Múzeum, 2019. november 22.

Hársvölgyi Virág (2022a): *Nagy Sándor, az életreformer művész baráti és ismeretségi köre*. „Életreform és a művészetek – kapcsolati hálók, nemzetközi recepciós hatások, misztikus újvallásos és okkult irányzatok hatása a 20. század első felében” című tudományos szimpózium, Csopak, 2022. szeptember 16–18.

Exhibition

Participation in the research program "*Hidden stories - life reform movements and the arts*" and the related exhibition. October 6, 2018–January 20, 2019. Múcsarnok (Kunsthalle), Budapest

WORKS CITED

Source Texts (in Hungarian)

- Almási (Balogh) Tihamér (1862): Japan. In: Uő: *Népisme*. A legjobb források után kidolgozva -- által, Öt könyomatú képpel. Engel és Mandello Nyomda, Pest, 215–222.
- Bocsor István (1847): *Japáni Császárság*. In: Uő. *Földrajz, különös tekintettel a nép-és történettanra*. 3.folyam. Református Főiskola, Pápa, 43–48.
- Flóris Benő (1857): *Kis utazo az elemi iskolák számára*. Szigler testvérek, Komárom.
- Garamszegi Lubrich Ágost (1874): *A nevelés történelme. I. A nem keresztény, vagy nemzeti nevelés korszaka*. Hunyadi Mátyás Intézet, Budapest.
- Kanya Pál (1847): *Japáni Birodalom*. In: Uő.: Népszerű földrajzi oktatás, iskolai és magán használatra. Pest, 437–442.
- Komáromy Ferenc (1855): Japán szokások. In: Vahot Imre (szerk.): *A nagyvilág képekben. Közhasznú házikönyv, a magyar nemzet anyagi, szellemi, testi, lelki javára*. IV-V. füz. Emich Gusztáv Könyvnyomdája, Pest, 317–326.
- Lázár Gyula (1880): *Khina és Japán*. Történelmi és Mívelődési rajz. Történelmi könyvtár 65. füzet. Franklin Társulat, Budapest.
- Lukácsék János (1853): Japónia. történelmi, földrajzi s népismeai vázlatok. *Családi Lapok*, 2.évf. 11.sz. 519–527., 561–571.
- Nagy-Váradai Ajtay Sámuel (1814): *A világ történetei a teremtéstől fogva a legújabb időkig. Minden Rend- és Karbéli Olvasóknak, de leginkább a' Tanuló Ifjúságnak köz hasznára Kézi-könyvképen*. 1–2. köt. Trattner János, Pest.
- Sámi Lajos (1867): Japán lakói. *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 14.évf. 1.sz. 159–160.
- Sámi Lajos (1875): Japán hajdan és most IV. Gyereknevelés. Tornászat. Társasjátékok. *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 22.évf. 38. sz. 599–600.
- Szeghy Emő (1904/1905): *Japán. Történelmi, föld- és néprajzi vázlatok*. Szent István Társulat, Budapest.

Széplaki Erneszt (1834): A japán birodalom. Japán irományok után Klaproth. In: Schedel Ferenc (szerk.): *Tudománytár*. 3. kötet. Magyar Tudós Társaság, Buda. 146–160. Az *Annalen der Erd-, Völker- und Staatenkunde* VIII. kötetéből.

Turzelini Horatius (1757): *Xavier Szent Ferencznek Jesus Társaságából-való India' apostolának élete. Magyarra fordította Léstyán Moyses, ugyan azon Jesus Társaságából valók, Egy némelly Xavier Szent Ferencz' buzgó tisztelőjének istenes kölcségével ki-kibocsáttatott*. Akadémia, Kassa.

Articles published in periodicals (in Hungarian)

Balla Mihály (1909): A bábu nemzetségfája. *Vasárnapi Újság*, 56.évf. 12. sz. 233–234.

Bezdek József (1911a): A japán középiskolákról. *Uj Idők*, II. köt. 17. évf. 105–106.

Endrődy Orsolya (2019a): Gyermeknevelés és oktatás Japánban. Tematikus lapszám a japán–magyar diplomáciai kapcsolatok felvételének 150. évfordulója alkalmából. *Gyermeknevelés*, 7. 1. sz. 1–3.

Endrődy Orsolya (2019b): Gyermeknevelési szokások japán fametszeteken. Japán az Edo-korszakban (江戸時代 1603–1868). *Gyermeknevelés*, 7. 1. sz. 36–44.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31074/gyn201913644>

Haider Edit (1981): Japán babaünnepek. *Élet és tudomány*, 36. évf. 17. sz. 528–530.

Haider Edit (2004): A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Játékgyűjteményének babái. Történeti áttekintés. *Folia Historica*, 22. kötet. 105–122.

Harangi László (2010): A japán nevelés a Tokugawa-korszakban (1603–1867). *Kultúra és Közösség* 4.foly. 1. évf. 4. sz. 37–44.évf.

Hathalmi Gabnay Ferenc (1900): A játék-baba. *Természettudományi Közlöny*, 377–395.

Hathalmi Gabnay Ferenc (1901): Egy hazai játékbaba gyűjtemény. *Néprajzi Értesítő*, 2. évf. 2. sz. 17–24.

Hopp Ferenc (1901): Kirándulásom Afrika nyugati partján Kamerun érintésével a Kongohoz. Különlenyomat a *Földrajzi Közlemények* 1901. évi folyamának IV. füzetéből, Budapest.

Hopp Ferenc (1904a): Hopp Ferencz utazása a Föld körül Szibérián át. Különlenyomat a *Földrajzi Közlemények* XXXII. kötetének júniusi-júliusi 5. füzetéből, Budapest.

Hopp Ferenc (1904b): Japán úti benyomások. *A Hét*, 15. évf. 9. sz. 138 – 140.

Kelényi Béla (2018): Utazás a teásdobozon Kínából Japánba – Budapesten. *Artmagazin*, 16.évf. 9. sz. 54–57.

- Kéri Katalin (2010): A japán neveléstörténet a hazai nyomtatott forrásokban. *Neveléstörténet*, 7. évf. 3–4.sz. 17–38.
- Kozmutza Kornélné (1913): Séták a nagyvilágban. Irowa. *Uj Idők*, 19. évf. 5. sz. 122–123.
- Liptay Pál (1873): Tárcák a Práterből. A gyermek-pavillon. *Fővárosi Lapok*, 178. sz. 772–773.
- Loti, P. (1891): A japáni nők. *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 37.évf. 23. sz. 370-371.
- Relković Néda (1928): Sasaki, H.: Moralerziehung in Japan. *Magyar Pedagógia*, 37. évf. 55–58.
- Rózsaffy Dezső (1914): A játékszer morálja. *Magyar Iparművészet*, 17. évf. 6. sz. 243–256.
- Sallay Viola – Martos Tamás (2018): A Grounded Theory (GT) módszertana. *Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle*, 2018, 73. 1/2. 11–28. DOI: 10.1556/0016.2018.73.1.2
- Sántha Kálmán (2018): Vizuális Grounded Theory a pedagógiai terek értelmezésében. *Neveléstudomány*, 6.évf. 4.sz. 52–67. DOI: 10.21549/NTNY.24.2018.4.5.
- Somogyi Géza (1901): A japán nevelés. *Magyar Pedagógia*, 10. évf. 414–424.
- Szabó Sóki László (2009): A magyar oktatófilm története a kezdetektől 1931-ig. *Magyar Pedagógia*, 109. évf. 1. sz. 29–47.
- Tészabó Júlia (2005): A gödöllői művésztelep és a nevelés. *Iskolakultúra*, 2. sz. 17–25.
- Tészabó Júlia (2008): A játék pedagógiai hasznáról zajló viták a Néptanítók Lapjában, szerepük a tanítói professzió kialakulásában. *Iskolakultúra*, 5–6. sz. 66–75.
- Tészabó Júlia (2020b): Papírszínház – egy magyar változat. *Art Limes*, 17. évf. 4. (79.) sz. 34–51.
- Varrók Ilona (2004): A japán oktatás történelmi, társadalmi és filozófiai háttere. *Iskolakultúra*. 2. sz. 91–96.
- Viola Etelka (1900): Válasz H. Gabnay Ferencnek. *Temészettudományi Közlöny*, 32. évf. 372. füz. 484–485.
- Virág Ágnes (2017): A kortárs képelemzés kognitív szempontú megközelítése. *Gyermeknevelés*, 5. évf. 1. sz. 123–141.
- http://real.mtak.hu/79194/1/VA_EPA02411_gyermekneveles_2017_1_123_142_u.pdf

Manuscripts (in Hungarian)

- Bincsik Mónika (2009): *Japán műtárgyak gyűjtéstörténete Magyarországon a 19. század második felében – kitekintéssel a nemzetközi összefüggésekre*. Doktori Értekezés. <http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/art/bincsikmonika/diss.pdf>
- Csőke Kitti (2017): *Japán babák meséi*. Szakdolgozat. Múzeumpedagógiai szaktanácsadó, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Pedagógiai és Pszichológiai Kar.
- Nagy Diána (2013): *Inspirációm: Japán. Kultúra és hagyomány tükröződése a japán gyerekkönyvekben és játékokban*. Doktori Értekezés. MOME Doktori Iskola, Budapest. <http://corvina.mome.hu/dsr/access/d760d85e-e933-45bd-9af6-03c86c12adbc>

Book Chapters (in Hungarian)

- Bincsik Mónika (2008): Hopp Ferenc japán curio gyűjteménye. In: Fajcsák Györgyi – Renner Zsuzsanna (szerk.): *A Buitenzorg-villa lakója. A világot azó, múgyűjtő Hopp Ferenc (1833-1919)*. Hopp Ferenc Kelet-Ázsiái Művészeti Múzeum, Budapest, 99–115.
- Bogdán Melinda (2018): A nagy ceruzaháború. Gyermekrajzok 1914–1918-ból. In: Török Róbert – Závodi Szilvia (szerk.): *Háborús hétköznapok*. 2. kötet. Magyar Kereskedelmi és Vendéglátóipari Múzeum, Budapest, 75–92.
- Endrődy-Nagy Orsolya (2017b): Ukiyo-e: A japán fametszet, mint lehetséges gyermekortörténeti forrás. In: Zsolnai, Anikó; Kasik, László (szerk.): *Új kutatások a neveléstudományokban 2016: A tanulás és nevelés interdiszciplináris megközelítése*. Szegedi Tudományegyetem BTK Neveléstudományi Intézet Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Pedagógiai Tudományos Bizottsága. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Orsolya-Endrody/publication/321019821_Ukiyo-e_-_A_japan_fametszet_mint_lehetseges_gyermekortorteneti_forras/links/5a08827ba6fdcc65eab5403f/Ukiyo-e-A-japan-fametszet-mint-lehetseges-gyermekortorteneti-forras.pdf
- Endrődy Orsolya (2020a): Harmóniára törekvés és tanulásközpontúság mint a japán gyermekkép két lehetséges kulcsfogalma. In: Engler, Á.–Rébay, M. –Tóth, D.A. (szerk.): *Család a nevelés és az oktatás fókuszában*. XX. Országos Neveléstudományi Konferencia. Absztraktkötet. Debrecen. http://onk.hu/2020/downloads/ONK_2020_Absztraktkotet_vegleges.pdf

- Endrődy Orsolya (2020b): Vallási elemek egyes távol-keleti kultúrák gyermekképeiben – különös tekintettel a kínai, japán, vietnámi és koreai gyermekekre. In: Endrődy, O. –Svraka, B.–F. Lassú, Zs. (szerk.): *Sokszínű Pedagógia: Inkluzív és multikulturális szemléletmód a pedagógiai gyakorlatban*. ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest.
<https://www.eltereader.hu/media/2020/10/Endr%C5%91dy-%E2%80%93Svraka-%E2%80%93F-Lass%C3%BA-Soksz%C3%ADn%C5%B1-pedag%C3%B3gia-WEB.pdf>
- Gáspár Ferenc (1908): Japánországban. In: Gáspár Ferenc (szerk.): *A Föld körül. Utleiras hat kötetben, körülbelül 1200 képpel és sok színes és színezetlen műmelléklettel*. V. kötet. Singer és Wolfner Kiadása, Budapest, 257–408.
- Kéri Katalin (2019): A gyermekkor-történet képi forrásai. In: Molnár Aczél Eszter (szerk.): *Gyerek/Kor/Kép – Gyermek a magyar képzőművészetben*. (Kiállítás: 2016. október 12. és 2017. február 19. között, konferencia: 2017. február 17-18. Helyszín: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum Vármúzeuma. A kötet a konferencián elhangzott előadásokat tartalmazza.) *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából XLIII*, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum. 241–264.
- Nádasi András (2008): A Calderoni cég története: tanszer és tanszergyártás. In: Fajcsák Györgyi – Renner Zsuzsanna (szerk.): *A Buitenzorg-villa lakója. A világotató, műgyűjtő Hopp Ferenc (1833–1919)*. Hopp Ferenc Kelet-Ázsiai Művészeti Múzeum, Budapest. 43–52.
- Papp Melinda (2013): A korai gyermekkor rítusai Japánban és a hozzákapcsolódó hagyományos népi hitvilág. In: Hamar Imre (szerk.): *Távol-Keleti tanulmányok*. Budapest, 3. évf. 2011/1-2. sz. 227–248.
- Petneki Áron (2018): „Petrich Kató csinálta”. Életút, gyermekrajzok, felnőttkori alkotások. In: Bogdán Melinda (szerk.): „*Gyermekvilágháború*” 1914 – 1918 rajzokban. Budapest, 45–57.
- Szabolcs Éva (2019): Festmények mint gyermekkor-történeti források? Néhány kutatási eredmény. In: Molnár Aczél Eszter (szerk.): *Gyerek/Kor/Kép – Gyermek a magyar képzőművészetben*. (Kiállítás: 2016. október 12. és 2017. február 19. között, Konferencia: 2017. február 17-18. Helyszín: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum Vármúzeuma. A kötet a konferencián elhangzott előadásokat tartalmazza.) *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából XLIII*, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum. 224–235.
- Tészabó Júlia (2011a): Az 1914-es gyermekművészeti kiállítás és előzményei a magyar művészeti és kulturális sajtóban. In.: Uő: *Játék – pedagógia, gyermek – kultúra*. Gondolat Kiadó, Budapest, 98–109.
- Tészabó Júlia (2020a): Életreform elemek a gyermekszoba- tervezésben. In: Kempf Katalin, Vincze Beatrix és Németh András (szerk.): *Az életreform és a művészetek*. Műcsarnok, Magyar Reformpedagógiai Egyesület, Budapest, 75–95.

- Török Róbert (2017): A Fratelli Deisinger cég. In: Fajcsák Györgyi, Kelényi Béla (szerk.): *Sanghay–Shanghai: Párhuzamos eltérések Kelet és Nyugat között*. Hopp Ferenc Ázsiai Művészeti Múzeum, Budapest, 321–328.
- Undi Mária (1933): *Játékszerek hajdan és ma*. In: Radnai Endre és Vaska Géza (szerk.): *A magyarság évkönyve*. Globus Nyomdai Intézet, Budapest, 195–200.
- Varrók Ilona (2009): A japán oktatás története az ókortól a modern korig. In: Farkas Ildikó (szerk.): *Ismerjük meg Japánt!: bevezetés a japanisztika alapjaiba*. ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest, 63–85.

Books (in Hungarian)

- Ajtai Kálmán (1935): *Simabara. Regényes elbeszélések a Japán missziók múltjából*. Missziós Ifjúság, Rákospalota.
- Akantisz Viktor (1901): *Japán mesék az ifjúság számára*. Szent István Társulat, Budapest.
- Ankerl Géza (2000): *Nyugat van, Kelet nincs*. Osiris Kiadó, Budapest.
- Balogh Barna (1943): *Japán mesék*. Viktória Könyvkiadó, Budapest.
- Barátosi Balogh Benedek (1906): *Dai Nippon I. Utirajzok*. Budapest.
- Barátosi Balogh Benedek (é. n.): *Három székely diák kalandos utazása a Föld körül*. Magyar Kereskedelmi Közlöny, Budapest,
- Benedict, R. – Mori, Sz. (2009): *Krizantém és kard. A japán kultúra újrafelfedezése*. Nyitott Könyvműhely, Budapest.
- Bezdek József (1911b): *Japán oktatásügyéről*. Athaneum, Budapest.
<https://digitalia.lib.pte.hu/hu/bezdek-jozsef-japan-oktatasugyerol-athenaeum-bp-1911-298#page/1/mode/1up>
- Bezerédj Amália (1840): *Flóri könyve sok szép képekkel, földrajzokkal és muzsika melléklettel*. Heckenast Gusztáv, Pest.
- Bozóky Dezső (1911): *Két év Keletáziában. Utirajzok. Japán*. A szerző saját kiadása.
- Buda Attila (2010, szerk.): *Messziről felmerülő, vonzó szigetek I. Japánról szóló, magyar nyelvű ismertetések a kezdetektől 1869-ig*. Ráció Kiadó, Budapest.
- Buda Attila (2012, szerk.): *Messziről felmerülő, vonzó szigetek II/1. Japánról szóló, magyar nyelvű források 1870-től a japán–kínai háborúig*. Ráció Kiadó, Budapest.
- Buda Attila (2014, szerk.): *Messziről felmerülő, vonzó szigetek II/2. Japánról szóló, magyar nyelvű források 1896-tól az első világháború végéig*. Ráció Kiadó, Budapest.

- Császi Irén (2017): *Schreiber-Gyermek-Színház. Mesés papírbjátékok a Dobó István Vármúzeum Játékgyűjteményéből*. Dobó István Vármúzeum, Eger.
- Corbin J. – Strauss, A. (2015): *A kvalitatív kutatás alapjai*. L' Harmattan, Budapest.
- Endrődy-Nagy Orsolya (2015): *A reneszánsz gyermekképe. A gyermekkép reneszánsza 1455-1517 között Európában*. Budapest, ELTE Eötvös Kiadó.
- Eötvös Károly Lajos (é.n.): *Kis világ. Legujabb Flóri könyve. Gyulai László, Tahi Antal és több művész rajzaival*. Lampel R. Könyvkereskedése (Wodianer F. és Fiai) Részvénytársaság, Budapest.
- Farkas Imre (1930): *Vissza napkeletre. Százszorszép könyvek – Magyar Lányok Könyvtára*. Singer és Wolfner Irodalmi Intézet Rt., Budapest.
- Fináczy Ernő (1906/1984): *Az ókori nevelés története*. Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvkiadóhivatala, Budapest. (Utánnomás: Tudománytár. Sorozatszerk.: Gazda István. Könyvértékesítő vállalat, Budapest, 1984)
- Geszty Júlia (1937): *Rejtelmes Kelet. Egy magyar lány utazása Indiában, Sziámban, Jáva szigetén, Kínában, Japánban, Koreában, Mancsukóban*. Singer és Wolfner Irodalmi Intézet, Bíró Miklós Nyomda, Budapest.
- Gordon Győri János (2006): *Az oktatás világa Kelet- és Délkelet-Ázsiában: Japán és Szingapúr*. Gondolat, Budapest.
- Harangi László (1937): *Bonzó Muki kalandjai. A kínai kalózok fogságában és egyéb történetek*. Filléres mesekönyvek 26. szám. Filléres mesekönyvek kiadóhivatala, Hungária Nyomda Rt.
- Hearn, L. (1909): *Kokoro*. Franklin – Társulat, Budapest.
- Huld, P. (1928): *44 nap alatt a föld körül. A 15 éves Palle utazása*. Signer és Wolfner Irodalmi Rt., Budapest.
- Imaoka Dzsúicsiró (1929): *Új Nippon*. Athenaeum, Budapest.
- Jenovay Jenő (1909): *Vitorlával a Föld körül. Utirajzok az ifjúság számára*. Lampel R. Könyvkereskedése, Budapest.
- Kaffka Margit (1918): *Kis emberek, barátocskáim*. Franklin Könyvkiadó, Budapest.
- Kertész K. Róbert (1906): *Képek Ázsia keletéről. Pillanatfelvételek egy világkörüli sétáról*. Pátria Irodalmi Vállalat és Nyomdai Részvénytársaság, Budapest.
- Kéri Katalin (2015): *Adatok és művek a nem nyugati kultúrák neveléstörténetének kutatásáról. (historiográfiai áttekintés)*. PTE BTK, Neveléstudományi Intézet, Pécs.
- Kúnos Ignác (1923a): *Nippon-ország naposkertje. Japán népmesék*. Athenaeum Kiadó, Budapest.

- Kúnos Ignác (1923b): *Japán népmesék I.* Budo Ismeretterjesztő Kiskönyvtár 4. Hunor Karate Egyesület, Budapest.
- Kúnos Ignác (1923c): *Japán népmesék II.* Budo Ismeretterjesztő Kiskönyvtár 6. Hunor Karate Egyesület, Budapest.
- Kúnos Ignác (é.n.): *Nipponföldi mondavilág. Monogatari.* Béta Irodalmi Rt.
- Kúnos Ignác (1930): *Mimózák és krizántémok: Nipponföldi mesevilág.* Keleti Mese Könyvek Kiadóhivatala.
- Liedloff, J. (1985): *Az elveszett boldogság nyomában. A kontinuum-elv.* Kétezerregy Kiadó, Budapest.
- Loti, P. (1899): *Chrysanthème asszonyosság.* Sachs és Pollák Könyvkereskedése a »Pannóniá«-hoz, Budapest.
- Mayerné Zsádon Éva (1986): *Japán oktatási rendszere.* OPKM, Budapest.
- Nagy László (1905): *Fejezetek a gyermekrajzok lélektanából.* Singer és Wolfner könyvkereskedése, Budapest.
- Panofsky, E. (1984): *A jelentés a vizuális művészetekben. Tanulmányok.* Gondolat, Budapest.
- Parkinson, C.N. (1964/2000): *Kelet és Nyugat.* Terebess Könyvkiadó, Budapest.
- Raff György (1846/1986): *Természet története gyermekek számára.* Állami Könyvtérjesztő Vállalat reprint sorozata, Budapest.
- Remsey Ágnes (2007): *Nem tárgy, nem élőlény. A huszadik század krónikája három nyelven: babául, gyermekül és emberül.* Cephalion Kiadó, Szentendre.
- Sas Endre (1904): *A fölkelő Nap hősei. Kalandok a japán-orosz háborúban.* Singer és Wolfner, Budapest.
- Shahar, S. (2000): *Gyermekek a középkorban.* Osiris kiadó, Budapest.
- Spillmann József S.J. (1900): *A királyné unokaöccse.* Idegen Tájakon. Új irányú elbeszélések az ifjúság számára képekkel. V. kötet, Kalocsa.
- Támba Renátó (2017): *Gyermekkor a vásznakon – A dualizmus kori gyermekszemlélet az alföldi iskola festészetében.* Ad Librum, Budapest.
- Tóth Gergely (2018): *Japán–magyar kapcsolattörténet 1869–1913.* Gondolat Kiadói Kör, Budapest.
- Tóth-Vásárhelyi Réka–Rácz Ibolya (2019): *Kokesi – A japán fababák világa.* Napkút Kiadó, Budapest.

Edited Books (in Hungarian)

- Cseh Éva–Gáspár Annamária – Umemura Yuko (2010, szerk.): *Ukijo-e. Az elillanó világ képei. Válogatás gróf Vay Péter japán fametszet gyűjtéséből.* Hopp Ferenc Kelet-Ázsiai Művészeti Múzeum Kiskönyvtára 2., Budapest.
- Dénes Mirjam és mtsai (2016, szerk.): *Japonizmus a magyar művészetben.* Kovács Gábor Művészeti Alapítvány, Budapest.
- Endrődy-Nagy Orsolya (2017a, szerk.): *Gyermekkép és oktatás Japánban.* Konferencia absztraktkötet. Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Tanító- és Óvóképző Kar.
- Farkas Ildikó és mtsai (2009, szerk.): *Tanulmányok a magyar-japán kapcsolatok történetéből.* Elte Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest.
- Fejős Zoltán (2009, szerk.): *Babáink könyve. A kortárs tárgykultúra egy metszete.* MaDok-füzetek 6. Néprajzi Múzeum, Budapest.

Articles published in periodicals (in a foreign language)

- Alagón Laste, J. M. (2016). La imagen del Japón tradicional a través de las Exposiciones Universales. In: A. Gómez Aragón (ed.): *Japón y Occidente. El patrimonio cultural como punto de encuentro.* Sevilla: Aconcagua Libros, 627–634.
- Corson, C. (2014): Chinese Crying Babies, Enigmas, Motschmanns, Täuflinge. *Antique Doll Collector*, Vol.17. No.2. 20–21.
- Takeguchi, M. (2002): Sode ichimatsu dolls. *Daruma Magazine*, Issue 26, Spring. 50–52.
- Holloway, S. (1999): The Role of Religious Beliefs in Early Childhood Education: Christian and Buddhist Preschools in Japan. *Early Childhood Research & Practice*, Vol.1. No.2.
- Houchins, Ch. (1995): *Artifacts of Diplomacy: Smithsonian Collections from Commodore Matthew Perry's Japan Expedition (1853–1854).* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. In *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology*, 37. <https://doi.org/10.5479/si.00810223.37.1>.
- Kita, T. (2018): Unintentional Cooperation. The Friendship Doll Mission and the Inescapable American Image of the Kimono-clad Little Japanese Girl. *Journal of Japonisme*, Vol. 3. Issue 2. 129–186.
- Kojima, H. (1986): Japanese Concepts of Child Development from the Mid-17th to Mid-19th Century. *The International Journal of Behavioral Development*. Vol. 9. Issue. 3. 315–329.

- Paget, R. (2011): Raising subjects: The representation of children and childhood in Meiji Japan. *New Voices*, Vol. 4. 1–31.
- Platt, B. (2005): Japanese Childhood, Modern Childhood: The Nation-State, the School, and 19th-Century Globalization. *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 38, No. 4, 965–985.
- Sofue, T. (1965): Childhood Ceremonies in Japan: Regional and Local Variations. *Ethnology*, Vol. 4, No. 2. 148–164.
- Ukai, A. (2017): Expo as a commercial trade fair: global art history of paper and leather craft. In: Wybe Kuitert (ed.): *On World Expos and East Asia*. Proceedings of a symposium. *Journal of Environmental Studies*. Vol. 60. 15–24.
- Wollons, R. (1993): The Black Forest in a Bamboo Garden: Missionary Kindergartens in Japan, 1868–1912. *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 1, Spring. 1–35.

Book Chapters (in a foreign language)

- Cross, G. (2013): Origins of Modern Consumption: Advertising, New Goods, and a New Generation, 1890–1930. In: McAllister, M. P.–West E. (eds.): *The Routledge Companion to Advertising and Promotional Culture*. New York, NY: Routledge, Gale Virtual Reference Library 15.
- Farr, L. (2008): Paper Dreams and Romantic Projections: The Nineteenth-Century Toy Theater, Boyhood and Aesthetic Play. In: Denisoff, D. (2008, ed.): *The nineteenth-century child and consumer culture*. *Ashgate studies in childhood, 1700 to the present*. Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, England; Burlington, USA, Chapter 1. 43–61.
- Hillier, M. (1968): Japanese Dolls. In: Hillier, M. (ed.): *Dolls and Dollmakers*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 217–230.
- Lang, M. (2011): The Ainu of Japan. In: Lang, M. (2011, ed.): *An Adventurous Woman Abroad: The Selected Lantern Slides of Mary T. S. Schäffer*. Rocky Mountain Books, Calgary, Alberta, Canada. 197–228.
- Michals, T. (2008): Experiments before Breakfast: Toys, Education and Middle-Class Childhood. In: Denisoff, D. (2008, ed.): *The nineteenth-century child and consumer culture*. *Ashgate studies in childhood, 1700 to the present*. Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, England; Burlington, USA. Chapter 1. 29 – 40.

- Shoaf, J. (2015): *Girls' Day for Umé: Western Perceptions of the Hina Matsuri, 1874 – 1937*. In: Forman-Brunell, M., Dawn Whitney, J. (eds.): *Dolls studies. The Many Meanings of Girls' Toys and Play*. Peter Lang Publishing, New York, 207 – 225.
- Teramoto, N. (2017): *Struggle of a non European country in the World Fairs: the case of Japan*. In: Wybe Kuitert (ed.): *On World Expos and East Asia. Proceedings of a symposium*. Journal of Environmental Studies. Vol. 60. 25.

Books (in a foreign language)

- Ariès, Ph. (1962): *Centuries of Childhood. A Social History of Family Life*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Axe, J. (1987): *Kewpies – Dolls and Art of Rose O'Neill and Joseph L. Kallus*. Hobby House Press, Cumberland, Maryland.
- Bacon, A. M. (1891/2015): *Japanese Women and Girls*. London.
- Bas, L.–Martin, S.F. (2014): *Fernand Martin, Toymaker in Paris 1878–1912*. J. Arthur Verdoorn, Ern.
- Baten, L. (1986): *Japanese Dolls. The Image and the Motif*. Shufunomoto Co., Tokyo.
- Baten, L. (1992): *Japanese Folk Toys. The Playful Arts*. Shufunomoto Co., Tokyo.
- Baten, L. (2000): *Identifying Japanese Dolls. Notes on ningyō*. Hotei Publishing, Amsterdam.
- Benedict, R. (1954): *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword. Patterns of Japanese Culture*. Tuttle Publishing. Boston, Rutland, Vermont, Tokyo.
- Bennett, T. (2006 ed.): *Japan and the Illustrated London News. Complete Record of Reported Events 1853–1899*. Global Oriental, United Kingdom.
- Bennett, T. (2006): *Photography in Japan. 1853 – 1912*. Tuttle Publishing, Tokyo, Rutland, Vermont, Singapore.
- Boehn, M. (1929): *Puppen und Puppenspiele. I: Puppen*. F. Bruckmann AG., München.
- Boehn, M. (1932): *Dolls and Puppets. I: Dolls*. David McKay Company, Philadelphia.
- Bowersox, J. (2013): *Raising Germans in the Age of Empire: Youth and Colonial Culture, 1871–1914*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199641093.003.0002
- Cieslik, J. – Cieslik, M. (1979): *Puppen. Europäische Puppen 1800–1930*. Mosaik Verlag, München, 1979.
- Cieslik, J. – Cieslik, M. (1988): *Lehmann Toys. More than 100 years Lehmann-Spielzeug*, Marianne Cieslik Verlag, Jülich.

- Cleverly, J. F. – Phillips, D. C. (1986): *Visions of childhood: Influential models from Locke to Spock*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Cradock, H.C. (1916): *Josephine and Her Dolls*. Blackie & Son Limited, London, Glasgow.
- deMause, L. (1974): *The History of Childhood*. Northvale, New Jersey: Jason Aronson.
- Dore, R. Ph. (1965): *Education in Tokugawa Japan*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Formanek-Brunell, M. (1998): *Made to play house. Dolls and the Commercialization of American Girlhood, 1830–1930*. The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland.
- Fraser, A. (1966): *Spielzeug. Die Gesichte des Spielzeugs in aller Welt*. Gerhard Stalling Verlag, Oldenburg/Hamburg.
- Gorer, G. (1942): *Japanese character structure*. Institute for Intercultural Studies, New York.
- Gorer, G. (1943): *Themes in Japanese Culture*. Transaction of the New York Academy of Sciences, New York.
- Gribbin, J.–Gribbin, D. (1984): *Japanese Antique Dolls*. John Weatherhill, New York–Tokyo.
- Gulick, S. (1929): *Dolls of friendship; the story of a goodwill project between the children of America and Japan*. Committee on World Friendship Among Children, New York, Friendship Press, New York.
- Hodge, M.V. (2013): Enigmatic Bodies: Dolls and the Making of Japanese Modernity. *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, Vol. 12, Issue 1.
<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring13/hodge-enigmatic-bodies>
- Hong, Z. (1978): *Juka kyoiku shiso no kenkyu* [Study of Confucian thought in education]. Tokyo: Koryo-sha.
- Huld, P. (1929): *A Boy Scout Round the World*. Coward-McCann Inc., New York.
- Jagush, S. A. (2021): *Japan and American Children's Books: A Journey*. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, Camden and Newark, NJ, and London, Washington, DC.
- Jolivet, M. (1997): *Japan: the childless society?* Routledge, London, New York.
- Jones, M. (2010): *Children as Treasures: Childhood and the Middle Class in Early Twentieth Century Japan*. Harvard East Asian Monographs.
- Key, E. (1908): *Das Jahrhundert des Kindes*. S. Fisher, Verlag, Berlin.
- Król, A. (2010): *Still life with a japanese doll*. Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology, Krakow.

- Lawitt, W. (1983): *The Knopf Collectors' Guides to American Antiques: Dolls*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- Mayer, H. (1901b): *The adventures of a Japanese doll*. London: Grant Richards, New York: Dutton.
- Menges, J.A. (2009): *Willy Pogány Rediscovered*. Dover Publications, USA.
- Papp Melinda (2016): *Shichigosan: Change and Continuity of a Family Ritual in Contemporary Urban Japan*. Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Pate, A.S. (2005): *Ningyō. The Art of the Japanese dolls*. Tuttle Publishing, Singapore.
- Pate, A.S. (2008): *Japanese dolls. The fascinating world of ningyō*. Tuttle Publishing. Tokyo; Rutland, Vermont; Singapore.
- Pattberg, T. (2009): *The East-West dichotomy*. New York, USA.
- Shibusawa, N. (2010): *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England.
- Uno, K. S. (1990): *Passages to Modernity: Motherhood, Childhood, and Social Reform in Early Twentieth Century Japan*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- Yamada, T. (1962): *Japanese Dolls*. Tourist Library Vol. 17. Japan Travel Bureau.
- Yamashita, K. (1904): *The Illustrated Catalogue of Japanese Fine art Exhibits in the art Palace at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition*. St. Louis, Mo. U.S.A.
https://archive.org/details/gri_33125009892916
- Yoshihara, M. (2003): *Embracing the East. White women and American orientalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Wheeler, M.L. –Wheeler, W. C. (1914): *Dotty Dolly's tea party*. Rand McNally&Company. Chicago, New York.
- White, M. (1994): *The Material Child: Coming of Age in Japan and America*. University of California Press.
- Rosell, D. (2008): *Laterna Magica*. Vol.1., Füsslin Verlag, Stuttgart.
- Sugimoto, E. I. (1930): *A daughter of the Samurai*. Doubleday, Doran & Company Inc., Garden City, New York.
- Theriault, F. (1993): *The book of Japanese Dolls of the Meiji Era*. Gold Horse Publishing, Annapolis, Maryland.

Edited Books (in a foreign language)

- Dénes, M. – Fajcsák, Gy. – Splawski, P. – Watanabe, T. (2020, eds.): *Japonisme in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*. Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts, Budapest.
- Gaudeková, H. – Kraemerová, A. (2013, eds.): *Playing all day long. Japanese traditional Toys from Náprstek Museum Collection in Prague*. National Museum, Prague.
- Kinski, M. –Solomon H.– Großmann, E. (2015, eds.): *Kindheit in der japanischen Geschichte. Childhood in Japanese History. Concepts and Experiences*. Harrasowith Verlag. Wiesbaden.
- Kumon Children's Research Institute (1998, ed.): *Children represented in Ukiyo-e: Japanese children in the 18th-19th centuries*. The Japan Foundation /Kumon Institute of Education, Japan.
- Yoshida, K. – Litt D. – Kaigo, T. (1937, eds.): *Japanese education*. Tourist Library 19., Tokyo.