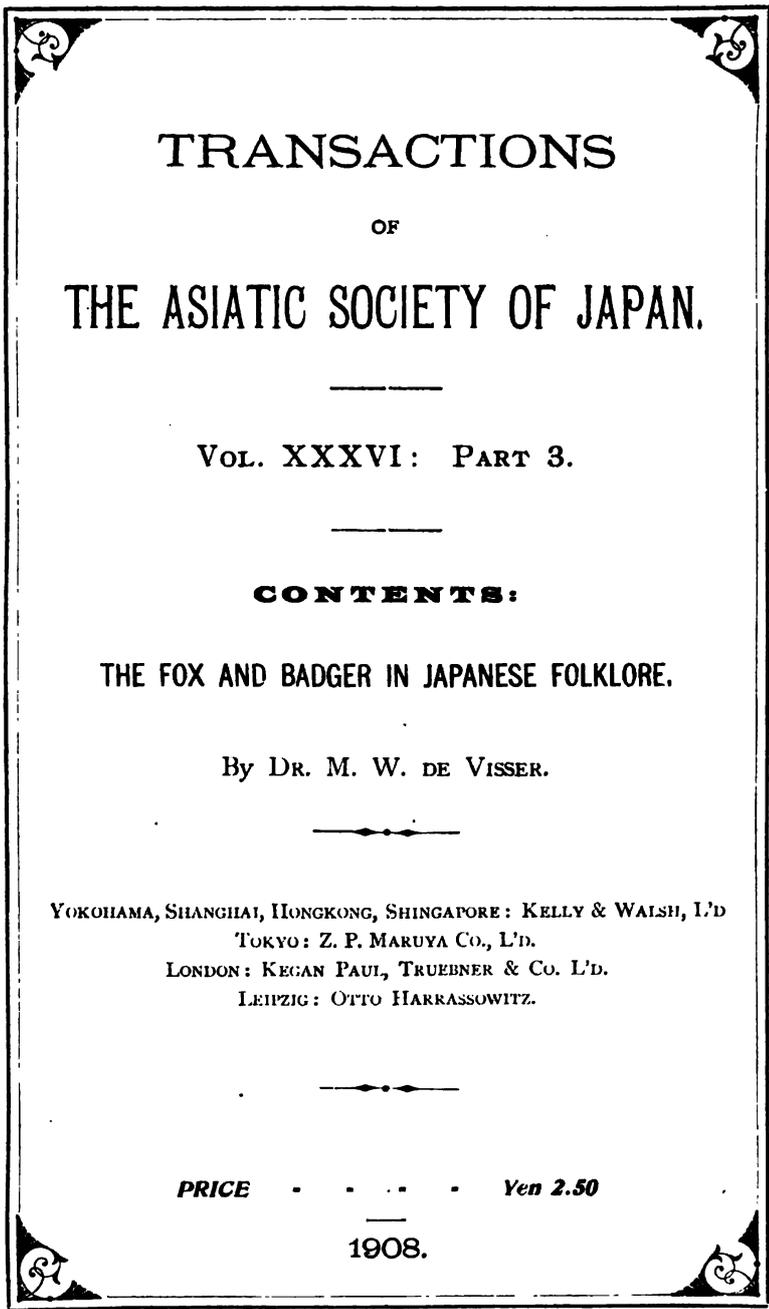


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AMST. 21. 1908



TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

VOL. XXXVI: PART 3.

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THE FOX AND BADGER IN JAPANESE FOLKLORE.

By DR. M. W. DE VISSER.

YOKOHAMA, SHANGHAI, HONGKONG, SHINGAPORE: KELLY & WALSH, L'D
TOKYO: Z. P. MARUYA Co., L'D.
LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRUEBNER & Co. L'D.
LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.

PRICE Yen 2.50

1908.

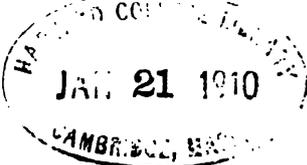
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THE FOX AND THE BADGER IN JAPANESE FOLKLORE.

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From olden times down to the present day the fox has played the most important part in Japanese animal-lore. This clever brute is considered to be more skillful than any other animal in taking human shape and haunting and possessing men. Moreover, the fox is the messenger of Inari, the Rice goddess, which, as we shall see below, is only a later expression of the fact that Inari, the Spirit of the Rice, was believed to have a vulpine shape. It is clear that this belief gave the fox a double character in the eyes of the Japanese people: that of a beneficent god, representing the Rice, the greatest blessing of the country, and, on the other hand, that of a wicked demon, haunting and possessing men.

Not so important and complicated is the badger, of whose three kinds, the *tanuki* (狸), *mujina* (貉) and *mami* (獾), the first is the principal in folklore and is very often combined with the fox in the term *kori* (狐狸), or "foxes and badgers."¹

1. In Chinese the two characters were sometimes combined, with the meaning "foxes" only. So we find in *Shen shen ki* (摛神記) of YÜ PAO (于寶), a work of the fourth century, referred to by Professor DE GROOT (*Religious System of China*, Vol. IV, p. 191), the combined term 狐狸, and even the single character 狸, used in the sense of simply "foxes." This explains why according to BAKIN (*Enseki zasshi*, Ch. V, nr 2, p. 11) the same legend was told about a *tanuki* instead of foxes in the Chinese work *Tai ping kwang ki* (太平廣記), written in the tenth century. It is remarkable that INOUE ENRYŌ, who quotes YÜ PAO's tale (*Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, IV, pp. 183 sqq.) should give a quite different text although the story is the same. According to his quotation it was a single spotted fox which changed itself into a student, and the character 狸 does not occur in the text. The zoological name of the *tanuki* is "canis procynoides," the "Raccoon dog," but, as it is generally known under the name "badger," we use this term for both *tanuki* and *mujina*.

The tanuki as well as the mujina can change themselves into men and haunt and possess mankind, but they are not so skillful or dangerous as the fox, since they lack the divinity which gives this animal such a special position in the world of superstition.

There is a very logical reason for the double and contradictory character of the fox in Japan. As stated at the beginning of my paper on the Tengu¹, China's influence on Japanese folklore is enormous. We shall soon see that the Chinese ideas about the fox have all been taken up by this docile people, and we shall be able to draw a sharp line between original and borrowed property. The original is the divine rice spirit and perhaps the fox-sorcery, the borrowed is all the rest.

CHAPTER I.

The fox in China.

It is again from Professor DE GROOT'S "*Religious System of China*" that we get ample information on this subject. We read there²: "KOH HUNG says in the *Pao P'oh-tszé*³: 'Foxes and wolves may all attain an age of eight hundred years, and when more than five hundred years old, they are able to metamorphose themselves into beings shaped like men.'"

In the chapter entitled "Werefoxes"⁴ DE GROOT quotes four tales from YÜ PAO'S *Shen shen ki*⁵, a work written in the first decades of the fourth century⁶. The first story⁷ tells about

1. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI.

2. Vol. IV, p. 182.

3. 抱朴子, a work of the fourth century, Ch. I, Sect. 3. Here we find again 狐狸 combined.

4. Vol. IV, pp. 188-196.

5. See above p. 1, note 1.

6. Comp. Vol. IV, p. 78, note 1.

7. Vol. IV, p. 188.

a man who had run away and was found in an empty grave. To quote further from DE GROOT's translation: "His shape is quite that of a fox, and does not in any respect correspond to the human form, and no other sounds does he utter but O-tszě (阿紫, red), which is a name for foxes. After ten days or so he gradually recovers consciousness, and then he relates the following: 'When the fox came to me for the first time, it assumed the shape of a lovely woman in a fowl-house standing in a hidden corner of my dwelling. She told me she bore the name of O-tszě, and called me; and when she had done so more than once, I followed her, and she became my wife. At night I frequently accompanied her to her dwelling, without being perceived by the dogs we met; the pleasures I enjoyed with her were incomparably delightful.' A Taoist doctor declared that vixen to be a mountain-devil. The 'Description of Famous Mountains'¹ says that the fox is a lewd wife, who lived in remotest times and bore the name of O-tszě; she adopted the fox shape, and hence it is that such spooks often call themselves O-tszě."

The second tale², quoted also in a different form³ by INOUE⁴, speaks about two foxes, over a thousand years old, which lived in the tomb of a king. They transformed themselves into youthful students with extraordinary capacities and fine features, who, mounted on horseback, went to a very talented minister to argue with him, against the warning of the spirit of the glorification tree which stood before the tomb. When the minister could not checkmate them for the space of three days, he got suspicious and tempted them with dogs, but they did not show the slightest fear. "To be sure," he exclaimed, "they are spectres of the true sort. If a hundred years old, they must change their shape at the sight of hounds;

1. 名山記.

2. Vol. IV, p. 189.

3. Comp. above p. 1, note 1.

4. *Yokwaigaku kōgi*, 妖怪學講義, Vol. IV, p. 183.

if they are spooks of a thousand years, they must change when fire produced by an animated tree of the same old age shines on them." So he sent some servants to the tomb in order to fell the glorification tree. They found the spirit of the tree—a young child in blue garments—sitting in a cavity in the tree's side, and when this spirit heard concerning the matter, he wept and lamented the ignorance of the old foxes and his own fate, whereupon he vanished. Then when the servants felled the tree, blood gushed forth from it. They took the wood home and kindled it, whereupon it caused the foxes to turn into their own shape again. They were then caught and cooked by the minister.

The third story¹ runs as follows. A devout monk, who passed the night in a grave copse, saw in the moonlight a wild fox placing withered bones and a skull upon its head, and when the animal after some practice succeeded in moving its head without dropping them, it covered its body with grass and leaves and changed into a beautiful woman. Staying by the road-side she deluded a man, who passed by on horseback, by her weeping and sad story, so that he was about to take her with him on his horse, when the monk came out of the grave copse and warned him that it was a fox. The monk, making a mystic sign (*mudra*) with his fingers, uttering a genuine formula (*dhārani*), and brandishing his crosier, caused the woman to fall down, change into an old vixen and expire. Nothing remained on the body of the fox but the dry bones with the skull, the grass and the leaves.

In the fourth legend² a hoary-headed learned man, whose name was *Hu*³, and who once suddenly disappeared, was discovered by his students in the shape of an old fox, explaining a book to a pack of foxes, drawn up in files before him in an empty grave.

1. Vol. IV, p. 192, comp. *INOUE*, I.I. IV, p. 186.
 2. Vol. IV, p. 195; quoted by *INOUE*, I.I. IV, p. 185.
 3. 胡, pronounced in the same way as 狐, fox.

Vol. IV, p. 194 of DE GROOT refers to the *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*¹, where we read: "It is an old saying that the wild fox bears the name of Tszë, Red (紫). At night he strikes fire out of his tail. When he desires to appear as a spook, he puts a human skull on his head and salutes the Great Bear constellation, and the transformation is then effected as soon as the skull ceases to fall."

On the same page we find a story from the *I yuen*² concerning a man who always had a rank smell about him and until his death had a great fear of dogs. His body disappeared out of his coffin, whereupon everybody said that he had been a fox.

In Vol. IV, p. 202 we read: "As well as the fox and the stag, the monkey is notorious in Chinese mythology for embracing sometimes, in a human shape, Buddhist religious life and asceticism."

In the Chapter on Demonology in Vol. V of the same work DE GROOT devotes many pages³ to the fox demons. "Already in ancient China," he says, "the fox was in bad repute as portending or causing evil, for we read in the *Shi king*⁴: 'Nothing here is red but evil foxes, nothing black but evil crows.' CHU HI comments upon this verse in these words: 'The fox was an ill-boding animal which men disliked to see. The fact that there was nothing to see except those animals, proved that the kingdom was about to be imperilled and thrown into confusion.' In the third century before our era it was CHWANG-TSZË who gave evidence of the prevalence of the belief in ill-boding foxes. 'In a hillock of not more than a *pu* or a *ju* in size,' he wrote, 'no large beasts conceal themselves, but evil foxes there give their omens.'"

"The Standard Histories of the third and the fourth centuries of our era frequently refer to the fox as the cause of

1. 酉陽雜俎, a book of the eighth century, ch. 15.

2. 異苑, a work of the fifth century, written by LIU KING-SHUI, 劉敬叔.

3. Pp. 576-600.

4. 詩經, "Canon of Odes," Section 邶風, ode 16.

insanity, disease, and even of death." They entered into men so as to change them into raving lunatics¹ and were harbingers of disaster in general². The howling of a fox predicted evil, for example the collapse of a house, and a dream about a fox which crept under his couch and on being seized became invisible, caused a sovereign of the sixth century to build a seven-storied pagoda in order to avert the evil, but ere it was finished it burned down with such rapidity that a great number of people perished in the flames³.

"The legends of fox-demons show that in all times the dangerousness of those beings was deemed to consist in the first place in that, like spectres of all classes, they caused disease and madness, sometimes acting in a spirit of revenge, but mostly from mere unprovoked malignity."⁴

As in YÜ PAO's tales, so in all ages, down to the present day, foxes were believed to change themselves especially into charming maids, with the object of tempting men to sexual intercourse. It was principally in the T'ang dynasty that the belief in bewitching were-vixens⁵ was prominent.

Further, DE GROOT quotes the *Huen chung ki*⁶, which states the following: "When a fox is fifty years old, it can transform itself into a woman; when a hundred years old, it becomes a beautiful female, or a *wu*, possessed by a spirit⁷, or a grown-up man who has sexual intercourse with women. Such beings are able to know things at more than a thousand miles distance; they can poison men by sorcery, or possess and bewilder them, so that they lose their memory and knowledge. And when a fox is a thousand years old, it penetrates to heaven, and becomes a celestial fox (天狐)."

1. Vol. V, p. 578.

2. Vol. V, p. 580.

3. Vol. V, p. 581.

4. Vol. V, p. 582.

5. *Hu-mei*, 狐媚, Vol. V, p. 587.

6. 玄中記, a work which existed before the sixth century and is also referred to by INOUE, I.I. IV, p. 183.

7. Shen, 神巫; *wu* is a sorceress, a spiritual medium.

On pp. 590 sqq. we read about foxes taking the shape of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, just as the Tengu of Japan did in olden times ; and on pp. 593 sq. mention is made of a *mysterious pearl* which were-foxes are believed to possess and which probably represents their soul. They hold this pearl in their mouths, and any man who gets possession of it becomes a favourite of the whole world.

Besides appearing as human spectres, foxes set houses on fire, holding fire in their paws, and deprive men of their hair.¹ As to the means of unmasking were-foxes, this can be done by wounding or killing them or setting dogs upon them, in which cases they are forced to re-assume the vulpine form. Incantations, checkmating them in discussion if they appear as scholars or saints, poisonous food, written charms and the cutting off of the tail or what resembles a caudal appendage, which sometimes betrays their real nature, all these are means for making them take again their original shape.²

Not only by the use of human skulls and bones did foxes transform themselves into men, but also by swallowing written charms or pronouncing spells. As they were such dangerous creatures, they were always very much persecuted in China, especially by means of fire, so that the Code of Laws of the Ming and Ts'ing dynasties forbids damaging graves by smoking foxes thereout.³

The Japanese authors refer also to other Chinese books, among which the following give interesting information. The *Shan hai king*⁴, quoted by BAKIN⁵, says : " In the Ts'ing k'iu (青丘) mountains there are *nine-tailed foxes*, which like to devour men. Those who eat these foxes are not haunted by them." And in another passage of the same work we read :

1. Vol. V, pp. 595 sq., p. 598.

2. Vol. V, pp. 599 sqq.

3. Vol. V, p. 600. A similar provision is to be found already in the Japanese Law of the year 702, as we will see below.

4. 山海經, a very old classic.

5. *Enscki zasshi*, 燕石雜誌, (1810), Ch. I, p. 26.

“In the land of Ts'ing k'iu there are nine-tailed foxes. If there is a virtuous Emperor, they appear at once.” An interesting Chinese legend about a nine-tailed fox that changed itself into a woman, called Tah Fei¹, and tempted King Cheu² to crimes which caused the ruin of the Shang dynasty in B.C. 1122. It reminds us of a similar old Chinese legend according to which the Western Cheu dynasty was ruined in B.C. 781 by a transformed fox called Pao Sz'³, the favourite concubine of King Yiu⁴, and which was afterwards transformed into the famous Japanese story about *Tamamo-no-mae*⁵, the concubine of the Emperor Konoe or Toba in the twelfth century of our era.

In order to prove that the appearance of a nine-tailed fox was considered a *lucky* omen by the Chinese, BAKIN quotes the work entitled “*Lü shü ch'un ts'in*”⁶. We read there the following: The Emperor Yü⁷ was not yet married in his thirtieth year. Once he went to T'u shan (塗山); the inhabitants of that place expressed the fear that, being not yet married notwithstanding his age, he would have no descendants. But Yü said: ‘There will certainly occur a good omen when the time comes that I ought to marry.’ When behold a white nine-tailed fox suddenly approached him, and the Emperor said: ‘White is my colour, and the nine tails are a sign of many descendants.’ Thereupon a man of T'u shan recited the following verse: ‘The nine-tailed fox is a sign of a good wife and of the great prosperity of my country.’ The result was that the Emperor took a wife from that place.”

1. 妲己.

2. 紂王.

3. 褒姒.

4. 幽王.

5. 玉藻前. See below the *Kagakushū*, 下學集, (1444), *Nikkenroku*, 日件錄, (1453), etc.

6. 呂氏春秋, written by 呂不韋食客, “The guests of Lü PUH-WEI,” in the Ts'in dynasty, B.C. 249-206. Comp. WYLIE, *Notes on Chinese literature*, p. 157, and DE GROOT, II., Vol. II, p. 685.

7. 禹, the founder of the Hsia dynasty (2205-1766, B.C.).

In the *Ts'ien K'ioh-kü lei shu*¹ we read KWOH P'OH'S² praise of nine-tailed foxes, which runs as follows: "In Ts'ing k'iu³ is a strange animal; it is a nine-tailed fox. If the government is good, it appears with a book in its mouth. In the time of WEN⁴, of the Cheu dynasty⁵, such a fox with a book appeared as a good omen." And WANG PAO⁶ says: "At the time of King Wen a nine-tailed fox appeared; and all the Eastern barbarians submitted."

In the *Shōkan zakki*⁷ a passage is quoted from the Chinese work *Pao Poh-tszē*, to which DE GROOT refers in Vol. IV, p. 182⁸. He says: "A fox lives 800 years. When he is 300 years old, he takes human shape. At night he strikes fire out of his tail, and placing a skull upon his head he bows towards the Great Bear; if the skull does not fall, the fox changes into a man."

We find a fox playing the part of a protector in the *Shen heu ki*⁹. It is a fox of a thousand years, the life of which was spared by a prefect whom it had intended to kill. Afterwards the fox warned the prefect when an invasion of robbers was imminent, and saved his life when his servants were about to kill him. At last the animal became a celestial fox, ascended to heaven and never came back again.

HÜ SHEN¹⁰ writes as follows: "Foxes are spook-beasts on which the demons ride. They have three good qualities" [to wit, their flesh cures ulcers, their livers cause persons who

1. 潛確居類書, written by CH'EN JEN-SIH, 陳仁錫, who obtained official rank in 1921.

2. 郭璞.

3. 青丘.

4. King WEN, 文王.

5. 1122-249 B.C.

6. 王褒, in the *Szē tszē kiang teh lun*, 四子講德論, part of the Wen sūen, 文選.

7. 清閑雜記, written in 1824 by OKANISHI ICHŪ, 岡西惟中, Iiyakka setsurin, Vol. II, p. 1046.

8. See above p. 2, note 3.

9. 搜神後記, a work of the Tsin dynasty (265-420), also quoted by DE GROOT.

10. 許慎, an author of the Han dynasty.

suddenly have died to revive, their blood refreshes people who have been drunken¹].

SIÉ CHAO-CHI² gives in his *Wuh tsah tsu*³ the following explanation: "When a fox is a thousand years old, it goes to heaven for the first time and does not haunt people any longer. The purpose of the foxes in enchanting men is to take the vital spirit (精氣) away from them in order to transfer it to their own bodies. But why do they not enchant women? Because a fox is an animal of *Darkness* (陰類, belonging to the principle *Yin*), and he who has *Light* (陽, the principle *Yang*) within himself, is liable to be enchanted by them. Even male foxes always take the shape of women to seduce men; but other harm than this they do not cause them."

TSUKADA KO⁴, who quotes this passage in his work "*Zui-i roku*"⁵, remarks: "This is not true. The Japanese foxes often take the shape of *men* in order to deceive mankind; also women are often deluded by them. But they can enchant only low, stupid persons, never wise men of high standing."

The Chinese encyclopedia *San ts'ai t'u hvui*⁶ says: "In the Northern Mountains are black foxes; they are divine animals. When an Emperor maintains peace well, these foxes appear. They were seen for the first time under the reign of the Emperor Ch'ing Wang, of the Cheu dynasty (1122-249 B.C.), when the barbarians came from all sides and paid in taxes."

1. Comp. the encyclopedia *Wakan sansai sue*, 和漢三才圖會, Ch. XXXVIII, p. 590.

2. 謝肇淛, an author of the Ming dynasty, who lived about 1592.

3. 五雜俎.

4. 冢田虎.

5. 隨意錄, written in 1811.

6. 三才圖會, written by WANG K'ü, 王圻, in the Ming dynasty, and quoted in the *Reijū sakki*, 靈獸雜記, Ch. II, p. 9-b, as well as in the *Wakan sansai sue*, 和漢三才圖會, Ch. XXXVIII, p. 591. Comp. WYLIE, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 187.

According to BAKIN¹ in the *T'ai p'ing kwang ki*² there is a legend which tells of a *badger* (狸, tanuki), a thousand years old, which took the shape of a student and tried to haunt a man called Tung Chung-shu. BAKIN thinks that this is nothing but the old fox tale of the *Shou shen ki*³, dressed up in a new garb. In other Chinese tales the character 狸 is combined with 狐 (fox).

The tanuki (狸) is described in the Chinese book *Kwang ya*⁴ as "a special kind of badger with a white face and a tail like that of a cow. Therefore it is called 'jewel-face' and 'cow-tail'. If people catch and keep it, all the rats are afraid and do not come out of their holes."

So far *China*; let us now see what *Japan* has to tell us concerning this interesting subject.

CHAPTER II.

The fox and the badger in Japanese laws, divination and legends.

§ I. LAWS.

The *Zokutō ritsu*⁵ contains the following law concerning foxes and mujina.

"All those who dig up the earth and take out the corpses of men without burying them again, and who smoke foxes or

1. *Enseki Zasshi*, Ch. V, nr 2, p. 11.

2. 太平廣記, written by LI FANG (李昉) and many other scholars of the T'ai p'ing era (A.D. 976-983).

3. See above p. 3.

4. 廣雅, written by CHANG YIH, 張揖, of the Wéi dynasty (386-557).

5. 賊盜律, "Laws concerning robbers," Section VII of the Laws, written in 702 by FUJIWARA NO FUJITO (不比) under the Emperor Mommu (697-707), and revised in the Yōrō era (717-723). Gunsho ruijū, 群書類從, nr 75, Vol. IV, p. 785.

mujina (狐貉) out of graves, or burn the coffins, (shall be punished with) one hundred blows with the stick. Those who burn corpses, with transportation for one year; but, if they belong to the fifth or higher ranks, their punishment shall be two degrees heavier, and if they are people of low standing, or children, it shall be diminished by two degrees. If children or grand-children smoke foxes or mujina out of the grave of a grand-father, father or mother, and if the inmates of a house do the same at the grave of the master of the house, (their punishment shall be) transportation for one year; if they burn the coffin, the same for two years, and if they burn the corpse, then for three years."

This law, which was certainly copied from a Chinese original, reminds us of DE GROOT'S statement above mentioned about the Laws of the Ming and Ts'ing dynasties, which forbid smoking foxes out of graves, and it proves that similar laws must have already existed in China before the eighth century.

§ 2. DIVINATION.

The *Nihongi*¹ mentions the fox but twice, and both times apparently as an omen. In 657² a so-called "byakko," or "white fox" (白狐), appeared in Iwami province and in 659³ "a fox bit off the end of a creeper, which a labourer of the district of Oü (in Izumo province) held in his hand, and went off with it. Further, there came a dog with the arm of a dead man in its mouth, which it put down in the Ifuya temple." A note says: "These were forebodings of the death of the Empress (Saimei, who died in 661)."

When we compare the first of these passages with the list of important lucky omina mentioned in the *Engishiki*, we come to the conclusion that the appearance of the white fox in Iwami was a good omen. The colour white being a lucky colour

1. 日本紀, written in 720.

2. Ch. XXVI, K.T.K. (*Kokusai taikō*, 國史大系), Vol. I, p. 459.

3. Ch. XXVI, K.T.K. Vol. I, p. 465. Cf. Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. II, p. 263.

this is quite logical. The second fox, on the contrary, was a bad omen, for it is mentioned together with one that was very unlucky, and was followed, although not immediately, by the death of the Empress.

For the sake of clearness, I will put here together the three important passages which I have found on the fox and tanuki set forth as forebodings, although the time of the books containing them is later than that of the Nihongi. The source of all is certainly China, where, as we have seen, the fox especially was believed to portend evil or to bring good luck.

The *Engishiki*¹ gives a list of omina, among which the *nine-tailed, white* and *black foxes* are mentioned as very lucky. The following notes are added. "A nine-tailed fox is a divine animal; its body is red, though some say, white; its voice is like that of an infant." "A white fox is the vital spirit (精) of the (Chinese) mountain Tai (岱)." "A black fox is a divine animal." Among the "Right upper good omens"² we find a *red fox* (赤狐). This last fact does not agree with the above quoted words of the *Shi king* and CHU HI's commentary (p. 5), where the red fox is described as an animal of evil.

In the *Nichū reki*³ the *mujina* (貉), *hare* (or rabbit) and *fox* are combined with the zodiacal sign of the hare (卯), and the tiger, leopard and *tanuki* (狸), with the sign of the tiger (寅). First of all on the list of calendar days for strange things⁴ we find the *crying of foxes*, divided into the twelve days of the zodiac in the following way.

1. 延喜式, "Ceremonies of the Engi era (901-922), written in 927. The lucky forebodings (祥瑞) are to be found in Ch. XXI, Section 治部省, K.T.K. Vol. XIII, p. 652, where the foxes are mentioned sub nos 6, 7 and 8 of the "Right great lucky forebodings," (右大瑞), as "kyubi no kitsune" (九尾狐), "byakko" (白狐) and "genko" (玄狐).

2. 右上瑞, p. 654.

3. 二中歴, a calendar dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, *Shiseki shūran*, (史籍集覽), Vol. XXIII, nr XIX 9, p. 151, where we find the *mujina*, fox and *tanuki* among the 36 animals under the heading "Chikusen-reki," 畜産歴, "Calendar of animals."

4. 惟異歴日, p. 162.

"If a fox cries on the *day of the rat*, and this is the *thirtieth* day of the month, should the crying be heard in the *North*, an inmate of the house will die, or it forebodes a lawsuit, or the shedding of blood."

"If a fox cries on the *day of the ox*, the *fifteenth* day of the month, a boy will die, if the cry is heard in the *East*, or it is taken as a bad omen concerning the officials of the district."

"If a fox cries on the *day of the tiger*, the *nineteenth* day, in the *N. East*, an infant will die, or the omen is bad and forecasts a lawsuit."

In the same way the crying of a fox on the day of the *hare*, thirteenth day, in the *East*, means the death of a boy, or it is a bad omen concerning slaves; if on the day of the *dragon*, and in the *South-East*, it is a bad omen concerning something being broken; and on the day of the *snake*, fifteenth day, in the *West*, it portends the death of a man, but in a Northern or Western direction, only illness. On the day of the *horse*, eighth day, it means a quarrel; or, in the *N. W.*, the death of a man; at the hour of the monkey (3-5 p.m.), something dreadful. On the day of the *sheep*, nineteenth day, in the *South*, it indicates that a full-grown man will come; and, thirteenth day, that a thief will come. On the day of the *monkey*, eighteenth day, in the *S. W.*, a man will die; whereas in the *N.*, a male child will be born and die. On the day of the *bird*, thirteenth day, in the *East*, a man will die, or an ox or a horse will die going into water. So also it means, on the day of the *dog*, thirteenth day, in the *North*, the death of a man; in the *East*, the death of a villager. Finally, on the day of the *hog*, thirteenth day, in the *North*, it portends the death of a man; and in the *East*, the death of a woman of the village.

Then follows a reference to the *discharging of dung by foxes*. If this happens on the day of the *rat*, a woman of the village will die; on the day of the *ox*, a mother will die; on a *tiger* day, one will come by a fortune; on a *hare* day, it means a quarrel or the death of a man; on a *dragon* day, in a *W.*

direction, illness, or the death of a man; on a *snake* day, fifteenth day of the month, in the West, the death of a man, in the North, the death of an ox or horse. On a *horse* day it means misfortune and fasting; on a *sheep* day, theft, or some great calamity; on a *monkey* day the death of a woman; on a *bird* day, the arrival of a messenger; on a *dog* day, the death of a thief, and on a *hog* day calamity concerning one's parents, or death.

On the next page we find the *crying of tanuki* commented upon. In the same way as the howling of foxes it is said to portend, on special days, and as heard in some special direction, illness or death, a quarrel, or the arrival of district officials, which was apparently considered as equally bad with the various other evils.

Another list of good and bad omens concerning the howling of foxes on different days is to be found in the *Shūkaiishō*¹. If it is heard on a *tiger* day, in the South or North, a man will die; or, according to another version, if a fox cries in the South, one will get a large fortune; in the West, there will be quarreling, and in the North, a guest will come. So it goes on, for all the twelve different days; besides the things already mentioned, the howling can mean a small measure of good luck, or the drinking of sake and eating, sorrow, a quarrel of officials, death which must be prevented by fasting during five days in honour of a great god; or it is an omen of the getting of money, of falling ill, the death of horses or oxen, of fire, of the death of a child, or drowning.

After all this digression it will be clear why in the following passages of the old historical works such importance is attached to the appearance and the howling of foxes in the Palace.

1. 拾芥抄, written by FUJIWARA NO SANEHIRO, (實業), who was born in 1408 and retired to Iigashiyama in 1457. Vol. I, p. 17.

In the *Shoku Nihongi*¹ we find the fox mentioned nine times. In the seventh month of 712 Iga province presented a *black fox* to the Emperor²; and two months later the Emperor issued the following proclamation: "We hear that, according to the old tradition, in the year of the rat the crop is not good; yet, by the assistance of Heaven and Earth, we have a very good crop this year. A wise king of old said: 'An abundant year is better than good forecastings.' Moreover, the black fox, presented to me by the Governor of Iga province and his officials, corresponds to the 'Good Forecastings'". That book says: "A black fox appears, when a king by his government causes profound peace."⁴

Other provinces (Tōtōmi, Kai and Hida) presented *white foxes* to the Emperor in the years 715, 721 and 740,⁵ certainly as being good omnia. In 782 a white fox appeared at one of the Palace gates.⁶

Bad forecastings were apparently the wild foxes which ventured into the Palace. In 775 such a beast sat on the official seat of the Dainagon Fujiwara no Ason⁷, and another was seen in the inner gate of the Palace⁸. Unlucky also was the communication which came from Yamashiro province in 774, to the following effect. "In the 12th month of last year a great number of wolves and stags, and about a hundred wild foxes were howling every night about the Otokuni temple in Otokuni district in our territory; this went on for seven days and then stopped."⁹

But more important than all these omnia is a passage of the year 741, in which we read of a *haunting fox*¹⁰. "Naniwa

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1. 續日本紀, written in 797.
 2. Ch. V, K.T.K. Vol. II, p. 73.
 3. 上瑞, a chapter in the Books of Divination.
 4. Comp. the *Engishiki*, above p. 13.
 5. Ch. VI, p. 87, VIII p. 126, XIII p. 223.
 6. Ch. XXXVII, p. 676.
 7. Ch. XXXIII, p. 585.
 8. Ch. XXXIII, p. 587.
 9. Same chapter, p. 574.
 10. Ch. XIV, p. 235.

no Miya (a god) subdued a spook (怪, ke); in the garden lay the head of a fox, without its body; only its hair and dung lay scattered beside the head."

The *Nihon kōki*¹ speaks only of a wild fox which dug a hole in the inner garden of the Chōdō-in, an office in the Palace, and lived there, but disappeared after about ten days.²

The *Shoku Nihon kōki*³ mentions foxes thrice. In 833 a fox ran into the Palace, but was beaten to death by the Imperial Guards when it reached the Seiryōden.⁴ In 849 the same thing happened, but the fox was pursued and killed by a dog⁵. In 834 the flapping of wings and the sound of crying were heard one evening above the Palace. The Guards looked up towards the sky but could not see anything because of the darkness. Some thought that it was a flock of sea-birds that they heard, but one of the number declared that *Celestial Foxes* (天狐, Tenko) had passed.⁶

In the *Nihon Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*⁷ we read that in 855 a fox appeared in the Palace in the day-time. The chamberlains were ordered to drive the beast away, but it ran round in front of the Emperor who shot it.⁸

The *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*⁹ gives several cases of foxes entering the Palace. In 871 two female foxes appeared in the day-time in the Kōchō, a department of the Dajōkwan (Council of State). They were caught but were let go in the Kanan field ("South of the River-field"), as was also another fox which came howling into the same office in the same year¹⁰. In 875

1. 日本後紀, written in 841.

2. Ch. XVII, K.T.K. Vol. III, p. 88.

3. 續日本後紀, written in 869.

4. Ch. II, K.T.K. Vol. III, p. 182.

5. Ch. XIX, p. 409.

6. Ch. III, p. 192. Comp. above, pp. 6 and 9, and my paper on the Tengu, Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, pp. 34 seqq.

7. 日本文德天皇實錄, written in 878; the Emperor Montoku reigned 850-858.

8. Ch. VII, K.T.K. Vol. III, p. 524.

9. 日本三代實錄, written in 901.

10. Ch. XX, K.T.K. Vol. IV, p. 335.

a fox dropped dung on the wooden floor before the Shishinden (in the Palace), and some days afterwards another fox urinated on the same spot.¹ These were all bad omina, but still worse was the following: In the first month of 881 there happened many strange things in all the barracks of the Body-Guards. In those of the Right Body-Guards a fox was constantly dropping dung on the seats of the General and lower officers, nay it even passed urine upon a man who guarded the seats at night. In the department of the Left Body-Guards rats bit the cords of somebody's sword and quiver and ran off with them. A fox was doing the same with a quiver, and although a man seized the object, the animal did not let go until it had bitten through the cords; then it ran away. The soldiers pursued and caught it.² In the same year a fox climbed upon the Eastern tobi no o (鴉尾, "kite tails", the vertically projecting parts of the roof) of the Bifuku gate (of the Palace)³, and in 887 such an animal ran in the day-time upon the roof of the Crown-prince's palace, but was killed there by a very brave man⁴. In 882 a fox incessantly howled in the same palace from 7 a.m. till 6 p.m.⁵ The *Fox-star* (狐星) is mentioned twice: in 873 a white shooting star, and in 881 a red one, appeared and entered the Fox-star⁶.

The *Nihon kiriyaku*⁷ mentions the fox five times. In 905 a fox died in the Palace, but the Emperor did not consider it as making the Palace unclean.⁸ In 940 a fox chewed the key of the Korean box which contained the seal of the Emperor, and ran away in the direction of the Shōmei gate⁹. In 944 a great number of foxes assembled at the barracks of the Left Body-

1. Ch. XXVII, p. 418.

2. Ch. XXXIX, p. 557.

3. Same page.

4. Ch. XLI, p. 722.

5. Ch. XLI, p. 585.

6. Ch. XXIII, p. 369; XXXVIII, p. 549.

7. 日本紀畧; it contains the history up to 1036.

8. Part II, Ch. I, K.T.K. Vol. V, p. 783.

9. Ch. II, p. 828.

Guards¹, and in 972, at the New-year's festival, there were more than 100 foxes howling even within the barracks². In 930 a woman combed her hair on the top of the Southern hisashi (the projecting roof) of the rooms of the Court ladies in the Palace. Perhaps it was a haunting fox (狐妖).³

§ 3. LEGENDS.

A. Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Centuries.

As to the *mujina* we find in the *Nihongi*⁴ the following passage: "In olden times there was in Kuwada village, Tamba province, a man whose name was Mikaso and who had in his house a dog called Ayuki. This dog killed a mountain animal called *mujina* (牟士那). In the belly of the beast was found a magatama⁵ of Yasaka gem⁶. Therefore the gem was presented to the Emperor. It is now in the shrine of Iso⁷ no kami."

BAKIN⁸ thinks that this idea of the pearl of the *mujina*, although very old, was originally borrowed from the fox legends. As we have seen above (p. 7), the Chinese speak about a mysterious pearl, which were-foxes have in their *mouths* and which makes the man who gets one into his possession a favourite of the whole world. In Japan some think that foxes have a luminous pearl in their *tails*, by which they make the so-called fox-fire, kitsune-bi⁹. But nowhere is a pearl said to be found in the *belly* of the fox, nor do we find any other passage in which the *mujina* pearl is mentioned.

1. Ch. II, p. 833.

2. Ch. VI, p. 939.

3. Ch. VI, p. 933.

4. Ch. VI, K.T.K. I, p. 129.

5. Magatama, 勾玉, curved jewels, are "comma-shaped gems of cornelian or other stones" (ASTON, *Nihongi*, Vol. I, p. 38).

6. 八尺瓊, "Yasaka gem." Cf. ASTON, *Nihongi*, Vol. I, p. 184.

7. 石上.

8. *Enseki zasshi*, Ch. V, nr 2, p. 10-b.

9. Compare below SEKITEI'S "Unkon", quoted in the *Shōsan chomon kishū*, 想山著聞奇集 (1849).

Another passage of the *Nihongi* runs as follows: "In the second month of the 35th year of the Empress Suiko (627) there was in Michinoku (Mutsu) province a mujina (貉, the kana reading *ujina*) which changed itself into a man and sung."¹

The first Japanese fox legend we find in three books belonging to the eighth and twelfth centuries, namely in the *Ryō-i ki*, *Fusō ryakki* and *Mizu kagami*.²

In the Emperor Kimmei's reign (540-571), a man from Ōno district, Mino province, went out to look for a good wife. After a long time he met in the field a beautiful woman, of whom he asked: "Will you become my wife?" She consented; whereupon he took her with him to his house and married her. After a while she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. At that time there was a puppy in the house, which always barked at its mistress. She beseeched her husband to kill the beast, because she was very much afraid of it, but he did not do so, although he loved her greatly. Once on a certain day the dog made as if it would bite her, but withdrew barking. Suddenly the frightened woman changed into a fox (*yakan*, 野干), which climbed upon the fence and sat there, while the husband, looking at the transformed wife, said: "Between you and me a child has been born, therefore I cannot forget you. Come always and sleep with me." She acted in accordance with her husband's words and came to sleep with him. For this reason she was called *Ki-tsuné* ("come-always", 岐都禰, *ki-tsu-ne*). She wore at that time

1. Ch. XXII, K.T.X. I, p. 395.

2. The full title of the *Kyō-i ki* is "*Nihonkoku gempō zen-aku ryō-i ki*", 日本國現報善惡靈異記, "Record of the Supernatural Phenomena by which good and bad were manifestly rewarded and punished in the Japanese Empire." It contains the "rewards and punishments" (*ingwa dhō*, 因果應報, in a Buddhistic sense) of the time from the Emperor Yūryaku (457-479) to that of the Emperor Kōnin (770-781), cf. *Gunsho ruijū*, Index p. 352. The author of this work, the Buddhist priest KEIKAI, 景戒, lived in the time of the Emperor Kōken (749-758). Although the author of the *Kokusho kaidai* (p. 1561) calls the work *Kei-i ki* instead of *Kyō-i ki*, the latter reading must be right. The legend is to be found in the *Gunsho ruijū*, nr 447, Vol. XVI, p. 24; and, further, in the *Fusō ryakki*, 扶桑略記, Ch. III, K.T.K. VI, p. 486 sq., and in the *Mizu kagami*, 水鏡, written in the second half of the twelfth century, Ch. I, K.T.K. XVII, p. 373.

a scarlet-painted dress. Her child was called Ki-tsu-ne, 伎都禰. He grew to be a very strong man and could run as fastly as a bird can fly.

So far the *Ryō-i ki*; and the author of the *Fusō ryakki* adds: "In the time of the Emperor Shōmu (724-749) there was a man called 'Mino no kitsune', 三野狐, 'the Fox of Mino', who was perhaps this very child."

In the *Konjaku monogatari*¹ we read a story about a very tall and strong woman who lived in Mino province at the time of the Emperor Shōmu and was called "the Fox of Mino"; she was said to be a descendant of the fourth generation of the fox mentioned in the old legend of the *Ryō-i-ki*.

In the *Zenka hiki*² we find the first version of a curious old legend, quoted in the *Fusō ryakki*³ and told again in the *Konjaku monogatari*⁴ and in the *Genkō shakusho*⁵. It runs as follows:—

In the fifth year of the Kwambei era (893) the author of the *Zenka hiki* became Governor of Bichū province. At that time there was in Kaya district a man called Kaya Yoshifuji, who was very rich and by means of his money secured the position of shōmoku (小目, a high official) of Bizen province. In Kwambei 8 (896) he resigned his post and after that time was living in Hongō Ashimori. As his wife, who was a very lewd character, had run away from him to the capital, he lived quite alone. Suddenly he became crazy and wrote and recited love letters and poems to an imaginary woman. This lasted for 20 or 30 days, till at last he disappeared and was sought for in vain by the inmates of the house. His relations, all very rich and men of great distinction, were convinced that he had

1. 今昔物語, written before 1077; Ch. XXIII, nr 17, K.T.K. XVI, p. 1005; see below.

2. 善家秘記, written by MIYOSHI KIYOTSURA, 三善清行, who lived 844-916.

3. Ch. XXII, K.T.K. VI, p. 644, see below.

4. Ch. XVI, nr 17, K.T.K. Vol. XVI, p. 930.

5. 元亨釋書, written before 1346, Ch. XXIX, K.T.K. Vol. XIV, p. 1157.

committed suicide, and they vowed that they would make an image of the eleven-faced Kwannon, if they found the body of the unhappy man. Thereupon they cut down an oak and made the outline of the image, giving it exactly the same length as that of Yoshifuji's body. Then they bowed before this would-be statue and repeated the vow. This they did for 13 days, when to their extreme amazement Yoshifuji crept from under his godown, thin and pale as if he had been seriously ill. The floor of the godown was only 4 or 5 sun¹ from the ground, so that it was almost impossible for a man to get under it. Yet he had been lying there for thirteen days. After having recovered his senses sufficiently to give an account of his adventures, he told how a girl had several times brought him love letters and poems from a princess, and how he had answered them in the same vein. "At last," he said, "the girl came with a magnificent carriage and four postilions, to take me to the princess. After a drive of about ten miles we arrived at a splendid palace, where an exquisite meal and a very hearty reception from the princess soon made me feel quite at ease. There I lived with her, as inseparably as two branches growing together upon the same tree. She gave birth to a son, a very intelligent and beautiful child, which I loved so much that I thought about degrading my son Tadasada and putting this child in his place as son of my principal wife,—this in view of the high rank of the princess. But after three years a Buddhist priest suddenly entered the room of Her Highness, carrying a stick in his hand. The effect of his appearance was astonishing. Chamberlains and Court ladies all fled to left and right, and even the princess hid herself somewhere. The priest pushed me from behind with his stick and made me go out of the house through a very narrow passage. When I looked back I discovered that I had just crept from under my own godown!"

1. 1 sun=1,193 inches.

This tale struck all the inmates with wonder. Immediately they demolished the godown and lo! twenty or thirty *foxes* came from under it and fled in all directions to the mountains. Yoshifuji, bewitched by these supernatural foxes (reiko, 靈狐), had been lying under the godown for thirteen days, fancying that he was spending three years in a palace. As to the priest, this was a metamorphosis of Kwannon¹, who of her pity had broken the force of the wicked sorcery. Then Yoshifuji was wholly cured and lived on for more than ten years thereafter.

It is interesting to compare herewith a story which we find in the *Shūmpen otogizōshi*². Apparently the above legend has inspired the author of the *Kitsune zōshi*. In this it is a Buddhist priest who gets a love letter from a lady, and is conveyed to her house in a splendid carriage drawn by an ox and escorted by three servants. The woman is beautiful and the house rich, and there are a great number of samurai and attendant ladies, who amuse themselves with feasting and drinking. The priest who is greatly influenced by the surrounding splendor, soon learns how to enjoy the luxurious life with the charming lady. He spends months and years there until one day a loud noise is heard at the gate and three or four young Buddhist priests come in, carrying crosiers³ in their hands. The lady of the house and her servants flee away in great alarm, and the astonished priest sees them all change into foxes and run off in all directions.

Quite stupefied he looks about him and discovers that he is lying under the floor of the main building of the Kongō-shōin, a Buddhist temple in Kyōto. What he had thought to be blinds and floor mats (tatami) were nothing but pieces of rough matting made of straw and reeds. The musical instruments

1. According to the *Konjaku monogatari* it was a layman, a metamorphosis of the Kwannon image which the relations had made.

2. 新篇御草子, published by HAGINO YOSHIYUKI in 1901, Vol. II, *Kitsune zōshi*, 狐草子, dating from the Muromachi period (1378-1601).

3. 錫杖, shakujō, staves with their tops armed with metal rings, carried by travelling priests.

appeared to be horse and cow bones, and the plates and dishes were only broken saddles and skulls. His clothes consisted of pieces of old and dirty paper, and his whole appearance was so ridiculous, that some little boys, who were playing there and saw him creeping from under the building, broke forth into loud laughter and clapped their hands and danced with glee. A samurai, who knew the priest, was just passing and looked to see what all this laughter meant. He could hardly recognize his reverend friend and got no answer from him to his astonished questions. Then he took off the paper rags and gave the priest his own upper garment; but as the bonze was very tall, he still looked ridiculous and his legs were wholly visible. In this condition he arrived at his village. Although he thought to have been seven years in the mysterious house of his fancy, in reality he had spent only seven days under the temple. It was Jizō, who had saved him.

B. *Eleventh Century.*

The *Genji monogatari*¹ contains the following tale. A bishop who was travelling, once passed the night in a lonely house, which had such a dirty and awful appearance, that he was asked by his companions to read a sutra in order to drive away all evil influences. When two of them went behind the house with torches, they saw in the frightful looking wood a mysterious being, big and white, which they supposed to be the metamorphosis (henge, 變化) of a fox. Immediately they told the bishop about it, who said: "Although I have heard about the haunting of foxes, I have never seen it; therefore I will have a look." After these words he went out. The man whom they had found alone in the house said: "Foxes haunt the place here, but they are worthless creatures," and he did not show any fear. Afterwards the mysterious being appeared to be no spook at all, but only an ordinary girl.

1. 源氏物語, written in 1004, Ch. 手習.

In the *O-u-ki*¹ we read the following: "On the fourth day of the eighth month of the fourth year of the Chōguen era (1031), the Saigū² called with a loud voice, not to be compared with other (human) voices. A god (namely, a fox) spoke through her mouth. She was mad and built two Shintō temples which she dedicated to the gods of the Naigū and Gegū.³ Thereupon she summoned all kinds of worthless people and made them dance the kagura⁴ and perform other frantic dances night and day. Then the sorceresses of the capital began to worship a fox (imitating the Saigū) and to declare this animal to be the great divinity of Ise (太神宮). Such things are very wicked."

For the study of fox-lore as well as for that of the Tengu the *Konjaku monogatari*⁵ is a very rich field. Besides the above mentioned tale, borrowed from the *Zenka hiki*⁶, we find in this book the several fox legends, given below, but the tanuki or mujina are not mentioned.

Fujiwara no Toshihito, who lived in the Engi era (901-923), once caught a fox and said to it: "Go to my house in Tsuruga and say that I am coming with guests and that they must send some servants with two saddled horses to-morrow at the hour of the snake (9-11 A.M.) to the neighbourhood of Takashima." Thereupon he let the fox go, and it ran away, looking back several times. The next morning thirty men on horseback came to meet their master at the appointed place and told a strange story. "Last night," they said, "at the hour of the dog (7-9 P.M.), our mistress felt

1. 小右記, a diary of FUJIWARA NO SANESŪKE, 實資, also called ONO NO MIYA, 小野宮, who lived 956-1046. He was Udaijin, "Right Minister", hence the title of the book "Diary of the Udaijin Ono no miya."

2. 齋宮, Itsuki no miya, a virgin princess of the Blood, who was sent to the Imperial shrine at Ise at the time of the coronation of an Emperor to stay there until the latter's death or abdication.

3. The Inner and Outer Temple at Ise.

4. A sacred pantomimic dance with music.

5. 今昔物語, written before 1077 by MINAMOTO NO TAKAKUNI, 源隆國, who died in that year.

6. See above p. 21.

indisposed and had a severe pain in the breast. A Buddhist priest was called in, but the patient said: 'Why are you all so anxious? It is nothing particular, I am only a fox. I was caught by your master who is on the way home, and he ordered me to tell you to send some men with two saddled horses to the neighbourhood of Takashima, as he is coming with guests. Please do so, otherwise it will go hard with me.' We decided to go with the horses, and at once the lady recovered (the fox had left her)." Toshihito smiled and ordered his attendant to go to his house and announce his arrival. There they were astonished to hear that the fox had spoken the truth. The next day, when they were enjoying a nice meal of enormous mountain potatoes, they discovered the fox sitting on the top of a roof and looking at them. As a reward for sending the message he got some food and then went away.¹

One evening a very good looking young man met at the Sujaku gate in Kyōto a beautiful woman with whom he at once fell in love. She refused at first to accept his proposals, saying that it would be his death to sleep with her, but at last she gave way, saying that she would die in his place. At the same time she asked him to bury her and copy a part of the Saddharma pundarika sūtra (Hokkekyō, 法花經), and to offer it on behalf of her soul. He laughed at her pessimistic notions but promised to do as she said, whereupon they spent the night together. At daybreak she went away saying: "I take your fan with me; if you come to-morrow to the Butokū-den, this fan will prove to you that I spoke the truth, and you will recognize me." The next day he went to the place indicated and saw a dead fox with the fan over its face. Deeply moved he buried the animal, and every seventh day wrote a part of the Hokkekyō and offered it in a temple. In the night of the 49th

1. Ch. XXVI, nr 17, K.T.K. XVI, pp. 1203 sqq. The same legend is to be found in the *Uji shūi monogatari*, 宇治拾遺物語, Ch. I, K.T.K. XVII, pp. 22 sqq.

day he saw the woman in a dream as an angel, surrounded by numberless other angels. She explained to him that she had been reborn in the Trāyastriṃśat heaven¹ by virtue of the sūtra. After uttering these words she ascended to the sky to the accompaniment of heavenly music.²

At the time of the Emperor Shōmu (724-749) there was in the province of Mino a very strong and tall woman, who was called "the Fox of Mino." She was a descendant, of the fourth generation, of a man who had been married to a fox from the same province. She had the strength of a hundred men and abused the power by robbing the merchants who came and went to and from the market place. But at last she was overcome by a much smaller woman from Owari province, who forced her to stop her bad behaviour forever.³

At the time when the Empress Jōtōmon-in, Consort of the Emperor Ichijō (986-1011), lived in the Kyōgoku-den, a palace in Kyōto, she heard, on the twentieth of the third month, when the cherry blossoms were in full bloom, a divine voice reciting an old-time verse, in which the smell of the blossoms was praised. But there was nobody to be seen at the time who could have spoken these words. This made the Empress anxious, and the people were in doubt. They did not believe that it had been a fox, but were inclined to consider the work that of a *spirit*⁴; although it was strange that the voice had been heard in the middle of the day, while spirits are wont to appear in the night.⁵

A wet-nurse found herself alone with a child of two years in her arms at the southern front of the house of her master, when the latter suddenly heard her crying for help. He ran with sword in hand to the spot and saw to his utmost astonish-

1. 忉利天, Tō-ri ten, also written 忉利天, the "heaven of 33 (devas)", where Indra reigns.

2. Ch. XIV, nr 5, p. 759. The same legend occurs in the *Kōkon chomonshū*, 古今著聞集, Ch. XX, K.T.K. XV, pp. 589 sq. According to a note it is found in the *Hokkeden*, 法花傳.

3. Ch. XXIII, nr 17, p. 1005.

4. Mono no rei, 物ノ靈.

5. Ch. XXVII, nr 28, p. 1259.

ment two wet-nurses, who were exactly alike both pulling at the child but from opposite sides. Which was the real nurse, and which the fox, or something of the kind? The frightened father brandished his sword, whereupon one of the women suddenly disappeared and the other and the child fell down unconscious. A Buddhist priest was immediately sent for, who by means of incantations brought the nurse to her senses. The other woman, she declared, had appeared to her and laid hold of the child, saying: "That child is mine," but she, the nurse, had held fast to it; and they were struggling together when the master came. Nobody could say whether it was a *fox* or a *spirit*.¹

A maid-servant received a message from her master ordering her to come at once to a house which he had rented. She hurried to the place with her child and found her mistress who gave her plenty of food and after four or five days sent her back. She left the child there; as she was soon to return. But when she arrived at the former house, she found there to her amazement those whom she had just left in the newly rented house. They asked her where she had been staying for so long a time, and did not believe her story. Then she ran back to the mysterious house and found only a lonely heath, where her child was lying alone in the grass, crying helplessly. Probably the woman had been deluded by foxes.²

A man who went out in the midst of a dark winter night to call a priest for his sick mother, saw on the top of a gate a glittering being which continually sneezed and laughed aloud. Thinking that it was a fox he ran away, half dead with fright. A little further on he discovered a round glittering thing which cried aloud. He shot at and hit it with an arrow when it burst into fragments and disappeared. This was certainly a trick of foxes.³

1. Ch. XXVII, nr 29, p. 1260.

2. Ch. XXVII, nr 32, p. 1265.

3. Same chapter, nr 33, p. 1267.

In the clear moonlight two men were seeking a horse which had been lost in the mountain. All at once they stood before an enormous cryptomeria which they had never seen at that spot before. They came to the conclusion that they had been led astray by some god, and decided to go back after having marked the tree with two arrows in order to find it the next day. But lo! as soon as their arrows hit the tree, it vanished. Then they knew clearly that it was a spook, and, frightened, took to their heels. The next day they went back to the spot and found instead of the tree the body of an old fox, with a cryptomeria twig in its mouth and the two arrows in its belly. Such was the fellow that had played them the trick!¹

A man who belonged to the Imperial Guards met in the bright moonlight a beautiful woman, with whom he began to converse. But she continually kept her fan before her face. When they had entered together the gate of the Imperial Guards, the man suddenly remembered what he had heard about men being deceived by foxes in the Hōraku-in (within the Palace), and decided to try and find out whether or not this woman was an animal of that sort. He drew his sword, grasped her by her hair and pressed her against a pillar, threatening to kill her. But she jumped about in a most violent manner, and discharged urine which stank dreadfully so that he let go of her, whereupon she changed into a fox and ran out of the gate, crying: "kō, kō." The man regretted very much that he had not killed the woman at once. If one meets a beautiful lady in a lonely place, he had better keep aloof.²

A spirit³, which possessed a person and made him (or her) ill, was transferred to a "monotsuki no onna"⁴ (a woman called for the purpose of placing within her a bad spirit), and it spoke

1. Same chapter, nr 37, p. 1273.

2. Same chapter, nr 38, p. 1275.

3. Mono no ke, 物ノ氣.

4. 物託ノ女, "possession-woman".

through her mouth to the following effect: "I am a fox. I have not come to do evil, but only to have a look round, because I thought that there was plenty of food at such places as this; the result was that I (that is the patient) was kept indoors." After these words she took from her bosom a white gem of the size of a small mandarin-orange (mikan), threw it up and caught it again. People who saw this said: "That is a strange gem. Probably the 'possession-woman' had that gem already in her pocket in order to delude mankind." Then a young man caught the gem, when the woman threw it up, and put it in his pocket. The fox which possessed the woman, begged him to give back the gem, but he refused, whereupon the fox wept and said: "To you the ball is valueless, for you do not know how to use it. Therefore, if you do not give it back to me, I will be your enemy for ever, but if you give it back, I will help and protect you as a god." The young man made the woman repeat the promise and then returned the gem. Afterwards, when an exorcist¹ had driven out the fox, the gem was no longer to be found in the woman's pocket. This was a proof that it had really been the property of the being (that is, of the fox) which had possessed her. The fox kept his promise. Once when the young man was going home in a dark night, he became quite anxious and called the fox to his aid. Immediately the animal appeared and led him forward cautiously and stealing along a narrow lane instead of the main road. From a distance he could see the reason of this strange behaviour, for there were a great number of thieves, armed with bows and sticks, on the road where he would have passed if the fox had not led him elsewhere. At the end of the lane the fox disappeared and the man went on safely to his home. Many times he was helped and protected by the animal, a proof, says the author, of how much more grateful animals are than men.²

1. 験者, kensha.

2. Ch. XXVII, nr 40, p. 1278.

At a river in the neighbourhood of Kyōto it often happened that people who passed on horseback on their way to the capital saw in the evening a dirty looking girl, who asked them to take her up behind them on their horses. If they did so, she sat on the horse for a distance of four or five chō¹ and then jumped off and ran away in the shape of a crying fox. One day a young man decided to put a stop to the tricks of this animal, and rode alone to the spot, but he did not see her. On his way back to the capital, however, the girl appeared with the ordinary request. He took her on the horse and bound her tightly to the saddle. When they arrived at the gate, he delivered her into the hands of the guards, but she escaped and ran away as a fox. At the same time gate and guards all vanished as if they were wiped out of existence. When the man looked about him, he found himself in the open field and his horse was nowhere to be seen.²

Other legends tell about foxes which caused a man to wander about in the night without finding the right way,³ and others that caused strange faces to appear in the night under the ceiling of an old chapel, which was supposed to be inhabited by a demon. Once when three men passed the night there, they saw the faces but drove them away by brandishing their swords. This put an end to the fear of the people in the neighbourhood.⁴ Further, we read that "frightening people is the work of old foxes which can all be killed by a single falcon or dog"⁵; and still another story tells about a fox being the double of a woman, and when attacked by the husband escaping in the same way as in the other tales.⁶

Finally, we read a story dating from the time of the Emperor Sanjō (1011-1016) as follows: In Mino province there was a ford in a river, where people who waded across in

-
1. 1 chō, 町, is 119 yards 11 inches, 1/36 of a ri (里, 2 miles, 775 yards).
 2. Ch. XXVII, nr 41, p. 1280.
 3. Same chapter, nr 42, p. 1284.
 4. Same chapter, nr 44, p. 1287.
 5. Same chapter, nr 31, p. 1262.
 6. Same chapter, nr 39, p. 1276.

the night often heard a woman giving birth to a crying child and saying: "Take it in your arms." Once a fearless man took the child and refused to give it back, but on reaching his home he found that it was nothing but tree leaves. Some people said that this was the work of a *fox*, others supposed that the woman in the river was the ghost of a woman who had died in childbirth.¹

These legends clearly show the various ideas about the fox which were prevalent at that time. Though sometimes useful to men, the animal played tricks on them for the most part, not so much for the purpose of doing them harm as to frighten and annoy them. In order to accomplish this aim they not only took a human, mostly female, shape, but also changed themselves into trees or mysterious glittering beings. Possession was common, as well as appearing in the form of a woman's double. It is very probable that the white gem, used by the fox in one of the legends, simply means its soul, which is often thought to have the shape of a white, glittering ball; it reminds us of the pearl which foxes hold in the mouth in Chinese legends.²

C. Twelfth Century.

The *Kobi no ki*³ contains the following: "In the third year of the Kōwa era (1101) there were in the capital many different cases of fox-haunting. At the first the foxes gave meals (to the people) before the Sujaku gate, preparing rice from horse dung and vegetables from cow bones. Afterwards they did the same behind the Shikibushō (the Department of Rites and Ceremonies) and before the gates of the houses of the Kuge (Court nobles) and samurai. The people called it 'Great fox-banquets.' "

1. Same chapter, nr 43, p. 1285.

2. See above p. 7.

3. 狐窟記, "Fox-haunting record," written by ŌE NO MASAFUSA, (大江匡房), who lived 1040-1111, after 1101, for that year is mentioned in the legend. We find the work in the *Gunsho ruijū* as nr 135, Vol. VI, p. 968.

“Minamoto no Takayasu, the Zusho no sūke (Librarian), went to the Sai-in¹ of Kamo (jinja). His carriage stood outside the gate. When night fell two or three young court nobles² and two women entered the carriage and drove away in the moonlight. They passed the Kamo gawa and came to the bank of the river at Shichijō (Shichijō kawara). On the way they met the Captain of the Right Imperial Guards, Nakahara no Iesue. In the carriage their nice red garments were clearly visible, although it was night³. The Captain was astonished and the boy, who managed the ox before the carriage, could not endure it any longer and fell with his face to the ground in the middle of the road. Then the court nobles gave him a red fan and suddenly went away. There were traces of fox paws on the cross bar of the carriage⁴. The ox boy went home, and when he looked at the fan next day, he saw that it was a bone. He immediately fell ill and died within a few days. His master, who was very much afraid, was minded to burn the carriage, but in his dream a divine man came to him and said: ‘Please do not burn it; I will reward you (for the use of it).’ At the change of magistrates the next year he was appointed Librarian (the reward of the fox).”

In the subsequent story the Emperor Horikawa (1086-1107) is escorted by mysterious horsemen, who cover their faces with their sleeves, and when they are asked who they are gallop away without answering. They disappear after having passed the Sujaku gate which was apparently the favourite haunting spot of foxes. Another time a bishop, famous for expounding Buddha's Law, was asked by an old woman to come to her

1. 齋院, a virgin princess of the Blood, of the same rank as the Saigū (齋宮) of Ise, and residing in the Kamo shrine at Kyōto.

2. 雲客, un-kaku.

3. The “kitsune-bi” or “fox-fire” made them quite distinct in the darkness.

4. 軾, shoku, the bar on which the person in the carriage was leaning when he bowed and saluted.

house in order to hold a service there. He promised to come ; but the woman came the same evening and made her request again. So he went with her passing along the Sujaku road in Rokujō (Kyōto), which had its usual appearance with its magnificent houses and temples. In the house when they entered it the offerings were ready, but there was no one to attend. Behind a blind somebody clapped his hands, and all of a sudden wine was brought in. The astonished bishop did not eat or drink anything, but first sat down before the butsudān (the Buddhist house shrine) and struck the prayer bell with a single stroke. Suddenly the light became red and the dishes which had been prepared for the priest appeared to be a kind of dung. The whole occurrence was so startling that the bishop was quite unnerved and fled half dead with fright. The next day he went to look for the house, but there was no trace of it to be found. Apparently the foxes had hoped to make the bishop ill by causing him to eat the abominable food, but their magic power came suddenly to an end at the first stroke on the prayer bell.

A man (that is, a metamorphosed fox) bought a house in Kyōgoku in the district of Shichijō (Kyōto). Afterwards he destroyed the house, went to the Toribe field (the burial place) and used the boards of the house for burial materials (as fuel for the pile). What he had paid for the house seemed to be gold, silver and silk, but afterwards it all appeared to be nothing but old straw sandals and clogs, tiles and pebbles, bones and horns.

MASAFUSA adds: "There are many examples of transformation of foxes in the annals of history..... I have not hitherto believed those (Chinese) tales, but now I have seen with my own eyes the same strange things in Japan. Although the world is approaching its end, the spooks are just the same as in olden times ; this is most queer."¹

The *Fusō ryakki*¹ contains, besides the above mentioned tales, quoted from the *Zenka hiki*² and the *Ryō-i ki*³, the following legend.

"In the biography of the abbot Sō-ō (相應)⁴ we read: 'In the fourth year of the Ninna era (888) the Empress Rokujō was ill. At that time the abbot was 60 years old. He was summoned (to the Palace) and came in order to recite incantations. For three days and three nights he did not move from his seat and took no thought of either sleep or food. On the morning of the fourth day the Empress cried aloud, bent her body and rolled on the floor so violently that the bedroom nearly collapsed. In the meantime there appeared from the north-west corner of the bed curtain a supernatural fox (靈狐, reiko) which anxiously ran to and fro in all directions. The Dajōdajin (Prime Minister of State) and all the others who were present trembled with fear and quite lost their presence of mind. Then the abbot read the 'Salvation-mantra'⁵, whereupon the house stopped shaking and the fox departed. The Empress recovered and the Emperor rewarded the abbot in an imperial way."⁶

Further, several bad omina were observed within the Palace, namely, of foxes copulating⁷, or howling⁸, or climbing upon a roof⁹, or passing urine in the Emperor's room¹⁰, or sitting in the seat of a high official¹¹. In 905 a fox died in the Principal Administrative Department of the Benkwan (in the

1. 扶桑略記, "Abridged History of Japan," written in the 12th century by the priest KŌ-EN, 皇圓, the teacher of the priest GENKŪ, 源空 (1132-1212).

2. See above p. 21.

3. See above p. 20.

4. The same abbot exorcised in 865 a Tengu who possessed and tormented the Empress (Kojidan, Ch. III, K.T.K. XV, p. 66, comp. my treatise on the Tengu, Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, p. 46).

5. Gedatsu no ju, 解脱咒.

6. Ch. XXII, K.T.K. Vol. VI, p. 634.

7. Ch. XXIII, p. 650, in 898.

8. Ch. XXIII, p. 66, in 902.

9. Ch. XXIII, p. 671, in 909.

10. Ch. XXIV, p. 684, in 927.

11. Ch. XXV, p. 722, in 932.

Palace). As there was doubt whether or not the room had become unclean by reason of this fact, it was no longer used for official purposes. But the Emperor issued a decree, stating that the building was not to be considered as unclean¹. The same question rose in 909, when a fox had died within the Inner gate of the Palace. The Udaijin (Right Minister), ordered the Secretary (外記, geki) to examine the precedents as to the question whether or not such a thing had been declared to render the Palace unclean; for if this was the case, the religious ceremony of the next day could not take place. The Secretary answered that it had always been considered as making the Palace unclean, whereupon the Udaijin reported the matter to the Emperor. But His Majesty said: "As the fox does not belong to the six domestic animals, the Palace is not to be considered as unclean; moreover it is not mentioned in the rules regarding the ceremony."

FUJIWARA NO YORINAGA² relates in his diary, entitled *Taiki*³, how in 1144 a boy of 16 years was seduced by a fox in the shape of a young woman in the Nōden (a building of the Palace) and in consequence caught a bad venereal disease. A few days before a fox had come under the eaves and looked at him. "I never heard such strange things before", remarks the writer.

On the same page he gives the following account: "In olden times there were many foxes in a certain yashiki (compound of a nobleman) at Kyōto. When, a few years ago, these foxes reappeared, there a bow and arrow were set up (as a kind of magic) to prevent them from coming, but it had no effect and they showed themselves precisely as before. Thereupon I laid food (a bait, probably poisoned) at the fox-door⁴

1. Ch. XXIII, p. 670.

2. 藤原頼長, who lived 1120-1156.

3. 台記, a diary which runs from 1142 till 1155.

4. Kitsune-do, a lattice door, through which one could see from inside without being seen from outside.

and since that time no foxes appeared there any more. What makes me sure that the foxes were divine spirits (神靈) is that they were not tempted by the bait or terrified by the bow-sorcery; these were clearly of no effect. But within the compound of the yashiki there is a little old shrine, and it was the god of this which probably caused the foxes to appear. Moreover the mansion repeatedly escaped the fires which occurred from time to time on all sides of it, and even one which broke out within itself did no damage".

Here we see the fox as a seducer of young men, just as in China, but on the other hand as a protector against fire. The divinity of the shrine mentioned was probably Inari, the Rice goddess.

Another diary, the *Sankaiki*¹, contains the following details. On the fifth day of the sixth month of the second year of the Jijō era (1178) there was a discussion at the Court about a fox which had been killed by means of an arrow in the neighbourhood of the palace of the Saigū at Ise. When the Emperor asked for precedents, it was reported to him that in 1072 the third son of Narisūke, the former Lord of Yamato province, namely, Fujiwara no Nakasue, who had killed a spiritual fox (靈狐, reiko) in the office of the Saigū at Ise (the white foxes at Ise were called *shira-tōme*, 白專女), was banished to Tōsa province. And in 1132 a fox was killed before the palace of the Saigū. On hearing this report the Emperor ordered a Doctor of Law to investigate the law on the subject. When this Doctor gave the results of his research, they corresponded to the report already made (that is, in respect to exile as punishment). According to the Law it was forbidden to shoot an arrow in the compound of a palace, and the killing of a fox was as great a crime as the killing of a divine spirit (神靈).

1. 山槐記, diary of NAKAYAMA TADACHIKA, 中山忠親, who lived 1130-1195.

In the *Hyakurenshō*¹ we find both these cases (of 1072 and 1178) mentioned; while the *Gukwanshō*² and the *Jikkishō*³ refer to the former case only.

D. Thirteenth Century.

The *Kojidan*⁴ speaks of a pupil of Bishop Enzen (延禪) who was sick for a long time with an intermittent fever. The bishop, supposing he was possessed, went out into the street and humbly begged for food, which he gave to the boy in the belief that this humiliating act would benefit him. The boy folded his arms and said: "I am a divine fox; but being opposed by your powerful influence, I do not know what to do. Henceforth I will never come again."

In the *Uji skūi monogatari*⁵ we read the following legends: A samurai who went home one evening met a fox, which he pursued and hit with an arrow in its loin. The fox tumbled down and howled loudly, and then limped away through the grass. The animal went on for two chō before the samurai in the direction of the latter's house, which was at a distance of only four or five chō. When the man saw that the animal had fire in its mouth, he set spurs to his horse, but it was already too late. The fox, on arriving at the house, had transformed itself into a man and set the house on fire. The samurai, who thought that it was the work of a real man, pursued him, but the fox resumed his vulpine form and disappeared into the high grass. The house was burnt down. Even such creatures take immediate revenge for wrongs done to them; it is better not to shoot them.⁶

1. 百鍊抄, written after 1259, K.T.K. Vol. XIV, Ch. V, p. 44 and Ch. VIII, p. 127.

2. 愚管抄, written after 1225, Ch. IV, K.T.K. Vol. XIV, p. 46.

3. 十訓抄, written in 1252, Ch. X, nr 31. K.T.K. Vol. XV, p. 809.

4. 古事談, written 1210-1220, Ch. III, K. T. K. Vol. XV, p. 77.

5. 宇治拾遺物語, written 1213-18; but according to FLORENZ, *Geschichte der Japanischen Literatur*, p. 244, much later, shortly before 1333.

6. Ch. III, K. T. K. XVII, p. 85.

In olden times a *mono no ke* (the spirit of a being), who had possessed a person and made him ill, was transferred to a woman (by the incantations of an exorcist) and spoke by the mouth of the woman¹ the following words: "I am no curse-causing spirit. I am a fox which passed by here seeking for food. My children, which are in a grave-house, are hungry and I came here because I thought I would find some food for them; when I have eaten an offering-rice cake, I will go away." Thereupon the possession-woman was given such a cake and after eating it with a voracious appetite, she asked for some more to take to her parents and children. When she got this she put it into her bosom and requested the exorcist to drive the fox out of her, for it was the fox that was speaking through her all the time. Then the woman fell on her face and after a while rose up; but strangely enough the rice cake had by that time disappeared out of her bosom! Apparently the fox had taken the cake away with him.²

A *tanuki* trick is told in the same work.³ A holy man, who lived in a mountain for many years, was often visited by a hunter, who had a great veneration for him and always brought him food. One day the saint told the hunter that Fugen Bosatsu⁴ came night after night as a sign of the efficacy of his (the saint's) prayers. The hunter, who was curious to see this miracle, stayed there hoping to see it; and in the middle of the night the Bodhisattva really appeared, seated on his white elephant. The devout hermit wept and worshipped, but the hunter, who thought it queer that such a divine apparition should be visible even to the eyes of common people like himself and the young servant of the hermit, decided to put it to the test. From behind the praying saint he shot an arrow in the

1. A *mono-tsuki no onna*, "possession-woman," comp. the tale of the *Konjaku monogatari*, Ch. XXVII, nr 39, above p. 29.

2. Ch. IV, p. 86.

3. Ch. VIII, p. 170.

4. 普賢菩薩, Samantabhadra.

direction of Fugen, and lo ! the glorious Bodhisattva disappeared at once and there was a sound as of something tumbling down into the valley. The next day they found a big *tanuki* with the arrow in its dead body. The good hermit had been deceived by this animal because he lacked knowledge, and the hunter by means of reflection discovered the trick.

This is the first passage in Japanese literature where we find the *tanuki* mentioned as haunting men. It is clear that this animal appeared in Japanese folklore much later than the fox and the mujina. For with the *Uji shūi monogatari* we are already at the beginning of the thirteenth century (or later), and the above mentioned list of forebodings (p. 15), which includes the crying of tanuki on the different zodiacal days, dates from the second half of the fourteenth century. The reason for this late appearance is that the importance of the *tanuki* in Chinese folklore is not to be compared with that of the fox. The legends were rare and therefore did not find their way among the Japanese people as early as did those of the fox.

In the *Gukwanshō*¹ we read that Bishop Ji-en (probably the author of the *Gukwanshō*) wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of the Emperor Go Toba (1183-1198), who believed that the ghost of the Emperor Go Shirakawa had spoken by the mouths of certain persons three in number, ordering the people to worship him. The bishop wrote, as I mentioned in my paper on the Tengu,² that he considered the matter to be the work of *foxes* or Tengu, which already in olden times liked to be worshipped and to throw the world into confusion. The Emperor followed the bishop's advice and took no notice of the ghost's command. With respect to one of the possessed persons, a woman, the Bishop said : " If it is clear that she is not possessed by a *fox* or *tanuki* (狐狸, *kori*) and that she has spoken voluntarily (that is, if she has tried to deceive the Emperor and the people), than she must certainly be banished. But although men

1. 愚管抄, written before 1225, Ch. VI, K.T.K. XIV, p. 556 sq.

2. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, p. 50.

are strange beings, I do not believe that this is the case. It is certainly a fox or a Tengu, that has caused her to speak so. If the woman is simply put away in some corner, the fox or tanuki will at last go out of her and keep quiet thereafter." So the Emperor ordered the woman to be sent to a mountain monastery, where she gradually recovered.

This is the first time that we come across the term *kori* (foxes and tanuki), so common in later days. In another passage of the same work¹ "Celestial Dogs" and "Terrestrial Dogs" (天狗地狗) are mentioned by the writer as the probable authors of the unprecedented event of a Fujiwara's (namely Yoritsune's) becoming Shōgun of Kamakura (1219). For this matter caused great indignation among the other members of the Fujiwara family. BAKIN² gathers from the fact that the Tengu are bracketed now with foxes and again with "Terrestrial Dogs," that the latter must be the same as foxes.

In the *Gempei seisuiki*³ we read the following:—The Emperor Shirakawa (1072-1086) went on one occasion late at night with a few followers to the Gion temple at Kyōto, in order to visit a woman for whom he had built a palace in that neighbourhood. It was pitch-dark, as the moon had not yet risen. Suddenly a light appeared, which was extinguished the next moment, but came again directly and in such fantastic form that the Emperor shivered with fear. Tadamori, who was sent ahead to seize the light and bring it to his Imperial Master, thought that it was a demon or an *old fox* of the Gion wood. Slowly and stealthily he rode in the direction of the mysteriously shining thing, and was about to make a violent attack upon it with his long sword, when a voice was heard and he discovered that it was simply an old priest bearing a torch, who had been sent by the abbot to meet the Emperor.⁴

1. Ch. VII, p. 597.

2. *Nimase no kizenshū*, 煮雜の記前集 (written in 1811), p. 1054. Comp. my treatise on the Tengu, Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part 2, p. 51.

3. 源平盛衰記, written about 1250; Teikoku Bunko, 帝國文庫, Vol. V.

4. Ch. XXXVI, p. 676.

When Tsunemasa, Lord of Tamba, went as a pilgrim to Chikubu island, he spent a whole night there praying to Benzaiten to protect him against his enemies and to cause the Imperial Majesty to shine over all the country. At daybreak he heard the sound of the waves of the lake, and of the wind blowing through the pine trees, and in the joy of his heart he played several times on a biwa (lute), which one of the priests gave him, to the delight of all the priests who were present and who wept with admiration. Benten accepted the musical offering; for from above the front steps of the temple a *white fox* appeared, and, walking in the garden, the animal looked watchfully in the direction of the Lord of Tamba. It was a wonderful thing indeed. Tsunemasa thankfully considered this fox a manifestation of the goddess and did not doubt that his prayer would be answered. After he had given expression to his joy in the shape of a poem, the fox cried "kō, kō", and hid itself behind the temple.¹

One day Taira no Kiyomori (1118-1181) pursued a big fox on the Rendai plain, and was already about to shoot it, when the fox suddenly changed into a yellow woman, who smiled and spoke to him, saying: "If you spare my life, I will fulfill your wish." On hearing these words Kiyomori removed the arrow from the bow and asked the woman who she was. She answered: "I am the 'King in the midst of the 74 roads.'" ² "Then you are probably the '*Deva-King the Venerable Fox*,'" ³ Kiyomori said, and alighting from his horse he reverently bowed himself down before her. Thereupon the woman resumed her former fox shape and disappeared, crying "kō, kō". Kiyomori reflected upon the matter in the following way: "It is the work of the God of the Kitchen⁴ that I am poor. For attaining wealth by suppressing the Kitchen-god, Benten's 'beautiful names' ⁵

1. Ch. XXVIII, p. 728.

2. 七十四道の中の王.

3. 貴狐天王, Kiko Tennō, that is, Dagini Ten.

4. 荒神, Kwōjin.

5. 妙音, myō-on.

are unsurpassed. One of those names, is the 'Deva-King the Venerable Fox', of to-day. Therefore I must fully practice the 'Law of Daten' ¹."

"The Chinese Empress Pao Sz',² after having ruined the Emperor Yiu³ of the Western Cheu dynasty (B.C. 781), became a fox with three tails which cried 'kō kō' and entered an old grave. The fox changed itself into a beautiful woman in order to enchant men, and by means of a bewitching smile she did no end of mischief; eight or nine out of every ten men were seduced by her"⁴ "In order to ruin the Emperor Yiu the king of another country practiced the 'Law of Daten.' *Daten is a fox.*"⁵

This is the first time *Daten*, that is, *Dagini Ten*, is mentioned. We read about this Deva in several books of different ages which for the sake of clearness and chronological order will be brought together and treated below.

A valuable book of reference is the *Kokon chomonshū*⁶, in which we read a number of legends.

A Dainagon, whose house became more and more haunted by foxes, decided to hold a battue. In the night after he had given orders therefor, he saw in a dream an old grey-head with the stature of a tall boy in a green hunting-dress, who squatted under an orange tree in the garden. On being asked his name, the strange individual said, trembling with fear: "I have been living here in your house through two generations, and I have a great number of children and grand-children, whom I have always tried to keep from doing mischief, but they would not listen to me. Now I am very much ashamed to be sharing

1. 陀天法. Daten is Dagini Ten, see below. The legend is to be found Ch. I, p. 12.

2. 褒姒. See above p. 8; she was originally his favourite concubine.

3. 幽王.

4. Ch. VI, p. 161.

5. Ch. VI, p. 162.

6. 古今著聞集, written in 1254, K.T.K. Vol. XV.

with them your just anger ; please, forgive it for this time and I will protect you forever, and always let you know whenever any good luck may be coming your way." Thereupon the dreamer awoke, got up and opened the door of the verandah. On the same spot where he had seen the mysterious man in his dream, he discovered in the morning light an old hairless fox, which shyly tried to hide itself behind a bamboo bench..... The battue did not take place and from that time the fox always announced to the Dainagon whatever good luck he had to expect.¹

Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078-1162), called Chisoku-in dono, a very ambitious man, ordered a Buddhist priest who was famous for the power of his incantations, to practice the *Dagini* doctrine², which has effect at a previously appointed time. The priest said : " This doctrine has never failed. Within seven days it will have success ; if not, you must prolong it for another seven days. In case of non-efficiency after that interval you may banish me." After seven days the priest requested Tadazane to send somebody to have a look, and when the man went he saw a fox which came and ate the offerings without fear of the surrounding people. This was so far a good sign, said the priest, but he had to continue the rites for seven days more. He did so, and on the last day of that period Tadazane saw during his siesta a beautiful woman passing by his bed. Her hair was 3 shaku longer than the border of her silken robe. As he seized it, she said : " Why do you do that ; it is not good to do so." Her voice, gestures and face were all supernatural, so that he supposed her to be an angel from heaven. But the apparition broke away from him so violently, that her hair was torn from her head, whereupon Tadazane awoke and saw that he held a fox tail in his hand. As soon as the priest, for whom he had at once sent, heard of this dream, he

1. Ch. XVII, (變化), p. 549.

2. 咤祇尼法, *Dagini no ho*.

was delighted and said that he never had had such a splendid effect for his prayers, and that the next day, at the hour of the horse (11-1 P.M.), Tadazane's wish would be fulfilled. The priest was right, for really there came at that hour a very lucky message for him from the Emperor. Afterwards Tadazane became Prime Minister and rewarded the priest with a high post. The fox tail, which he kept in a beautiful box, was subsequently treasured up in a monastery. Tadazane learned the Dagini rites, practiced them himself whenever he wished for anything, and never did so in vain. The fox that ate the offerings and appeared in the dream was apparently Dagini Ten herself. Besides the tail there was also an image for which a small Shintō shrine was built, called "the shrine of the Celestial Divinity of Happiness."¹

In the Shōhei era (931-937) several hundred foxes came on one occasion to worship the Daibutsu of Tōdaiji. As they were driven away by the people, their spirit (靈) possessed a man and said through him: "We have been living already a long time in this monastery. We worship the venerable image because it is to be afflicted and burnt to-day."²

At the time of the Emperor Go Toba (1183-1198) the palace of a Princess in Kyōto was haunted. Shōda Yorinori waited night after night in vain for the spook, till at last, in the seventh night, when he was half asleep, his head was bombarded with potsherds. First he did not see anything, but after a while a black being jumped over him. When he caught it and looked to see what it was, he found that it was nothing but an old, hairless *tanuki*! He pressed the animal down and brought it alive to the princess, who rewarded him with the present of a sword. After that there were no more spooks in the palace.³

An old mountain lake was frequented by a great number of water birds, but everybody who hunted them was drowned.

1. Ch. VI, p. 312. The name of the divinity was 福天神, Fukutenjin, simply another name for Dagini Ten. See below.

2. Ch. XX, p. 586.

3. Ch. XVII, p. 543.

One day a brave man decided to put a stop to this mysterious matter, and went alone in the dark, armed with a bow and arrows and a big sword, his way lying through the lonely mountains. On reaching the lake he sat down and waited a long time under a pine tree which stood on the bank with its trunk hanging out over the water. Suddenly, in the dead of night, the surface of the lake was disturbed and waves began to dash upon the shore. The man bent his bow and waited. There appeared a light in the midst of the lake, the form of which he could not distinguish. It came flying in his direction, but when it reached a point just above the tree and saw the audacious man aiming his bow at it, it flew back over the lake. As this was repeated time and again, the man grew tired, and, throwing his bow on the ground, drew his sword. Then the spook came nearer and he saw in the light a grinning old hag, whom he immediately seized. She tried in vain to pull him into the lake, for he stood like a pillar and gave her a stab with his knife, which made her weaker and weaker, till at last the light disappeared. The hag died and turned out to be an *old tanuki*, which he took home and showed to his astonished brothers, who had refused to go with him for fear of the dangerous spook.¹

A captain of the Left Gate Guards, called Saitō Sukeyasu, who was hunting in the province of Tamba, once passed the night in an old chapel against the advice of the villagers, who told him that the chapel was inhabited by an anthropophagous monster. He preferred to run the risk of being devoured by the monster to remaining in the snowstorm outside. While he was leaning against a pillar, half asleep, he heard somebody approaching in the garden. Peeping through a chink of the sliding-door he discovered a pitch-black Buddhist priest (法師, *hōshi*), who was so tall that his head reached to the eaves; but Sukeyasu could not distinguish him clearly. The priest stretch-

1. Ch. XVII, p. 543.

ed a horrible, hairy, thin arm through the chink of the sliding-door and stroked Sukeyasu's forehead, but when the latter sat upright, he withdrew the arm immediately. After a while the hairy hand appeared and stroked Sukeyasu again, but this time the captain grasped and held it tightly. In the struggle which ensued the sliding-door got pushed out of its groove and fell over on the verandah. The giant was underneath and when pressed down by Sukeyasu, became smaller and smaller and his arm thinner and thinner, and he cried with a very weak voice. Then the captain called his servants and ordered them to strike a light. And lo! the gigantic spook appeared to be only an old tanuki. The next day Sukeyasu was proceeding to show the animal to the villagers in order to convince them that the monster was not so dangerous after all and that it was now dead, but the servants had roasted and eaten the tanuki, and only its head remained. This was shown to the astonished peasants. From that time the chapel was no longer haunted by anthropophagous beings.¹

In the next legend we read about a rain of pebbles which continually descended in the house of a minister in Kyōto. Nobody knew from whence they came. Although the inmates were not hit by the pebbles, the thing perplexed them greatly, till a samurai from the country gave them the advice to bring tanuki together from all sides and to prepare a meal from them. As he came from the country, they trusted him and followed his advice. Nice mats were spread in the garden, many lamps were lighted, and a great number of tanuki, roasted and cooked in various ways, were eaten, while the sake cup went round after a most jolly fashion. With loud voices the feasters cried out: "You tanuki, you mean fellows, why do you haunt the house of the Minister? Those who do such things are punished in this way (namely, by being killed and eaten)." Thereupon they threw the bones upon the earthen wall surrounding a neighbour-

1. Ch. XVII, p. 550.

ing monastery and ate and drank again. "Now they will not play such tricks any longer," they said to one another, and really, for a long time there was no further pebble rain in that house. "This is no lie," the author adds, "for it is a strange fact which happened only a little while ago. Doubtless the pebble rain was the work of tanuki."¹

The *Asuma kagami*² speaks of three fox-omina. The first occurred in 1186, when "a fox brought forth a young one at the foot of Eikoku san. This young fox came into the palace of the Shōgun at Kamakura. According to the diviners it was a bad omen. Many strange things had already happened during the previous year."³ The second omen was in 1213, when it thundered in the night, and at the same time a fox cried several times in the southern garden of the Shōgun's palace.⁴ The third time was in 1250. In that year a fox, which cried every night in that same garden, was shot by one of the Shōgun's Body-Guards, and ran away through the eastern Chinese gate; its crying was heard in the direction of Hiki ga yatsu (valley).⁵

In 1188, on the 14th day of the 9th month, a child was born and disappeared. After four years it was found, as a little boy, in an old grave inhabited by a fox. The discovery was due to a dream in which the grave had been indicated. The boy was taken home, but the fox of the grave changed itself into an old man who suddenly appeared and gave a sword and a comb to the boy, secretly whispering into his ear: "You will become the Lord of Japan. To-day you will attain that rank." This child was Shigemochi, and Nagashige, his heir, afterwards carried the sword.⁶

1. Ch. XVII, p. 551.

2. 吾妻鏡 (afterwards written 東鏡), written shortly after 1266.

3. Ch. VI, p. 7.

4. Ch. XXI, p. 45.

5. Ch. XL, p. 30.

6. Ch. VIII, p. 27.

In the *Zoku kojidan*¹ we read: "In olden times somebody shot a fox in the neighbourhood of a temple in which a fox (yakan, 野干) was considered to be the body of a god (that is, in which a fox-shaped god was worshipped). The Court nobles deliberated whether the fox had been killed or not, but the Dainagon Tsunenobu said that it was no crime to shoot a god, however exalted he might be, when that god ran out of his temple in the shape of a fox."

E. Fourteenth Century.

URABE NO KENKŌ² tells in the *Tsurezuregusa*³ the following story:—"There were spooks in the Palace at Kyōto. While some courtiers were playing *go*, somebody lifted the blind and looked at the game. It was a fox sitting like a man, but it ran away when the astonished players cried out: 'A fox!' It was apparently a fox that had tried to haunt them, but, being not yet well trained to the business, had not succeeded."

In the *Masu kagami*⁴ we read the following: In 1283 the priests of Hiyoshi, on Hieizan, came to the capital and placed the mikoshi of the god in the Palace, as a sign of their anger, because the Emperor had declined some request they had made. Then they returned to their mountain home, leaving the mikoshi behind. For fear of the god the Emperor (Go Uda) went out from the Palace and established himself in a private house. But after a while he left there and returned to the Palace for the following reason. In that private house there was a chapel of Waka-miya of Iwashimizu, where a large number of foxes lived. Somebody had offended these animals in such a way as to cause their revenge to fall upon the house. Their anger revealed itself in a great variety of strange incidents, and the

1. 續古事談, written at the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. Ch. II (臣節), *Gunsho ruijū*, nr 487, Vol. XVII, p. 661.

2. 卜部繁好.

3. Written 1334-39; nr 230.

4. 增鏡, written 1340-1350. Ch. XII, K. T. K. Vol. XVII, p. 1139.

Emperor thought it better to return to the Palace. Apparently he was more afraid of the foxes than of Hiyoshi, the mighty god of Hicizan.

In the *Taiheiki*¹ we find the legend about Kakuban (the priest of Kōya-san into whose heart the Tengu had stolen and who was found by the monks of Kōya seated after the fashion of the image of Fudō Myōō), which I have given in detail in my treatise on the Tengu.² The monks thought that Kakuban had transformed himself by means of some magic art *which old tanuki or old foxes possess.*"

In Ch. XXII³ an aged nun seated in a sedan-chair is believed to be an old tanuki or fox, which must be forced to show its original shape by making smoke enter its nose, or by being shot.

F. Fifteenth Century.

In the *Yasutomiki*⁴ we read for the first time about people who had foxes in their service for magical purposes. This kind of sorcery was called "kitsune-tsukai, 狐仕, the employment of foxes." Under date of the 10th day of the ninth month of 1420 YASUTOMI writes the following: "This morning Takama, the physician of Muromachi dono (the Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimochi), was thrown into prison along with his son and younger brother. Since recently the rumour has spread that they have foxes in their service (have used them, 仕, tsukau), yesterday the Consort of the Shōgun ordered exorcists to hold incantations (kaji), whereupon two foxes fled from her rooms. The foxes were caught and killed, and, while it was thus apparent that Takama had foxes in his service, he was summoned this morning (to the palace). This noon Sadamune

1. 太平記, written about 1382. Vol. III, Ch. XVIII, p. 2.

2. Transactions Vol. XXXVI, Part II, pp. 62 seq.

3. Vol. III, p. 6-a.

4. 康富記, a diary of NAKAHARA YASUTOMI, 中原康富, who lived

Ason, the Chief-Diviner¹, was also summoned, because he too was said to use foxes. How terrible, terrible are the deeds of the people in these times, in which the end of the world is drawing near!".....Same year, tenth month, 9th day: "According to what I heard afterwards the prisoner Takama was yesterday banished to Sanuki province, and Toshitsune Ason would have undergone the same punishment if he had not beforehand become a monk of the monastery at Akino. These all were people who used foxes."

A famous and interesting legend is to be found in the *Kagakushū*², sub voce "*Dog hunting*." We read—"In olden times there was in India a king called Hansoku (班足) whose consort surpassed all others in wickedness. She persuaded the king to order the decapitation of a thousand men. Afterwards reborn in China as the consort of the Emperor Yiu (幽王), of Cheu, called Pao-Sz' (褒姒), she deceived the people and ruined the empire (781 B.C.) After her death she was reborn in Japan as *Tamamo no mae* (玉藻前) in the time of the Emperor Konoe (1141-1155). Then she killed an immense number of people. Later she changed into a *white fox* and brought harm upon very many more. The people of the time proposed to hunt the fox, but first to learn the art of hunting on horseback by hunting dogs. The white fox, aware of this purpose transformed itself into a stone. As birds and quadrupeds which touch this deadly stone die immediately, it is called the *sesshō-seki* (殺生石), or 'life-killing stone'; it is now on the Nasu moor in Shimozuke province. This was the origin of dog hunting."

The same thing we find mentioned in the *Nikkenroku*³, where we read the following:—"Second year of the Kyō-toku

1. Onyō no kami, 陰陽頭.

2. 下學集, written in 1444 by the priest SHAKU NO HATOTSU, 釋被稱, Ch. 下.

3. 日件錄, the diary of the Buddhist priest GWA-UN, 臥雲, written anno 1453 sqq.; *Zoku Shiseki shūran*, Vol. II, p. 16.

era (1453), second month, 25th day. The abbot of Rinkō-in, called Shuzan, paid me a visit, and during the conversation we spoke about dog shooting. He said: 'The Emperor Toba (1107-1123) had a pretty concubine, of whose origin nobody knew. She was called Tamamo no mae and was very much beloved by the Emperor, with whom she spoke about Indian and Chinese matters, being thoroughly acquainted therewith. But when the Emperor fell ill and consulted a diviner, the latter declared that the illness was caused by the woman, and when, in consequence, prayers were recited with a view to curing the patient, the concubine turned into a fox and ran away. This fox, which lived on the Nasu moor in Shimozuke province, was pursued, but in vain, because it was so extraordinarily spry. Therefore the Emperor ordered the samurai to shoot dogs on horseback in order to learn thereby how to shoot foxes. Afterwards Kazusa-no-sūke killed the fox, and in its tail were two needles, which he gave to (his master) Yoritomo (Minamoto no Yoritomo, the Shōgun of Kamakura, 1147-1199). After receiving these needles the latter became finally the ruler of the world. This (namely the Emperor Toba's order to the samurai) is the reason why nowadays dogs are hunted. The fox was a metamorphosis of Pao-Sz' (the abandoned concubine of King Yiu, who caused the fall of the Western Cheu dynasty in 781 B.C.).'

In ŌWADA TATEKI'S¹ *Yōkyoku tsūkaï*² we find the legend of Tamamo no mae dramatised as follows: A Buddhist priest, named Gennō, is warned by a village woman that he is quite near to the dangerous "life-killing stone." The woman and the chorus tell him the legend of Tamamo no mae, the beautiful and learned concubine of the Emperor Toba, who was well acquainted with Sutras and Vinayas, Confucius' doctrine, Chinese and Japanese arts, poetry and music, and who

1. 大和田建樹.

2. 謠曲通解, "Explanation of Songs"; these songs date from the Ashikaga period (1336-1573).

was called "Pearl" (Tama) on account of the clearness of her mind. One evening the Emperor had assembled all the talented men among the courtiers, and they played for him on the flute and the lute. It was a very melancholy evening at the end of autumn. The moon had not yet risen, a drizzling rain was falling and the wind was blowing. All of a sudden the lights went out, and in the darkness Tamamo no mae's body shone like a brilliant sun, enlivening the whole palace. At the same time the Emperor became ill. The Court magician, Abe no Yasunari, declared that it was all the work of the concubine, who thereupon flew away to the Nasu moor and changed into a white fox.

In the second act the village woman appears to be the spirit of Tamamo no mae herself. She promises the priest, at his request, to show her fox shape that night, and then disappears into the stone. In the next scene the stone splits of itself, and inside of it a light becomes visible, in the midst of which the shape of a fox is to be seen. The fox tells him that she is the divinity of the grave of the Crown prince Hansoku (斑足), in India, who appeared in China as Pao-Sz', the consort of King Yiu, and in Japan as Tamamo no mae. Abe no Yasunari had, after the accident in the Palace, begun an offering and forced her, the concubine, to carry the five-coloured gohei. This and his ardent prayers caused her to suffer so much, that she threw away the gohei and flew through the air to the Nasu moor, where she hid herself. Then an Imperial message was sent to Miura-no-sūke Yoshiaki and Kazusa-no-sūke Hirotsune, ordering them to kill this fox. First they shot dogs for a hundred days in order to get into training, and then they surrounded the moor and killed the fox. Its angry spirit, however, remained there and became the "Life-killing stone," which was fatal to men for many years thereafter. The priest exorcises the spirit by means of incantations, and it disappears, on promising to do no further evil.

Professor CHAMBERLAIN, who also gives an account of this drama¹, remarks: "The stone itself no longer exists; but the poisonous exhalations which still issue from the ground on which it stood are destructive to insect and bird."

The same legend is to be found in the Zen priest Gennō's² biography, in KAWAI TSUNEHISA's³ book entitled *Slumpen Kama-kura shi*⁴, where also the history of the monastery Kaizōji⁵, at Kamakura, founded by the same priest, is given. This work is quoted by KEIZAN KOJI⁶ in his *Enkyo zatsuwā*⁷. We read there that spooks had already appeared long before the banquet occurred, and that it was in the time of the Emperor Konoe (1141-1155) (instead of Toba⁸). During the banquet, in the depth of night, the Palace shook violently and the lamps went out. It was Yoshiaki who afterwards killed the fox, the spirit of which more than 100 years later became the notorious stone. Gennō was ordered by the Emperor Go Fukakusa (1246-1259) to go to the moor and put a stop to the strange matter. "When the priest came to the stone, he saw a heap of bones and skulls surrounding it. He read aloud the "Hasō daki en"⁹, a Zen text, and said: 'Originally you were a stone. Whence came the spirit and whither does it intend to go?' Then he uttered a gathā (Buddhist stanza) and struck the stone with his staff, breaking it at once. That night a woman of majestic beauty appeared and thanked him, saying: 'I have been reborn in Heaven by virtue of your pure exhortation'. And then she vanished. From that time Gennō's fame became great in the capital and in all the country. The Shōgun of Kamakura, Hōjō Tokiyori (1226-1263), who heard about

1. *Murray's Handbook for travellers in Japan*, 8th ed. (1907), p. 216.

2. 源翁.

3. 河井恒久.

4. 新編鎌倉志.

5. 海蔵寺.

6. 荆山居士.

7. 燕居雜話, written in 1837; *Ihyaku setsurin*, Vol. V, p. 320.

8. Comp. the *Kagukushū*, above p. 51.

9. 破庵墮機錄.

Gennō's miraculous power, gave him a village as a reward of its exercise. This happened in the Kenchō era (1249-1255)."

The *Ainōshō*¹, an encyclopedia dating from 1446, treats of the question why a fox is called *Myōbu no o mae*². "In China," it says, "the Court ladies are called 'myōbu' (命婦) As there are female divinities in the temples in which foxes are worshipped, perhaps these goddesses were called 'myōbu' after the palace ladies. Or have they (the fox-goddesses) gotten this name because the foxes were originally the messengers of a god that was so called (Myōbu)? I shall ask other people about this."

With reference to this name "myōbu," we find some information in the *Inari jinjaiki hiketsu*³. "In this temple (that is, the temple of Inari at Kyōto)," it says, "a fox is called 'myōbu' for the following reason.—At the time of the Emperor Ichijō (986-1011) a Court lady (myōbu), a very devout believer in Inari, made a vow to spend seven days and nights in the temple. But on the third day she was requested by the priest to leave, as she had become unclean through menstruation. But she refused to do so and said: 'Inari is a divinity who is the same for both clean and unclean persons; so I can stay here', and she composed a verse in this sense. That night Inari appeared to her in a dream and recited a verse indicating that the goddess disliked the menstruation. Then the woman left the temple and gave the name of 'Myōbu' to the fox Akomachi (one of the three foxes worshipped on Mount Inari), according to the tradition of the temple. Another name for foxes is 'Tōme no o mae'; *tōme* means 'old woman'".

1. 透蘆抄, Ch. I, nr 57, p. 10; written by the Buddhist priest GYŌGO, 行誓.

2. 命婦ノ御前.

3. 稻荷神社記秘訣, written by HAGURA KŌMAN, 羽倉廣満, who was a priest of the Inari temple at Kyōto in the Kyōhō era (1716-1735). Quoted in the *Reijū zakki*, Vol. II, p. 513, 515.

In the *Reijū zakki*¹ we read the following concerning the name "tōme": "As to the word 'tōme' for fox, this has the following origin. On the hill behind the Inari temple (in Kyōto) there was in olden times a temple in which three foxes were worshipped as gods; the name of that temple was *Tō-u-me sha* (登宇女社), or *Myōbu sha* (命婦社). This may be the reason why in later times everybody called a fox 'tōme' (專) This name is found already in the *Genji monogatari* (1004), *Uji shūi monogatari* (1213-18), *Hyakurenshō* (after 1259) and so on."

The *Inari jinjakō*² thus refers to the names *myōbu* and *tōme*. "Nowadays the temple on the hill behind the Inari temple (in Kyōto) is called the 'Upper Temple' (Ue no sha, 上社). Formerly the name of this temple was *Tōme no sha* or *Myōbu no sha*, and three fox-gods were worshipped there. As these three foxes lived a long, long time in the neighbourhood of the Inari temple, where they did strange things, the people came finally to call them 'the sacred messengers of Inari', and to worship them together in one temple."

Another word for fox is *yakan* (野干). In the *Wakun no shiori*³ we read sub voce "Fox": "The fox is also called 'yakan'. As to the Buddhist *yakan* (射干), that is different from the fox. We find in the dictionaries: '豨 (kan), which is the same as field-dog (野犬, ya-ken); it resembles a fox but is smaller; it comes from Manchuria (胡地).'"

In the old legend which we found in the *Ryō-i-ki*⁴ the word *yakan* is said to be the old word for *kitsune*, which is

1. 靈歌雜記, written by TSUTANOYA SHUJIN, 萬屋主人, "the Master of the Ivy House", probably in the beginning of the 19th century, the principal work on Japanese fox-lore.

2. 稻荷神社考, written in 1836 by SUGAWARA NO NATSUKAGE, 菅原夏陸, who called himself after his ancestor SUGAWARA; his own name was MAEDA NATSUKAGE, 前田夏陸. Ch. II, p. 25-a, under the heading "*Myōbu-sha*, also called *Tōme Miketsu kami*, 專女三狐神."

3. 和訓栞, written by TANIKAWA KOTOSUGA, 谷川士清, who lived 1706-1776.

4. See above p. 20.

explained by popular tradition to be "come always." We did not find "yakan" in other works of the eighth century, nor in those of the ninth and tenth centuries. Of all the fox stories of the *Konjaku monogatari* in one only is the word "yakan" used, side by side with the word "kitsune", as having the same meaning. In one of the tales of the *Mizu kagami* (12th century) it stands alone, while the only work of the 13th century which uses the word is the *Zoku kojidan*; but in the same tale the fox is also called "kitsune" and apparently "yakan" is only used as belonging to the story in its oldest form. After that time it does not occur. The *Wamyōshō*¹, quoted by KAIBARA YOSHIFURU² in his *Wajigō*³, refers to a Chinese work entitled "*K'ao shing ts'ieh yun*"⁴, which says: "The fox is an animal called *yakan* (野干). In China a fox is called *yakan* by mistake. Some say that the *yakan* is not the same as the fox. The *yakan* is small and has a big tail and can climb trees; the fox is big and cannot do this." And another Chinese book, the *Tsu t'ing shi yuen*⁵ says: "Yakan is in Sanskrit 'shikkara' (悉迦羅); it is also called 夜干, or 射干 (*yakan*); its bark is like that of a wolf."

Probably legends about this Indian animal came to China in Buddhist form and were there transferred to the fox. The Chinese work "*Shih i*"⁶ quoted by HIRANO HITSUDAI⁷ in his *Honchō shokkan*⁸ explains the *yakan* (射干) as follows: "In Buddhistic sutras both *yakan* and 貂 (ten, sable, marten, mustela melampus) are bad animals and resemble blue-

1. 和名抄, (the full title is *Wamyō ruijū shō*, 和名類聚抄), written by MINAMOTO NO SHITAGAU, 源順, who lived 911-983.

2. 貝原好古.

3. 倭爾雅, a dictionary written in 1688; Ch. VI, Section Animals, s.v. Fox.

4. 考聲切韻.

5. 祖庭事苑.

6. 拾遺, written by CH'EN TS'ANG-K'AI of the T'ang dynasty.

7. 平野必大.

8. 本朝食鑑, written in 1697.

yellow dogs. They devour men and can climb trees." Hirano remarks: "Perhaps the fox is called 'yakan' in Japan in imitation of the bad animal of the Buddhist sutras. There is an old saying that 'a yakan resembles a dog.' This is also borrowed from the Buddhist sutras. In general the thing called 'yakan' (野干) is the worst and most haunting and harm-doing of all foxes."

As to the name "*tōka*," we find the following explanation in the *Butsurui shōkō*.¹ "In Kwantō the fox is called '*kitsune*' in the day-time, and '*tōka*' at night. In Hitachi province a white fox is called *tōka*." The reason (for this name) must be that the people say the fox is the sacred messenger of *Inari*, the two characters of whose name, 稻荷, are pronounced *tō-ka* (in kan-on)." And the *Reijū sakki*² quotes a passage of the above mentioned *Inarijinja ki hiketsu*, which runs thus: "Inari is called 'Tōka, 稻荷' which name is to be written 豊宇賀, *Toyo-u-ga*, another name of *Uga no mitama* (倉稻魂).³ 'Toyo-uga' means 'abundant food.'"

After this digression, which we have made in order to bring together all references to the names of the fox, we will return to our starting-point, the *Ainōshō*. We find in this old encyclopedia still another passage on foxes, under the heading: "Ignes fatui, called *Fox-fire* (*kitsune-bi*)."⁴ Here we find the following explanation. "In the old Chinese classic entitled *Li ki*⁵ we read that rotten plants become fire-flies. It is also said that fire-flies come forth from horse blood. Fox-fire (*kitsune-bi*, 狐火) is also written 燐火, *kutsune-bi* (rin-kwa, the meaning of the characters is *ignis fatuus*). As this *ignis fatuus* is said to come forth from horse blood, the people think fox-fire is made by means of burning horse bones."

1. 物類稱呼.

2. Vol. II, p. 515.

3. The "Spirit of the Rice" worshipped on Mount Inari. See below.

4. 狐火云燐火.

5. 禮記, Ch. 月令.

G. *Sixteenth Century.*

Among the *Otogi zōshi*¹ there is one legend, entitled "Kobatana-gitsune," which is merely a new form of the old story of the fox which took the shape of a woman and lived with a man as his wife, till a dog made her flee away home to her parents. In this version of the tale she afterwards changes herself into a nun and leads a pious life, although always longing after her former husband.

In the *Shimpen otogi zōshi*² we find besides the above³ mentioned story two short passages on foxes, both in the *Mottomo no zōshi*,⁴ which dates from about 1620. Here we read: "As to the transformations of foxes, these are brought to light by smoking their noses," and a verse on summer runs as follows: "Of Inari's festival fox-fires are the torches."

In the *Hōjō godaiki*, "History of five generations of the Hōjō family"⁵, we read: "An old samurai who had been in the service of Hōjō Ujiyasu (1515-1570) told the following story: 'Although Ujiyasu was a warrior, he was very fond of poetry. One summer evening he was walking about when a fox passed crying before him. Thereupon one of his attendants remarked: "In olden times, when Yoritomo was hunting on the Mihara plain in Shinano province, it began to rain and thunder. Then Kajiwara Kagesue recited a verse, and the thunder, affected by the verse, stopped at once. Now, as it is a very bad omen for a fox to appear in summer time, it would be

1. 御伽草子, legends dating from the 15th and 16th centuries, compiled and published in two editions (1891 and 1901) by IMAIZUMI TEISŪKE, 今泉定介. Comp. FLORENZ, *Geschichte der Japanischen Literatur*, pp. 357 sqq.

2. 新編御伽草子, 20 tales of about the same time, compiled and published by HAGINO YOSHIYUKI, 萩野由之, in 1901.

3. Pg. 23.

4. 尤之雙紙; Vol. II, legend nr 20, p. 59, nrs 29 and 39.

5. 北條五代記, written by MIURA JOSHIIN, 三浦淨心, a Buddhist priest who lived 1536-1615.

well to drive the bad omen away by making some verses." But nobody made any. Then Ujiyasu himself produced a nice and very subtle poem, the hidden sense of which was that a fox ought not to appear in summer. And lo! at daybreak the fox lay dead on the spot where it had cried. The people thought this strange and wondered at the miraculous power of the poem.'"

H. *Seventeenth Century.*

The *Ō-u ei-kei gunki*¹ contains the following legend:— According to tradition Onodera Shigemochi, the forefather of Yoshimichi, Lord of Dewa, who was living at Koga in the province of Shimōsa, once when a boy saved a young fox from maltreatment at the hands of other boys. The same night, when he was looking at the moon, an old man came and thanked him on his knees for having saved his child, the little fox. He said that he was a white fox (*byakko*), who had been already a long time in the service of Inari Daimyōjin. At the same time he gave Shigemochi a small packet of medicine, with the words: "This is a very powerful medicine, made by the goddess (Inari); by means of this you will this year obtain territory from the hand of the Emperor. You must ask him for a dominion in the East, namely Yamakita, in Dewa province. Your children and grandchildren will always possess that territory and have great prosperity. When you go thither, I will accompany you." Thereupon the old man suddenly vanished, leaving the astonished Shigemochi with the medicine in his hand. The next day the Emperor became severely ill, and nobody could cure him. In and outside the capital a proclamation was made, promising to give to him who could cure the Emperor

1. 奥羽永慶軍記, "A History of the war between Ūshū and Ushū (Mutsu and Dewa provinces) from the Eiroku era (1558-1569) till the Keichō era (1596-1614)" (hence the words "*Ō-u ei-kei*"), written by TOBE MASANAŌ, 戸部正直, a samurai of the Akita clan, who probably lived in the first half of the seventeenth century. *Shis.ki sinron*, Vol. XV, Ch. 36.

whatever reward he might wish for. Then Shigemochi came with his medicine, and in one day had such great success, that the Emperor offered him a dominion. Following the advice of the fox he chose Yamashita, in Dewa province, and "from that time up till now, during four hundred years, his descendants possess it and live there in full prosperity."

In the *Taiionki*¹ we read: "The Emperor has three 'sacred utensils' (shinki, 神器). His retainers have three treasures (sambō, 三寶), namely, first, the portrait of the Daishokukwan (that is, KAMATARI, 鎌足, the first of the FUJIWARA, who lived 614-669 and obtained the title of daishokukwan shortly before his death); secondly, the *Hokkekyō* (Saddharma pundarika sūtra), written with golden ink by the abbot EIRYŌ, 惠亮, and thirdly, the 'Sword of the Little Fox.'² The Kwanjōshō ('Prime Minister'), namely SUGAWARA NO MICHIZANE (845-903), who was transformed after death into a great peal of thunder (because he died in anger on account of an unjust exile), bore a grudge against the Court and killed Fujiwara no Tokihira (871-909) who had caused his exile. Night and day it blew and rained continuously; it was terrible, just as if an army of gods tore the Palace asunder. The Emperor (Daigo, 897-930) was very much afraid and asked TEISHIN KŌ (貞信公, Fujiwara no Tadahira): 'Which god has the palace watch to-day?' Thereupon Teishinkō saw a white fox coming forth from the hilt of his sword, and he answered: 'Your Majesty can be at ease; for to-day it is *Inari's* great divinity that is guarding the Palace.' Immediately after these words the thunder and rain stopped and the sky became clear. This sword is called 'The sword of the Little fox.'"

1. 戴恩記, written by MATSUNAGA TEITOKU, 松永貞徳, who lived 1570-1653; also called *Karin satsuwā shū*, 歌林雜話集, "Collection of various poems." Vol. I, p. 21.

2. Kogitsune no tachi, 小狐ノ太刀.

The *Shinichomonshū*¹ contains several fox and tanuki legends. A man was sitting before the Inari temple at Kyōto, when an old fox came out of the temple and jumped to and fro over the torii. As the man looked at it in great astonishment, the fox said to him: "You must jump also." "That is impossible for me," he answered, but the fox replied: "If that is the case, I will teach you," and taking off the man's haori, the animal threw a long rope over the torii and pulled it to and fro. The man felt as if he also jumped across and became quite perplexed. On having returned to his village he knocked at the door of his house, but his wife and children would not open to him and exclaimed: "Good Heavens, it is an old fox; don't let him in." In vain he assured them that he was their husband and father, and then with tears came to the sad conclusion that he had fallen alive upon the "animal-road" (one of the six conditions of sentient existence in Buddhism, the so-called "six paths," 六道, or gāti). Thereupon he went away and lived thenceforth by the seashore, eating only seaweed and fish, while the villagers pitied him greatly and erected a small Inari shrine in his honour.²

At the time that the Dainagon of Owari was hawking in Tsushima, he wished to have prepared the medicine called U-sai-en (烏犀圓, which is made up of the livers of several animals), and ordered one of his retainers to have some one take out the "living liver" of a fox. The samurai gave the order to a bird catcher who caught a fox, but as the man desired to go home, he accepted the offer of one of the samurai's kitchen servants and gave him the animal with the permission to eat the flesh after removing the liver. But as the kitchen servant was doing it, his wife, who was in Kiyosu (Owari province), was suddenly possessed by a being which spoke through her, saying: "There was no reason why he should kill me, as he is no official (that

1. 新著聞集, written about 1700. Zoku Teikoku bunko, Vol. XLVII, *Kinsei kidan zenshū*, 近世奇談全集.

2. Ch. X, p. 141.

is, it was not his duty to kill me) ; therefore I will take vengeance. He has not only killed me, but he has eaten my flesh, so that he is my deadly enemy ; and as I cannot get him in my power, I will kill his wife, after having made her mad." When this matter reached the ears of the Lord of Owari, he said : " Because a fox is a supernatural being, it will listen to reasonable words," and he sent a messenger to the house of the unhappy woman telling him to address the fox as follows : " Why do you torment this woman ? It was according to my order that you were killed. Although I might have killed you when hunting foxes for my amusement, this time I wanted to have medicine prepared ; is it not delightful to you to have lost your life for the sake of mankind ? " When the woman heard these words, she shed tears and said (that is, the fox spoke through her) : " It is of advantage to us animals to listen to the Lord's commands," and then all of a sudden the spirit (*mono no ke*) went out of the woman.¹

In the same chapter² we find a tale about a fox which had eaten a turtle (*suppon*, a tortoise) of a Buddhist temple just at the time that the Lord of Iga visited that sanctuary. When the latter heard of it, he ordered a fox-hunt to be conducted early the next morning. That night he heard some noises in front of his room, and when he opened the door and looked out, saw a fox, bound with creeping vines, the ends of which two other foxes held in their mouths. Upon the Lord's question as to what they intended to do with the culprit, they attacked the animal and killed it at once. There is a similar story found in the same chapter.³ A fox devoured a peacock, which a Minister of Education had lent to *Andō*, Lord of *Tsushima*. The latter was so furious about the matter, that he ordered his servants to demolish the *Inari* shrine in his compound. That night a fox appeared to him in a dream (it was the *Inari* of the

1. Ch. XVI, p. 226.

2. Ch. XVI, p. 227.

3. Ch. XVI, p. 234.

shrine), and said it was another fox that devoured the peacock and the proof would be forthcoming within three days. Three days afterwards the Lord dreamed again, when the fox came a second time and said: "I have made the examination and punished the culprit." When the astonished Lord went out on the verandah, he saw a big old fox lying dead on the floor. Immediately he had a new Inari shrine built.

An unsuccessful metamorphosis of a fox is the subject of another tale. A man who had left his house at sunset in order to go to a neighbouring town, came back very soon, accompanied by a servant, and pretended to his wife that he had already settled his business. As he was very tired, he went to bed at once, but an old woman, who was in the house, told her mistress that she had seen that this person was blind in his *left* eye, while her master was blind in the *right* one. In order to look into the matter closely they called the sleeping man, under pretext that the old woman felt indisposed and wanted medicine. After some grumbling he got up and now both women could clearly see that he was blind in the wrong eye. When he got to sleep again, they stabbed him to death, and under the strokes he cried like a fox, "kon-kon, kwai-kwai." Then the servant of the house beat to death his companion who was also a fox. Apparently the one who had taken the shape of the master was not yet well enough trained to successfully transform himself.¹

In 1672 a man who had caught a fox, but would not kill it because the next day was the anniversary of his father's death, was requested by a friend, called Shōsiburō, to give him the animal. When he did so, Shōsiburō at once killed it, crushing in its ears and mouth by blows. Just at that time the cruel man's wife gave birth to a girl baby with split ears and a distorted mouth. This deformity was the curse of the fox.²

In the monastery of Kōhōji in Shimōsa province a wooden image of Nichiren recited sutras every night, and from all

1. Ch. XVII, p. 236.

2. Ch. XIV, p. 210.

sides of the neighbourhood men and women flocked together to witness the miracle. But the abbot of the monastery, who could not understand the matter, one night stopped the people, who came to listen as usual, and alone addressed the image, asking it questions about the mysteries of the Law, and threatening to cut it to pieces and throw it away, if it did not answer immediately. When there came no reply, the reverend man forthwith took a broad axe and pulled the image down. And lo! from behind it an *old tanuki* jumped out and fled away. The animal was pursued and beaten to death.¹

In the *Edo sōga no ko*² we read the following particulars about the Inari temple of Ōji (王子) in the neighbourhood of Ueno, the well-known district of Yedo: "Every year, on New Year's eve the foxes of the eight provinces of Kwantō gather in the night at this temple and light the fox-fire (*kitsune-bi*). People think that if this fire burns well, there will be a good crop." And the poet IKENISHI GONSUI³ says in his *Edo Benkei*⁴:

"The eve of the year, when the torches burn
And the Kwantō foxes come."

Another hokku (that is, haikai, a verse of seventeen syllables) of TOMOJI⁵ in the *Toshidoshi no kwai*⁶ runs as follows:

"Mekari being too far, I'll go
To look at the foxes of Ōji."

Mekari (和布刈) is a god enshrined at Ise, where he is worshipped at midnight on New Year's eve. RYŪTEI TANEHIKO⁷, the famous novelist, who quotes these passages, remarks:

1. Ch. VIII, p. III.

2. 江戸惣鹿子, written in 1689, Ch. III.

3. 池西言水.

4. 江戸辯慶, written in 1680.

5. 友而.

6. 年年ノ晦.

7. 柳亭種彦, who lived in Yedo 1782-1842. He quotes these passages in his *Ryūteiki*, 柳亭記, *Iyokka setsurin*, Vol. VI, p. 118.

“Although it is clear from TOMOJI’s verse that this matter existed already in the Empō era (1673-1680), we do not know when it began. In olden times foxes may actually have come together, but nowadays it is only an imitation of fox-fire with lighted torches.”

It may be mentioned that KONDŌ GIKYŪ¹, who probably lived in the 18th century, refers in his *Edoshi*² to the work “*Edo sunago*”³, where we read the following:—“The Inari temple at Ōji is, according to tradition, the head of all the Inari temples in Kwantō. Every year the people predict luck or calamity from the fox-fire which appears on the last night of the year.” And further on: “Tradition says that there is very much fox-fire on New Year’s eve at the so-called Shōzoku-enoki (裝束榎, ‘the Enoki tree of the Ceremonial Dress’, which stands in the field before the Inari temple at Ōji). It is said that the foxes (which come from all sides of Kwantō to this place) change their garments at the foot of this tree (in order to go up to the temple in full ceremonial dress).”

A great number of writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries speak in general terms about foxes, tanuki and mujina, Dagini Ten and Inari, kitsune-tsukai and kuda-mochi. For the sake of clearness I shall put them all together in chronological order, but first give the different legends to be found in books of the same two centuries.

I. *Eighteenth Century.*

In the *Honchō koji incenshū*⁴ we read the following stories:— In the Keichō era (1596-1614) there was at Mihara, in Bingo province, a man who caught foxes by means of traps. On being converted by an eminent Buddhist priest, he became a

1. 近藤義休.

2. 江戸志, Ch. IV.

3. 江戸砂子, written in 1732 by KIKUOKA SENRYŌ, 菊岡沾涼.

4. 本朝故事因縁集, probably written in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

priest himself and prayed for a blessed future life. Then the angry ghosts of the foxes which he had killed during many years, together with those which he had not yet killed, an innumerable number, appeared before his eyes and did all kinds of bad things, nay were even about to kill his whole family. The frightened hunter said: "I shall destroy you by means of prayers (nembutsu), uttered with a heart full of Bodhi (bodaishin, Buddhistic intelligence, a devotional disposition of the mind)", and he took his rosary and recited the *myōgō* (litt. "name", that is "Namu Amida Butsu"), praying incessantly. But the foxes laughed and said: "We do not care at all for your Buddha, your rosary and your prayers. We will kill your whole family." And some of the family did actually fall ill, being possessed by the foxes, and they repeated what the latter had said. Then the hunter stopped praying, threw away his rosary, and returned to his old profession, whereupon the foxes ceased to haunt him any longer.¹

In the beginning of the same era a samurai of the house of Asano (Daimyō of Wakayama in Kii province) was requested by a fox in the shape of a man to forbid one of his retainers to catch and kill foxes. He promised to do so, and when he had fulfilled the promise, the fox appeared again in human shape and offered him a reward. The samurai asked him to fill his godown with gold and silver, but the fox said: "I am a messenger of Inari Daimyōjin, who gave me the rank of *Kiko myōjin* (貴狐明神, "the Brilliant God, the Venerable Fox"). Riches make a man unhappy; the proper thing for you, a samurai, is landed property. This I will give you." After these words the fox disappeared, and the samurai received land which produced 2500 koku of rice.²

A fox took the shape of the consort of the Lord of Shikoku, and the latter found to his unbounded astonishment two women sitting in his house, who were exactly alike and

1. Ch. III, nr 78, p. 16-a.

2. Ch. III, nr 79, p. 17-a.

who both pretended to be his real wife. A physician believed that it was the so-called "soul-separating"¹ illness, which causes one woman to become two. He uttered a Buddhist stanza (gatha, 偈), and striking on the floor with his staff proceeded to recite prayers, but all in vain. Then the husband seized the women and shut them up. As he saw that one of them ate quite different food from the ordinary, he examined that one by torture, whereupon she became a fox. He then decided to kill the animal, but a crowd of 4 or 5000 people, Buddhist priests and laymen, men and women, came before the gate and answered the Lord's question, as to who they were, as follows: "We are the foxes of the whole of Shikoku, who come to you with a request. The fox who has done you a wrong is a descendant of Kiko myōjin, the 'Venerable Fox-god'; his name is Osagitsune, he is a messenger of Inari, and the King of the Foxes of Japan. If you do him harm, there will come great calamity upon the country. He is our teacher of haunting, and if he dies we cannot haunt any longer. Please spare his life!" The Lord promised that if they all would leave Shikoku by ship, he would send the prisoner after them. Thereupon they gave him a written oath, that they never would return to Shikoku as long as this document existed. They went away and since that time there have been no foxes in Shikoku. The document was, in the author's time, still in the hands of the same family.²

The *Sakai kagami*³ contains the following legend:—"In the Hiroku era (1381-1383) there was a shrine called Kō-un-an⁴, in the compound of the Buddhist temple Shōrinji⁵ in the neighbourhood of Tsurigitsune-dera.⁶ The priest of that shrine,

1. 離魂, ri-kon.

2. Ch. III, nr 87, p. 3-b.

3. 堺鑑, written by KINUGASA ICHJUN, 衣笠一淳, who lived 1679-1746. Ch. II, 古跡.

4. 耕雲菴.

5. 小林寺.

6. 釣狐寺, "Fox-catching monastery."

called Hakuzō, was a devout worshipper of Inari, the protectress of the temple, and brought her offerings every day. One day there was a three-legged wild fox in the wood, which was apparently a sign that the goddess (Inari) had heard his prayers. The priest took the animal home in his arms and attended it carefully. It was a supernatural fox (靈狐, reiko), which always immediately knew the thoughts of the priest. When robbers came, the fox drove them away. Up till now the descendants of this animal, all three-legged foxes, live in that monastery, for Inari's divine power is great. The comedy called 'Tsurigitsune' (釣狐) finds its origin in that monastery. A fox, having changed itself into an old man, looked at the performance of the comedy and afterwards taught the writer the *good* magic arts of foxes (in opposition to their bad tricks)."

As to comedies about foxes, we find one in the *Kyōgenki*¹, entitled "*Kitsune*"². A fox, in the shape of a Buddhist monk, an uncle of a hunter, comes to the latter's house in the mountains and warns him that it is very bad to catch and kill foxes. The hunter promises to throw his trap into the river and never to catch foxes again, but he deceives the would-be uncle and puts the trap near by instead of throwing it away. At last the fox falls into the trap himself, on having resumed his vulpine shape. In the course of the conversation between uncle and nephew the fox tells the famous legend of Tamamo no mae³ in order to impress upon the hunter's mind what a strong feeling of revenge foxes have.

We find a *tanuki* story in the *Kwaidan toshioto*⁴. In olden times there lived in Yedo a physician, called Kugano Kendō. One day he was called to a house in Banchō, a district of Yedo,

1. 狂言記, which dates from the Muromachi period (1333-1601).

2. *Kyōgen zenshū*, 狂言全集, "Complete collection of comedies", edited by the Hakubunkwan, Vol. I, p. 71, Ch. II, nr 2.

3. See above p. 51 seqq.

4. 怪談登志男, written in 1749 by ZANSETSUJIA SOKYU, 斬雪舎業及. Ch. II, p. 6.

but when he got there—it was already growing dark—the master of the house was not at home and he was requested to wait a little. In the saloon he was served by a little boy-servant, who looked very nice but ran away when the doctor took his hand and caressed him. On looking back he observed that the boy's face became suddenly as much as 3 shaku long, and that he had only one eye in the midst of his forehead, a small nose and a big mouth. Looking at Kendō he disappeared. The latter, who was a very courageous man, was astonished but did not go away. Shortly afterwards the master of the house came home. When the doctor told him in an undertone what had happened, he burst out laughing and said: "Oh, that was that boy again, he always frightens strangers in that way. Did n't he put on a face like this?" and the man imitated exactly the horrible face the boy had shown. This was too much for the doctor; he ran to the front door and called for his followers. But they had all gone home, except the sandal (zōri)-carrier. It was pitch-dark, and Kendō was quite frightened, but the zōri-man said there was a lantern. And lo! at once it became so light that even the smallest things could be seen, and in the blinding light the face of the zōri-carrier was three shaku long, with one eye in the forehead, a small nose and an enormous mouth, just as in the case of the two other spooks. At the sight the doctor fell down with a cry and became unconscious. In the meantime some of the inmates of the physician's house, who did not understand why he did not come home, went with the followers to the house in Banchō to seek their master. But they found, not the nice house which they had seen there that very evening, but instead an old, dirty, desolate and tumble-down shack, and the people of the neighbourhood told them that it was known already for a long time to be haunted, was always desolate and only inhabited by *foxes and tanuki*. Nobody dared even to pass by it. At last the doctor was found lying on his face in a near-by bamboo grove. They took him home, but it was two days before he could think and

speak, and a whole month before he was quite recovered. Nobody dared venture into the neighbourhood of the mysterious house, which was said to be the abode of some *old tanuki* that had played this trick upon the physician. Afterwards, however, the animals were driven away, and nowadays no trace of them is to be found. Bustling streets have taken the place of that lonely spot and nobody now knows anything about the haunted house.

In the *Rōō chawa*¹ we find the following legends.—A fox had devoured the falcon of a Daimyō, who became so angry that he announced to the Inari of his compound that he would let her shrine go to decay. In the night many flaming torches were seen, and the next morning a fox-skin was found hanging on a tree near the Inari shrine. A diviner was called and when this man, standing before the shrine, dipped bamboo leaves into boiling water and sprinkled his body therewith, the goddess possessed him and spoke through his mouth, saying that the culprit, a very venerable court-lady² and sacred messenger of Inari, had been seized and skinned at her command in order to pacify the Lord.³

On the same page another story is told about a female servant of Hideyoshi's consort, who was possessed by a fox (1536-1598). Hideyoshi sent a private letter to the temple of Inari, asking the goddess why she was angry, and requesting her, if this was not the case, to order her servant, the fox, to go out of the woman immediately, otherwise he would order a fox-hunt throughout the whole of Japan. This letter was placed by a priest in the inner part of the temple, and lo! within a single day the woman was cured.

On p. 367 the fox's revenge is narrated. A hunter, who had frightened a sleeping fox by discharging his gun near the

1. 老嫗茶話, "Tea-talks of old women," written in 1742 by MISAKA DAIYATA, 三坂大彌太.

2. Comp. *myōbu*, above p. 55.

3. *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, Vol. XI.VII, Kinsei kidan zenshū, 近世奇談全集, p. 380.

animal's car, was visited in the middle of the night by two magistrates with a whole retinue, who ordered him in the name of the Lord to commit harakiri, because he had been shooting in the Lord's demesne. The poor man was about to obey the command, and the magistrates were standing at each side of him with full authority, when the house dogs jumped into the room and attacked them. Suddenly the stately men of the law changed into foxes and were killed, both they and their followers, which tried to escape in all directions in their original shape. This was the revenge of the fox that had been aroused from his sleep.

An old tanuki, which was pursued by a dog, was saved by a child. That night the animal appeared in the dreams of the child's parents in the shape of a nice child, and asked permission to live under the verandah during the winter. The next morning the master of the house ordered all the inmates to let the tanuki alone. Now and then they gave the animal food, and after having announced it before in the dreams of husband and wife the tanuki played the belly-drum for them one night, and made very nice music. At last he appeared in their dreams for the third time and told them that he would be bitten to death by a dog the next day. "In my former existence", he said, "I was the hunter Kenkurō, and Kenkurō's previous existence was the same as my present one; it is his dog that must kill me to-morrow. We animals have this advantage over men that we know about previous and future existences." The next morning the man went out to seek the tanuki and found it dead, killed by a dog, and he buried the animal near his house.¹

On p. 263 we find *old tanuki and foxes* (狐狸, kōri) mentioned together, as frequently elsewhere. "There are", as we read there, "three kinds of strange animals. First, thin ones, with emaciated faces, red eyes, thin and long trunks, legs as

long as those of a horse, and a cry that is loud like the tone of a bell. These are tanuki. Secondly, tanuki with round faces, sharp noses, spotted skins, and that are blind of an eye. And thirdly, foxes with large ears, round eyes, pointed cheeks, wide mouths, old and big, but without a right arm (!)." It seems that this description is partly that of the animals themselves, partly that of their human metamorphoses. The missing right arm reminds us of the three-legged foxes, mentioned in the *Sakai kagami*.¹ As to the one-eyed tanuki, to this kind belonged the beasts which haunted the physician in the *Kwai'dan toshiotoko*², and also the old one-eyed woman in the following :—A monastery was haunted by tanuki and foxes. One night a man came and made as if to stroke the face of a priest, but the latter seized his arm and cut it off; and it was the hairy leg of an old fox. Another time a guest who passed the night in the monastery was kept awake by a large number of puppies, which kept continually appearing and disappearing. He went to the privy, but when he was about to leave it, the door was strongly pressed upon from the outside. He peeped through a crack in the door and saw an old woman standing on the other side. Immediately he pushed his sword through the crack and pierced her breast, whereupon she fled, bleeding profusely. A moment later a light appeared as of a comet flying through the air and falling upon the verandah. When the man ran to the spot it was again the same old witch. Once more he hit her with his sword and she fled, leaving a splotch of blood on the stone before the verandah. The next evening an old *one-eyed* woman came with a little girl to the abbot and requested him to read a mass at the funeral of her elder sister. The abbot, who knew that they were tanuki, menaced her with a piece of bamboo, and both woman and child ran away. That night a great number of burning torches were to be seen in the neighbourhood, and it was as if

1. See above p. 69.

2. See above p. 69 seqq.

a big crowd was reading sutras and praying. Temple gongs and kettledrums resounded, but at last the torches disappeared and the voices became silent. The next day the abbot sent somebody to the spot, and an old dead tanuki, as big as a calf, was dug out of the ground. It was, of course, the old woman whom the guest had wounded.¹

“As to old foxes and tanuki, on clear, calm moonlight nights they come with their young out of their holes and play together on flutes and drums, to the delight of the villagers who hear the music from afar. This is, according to old tradition, the belly-drum (*hara-tsuzumi*) of the tanuki. In olden times it was said that foxes and tanuki, more than a thousand years old, could do supernatural things, such for example as producing thunder and rain and robbing the bodies of the dead.”²)

On p. 282 a *mujina* is mentioned, which appeared in a castle in the shape of a boy and predicted to the castellan his approaching death. On the next New Year's morning the man found a new coffin and funeral apparatus in the parlour, and in the evening there was everywhere a sound as of the beating of mochi (rice cake). Shortly afterwards the castellan fell ill and died. In the summer of the same year somebody saw a tall lay-bonze, black as pitch, scooping up water near the castle; and when he attacked the strange apparition, it suddenly vanished. Some time afterwards the decaying body of a dead *mujina* was discovered in a wood, and from that time no strange things happened.

The *Sanshū kidan*³ speaks about a fox, not yet experienced enough in transforming itself, which makes a mistake and walks about as a man with a fox's tail, much to the amusement and derision of those whom he wishes to delude, and then full of shame he runs away⁴. Another time a fox appears to the abbot

1. Pg. 267.

2. Pg. 266.

3. 三州奇談, written in 1764 by Hotta Barusui, 堀田夢水; Zoku Teikoku bunko, Vol. XLVII, Kinsei kidan zenshū.

4. Ch. I, p. 674.

of a monastery as the ghost of a man who had recently died, and complains to him about a mistake in his posthumous name, which prevents his going to heaven. He shows the abbot the paper with the wrongly written name, which he had probably picked up somewhere in a field. But the abbot, who knows quite well that a real ghost cannot carry anything, seizes the wrist of the mysterious guest and does not let loose in spite of all his struggling, beseeching utterances, stinking breath and demoniacal facial contortions. At last the spook takes its real shape, that of a big fox, and asks with tears for permission to go away. The abbot then sets him free, but first shows him to the astonished inmates of the monastery.¹

A third story tells about a pregnant white fox, the life of which was spared by a hunter against the order of his master, who punished the hunter for his disobedience with the deprivation of all his rights and then dismissed him. In a dream the distressed man saw the fox in the shape of a woman who said to him: "For my sake you are unhappy, but I will make you rich and eminent. Go to Yedo, where my husband is." The man did so, and one night a white fox appeared to him and taught him a magic formula for the cure of all diseases. This made his fortune, and he thankfully built an Inari shrine and caused a friend to do the same with the money that had been lent to him for taking the journey to Yedo, and which the friend would not accept when he went to return it. A son of this friend did not take care of the shrine and was punished by Inari, becoming crazy and leading such a bad life that he lost all his property. Thereupon a member of the same family was possessed and said: "I am the fox worshipped in Kunai's (the wicked son's) house; if you take me to a special hall in the temple of Sannō, I will always be a tutelary god." This request was acceded to, and in the night a light appeared in evidence of the divine power of the fox, who henceforth protected the country.²

1. Ch. II, p. 704.

2. Ch. III, p. 793.

With regard to the severity of the *revenge* taken by Inari, we may learn about it from a story of the *Shinchomonshū*,¹ where a man who had cut down Inari's sacred trees commits suicide after his wife and children have become mad and his mother has been killed by lightning. And we read *per contra* in Ch. III, p. 782 of the same work about rewards obtained from foxes. A man in whose compound a white fox had died, saw how hundreds of foxes came together in the night and, after confining the dead fox, gave it a splendid funeral. Deeply moved the man erected a shrine over the grave and asked an Inari priest to celebrate in the shrine a yearly festival. His reward was great wealth, like that of a poor peasant who had become a beggar, and yet gave food to a fox which he saw bringing forth young under the eaves of an old Shintō temple where he was himself passing the night with his two children on the way to Yedo. On coming into the neighbourhood of Yedo he met an old ascete, who gave food to his children, as much as they could eat. The innkeeper said: "That man has been here already for years, begging food on the highway, but nobody knows where he lives. He is believed to be the metamorphosis of a fox, and tradition says that whoever gets anything from him becomes extraordinarily happy." This was true, for the sons of the poor peasant became rich merchants and bought a *yashiki* (a piece of ground with a house in it).²

On p. 819 (Ch. IV) we read about a sorcerer who gave performances in Kyōto with "spirit foxes" (氣狐, *ki-ko*) and gold-dragons (金龍, *kinryū*), and who could produce two persons from one.

An old *tanuki* or *fox* was supposed to be the original shape of a strange woman, not less than thirty shaku³ long, with a face 3 shaku in length, who was seen several times at dead of

1. See above p. 62, note 1; Ch. IX, p. 124.

2. Ch. III, p. 783.

3. 1 shaku=11.9 inches.

night, with a lighted torch in her hand. It was certainly the vital spirit (精) of an old being that lived in that neighbourhood¹. Also in other regions nocturnal apparitions, as for example black priests of enormous stature, who attacked passers by, or a six or seven shaku long female head which passed by laughing, accompanied by lightning and earthquake, or which spat upon a man, who became yellow and fell ill, but was cured by means of the medicine called ekikitō (益氣湯, a remedy against sunstroke); or a flaming head which burned the foot of any one that kicked against it, all these apparitions were explained as the work of *old tanuki*, or the vital spirits of old beings, or else of a bird which had transformed itself.² An old tanuki knocked at a gate night after night, till it was killed with an arrow³. *Ignes fatui* were ascribed to an old tanuki which had taken the shape of a tall lay-bonze. (nyūdō, 入道) and was killed by a hunter⁴.

Tanuki and *mujina* (貉) are mentioned together in a story on p. 749 (Ch. III). An old Buddhist monk was killed by dogs and appeared to be a mujina. When this was reported to the abbot of the monastery to which he had pretended to belong, the abbot said: "That monk lived here for about two hundred years. Nobody knew his origin; but it was known that he had saved a large number of gold-pieces, received from the supporters of the monastery. About ten days ago he suddenly came and said: 'To-day I have been killed by a dog in Kita-ura; you must hold a funeral service for me.' Thereupon he vanished." The abbot held the service, thinking that the soul of the monk would reach Nirvana by virtue of the masses said; and, in order to free the soul from the love of money, which the monk had shown during life, he gave all the gold the man had saved to the two coolies who had

1. Ch. I, p. 668.
2. Ch. III, p. 771.
3. Ch. IV, p. 827.
4. Ch. III, p. 752.

informed him of the death of the mujina. But the curse of the spook-monk was attached to the money, and caused madness and death to the whole family of one of the two men. When the other heard this, he immediately erected a stone monument for the monk and had a funeral service held. On a paper, on which the mujina had written some unreadable characters there was a red seal containing the character 雨, a combination of 雨, rain, and 狸, tanuki. The author adds: "In Japan as well as in China there are a great number of legends in which tanuki and mujina transformed themselves into men and discussed all kinds of things. The mujina of Morotake-zan¹ take the shape of monks and discuss Buddhist sutras. The old stranger who talked about the five Chinese classics with the Chinese called Tung Chung-shu² is said to have been a mujina³. These animals live in holes, yet they know when it will rain. This is all due to the supernatural power of the tanuki and mujina. But it is a strange fact that the old mujina of this legend, who had lived for such a long time among men and possessed such enormous magical power, could be killed by a mere dog."

It was also a mujina who haunted, in the beginning of the Kyōho era (1716-1735), the neighbourhood of a big oak. Whoever passed by the tree at night, saw an old witch with a suckling in her arms, which she would throw at the frightened man. If he drew his sword and struck the suckling it appeared to be a stone. A samurai who had heard about this matter, attacked the vixen instead of the child and gave her such a violent cut with his sword, that she uttered a loud cry and disappeared. The suckling also at once vanished. The samurai's sword was covered with blood, and the next morning bloody traces led to a big hole under a bamboo fence, where a dead mujina was found. The hero was admired by all who heard of the incident, but afterwards the revenge of the mujina

1. 諸嶽山.

2. 董仲舒.

3. According to BAKIN, above p. 11, it was a tanuki.

caused his death. For when in a fight he jumped over a fence the hem of his trousers caught fast and caused him to fall, whereupon he was killed by his pursuer. People said that the spirit (氣) of the old mujina had taken vengeance upon him, and from that time nobody dared approach or repair the fence, because this was supposed to cause calamity.¹

In the *Sanshū kidan kōhen*² we read a story about a fox that had taken the shape of a Zen priest, and was discussing religious topics with another priest, but suddenly ran away in his vulpine form because he became suspicious that the other was a transformed dog.

On p. 909, Ch. III, three things are mentioned which were causes of unhappiness to a certain family: 1. falconry, 2. fox-catching-comedies (*tsurigitsune no kyōgen*³) and 3. a grey horse (*kawarage no uma*). Falconry was forbidden by Kwannon who, on having transformed herself into a snowy heron, was attacked by a falcon. As to the fox-catching comedies, they were considered to be unlucky because one of the family, who in his dream had heard foxes howling in the garden and tried to imitate them, had become mad and wandered about every night, crying like a fox, and then soon afterwards died. The grey horse was an unhappy thing for the following reason. The family always kept a large number of foxes, because in olden times it was once helped in a fight by these animals. Therefore it was strictly forbidden to let dogs enter the compound. Once when a grey horse had come there all kinds of strange things happened, probably because the foxes hated that colour, or for some other mysterious reason. In the night the groom could not sleep, and the horse itself became dull and lost its usual spirit. A woman was several times seen standing in front of the stable. The unhappy colour grey

1. Ch. V, p. 846.

2. 三州奇談後編, written in 1779; *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, Vol. XI.VII, *Kinsei kidan zenshū*; Ch. III, p. 900.

3. Comp. above p. 69.

(kawarage) was also the colour of the small cat of a little girl, which made a noise on the roof night after night for three successive nights as if a heavy weight was thrown down upon it. When it was discovered that this cat was certainly a haunting demon, the beast changed into a fox and ran away, but the poor girl directly fell ill and died.¹

A bridal procession, the persons in which had blackened their faces with oil and kettle black, was supposed to be a procession of foxes with human shapes and fox heads. They were submitted to a trial by fumigating their faces² and putting them in a bath, neither of which foxes can stand. Then it appeared that they were real men.³

An old fox was saved from the hands of some boys by a man who pitied the animal and gave it food. The other villagers said that he was too soft-hearted and that therefore the fox certainly would possess him instead of taking it out on the boys by possessing them. He believed this himself and imagined that his hands and feet already moved in a queer sort of way, nay he even wrapped horse dung in paper and looked at it as if he would eat it. He stopped working and shut himself up in a room. There he waited three days, always expecting the fox to appear. And at last the beast did come, jumping into the room in the dead of night. The frightened man cried loudly for help, but the fox quieted him and said that he did not come to possess him, but only to say that the foxes of the neighbourhood were not thinking of possessing men for fear of being caught by dogs, and that he could quietly resume his work. Thereupon the fox disappeared and the man awoke as from a dream. He was quite cured and worked thereafter as usual.³

Ignes fatui, believed to be produced by *tanuki* and *muji-na*, appeared on rainy nights.⁴

1. Ch. III, p. 917.

2. Ch. VI, p. 963.

3. Ch. VII, p. 985.

4. Ch. VI, p. 956. Comp. above p. 77.

In the *Umpyō zasshi*¹ we read the following story.—In Ōsaka there was a field play-actor who was called the “target-man,” because he challenged everybody to use him as a target and aim at his naked stomach. Many persons tried it for fun (paying him, of course, for this strange performance), but he always escaped the bullet by a quick movement like that of a flying bird. For this his fame spread all over the city. An old sharpshooter, who had many pupils, was forced by the latter to show his art against this strange target, although he at first refused because he did not like useless blood-shedding. He hit the clothes of the target-man, not the stomach itself, but lo! the man died in the midst of the smoke. When the pupils, full of admiration at their master’s skill, asked him for an explanation of the matter, he said: “This target-man had a fox in his service, which followed him for the sake of food. The fox, hiding its body in the clothes, presented a false shape to the deluded people. Whoever hit this shape, only hit the air; but I hit the clothes in which the fox was hidden, and therefore there must be a dead fox.” And sure enough an old fox, killed by a bullet, was found the next day in the village Namba. The teacher who knew his art and the wicked demons so well, must have been a clever man indeed.

The *Kanden kōhitsu*² gives the following legends:—“There is a fox which lives in Shōnenji, a Buddhist temple of the Ikkō sect in a village in the neighbourhood of Hachiman in Ōmi province. This fox has protected the temple from the beginning till now against fire and other calamities, and is said to be also a guardian of the priest, whenever the latter goes out to perform his religious duties. Although invisible to human eyes, the fox once complained with a human voice to the

1. 雲那雜誌, written by YANAGIZAWA KIEN, 柳澤淇園, who died in 1758. The preface is written in 1796 and the book is printed in 1843. *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正下 (II), p. 818.

2. 閑田耕筆, written in 1799 by KANDENRO KŌKEI, 閑田蘆蒿院, whose own name was BAN SUKEYOSHI, 伴實芳, and whose house was called “Kandenro.” He lived 1732—1806. *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 續下—(V).

priest, saying that some one had made him dirty by throwing something on the priest's sandals, while he, the fox, was sitting on them as a guardian during a religious service in a private house. The priest answered that his anger was irrational, as nobody could see him, which the fox admitted to be true. On another occasion the animal gave the following information:— 'In general we foxes are divided into three ranks, to wit, the so-called "shuryō"¹ or "chiefs," which belong to the first rank; the "yorikata"² or "assistants," to the second rank; and the "yako"³ or "field-foxes", to the third. Those which bring calamity upon mankind are mostly field-foxes. But we, the chiefs, can only govern the assistants and field-foxes which are under our immediate command, not those of other chiefs. There are chiefs everywhere, and when one of them wants to govern the assistants or field-foxes of another chief, the latter gets very angry and never forgets it; for they are more implacable even than men.' This was the answer the fox gave when he was asked about a fox-possession. If anybody wants to ask something of the fox, he generally writes the question down and puts the paper in the main hall of the temple, where he afterwards finds a written answer. The fox may also answer with a human voice, although invisible. As a rule he has respect for the priest of the temple and treats him as his master. Once the fox asked for assistance because he had, as he said, not money enough to secure a higher rank. The priest assented but thought it strange, and asked the fox how he had got any money at all. The answer was: 'I have always picked up and kept the money which fell beside the offering-box.' The fox is said to live always above the ceiling of the main hall. As to the use of money for getting a higher position, this is not confined to this particular fox, for I have heard the same said about other foxes. Therefore I asked the

1. 主領
2. 寄方
3. 野狐

priests of Inari where these animals paid the money, but none of them knew anything about it. The deeds of foxes are secret."¹

In the compound of Zōjōji, the great Buddhist temple in the Shiba district (Yedo), there was a little fox shrine. One day the abbot ordered a newly arrived priest to take an offering to that shrine and to perform the service there. Next day a man with a cap and a ceremonial dress came and requested another priest to tell the abbot that he, the stranger, would like to obtain a new shrine, as Benten had appeared in his former one, where he had lived for many years. The fact was that the priest had thought it was a Benten shrine where he was to hold a service and had therefore held a Benten service in the fox shrine. The abbot ordered a new shrine to be built for the fox, who then appeared again in the same shape, thanked the priest for having told the matter to the abbot, and promised to protect him during his whole life, so that he should never be in want of clothes or food. Another priest of the same temple was possessed by a fox and acted as a woman. He asked the abbot for a new shrine and an offering of a rice cake on the first and fifteenth of each month, because his own shrine, which had been in the garden of the neighbours, had been demolished. The abbot assented, whereupon the possessed priest wrote the name of the fox in beautiful characters on a tablet, which was attached to the torii of the new shrine.²

"In Nambu (that is, Ōshū), at a place called Shichi no he (七月), there is a moor about six ri³ square. Every year, at the end of the second month, the so-called fox-regiment (狐隊, ko-tai) is to be seen there. The people of the neighbourhood go to look at it, carrying sake and other refreshments. Generally it is on a day with a lightly clouded sky. If one pays attention to the matter beforehand and sees twenty or thirty

1. Ch. III, p. 71 sq.

2. Ch. III, p. 72.

3. 1 ri=2 miles, 775 yards.

foxes appearing and jumping about, the fox-regiment will certainly come that day. If the people then praise them loudly, suddenly a castle appears at a distance of two chō¹, and about two hundred helmeted horsemen, in full armour, seem to draw themselves up in long battle array. If the spectators continually applaud, the foxes suddenly imitate two processions of vassals, at one time that of the daimyō of Matsumae, and at another that of the daimyō of Tsugaru. Probably the battle array and the castle are intended to represent the old battle of the Kuriyagawa. It is said that the foxes of that moor do not appear except on this one occasion. If the spectators are numerous and cheer loudly, there are also a large number of foxes and the performance is brilliant; but if there are only a few spectators, there are also only a small number of foxes. This I have heard from an eyewitness."²

The so-called *mujina belly-drum* is mentioned in a book entitled *Shōnai kasei dan*³. It was heard in the An-ei era (1772-1780), on clear autumn nights, when the moon shone brightly, and it lasted from 3 to 5 A.M., continually sounding "ton, ton", now far away, now near at hand. But at last it was discovered to be only the treading of a pair of bellows in a smithy, the sound of which seemed to be farther away or nearer according to the wind, and at 5 o'clock, when the streets became noisy, was drowned by other sounds.

J. Nineteenth Century.

KYOKUTEI BAKIN⁴ refers in his *Enseki sasshi*⁵ to the *Ikkyū hanashi*⁶, where we read a story about a tanuki which appeared

1. 1 chō=119 yards, 11 inches.

2. Ch. IV, p. 27.

3. 庄内可成談, quoted by INOUE in his *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, Vol. II, p. 230.

4. 曲亭馬琴.

5. 燕石雜誌, written in 1810; Ch. V, nr 2, p. 7-a, under the heading "Tanuke", 田之怪.

6. 一休話説, a book of the Kwambun era (1661-1672); the author is unknown.

to a dying man as Amida riding on a purple cloud, but on being hit by an arrow assumed its own shape. This, says BAKIN, is simply stolen from the *Uji shūi monogatari*.¹

Further, BAKIN tells of a well-known tanuki which lived a long time in Sado province and was called Danzaburō. This was a supernatural animal, which lent money to the people. Those who wanted to borrow money from him, wrote the amount and the date of repayment on a piece of paper, which they signed with their name and seal and then laid near the tanuki's hole. When they came back the next morning and looked, the money was lying at the entrance of the hole, if the tanuki would lend it. But gradually the number of people increased so much, and there were so many who did not pay back, that the tanuki stopped lending. The same tanuki called a physician when he was ill. He had taken human shape and sent a sedan-chair for the doctor to come in. After a few days he was better and went to the physician with a big plate full of money, but the man would not accept it and asked who he was. Then the tanuki said that he was Danzaburō, whereupon the doctor refused the money still more emphatically, because, as he said, the tanuki certainly had not obtained his wealth in a good way. But Danzaburō answered that he had come by it honestly through picking up treasures lying in ditches and valleys, where houses had been burnt down in time of war or destroyed by floods. When the doctor still refused to accept the money, the tanuki came back with a precious sword, which was accepted.

The same tanuki was believed to cause *fata morgana*.² "Several times, on bright evenings, there arose from the Futatsu-iwa ("Two Rocks") a vapour (氣, ki), half blue half red, which had the shape of a big house or a castle with halls and walls of earth and stone, which were all plainly visible; it was no mirage (shinkirō, 蜃氣樓, *fata morgana* caused by the

1. Comp. above p. 39.
2. Comp. above pp. 83-84.

breath (氣, ki) of a marine animal, the mizuchi, 鱈). This was considered to be the work of Danzaburō."

On p. 10 of the same chapter BAKIN remarks: "As there are no foxes in Sado, tanuki and mujina possess men there. In Hachijōjima, where no foxes, tanuki or mujina are to be found, mountain cats are said to do the same." Further, he says: "There was recently in Kamakura a priest-servant connected with a certain monastery, who went about in Izu and Kasuga begging for money. He made drawings and many villagers and women living in the mountains bought them from him. At last he was killed by a dog at Numazu and the astonished people discovered that he was a transformed tanuki." BAKIN supposes that the word "tanuki" was originally "ta no ke", 田怪, "rice-field-spook", or "ta-neko", 田猫, "rice-field-cat". He says that the tanuki is also called "field-cat",¹ and the cat "house-tanuki."²

The *Shunparō lukki*³ contains the following communication by a physician in Ashimori, Bichū province. "Several times I have cured people of my village who were possessed by foxes. This was once the case with a woman whom the fox obstinately refused to leave. Therefore, I pinched her whole body and rubbed her forearms; I further bound one of her arms, which swelled up like a tumour (the fox, being pursued by the rubbing and pinching, had taken refuge in the arm), and was about to stick a needle into it, when the woman said: 'Now I will go away.' Thereupon I untied the bandage, but immediately the patient was in the same condition as before the treatment. The fox had deceived me. Again I rubbed her, and this time the fox came up to the shoulder. I was about to kill the animal by pricking it with a needle, when it became submissive and said: 'Now I will really go away, and to prove that I do

1. 野猫, ya-byō.

2. 家狸, ka-ri. Ch. V, nr 2, p. 7-a.

3. 春波樓筆記, written by SHIBA KŌKAN, 司馬江漢, who lived 1746-1818. *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正上 (I), p. 1162.

you may find my body in the bamboo grove.' And so it was, the body was there. Then I untied the bandage and with a cry the fox went out of the patient. Thus it is only the spirit (氣, ki, "breath") of a fox which possesses men, not its body."

The *Shōkan zakki*¹ tells about a fox who had shaken off his vulpine form at the age of 500 years and went as an old pilgrim to a neighbouring Buddhist temple. He listened to a sermon and requested the priest to free him wholly from his fox body by means of some formula. The priest did so, and the old man said: "Now I am free; please give me a funeral as of a Buddhist monk". Then the priest went to the mountains and found a dead fox, which he buried.

A rich source of information on this subject is the *Tōen shōsetsu*². We find there the following legends:—A man married a woman whom he had met on the road. She gave birth to two children and they lived together for years. Once, when she was dozing before the fire with her youngest child at the breast, the other child cried out suddenly: "Just look, father, mother has a fox face!" Immediately the woman sprang to her feet and ran away, and without coming back. After considerable search a baby's toy and a letter were found before a fox hole near by. When the woman's son grew up, he went away on a pilgrimage and never returned. The people always spoke of him as the "fox-uncle."³

In the An·ei era (1772-1780) a well-known jōruri-actor was richly entertained in a large farmer's house, where a big crowd filled the room and enthusiastically applauded him when he gave proof of his talent. After he had recited a long time,

1. 消閑雜記, written in 1824 by OKANISHI ICHŪ, 岡西惟中. *Iyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正下 (II), p. 1046.

2. 兎園小説, written in 1825 by BAKIN and seven others. *Iyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正下 (II).

3. Ch. VI, p. 570.

suddenly it became silent about him and lo ! he was alone. No house, no room was to be seen, and in the dim morning light he found himself in a grave-yard ! Hastily he fled away home, in the belief that foxes had deceived him and given him horse dung and cow urine instead of nice food and wine. The idea made him ill and confused, and for some days he kept to his bed. In the meantime the rumour rapidly spread all over the province, that he had been haunted by foxes which had asked him to play for them. And this was true ; but his suspicion about the food and wine the brutes had offered him was not correct, for on that same night a wedding had taken place in a neighbouring village, and all the eatables and drinkables which were ready for the guests had disappeared in a mysterious way. That was certainly the work of foxes or tanuki, for on the moor where they had entertained the actor, fish-bones and wine-cups lay spread about. Apparently the foxes, admiring his art, had offered him the food and wine, stolen from the wedding party. After some days the actor recovered, but he henceforth chose another profession and only recited jōruri now and then at somebody's request.¹

In 1820 the daughter of a wholesale merchant in Yedo was possessed by the ghost of Bishop Yūten. She wrote a myōgō² and Yūten's name and signature. The rumour spread, and people came from all sides in order to obtain from her a myōgō. They said : "The bishop, who in olden times saved a bad woman of Habu mura (from hell) has come again !" Bishop Yūten namely, who had died in 1718, had quieted the angry spirit of a bad woman by means of reading a sutra. Thus a large crowd daily gathered before the gate of the girl's house and she wrote myōgō for them all. But at times when the ghost was not in her, she was nothing but an ordinary girl. The author (who was one of the authors of the *Tōen shōsetsu*)

1. Ch. VII, p. 589.

2. 名號, "name": "Namu Amida Butsu," 南無阿彌陀佛, that is, an invocation of Amida.

had got such a *myōgō* from an acquaintance. The characters were written on a magnificent ground of red brocade, but two of them were wrong. On account of these mistakes an old man, an authority in such things, declared it to be the work of *foxes* or *tanuki*. He said that the mistakes were made intentionally, for fear of Buddha's punishment (for in this way, with the wrong characters, it was no real *myōgō* and therefore no sacrilege!). At last, when a man interrogated the girl closely, the fox showed his real nature, and there was no doubt any longer about her being possessed by such an animal. The fox, hard pressed by the questions, went out of the girl. The reason of the possession was that her mother, a widow, had illicit intercourse with a silk merchant who often passed the night in her house (apparently the man had a fox in his service and carried the beast with him). When this came to be known, the silk merchant fled, the widow was sent to her native village and the girl went to the house of relatives.¹

In 1809 a fox appeared to a certain man in a dream, and told him that he (the fox) was the son of the Inari from behind a shop in Hongō (a district of Yedo), and that he had quarrelled with his mother, so that he did not want to return home. He requested the dreamer to allow him to stay in his house and promised that he would not annoy him. The man assented and saw that the fox was very glad; then he awoke, wondering what the strange dream might mean. The next day the maid-servant began at once to work much harder than usual. She drew water, washed rice, chopped fuel, and even sewed, which art she never had learned. She worked in this way every day, and did more than five men. Once she predicted rain, although the sky was quite clear, and caused her master to take his umbrella with him when he went out, which proved afterwards to have been very good advice. Another day she predicted the arrival of guests. All her predictions came true, and she was

1. Ch. IX, p. 679.

altogether exceedingly useful. It was all due to the fox which possessed her and which showed its thankfulness in this way.¹

After having qualified the haunting of foxes as very bad, but that of tanuki as harmless, the author speaks about the *writings* and *drawings* of tanuki, as seen by himself. One of them was a divine communication² by the Inari of Kyōto³, a mixture of seal-characters, square style and running-hand, with many mistakes in the language. It had been written by a Buddhist priest who had stayed in the house (where the writing was preserved), and who was called "the silent ascete" (because he did not speak). After some time he was attacked by a dog and bitten to death, whereupon he appeared to be a tanuki. A similar legend was told about another specimen of handwriting at Kawasaki, where in the author's time a tanuki in the shape of a Buddhist priest had lived for a space of six years, engaged in converting people; at last he was killed by a dog near Tsurumi. Another old tanuki, also transformed into a bonze, had drawn a picture, which was shown to the author by its owner.⁴

A medical student in Nakabashi was so fond of tanuki, that he collected everything that had to do with them, books and drawings, curios etc. He possessed for example a so-called *ri-seki* (狸石), or "tanuki stone", a natural stone which looked exactly as if it were painted. It was not quite two sun long, and was slightly red and white, with a black tanuki in it. All the ornament's of the student's tobacco-pouch, the metal of his purse, and so on, had the shape of tanuki. During the whole of his life the tanuki was his favourite topic of conversation. Probably there was some connection between him and this animal carried over from a previous existence.⁵

1. Ch. VIII, p. 612.

2. 託宣, taku-sen.

3. Inari sansha, "the three temples of Inari"; see below.

4. Ch. V, p. 522.

5. Ch. V, p. 527.

In 1805 a tanuki lived above the ceiling of a house in Onuki-mura, a village in Katori district, Shimōsa province. At the request of a guest, who wished to see the writing of the tanuki, the master of the house took some paper and a pencil, struck fire upon it from a flint (as upon an offering) and placed it in the room. After a while paper and pencil flew of themselves to the ceiling and were soon found to have been used by the tanuki, for there were some characters on the paper, and also the words, "Tanuki, 108 years old". The next year the animal wrote, "109 years", a proof that it was true, said the people. Sometimes the tanuki would descend from the ceiling into the room and come to the master of the house, and one day the master jokingly said to it: "As you understand magic art, you must show something rare on such and such a day, because I intend to invite some guests then." When the fixed day came and the guests were assembled, the host told them what he had said to the tanuki, and everybody was on the tiptoe of expectation. All at once the garden changed into a broad dyke, and all sorts of merchants were there, building large shops or exhibiting their wares on mats. From all sides buyers came, and it was a busy market scene. At last the vision disappeared. This caused the rumour about the tanuki to spread more and more, and a lot of people asked to see the writing, ill persons came to be cured, greedy ones came for gain, and each prayer uttered was said to be heard by the tanuki. As the number of pilgrims continually increased, the rumour reached the ears of the Yedo authorities. An official was secretly sent to the place and made a close search into the matter, but as it appeared to be no mere scheme of a yamabushi or such kind of fellow, and took place in the house of a samurai, who was castellan of a great daimyō, the official did not find any ground for complaint and went away back. But from that time nobody was allowed to enter the tanuki-house without introduction. Moreover, it was said that the tanuki at last did not appear any more. Later, shortly before 1825, a

tanuki was exhibited in Ryōgoku (in Yedo), but the authorities prohibited the show, for fear that this tanuki would become as famous as that of Ōnuki-mura.¹

In the Kwansei era (1789-1800) a tanuki had taken the shape of a woman and stood night after night on a cross-roads at a mountain inn, in order to seduce men. Afterwards the animal made a hole in a garden near by and lived there.²

The *Shōsan chomon kishū*³ tells about foxes which, on being disturbed by the throwing of a stone, took vengeance by preventing the culprit from passing along a narrow path. They did this by means of long daimyō processions and by knocking at the victim's gate in the middle of the night and causing him to go out in vain. Their shape was quite human, but their cry was somewhat hoarse.⁴ Further, a so-called "kuda" (管, pipe) is mentioned, "a strange beast of the size of a cat, with a cat's head, the trunk of a river otter, dark grey hair over the whole body, and a big tail; in short, a kind of large squirrel, which is called "kuda" by the people of Shinano province and is well known as a spook-beast."⁵ This beast caused a farmer's wife to cry in the night, and it was killed in the dark by the physician who was called in.⁶

A devout old tanuki in human shape, with a rosary in hand, had a talk with an old woman every evening, and at last predicted that he would fall into a trap and die on the next day thereafter. He said that he could not avoid this fate, and that his body would be without wounds and with a half-white tail. And he was found just so and buried, and a funeral service was conducted on his behalf by the abbot of a neighbouring monastery at the request of the old woman, who also erected a stone monu-

1. Ch. V, p. 525.

2. Ch. V, p. 528.

3. 想山著聞奇集, written in 1849 by MIYOSHI SHŌSAN, 三好想山. *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, Vol. XLVII, Kinsci kidan zenshū.

4. Ch. I, p. 432.

5. Compare the kuda-gitsune (kwanko) below.

6. Ch. IV, p. 564.

ment on the tanuki's grave.¹ In the same way an old fox knew of his unavoidable death beforehand.²

A bad tanuki trick is told on p. 614 (Ch. V). A man had promised his sweetheart to go to a wood in the evening, in order that they might commit suicide together. But his love of life was stronger than his love for the girl, and he did not turn up. A tanuki, who was aware of it and saw the girl waiting in vain, took the shape of her lover and going with her into the depth of the wood, threw a string over a branch of a tree and hung the girl at one end and himself at the other. But he forgot that he was much lighter than the girl, being only a tanuki, and the result was that he was pulled into the air and strangled, while the girl's feet just barely touched the ground. So she was found alive, although unconscious, and the dead tanuki was hanging over her head.

INOUE ENRYŌ, whose excellent work, the *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, "Lectures on Folklore",³ we have mentioned already very often, gives information which he obtained from country folk. Included in it are the following stories.—A farmer in Shimozuke province had thrown a stone at a strange bird which he saw sitting by the roadside. On returning home he suddenly fell ill, and no medicines could cure him. His condition grew worse and worse, and he fell into a state of madness which made his father think that the sickness was the work of foxes or tanuki. An exorcist (shugenja, yamabushi) was called and requested to fast and pray on behalf of the patient. The man put the "sacred instruments"⁴ against the wall and recited some tantras (magical formulae) before them. Then he sat down with his back to the wall. The patient, who was so weak

1. Ch. IV, p. 576.

2. Ch. IV, p. 585.

3. 妖怪學講義, by 井上圓了; third edition published in 1897.

4. 神器, shinki, namely *gohei*, etc. The *gohei* are the well-known paper slips, fastened upon a stick, through which gods and demons are believed to enter a medium. Comp. PERCIVAL LOWELL, *Occult Japan*, p. 153.

that he could not get up, was lying beside him on a mattress, and a great number of spectators (amongst whom was the man who wrote of the matter years afterwards to INOUE) stood before and behind him. The exorcist requested that one of them come before him, and an old woman went to the front. But soon she appeared to be no good medium, and a man of about forty years took her place. After having washed and purified himself he sat down opposite the exorcist, with closed eyes and the gohei in his hands. The others sat about him in a circle, imitating the exorcist and reciting together magic formulae. After a while the gohei in the medium's hands began to move, first gently, then faster, till at last it was shaking violently. The others, seeing the effect of the tantras, recited with still louder voices, till the gohei shook so very violently indeed that it struck upon the ground.¹ Then the tantra reciting stopped and the exorcist asked the medium in a low voice: "From whence do you come and whither are you going?" But there came no answer. Thereupon the exorcist ordered him to show the directions with the gohei, and the medium pointed first to the South and then to the North-East. The exorcist, however, was not yet satisfied, and by more tantras and mudras (finger-distortions) he at last forced the medium to talk. The fox speaking through his mouth said: "I am afraid of my surroundings and want to go away. The reason why I have possessed the master of this house is that he hit me with a stone when I was sitting near a temple in the shape of a bird. I would take vengeance on him, but now I am so afraid (of the tantras and finger-charms) that I am going away immediately. Please give me twelve mon." Those who heard this said unanimously: "It must be an old fox who wants to cross a river in human shape. There is a river in the direction he has indicated, and the ferry fee is twelve mon. Therefore you must give the money to this man (the medium) and also food of

1. Comp. LOWELL II.

which foxes are fond." Then the medium was carried out of the house. He cried continually, "Kon, kon", and fell sound asleep on the back of the man who carried him. The money and food that were given to him disappeared out of his hands (the fox taking them). After a while the medium awoke, but he was still stupified and did not remember anything of what he had said in his trance. He had only a little pain in his hands and feet.¹

So wrote the eye-witness, who had seen the thing in his youth. It is evident that the fox, on being transferred by means of the tantras from the patient into the gohei and thence into the medium, had been compelled to go out of the latter by more tantras and mudras. He had taken the money and the food with him and left the medium unconscious behind. In the same way many fox-possessed patients are cured by the priests of a Shingon temple, who lead them before the Buddha image and read sutras on their behalf. The body of the patient begins suddenly to shake, and the priest asks the fox whence he comes and why he has possessed the patient, and the fox answers through the latter's mouth. It is curious that people who dislike sake when in their senses are fond of it when they are possessed by a fox. Some say that those possessed by a male fox cry "Kon-kon", and those by a female, "Gya-gya".²

In the Kaei era (1848-1853) a man was walking in the bright moonshine under a perfectly clear sky; when lo! all of a sudden it became pitch-dark. The man, a fearless fellow, calmly sat down by the roadside and smoked his pipe (foxes cannot stand smoke). Gradually it became as bright as before, and in the moonlight an old fox was stealing away on the other side of the road. The man thought to himself: "That fellow would haunt me, but he has failed because I was not afraid."³

1. Vol. IV, p. 221.

2. Vol. IV, p. 220.

3. Vol. IV, p. 206.

The *hypnotic* power of an old fox was seen in another case. A farmer was walking over his field in a careless and queer sort of way, treading on the plants, turning from left to right and vice versa, and swinging his dung pail automatically from left to right. An old fox went before him, and the man followed after and swung his bucket exactly as the animal walked and moved its tail. Another farmer who saw this, drove the fox away; but the hypnotised man wished to follow the brute and said: "I have also business in that village over there". His friend, however, prevented him from going, and brought him back to his senses. Thereupon he told how he had run behind the fox to drive him away, now to the right, now to the left, till a neighbour had come and asked to go with him; so they had walked together to a village near by. It was clear that the fox had taken the shape of that neighbour and deceived the man.¹

A similar case is mentioned on p. 209; but there it was an old *tanuki* which exercised the hypnotic power. The animal sat on a tree and looked at a farmer, who, walking to and fro through the field, thought that he was crossing a stream and muttered: "Deep, deep". Another who saw it shot the *tanuki* dead, and at the same time that the brute fell out of the tree, the farmer fell on the ground and wailed as if he had been hit. Another time a man stood before the dry bed of a brook, thinking it a broad stream, which he could not cross. Probably a fox played him this trick.²

A samurai's sword, with which he had killed a spook-fox, which stood on a bridge in the shape of a woman, became a precious heritage of his family, and when somebody is possessed by a fox or *tanuki*, he is cured at once by the laying of the sword upon his head.³

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1. Vol. IV, p. 206.
 2. Vol. IV, p. 207.
 3. Vol. IV, p. 208.

In 1893 a newspaper gave an account of a mysterious voice in the air, heard in Ōme village, Yamanashi prefecture, which answered all questions asked of it, at first only in the night, but later on in the day-time also. It knew the ages of the people, also events occurring here and there, nay even the thoughts of men. It predicted luck or calamity to single persons or to whole families, and prescribed strange but very effective medicines for sick persons. This voice was ascribed to a fox.¹

In Shikoku, where no foxes are, the *tanuki* are looked upon as the culprits, when strange things happen. In the house of a peasant in Itano district, Awa province, some years ago, there were queer goings-on. A kitchen-knife moved without being touched, a fish disappeared out of a pot in which it was cooking, a messenger of a creditor came for money and got it, but two days afterwards the creditor asserted he had sent no messenger nor received any money. One night the tail of the peasant's horse was bitten off, and another night the horse broke out of its stable and ran to a neighbouring village. There was no doubt this was all the work of some old *tanuki*. Although the door of the stable was carefully closed, yet the horse escaped once again. When the stable was examined, the door was closed as before, and nothing particular was to be seen, but spread over the floor lay the money which the false messenger had received. In the same province, in Tomioka village, an old *tanuki* was believed to have bitten off the greater parts of some big *tai* fishes, which a few villagers had carried to a temple in the mountains.²

So far the legends on foxes and badgers. Let us now see what the principal works of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries say about these animals in general.

1. Vol. IV, p. 201, comp. above p. 27.

2. Vol. IV, p. 204 sq.

CHAPTER III.

**Ideas about foxes and badgers, prevalent in the
Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.**

The *Honchō shokkan*¹, written in 1697, gives interesting details concerning the popular ideas of that time about foxes. We read there² the following. "When people hear them crying, they predict good luck or calamity.....The fox-fire is made by means of their tails, or, according to others, by means of human skulls, dry horse bones and old wood that has been lying under the ground; what is true I do not know. If people have fever or become mad or melancholy, or if a woman has died in childbed and strange things happen afterwards, or if a baby cries in the night as a result of bad dreams—this is all mostly the work of foxes, and a result of demoniacal possession. Those who are haunted by foxes are commonly children, women, and stupid, very timid or half crazy men. If the fox-possession is light, the fox can be exorcised by magicians (巫祝). The vital spirit (精) of the fox goes in under the skin and makes a tumour; if one examines this tumour well and rubs it hard and pricks it with a needle or a knife, the fox goes away. Further, if one lets loose a very good hunting dog, the dog knows the smell of the fox and barks continually and wants to bite the patient; then the fox goes away. If the possession is a serious one, the fox will not leave for years, and the patient becomes a good-for-nothing. If the fox has enmity (宿怨) against the patient and does not go out of him, he finally takes the patient's life. Others say that if a fox changes into a woman and has sexual intercourse with a

1. 本朝食鑑, written in 1697 by HIRANO HITSUDAI, 平野必大; see above p. 57, where we referred to this book in respect to the name "*yakan*".

2. Ch. XI, Section Animals, p. 20.

man, this man dies or if not, the fox itself dies.¹ But this is very strange and illogical. Further, it is said that if it is doubtful whether somebody is possessed by a fox or not, *shikimi* leaves² must be cooked and given as a medicine to the patient. One possessed by a fox dislikes this very much, and refuses to take the medicine, but those who are really ill, take it, even though they dislike it. This is logical."

"Of late there are sorcerers in Japan who have foxes in their service. They say that they have studied the *Izuna* doctrine³. This doctrine can be described as follows: They seek the den of a fox and always keep a pregnant fox and tame it. When the time of bringing forth its young has come, they are still more careful in guarding the fox. When the cub has grown up, the mother fox comes with it to the sorcerer and requests him to give it a name. He does so, whereupon the mother bows and goes away with it. If afterwards the sorcerer encounters any sort of difficulty, he secretly calls the young fox by its name, and the animal comes to him, being invisible. If the sorcerer asks it about some secret matter, the fox always knows and can tell him. The bystanders cannot see the fox. As the sorcerer tells wonderful things, the people consider him a god. But if he afterwards does something impure, or is idle, the fox never comes again and at the last the sorcerer is ruined."

"From olden times the following tradition has prevailed among the people: The fox is the divine messenger of Inari. All the foxes of Japan come as pilgrims to the temple of Inari at Kyōto.

1. Comp. above p. 26.

2. The *shikimi* (檜) is "the *Illicium religiosum*, an evergreen tree of the order Magnoliaceae growing wild in the mountains of warm regions. The leaves have a fragrant odor and are used to adorn the vases offered to Buddha. An incense is prepared from the dried leaves by reducing them to powder." See "Useful plants of Japan," published by the Agricultural Society of Japan, s.v., from which book Mr. G. TSUDA was kind enough to give me the above information.

3. 飯糰法, *Izuna no hō*; see below.

They can jump over torii, and haunt (men). According to their skill in haunting they obtain various ranks from Inari."

"Formerly I heard an old sorcerer remark: 'The goddess Inari is the child of Susanoo no Mikoto, namely *Uga no mitama*.¹ Whether or not in very olden times the fox was Inari's messenger, I do not know. But in every village, and in every house, there were foxes which always hid themselves and were invisible. Therefore, wherever there was a space between villages and between houses, a little shrine was sure to be built and a fox-god was worshipped under the name "Inari"; this divinity was prayed to for luck and believed to be a protection against calamity.'"

"A fox does not fear death, and if one cuts open its belly in order to take out the liver for preparing the medicine called *U-sai-en*², the animal does not move or tremble or even wince; when all its viscera are taken out, it dies just as if it is lying quietly with its head on a hillock. Although the fox is full of suspicion, yet it cannot resist the smell of rat fried in oil (*abura-age*), and is killed (in consequence of this weakness). Therefore the Japanese hunters catch them in traps, in which they put a dead rat, fried in oil, as a bait. Nowadays people do not eat fox flesh, but they take the fat and prepare an unguent from it, which being applied on boils has a marvellously beneficial effect."

A work of the same period, the *Yamato Honzō*³, says that this animal produces fire by striking its tail, but at the same time the author remarks: "When the fox breathes out, its breath is as a fire, and this is called fox-fire"....."When the ice on lake Suwa, in Shinano province, gets strong, the foxes put ear to it and pass over, and then men pass over also; but if the listening takes place in spring, the people do not pass over

1. 倉稻魂靈, "The Soul of the Rice in the Store-houses", see below.

2. See above p. 62.

3. 大和本草, written by KAIBARA ATSUNOBU, 貝原篤信, who lived 1629-1714. Cf. XVI, s.v. FOX.

any more. If a man is possessed and has become mad, they burn wolf dung and make him sniff in (the smoke), or they make him drink a cup of thin tea (which foxes dislike), or else they prick the patient with the tail (that is, with the needles which are on both sides of the tail) of the ei fish; this has a good effect, they say."

KOJIMA FUKYU¹ says: "The fox is an animal of Darkness² to the uttermost degree. Therefore the external evil (that is, the fox) enters people whose Light-spirit³ has diminished. In general exaggeration of joy, anger, sorrow, pleasure, love, hatred and greed causes man to lose his original character and to become empty, and only possessed of the spirit of Darkness⁴. How could it happen otherwise on such occasions but that bad demons should enter into him?"

In the *Wakan sansai zue*⁵ we read the following:—"In Japan there are foxes in all the provinces except Shikoku. As a rule they attain to a very old age, that of several hundred years. All foxes have human names, as for example in Yamato, Genkurō, and in Ōmi, Kosaemon. According to tradition they are the divine messengers of *Uga no mitama*, "the Soul of the Rice in the granaries". The foxes of Japan are all servants of the Inari temple at Kyōto, and the people build Inari shrines in order to worship them. Foxes which are worshipped in this way are of higher rank than others. When a fox is distressed, he generally cries like a little child (*gya-gya*), and when he is

1. 兒島不求, in his "*Heishoku wakumonchin*", 乘燭或開珍, written in 1710 and printed in 1737; quoted by INOUE, *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, Vol. IV, p. 180.

2. 陰獸, injū, an animal belonging to the principle Yin (陰, Jap. *in* or *on*) opposite to that of Yang; 陽 (Jap. *yō*).

3. 陽氣, yōki, Yang-spirit.

4. 陰氣, in-ki.

5. 和漢三才圖會, "Japanese-Chinese picture book about the three Powers (Heaven, Earth and Man)", a Japanese recasting of the Chinese encyclopedia *San ts'ai fu hwa*, 三才圖會, written in 1713, by TERAJIMA RYŪAN, 寺島良安. Ch. XXXVIII (Animals), p. 590, s.v. Fox. Digitized by Google

joyful, he cries as if one were beating a pot (kon-kon). By nature he is afraid of dogs, and when he is pursued by a dog, he discharges such stinking urine, that the dog cannot approach him. If he wants to haunt mankind, he puts a skull upon his head and bows towards the Great Bear, whereupon he changes into a man. He deludes people, avenges harm done to him and proves himself thankful for kindnesses received. He likes azuki-meshi (rice and red pea-beans mixed and boiled) and abura-age (things fried in oil or grease) very much."

"As to fox-possession, the wicked spirit (that is, the spirit of the fox) enters the patient between the side of the shoulder and the armpit, and at that spot a tumour develops. The pulse of the patient becomes irregular and generally the thumb shakes violently. If a person who is well versed in the matter pricks the patient with a hot needle, the fox goes away. Or if one is in doubt (whether it is fox-possession or not), he gives the patient a dose of roasted shikimi leaves. One who is possessed by a fox will not swallow this at all, but if the illness is real the patient will swallow it readily, even though he dislikes the smell and the taste.¹

Regarding the *tanuki*, the same encyclopedia² says that its flesh cures piles and running ulcers, if it is eaten three times in the form of soup³. An old poem by JAKU-REN⁴ seems to show that in his time⁵ the belly-drum was already known, for it runs as follows:

"An old monastery, where nobody lives,
Where even the bells give never a sound,
And tanuki alone beat the temple drum."

1. Comp. above p. 99.

2. Ch. XXXVIII (Animals), p. 589, s.v. tanuki.

3. Comp. the *Seki no Aki kaze*, 関ノ秋風, written by SHIRAKAWA RAKU-Ō, 白川樂翁, "The merry old man of Shirakawa", that is, the famous statesman MATSUDAIRA SADANOBU, who lived 1758-1829 and wrote after his political fall (1812), *Ihyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正上 (I), p. 973, where we read about tanuki juice and the good effect of the ashes of a burned tanuki head in curing an illness which makes the patient absent-minded and forgetful.

4. 寂蓮, that is, FUJIWARA NO SADANAGA, who died in 1202.

5. The twelfth century.

The tanuki are short-legged animals and cannot run fast, but they are very agile tree-climbers. *Old* tanuki can transform themselves and haunt people and places just as foxes can. Sometimes they drum on their bellies in order to amuse themselves; this is called "the tanuki-belly-drum." Sometimes they enter a house in the mountains, and sit at the fireside; and when they become warm their private organs swell up and become even larger than their bodies.

The *kaze-danuki* or "wind-badger" is, according to the Chinese author of the encyclopedia, an animal of the same size as a tanuki or otter, with the form of a monkey, but smaller. Its eyes are red and its tail is so short that it looks as if it had no tail at all. Its colour is blue, yellow and black. "In the day-time it lies motionless, but at night it jumps up in the wind and flies like a bird through the air. When people catch it in a net and look at it, it is ashamed and knocking its head on the ground begs for mercy. If one attacks it, it dies suddenly, but if it is then laid with its mouth toward the wind, it revives after a while. It only really dies when one breaks its bones and crushes its brain. One author says: 'If one wishes to cut it with a sword, the sword does not cut, and if one wishes to burn it, this also is impossible. If one strikes it, it is as if the skin were of iron; if one breaks its head, it stands up again when it gets its wind. It only dies if one stops up its nose with *acorus gramineus*.'¹ The Japanese author adds: "There are many *kaze-danuki* in the mountain forests of Ling Nan², but I have not heard that there are any in Japan."

So far the *Wakan sansai zue*. The flying through the air of this creature reminds us of the *kama-itachi*³ or "sickle-

1. Sekishō, 石菖. Vgl. DE GROOT, Rel. Syst. of China IV, p. 321, about the *Acorus Calamus*, 菖蒲, ch'ang-p'u. The Yang power of this plant, the name of which is written as a double sun (菖), can conquer the animal of the Darkness, Yin.

2. 嶺南, in China.

3. 鎌鼬.

weasel". We find the *kaze-danuki* mentioned in the *Sanshū kidan*¹, where a one-legged, square-faced, ugly and malicious looking woman, who stood in the dead of night on the top of the balustrade of a bridge and laughed loudly in order to terrify drunken people, is supposed by the author, Hotta Bakusui², to be perhaps a *fūri*³ or "wind-tanuki", since the being could both walk and fly. Further, SHŌSAN, the writer of the *Shōsan chomon kishū*⁴, quotes the *Wakan sansai zue*, but thinks that the wind-tanuki and the sickle-weasel are different things, although belonging to the same general class; for the shape of the former is visible, but the latter never so.

In respect to the *fox-fire* (*kitsune-bi*), the *Wakun no shiori*⁵ says: "The breath of the fox is called fox-fire; some authors say that the fox makes fire by striking its tail. Fox-fire is said to burn with a bluish light; it is a demoniacal ignis fatuus."⁶

SHŌSAN⁷ remarks that often in drizzling nights a large number of lights appear. Somebody once hid himself in the midst of growing corn and saw the foxes approaching; but when he cried out, they extinguished their lights and stood still. Afterwards he found a lot of *horse bones* near by, which were probably the torches the foxes had held in their mouths. In other regions horse *hoofs* were believed to be the means by which the foxes produced the lights. According to KIUCHI SEKITEI⁸ they have a shining pearl, the "*kitsune no tama*", at the end of their tails, but SHŌSAN thinks this to be something different from the fox-fire. This pearl reminds us of the

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1. Written in 1779, see above p. 74. note 3; Ch. V, pp. 949 sq.
 2. 堀田夢水; p. 952.
 3. 風狸, *kaze-danuki*.
 4. Written in 1849, see above p. 92, note 3; Ch. II, p. 470.
 5. 和訓栞, written by TANIKAWA KOTOSUGA, 谷川士清, who lived 1706-1776; Vol. I, ch. VII, p. 10.
 6. 鬼燐, *ki-rin*.
 7. *Shōsan chomon kishū*, Ch. I, p. 432.
 8. 木内石亭, in his "*Unkonshi*", 雲根志, written in 1772.

Chinese ideas¹ about the miraculous pearl which foxes hold in their mouths and which probably represents the fox soul. One of the two wooden foxes before the Inari shrines frequently has a pearl in its mouth, and the other a key².

SRŌSAN mentions also the explanation of HADA KANAE³, in his *Isshōwa*⁴, where somebody pretends to have seen that the light is caused by the *breath* of the foxes.

As to the *cutting of hair* ascribed to foxes, about which we read in the Chinese books⁵, I have found this only once mentioned in Japanese literature, namely, in the *Wakun no shiori*⁶, where we read: "In the (Chinese book) *K'ie-lan ki*⁷, a transformed fox is said to have cut the hair of a hundred and thirty men. Not long ago the same thing happened in Yedo and in Okayama in Bizen province."

CHAPTER IV.

Fox-sorcery, Izuna and Dagini Ten.

Here and there in old Japanese works we have found passages about men who *had foxes in their service* in order to exercise *magic power*. And in close connection therewith is mentioned the doctrine of *Dagini Ten* and that of *Izuna*.

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1. See above p. 7.
 2. Comp. BAKIN, *Enseki sasshi*, Ch. I, nr 9, p. 23-b.
 3. 桑原, who died in 1831.
 4. 一宵話, "Talks of one night."
 5. See above p. 7.
 6. See above p. 104, note 5; Vol. I, Ch. VII, p. 6-b.
 7. This is probably the *Loh-yang K'ie-lan ki*, 洛陽伽藍記, written by YANG HÜEN-CHI, 楊衒之, under the Wei dynasty (A.D. 386-557). Comp. DE GROOT, *Religious System of China*, Vol. V, p. 598, where is also question of the Wei dynasty.

We read first about the "Law of Daten" and the "Deva-King, the Venerable Fox" in the *Gempei seisuiki* (1250), where Kiyomori (1118—1181) met this Deva and decided to practice Daten's Law¹. In the same work a Chinese king is said to have worshipped Daten in order to ruin the Emperor Yiu Wang by means of the transformed nine-tailed fox, Pao Sz'. We read there that Daten is a fox.²

In the *Kokon chomonshū* (1254) a priest practiced the *Dagini*³ doctrine for the sake of Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078-1162), and Dagini herself ate the offerings, having taken the shape of a fox, and appeared in Tadazane's dream as a supernatural woman, a heavenly angel (天女, devi) whose hair afterwards appeared to be a fox's tail.⁴

The word "*kitsune-tsukai*"⁵, "employment of foxes" for magical purposes, appears for the first time in the *Yasutomi ki*, the diary of NAKAHARA NO YASUTOMI, who there relates how in 1420 the Shōgun's physician, his son and younger brother, as well as the Chief-Diviner, Sadamune Ason, were accused of having foxes in their service, and two foxes were driven out of the rooms of the Shōgun's Consort by means of incantations. The physician was banished to Sanuki province⁶.

In the Keichō era (1596-1614) we find the Deva-king, the "Venerable Fox", under a Shintō name, *Kiko myōjin*⁷, "the Brilliant God, the Venerable Fox", as a messenger of Inari, and afterwards his descendant, Osagitsune (長狐), exercising the same function and at the same time that of king over all the Foxes of Japan.⁸

1. See above p. 42; 陀天法, 黄狐天王.

2. See above p. 43.

3. 陀祇尼法, Dagini no hō.

4. See above p. 44.

5. 狐仕.

6. See above p. 50 sq.

7. *Honchō koji inen shū*, Ch. III, nr 79, p. 17-a, see above p. 67;

黄狐明神.

8. Ibidem, nr 87, p. 3-b, above p. 68.

In the eighteenth century the field play actor in Ōsaka, about whom we read in the *Umpyō zasshi* (before 1758), deluded the people by means of a magical fox, which showed a false target to those who shot at the man's exposed stomach.¹

The *Izuna*² doctrine we found mentioned in the *Honchō shokkan* (1697), where there is a description of the way in which a sorcerer obtained his fox by the use of that doctrine.³ The *Kencu ihen*⁴ gives the following explanation:—"Izuna is the name of a mountain in Shinano province. As there is a *Tengu* shrine on the top of that mountain, the doctrine practiced there is called after the mountain's name. It is the doctrine of the Indian *Dagini Ten*⁵, and is practiced in vain if one uses old incense."

ASAKAWA ZENAN⁶, who quotes this passage, remarks that the doctrine of this *Dagini Ten* includes perhaps the employment of foxes, and he refers to the above mentioned passage of the *Kokon chomonshū*. As to *Izuna's* shape, he adds: "In Kami Yoshida village, Kái province, there have been from olden times in the house of Kosaru Iyo, a *Shintō* priest of mount Fuji, three copper images of *Dōryō*, *Izuna* and *Sengen* (Asama)⁷. It is said that *Izuna* and *Dōryō* are both small *Tengu* each standing on a fox." And he further states⁸ that *Ōsugi dono*⁹ is also represented in nearly the same way, viz. as a small *Tengu* standing on a fox. These facts lead him

1. See above p. 81.

2. 飯繩法.

3. See above p. 99.

4. 薩聞遺編, written by OGYŪ MOKEI, 荻生茂卿, that is, SORAI, 徂徠, who lived 1665-1728.

5. 荼普尼天.

6. 朝川善庵, in his *Zen-an zuihitsu*, 善庵隨筆, written before 1853, *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. I, p. 672, under the heading "Izuna Gongen", 飯繩權現, "Manifestation of (Mount) Izuna."

7. 道了, 飯繩 and 淺間.

8. P'g. 673.

9. 大杉.

to think that there is some connection between Tengu and foxes¹.

• In the *Matsunoya gwaishū*² we read the following: *Izuna Saburō* (a Tengu) of Shinano province appears in a poem on the Tengu of Kurama. The name is written 飯繩, or 伊繩. On Mount Izuna in the neighbourhood of Togakushi (戸隠) in Shinano there are two Shintō temples, the Main Temple (Hongū, 本宮) and the Village Temple (Sato no Miya, 里ノ宮), with a distance of about one ri between them. The hand-washing place is called Ichi no sōchi³; its length is 5 chō, its breadth about 3 chō, and in the midst is an island. The sand of this pond is called 'izuna' (飯沙, 'rice-sand'), because it consists of white grains like cooked rice, its taste resembles that of rice, and it is eatable. The name Izuna owes its origin to this 'rice-sand.' With reference to this temple compare the *Etsuyū kōnōshō*⁴. According to the temple tradition, the divinity who is worshipped there is *Ukemochi no kami*⁵. In the *Baison sailitsu*⁶ and the *Wakun no shiori*⁷ it is said that the Izuna doctrine is a worship of foxes and that the doctrine of Dagini Ten is heterodox. But since in the poem on the Tengu of Kurama Izuna Saburō (三郎) and Fuji Tarō are mentioned among the *Tengu*, the explanation of the Izuna doctrine as fox worship is not acceptable. Also on Takao san in Musashi province and on Hasuge san (波須計) and Nakazawa yama (中澤) in Sagami province there are great Shintō temples of *Izuna Gongen*, and the gods worshipped there are all *Tengu*. We read in Ch. III of the *Wakun no shiori* that

1. Comp. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, "The Tengu."

2. 松屋外集, written in 1839 by TAKADA TOMOKIYO, 高田興清.

3. 一之倉池.

4. 越遊行叢抄, Ch. V.

5. 保食神, the Goddess of Food. Comp. Uga no mitama on Mount Inari, and her connection with the fox.

6. 梅村葦筆, written by HAYASHI HARUNOBU, 林春信, who lived 1642-1666.

7. 倭訓栞, see above p. 56, note 3.

this god is worshipped also on Izuna yama near Sendai in Mutsu, and on Hinaga take (日永嶽) in Echizen."

So far TAKADA TOMOKIYO. Let us now hear the opinion of the author of the *Reijū zakki*¹, who has the following to say about Izuna:—"Of late there are persons who make use of foxes and call this the Izuna doctrine. According to what I have heard, these foxes are very small. They are probably of the same kind as the so-called *kuda-mochi* and *osaki-tsukai*." Then he quotes the passage of the *Matsunoya gwaishū* and says: "It is not certain that the Kurama-Tengu poem affords any real proof. And is there any clear proof of the assertion (of TAKADA TOMOKIYO) that in the Izuna temples of all provinces Tengu are worshipped? The Izuna rites are the practice of the heterodox doctrine of Dagini Ten, as it is called, and they include the use of foxes. The Tengu may have rejoiced in such a wicked doctrine and mixed themselves up in it, and if they lived on Mount Izuna they may have been called Izuna Saburō."

Another work, the *Bōsō manroku*², gives the following: "There is a heterodox doctrine, the cult of a bad devil (*akuma*, 惡魔), which blinds the eyes of the people, namely the so-called magic art of *Izuna* (伊豆那). I do not know when it began or who transmitted it. In the *Yamato honzō*³ we read that it is the doctrine of the Indian *Dagini Ten*. The name is written, 飯綱 and 飯繩. It is said that Dagini Ten got the name of Izuna Saburō, because he was worshipped on Izuna yama at Sendai in Ōshū. In the *Sōgi monogatari*⁴ we read that two persons practiced together this Izuna doctrine.

1. 靈歌雜記, "A miscellany on Supernatural Animals", probably written in the beginning of the 19th century; it is our principal source of information on Japanese fox-lore on account of the large number of works to which it refers.

2. 茅塚漫錄, written by CHIHARA TEI, 茅原定, who lived 1773-1840; *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. I, p. 1029, under the heading "Izuna".

3. 大和本草, written before 1714, see above p. 100, note 3.

4. 宗祇物語, written by the priest SŌGI, 宗祇, who lived 1420-1502.

This heterodox cult is also found on Togakushi yama in Shinano, Hinagatake in Echizen, Takao san in Musashi, and Akiba san in Tōtōmi province in the Shintō temple of Sanjakubō¹. Formerly this cult was transferred from Mount Togakushi to Mount Akiba (two hundred years ago, and it comprises twenty different rites²). The name Dagini, written in four different ways, namely 茶吉尼, 陀吉尼, 陀祇尼 and 茶耆尼, is originally simply another name for fox.....As in the Dagini doctrine foxes are always used, the Buddhists call Dagini Ten also *Hakushin ko-ō Bosatsu*³, the 'Bodhisattva, the white Fox-King,' or *Kiko Tennō*⁴, the 'Deva-King, the Venerable Fox,' and it is said that Inari's shintai (god-body) is the image of this Dagini Ten. This heterodox doctrine has existed from olden times up to the present day. In order to drive away the Izuna sorcery, the leaves of the mō plant (莽草, mō-sō) are burned; for then the sorcery cannot be practiced.⁵ In the Chinese book *Cheu li*⁶ we read: 'The Cook (前氏) has the function of taking away the bad influences of ku-sorcery⁷; he burns mō plants and fumigates therewith (those who are possessed by means of sorcery), whereupon (the wicked creature) dies.' As this evil sorcery is of the same sort (as the Dagini or Izuna doctrine), fumigation with the mō plant must be a good means of driving it out."

1. Comp. above p. 108, and TEININ's enumeration of the Great Tengu of Japan, where we find Naigubu of Takao, Sanjakubō of Akiba and Jirō of Izuna mentioned (Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II).

2. Comp. INOUE l. l. IV, p. 228.

3. 白晨狐王菩薩.

4. 黃狐天王, comp. above p. 42.

5. A note says: "The mō plant is mentioned in the Chinese work *Pen ts'ao kang muh*, 本草綱目; the people call it *shikimi* (illicium religiosum, comp. above p. 99, note 2) and lay it as an offering before the Buddha images."

6. 周禮, Ceremonies of the Cheu dynasty.

7. 蠱物. About the *ku* sorcery by means of small reptiles and insects comp. DE GROOT, Rel. Syst. V, pp. 826-869.

The *Inari jinja*¹ speaks about Izuna and Dagini in the following way²:—"For that reason (namely because three foxes were worshipped in the temple behind that of Inari at Kyōto, and the people had begun to call them the sacred messengers of that divinity) the cult of the Indian fox-god Dagini in later times got gradually mixed up with that of Inari, a terribly unreasonable thing! The heterodox cult of this Dagini seems to have spread rapidly in Japan. We read in the *Montoku jitsuroku*³, sub dato 852, second month, in the biography of Fujiwara no Takafusa, Lord of Echizen, the following story: 'In spring of Tenchō 4 (827) he was appointed Lord of Mino. There was in the Mushiroda district (of Mino province) a sorceress (妖巫) whose spirit (靈, that is, the spirit which she worshipped) went round from place to place and secretly devoured the hearts of mankind. This special kind of sorcery spread and did much harm to the people. For a long time the officials were afraid of it and did not dare to enter the district. Takafusa, however, went alone on horseback to the place, arrested the entire company of the sorceresses and punished them severely. So the evil was stopped.' These sorceresses probably used the heterodox doctrine of the Dagini, called the 'Devourers of Human Hearts'. The *kuda-mochi*⁴ and *ōsaki-tsukai*⁵, which are very much feared by the people, and are found in Kōzuke, Shinano, Izumo etc., where they do much harm by means of spook-foxes, must be magic arts which are continuations of that heterodox doctrine of the 'Heart-devourers'. It is strictly forbidden to practice these arts, yet they are still in use."

1. 稻荷神社考, "Reflections on the Inari temple," written in 1836 by SUGAWARA NATSUKAGE, 菅原夏蔭, whose own name was MAEDA (前田).

2. Ch. II, p. 26.

3. Written in 878, see above p. 17, note 7; Ch. IV, K.T.K. Vol. III, p. 487.

4. 管持, the keeping of so-called kuda or "pipe-foxes." See below.

5. 大前使, the employment of the osaki or ōsaki-foxes. See below.

As to these "Heart-devourers" MAEDA gives the following explanation:—"In the *Kokkyōshū*¹ we read: 'The *Dainichi kyō*², Ch. IV, explains the matter of Dagini and Shingon. It refers to the work *Emmitsushō*³, which says: "The Dagini are under the command of the Yakshas, can steal the hearts of men by their magic art, and can devour them. There are two kinds of Dagini, to wit: the 'Real kind' (實類) and 'Those who belong to the Mandara' (漫荼羅衆 or 中). The former are called "Devourers of human hearts" (kanshoku jinshin, 餓食人心). Although they can do miraculous things, are free in their movements and bring good luck to those who worship them, yet their cult is regarded as heterodox. As to the Mandara-Dagini, they are just like Nyōrai (Tathāgatas), and therefore devour all the filth of the hearts and cause men to live in Nirvāna."

MAEDA further speaks about the Dagini in Kōbō Daishi's monastery, Tōji. He quotes the *Shūyōshū*⁴ where we read: "Kōbō Daishi, on awakening from samādhi (abstract contemplation), taught Bishop Hino-o (檜尾, his pupil) regarding the Yakshas of Tōji. He said: 'In this monastery there are wonderful gods called *Yasha jin*⁵ (Yakshas) and *Madara jin*⁶, who inform those who believe in them and worship them of coming good luck and calamity. Their shape is as follows: They have three faces and six arms. These three faces are those of three devas; the middle face is gold-coloured, the left one white, the right red. The middle one is Sei Ten (聖天), the left *Dagini*, the right is *Benzai* (辨才).'

1. 谷響集, written by the Buddhist priest. UNSHŌ, 運敏, who lived 1613-1693. Ch. IX.

2. 大日經.

3. 演密抄.

4. 拾要集, written by SHŪKAKU, 守覺, an Imperial Prince who had become a Buddhist priest, 法親王, and lived 1149-1202.

5. 夜叉神.

6. 摩多羅神.

The *Tenchō gyoki*¹ says: "In Tōji there are guardian-devas; they are messengers of Inari Myōjin, and are called, 'Messengers with a great Bōdhi heart.'" It may be mentioned that the god of Mount Inari was the principal guardian god of Tōji, and was met by Kōbō Daishi in that neighbourhood in the shape of an old man with a rice bundle on his shoulder. Thus there was close connection between this divinity and the monastery². According to MAEDA again, in olden times the Dagini cult was very secret; and as the worshippers were afraid to call it openly by its name, they borrowed the name of other gods and called the Dagini "the sacred messengers of Inari", or they gave a Dagini shrine the name of "Temple of Fukudaijin", the "Great God of Felicity" (福大神)³, or "Temple of the Holy Woman"⁴, in the same way the so-called *Izuna Gongen*, the "Manifestation of Mount Izuna", is none other than the Dagini worshipped on Mount Izuna in Shinano province. As to the image of Dagini Ten, tradition says that the Shingon sect gave it the shape of a female angel, a devī (天女), which corresponds with the white face of the above mentioned image in Tōji. This angel image received, according to MAEDA, the borrowed name of Inari, so that finally Inari was wrongly believed to be a female god. I will explain below what I think about this last question, but the idea that the heterodox Dagini cult was hidden behind other names seems to be very plausible, and I believe with MAEDA that the Dagini and Izuna doctrines are one and the same.

In MIURA KENSŪKE'S⁵ Buddhistic dictionary entitled *Bukkyō iroha jiten*⁶ we read sub voce *Dagini Ten*: "The Dagini Ten belong to the section of Yakshas. On being

1. 天皇御記, "Imperial record of the Tenchō era" (824-33).
2. It was the mountain god, and not the Spirit of the Rice; see below.
3. See above p. 45, the legend in the *Kōkonchomonshū*, Ch. VI, p. 312.
4. 聖女社, Seijosha, on Hieizan; *Inari jinjakō*, Ch. II, p. 29.
5. 三浦兼助.
6. 佛教いろは字典, 2nd edition, 1904, Vol. II, p. 206.

tortured by Daikoku Tenjin¹ (Mahākāla), who bestows luck, they are said to have stopped devouring men. The *Shinsoku butsuji hen*² states the following: 'These (Dagini) are foxes. In the Mandara they are called Yakshas. They are independent in what they do and quick in their movements. They must be the same as the Japanese Izuna god. Izuna is the name of the place where they are worshipped. A detailed explanation is to be found in the *Kokkyōshū*.³' In the Commentary on the *Dainichikyō*⁴ we read: 'After having called all the Dagini together by means of his art, he (Mahākāla) scolded them and said: "Because you always devour men, I will now devour you."'" In the same dictionary s.v. *Dai Benten*⁵ we read: "When this Deva appears as Dagini Ten, she distributes luck and long life." This corresponds with the above mentioned image of the divinity worshipped in Tōji, whose several faces were those of Sei Ten, Dagini Ten and *Benten*.

In respect to *Izuna* we find in YOSHIDA TŌGO's Geographical Dictionary⁶, that according to the *Kiku ichiran*⁷ "*Miketsu no kami*" (三狐神, "Three fox-divinities"⁸) are worshipped in the Izuna temple on the top of Mount Izuna in Shinano province, and that according to the explanation by KAIBARA⁹ *Izuna no kami* is the same as Dagini Ten. YOSHIDA quotes also the work *Ōnin kōki*¹⁰, which states that women up to the age of forty years

1. 大黒天神.

2. 眞俗佛事編.

3. See above p. 112, note 1.

4. 大日經疏.

5. Vol. II, p. 211.

6. 吉田東伍, 大日本地名辭書, *Dai Nihon chimei jisho*, published in 1907; Vol. II, p. 2400.

7. 奇區一覽, written in 1834 by IDE MICHISADA, 井出道貞, and printed in 1887; the full name of the book is *Shinano kiku sūgen ichiran*, 信濃奇區勝概一覽; it is also called *Shinano kishōroku*, 信濃奇勝錄.

8. Comp. the *Miketsu no kami* of Mount Inari, see below.

9. The author of the *Yamato Honzō*, see above p. 109.

10. 應仁後記, "History of the time after the Ōnin era (1467-1468)" written by KOBAYASHI, 小林, in 1709.

were not allowed to approach the temple, and that the magic arts (mahō, 魔法), called the *Izuna* and *Atago* doctrines, were performed by bonzes and yamabushi only after thorough purification and fasting, and that everybody who saw or heard about it felt his hair stand on end for fear. In view of the tradition that *Izuna* and *Atago* had one and the same idol or honzon (本尊), YOSHIDA concludes that the *Izuna* and *Atago* doctrines were one and the same.

Now we have seen in the treatise on the Tengu¹, that *Atago* is the principal *Tengu* mountain of Japan, so that, if the same rites are really practiced on *Izuna*, the author of the above quoted *Matsunoya gwaisū*² is right, and the *Izuna* doctrine is a Tengu cult. This becomes more probable from the fact that one of the peaks of Mount *Izuna* is called "Tengu no take", or "Tengu peak," which popular tradition reports to be a "devil place" (魔所, masho)³, and further from ASAKAWA's description of *Izuna*'s image as "a small Tengu standing on a fox".⁴ As we noticed in the paper on the Tengu⁵, the Japanese confounded the Chinese ideas about Celestial Dogs and foxes (Celestial Foxes as well as ordinary spook-foxes), and we need not be surprised to find the two demons combined, as on Mount *Izuna*. The fact that Mount *Izuna* is not mentioned in the Tengu tales seems to indicate that the part played by the Tengu is not regarded as important at this place; but on the other hand we find *Jirō* of *Izuna* mentioned in TEININ'S list of great Tengu⁶. Apparently the original demon of Mount *Izuna* was thought to have a fox shape and his cult was afterwards combined with that of a Tengu, as the image proves. The fox became the servant of the Tengu, and was

1. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II.

2. See above p. 108.

3. See YOSHIDA'S *Geographical Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 2400.

4. Above p. 107.

5. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, p. 34 sqq.

6. *Ibidem*, Ch. II, § 9.

believed to use his magic power in the service of the worshippers. As to the fox regarded as a servant and riding horse of the demons, we can refer for information to H^U SHEN¹, a Chinese author of the Han dynasty, who said: "Foxes are spook-beasts on which the demons ride." Finally the Shingon priests came with their secret Dagini cult and explained the magical rites, practiced on the Izuna mountain, as those of their own Dagini; for the sake of secrecy, however, they called it simply the Izuna doctrine. This seems to me the most national solution of this complicated problem.

As we have seen above², Dagini Ten was considered to be a fox, and her doctrine heterodox. Sometimes we find this Deva mentioned as a Bodhisattva sometimes, as a Deva-king, while for the most part she is thought to be a *female* divinity, and to be countless in number instead of only one, just as in the cases of the Yakshas, Garudas and other demons.

Here again, as in the case of the Tengu and the Garudas³ it is Professor GRÜNWEDEL'S excellent work, entitled "*Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*", which gives us full information as to the nature of the mysterious Dagini Ten. Their Sanscrit name is *Dākini*, and they form a special class of female divinities, whose name in the Tibetan translation means "Air-walker".⁴ They are the fourth of the holy beings of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, and come immediately after the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas⁵. Their favourite abode is Udyāna, which is, like Kāshmir, the classical land of *sorcery* and *witchcraft*⁶. Padmasambhava, the great saint, got his *mystic doctrine*, written in an unknown language, from the Dākinis, and hid the books in caves until mankind should be able to read

1. 許慎.

2. P. 43.

3. Gungu treatise, Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Ch. III.

4. GRÜNWEDEL l.l., p. 24.

5. Ibidem p. 28.

6. Pg. 44.

them¹. He was master of all kinds of *magic*, and by practicing meditation in eight cemeteries got supernatural power by exorcising and consecrating several Dākinis². And because he was the strongest of all who practiced the tantra system, he was summoned by the King of Tibet to conquer the demons who prohibited the spreading of Buddhism in his dominions. He also succeeded in conquering Māra's army of demons, which tried to prevent him from reaching Tibet.³ When he left that country, the horse Valāha, the "King of Horses", appeared in the clouds, and all Dākinis came with it, bending their bodies under the horse and surrounding Padmasambhava in great numbers⁴. There are two classes of Dākinis, namely those "who have already left the world", and those who still live on earth as local divinities. This reminds us of the distinction made by the Shingon sect between the Mandara-Dagini who are on the same level as Nyōrai (Tathāgatas), and the so-called "Real kind" of Dagini.⁵ The former class of Dākinis are represented as naked, dancing women, having chains and crowns of skulls; but they often appear as demons or *animals* to those who worship them, which worship is in order to the obtaining from them of supernatural wisdom. This they possess and, for the benefit of all creatures, communicate in the form of a special consecration to the devotees absorbed in profound meditation. But if they are insulted, they get furious and try to kill the culprit. They suppress the anthropophagous demons who are their subjects⁶, and are faithful protectors of Buddhism. As such they lead the mule of Çrīdevi, the great protectress of Buddha's Law, over the sea of blood, which that

1. Pg. 45.

2. Pg. 49.

3. Pg. 54.

4. Pg. 55.

5. Above p. 112.

6. Comp. above p. 111, where the Dagini themselves were mentioned as devourers of men, suppressed by Mahākāla.

goddess has made by killing numberless demons. As local gods they ride on animals: lions, dragons, gazelles etc.

These facts convince us that there are *many* Dākini, that they are *female* divinities, and that they bestow supernatural wisdom, that is, knowledge of *magic* art, upon their worshippers. This corresponds well with what we read about Dagini Ten in Japan; but the vulpine shape of the latter is not spoken of in Tibet, nor do we find it mentioned in Chinese books. The only passage where a Chinese king is said to have worshipped Daten in order to ruin the Emperor Yiu Wang by means of the transformed fox Pao Sz' is in a *Japanese* work, the *Gempei seisuiiki*¹, and we do not find this divinity mentioned even in the legend of Tamamo no mae, who was the same fox in a later existence.² So it seems that Dagini's fox shape and fox sorcery in general were limited to Japan.

We saw in GRÜNWEDEL'S work that the Dākini often appear to the devotees in the shape of *animals*, and that those among them who are still living on earth as local divinities, are represented as riding on animals. This may be the key to the problem. For it is possible that the Shingon priests, who introduced the mystic Dākini cult into Japan, found there already a flourishing fox-sorcery and came to the conclusion that these magical foxes, worshipped on such mountains as Izuna and elsewhere, were nothing but manifestations or servants of the Dākini. If this is true, the fox-magic is perhaps an original Japanese cult; for it seems that it was not to be found in China, otherwise DE GROOT would have mentioned it where he speaks about the "infliction of evil by means of the soul of a quadruped."³ And it is not particularly strange that the Japanese fox-sorcery should be independent of foreign influences; for the Inari cult is also an original Japanese fox-worship and a

1. See above p. 43.

2. See above p. 51.

3. *Religious System of China*, Vol. V, pp. 816 sq., Book II, Part III, Chapter I (Sorcery).

proof of the importance and of the great power of this animal in the eyes of the primitive Japanese people, long before the importation of Chinese and Buddhist ideas. Moreover, the dog-magic found in Japan belongs to the same class, and is not mentioned by DE GROOT as prevailing in China. Yet we read in the foresaid chapter of DE GROOT's work¹: "Instead of their own souls in an animal shape, sorcerers and sorceresses project the souls of animals for their evil purposes, or perhaps those animals themselves." This is exactly the case in the Japanese fox, dog, and snake-magic, so that we cannot deny that the idea may have been imported from China and then extended in Japan. But it is also possible that it existed already in Japan before the Japanese mind was imbued with Chinese thought; for ethnology has taught us how much the primitive beliefs of the most different peoples resemble one another.

As to the way in which the fox-sorcery is practiced, we have seen in the *Honchō shokkan*², written in 1697, that at that time the Izuna sorcerers were said to have foxes in their service whose mothers they had fed during pregnancy, and who came when they (the sorcerers) called them, but were invisible to bystanders. In 1742 the *Rō-ō chawa*³ gives a similar account. We read there the following: "The Izuna doctrine is practiced by sorcerers who have foxes in their service. First, they purify themselves by fasting, and then go into the mountains to seek fox holes. If they find a pregnant fox, they politely ask her to make her young their child. Night and day they bring her food, and when the little fox is born, the mother takes it to them. Then the sorcerer says to the young fox: 'Henceforth you shall follow me as my shadow.' He gives the young animal a name, and then mother and child go away. From that time the fox always appears immediately when he is

1. Pg. 824.

2. See above p. 99.

3. *Zoku Teikoku Bunko*, Vol. XLVII, p. 362; see also p. 71, note 1.

called by name by the sorcerer, and tells him all kinds of secret things, the knowledge of which gives him among the people the reputation of being a divine man. But if such a fox-sorcerer becomes in the smallest degree lewd or greedy, he cannot exercise his art any longer, for the fox does not come again." In the same work we find a story about a samurai, who understood the Izuna doctrine, and came to an inn where the daughter of the house was possessed by a fox. The animal had already predicted the arrival of the samurai and its own death through the mouth of the girl. The sorcerer cut the girl into two pieces with his sword and lo! the next morning it appeared to be a dead fox and the girl herself was sleeping quietly in a hidden corner of the house.¹

ISE TEIJŌ² gives the following: "The people of to-day (eighteenth century) call magical arts or sorcery *mahō-tsukai*³, 'using demoniacal doctrines', or *gehō tsukai*⁴, 'using heterodox doctrines', or '*Izuna-tsukai*.' This is not an orthodox doctrine, but heterodox sorcery, by means of which the eyes of the people are blinded and they are deceived. It is what in China is called '*senjutsu*, 仙術, magic art of the Sien,' and there the persons who practice it are called *dōshi*, 道士 (the Japanese yamabushi). Buddhist priests also borrow this sorcery in order to use it as an ornament of their religion, calling the wonderful results they obtain by it the effect of Buddha's power, and converting the people to Buddhism in this way. In recent years a priest of the Nichiren sect, who used a fox, caused the animal to possess persons simply in order to drive it out again by means of his prayers. Thus he got the name of being a miracle worker and made a living in this way, but he was arrested by the authorities and banished."

1. Ibidem p. 363.

1. 伊勢貞丈, who lived 1715-1784; in his *Ise mamfutsu*, 伊勢萬筆, Ch. 即位.

2. 魔法使.

3. 外法使.

The same author speaks in another book¹ about the dog-sorcery in Tosa province, which has much resemblance to fox-sorcery except that the dog-god, "inu-gami"², is the spirit of a *dead* dog, while the fox-god is that of a *living* fox. As in the case of fox-sorcery, so dog-magic is in the hands of special families, which have no intercourse with other people and do not intermarry with them. For they are hated and feared, as they make the dog-god possess people and speak by their mouth, ordering them to send food or clothes or other things to the sorcerer who uses him. "But if one carries a *fox tooth* in his pocket, the dog-god cannot possess him, and if one goes to the house of a person, who is possessed by a dog-god, carrying a fox tooth in his pocket, the dog-god goes out of the patient at once. As there are no foxes in Shikoku, it is said that there are people who keep a fox tooth bought in another province. Further, it is said that, if one's forefather has used a dog-god, the latter is transferred to his children and grandchildren and does not leave the family. Moreover, the *snake-god* (蛇神, hebi-gami) belongs to the same class as the dog-god, and is said to bestow wealth upon the families of those who use him."

In the *Kanden kōlitsu*³, which was written in 1799, we read the following:—"In the neighbourhood of Izumo and Hōki provinces there is the so-called *kitsune-mochi* (狐持, "fox-keeping"). The custom is so general there, that people ask one another how many foxes they possess. If one is on bad terms with somebody, he causes him to be possessed and haunted by a fox, just as do those who practice the *inugami-tsukai* (employment of dog-gods, in Kyūshū). Thus they are very powerful enemies."

1. 軸燼訓, *Jikuro kun*, Ch. III, p. 10. Cf. my treatise on "*The Dog and the Cat in Japanese superstition*," Transactions, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, Ch. IV, pp. 63 sqq.

2. 犬神, comp. ASTON, *Shinto*, p. 332.

3. 閑田耕筆, see above p. 81, note 2; Ch. II, p. 55.

The author of the *Reijū zakki*¹ (written after 1839) is in doubt whether or not the *kudamochi* and *ōsaki-tsukai*² existed in the earliest times, and refers to the *Fusō ryakki* and *Yasutomi ki*, where we read about the foxes exorcised by the abbot Sō-ō³ and used by the Court physician Takama.⁴

As for MAEDA, the author of the *Inari jinjakō* (1836), his opinion, which we have given above⁵, is that the *kuda-mochi* and *osaki-tsukai* of Kōzuke, Shinano, Izumo etc. must be survivals of the Dagini doctrine.

The *Shōsan chomon kishū*⁶, written in 1849, speaks about the so-called *kuda* (管, pipe), well-known in the province of *Shinano* as a spook-beast. "It does not show itself to human eyes. From generation to generation it remains in the same families, the members of which have no intercourse with others and have an extraordinary aversion to marriage. As to the *kuda-gitsune* (管狐, 'pipe-fox'), to be found in Sanshū and Enshū (Mikawa and Tōtōmi provinces), this is such a small animal, that it can be put into a pipe, hence the name 'pipe-fox'; it is a fox of the size of a rat."

In the *Zenan zuihitsu*⁷ we read the following: "The *hiko* (批狐), also called *reiko* (靈狐, spiritual foxes) mentioned in Chinese books, are old spook-foxes, resembling black cats; in Japan they are called *kwanko* (管狐, that is, 'kuda-gitsune', 'pipe-foxes'). They have about the same size as weasels or rats, and vertical eyes; for the rest they are just like field foxes, except that their hair is thinner. Those who have these *kwanko* in their service hold in the hand a bamboo pipe, a little shorter than the bamboo instrument by means of which

1. See above p. 109.

2. 苦陀持, "the keeping of kuda", and 大前使, "the employment of osaki".

3. Above p. 35.

4. Above p. 50.

5. Pg. 111.

6. See above p. 92.

7. 善庵隨筆, written by ASAKAWA ZENAN, 羽川善庵, who died in 1853. Hyakka setsurin, Vol. 正上 (I), p. 674.

the fire in the furnace is blown, and they recite a magical formula, whereupon the fox suddenly appears in the pipe and answers all questions asked of it one by one. It is said that originally a yamabushi, after the pure and careful practice of asceticism got this magic art from *Kimpusen* (that is, from the *Tengu* of Kimpusen, 金峯山¹). These foxes are numerous in the neighbourhood of the Northern mountains of Suruga, Tōtōmi and Mikawa provinces. As for the eight provinces of Kwantō, they are mostly in Kōzuke and Shimozuke. In Osaki² village, Kōzuke province, there is in the whole village not one family that does not keep such foxes. For this reason they are also called 'osaki-gitsune.' But according to the work *Rōchiroku*³, it is *Ōsaki* (大前) in Musashi province. I do not know which of the two is true. The so-called *ki-ko* (氣狐, spirit-foxes, of the Chinese books) are nowadays the wild foxes which deceive mankind and cause a curse; they possess men and ask for food through their mouths. They are also the osaki-foxes, which yamabushi have in their service. As to the 'air-foxes' (*kū-ko*, 空狐), these are *Tengu*." The tradition that sorcery by means of pipe-foxes came from the *Tengu* of Kimpusen is significant, if we compare it with what was said above⁴ about Izuna and the *Tengu*.

INOUE ENRYŌ gives in his *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*⁵ a great number of interesting details on the employment of magical foxes. He quotes an article of the *Dai Nihon kyōiku shimbun*⁶, where we read⁷: "In Ina, Shinano province, there is a creature called *kwanko*, 'pipe-fox.' Its size is about that of a mouse, its tail is like a pipe, cut in two; hence the name 'pipe-fox.' Although it is a very small beast, its shape is said

1. Comp. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, "the *Tengu*", Ch. II, § 9.

2. 尾崎.

3. 狐靈錄, written jin 1627-1630 by MIYAKE SHŪSAM, 三宅尙齋, who wrote it in prison with his blood.

4. Pg. 115.

5. Third edition (1897), Vol. IV, pp. 180 sqq.

6. 大日本教育新聞, "Educational newspaper of Great Japan."

7. Pg. 193.

to resemble that of a fox. Oral tradition says that this pipe-fox was originally borrowed from the Inari of Fushimi in Yamashiro province, and that it was a picture of a little fox in a shrine. When the time came to take it back to Fushimi, the priests of Inari sealed it up as a very precious thing, but what condition it is in now we do not know. It is a fact, however, that the pipe-fox exists. It is a very quick and intelligent beast, and if tamed is inseparable from its master and lives in his pocket or sleeve. These foxes examine into all kinds of things and tell what they discover over and over again to their master, so that those who keep them are said to be able to explain the past and predict the future of other people. Those who practice the so-called *kitsune-tsukai* keep this pipe-fox in their bosoms; the fox climbs up to the ear, and what it says is communicated to others. Such persons are said to explain and predict the past and future of men remarkably well. A pipe-fox shows itself only to its master, not to others. But those who keep such foxes can be recognized by the special smell which hangs about them."

After having referred to the principal Chinese books, mentioned above, and to some of the older and later Japanese works, INOUE quotes from more recent information, sent to him from here and there about the country, and found in newspapers, on the subject of the haunting of foxes and tanuki in general, and of the *employment of foxes* by people. A man from Gumma prefecture, Kōzuke province, wrote that the people in the neighbourhood of Mount Chichibu in Musashi are always inclined to consider every strange thing that happens the work of foxes or tanuki. If rice or silkworms have been stolen, or a stone falls suddenly, or something moves or totters in a queer sort of way, it is all ascribed to these animals. A queer sound, as if sand were falling, which was heard in an inn where they kept many *osaki-gitsune*, was believed to be caused by a lot of invisible foxes that were passing by, and the same animals sprinkled some boys with ashes in the night. Another per-

son saw a tea-kettle lifted up to the ceiling by an invisible hand.¹ Once a man bought fuel in a shop, but when he got home, its weight was only half what it had been. Of course, an osaki-fox, kept in the shop, had pulled the weight of the balance down in order to deceive the buyer and for the advantage of the shopkeeper. Another time a lot of cakes were stolen from a shop night after night, and found next morning in a house near by. All these things happened in houses where osaki-foxes were kept. In the same part of the country many rich families became bankrupt, quite without reason, and all within a few months, and other families, that were rather poor, attained with the same rapidity to great wealth. According to popular opinion this was the work of osaki-foxes, which secretly carried money and grain and furniture etc. from the houses in decline to those whose star was in the ascendant. The osaki-fox is smaller than the ordinary fox and looks exactly like a rat. It is also said to multiply as rapidly as rats. The families that keep them are called "shippo", and if the members of such families marry, the osaki-foxes are said to follow them. Although there are people who dislike marrying some one belonging to a shippo family, yet nowadays more than half of all the families in that region are said to be shippo. But since the osaki-foxes cannot pass the Tonegawa, no mention is made of them in Kōzuke province.²

A man from the province of *Shinano* writes³: "There is perhaps no part of the country where fox-possession is so common as at Kiso (a mountain in Shinano). The so-called *osaki* or *konkon* families are as much detested there as are the families of lepers. Not only do people not intermarry with them, but formerly they were often driven away by violence. Although nowadays this does not happen, yet these families

1. Comp. the paper and pencil in the tanuki story above p. 91.

2. This is not in keeping with the words of ASAKAWA ZENAN (above p. 123) who says that most of these foxes are found in Kōzuke and Shimozuke.

3. INOUE I.I. IV, p. 218.

have still to struggle against all kinds of hindrances and prejudices in their intercourse with others. The so-called *osaki* (persons possessed by *osaki*-foxes) are mostly girls, seldom boys. At ordinary times their words and deeds do not differ from those of other persons, but when they are possessed, they enter the houses of other people and tell secrets without scruple. Sometimes they speak with fox voices and walk on all fours. As a rule they go to certain particular houses, never to those of respectable people. If such a possessed person enters the shop of a breeder of silkworms, he does injury to the cocoons, and if he comes into a house where somebody is ill, he annoys the patient or possesses him; and sometimes he does the same with one who is healthy. Those who become possessed in this way enter people's houses and trumpet forth the secrets of others in their turn. Everybody dislikes the *osaki*, because they are said to bring calamity upon the houses they enter. Although this kind of mental disease can be cured in an hour, yet a relapse is generally unavoidable. Its being hereditary, descending from parents to children and grandchildren, makes it still more detestable."

According to information from Shimane prefecture (Iwami and Izumo provinces) the so-called *jinko-mochi* (人狐持, "man-fox-keeping") is practiced by families which have *jinko*, man-foxes, in their service. Nobody likes to marry a member of such a family. These *jinko* are smaller than ordinary foxes, resemble weasels and always live in private houses. Those who keep these animals are said to make them possess persons whom they detest. The words and deeds of the persons so possessed are very strange. They ask, for example, for *azuki-meshi* (rice and red pea-beans mixed), *tōfu-juice* (bean curd) and *tai fish* laid in *miso* (sauce made of wheat, beans and salt), and after having eaten very greedily the possessing fox demands through the mouth of the patient a piece of ground belonging to the family of the latter (in behalf of the fox keeper), menacing the life of the patient if it is refused. But if

one seizes the patient saying, "Then I will first kill you with a needle and moxa," and rubs his stomach and is about to stick a needle into any hard spot he finds, or burns moxa upon it, the fox begins invariably to supplicate, "Let me loose; I will go away immediately, just leave me alone for a moment." And then as soon as the patient is free, he opens the window, utters a plaintive cry and falls down on the floor. It is only after having undergone this treatment that he can come to his senses and be cured. This is the case with everyone possessed by a fox. As more than half of the people of this province (Izumo) belong to such "jinko-mochi" families, it becomes more and more difficult for a son or daughter of a correct (respectable, non-fox-using) family to find a wife or husband, disliking as they do marriage with any member of a jinko-mochi family.

In CHAMBERLAIN'S *Things Japanese*¹ we find an interesting résumé of Dr. BÆLZ'S remarks on fox-possession, and an extract from the Nichi-Nichi Shimbun of the 14th August, 1891, about the man-foxes in Izumo province. We there read: "It should be noticed, moreover, that there are permanent fox-owners and temporary fox-owners. The permanent fox-owners silently search for families of a similar nature to marry into, and can never on any account intermarry with outsiders, whatever may be the inducement in the shape of wealth or beauty. Their situation closely resembles that of the pariahs and outcasts of former times. But even the strictest rules will sometimes be broken through by love which is a thing apart, and liaisons will be formed between fox-owners and outsiders. When such an irremediable misfortune takes place, parents will renounce even their well-beloved only son, and forbid him to cross the threshold for the rest of his life. Temporary fox-owners are those who have been expelled from the family for buying land from a permanent fox-owner. These circumstances conspire

1. Fourth edition (1902), pp. 113 sqq., s.v. Demoniacal Possession.

to give security to the fox-owners (whether such in truth or imagination, we are not in a position to say); for no one will harm them by so much as a hair's breadth. Therefore they are all well-to-do; some are even said to count among the most affluent families in the province. The very poorest people that have borrowed money from them will strain every nerve to raise money to repay the loan, because failure to do so would make others regard them as fox-owners and shun them. The result of all this is that a nervous malady resembling possession is much commoner in this province than elsewhere, and that Dr. Shimamura, during his tour of inspection there this summer, has come across no less than thirty-one cases of it."

WESTON¹, quoted by ASTON² says the following: "Amongst the ordinary diviners is one called *kitsune-tsukai*, i.e. a fox-possessor. The divination is carried on by means of a small image of a fox, made in a very odd way. A fox is buried alive in a hole with its head left free. Food of the sort of which foxes are known to be most fond is placed just beyond the animal's reach. As days pass by the poor beast in its dying agony of hunger makes frantic efforts to reach the food; but in vain. At the moment of death the spirit of the fox is supposed to pass into the food, which is then mixed with a quantity of clay, and shaped into the form of the animal. Armed with this extraordinary object, the *miko* is supposed to become an infallible guide to foretelling future events of every kind."

This kind of fox-sorcery is mentioned nowhere else; WESTON probably mistook *dog*-sorcery for fox-magic. MOTO-ORI, quoted by ASTON³, describes the *inu-gami* as follows: "A hungry dog is tied up in sight of food which he is not allowed to eat. When his desire is keenest, his head is

1. *Mountaineering in the Japanese Alps*, p. 307.

2. *Shinto*, p. 344.

3. *Shinto*, p. 332. Cf. my treatise on "*The Dog and the Cat in Japanese Superstition*," Transactions, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, Ch. IV, pp. 63 seqq.

cut off and at once flies to seize the food. This head is put into a vessel and worshipped. A serpent or a weasel will do as well."

On comparing the above quoted passages on the employment of magical foxes we see two centers of this form of witchcraft, namely, in the East: Shinano, Kōzuke, Shimosuke, Musashi, Mikawa and Tōtōmi; and in the West: Izumo and Hōki. Of these Shinano, Kōzuke and Izumo are the most important.

CHAPTER V.

Inari, the fox-shaped Spirit of the Rice.

First, we have seen the fox as an omen, sometimes of luck, but mostly of calamity; then as a demon, haunting and possessing men; thereupon as a magical instrument of sorcerers, the servant of Tengu and men; and finally we will treat of his best and most important function, in the exercise of which he appears as a *god* or the *sacred messenger* of a divinity, namely as *Inari* herself or her servant.

As we have already stated in the beginning of this paper¹, we are here wholly on Japanese territory; no Chinese influence, no Indian god is in the background. Thus we have only to do with the Japanese texts, and we have no need to fear the troublesome mixture of foreign and native ideas which makes the study of Japanese folklore so very complicated and difficult. First of all we will review the passages which speak of foxes, worshipped as *gods*.

We read about a fox-god for the first time in the *O-u-ki*, which relates how in 1031 the Saigū at Ise was possessed by a god (namely a fox) who spoke through her and compelled her

1. See above p. 2.

to build two Shintō temples and to order frantic dances to be performed in his honour. Then the sorceresses of the capital followed the example given by the Imperial Princess, and began to worship the fox whom they called "the great divinity of Ise".¹

The *Sankaiki* stated that in the 11th and 12th centuries the killing of a fox was considered to be as great a crime as the killing of a *divine spirit* (神靈), and that the Emperor banished in 1072 a member of the Fujiwara Family for having killed a spirit-fox (reiko, 靈狐) at the palace of the Saigū at Ise.²

Bishop JI-EN wrote at the end of the 12th century that foxes as well as Tengu already in remote times liked to be worshipped as gods.³

The *Zoku kojidan* (13th century) relates how in olden times a fox was killed in the neighbourhood of a temple of a fox-shaped god, and the Court nobles deliberated as to whether it was a crime or not.⁴

The *Ainōshō* (1446) thinks that "the female gods in the temples in which foxes are worshipped are perhaps called myōbu after the palace ladies."⁵

In the *Shūinchomonshū* (1683) we read that a small Inari shrine was built for a man who had become a fox⁶, and that the divinity of the Inari shrine in the compound of the Lord of Tsushima appeared to the magnate in a dream in the shape of a fox.⁷

The *Honchō koji inenshū*⁸ tells a legend of a fox who appeared in the Keichō era (1596-1614) and said that he was a

-
1. See above p. 25.
 2. See above p. 37.
 3. See the *Gukwanshō*, above p. 40.
 4. See above p. 49.
 5. See above p. 55.
 6. See above p. 62.
 7. See above p. 63.
 8. See above p. 67.

messenger of Inari, who gave him the rank of "Kiko Myōjin", the "Brilliant God, the Venerable Fox" (the Shintō name of the Deva-King mentioned in the *Gempei seisuiki*.²)

In the *Sanshū kidan* (1764) a fox says through a possessed person: "I am the fox worshipped in Kunai's house (in an Inari shrine); if you take me to a special hall of the temple of Sannō I will always be a tutelary god." When the command had been obeyed, a light appeared in the night to show the divine power of the god, and thenceforth the country was protected by him.³ The same book mentions a fox whose spirit after death was worshipped in a shrine, erected over his grave, and in whose honour a yearly festival was celebrated by a priest of Inari.⁴

The *Kanden kōhitsu* (1799) tells of a fox who was the guardian god of a Buddhist temple and protected the temple as well as the priest; and of how the same fox god gave oral and written oracles.⁵

Also in the nineteenth century and nowadays foxes were and are worshipped in little shrines under the name of Inari. All these foxes are thought to be dependent on the Inari of Kyōto, but are also themselves called Inari. Two white foxes are sitting before these shrines, one on each side of the entrance; this means apparently that the goddess herself is within the shrine, invisible, while her messengers are guarding the entrance. We have to do here with a mixture of ideas. On one hand the goddess is a fox, on the other hand the fox is her *sacred messenger*.

Curiously enough we do not find Inari's name in the above quoted passages on foxes before the *seventeenth* century. Then the foxes, mostly white ones, all at once appeared as Inari's

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1. 貴狐明神.
 2. See above p. 42.
 3. See above p. 75.
 4. See above p. 76.
 5. See above pp. 81-81.

servants, who produced light for use at her festivals¹, gave medicine, prepared by the goddess, to a man who had saved their child², were said to have appeared in olden times on the sword of Teishinkō in order to show that Inari was entrusted with the Palace watch³, came out of Inari's temple at Kyōto and changed a man into a fox⁴, and so on. The name "messenger of Inari" we read for the first time in the *Honchō shokkan* (1697)⁵, which also states that already in olden times everywhere fox-gods were worshipped under the name of Inari and were believed to bestow luck and to protect people against calamity. The same facts were related by the *Wakan sansaizue* (1713)⁶. After that time the expression "sacred messenger of Inari" appeared very often.

With respect to Inari's origin we read the following in the *Yamashiro no kuni no fudoki*⁷:—"As to Inari (伊奈利), Irogu no Hada no kimi, the ancestor of the Hada no Nakatsue no imiki House, possessed a great quantity of rice and was very rich. He made a rice cake (mochi) and used it as a target, but the target changed into a white bird and flew away to the top of a mountain. (This bird) produced young (生子) and at last gave its name to a temple. The descendants of that man (who had used a rice cake as a target) regretted the sin of their ancestor, took a tree out of the temple ground, planted it in their garden and worshipped it. If the tree grew well, the worshippers got wealth, but if the tree withered, they did not become rich men."

The above quoted text is somewhat corrupt. The sentence "produced young and at last gave its name to a temple," or "at

1. See above p. 59.

2. See above p. 60.

3. See above p. 61.

4. See above p. 62.

5. See above p. 99.

6. See above p. 101.

7. 山城國風土記, "Record of the characteristics of Yamato province," which dates from about 730-750.

last it became a temple"¹, is not clear. FLORENZ² translates: "There (that is, on the top of the mountain) rice halms sprung up, and at last the name of the temple proceeded therefrom" (that is, Inari, from ine, rice plant). Although this is only a hypothetical translation, yet the meaning of the myth is quite clear, namely that the divinity worshipped on Mount Inari near Kyōto is the *Spirit of the Rice* itself.

The *Bungo fudoki*³ says: "Tano (田野, 'the Rice-field moor,' in the Southwest of this district) is a broad and fertile land, to which no other land can be compared. In olden times there were peasants there who cultivated large rice fields and had so much rice that they became very rich and luxurious. Thus they once made a target from rice-cake, but the target changed into a white bird and flew away to the South. In the same year all the peasants died, so that the rice fields were no longer cultivated and lay fallow and wild. Afterwards no rice would grow there (in consequence of the curse of the Rice goddess). Therefore the moor is called 'Rice-field moor.'"

Another writing, the *Inarisha Tenryaku no kamon*⁴ says: "Inari appeared for the first time in the Wadō era (708-714) on level places on three peaks of Mount Inari. At these spots the ancestor of the Hada family, Naka-ie, tore out the trees and planted nurae (蘇, sacred thyme); members of the same family became priests and celebrated there (without temples) the spring and autumn festivals. As the prayers were very efficacious, the Emperor sent offerings at special times. Afterwards, in the

1. Comp. the quotation of this passage in the *Engishiki jimmeichō tōchū*, 延喜式神名帳頭註, Gunsho ruijū, Nr 23, Vol. I, p. 809.

2. *Japanische Mythologie*, p. 293: "Da reiften und wuchsen Reishalme [auf dem Gipfel]. Schliesslich ist daraus der Name des Tempels geworden."

3. 豊後風土記, "Record of the characteristics of Bungo province," which dates from 713, when the Emperor gave orders to write down all the names of places, mountains, rivers, as well as the customs and traditions. Chapter on Hayami district.

4. 稻荷社天曆勸文, "Report to the Emperor about the Inari temple" in the Tenryaku era (947-956).

eighth year of the Engi era (908), Fujiwara no Ason (that is, Tokihira) built the three temples (which are on the mountain)."

These three temples are also mentioned in the *Engishiki* (927), in the "Register of names of the gods"¹: "Three temples of Inari (稻荷) in Kii district, Yamashiro province."

And from the Commentary thereon² we learn that the divinity of the main temple on Mount Inari is *Uga no Mitama no kami*, "the Spirit of the Rice in the Store-houses"³, while the second shrine is dedicated to Susanoo⁴, her father, and the third one to Ō-ichi-bime⁵, her mother. The author says: "Uga no mitama is the sower of all cereals; therefore perhaps she is called Inari".

MAEDA who quotes the above mentioned passages in his *Inari jinja kō*⁶, remarks that all the other Inari temples in the country find their origin in these three temples on Inari yama; some of them may have been shrines of Uga no mitama in olden times and afterwards have gotten the name of Inari temples in imitation of that on Mount Inari. He also speaks of the so-called "Shirushi no sugi", 驗杉, the "Cryptomeria of the Efficacy of prayer", which once stood by the middle temple on Mount Inari. In the Middle-Ages pilgrims took a twig from that tree home, and if it withered, they considered this a sign that their prayers were not heard; but if otherwise, they were sure of the efficacy of the pilgrimage.⁷

1. 神名帳, Jimmeichō, K. T. K. XIII, p. 285.

2. *Engishiki jimmeichō tōchū*, 延喜式神名帳頭註, Gunsho ruijū, nr 23, Vol. I, p. 809, written by URABE KANETOMO, 卜部兼俱, in 1446.

3. 倉稻魂神. *Uga* or *uka* means food, provisions, and is to be found in a slightly different form in the names of the goddesses Ukemochi and Toyo-uke-bime. It is mostly written with the characters indicating "store-house" and "Rice", "the Rice in the Store-houses", but also phonetically by means of the characters 宇迦 or 宇賀.

4. 素戔嗚.

5. 大市姬.

6. Written in 1836, see above p. 111, Ch. I, pp. 1-7.

7. Ch. I, p. 27. I. Cf above p. 132.

As well in the old legends about the origin of the temples on Inari yama as in the custom and belief of the pilgrims in the Middle-Ages, we find the cult of a *tree spirit* mixed up with the worship of Inari. Also afterwards the felling of Inari's sacred trees was severely punished by the goddess, as we have seen above.¹ But of a *fox* cult as such we nowhere read in the old books. Yet there was an old fox-temple on Mount Inari, as we have seen above², where we treated of the name "myōbu."

But before I speak regarding the connection between Inari and the fox, I will devote some space to the question of Inari's anthropomorphic shape. MAEDA³ defends his opinion as to the *male* sex of Inari by saying that *Dagini*, the *female* fox-god, who was called "the sacred messenger of Inari" for fear of pronouncing her real name, was gradually wrongly considered as Inari herself, so that Inari was mistaken for a female divinity. So she was said to have appeared as a woman in a dream of the high-priest Taichō (619-705), saying that her original shape (hontai, 本躰) was Kwannon⁴, and in 930 the priest Teisō saw her in a dream in female shape, when she informed him of the great power of the Dai Hannyā kyō or "Great Nirvāna sūtra"⁵. In the *Genkō Shakusho*⁶ we read that Inari appeared to Kanshun, a priest of Hieizan, who lived under the Emperor Go Reizei (1045-1068), in the shape of a woman, and bestowed luck upon him. MAEDA asserts that the reason why Inari was described as a female divinity in all these legends was not because Uga no mitama is the same as Toyo-uke-bime no mikoto⁷, for that is in his opinion a different Uga no mitama from the divinity of that name who is identical with Inari. Also Ukemochi, the Food

1. Pg. 76, in the *Sanshū kidan*, 1764.

2. Pg. 56.

3. Ch. II, p. 27 a.

4. *Honchō shinsen den*, 本朝神仙傳, in Taichō's biography.

5. *Kokonchomonshū*, Ch. I, K.T.K. Vol. XV, p. 160.

6. 元亨釋書, before 1346, Ch. V, K.T.K. Vol. XIV, p. 712.

7. 壘受姫命 (*Kōjiki*, Ch. V, K.T.K. VII, p. 14), the goddess of the Outer Temple (Gegū) at Ise, comp. FLORENZ, *Japanische Mythologie*, p. 39, note 3^d by Google

goddess, from whom after her death besides beans, barley, wheat etc. the rice also was born¹, is different from Inari.

In the old legend of Kōbō Daishi meeting Inari, the divinity is an old man with a rice bundle on his shoulder. MAEDA² thinks that this legend was caused by the images, representing the Rice god in that shape. As to the temple, he believes that the inner shrine had originally the name Inari, and that afterwards the upper and lower temples both got the same name, as well as the mountain itself.

In my opinion MAEDA'S whole conception of the matter is wrong. It is a very common fact that Japanese gods are called after the place where they are worshipped. So Mount Inari probably gave its name to the divinity whose temple was there, namely *Uga no mitama*, the Spirit of the Rice. The three shrines which were already on the mountain at the time of the *Engishiki* (927) were dedicated to three different gods, but got altogether the name of "Temples of Inari," that is "Temples of Mount Inari." Probably there was much highland rice on the mountain, or it was surrounded by rice fields, which caused it to be called Inari, "Rice-man"³, or something of the kind. For the same reason (namely, that there was so much rice on or around the mountain) it was especially the "Spirit of the Rice" who was worshipped there.

As to the sex of Inari, it is true that *Uga no mitama*'s sex is not mentioned in the *Nihongi*,⁴ where we simply read: "According to one book, in a time of famine Izanagi and Izanami begot the "Spirit of the Rice in the store-houses", "*Uga no mitama*." Nor does the *Kojiki*⁵ say anything about this divinity, other than that it was a child of Susano and Ōyama-tsumi

1. *Nihongi*, Ch. I, K.T.K. I, p. 20; *Kojiki*, Ch. IX, K.T.K. VII, p. 28.

2. Ch. II, p. 5 a.

3. From *ine* and the suffix *ri*, which FLORENZ, *Jap. Mythologie*, p. 292, note 9, explains as *man*, as in *hitori*, *futari*, etc.

4. Ch. I, K. T. K. Vol. I, p. 12, comp. p. 16.

5. Ch. IX, K. T. K. Vol. VII, p. 31.

no kami's daughter Ō-ichi-bime. In one legend, that of Kōbō Daishi meeting the old man, the Rice divinity is a male, in all others it is a female. I think it wrong to say that in all these legends Dagini Ten, the female fox-god, is confounded with Inari, the male Rice-god, and that only Kōbō Daishi's story is true and derives its origin from the images, representing Inari as an old man with a rice bundle. To me it does not seem probable that the cult of the magical Dākini, which secretly spread throughout Japan, hiding itself behind other names, can have had such an influence on the cult of the Spirit of the Rice (which had nothing to do with sorcery), that it even could change the sex of the Rice-god. It is much more logical that the old man, whom Kōbō Daishi met, was the genius of the mountain Inari itself, who called himself "Rice-man" after the mountain which he represented, and carried a bundle of the rice which was so abundant on or about its slopes. The *Inari chin-sa yūrai*¹ actually says that the old man was the god of the mountain, and that he lived in a hut at its foot, cultivating the rice-fields in the day-time and chopping up fuel at night, and further that his name was Ryūzuda². This mountain-god was quite different from the Spirit of the Rice, worshipped in one of the temples situated within his territory, and in this way we find an easy explanation of the difference of sex between the two gods. Moreover, *Ukemochi*, who gave birth to the rice, beans etc, as well as *Toyo-uke-bime*, who was identified with Uga no mitama, are both *female* gods, and what is more natural than that the Rice, which protects mankind against famine as a mother her children, is thought to be a divine woman? Finally, it is a female spirit which is thought to live in and keep watch over the corn in Europe and the rice in India, as we see in FRAZER'S *Golden Bough*³, where the so-called "Corn-mother"

1. 稻荷纏座由來, written in 1386 by the Buddhist priest Yū-nen, 融然; *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, Vol. II, ch. XXXIII, p. 167.

2. 龍頭太.

3. Second edition, Vol. II, pp. 168 sqq. and 198.

of Europe and the "Mother of the Rice" of Java and Sumatra are dealt with. On comparing all these facts one with another we can be sure that the Japanese Spirit of the Rice was also a female being.

But what about the *fox-cult*, which we find so closely connected with Inari's worship? The *Wakan no shiori*¹ says: "As to the fact that the fox is called the 'sacred messenger of Inari', we read in the *Ise chinza ki*²: 'Uga no mitama no kami is also called Tōme miketsu no kami'³. That is the reason why the fox is called Inari's messenger. For although *Mikitsu* (三狐, litt. 'three foxes') means *Mi-ketsu* (御饌津, 'August Food-provider') (and has nothing to do with foxes), yet people (thinking that the meaning of the name was 'three foxes') began to worship foxes as gods and to pray to them for luck, and this soon became the fashion."

In the *Kanden kōhitsu*⁴ we read the following:—"Nowhere in the old books is the fox mentioned as the female messenger of Inari. In some books Inari is called *Miketsu* (御食津, 'August Food'), which was written by some writers, 三狐, 'Three Foxes'. The word fox is not only *kitsune*, but also *kutsune* and *ketsune*. In country districts it is mostly pronounced *ketsune*, but the old pronunciation seems to have been *kutsune*. I cannot find out in which book *Miketsu* is spoken of. At the foot of the mountain on which the temple of Inari (稻生) is situated (that is, Mount Inari), we find nowadays the Shinguden (神供殿), where five Shintō gods are worshipped together.⁵ In front of this temple are koma-inu (狛犬, 'Korean dogs').

1. 和訓栞, written before 1776, see above p. 56, note 3.

2. 伊勢鎮座記, "Records of the abodes of the gods at Ise," one of the *Shintō gobusho*, 神道五部書, "Five books on Shintō," K. T. K. Vol. VII, p. 438, comp. p. 441.

3. 尊女三狐神. *Tōme* is an old word for fox, comp. above pp. 55 sq.

4. 閑田耕筆, written in 1799, see above p. 81, note 2; *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. V., pp. 71 sq., Ch. III.

5. Comp. *Wakan sansai zue* (1713), Ch. LXXII, p. 1199: those five gods are: Uga no mitama, Chichi no oya, Oyama zumi, Izanagi and Izanami.

But at the temple on the top of this mountain, where three gods are worshipped,¹ *white foxes* take the place of the Korean dogs. This has its origin in the reading *Miketsu* (三狐, 'Three Foxes'), and therefore not only do the people think that the fox is the female messenger of Inari, but the foxes themselves must have thought so too. For from all provinces the so-called *ban-gitsune* (番狐, 'watch-foxes') come to this mountain (Inari-yama) and live there in holes, mostly male and female together. When the latter becomes pregnant, she gives birth to her young in a special hole (in order to keep the other hole clean) and takes them away to some other place, for on the mountain itself only the couple live. When the year of their watch has come to an end, they seem to give way to others. Sometimes country people come and say: 'Mr. Fox (Kitsune dono) of our village has come here to keep watch. Where is he? We should like to meet him.' Then one of the priests shows them the hole. I did not know personally any of these details, but the priests of the temple (of Inari) told me of them. Besides these watch-foxes there are no wild foxes at all on the mountain. When a person possessed by a fox is taken to this temple, it is said that the possessing fox is very much frightened and is certain to go out of the patient. As well in the capital as in the country those who have something to ask of a fox, or who wish to build a shrine to a fox, calling it an Inari shrine, all go to the houses of the priests (of Inari at Kyōto) and ask for a 'shrine establishing seal'.² How it was in olden times I do not know, but nowadays the Inari temple at Kyōto is certainly the main temple of the foxes."

The *Inari jinjakō*³ says: "Nowadays (1836) the temple on the hill behind the Inari temple is called the Upper Temple

1. According to the *Wakan sansai zue*, l.l.: Izanagi, Izanami and Uga no mitama.

2. 勸請の魔, that is, a shintai or "god-body" to be placed in the new shrine.

3. Ch. II, p. 25 a.

(Ue no sha, 上社). Formerly this temple was named *Tōme no sha*,¹ or *Myōbusha*,² and three fox-gods were worshipped there. As those three foxes lived a very long time in the neighbourhood of the Inari temple and did strange things, the people soon began to call them 'the sacred messengers of Inari', and worshipped them together in one temple. Afterwards for the same reason the Indian fox-god Dagini was confounded with Inari. A terribly unreasonable thing!"

As we have seen above³, the author of the *Reijū sakki* seeks the origin of the word "tōme" for fox in the name of this fox temple. But in reality it was just the opposite, and the name of the temple was "Fox shrine." As to the word *myōbu*, which means "Court-lady"⁴, this seems to indicate that the three foxes worshipped in the shrine were female fox-gods that had got the fifth rank from the Emperor, like the cat in the *Makura no sōshi* (1000), upon which the Emperor Ichijō (986-1011) bestowed that rank and the name "Myōbu no Omoto"⁵. We have also seen that one of the three foxes, named *Akomachi* (阿小町), was said to have got the title *myōbu* from a Court-lady herself⁶. About this *Akomachi* we read in FUJIWARA NO AKIHIRA'S book *Shūnsarugaku no ki*⁷, where "Akomachi of Inari yama" is mentioned together with "Iga tōme," the "Fox of Iga province"⁸ of Kitsune-zaka in Yamashiro province, Atago district. We find this name also in the *Inari chinza yūrai*⁹, where a legend is told about three foxes, a married couple and a child of five years, who came to

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1. 登字女社, "Fox-temple."
 2. 命婦社, "Court-lady temple," comp. above pp. 55 sq.
 3. See p. 56.
 4. Comp. above p. 55.
 5. *Inari jinjakō*, Ch. II, p. 40 a. Cf. my treatise on *The Dog and the Cat in Japanese Superstition*, Transactions, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 8.
 6. See above p. 55.
 7. 新猿樂記, written in the 11th century.
 8. 伊賀傳.
 9. See above p. 137 note 1; *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, Vol. II, Ch. XXXIII, p. 168.

Mount Inari in order to protect the world therefrom; the husband was appointed by the goddess as servant of the Upper Temple, with the name of Kosusugi (小葺), while the wife was to serve in the Lower Temple under the name of Akomachi. From that time they fulfilled the wishes of numberless people and appeared in the dreams, or before the eyes, of the believers. This legend was apparently invented to explain the connection of the anthropomorphic goddess with the foxes. In reality there were three female fox-gods together in one temple, and one of them was called Akomachi. The explanation of the word *Miketsu* as "August Food," instead of "Three foxes," is artificial, and was only invented by writers who wished to free Inari from originally having any connection with foxes. We can be sure that the fox cult has existed on Mount Inari from very olden times.

The temple of the "Three foxes," and that of the "Rice Spirit" (Uga no mitama) were undoubtedly different, but in old books we read about "the temple of Inari," as if there were only one shrine and one divinity on the mountain. In 827 the Emperor Junwa's illness was explained by diviners as being a curse due to the felling of the trees at the "Temple of Inari"¹, whereupon the Emperor bestowed the lowest degree of the fifth rank upon the deity of that temple in order to have the curse taken away. And in 843 the Emperor Nimmyō raised the same deity to the highest degree of the fifth rank². The *Montoku jitsuroku* (878)³ is the first work which mentions the "three temples of Inari", but that these three belonged together is proved by the fact that the later Emperors also always bestowed one rank upon them as upon a single deity. And one of the three was the Myōbu

1. *Nihon kiryaku*, 日本紀略, Ch. XIV, K. T. K. Vol. V, p. 454; *Ruijū kokushi*, 類聚國史, written by SUGAWARA NO MICHIZANE, 菅原道真 (845-903), in the history of the 34th Emperor.

2. *Shoku Nihonkōki*, 續日本後紀, written in 869, Ch. XIII, K. T. K. Vol. III, p. 346.

3. Ch. IX, K. T. K. Vol. III, p. 552.

and the same. Besides the fox cult a tree spirit must have been worshipped on the mountain from very olden times ; he too had to bow to the mighty power of the goddess, whose sacred trees thenceforth became famous throughout Japan. As to the foxes, spirits of the rice, it is quite logical for their shrines to be found everywhere in this country, which lives so largely on rice. The silence of the old books regarding their connection with Mount Inari was probably due to the fact that the fox cult on that mountain had been united with the anthropomorphic cult and was hidden behind the general name of "Gods of Inari." Afterwards, when on the mountain the victory of anthropomorphism was complete and Inari's glory spread more and more throughout the whole of the Empire, all the fox-gods were considered to be her messengers and representatives.

CHAPTER VI.

Conclusions.

A long, winding road of superstition and quaint belief lies behind us. Superstition, in so far as foxes and badgers were feared as forebodings of evil or as things which haunted and possessed people ; belief, in regard to their worship as gods, as parts of the numberless Shintō pantheon. On looking back over this road covering twelve long centuries we see China's influence entirely dominating the field of divination, transformation and possession, the latter as far as it was not due to human witchcraft. Japan was more likely herself responsible for the fox-sorcery, which was afterwards confounded with Indian magic ; whereas with regard to the cult of the fox as the spirit of the rice, this was certainly a pure Japanese conception and growth.

In the *eighth* century we saw the Japanese legislator menacing those who smoked foxes or mujina out of graves, a proof that this superstitious Chinese custom had spread even then in this country; otherwise it would have been omitted in the Japanese version of the Chinese law. Further, the Chinese ideas of foreboding in connection with the appearance of white or black foxes and of foxes in general appeared to be prevalent in Japan, as they were centuries afterwards. And not only the appearing of these animals, but their howling, copulating, or befouling places were all considered as omina, mostly portending evil. That they were also known at that time as haunting beasts, is proved by the passage in the *Shoku Nihongi*, which tells us that a god subdued a spook whose vulpine head was found in the garden. Further, we have read in the *Ryō-i-ki* a tale about a fox who took the shape of a charming maid and married a man, with whom she lived for a long time. She gave birth to a strong, agile son, whose descendants even down to the fourth generation excelled in strength. But dogs, the deadly enemies of foxes, always scent their real nature, so that the transformed fox fled away even from a puppy.

The *tanuki* was not yet mentioned in those days, although a calendar of the fourteenth century showed us that this animal's crying was feared as a foreboding of strife and of death. As to the *mujina*, the mysterious pearl found in its stomach was apparently believed to have supernatural power, just like that of the Chinese were-foxes; for it was presented to the Emperor and preserved in a shrine. That at that early time the *mujina* was believed to have the power of changing itself into a man we learned from another passage of the *Nihongi*. After the eighth century, however, the *mujina* disappeared from the stage of literature for a long period, and it is not until the eighteenth century that it appeared again.

In the *ninth* century we read of Celestial Foxes, flying through the air over the Palace, and of ominous appearances of

ordinary wild foxes; while the beginning of the *tenth* century brought an interesting legend about foxes that took human shape and deluded a man in a remarkable way. So popular was that story, that it was told in detail in four different works of the tenth, eleventh and fourteenth centuries, while it inspired an author of the Muromachi period to write a similar tale in a different form.

The *eleventh* century spoke for the first time of fox-possession, and of foxes worshipped in Shintō temples. It seems to have been a magic cult which the Virgin Princess at Ise established, for the sorceresses of the capital followed her example, much to the indignation of their contemporaries, who considered the matter to be a scandal on the great gods of Ise; for it was under their names that the foxes were worshipped. As we have stated above¹, both the fox-magic and the fox-cult (of the spirits of the rice) must have prevailed in Japan from olden times, so that the only new and appalling fact about it was that the cult flourished in abuse of the holy name of Ise's deities. It is, however, quite possible that there existed an old fox cult in Ise, as was the case on Mount Inari, an old slumbering worship of vulpine-shaped rice spirits. Was not Toyo-uke-bime, the goddess of the Outer Temple at Ise, the great dispenser of food, identified with Uga no Mitama, the Soul of the Rice, who reigned on Inari's slopes? And did we not read about the severe punishment received in the eleventh century by one of the Fujiwara who had killed a divine fox at Ise; while in the following century the Court was twice discussing the same crime, which was considered to be as great as the killing of a divine spirit? This seems to indicate that there really existed an old connection between Ise and foxes.

Further, we saw foxes transform themselves into beautiful women in order to seduce men, who were sure to die if they had sexual intercourse with them, unless the foxes themselves

1. See above p. 118.

died in their stead. Or they haunted men by appearing as the double of a woman, or as a tree or a mysterious glittering being, and possessed people in order to get food or to convey some communication by word of mouth. Their tricks were mischievous, but intended more to frighten mankind than to do actual harm. The haunting foxes were always *old* in years, according to the Chinese conception that the vital spirit (精, *tsing*) of all beings is steadily strengthened by old age, with the result that it becomes able to take human shape and to haunt. In respect of one virtue foxes surpassed men, namely in that of keeping their word when they had once promised to protect and help someone who had spared their lives or had restored their souls to them in the shape of precious gems.

The *twelfth* century showed us the capital a prey to haunting foxes which regaled the people with sumptuous meals of horse dung and cow bones transformed into delicious viands. The Sujaku gate especially was the favourite spot of the beasts, which did not even respect His Imperial Majesty; nor his officials, in whose carriages they drove away; nor Buddhist high-priests, whom they caused to come to the Sujaku road and pray before the altars of phantom houses; nor private persons, whom they deceived by paying them with old sandals and clogs, tiles and pebbles, bones and horns, temporarily transformed into gold, silver and silk. They even played tricks in the Palace itself, where they appeared as young women in order to tempt young men. On the other hand they protected a house against fire, where the deity of an old shrine, probably the Rice Spirit, caused them to appear; and they were considered so divine that the Emperor banished a distinguished nobleman for having killed a fox in the neighbourhood of the Saigū's palace at Ise; while twice thereafter the Court seriously discussed a similar case. Thus did the haunting demon of China and the fox-god of Japan appear side by side.

The *thirteenth* century brought us a good deal of new information. There was a fox carrying fire in its mouth and in

human shape burning down the house of a man who had hit it with an arrow. This reminds us to a certain extent of the fox-fire (*kitsune-bi*), and also somewhat of the Tengu who set houses on fire, and, on the other hand, protected them against conflagrations.¹

As to possession, we found the motives of practicing this quite different. Sometimes it was only hunger or a turn for epicurism in the matter of food which made a fox possess a man; but on other occasions nothing less than divine worship was what the animal was after. At the same time their appearance was still considered as portending either evil or good luck. When their haunting assumed too large proportions, they were menaced with a battuc, whereupon one of them appeared in a dream, promising protection and prediction of luck, if the threat of punishment was withdrawn.

In the meantime *Indian* influence had come into play in the fox cults of old Japan. *Dagini Ten*, in reality a numberless crowd of *Dākini*, Indian female divinities bestowing magical knowledge upon men, was identified with *Benten*, the Goddess of Wealth on the one hand, and with magical Japanese fox-gods on the other. She was also called the "Deva-King, the Venerable Fox" and the "Bodhisattva, the White Fox-king"; and *Benten* herself was believed to come out of her temple in the shape of a white fox. *Dagini Ten* appeared in a dream as a supernatural woman, but left her hair in the hands of the sleeper in the form of a fox tail, while in vulpine shape she ate the offerings made to her. We need not ask how strongly the fox cult and fox sorcery must have prevailed in those days, when we see how the Shingon priests degraded their *Dagini*, nay even their *Benten*, to the level of foxes in order to get possession of that part of the Japanese religion and magic.

In this century the *tanuki* appeared for the first time, whether alone or as combined with the fox in the term *kori* (狐狸),

1. Comp. Transactions Vol. XXXVI, Part II, "The Tengu", Ch. II, pp. 63, 72.

“foxes and tanuki.” As stated above¹, the same term occurred sometimes in old Chinese books in the sense of “foxes” only, and even the character 狸 alone was used for fox. But in Japanese literature the term *kori* always means “foxes and tanuki”. The latter animal was in those early days not the rather harmless spook-beast of later times. On the contrary, it drowned the hunters who dared to hunt birds on a mountain lake, appearing to them as an old hag, who arose from the midst of the lake in a dazzling light and flew through the air to attack whoever approached its banks. Or the tanuki appeared as a pitch-black, gigantic Buddhist priest in an old chapel and was believed to devour men. A common trick of the tanuki was throwing pebbles and potsherds into houses. As I remarked in my treatise on the Tengu², the “Tengu-tsubute,” or “Tengu-pebbles” were well-known, and as early as 778 a shower of tiles, pebbles and earth-clods fell for twenty nights upon different houses in the capital, cast by an invisible hand.³

And this was not the only thing which the tanuki had in common with the Tengu. They both liked to appear as Buddhas or Bodhisattvas in order to deceive devout priests and hermits. For being worshipped by mankind was their delight, as well as that of foxes, so that they were even thought capable of abusing the name of a deceased Emperor by possessing persons and requiring for themselves worship in his name. But the power of transformation possessed by both foxes and tanuki came to an end as soon as they were killed. Then their powerful and majestic appearance shrunk to its original dimensions, and the mighty giants or Bodhisattvas lay down as miserable little beasts.

The *fourteenth* century did not bring much information, except that we read then for the first time about a special means for making out whether some one was a transformed fox or a

1. P. I, note 1.

2. Ch. II, § 9.

3. *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXXIV, K. T. K. II, p. 597.

man, namely by forcing smoke into his nose. Even the Emperor was so afraid of haunting foxes, that he left a house where they exhibited their magical power, and preferred to run the risk of being attacked by Hiyoshi, the Shintō god of Hieizan, whose sacred sedan chair was left in the Palace by the angry monks. But not always did these beasts succeed in deluding mankind; for if they were not yet sufficiently experienced in the difficult art, they were quickly discovered and became the laughing-stock of those whom they sought to play upon. Old tanuki and old foxes were mentioned side by side as taking divine or human shape.

In the *fifteenth* century the old fox-sorcery broke forth in mighty waves and even penetrated within the walls of the Shōgun's palace. It was then for the first time that we found the term "*kitsune-tsukai*," or "employment of foxes", a magic art practiced even by such high personages as the Chief-Diviner and the Shōgun's physician. Yet it was deemed a very wicked art and punished with exile. Some later Japanese authors refer to an older passage where they believed they had discovered a trace of the same kind of sorcery, namely, the legend of the abbot Sō-ō, found in the *Fusō ryakki* (12th century).¹ But there is not a single proof that this abbot, who in the year 888 exorcised by means of incantations a fox which possessed the Empress, and compelled the beast to leave the shaking palace, was himself the culprit who had caused the fox to possess Her Majesty to the end that he might obtain praise and honour by driving the animal out. The author of the *Fusō ryakki* apparently did not think of such roguery on the part of the devout abbot.

The famous legend of the transformed fox *Tamamo no mac*, the favourite concubine of the Emperor Konoe, showed us the nine-tailed, white fox in India, China and Japan, with always a most baleful influence on King or Emperor as exercised through

1. See above p. 35.

the person of a consort or a concubine. Probably this legend did not date from very olden times, because in China as well as in Japan the appearance of a nine-tailed or white fox was originally considered to be a very good omen. Indian influence may have caused this difference from the old belief; for it is characteristic that in the legend itself India is pointed out as the original field where the fox played her tricks, and that the power of Buddhism against this deadly enemy of mankind is intentionally put in a strong light. And it was a very efficacious means of propaganda indeed, for both in literature and on the stage the legend obtained the utmost popularity. Of Indian origin seems also to have been the word "*yakan*", which sometimes occurs in the *Ryō-i-ki* (8th century), *Konjaku Monogatari* (11th century), *Mizu Kagami* (12th century) and *Zoku kojidan* (13th century), side by side with the word "*kitsune*" as having the same meaning. As we stated above¹, an old Chinese work, quoted in the *Wamyōshō* (10th century), said that the *yakan* was different from the fox, namely a smaller animal with a big tail, which could climb trees, and that the Chinese by mistake had applied its name to the fox. Other Chinese books taught that it was an anthropophagous animal, resembling a blue-yellow dog, which was mentioned in Buddhist sutras. So we arrive at the conclusion that the *yakan*, although originally different from the fox, was introduced into Japanese folklore when it had already lost its primary Indian meaning in China, and was simply thought to be identical with the fox.

The worship of female fox-deities, probably spirits of the rice, was prevalent in those days, as it must have been from olden times. At least the encyclopaedical work *Ainōshō* (1446) mentioned them in connection with the name "*myōbu*" (Court lady) for fox. The same work spoke of fox-fire, which was believed to be made by means of burning horse bones, carried in the mouth by the foxes; but we saw in later works, that

according to other explanations it was the breath of the beasts, or a shining pearl at the end of the tail, or burning horse hoofs, which made those *ignes fatui*.

The *sixteenth* century brought only old tales in a somewhat different form, namely the well-known legends of the man who was lying under his own godown, and of the transformed fox who was married to a man, but at last fled away at the approach of a little dog. The only interesting passage we found was that about the fox whose appearance was considered to be a bad omen because it happened in summer time, and who was killed by the power lodged in a poem.

Just as was the case with the Tengu, after the silence of the *sixteenth* century there followed a perfect torrent of legends in the *seventeenth*. At that time *Inari* conquered the field. The slumbering fox cult on Mount Inari, subdued by the anthropomorphic goddess¹ who was worshipped on the same mountain, suddenly appeared on the scene. The foxes, themselves spirits of the rice, were now messengers of the Rice-goddess, but they were not only sacred, they also received worship in shrines as representatives of Inari herself. Their shrines were demolished when a fox had done anything wrong and built up again if the culprit was punished by the fox-god of the shrine himself. At the same time old stories were told about Inari's connection with the fox, as, for example, that of the small fox which appeared above the hilt of a sword as a sign of Inari's presence in the Palace. The Inari temple at Kyōto had become the centre of all fox cults throughout the Empire, and in the same way Inari of Ōji near Yedo was the head of all foxes in the eight provinces of Kwantō. On New-Year's eve they all assembled at the foot of a tree near by in order to go up to the temple and pay reverence to their divine Mistress. The more fox-fire was seen there at that time and the more light

1. It was certainly a *female* deity in spite of the Kōbō Daishi legend, where apparently the male mountain god, and not the female Rice Spirit, is spoken of.

it shed, the better would be the rice crop of that year. Could there be better evidence of the nature of the fox-gods as spirits of the rice?

But the foxes were not always thought to have connection with Inari. Sometimes they transformed themselves, as in former days, only for the pleasure of deluding men. So also did the tanuki, who even chose the Buddhist temples as a field for their tricks and made an image preach to the devout believers.

Fox-possession was very common in those days, as well as later, and madness, melancholy, hysteria and so on were all ascribed to the same cause. Women, weak men and children were in general the victims of this special kind of disease, which was cured in various ways. The patient was forced to snuff up smoke of burning wolf-dung, or to drink thin tea, or to swallow roasted leaves of the shikimi (*illicium religiosum*); all things which foxes were believed to detest. If there was doubt whether some one was possessed by a fox or was taken by an ordinary illness, no better trial could be made than by making him take this last mentioned medicine, because the fox-possessed patient would flatly refuse it. But there was still another means of driving the fox out, namely pricking the tumour, made by him under the skin of the possessed person, using for the purpose a needle taken mostly from the tail of an ei fish.

It was often by human sorcery that a fox was caused to possess some one. From very olden times this fox-magic existed in Japan, and instead of decreasing under Buddhist influence it spread more and more under the name of the "Dagini doctrine." There was one mountain especially where it flourished for many centuries, namely Mount Izuna in Shinano province. The "Izuna doctrine", being a combination of the old fox-magic, practiced on the mountain, with the cult of a Great Tengu, was already mentioned in a work of the fifteenth century, but did not reach the summit of its fame before the seventeenth. Since that time it was well-known as a powerful

magic, by means of which the sorcerer caused the fox he had in his service to possess somebody or to tell him everything he wanted to know.

Next to this magical use of foxes we found them still considered as forebodings; for just as in olden times, their howling was believed to portend luck or some sort of calamity. Yet in spite of their power as divine, magical and ominous beings they did not escape the cruel hand of man who used their livers and fat in preparing medicines and unguents, and caught them in traps by means of their favourite food, rats fried in oil.

The *eighteenth* century spoke of Inari's revenge when fox shrines were neglected or sacred trees cut down. Madness, suicide and death by lightning fell upon the unhappy culprit and his family. But protecting fox-gods were sent by the goddess to monasteries or temples as a reward for devout worship; while often great wealth was bestowed upon men by divine foxes which they had saved or assisted in some way. More than ever the temple on Mount Inari became the centre of all fox cults in Japan, and its priests the chief mediators between fox deities and men. The divine foxes kept watch by turns on the holy mountain, and even the "Venerable Fox god," Kiko Myōjin, identified with Dagini Ten, was nothing but a messenger of Inari. At the same time the goddess felt herself responsible for the mischief her subjects did, and punished them severely. She gave them also different ranks, which they could buy for money, picked up at the offering boxes of temples. The divine foxes who lived in Buddhist temples, not only protected these buildings against fire and other calamities, but were also guardian-gods of the priests and gave oral and written oracles to believers.

It need hardly be said that side by side with the cult of Inari and her vulpine rice spirits the magical Izuna doctrine flourished with redoubled vigour. It was practiced by both Buddhist priests and laymen, but in some cases, if a priest went too far in this heterodox behaviour and profited largely by the

fame obtained by exorcising the fox which he himself had caused to possess a person, the authorities intervened and banished him to another province. In Izumo province especially the so-called *kitsune-mochi*, or "fox-keeping", was very common, as much as was the dog-sorcery in Kyūshū. It is remarkable that the influence of the latter was believed to be checked by the tooth of a fox, the dog's deadly enemy, although in fox-lore it is always the fox who flees as soon as he is aware of the presence of a dog.¹ Except in causing people to be possessed, predicting the future and showing an amazing knowledge of all kinds of things, the fox-sorcerers gave performances with "spirit foxes" (*ki-ko*, 氣狐), making for example two persons out of one, which reminds us of the old stories of foxes acting as the doubles of women or men. Others deluded the people by means of the magic power of their foxes in showing them a mock shape instead of their own, as the man in Ōsaka did who offered his body as a target to such as cared to shoot at it.

But also apart from human influence foxes were still believed to possess and haunt mankind and change themselves into men. Sometimes they were dangerous, especially in the revenge they took, sometimes harmless, when they discussed Buddhistic topics in the shape of priests, or appeared as ghosts of the dead. But they soon resumed their vulpine shape when fumigated or bathed, or attacked by dogs. Sometimes they amused the people by *fata morgana*, showing castles and horsemen in battle array and long processions of *daimyō*.

Next to foxes the old *tanuki* had become very popular figures in Japanese folklore. They took the shape of one-eyed spooks or hags, or appeared as gigantic women or black priests in the dead of night, amid lightning and earthquake. They

1. On Mitsu-mine, a mountain in Musashi province, sacred dogs were kept in the temple of Mitsu-mine Gongen from remote ages down to the present day, and on the 19th of every month an offering of cleaned rice was made to them. From all sides the pilgrims flock there together in order to "borrow a dog" as they call it, that is, to obtain a charm which cures fox-possession. An invisible dog is believed to follow the charm and drive out the fox. Comp. YOSHIDA Tōgō's geographical lexicon, "*Dai Nihon chinsei jisho*", p. 3054.

flew as dazzling comets through the air, or fell as flaming human heads before bewildered men, whose feet they burned and whom they made ill by their pestilential breath. They knocked at the gate in the middle of the night and made their victims go to haunted houses, where they frightened them to death by their tricks. They buried their dead with Buddhist funeral rites and asked assistance of the priest of the monastery they had haunted the night before.

Not always, however, were the tanuki so dangerous or troublesome to men. Often, on clear moonlight nights, they amused the people by playing the belly-drum, or they appeared in their dreams in the shape of children, asking permission to live under their houses, announcing a belly-drum concert beforehand, or predicting that they, the tanuki, would be killed the next day by a dog. For they knew the past and the future, this life as well as former existences. On rainy nights they and the mujina appeared as *ignes fatui*.

After an absence of a thousand years the *mujina* came to life again in popular superstition. They haunted and predicted death to the people in the shape of boys or black lay-bonzes or old witches, lived during hundreds of years as monks in Buddhist monasteries, eagerly accumulating money and giving examples of their queer handwriting till they were killed by a mere dog. Even after death they brought a curse upon those who spent the money which they, the mujina, had collected during life, or caused the death of the daring man who had killed them. As priests they discussed Buddhist sutras, as old scholars the Chinese classics. So much did they resemble the tanuki, that their belly-drum and *ignes fatui*, their human shapes and ways of haunting were all the same, as well as their old age, which, as we have seen, gave animals and plants supernatural power.

In the *nineteenth* century fox-possession was not less common than before, but was mostly ascribed to human sorcery. Yet we also read about foxes who possessed persons and

made them ill in revenge for some evil, or gave them power to work much more than usual in gratitude for being allowed to stay in the house of their master. Another time they pretended to be the ghost of a deceased bishop and made the possessed girl write Amida's holy name, at the same time taking care, in order to avoid Amida's anger, to use wrong characters which made it somewhat different from the real name. Needles and moxa were the means used for curing such patients, or old precious swords, which had killed some haunting fox long ago and were laid upon the heads of the possessed. The fox was also transferred into a medium by means of Buddhist incantations, as in the days of old, and then driven out by further tantras and by questions as to his origin, reasons and aim; or the possessed were taken to some Buddhist temple, famous for its powerful influence in such cases. The old legends of foxes, married to men during long periods of time, and of others feasting men on mock meals of dirty stuff, were told in slightly different form; while at the same time new elements had found their way into fox-lore, as, for example, the hypnotic power of old haunting foxes and their capacity of quickly changing bright moonshine into utter darkness, just as the Tengu did in their sacred valleys. They still showed their revengeful nature by annoying those who had insulted them, causing them to see long daimyō processions or to go on useless errands in the night, and, as in olden times, their mysterious lights glowed on field and moor in wet and dreary nights.

Fox-sorcery had reached its highest point. Izuna Gongen had his temples on the tops of many mountains, where Tengu cult and fox-magic went hand in hand. Shinano, Kōzuke, Izumo and other provinces abounded with families whose members were believed to have osaki-, kuda-, or man-foxes (jinko) in their service, which they caused to possess and haunt their enemies or rich people from whom they wished to obtain something. It is no wonder that such families were feared and shunned, and that nobody would allow his son or daughter to

intermarry with them. The sudden rise and fall of poor and rich, theft, illness and inexplicable events were all ascribed to their influence. In short, the magic power, as well as that of divination, which these people obtained from their supernatural foxes, was believed to be unlimited.

In the meantime the *tanuki* had become more harmless than before. In Shikoku, where there were no foxes, they took the place of those animals, playing many a trick on the simple country folk, and also elsewhere they sometimes deceived young men and girls by taking the shape of pretty maids or handsome lovers, or deluded devout priests by appearing as Amida riding on a purple cloud. But in general they helped and amused mankind more than they annoyed them. Sometimes they lent them money, picked up from ditches and valleys, or gave them presents of precious swords; sometimes they amused them by *fata morgana*, causing enormous castles or busy market scenes to appear before their eyes. They lived as monks in monasteries and sold their drawings to the peasants, who liked such things very much. They lived above the ceilings of private houses, where they caused paper and pencil to fly up to them, with which they would proceed to write. But at last they were mostly killed by dogs, their natural enemies, and funeral services were held on behalf of their souls.

To-day the old superstitions are still in full vigour, as the Japanese newspapers are telling us from day to day. The sacred sword in Fudō's temple at Narita, as well as Hommyōji, the Nichiren temple at Kumamoto, attract crowds of pilgrims, who believe themselves possessed by foxes and are confident that they can be cured at these holy places. The bone of a tortoise's foot held in the left hand is considered an excellent talisman against the bewitching power of foxes and badgers.¹ The fabulous teapot which changes into a badger, and the *tanuki*-fire on rainy nights² are known to old and young. Fox-cult and fox-magic

1. BRINKLEY, *Japan*, Vol. V, pp. 14 sq.

2. *Ibidem*, pp. 200, 220.

do not yet belong to the past, and the former especially will not disappear as long as Shintō lives. For even if all the superstitions, borrowed centuries ago from China, die out, the fox, the spirit of the rice, will retain his fame as the sacred messenger of Inari, and will be seen before her shrines throughout Japan.
