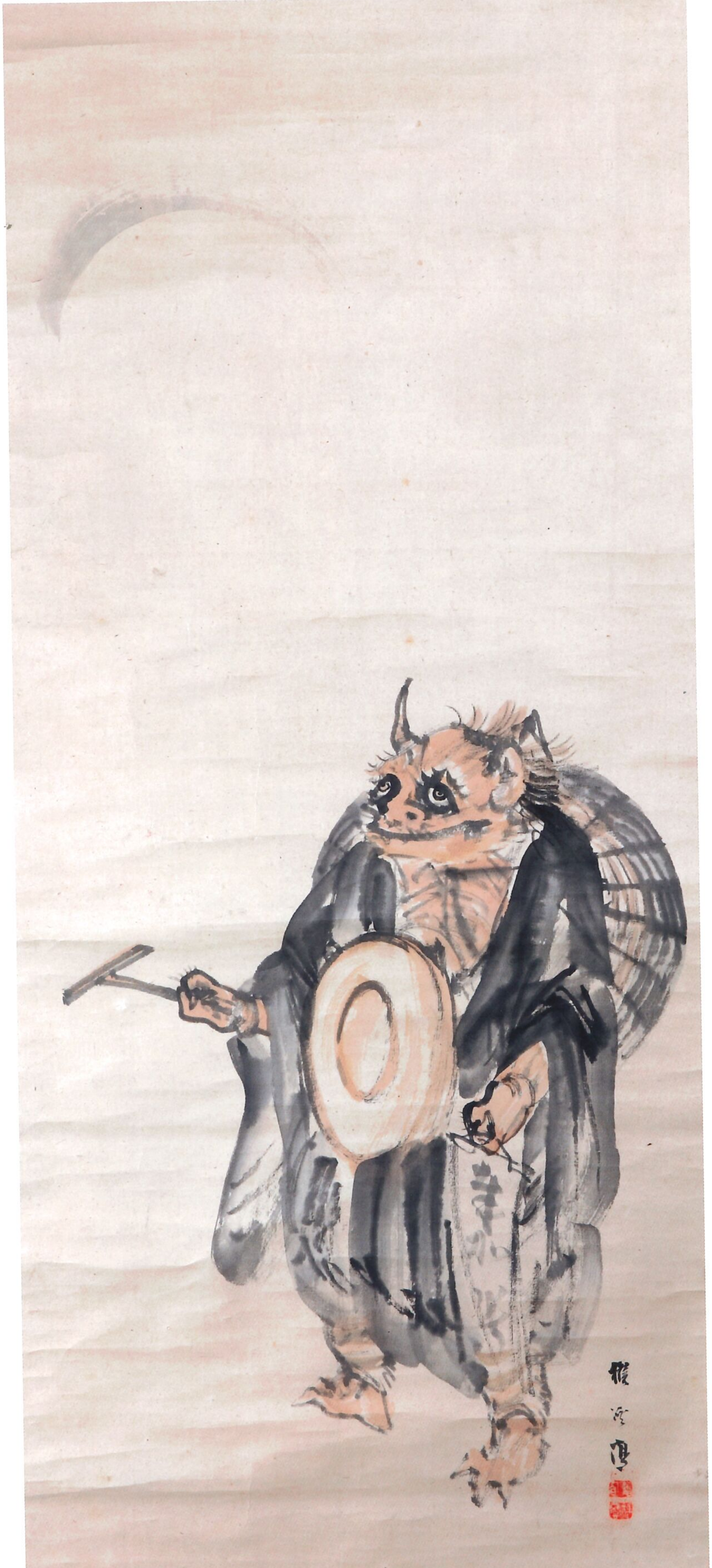

CHAPTER 3

The Life and Lore of Oni

Noriko Tsunoda Reider

Oni, often translated as "demons" or "ogres," are mostly known for their fierce and evil nature, manifest in their propensity for cannibalism. In popular Japanese thought, the word *oni* conjures up images of hideous creatures emerging from the Buddhist hell's abyss to terrify wicked mortals. Notwithstanding their evil reputation, oni possess intriguingly complex aspects that cannot be brushed away simply as evil. Although oni are sometimes likened to their demonic or Western ogre counterparts, the lack of a streamlined Western mythos makes these comparisons difficult.

Origins and Etymology of Oni

In ancient times, oni were invisible. Kondō Yoshihiro describes the genesis of oni as the historical product of people's dread of the destructive power of such phenomenological occurrences as thunder and lightning, storms, and earthquakes. Among natural forces, thunder and lightning are most strongly associated with oni. That thunder and lightning instilled fear in people is evinced by the sheer number of shrines dedicated to the thunder gods.[1] In early Onmyōdō (the Way of yin and yang) the word *oni* referred specifically to invisible evil spirits that caused human infirmity.[2] Takahashi Masaaki identifies an oni as a deity that causes epidemics, while Kumasegawa Kyōko interprets an oni as an individual and/or societal shadow.[3] It is little wonder then that overwhelmingly negative forces have often been attributed to oni.

As for the word *oni,* Orikuchi Shinobu asserts a Japanese origin meaning "giant people who lived in caves" (大人; pronounced *oni*).[4] Furthermore, Orikuchi suggests that there may have been no clear demarcation between an oni and a *kami* (deity) in Japan's ancient past. Both were awesome beings, although the oni may not have been worshipped. Orikuchi asserts that the negative and fearful aspects of kami came to be considered oni.[5] Komatsu Kazuhiko explains that supernatural deities worshipped by Japanese are known as *kami,* while those that are not worshipped are called *yōkai,* and the yōkai with the most negative associations are oni.[6] Likewise, Michael

opposite
ONI NO NEMBUTSU (DEMON SOLICITING ALMS)
Kakejiku (hanging scroll)
Matsuyoshi Shōkei, ca. 1830, Kyoto
Ink on paper, silk, wood, $80\frac{5}{16} \times 26\frac{15}{16}$ in.
(204 × 68.5 cm)
International Folk Art Foundation,
Museum of International Folk Art (FA.2002.22.1)

Dylan Foster writes that when malicious emotions, intentions, or actions are "antisociety and antimoral" they are associated with oni.[7]

Ishibashi Gaha hypothesized that an origin of the Japanese oni is a female named Yomotsu-shikome (literally, "ugly woman of the other world") who appears in the *Kojiki* (Records of ancient matters, ca. 712), the oldest imperially sponsored chronicle of the mytho-history of Japan. Yomotsu-shikome is dispatched by a female deity who feels shamed by her husband. After the death of Izanami, the female creator of Japan, Izanagi, her husband and male counterpart, misses her so much that he goes to the netherworld to retrieve her. But Izanami says that she has already eaten food from that realm; food produced there has the power to make one stay in that world, thus implying that it would be difficult for her to return. So Izanami tells him to wait and not to look at her.

This taboo against looking is a familiar folk literature motif—unable to resist temptation, a protagonist often breaks a promise not to look. Predictably, Izanagi breaks his promise not to look at Izanami—just as Orpheus does on his journey to bring Eurydice back to the world of the living in the Greek myth. When Orpheus looks back, beautiful Eurydice slips back into the world of the dead. When Izanagi looks at Izanami, however, she is ugly, with maggots squirming and eight thunder deities growing around her entire body. Izanami is furious, probably because he breaks his promise—the taboo—and looks at her, which changes her appearance. Instead of bemoaning her fate and going back to the netherworld quietly, she attacks him, saying that he has caused her undying shame. Terrified, Izanagi quickly makes his way back to this world, whereupon Izanami dispatches Yomotsu-shikome, the ugly hag, from the underworld to avenge her shame.[8] It is interesting that a precursor of Japanese oni is a female brought forth by a goddess who feels shame and is spurned by a male lover. While the Japanese can identify a primordial form of oni in Yomotsu-shikome, Ishibashi Gaha attributes the title or term *oni* to Chinese thought.[9]

The character now used to express oni is 鬼, which in Chinese means "invisible soul/spirit of the dead, both ancestral and evil."[10] The first Japanese-language dictionary, titled *Wamyō ruijushō* (ca. 930s), explains oni as a corruption of the reading of the character *on* 隠 (hiding): "hiding behind things, not wishing to appear . . . a soul/spirit of the dead."[11] Apparently, the concept of oni in *Wamyō ruijushō* is based on the Chinese concept.[12] The oldest myths and legends of Japan, material that is assumed to have been orally transmitted from ancient times, has been handed down to us in scripts that are written either in classical Chinese or in characters taken from Chinese and used for their phonetic values in Japanese writing. Therefore "much of what we know of these preliterate, oral discourses, reaches us through the filter of a continental writing technology or adaptations thereof."[13] When something called oni came to be identified as the character 鬼, the entity represented by this Chinese character seems to have been fused with Japanese oni.

According to Kosugi Kazuo, the root of the visual image of Japanese oni is found in Chinese *gui-shen* (鬼神, ghosts and spirits), and the oni's shape has remained surprisingly unchanged from that of its Chinese predecessor. The gui-shen was originally an indigenous

Chinese being and had no foundation in Buddhism. After Buddhism was introduced to China, however, it seems to have assimilated gui-shen into its pantheon.[14] As Ōsumi Kazuo explains, Buddhism was a civilization that had the power to make the invisible visible, and it possessed methods of negotiating with and fighting the unseen.[15] Kosugi writes that Chinese gui-shen came to Japan with Buddhism and gave a shape to what had heretofore been a shapeless oni.[16]

The dreadful supernatural creatures that reside in the abyss of Buddhist hell to terrify mortal sinners are Buddhist oni. Conversely, the creatures being stepped on by the *shitennō*, or Four Heavenly Guardians often seen at a temple gate, represent evil beings that have gone against Buddhist law and are also oni. Just like humans, there are a variety of oni—from the minions in Buddhist hell punishing wicked humans to the beings punished by divine Buddhist protectors.[17] These representations of oni came into being adopting, embodying, and assimilating multifaceted elements, concepts, and characteristics of entities that draw on Chinese origins, Buddhist religious traditions, and Onmyōdō. Oni can thus be said to be genuinely pan-Asian in their roots.

Oni's Gender

Oni, an invisible entity in Japan's ancient past, was not particularly related to any gender, and I assume the Japanese did not associate the negative qualities they attributed to oni—rage, murderous thoughts and actions, cold-bloodedness, and so on—with any specific gender, until they were manifested in a character. But today oni are popularly portrayed as masculine. I believe that this assumption regarding gender comes primarily from the pictorial representation of their appearance. More often than not, oni are depicted with muscular bodies and are scantily clad, wearing a loincloth of tiger skin. Oni are hairy and customarily portrayed with one or more horns protruding from their scalps. They sometimes have a third eye in the center of their forehead, and they vary in skin color, most commonly black, red, blue, or yellow. Oni often have large mouths with conspicuous canine teeth.

According to Hayashi Shizuyo, who studied the sex of oni in the series *Yomigatari* (Reading [old tales] aloud, 2004–2005), in the majority of cases the images of oni that appear in these tales are male. When female oni appear in these stories, they all appear with an age signifier such as *oni-baba*, *oni-banba*, or *oni-basa* (all meaning "old oni-woman" or "oni-hag"). Hayashi further notes that all the age signifiers indicate oldness, and no such signifiers are attached to male oni.[18] In addition, while the word *oni* stands by itself without any suffix when referring to a male image, when an oni is female the word *woman* or *female* is added to the word *oni*. In other words, in order for the creature to be perceived as female for sure, one has to add the term *woman* or *female* to the word *oni*. Having said that, in the medieval period the label oni was applied to the specters of ordinary household objects (such as tools and containers) after they reached a hundred years of age. Named *tsukumogami*, these abandoned man-made objects bear grudges against people.[19] Household objects do not have a gender in Japanese. *He*, *she*, or *it* when applied to oni is invariably situational, and oni may arguably be considered gender-defiant.

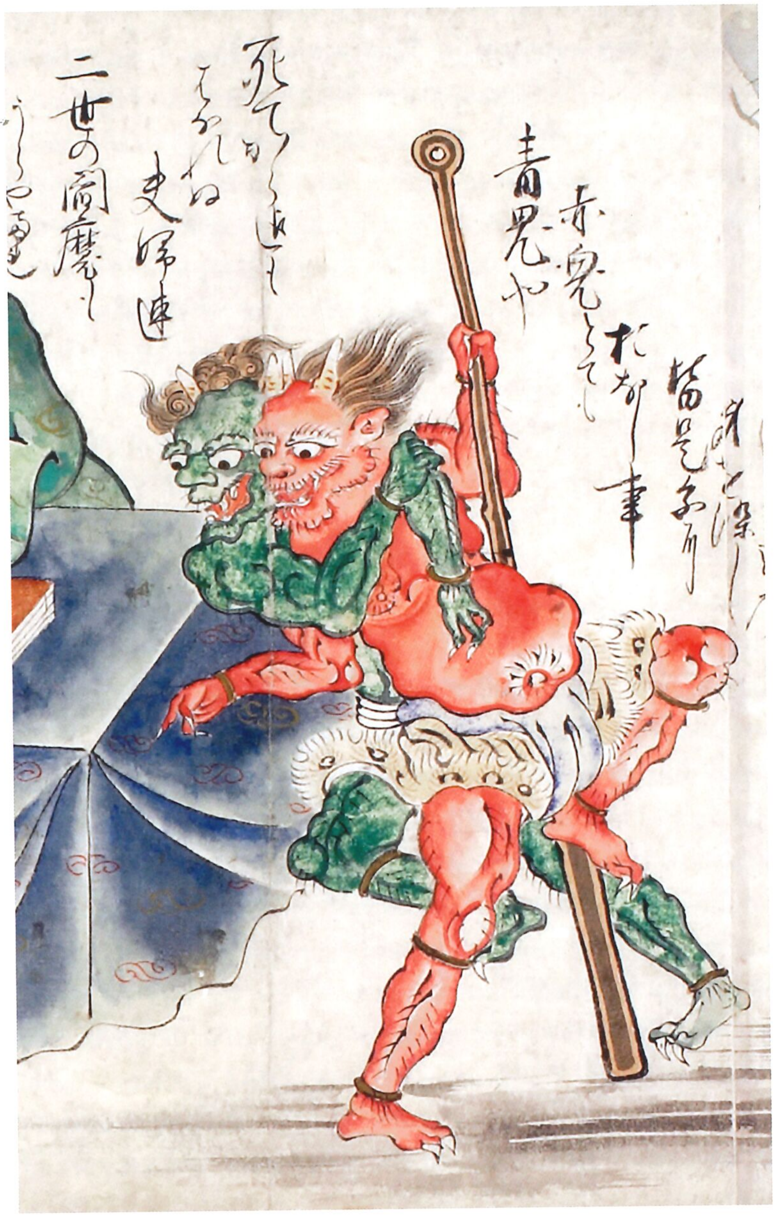
青鬼や
赤鬼として
二世の閻魔

FIGURE 3.1. A red and blue oni. Detail from *Jigoku-zōshi emaki* (Hell scroll). Artist unknown, probably Edo period, Japan. 10⁴⁄₅ × 349¹⁄₁₀ in. (27.6 × 886.8 cm). Courtesy of Nichibunken (International Research Center for Japanese Studies).

Oni Legends and Stories

There are numerous legends and stories about oni, including the following well-known male, female, and genderless oni.

Shuten Dōji

Perhaps oni's major and most gruesome attribute is their huge appetite for human flesh, as exemplified by the story of Shuten Dōji.[20] This story also reveals oni's power of transforming into any form—leaf, lion, good-looking man or woman—at will. The chief of the oni, Shuten Dōji, is a fantastic, demonic, and cannibalistic but charismatic creature. He and his cohorts kidnap, enslave, and cannibalize men and women. According to the oldest extant text of this legend, the picture scrolls *Ōeyama ekotoba* (Illustrations and writing of Mount Ōe, ca. fourteenth century), during the reign of Emperor Ichijō (ca. 986–1011), people begin to disappear mysteriously in and around Kyoto, the Heian-era capital of Japan. Abe no Seimei (ca. 921–1005), a yin-yang master of the Heian Court, divines that it is the work of Shuten Dōji and his cohorts. The imperial court charges Minamoto no Raikō (or Yorimitsu, 948–1021) and Fujiwara no Hōshō (or Yasumasa, 958–1036) to destroy Shuten Dōji and his evil minions.

Before Raikō and Hōshō set out on their quest with several loyal retainers, the troupe prays for success at four separate shrines. Because oni are known as shapeshifters and can even transform into leaves, it is extremely difficult to find them. Their faith is rewarded, for while on their way to the oni's lair on Mount Ōe, the group encounters four deities disguised as priests. The old priests advise Raikō's party to disguise themselves as *yamabushi* (mountain priests), providing the men with the necessary clothing. The warriors, now joined by the deity-priests, arrive at the demon's mountaintop palace. Shuten Dōji allows them into his palace and jovially regales the men with stories from his past; he has been chased away from his original abode on a mountain to another and then another by a prominent Buddhist priest and other imperial envoys. Resentful of such treatment, Shuten Dōji sometimes causes natural disasters.

After Shuten Dōji retires, intoxicated from the sake brought by the deity-priests, a number of oni disguised as beautiful women visit Raikō and Hōshō in their quarters. Raikō gives the oni-women an intense glare, and the demons scurry off. Raikō and Hōshō scout out the palace compound. Raikō and Hōshō's troupe moves to Shuten Dōji's grand bedchamber. They find the entrance to his quarters blocked by an impenetrable iron door, but with the help of the deity-priests the once-impervious door magically melts away. Inside, Shuten Dōji in his true monstrous form lies in drunken repose. While the four deity-priests hold each of Shuten Dōji's limbs, the warriors behead him. As Shuten Dōji's head hurls through the air, his mouth tries to bite Raikō. Raikō quickly borrows his lieutenants' helmets, putting them over his own, and is thus saved from Shuten Dōji's final attack. Raikō's band kills the rest of the oni and frees the surviving captives.

Shuten Dōji is a formidable, cannibalistic villain. Yet he may also represent the disenfranchised: those discriminated against by public policy, such as a local deity chased away by religious

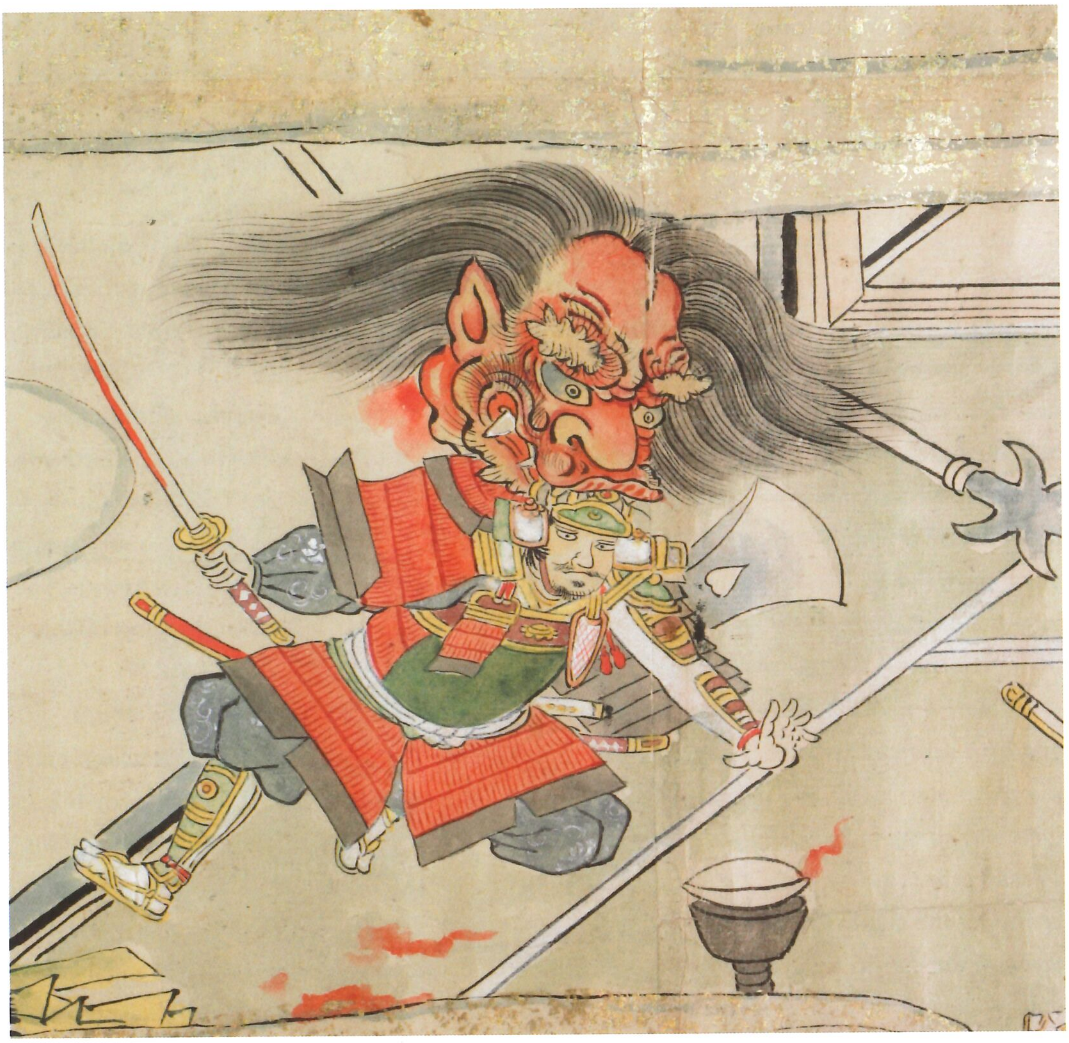

FIGURE 3.2. Shuten Dōji's severed head lunges at Raikō. Detail from *Shuten Dōji emaki* (scroll). Artist unknown, probably Edo period, Japan. 12½×496⅖ in. (32×1261 cm). Courtesy of Nichibunken (International Research Center for Japanese Studies).

authority or a marginalized being considered by the ruling apparatus to be injurious to the general public or the safety of the court itself. In this vein, Shuten Dōji's narrative reveals the voice of the "Other," someone or something outside the powerhouse of hegemonic authority, discussed later in this chapter.

Oni-woman of Kurozuka

Another famous example of oni—female oni—eating human flesh is the protagonist of the noh play titled *Kurozuka* (Black mound, mid-fifteenth century), also known as *Adachigahara* (Adachi Moor).[21] In the first act a party of yamabushi asks for a night's lodging at a lone house in Adachigahara. The owner of the house, a female oni in the form of an old woman, reluctantly accedes to their request. The chief yamabushi notices a spinning wheel in her hut and asks the old woman what it is. Requested by the chief priest to demonstrate how it works, she starts to turn the spinning wheel. She then tells the yamabushi group not to look in one room of her house and leaves for the mountain to get firewood for them. During the interlude, the yamabushi's servant cannot resist the temptation to look, opens the door (just like Izanagi breaking his promise not to look at Izanami), and finds piles of corpses inside. The party realizes that they are staying in the house of an oni who is rumored to exist in the region. In the second act, as the troupe of yamabushi flees the oni-woman's house the oni-woman—now with her true appearance—runs after them, only to be chased away by the power of the yamabushi's incantation.

The female oni in *Kurozuka* is furious that the yamabushi broke their promise but feels undying shame and disgrace that her oni appearance and activities are exposed; the same anger, shame, and disgrace were the reasons that Izanami dispatched Yomotsu-shikome to kill Izanagi. As in the case of Shuten Dōji, the oni-woman is defeated by the priest, who is considered a "good" character. She is, however, not eliminated; she simply disappears.

Tsukumogami

Yet another story of cannibalism—and redemption—is a picture scroll titled *Tsukumogami ki* (The record of tool specters), dated to the Muromachi period (1336–1573).[22] *Tsukumogami ki* is the major source for the definition of the aforementioned tsukumogami—old, vengeful animate household objects. *Tsukumogami ki* is an entertaining story that parodies many other works, including Shuten Dōji. The backdrop of *Tsukumogami ki* is the late tenth-century capital of Heian during the year-end housecleaning event.[23] Old tools and objects are discarded in byways and alleys. The abandoned goods become angry at the humans who discarded them, and they plan, as specters, to torment their former owners. One discarded object, Rosary, chides the others for their desire for revenge, but he is beaten up and barely escapes with his "life." With the help of a creation god, the rest of the old tools transform themselves into specters on the day of the lunar New Year's Eve. As tool specters, the tsukumogami kidnap humans and animals for consumption, just like Shuten Dōji, and they celebrate their new lives with such merrymaking as drinking, gambling, and poetry recitations.

They propose to hold a Shinto festival in honor of their god, Henge Daimyōjin (the Great Shape-Shifting God). While they are strolling through the capital for the festival procession, they encounter the party of the chief adviser to the emperor. A charm the adviser carries with him suddenly flares up and attacks the tsukumogami, whereupon they scatter. The emperor hears of this incident and summons a bishop to have him perform ceremonies in the imperial palace. In response to the prayers and rituals held by the bishop and other Buddhist priests, several Buddhist *gohō dōji* (divine boys) appear above the palace, after which they fly off to the tsukumogami's den. The divine boys immediately subdue the tsukumogami, and the wayward spirits swear to convert to Buddhism. Repentant, the tsukumogami seek the guidance of holy Rosary to help them embrace the Buddhist teachings and enter the priesthood. Rosary describes the Shingon

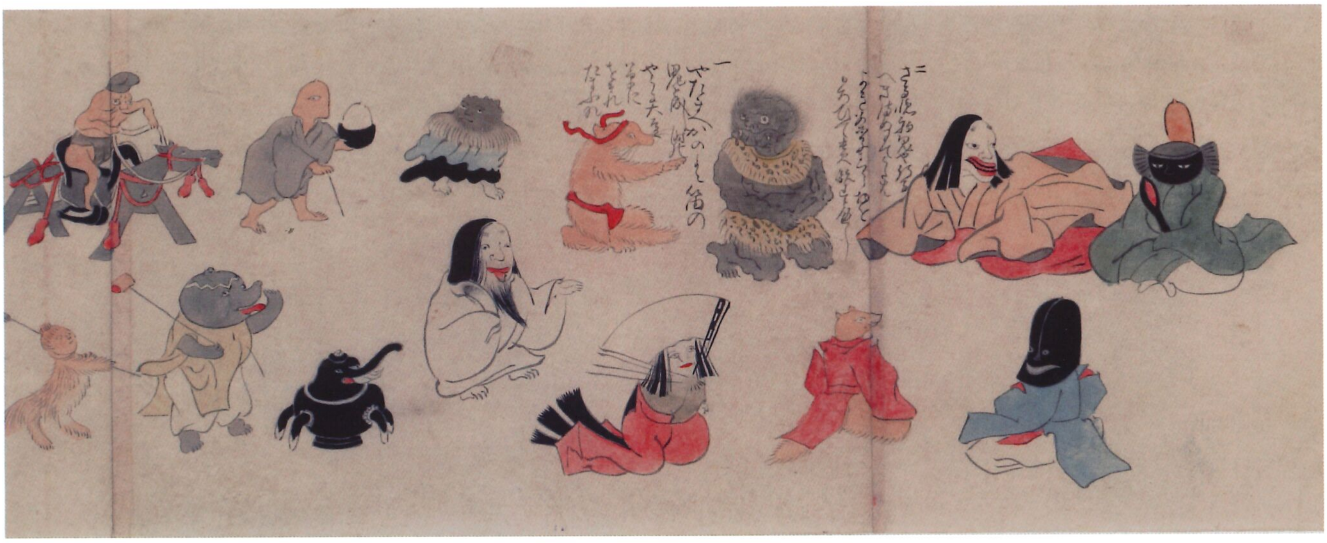

FIGURE 3.3. The abandoned objects are transformed into tsukumogami. Detail from *Tsukumogami ekotoba* (scroll). Artist unknown, Edo period, Japan. $7\frac{9}{10} \times 731\frac{1}{10}$ in. (20.1 × 1857 cm). Courtesy of Nichibunken (International Research Center for Japanese Studies).

teaching of "realizing Buddhahood in this very body." The tsukumogami thus become devotees of the Shingon sect, and, after assiduous ascetic practice, they all become Buddhas.

The text emphasizes that the Shingon teachings enable even such nonsentient beings as tools and containers to attain enlightenment. The Shingon tradition developed a sophisticated materialist cosmology, but outside monastic institutions and the highly trained and educated few, the philosophy of objects was probably not so easily accessible or understandable to even the elite, let alone to the majority of the medieval population. Komatsu writes that the text *Tsukumogami ki* could have been employed to enhance Shingon Buddhist power.[24]

Oni as "Other"

These stories reveal an aspect of oni as the "Other": someone or something that has different customs or lives beyond the reach of the emperor's control. Shuten Dōji is taken away from his original abode on a mountain by imperial hegemonic power; *Kurozuka*'s oni-woman is minding her own business in a very remote northern region of Japan, turning her spinning wheel, a custom unfamiliar to the people in the capital; and tsukumogami are nonsentient beings, and worse, they are unwanted, abandoned objects. The imperial Japanese military complex used oni to define its enemies, particularly as a tool to define foreigners. The idea of outsider or "Other" simultaneously promoted a sense of unity among the Japanese. This became especially true during the Second World War when the Japanese government used oni to describe the Allied forces. Indeed, one could argue that any person or people who are forced to, or voluntarily choose to, live on the periphery of mainstream society are marginalized and thus considered oni.[25] As many social scientists have come to observe cross-culturally, it is human nature to apply a social stigma to those displaying any difference or anomaly. *Tsuchigumo*, or the earth spider, is another good example with regard to social anomaly—and being antiestablishment.

In ancient times tsuchigumo were human beings. The term *tsuchigumo* was used to describe the less cultivated indigenous people of Japan who inhabited the islands after their creation by heavenly deities but before the arrival of the imperial family's ancestors, those who claimed authority, as descendants of heavenly beings, to rule over Japan and these indigenous people.[26] Regarding the origin of this name, Urabe Kanekata, a Shinto priest of the thirteenth century, writes that "according to *Settsu fudoki* [Topography of Settsu province], in the reign of Emperor Jinmu there was a villain called Tsuchigumo—he was given the contemptuous name of 'earth spider' because this person always dwelled in a pit."[27] A tsuchigumo is thus depicted as a villainous human being whose living customs differ from mainstream conventions. An earth spider defies central authority, has different customs and manners, and different physiological features from the mainstream culture. In that sense, the earth spider is considered to be one of the most ancient types of oni.[28]

Although tsuchigumo were human beings in ancient times, during the medieval period (1185–1600) they appear as yōkai in *Tsuchigumo zōshi* (Picture scroll of an earth spider, ca. early fourteenth century). This yōkai spider is a shapeshifter. Perhaps an image of a shape-shifting female killer was created primarily through tsuchigumo's association with, or roots in, oni. In *Tsuchigumo zōshi*, Minamoto no Raikō appears with Watanabe no Tsuna, his right-hand man; they see a skull floating through the air. They follow the skull, and it leads them to an ancient, decaying mansion. Raikō enters the house alone and finds it haunted with strange creatures, but among this supernatural melee is a singular gorgeous female figure. Raikō is dazzled by the woman's beauty, yet she throws *mari no yōna shirakumo* (white, ball-like clouds) at him.

In response, Raikō unsheathes his sword and wields it through her as she vanishes into thin air. As Tsuna rushes to Raikō's side, they find a huge puddle of white blood on the floor. Following the trail of blood, they find themselves far off in the western mountains, where they meet a gigantic creature nearly two hundred feet tall. The monster is wounded, but as the warriors approach the creature it fiercely resists their attack. Raikō, declaring he will eliminate the monster who brings disaster to the country and will protect the emperor, decapitates it. The evil tsuchigumo thus meets its demise by the power of the imperial warrior.

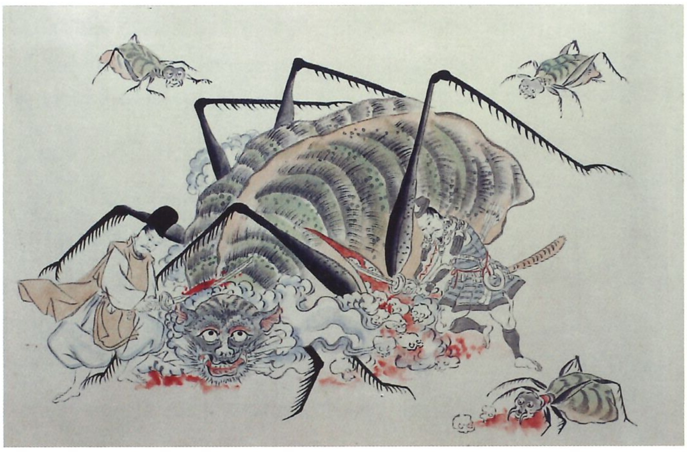

FIGURE 3.4. Raikō and Tsuna kill the monstrous spider. Detail from *Tsuchigumo zōshi*. Probably copied by Odagiri Nao, 1837, Japan. 12⅘ × 425⅕ in. (32.5 × 1080.1 cm). Courtesy of Nichibunken (International Research Center for Japanese Studies).

The popularity and longevity of the oni myth is no doubt partially based on the beings' conventional demonic accoutrements. But there is a lesser-known side to oni—oni as harbingers of wealth and fortune. An example of such oni can be seen in the famous folk tale titled *Issun-bōshi* (Little One-Inch). In the story a tiny boy is born to an elderly couple far past the usual years of conception and childbirth. One day Little One-Inch decides to go to the capital in search of fortune and success. He gets a job as a servant to an aristocratic family and falls madly in love with the couple's beautiful daughter. During an excursion, Little One-Inch and the daughter meet up with a band of oni. One of the oni swallows Little One-Inch in one gulp, but he fights against the oni, plunging his little sword into the being from inside its body. Severely injured, the oni coughs up Little One-Inch and the demon band scampers away, leaving behind a magical wish-granting mallet. Little One-Inch, picks up the mallet, and, with the help of its supernatural power, he is transformed into a normal-sized human. He uses the mallet to produce food and treasures. Little One-Inch becomes rich, marries the princess, and they live happily ever after. Oni may bring good fortune, even if as evil characters they are destined to be subjugated or chased away to further hinterlands.

This is true not only when oni are fictional characters in stories; oni can also be depicted in a positive light in paintings. A good example is *Oni no nenbutsu* (Oni intoning the name of the Buddha), a popular Ōtsu-e (Ōtsu picture) that dates back to the Edo period (1603–1867). Ōtsu-e are folk paintings produced in and around Ōtsu town, one of the fifty-three stations of the Tōkaidō (Eastern Sea Route) connecting Edo, or old Tokyo, and Kyoto. *Oni no nenbutsu*, the most well-loved image in the entire Ōtsu-e repertoire, depicts a praying oni dressed in Buddhist priest's garb with a gong around his neck, a striker in one hand, and a Buddhist subscription list in the other. As Meher McArthur comments, an oni as a Buddhist priest seems contradictory, for it depicts the oni who is considered to be evil striving for Buddhahood itself.[29] But such is the nature of oni—they can be protectors of Buddhism. The depicted image of a friendly oni in Buddhist garb is quite humorous. Undoubtedly the praying oni were popular souvenirs for travelers who journeyed on the Tōkaidō. Oni's commodification has only accelerated in the postmodern age.

Expansive and dynamic, the oni of legends were said to thrive in all corners of ancient and medieval Japanese society. They could appear anywhere and often did. The oni frequented both urban and rural areas, and were even seen in the capital and within the imperial palace compound, disturbing everyday life, spreading fear, and causing trouble. The modern oni, despite their continued evolution and changes (some are kind or cute), still exhibit many of the characteristics of medieval oni. When someone is "like an oni," that person is cold-blooded and terrifying; the expression "oni and iron staff" means making something strong even stronger. Referenced throughout generations of Japanese literature, religion, art, and, in more modern times, through mass-media representations in such pop culture icons as anime and manga, oni's longevity can arguably be ascribed to their symbiotic evolution alongside Japanese society.

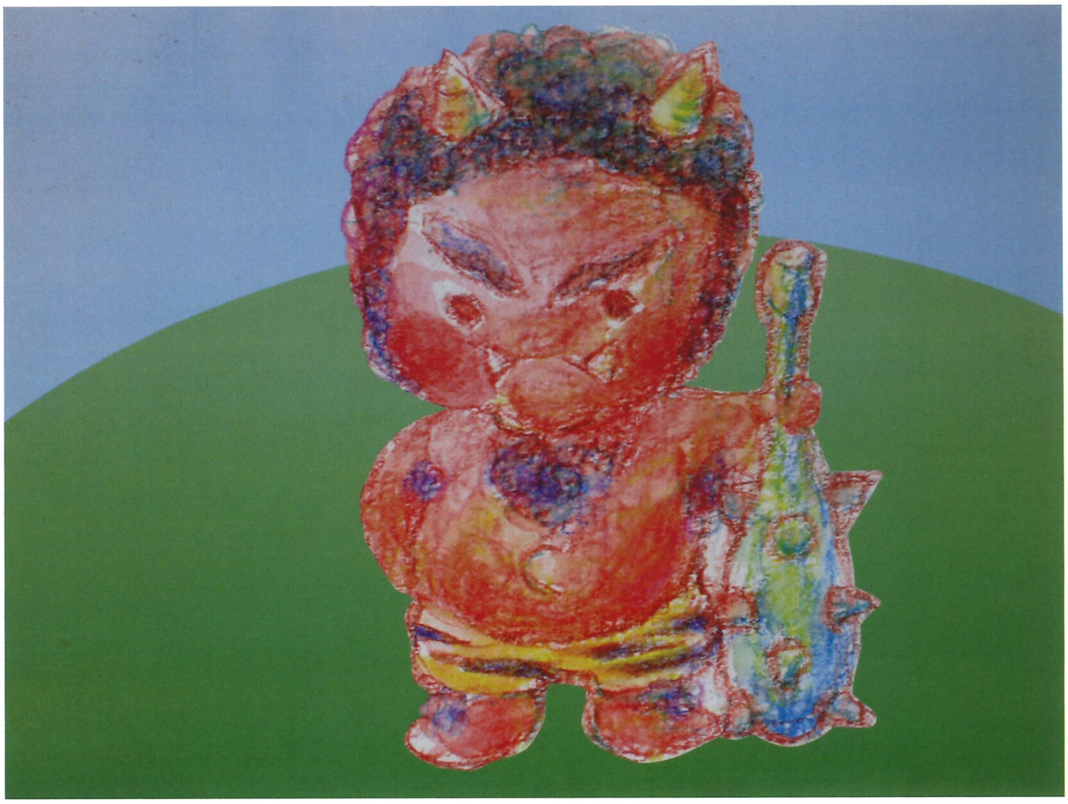

FIGURE 3.5. Modern oni painted on a train. Artist unknown, 2007. Kamaichi, Iwate Prefecture. Photo by author, 2007.

Notes

1. Kondō, *Nihon no oni,* 14–16.

2. Komatsu, "Supernatural Apparitions and Domestic Life," 3. Onmyōdō is an eclectic practice whose roots are found in the theory of the cosmic duality of yin and yang and the five elements, or phases (metal, wood, water, fire, and earth). With the theory of yin and yang and the five elements that were formed in ancient China at its core, Onmyōdō adapted elements from the Buddhist astrology of the *Xiuyaojing* (Jp: *Sukuyōkyō*) and indigenous Japanese *kami* (deity) worship.

3. Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō,* 4; Kumasegawa, "Oni no imi," 204.

4. Orikuchi, "Oni to sanjin to," 121.

5. Orikuchi, "Shinodazuma no hanashi," 283–84.

6. Komatsu, "Yōkai," 337.

7. Foster, *The Book of Yōkai,* 118.

8. For an English translation, see Philippi, *Kojiki,* 61–64.

9. Ishibashi, *Oni,* 104.

10. For a detailed discussion of the Chinese influence on 鬼, see Li, "'Kiki' seiritsu ni okeru 'oni'"; Sakō, "Ekiki to tsuchi."

11. Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō*, 41.

12. Takahashi, *Shuten Dōji no tanjō*, 41.

13. Quinn, "Oral and Vocal Traditions," 258.

14. See Kosugi, *Chūgoku bijutsushi*, 188–206.

15. Ōsumi, *Nihon no bunka o yominaosu*, 236–38.

16. See Kosugi, *Chūgoku bijutsushi*, 188–206.

17. Ōshima, "Shichifukujin no denshō," 310.

18. Hayashi, "'Oni' no seibetsu," 78–79.

19. For a discussion of tsukumogami, see Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality*, 211–58; Reider, *Seven Demon Stories*, chapter 7.

20. For an explanation of Shuten Dōji, see Reider, *Japanese Demon Lore*, chapter 2.

21. The play is called *Kurozuka* by the Hōshō, Konparu, Kongō, and Kita schools of noh and is known as *Adachigahara* by the Kanze school. For an English translation of the play, see Shimazaki and Comee, *Supernatural Beings*, 307–35.

22. For an English translation, see Reider, *Seven Demon Stories*, 228–39.

23. This event, called Susuharai, is not only a large annual housecleaning event but also a part of the preparation rituals for welcoming the Shinto god of the coming year, or a harvest god. It is the day to remove the year's accumulated misfortunes as well as to expunge one's defilements and crimes. See Kagiwada, "Matsuri: Susuharai," 120.

24. Komatsu, *Hyōrei shinkō ron*, 338.

25. Komatsu and Naitō, *Oni ga tsukutta kuni Nihon*, 11.

26. Tsuda, *Nihon koten no kenkyō*, 188–95.

27. Urabe, *Shaku Nihongi*, 132.

28. Baba, *Oni no kenkyū*, 170.

29. McArthur, *Gods and Goblins*, 30.

Yōkai

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