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Transfiguration: Man-made Objects as Demons in Japanese Scrolls

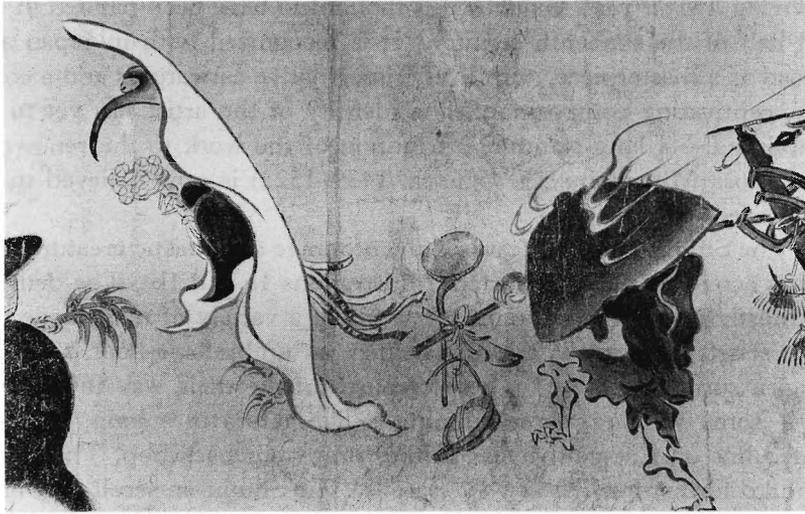
Abstract

Hyakki yakō emaki (lit., “illustrated handscrolls of night processions of one hundred demons”) have been produced by numerous Japanese artists, who have typically rendered the demons as *tsukumogami* (transfigured objects). *Tsukumogami* are tools and utensils that were thrown away, only to come to life as vengeful spirits after a certain period of time. Exactly why artists began to depict night processions of *tsukumogami* and when they first started to do so is still not clear; however, much light is shed on the matter by references to the subject in Heian-period diaries and records, Chinese illustrations of demon processions, and Muromachi-period *tsukumogami emaki* (illustrated handscrolls of transfigured objects). Additional insights are provided by modern folklore on *tsukumogami* and contemporary accounts revealing the great respect in which tools are held in Japan.

Key words: *Hyakki yakō emaki* — *tsukumogami emaki* — *Sonshō Dhārānī* — Zhong Kui — *susuharai*

SCENES of *hyakki yakō* 百鬼夜行 (lit., “night processions of one hundred demons”) have captured the imagination of Japanese artists for generations. Since the fourteenth century, and probably earlier, Japanese painters have conjured up images of fantastic creatures in nocturnal parades and rendered them in *emaki* 絵巻 (illustrated handscrolls) to produce *hyakki yakō emaki*.¹ Participating in the night parades are scores of creatures, many of which can be identified as *tsukumogami* 付喪神, man-made objects that transform into vengeful spirits after being thrown away by their owners.² According to Japanese legend, these objects — musical instruments, kitchen utensils, religious paraphernalia, clothing, armor, and so on — survive for a hundred years, then change into animate beings. Unhappy at having been discarded, the now-transfigured objects commit all sorts of pranks, some mischievous, others hostile. In some cases they even consume their human prey.

Hyakki yakō scrolls have fascinated viewers for centuries, but they pose many problems for anyone hoping to understand their meaning. It is not clear exactly when Japanese artists began to illustrate this theme, why they painted it so often, and why so many of them chose to represent demons as transfigured objects. Since the majority of night-procession scrolls have no text or other explanatory information, the answers to these questions remain elusive. Certain insights can, however, be gleaned from related materials, both premodern and contemporary. Among the early materials are Chinese renderings of demon processions, Japanese *tsukumogami emaki* (illustrated handscrolls of transfigured objects),³ and diaries and records that contain references to night processions. Twentieth-century materials include legends about transfigured objects and essays about the Japanese reverence for tools and other man-made objects. These materials are diverse and do not lend themselves to the standard, structured analysis of art history or folklore studies; still, the best way to understand an enduring and popular theme like the *hyakki yakō* is to cast one’s net widely and to sift through the various materials that are



1a



1b

Details of *Hyakki yakō emaki*, probably sixteenth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper. Shinju-an, Daitoku-ji.

gathered.

THE SHINJU-AN SCROLL

The single most-studied of the night-procession handscrolls is a work preserved in Shinju-an 真珠庵, a sub-temple of Daitoku-ji 大徳寺 in Kyoto. This scroll (referred to as the Shinju-an scroll)⁴ is the oldest

surviving *hyakki yakō emaki* and is thought to have been painted in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁵ It is recognized both in Japan and abroad as a masterpiece, with lively, imaginative caricatures and a complex, captivating composition. The identity of the artist has yet to be established — a long-standing attribution of the work to the renowned artist Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (ca. 1439–1522) is now believed to be unfounded.

The Shinju-an scroll features an entourage of fantastic creatures parading across its pictorial surface (illustrations 1a and 1b). The demons are mostly *tsukumogami*, transformations of a variety of man-made objects: scissors, an arrow, a lute, a helmet, an umbrella, a boot, a temple gong, a sutra-scroll, etc.⁶ These creatures make their way toward the left — some walking, some running — like actors in a long, uninterrupted line on a stage that has neither props nor backdrop. This is the standard format for *hyakki yakō* scrolls. The Shinju-an scroll may have been the first *emaki* painted in this format, or it may have been based on an earlier work that no longer exists, perhaps even the original night-procession scroll; given our current state of knowledge, it is impossible to know.⁷

Although the Shinju-an scroll has no text to explain its remarkable retinue, there is a legend about its origin (SMITH 1908, 61–64).⁸ According to this tale, an itinerant priest was passing by a deserted temple near Fushimi and decided to spend the night there. Around midnight the priest was shocked to hear an unearthly din. Seeking the cause of the racket, he discovered a party of demons and ghosts entering the temple. The priest fled from the startling sight, shutting himself in an empty room and staying there until daybreak. At dawn he made a hasty departure, heading for the nearest village. He told the villagers of his ordeal, and soon news of it reached the artist Mitsunobu.

Mitsunobu, wishing to paint a convincing likeness of the demons, went straight to the haunted temple. But, though he sat up all night, he saw nothing unusual. In the morning, however, when Mitsunobu opened the shutters, he witnessed an amazing sight: the walls of the temple were covered with an intricate array of ghoulish images. He pulled out his sketchbook and began to copy the weird figures. As he was drawing, Mitsunobu realized that the images were caused by cracks in the damp walls filled with mildew and fungi in a variety of phosphorescent hues.

Although enchanting, the tale of Mitsunobu and the haunted temple is probably fictional, invented decades or centuries after the Shinju-an scroll was painted. We are left wondering what the scroll originally might have meant. It is fascinating to sit and conjure up possible scenarios

taking place within the scroll and roles for members of the demon procession. For example, HIGASHINO (1965, 197) points out that the bird-beaked female demon near the center of the scroll looks like a young bride (illustration 1a); she is covered with a snowy white mantle that drapes elegantly from the crown of her head, down her back, and onto the ground. Making her way forward with head bowed as though in a wedding procession, she is followed by an entourage of animated household utensils, perhaps representing items in her dowry. But what about the other fiendish figures? How did they get there and what are they up to? Most puzzling, why are virtually all of the demons in the Shinju-an scroll transfigured objects? With no explanatory text and no human figures or background details to define the setting, it is difficult to interpret this fantastic parade.

HIGASHINO proposes several possibilities (1965, 190–210), placing the Shinju-an scroll in the context of early sixteenth-century Japan, when the country was in tumult following the Ōnin Wars (1467–77). Higashino proposes first that the artist of the scroll was expressing in humorous terms his reaction to those turbulent times, with the humor resulting from the confusion of social classes, or more specifically from the confused intermingling of objects associated with aristocrats, monks, warriors, and commoners. His second hypothesis is that the painting was inspired by the sight of people running from the carnage, carrying their possessions on their backs. The third possibility he suggests is that the artist was symbolically condemning the internecine feuds between monks involved in the struggles for power that rocked Japan at the time; the wealth of animated tools and personal belongings may have been meant as a criticism of the monks' excessive attachment to material goods.

All three hypotheses are intriguing, but, as Higashino himself admits, none of them adequately explains the artist's intentions. Although it is easy to see that the bizarre, somewhat unsettling subject matter of the Shinju-an scroll reflects the unrest of a country torn apart by civil war, little is known beyond that, and it is difficult to know exactly what the artist meant by the ghoulish procession he created.⁹ What insights we do have come from related illustrations and legends.

THE SPENCER SCROLL

One work related to the Shinju-an scroll is the *hyakki yakō emaki* in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library (referred to as the Spencer scroll [Spencer #112]).¹⁰ The scroll is unusual in that it has an accompanying text, which opens with forty-four lines telling of a man besieged one night by a horde of demons in an abandoned house in

Kyoto. The text begins:

It is said that sometime around the end of the Jishō era [1177–81] there was a house east of Sujaku Avenue and south of the Central Gate where a certain *chūnagon* 中納言 [middle counselor] had lived. Although the house was nice enough in appearance, it had been abandoned.

The *chūnagon* had left the house when the capital was moved to Fukuhara in the summer of 1180, entrusting it to the care of an old servant.

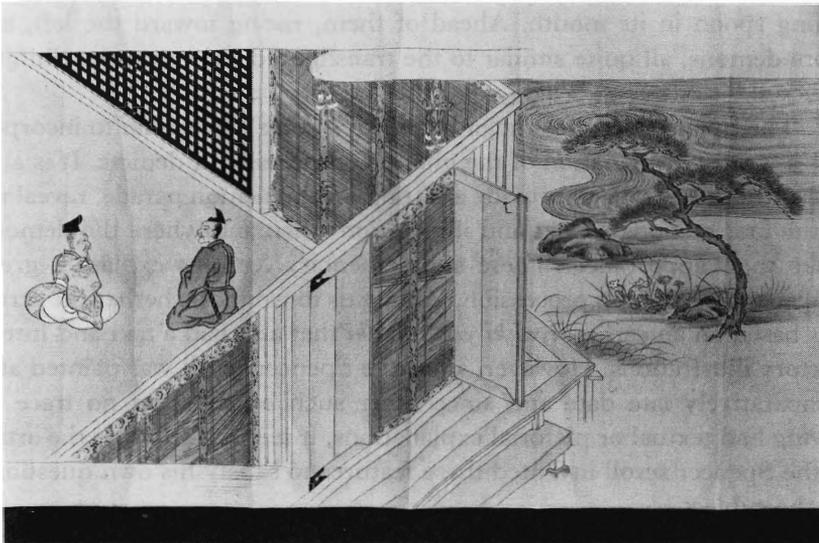
One day, a visitor arrived at the mansion. Rejoicing in his newfound company, the old caretaker sat the visitor down and began telling him stories. He continued into the early hours of the morning.

As the night deepened the old man dozed off, and at the hour of the ox [2:00 a.m.] the visitor began to sense a strange presence at the center of the house. Then, from outside, a weird creature called out in an eerie voice, “Excuse me!” “Who’s there?” came the answer, and from the back of the house emerged the frightening sound of footsteps, the likes of which the visitor had never heard before. Terrifying forms appeared.

These were the beings who had been making the strange sounds. The creature who had called out explained, “I was living in the Ōmiyadono 大宮殿 of Konoe Kawara 近衛河原, but with the recent move of the capital I lost my home. I wanted to find another place to live. That’s why I came here.”

Immediately an unearthly voice answered, saying, “Welcome!” and the creatures all rolled about in delight. One had the appearance of a man, while the others had assumed all sorts of frightening forms. In fact, they were so terrifying that they took the visitor’s breath away.

Following the first segment of text is a painted scene of the *chūnagon*’s estate, with a garden at right and a dilapidated mansion at left (illustration 2a). The artist has rendered the structure with tattered bamboo blinds and *fukinuki yatai* 吹抜屋台 (a blown-away roof), allowing us to see straight down into the room in which the visitor and the servant sit face to face. This inclusion of human figures and landscape details is another feature that makes the Spencer scroll unusual as a *hyakki yakō emaki*.



2a



2b

Details of *Hyakki yakō emaki*, attributed to Okada Tamechika (1823–64). Handscroll, ink and colors on paper. Spencer Collection. Courtesy of the New York Public Library.

The calm of this first scene is shattered in the second scene by two bizarre creatures that rush across the threshold of the *chūnagon*'s home (illustration 2b). Both are the demon spirits of discarded objects. One is squat with a fan imbedded in the back of its neck, the other is lanky with

a long spoon in its mouth. Ahead of them, racing toward the left, are more demons, all quite similar to the transfigured objects in the Shinju-an scroll.¹¹

The Spencer scroll is the only known *hyakki yakō emaki* to incorporate a written explanation of the ghoulish procession it depicts. It is also one of the few scrolls to provide a setting for the demon parade, revealing in the first sections of text and illustration when and where the demons make their appearance. These supplementary features explain a great deal about the demon procession, leading us to wonder whether the scroll was based on an earlier *hyakki yakō emaki* that also had a text and introductory illustrations. However, since the Spencer scroll was painted at a comparatively late date and since other such *emaki* show no trace of having had textual or pictorial explanations, it seems likely that the artist of the Spencer scroll invented these features to satisfy his own questions on the subject.

THE BOONE SCROLL

Another variation on the demon night-procession theme is found in an *emaki* painted by Egawa Buson 江川武村 (1887–?) in the Boone Collection of the Field Museum of Natural History (referred to as the Boone scroll [Boone #266010]).¹² Buson, like the artists of the Shinju-an and Spencer scrolls, rendered many of the demons as transfigured objects.¹³ Indeed, Buson seems to have borrowed the fantastic shapes of many of his creatures from earlier scrolls, though he arranged the demons in an original manner. Buson created five separate, detailed settings in which demons gather, pursue, and attack an aristocratic gentleman. There is no text in the scroll — the story is revealed exclusively through images, with a surprising originality in composition and narrative structure.

The first scene of the Boone scroll shows two demons speaking excitedly, perhaps about events taking place on the other side of a large red gate that seems to mark the edge of a deserted temple compound. Scene two has a pair of demons crouching behind a birch tree staring at a small spirit, which flies through the air toward an ox-drawn carriage at the far left. Dark mists well up around the carriage as it makes a mad dash to escape. Its attendants glance over their shoulders as though sensing the presence of demons approaching from the rear. Scene three reveals that the clumsy, ox-drawn carriage was too slow — the malignant spirits descend upon the carriage en masse (illustration 3a). In scene four, a swirling sea of dark mists and smoke part to show demons completing their destructive spree amidst the last remnants of the carriage.

Only when the fifth and final segment of the scroll is unrolled do we



3a

find ourselves face to face with the person who was riding in the carriage: an elegant gentleman sitting in a meadow surrounded by long, bending blades of grass and pale wild flowers (illustration 3b). The gentleman seems quite calm. Eyes closed, he fingers a string of white prayer beads. As dawn breaks and the gloomy mists lift, only one pitiful demon remains. This petite female demon crouches on the ground clutching at her horns, with her long, dark tresses flowing onto the earth in front of her. Far to the left, a sliver of the sun peaks out above a bed of clouds. Soft morning light warms the scene and sends the reassuring message that the world is now safe for its human inhabitants. The Boone scroll, like the Spencer scroll, has greater narrative structure than most demon scrolls, indicating that Buson may have altered the standard format of demon scrolls to create a more satisfying story line.

REFERENCES TO DEMON PARADES IN EARLY DIARIES AND RECORDS

As mentioned above, the Spencer scroll is the only known *hyakki yakō emaki* with a text, but one can find other written accounts of demon night processions in early Japanese diaries and records. A few of these accounts can be traced as far back as the Heian period (794–1185). Some are tall tales clearly intended for the purpose of entertainment. Others are meant to impress readers with the bravery of an ancestor who supposedly survived a demon assault. Still others warn people against venturing out on those nights when demons were thought to hold their processions. For example, the *Rekirin mondōshū* 曆林問答集 [Collection of discussions of the forest almanac],¹⁴ composed by the historian Kamo Arikata 賀茂在方 (?–1444), advises people against leaving their homes between the hours of 11:00 P.M. and 1:00 A.M. Arikata also identifies nights when *hyakki yakō* are likely: the nights that follow the days of the first, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and eleventh zodiac signs. This admonition against venturing out at certain times of the night reflects one of the numerous taboos observed in ancient Japan; others included washing one's hair or cutting one's nails at the wrong time on the wrong day, which was thought to bring bad luck.

The *Ōkagami* 大鏡 [The great mirror],¹⁵ a fictionalized history from late eleventh- or early twelfth-century Japan, mentions an incident in which Fujiwara Morosuke 藤原師輔 (908–960; Minister of the Right under Emperor Murakami 村上) encountered a parade of demons as he traveled through Kyoto one night in his ox-drawn carriage.

There was an occasion on which Morosuke encountered the demon procession. I have not heard what the month was, but he lowered his



3b

Details of *Hyakki yakō emaki* (Illustrated handscroll of the night procession of a hundred demons), attributed to Egawa Buson, dated 1918. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk. Boone Collection. Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History. Photographs by Ron Testa and Diane Alexander White.

carriage blinds late one night near the Nijō intersection, while he was traveling south from the Palace along Ōmiya Avenue. “Unyoke the ox and get the shafts down. Get the shafts down,” he shouted. The puzzled attendants lowered the shafts, and the escorts and outriders came up to investigate. Morosuke lowered his inner blinds with meticulous care and prostrated himself, baton in hand, as though paying someone every possible mark of respect.

“Don’t put the carriage on the stand,” he said. “You escorts stand to the left and right of the shafts, as close to the yoke as you can, and make your warnings loud. You attendants keep shouting too. Outriders, stay close to the carriage.” He began a fervent recitation of the *Sonshō Dhāranī*. The ox had been led out of sight behind the carriage.

After about an hour Morosuke raised the blinds. “Hitch up now and go on,” he said. His attendants were completely at sea.

I suppose he kept quiet about this incident until much later, and then spoke of it only in confidence to close friends, but a queer tale is bound to get out. (McCULLOUGH 1980, 136)

The *Sonshō Dhāranī* 尊勝陀羅尼 (San., *Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā dhāraṇī*) recited by Morosuke is an incantation praising the protective powers of the deity

Butchō Sonshō 佛頂尊勝 (San., Vikīrṇa-uṣṇīṣa), revered as a manifestation of one of the five aspects of the Buddha's wisdom. In Japan and China, recitation of this *dhāranī* was considered effective in warding off evil.

The magical properties of the *Sonshō Dhrānī* are also recounted in a legend from the *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語集 [Collection of tales of times now past], thought to date from the early twelfth century.¹⁶ According to this legend, a young courtier named Mitsuyuki 光行 witnessed a procession of demons one night at the Shinsen-en 神泉園, a large garden in Kyoto. Fortunately, Mitsuyuki's nurse had sewn a copy of the *Sonshō Dhāranī* into the collar of his robe, and this saved him from the malevolent power of the nocturnal spirits.

These are not the only references to demon processions in Heian sources. The *Taiki* 台記 [Record of the dais],¹⁷ for example, mentions in an entry dated 1144 a sighting of rampant demons, while the *Gōdanshō* 江談抄 [Excerpts from the conversations of Ōe¹⁸] contains a tale of two courtiers who encountered a procession of demons in front of Suzaku 朱雀 Gate, south of the Imperial Palace. An interesting feature of Heian-period *hyakki yakō* accounts is that the appearance and behavior of the demons are rarely described. Two exceptions are found in the thirteenth-century *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 [Collected tales of Uji]. Tale 17 concerns an itinerant priest who witnessed a procession of demons one night in an old, uninhabited temple. The procession consisted of “fantastically weird creatures, not men at all; there were all sorts of them, some with only one eye, some with horns, while their heads were more terrible than words can describe” (MILLS 1970, 154).¹⁹ Tale 160 tells of a man who encountered a demon that was “as tall as the eaves of the building and with the face of a horse” (MILLS 1970, 377).

It is noteworthy that the demons in these early Japanese legends are not described as transfigured objects, as they were later to be portrayed by Japanese artists. There are animated utensils that harm people in Heian literature, but these are different from the *tsukumogami* in demon parades. For instance, the story “Aburakame” in the *Konjaku monogatari* tells of a small oil pot that kills a sick girl, but this is not an old utensil that transforms into a vengeful spirit. On the contrary, it is an evil spirit (*mono no ke* 物の怪) that turns into an oil pot or possesses the oil pot in order to sneak into the girl's home (KOMATSU 1986, 248–49).²⁰

DEMON PROCESSIONS IN CHINESE PAINTING

Night processions of demons are also found in early paintings from China, which raises the possibility that the anonymous Japanese artist

who first rendered this theme was copying a Chinese model.²¹ One feature of the Chinese versions is that they typically include the commanding figure of Zhong Kui 鍾馗 (J., Shoki). Zhong Kui has long been revered as the Demon Queller in China, as well as in Japan. Scholars believe that the original legend of Zhong Kui dates back to the Tang period (618–907), with numerous variations emerging later.²²

According to one version of the Zhong Kui legend, Minghuang 明皇 (Emperor Xuanzong 肅宗) had a dream in which a demon stole his jade flute and his consort's perfume bag:

Then, instead of escaping, the strange being began frolicking around the palace grounds with the loot. Minghuang therefore approached him and demanded an explanation. The demon respectfully replied that his name was Xu Hao and explained that “Xu” stood for “stealing indiscriminately for the sake of fun” and “Hao” for “replacing man’s joys with sorrows.” Hearing this, the emperor became angry and wanted to call for his bodyguards. But at that very moment, a large-size demon, wearing a tattered hat, blue robe, horn waist-belt, and black boots appeared and nabbed the thief. Immediately afterwards, he proceeded first to gouge out the victim’s eyes, then tore him to pieces and finally ate him. When the emperor asked him who he was, the Demon Queller introduced himself as Zhong Kui, a *jinsshi* from Zhongnan, who, ashamed at having failed the next higher degree of examination during the Wude era (618–627), had committed suicide by dashing his head against the palace steps. He further mentioned that because the emperor Gaozu awarded him an honorable burial of a court official of the green-robe rank, he had vowed to rid the world of mischievous demons like Xu Hao. (FONG 1977, 427–28)

After waking, Minghuang called for the renowned artist Wu Daozi 吳道子 (eighth century) and asked him to paint a likeness of Zhong Kui. The accuracy of Wu’s painting is said to have impressed the emperor so much that he exclaimed, “You must have had a similar vision!”

During the Song period (907–1279) the historian and art connoisseur Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 (late eleventh century) recorded his observations of a painting, perhaps Wu Daozi’s original:

Of old, Wu Daozi painted a Zhong Kui dressed in a blue robe, wearing only one shoe, and with a squint eye In his left hand he was clutching a demon, while with his right hand he gouged out its

eye. The brushstrokes had an intense forcefulness, and the work was really a supreme masterpiece of painting. (SOPER 1951, 100)

Wu Daozi's original painting disappeared sometime before the Ming period (1368–1644), but his dramatic portrayal of the Demon Queller was imitated by generations of Chinese artists. Unfortunately, only a few of the early versions survive.²³ Chinese artists often elaborated on Wu's depiction to show a procession of demons marching at night under the command of Zhong Kui. Among such images are two handscroll paintings from the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368): "The night excursion of Zhong Kui" in the Cleveland Museum of Art and "Zhong Kui's Night Excursion" in the Freer Gallery of Art. The former of these, painted by Yan Hui 顏輝 (fl. ca. 1300), is described in a colophon dated to 1389, which reads:

Unrolling the scroll, I saw a small platoon of demons leading a procession. One is beating a drum; one is lifting a large rock; one is standing (on his hands) upside down and trying to drink; one walks while balancing a jar on his elbow. (Ho 1980, 111–12, entry 91)

The colophon continues, vividly detailing the outlandish, even comical, appearance of the demons in the Cleveland scroll.²⁴ At the end of the scroll, Yan Hui places Zhong Kui on the shoulders of three brawny demons, followed by a crew of ghoulish musicians making an ungodly cacophony.

The other handscroll, "Zhong Kui's night excursion," was painted by an artist named Gong Kai 龔開 (1222–1307).²⁵ While the event Gong depicts in this handscroll is ostensibly a nocturnal demon hunt by Zhong Kui and his sister, he seems to have been using the theme for the sake of parody. As Thomas LAWTON observes, Gong was probably expressing his unhappiness with the Mongol rulers of Yuan China:

On one level Gong Kai intended viewers who were loyal to the deposed Song regime to draw a parallel between Zhong Kui's ability to expel demons and their own deeply felt concern for ridding China of foreign rule. (1973, 145–46)²⁶

In both of the above Yuan handscrolls the ghouls are more amusing than frightening. By this time certain artists were evidently associating demons with comic relief, or even with social satire. It is not clear, however, when Chinese painters began to make light of ghoulish figures. If

the attribution of a picture of “Zhong Kui dancing” to the tenth-century monk-painter Zhiyun (tenth century) is correct, we can trace comical renderings of Zhong Kui — possibly accompanied by demons — to the Song dynasty or even earlier.²⁷ This leads us to wonder: If the first Japanese artist to depict the demon procession was inspired by a Chinese model, did he absorb the comical or satirical elements of the early Chinese rendering?²⁸

Although artists of both China and Japan were willing to poke fun at demons, there are several notable differences between the Chinese and the Japanese renderings of nocturnal parades. First, the Japanese *hyakki yakō* scrolls do not include Zhong Kui; and second, the demons in the respective country’s scrolls are of different types — those of China are usually demon-figures that are small, gnarled, and grotesque,²⁹ while those of Japan, as mentioned above, are often transfigured objects. Although both Chinese and Japanese artists produced a variety of demons, no examples of transfigured objects have been found in Chinese paintings of demon processions.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF TRANSFIGURED OBJECTS

Although it is not clear exactly when Japanese artists began to render the ghoulish participants of night parades as *tsukumogami*, it must have been well before the eighteenth century, when many such illustrations were already being made. This conjecture is substantiated not only by the Shinju-an scroll but by another sixteenth-century work, a pair of *emaki* in the possession of Sūfuku-ji 崇福寺 in Gifu Prefecture. These scrolls (referred to as the Sūfuku-ji scrolls) are thought to be the earliest surviving examples of the *tsukumogami emaki* genre (illustrated handscrolls of transfigured objects), a genre that is similar to the *hyakki yakō emaki* but that does not depict the *tsukumogami* in night parades.³⁰

The Sūfuku-ji scrolls, containing fourteen sections of illustration and fifteen sections of text, provide us with a great deal of information on the belief in *tsukumogami*. They tell of vengeful discarded objects that discover how to transform themselves into animate creatures and engage in a spree of violence, but then leave behind their evil ways, turn to spiritual pursuits, and attain Buddhahood.³¹ The introductory segment of text explains the uncanny nature of transfigured objects:

According to the *In’yō zakki* 陰陽雜記 [Miscellaneous records on yin and yang], there are tools and other objects that change into spirits after a span of one hundred years and often deceive people. These spirits are called *tsukumogami*. It is because of *susuharai* 煤払 [spring

cleaning] that people suffer the misfortune of the *tsukumogami*. At year's end families discard old furniture and utensils and pile them up at the side of the road. Then at New Year's — when it is time to renew the hearth fire and draw new water — the clothing, household utensils, and other objects transform in shape. They become angry at the extravagance of wealthy families. These *tsukumogami* should be treated with caution.³²

The illustration opens with a scene on an estate. A group of people, industriously engaged in cleaning, have tossed old tools and other objects in a heap just beyond the gate of the mansion. The second section of text begins:

Then, in the Kōhō era [964–68], the implements for *susuharai* and the other utensils from around the capital that had been piled at the side of the road got together and discussed matters, saying, “We have been tools in households here and there for years, and in exchange for our loyal service we have received no reward.”

The discarded utensils decide to seek revenge on humans for this inconsiderate treatment.

In the next section, the discarded items discuss techniques of transforming themselves into animate creatures. One member of the group is an ancient document referred to in the text as Kobun Sensei 古文先生 (The teacher of classics). Kobun Sensei, shown in the illustration as a handscroll stretched out on a reading table, explains to his cohorts that many transformations in the dualistic cosmic forces (yin and yang) occur on the last day of the year, and that on New Year's they can anticipate disappearing, then reappearing as animate beings. One of the objects, a rosary of Buddhist prayer beads, speaks out against the planned transformation, but the others drive him away. The fourth section of illustration shows the utensils in the strange new shapes they have assumed: some male and others female, some young and others old, some human and others animal.

The last three sections of the first Sūfuku-ji scroll are dedicated to scenes of karmic retribution exacted by the *tsukumogami*. The newly animated objects descend into Kyoto from their residence in the valley behind Mt Funaoka 船岡山 in the northern part of the capital. The *tsukumogami* take their revenge on humankind, at times even killing and feeding upon their victims and the domestic animals belonging to these people. In one illustration, a group of transfigured objects revel in their

diabolical spree, enjoying a banquet of human blood, which they sip from cups, and human flesh, piled on lacquer trays similar to the dinner service of elegant aristocrats.

In the second of the Sūfuku-ji scrolls there is a change of mood. In the first section *gohō dōji* 護法童子 (sacred boys) find the dwelling place of the *tsukumogami* and unleash their miraculous powers on the wayward spirits.³³ In the illustration, Buddhist symbols in the form of *rinbō* 輪宝 (sacred wheels) spin in the air, pursuing the transfigured objects.³⁴ Surrounded by flames, the *tsukumogami* surrender to the youths and agree to become Buddhist converts. The *tsukumogami* then meet together, agreeing to end their reign of terror.

The third section of the second Sūfuku-ji scroll relates how the repentant creatures seek out their former companion, the transfigured Buddhist rosary that had opposed their plans for revenge. This rosary had assumed a human form and taken the name Ichiren Shōnin 一蓮上人. Having chosen the path of Buddhism, Ichiren was living the life of a recluse deep in the mountains. The *tsukumogami* are pictured making their way along steep and arduous trails, finally finding Ichiren's hermitage, and begging him to speak to them on the details of Buddhist doctrine. The next scene features one of the transfigured objects in the act of taking priestly vows. He sits patiently as his head is shaved, while his companions cover their weeping eyes. Ichiren, who agrees to become the spiritual leader of the *tsukumogami*, recommends that they enter the Shingon sect of esoteric Buddhism.

In the final sections of the Sūfuku-ji scrolls, Ichiren and the other transfigured objects find ultimate spiritual fulfillment. They join the congregation of the temple Tōji 東寺, and Ichiren, at 108 years of age, achieves Buddhahood. Ichiren's enlightened form is as a Buddha seated on a lotus pedestal with beams of light emanating from his halo. The transfigured objects, after retiring to perform religious devotions in the mountains, eventually achieve Buddhahood as well. A happy ending to the story of the discarded objects is revealed in the last illustrated segment of the scroll, where the *tsukumogami* appear as a row of enlightened beings seated in meditation on lotus pedestals.³⁵

Another example of the *tsukumogami emaki* genre is a pair of scrolls in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum (see note 32 above). These *emaki* (called the TNM scrolls) contain many passages of text and illustration quite similar to those in the Sūfuku-ji scrolls, indicating that they are probably copies of the latter (KOMATSU 1979 reproduces segments of the illustrations [136–37] and all of the text [135–36]).³⁶ They also feature a similar well-developed narrative in which objects are

discarded, seek revenge, and then convert to Buddhism.

As mentioned above, the fact that the *hyakki yakō emaki* in Shinju-an and the *tsukumogami emaki* in Sūfuku-ji are both dated to the sixteenth century supports the hypothesis that belief in the transformation of old utensils into vengeful spirits was already widespread in late medieval Japan. The reference to Tōji in the Sūfuku-ji *tsukumogami emaki* may indicate that the scroll was composed by followers of this Shingon temple and that members of its clergy were attempting to expand their influence with this tale of *tsukumogami* that become Buddhas through the intercession of a monk associated with their temple.

The texts of both the Sūfuku-ji and TNM *tsukumogami emaki* suggest that the belief in man-made objects transforming into living spirits derives from Daoist sources on yin and yang.³⁷ While this is quite possible, it also seems likely that the belief is related to spiritual concepts — especially the notion of kami (divine powers) — formulated during the ancient and medieval periods of Japanese history. According to Shinto belief, kami express themselves in the human realm as natural objects like rocks, trees, and animals, and as man-made objects like tools and everyday artifacts.³⁸ Certain man-made objects are more commonly associated with divine possession, including mirrors, swords, shields, brooms, chests, pot hangers, dippers, mortars, straw sandals, and *gohei* 御幣 (staves with paper cuttings attached) (TAKEDA 1959, 163).³⁹ It is certainly more than coincidence that many of these very objects appear as *tsukumogami* in the *hyakki yakō* scrolls.

The belief in kami possessing man-made objects might seem at first quite different from the belief in objects transforming into vengeful spirits. However, Komatsu Katsuhiko points out that *tsukumogami* are one type of *yōkai* 妖怪 (monsters and evil creatures), and that all *yōkai* are kami. KOMATSU explains, “The kami do not always act in the interest of humans, and occasionally they bring bad fortune” (1986, 244). Good and bad kami are distinguished by their circumstances, not by their basic nature: good kami are divine powers that humans have deified and thus subjugated, while bad kami are those that humans do not worship and that therefore cannot be controlled. Komatsu also proposes that the spread of *tsukumogami* belief during medieval times may relate to the development of commerce and industry, one by-product of which was the greater production of tools. Perhaps because people were becoming more separated from nature with this increased production, they started to believe that tools not treated with respect would come to life and seek revenge. Many people in medieval Japan apparently believed that man-made objects can possess a spirit, and that tools must consequently be

handled with reverence. This attitude still survives, at least to some extent, as a number of twentieth-century sources show.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY FOLKLORE ON TRANSFIGURED OBJECTS

One contemporary indication of the Japanese reverence for man-made items is the widespread dissemination of folklore about transfigured objects. One example is a legend about discarded utensils haunting a temple. It is not clear how old this legend is, but when Seki Keigo compiled his findings on Japanese folklore in 1955 he noted that variants of the tale are found in thirteen prefectures, from Aomori Prefecture at the northern tip of Honshū to Ōita Prefecture in the southern island of Kyūshū (SEKI 1955, 1279–83). Seki records twenty-one versions of the legend, most of which are elaborations upon a basic tale of a man staying overnight at a temple, seeing strange creatures, and the next day learning that these were utensils that had been thrown away and then came to life.

One of the simpler versions is a tale from Aomori Prefecture, which tells of a man who spent a night at a *bakemono-dera* 化物寺 (haunted temple), intending to exorcise its demons. When it got dark the ghouls appeared, dancing and singing, “Old straw cape, old straw hat, old straw trunk, old bell, old drum, old hand drum.” The man put a mat on his head and danced around with the creatures. When the sun began to rise the ghouls took cover under an old black pillar. The man dug under the pillar and found hidden there a number of discarded articles, such as a cape and a hat, as well as some money. The man in this variant, as in many of the others, is a priest, a fact indicated by his powers of exorcism.

A tale from Iwate Prefecture has the *tsukumogami* assume the form of priests who flip their heads in their hands, while in a variant from Niigata Prefecture they identify themselves to a traveling priest as a mortar and wooden pestle and promise him a rich reward if he digs them up. In a Nagano Prefecture variant the demons identify themselves as transformations of a wooden pestle and three types of coins; the next day the priest in the tale digs under the veranda of the haunted temple and finds three jars filled with money.

These tales are obviously related to the legend associated with the Shinju-an scroll, and to the stories illustrated in the Spencer and Boone scrolls. All are variations on a common theme, a theme that spread across much of Japan, transformed by each new generation of storytellers.

CONTEMPORARY ATTITUDES ABOUT MAN-MADE OBJECTS IN JAPAN

The reverence for utensils that seems to lie at the heart of these Japanese legends may relate to the Japanese tradition of “cult-craft,” a term em-

ployed by Lafcadio HEARN:

It is tolerably safe to assume that most if not all of the guilds were at one time religiously organized, and that apprentices were adopted not only in a craft, but into a cult. There were corporations of weavers, potters, carpenters, arrow-makers, bow makers, smiths, boat builders, and other tradesmen; and the past religious organization of these is suggested by the fact that certain occupations assume a religious character even today. (1904, 139)

Each craft guild worshipped a tutelary deity, as did each household. Everyone admitted to a craft and everyone working in a household was required to handle tools and other associated objects with great care, so as not to insult the presiding deity. HEARN observes:

The servant could not dare to forget the presence of the deities of the cooking range, the hearth, the cauldron, the brazier . . . the sewing girl was taught to respect her needles . . . (and) in samurai families the warrior was commanded to consider his armour and his weapons as holy things. (1904, 169–70)

The belief that objects possess a spirit survives even today in Japan, as revealed in comments by the contemporary master carpenter Ōdate Toshio. In his article “The Soul of the Tool,” ŌDATE states, “For a *shokunin* 職人, a craftsman with skill, speed, and professional responsibility, tools aren’t just things; they have a soul” (1991, 3). Ōdate describes a ritual followed by Japanese craftsmen, dedicated to the spirits of their tools:

At the end of every year, the *shokunin* cleans and oils his tools. My master and I would honor our tools on New Year’s Eve [with a simple gesture that] was a traditional way of thanking the tools for their hard work on our behalf and for the crucial part they play in the *shokunin*’s life. (ŌDATE 1991, 3)⁴⁰

As Ōdate explains, the way in which craftsmen of the Edo period made swords illustrates perfectly the belief that utensils can have spirits.

The sword smiths of Edo Japan knew the soul of the tool. The sword, the Japanese say, is the soul of the samurai. Before the sword smith started his work, he purified his body and mind. He also

performed a ritual at his place of work to rid it of the evil spirits. During the forging process, while the sword smith folded the steel thousands of times, he wove his spirit into the sword blade. (ŌDATE 1991, 6)

There seems to be a contradiction here between the sword as the “soul of the samurai” and the sword as an object “woven with the spirit of the swordsmith”; nevertheless, Ōdate indicates that the “soul of a tool” results, at least in part, from the maker imbuing the object with his or her own soul. Similarly, the belief that tools can possess spirits may stem from the intimate or intensely personal ways in which men and women used such implements year after year. Perhaps the protracted use of such objects led people to consider the objects as extensions of their own life or their own soul.

The fact that some people in Japan continue to view tools as treasured objects — objects with spirits of their own — is also revealed in comments by Yamaguchi Masatomo, an industrial designer living in Tokyo. In his 1982 essay, “How to Tell Your Vacuum Cleaner ‘Sayonara,’” YAMAGUCHI writes:

There is a “senior citizens home” for old appliances and furniture at our industrial design center. After I once wrote that we keep appliances there, people sent us rice cookers and sewing machines they had used for 35–50 years. The former owners said things like, “I feel sorry for it and didn’t want to throw it away.” Some attached detailed work resumes to their appliances. One even mentioned the names of children who had been raised on a certain rice cooker. (1982, 103)

To deal humanely with old utensils and household items, YAMAGUCHI recommends:

Funeral orations in praise of meritorious service would make us reflect on the role of appliances as man’s helpers. Such farewell speeches would probably inspire the next generation of gadgets and machines to more selfless service. (1982, 103)

While Yamaguchi is apparently speaking tongue-in-cheek here, his suggestion that old tools should be carefully laid to rest — not heartlessly discarded in garbage heaps — testifies to a respect for utensils that has long pervaded Japanese society. Related to this is another Japanese cus-

tom that survives to this day, the custom of disposing of certain old utensils and personal items, such as combs and needles, at designated temples in order that they be properly “laid to rest.”

CONCLUSION

In the final analysis, there is no simple explanation for the “night processions of a hundred demons.” It is clear that Japanese artists have been painting demon scrolls for at least four hundred years, and that artists commonly portrayed parading demons as transfigured objects. A number of different factors must be taken into account in assessing why demon parades were popular in illustrations for so many centuries and why the demons so often appear as *tsukumogami*. This is a complex tradition that has been shaped and reshaped by changing beliefs and social conditions, and altered to suit the interests of different audiences. One demon-parade scroll may have appealed to an audience as colorful folklore, while another may have appealed to a different audience as a satire on members of some other social group.

It is likely that humor, satire, and folklore all contributed to the enduring appeal of this theme. Also important were the cult-craft traditions of Japan, which contributed to the belief that man-made objects can become animated. Each of these factors is significant, and all must be considered in explaining why *hyakki yakō* scrolls populated by transfigured objects were produced so often over a period of so many years. Anyone attempting to find a simple, uncomplicated rationale for the *hyakki yakō emaki* will be frustrated. Understanding a theme of such lasting popularity requires us to accept ambiguity and look beyond the conventional boundaries of scholarly disciplines.

NOTES

I greatly appreciate the assistance of Miyeko Murase and Matthew McKelway in translating passages of the *hyakki yakō emaki* in the Spencer Collection. I would also like to thank Melinda Takeuchi, Carolyn Moore, and Karen Gerhart for their suggestions on this article.

1. Kurokawa Mayori mentions records of several early *hyakki yakō emaki*, including two long-lost works. One is a scroll dated to 1316 and the other is a fragment that can be dated to between 1307 and 1320. Kurokawa attributes these two scrolls, and nine others on the same theme, to Tosa 土佐 artists, indicating that the *hyakki yakō* theme was associated in early Japanese tradition with the Tosa school (KUROKAWA 1910–11, 176–77). Although the two fourteenth-century scrolls mentioned by Kurokawa are among the earliest known handscrolls of this subject, many scholars have suggested that the first *hyakki yakō* scroll probably dates back to the late twelfth century (KOMATSU 1979, 134–35; TAKEUCHI 1987, 8).

2. Two Japanese words are read *tsukumogami*. One — the *tsukumogami* referred to in this paper — is written 付喪神, which means something to the effect of “divine spirit of joined mourning” (identified here as “transfigured object” in keeping with the nature of the

creature as described in texts). The other *tsukumogami* is written 九十九髮, literally meaning “hair of ninety-nine,” referring to the white hair of a person ninety-nine years old. The latter reading of *tsukumogami* suggests long life and the special spiritual power that a person of great age acquires. Since the transfigured-object *tsukumogami* are said to arise from ninety-nine-year-old tools, there appears to be a connection between the two meanings. Perhaps in ancient Japan people used the same Chinese characters to refer to both old people and the spirits of old tools, but in later years a second set of Chinese characters was invented to differentiate the latter from the former.

It should be noted that not all *hyakki yakō emaki* feature *tsukumogami*. In some scrolls there are no transfigured objects, while in others they are just one of several types of demonic creatures. For example, a book of *hyakki yakō* published in 1776 by Toriyama Sekien 鳥山石燕 (1713–1788) includes a great variety of ghosts and demons; the bizarre creatures in this book served as models for many later printmakers and painters.

3. In this paper I use the term *hyakki yakō emaki* to refer to all scrolls in which demon night parades are the central feature, even when these scrolls are populated largely, or even exclusively, by *tsukumogami*. The term *tsukumogami emaki* refers to scrolls featuring *tsukumogami*, but the creatures in these scrolls are not depicted in night parades (see pages 21–25)

4. The Shinju-an *hyakki yakō emaki* is a single handscroll, painted with ink, color, and gold on paper. For illustrations, see KOMATSU 1979, 70–91. It is not clear when or under what circumstances this scroll entered the collection of Shinju-an. According to HIGASHINO (1965, 196), there is a document indicating that the scroll already belonged to the Shinju-an collection in the early nineteenth century, but this document is not known to the author.

5. Although the Shinju-an scroll is the oldest known example of a *hyakki yakō emaki*, it is not the oldest example of *tsukumogami* illustrations. The fourteenth-century *Fudō riyaku engi* 不動利益縁起 [Legends of Fudō answering prayers] in Shōjōke-in 清浄華院, Kyoto, includes a scene with two transfigured objects. They are not on parade, though, and they do not form the main theme of the scroll.

6. Although most of the sixty-some creatures in the Shinju-an scroll are easily identifiable as *tsukumogami*, a few are difficult to see as such. Among the demons that are difficult to associate with man-made objects are a female demon in pink and blue who walks with her tongue sticking out and a long-nosed, double-horned demon at the end of the scroll scampering away from the sun. These two demons may, however, be transformations of the clothes they wear.

7. As mentioned in note 1, several scholars believe that the original *hyakki yakō* scroll was painted in the twelfth century. If so, it is more likely that the Shinju-an scroll is based on an earlier work, now lost.

8. Smith mentions in a footnote that he learned of this legend from a certain Governor Hattori, perhaps referring to Hattori Unokichi 服部宇之吉 (1867–1939), former professor of Chinese studies at Tokyo University (SMITH 1908, 61–64). I have not been able to locate this particular tale in other compilations of Japanese legends; however, there are numerous similar tales told across Japan, as is discussed later in this article.

9. HIGASHINO concludes his analysis of the Shinju-an scroll with apparent exasperation, stating, “In short, there is absolutely nothing known about this work. . . . [Even] its content is incomprehensible. The only thing I do know is that the artist was unusual and the work is thrilling” (1965, 196).

10. This piece is a single scroll, painted with ink, color, and gold on paper. For reproductions of the illustrations, see MURASE 1986, 134. No date is inscribed, but the painting style suggests that it should be assigned to an artist of late nineteenth-century Japan. At the end of the scroll there is a signature reading “Shikibu Shōjō Sugawara Tamechika kore o zusu” 式部少丞菅原為恭因之, indicating that this artist may have been Okada Tamechika 岡田為恭 (1823–1864), famous for his revival-style paintings based on classical Japanese art.

However, a note attached to the end of the scroll by an unidentified person claims that the signature is forged. This claim is supported by the fact that the style of the painting is slightly different from that of other works by Tamechika.

11. The demons in the third through the sixth illustrated segments of the Spencer scroll are very close in appearance and arrangement to the demons in the Shinju-an scroll.

12. This is a single handscroll, painted in ink, color, and gold on silk. An inscription at the end of the scroll dates it to 1918. For the illustrations see ARATA and MOORE 1987, 12–13.

Egawa Buson (also known as Shigetoshi 茂利) was an artist of the Meiji and Taishō periods (1867–1925) who worked in the *nihonga* genre. He was from Ibaraki Prefecture, and studied art under Terasaki Kōgyō 寺崎広業 (1866–1919) and Komuro Suiun 小室翠雲 (1874–1945).

13. Approximately one-half of the demons in the Boone scroll are clearly identifiable as transfigured objects, all of which are similar to creatures in the Shinju-an scroll. The remaining demons in the Boone scroll are either slightly altered variations of Shinju-an demons or are completely different in form.

14. The *Rekirin mondōshū* consists of two volumes and is dated 1414 in the author's preface. ZOKU GUNSHO RUIJŪ KANSEIKAI 1961, 172. See also KOMATSU 1979, 126.

15. The *Ōkagami* includes legendary stories about the life of Fujiwara Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1027). Morosuke was the grandfather of Michinaga.

16. The *Konjaku monogatari shū* is the largest collection of Japanese tales and anecdotes, consisting of thirty-one volumes and containing about 1,050 stories. YAMADA 1957–68, 335–37.

17. The diary of Fujiwara Yorinaga 藤原頼長 (1120–1156). Yorinaga was an avid collector of Chinese texts, many of which were on supernatural themes like demons. The entry from the *Taiki* on the demons is dated the fifth day of the fifth month of 1144 (FUJIWARA 1965, 121).

18. Ōe Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041–1111), a scholar and statesman of the Heian period. This entry is from volume three of the *Gōdanshō*. The text is thought to date from the early twelfth century. See KUROKAWA 1914, 359.

19. Although this tale may seem comparable to the story told by Smith concerning the origin of the Shinju-an scroll, an important difference is the fact that not one of these demons is described as a *tsukumogami*.

20. *Konjaku monogatari shū*, chapter 27, section 19.

21. Melinda TAKEUCHI considers the possibility of a Chinese source for the *hyakki yakō*, and she notes that “no scholar has yet made the connection between the theme of the nocturnal parade of demons and an episode in the Chinese legend of Zhong Kui” (1987, 8).

22. The original Zhong Kui legend was probably close to a tale told in a sixteenth-century text, the *Tianzhongji*, which reportedly quotes from a lost text, the *Tangyishi*. FONG translates this tale (1977, 427–28) from CHEN (1964, 118).

23. FONG mentions a number of records of early Chinese paintings of Zhong Kui, and concludes that the early works adhered to Wu Daozi's iconography (1977, 428–29). By the twelfth century, Chinese artists had depicted Zhong Kui so often that renderings of him were given a category of their own in the *Xuanhe hua pu*, an official catalogue of paintings. *Xuanhe hua pu* (preface dated 1120) 1, in chapter 41 of the *I shu congbian* 藝術叢編. For centuries, paintings of the Demon Queller were produced in China around the lunar New Year and hung in homes to rid them of demons (LITTLE 1988, 35).

24. This colophon is no longer attached to the scroll of “The Night Excursion of Zhong Kui.” A catalogue of the Ye Kongzhuo Collection maintains that the colophon was removed and added to another scroll of Zhong Kui's night procession. The Cleveland scroll was at one time referred to as “The Lantern Night Excursion of Zhong Kui,” but, as Howard Rogers points out, no lanterns are shown and Zhong Kui was not associated with the lantern festival (LITTLE 1988, 35). For a reproduction of this scroll see LITTLE 1988, 34–

35 and Ho 1980, 111–12.

25. In his inscription on this scroll, Gong Kai writes,

My Lord of the Whiskers [Zhong Kui] dwelt on Zhong Mountain.
 When he mounted [for this] journey where did he go?
 It is said he made a small hunt without dogs or falcons,
 And thought he would take his household with him.
 His young sister's beautiful face was painted and
 Of the five-colored cosmetics black was the best.

(LAWTON 1973, 144)

A number of Chinese artists are said to have painted scenes of the Demon Queller in the company of his sister, including the two tenth-century artists Zhou Wenju 周文矩 and Shi Ke 石格. FONG notes that many Chinese scholars have attempted to explain why the two are painted together by citing the story of Song Zhongque, whose sister was named Zhong Kui, but adds that this “does not seem to make sense” (1977, 429). The reason thus remains unclear, as does the reason why the Demon Queller is sometimes shown with another female figure identified as his wife (mentioned, for example, in a colophon transcribed in Chen Bangyan, *Lidai ti hua shilei* [1708]; chapter 66, 5b and 6a). For a reproduction of Gong Kai's handscroll, see LAWTON 1973, 142–44.

26. Lawton also notes that the demon Gong Kai refers to in his inscription probably represents Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (?–756), the concubine of Minghuang. The jade flute mentioned in the inscription seems to allude not only to a flute that the demon Xu Hao stole in Minghuang's dream, but also to the jade flute of Prince Ning stolen by Yang Guifei. LAWTON writes:

Considering the several layers of interpretation that Yuan dynasty artists often incorporated into their paintings, it is conceivable that, aside from having political overtones, the Freer handscroll might also be seen as a parody on the travels of Yang Guifei and Tang Minghuang, perhaps even a reference to their flight to Shu in 756. (1973, 145–46)

There is also a Yuan-dynasty poem in which the theme of Zhong Kui is used for the sake of parody. This is the long poem written by Sa Dula 薩都拉 (1308–post 1388) in 1339 for a painting by Ma Lin 馬麟 (early to mid-thirteenth century). As Stephen LITTLE comments:

[Sa Dula implies] that despite Zhong Kui's successful eradication of the demon who had disturbed Minghuang's sleep, Minghuang himself still met his doom because of the living, mortal demons within the palace (An Lushan and Yang Guifei). (1985, 32)

27. Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 in his *Tu hua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞志 mentions Zhiyun's “Zhong Kui dancing,” as well as another tenth-century work that appears to have been humorous in nature: “Zhong Kui playing *weiqi*” by Zhao Yan 趙巖 (dates unknown). See SOPER 1951, 27 and 39.

28. An in-depth explanation of the humorous and satirical implications of demon portrayal in Chinese and Japanese painting is beyond the scope of this paper, although it is an issue that certainly deserves further analysis. See TAKEUCHI 1987; DEGUCHI 1985; and THOMPSON and HAROOTUNIAN 1991, 82.

29. There are, of course, variations in the Chinese renderings of demons, but the most characteristic type — including many of those painted by Gong Kai and Yan Hui — is sinewy and hideous in countenance. This type of demon may derive from Central Asian renderings — as a number of scholars have pointed out, the demons painted by Gong Kai and Yan Hui are comparable to the figure of a “dancing demon” found in a fragment of an

Uighurian manuscript from Qoco (Khocho), now in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. The rippling muscles, the clearly articulated rib cage, the bare feet, and the bizarre facial expression of the dancing demon all resemble the features of the demons portrayed by Gong Kai and Yan Hui. Moreover, the demon is naked except for a loincloth, like the two fiendish characters that trail after Zhong Kui in the scroll by Gong Kai, as well as the majority of demons painted by Yan Hui. BUSSAGLI notes that the figure of the dancing demon is rendered in Chinese style but that it illustrates an Indian concept of the monstrous, and that “it has the neat curves and descriptive precision found in so many other Buddhist visions of the terrifying and infernal” (1979, 104).

The date of the fragment is not certain; some scholars place it in the eighth or ninth century, but Stephen Little puts it sometime between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, suggesting that it may have been produced contemporaneously with Gong Kai’s handscroll (LITTLE 1985, 35; for a reproduction of the fragment see BUSSAGLI 1979, 108).

30. The Sūfuku-ji *tsukumogami emaki* are painted with ink and color on paper (for a reproduction of the illustrations see OKUDAIRA 1982, 128–40; the text is transcribed in OKUDAIRA 1982, 180–87). The scrolls are said to have been kept for an extended period in the collection of Hōrin-in 宝輪院 of Tōji. The illustrated sections of these scrolls have long been attributed to the painter Kakuyū 覺猷 (also known as Toba Sōjō 鳥羽僧正, 1053–1140), who is credited with painting the famous first scroll in the *chōjū jinbutsu giga* 鳥獸人物戯画 [illustrated handscrolls of animal caricatures] in Kōzan-ji. This attribution is almost certainly apocryphal.

31. The Sūfuku-ji scrolls belong to a form of representation referred to as *hijō jōbutsu-e* 非情成仏絵 (illustrations of inanimate objects’ attainment of Buddhahood).

32. Parts of the text are illegible due to damage suffered by the scrolls over the years. However, nearly identical passages are found in another *tsukumogami emaki* in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum. I have filled in the missing sections of the Sūfuku-ji text with sections from the text of the better-preserved Tokyo National Museum scrolls.

Susuharai refers to the housecleaning traditionally performed just before New Year in Japan, meant to sweep away the accumulation of impurities and to welcome the return of divine forces.

33. *Dōji* are divine youths of Buddhist lore, associated with spiritual powers such as rejuvenation.

34. The *rinbō* is a symbol of the Indian *cakravartin*, an idealized world-emperor.

35. Shimbo Toru 真保享 mentions another pair of *tsukumogami emaki* similar to the Sūfuku-ji scrolls, although he says that their location is unknown. At the beginning of the second of these scrolls is a scene, not found in the Sūfuku-ji scrolls, of an attack by a horde of demons on the procession of an unnamed *kampaku* 関白 (chief advisor to the emperor). The demons are driven off by a charm containing the *Sonshō Dhārani*, as in the tale about Fujiwara Morosuke mentioned above (OKUDAIRA 1982, 87–88).

36. There are, however, slight variations in the scrolls. Most noticeable is the fact that the text of the TNM scrolls is more abbreviated than that of the Sūfuku-ji scrolls.

37. The possible Daoist influence on the formation of the belief in *tsukumogami* is an intriguing issue that deserves further study, but that must wait for another time.

38. For a discussion of the varieties of divine possession in ancient Japanese belief, see FAIRCHILD 1962.

39. *Gohei* have been used in Japanese rituals since ancient times. They are planted in the ground around shrines and other sacred places, and are apparently associated with the concept of the tree of life. At times, *gohei* were referred to as *mitogura* 幣, indicating a place where the gods could descend.

40. Ōdate elaborates on this simple gesture, saying that he and his master would honor their tools “by placing some small pieces of rice paper [or *washi*?] on the toolbox, and on the paper two royal fern leaves. Then we placed two rice cakes on the fern leaves, the larger one

on the bottom. On top of everything we placed a tangerine, and then we placed the toolbox in the *tokonoma*, a special place in a Japanese house for decorative things, like paintings and scrolls" (ŌDATE, 1991, 3).

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