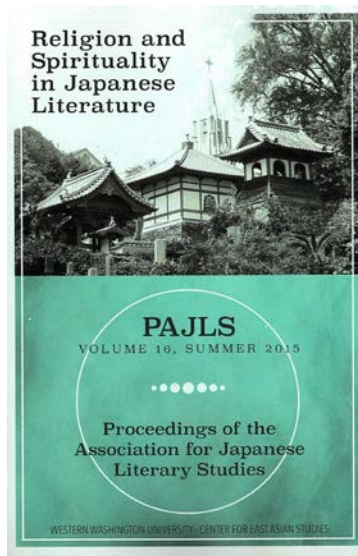


“Ghosts from the Past: The Fortune of *Hyaku Monogatari* in Post-Meiji Japan”

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*Ghosts from the Past:  
The Fortune of Hyaku Monogatari  
in Post-Meiji Japan*

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**Abstract:** “Describing” represents one of the central issues in the relationship between the reader and the author (or, more generally, the artist). On the one hand, there is the author, constantly striving to develop new descriptive writing strategies. On the other hand, there is the reception of literary works, which, as theorized by Umberto Eco,<sup>1</sup> is quite a difficult process in itself. However, it gets even more complex when the object the author attempts to describe breaks away from the concept of “known” and approaches the fascinating and exciting world of the “supernatural.”

This is the challenge taken on by novelists who have experimented with the *hyaku monogatari*, the “one-hundred tales,” a parlour game created in the Edo period (1603-1867) in which the participants described the ghosts and spirits that supposedly surrounded them. Initially played by *samurai* as a test of courage, the game soon spread in popularity and became common also among the lower classes. Considered a sort of beacon for spirits, *hyaku monogatari* became very popular. The stories of ghoulish encounters narrated during such gatherings eventually converged in a literary movement, which has come to include some masterpieces of the Japanese tradition. In the Meiji (1868-1912) and Taishō (1912-1924) eras, despite the wave of positivism that spread in Japan under the influence of Western culture, well-known intellectuals – like the novelists Mori Ōgai (1862-1922) and Izumi Kyōka (1873-1939), as well as the ethnographer Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962) – showed great interest in *hyaku monogatari*. They even participated in those gothic

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<sup>1</sup> See Eco, *Sei passeggiate nei boschi narrativi*, pp. 5-20.

gatherings and reproduced that atmosphere in their works. If in pre-modern Japan the *hyaku monogatari* spirit lay in literature, in the 1960s it reappeared in *manga* and *anime* – and in particular in the work of Mizuki Shigeru (1922-2007). On the one hand, this represents the entrance of Edo-period ghost stories into the new worlds of modern media. On the other hand, this phenomenon can also be seen as youngsters' rediscovery of older national traditions. The results are shown in the works of the next generation of novelists, whose most representative voice can be considered to be the “contemporary *hyaku monogatari* teller” Kyōgoku Natsuhiko (b. 1963). This paper aims at tracing the fortune of *hyaku monogatari* during the process of modernization of the country, and analysing how it has taken on new forms in contemporary Japan.

**Key Words:** Ghost stories, oral tradition, folklore, spirituality, *anime* and *manga*, supernatural creatures, Kyōgoku Natsuhiko, Mizuki Shigeru, Mori Ōgai, demonology, cultural identity.

### The *hyaku monogatari* in Japan's modernization process

*It has been a once-in-a-lifetime event. That is when I participated in a hyaku monogatari session.*

(Mori Ōgai, *Hyaku Monogatari*, 1891)<sup>2</sup>

The 1868 Meiji Restoration marked the beginning of full “modernity” for Japan. After about three hundred years of isolation, Westerners penetrated the country and brought with them what they called “modern knowledge.” From there on, Japan had to accept this “modernity” in order to break the bonds created by unequal treaties, and find new autonomy.<sup>3</sup>

In this time of rapid changes and instability, despite the wave of positivism brought about by Western culture, old and new superstitions exerted a huge fascination on people. In particular, spirit invocation practices underwent a great boom during the Meiji era (1868-1912). Among these, one of the most popular can be considered the *kokkuri-san*, a technique through which a spirit is

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<sup>2</sup> See Higashi (ed.), *Mori Ōgaishū – Nezumizaka - Bungō Kaidan Kessakusen*, p. 358.

<sup>3</sup> See Reischauer, *Japan*, pp. 220-245.

called down to inhabit a simply constructed spirit board, a direct descendant of the Western “round table.” The *kokkuri-san* reached the peak of its fame during these years and began to be practised by a huge number of people among whom we also find the “father” of the modern Japanese novel, the essayist and novelist Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935).<sup>4</sup>

Alongside this game of Western origins, we find another popular practice for spirit invocation, the roots of which date back to the early Edo period (1603-1867). The *hyaku monogatari* – the “one-hundred tales” – was a parlour game of medieval Japan that is considered a sort of beacon for ghosts and supernatural phenomena. Initially played by *samurai* as a test of courage, by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century it became a widespread form of entertainment for commoners, spanning the field from farmers to monks, from townfolk to rural people. At night, one by one, the guests would narrate stories of ghoulish encounters and at the end of each story they would extinguish one of the one hundred *andon*<sup>5</sup> placed in the room. After extinguishing the last lantern, it was believed that real ghouls would appear, called up by the storytelling.<sup>6</sup> This practice was so popular that it generated a real literary business: novelists, who often participated as observers in the meetings, started putting those narrations into written form and sold the most impressive ones as repertoire to be used in other such gatherings. This literary genre, which in Japanese takes the name of *kaidan*, “ghost stories,”<sup>7</sup> includes such acknowledged masterpieces as the collection *Ugetsu Monogatari (Tales of moonlight and rain, 1776)*, by Ueda Akinari (1734-1809), and the *E-hon Hyaku Monogatari (Picture book of hundred stories, 1841)* by Takehara Shunsen (dates unknown), a work that lay somewhere between literature and *yōkai zukan* – the bestiary of the “Japanese monsters.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For details about this novelist and his production see Keene (ed.), *Dawn to the West*, pp. 96-118.

<sup>5</sup> The *andon* is the Japanese traditional lantern made of paper.

<sup>6</sup> For details about this practice see Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade*, pp. 85-86.

<sup>7</sup> For further details about Edo-period *kaidan* literature see Higashi (ed.), *Kaiki: uncanny tales from Japan*, pp. 4-12; and Noriko Reider, ‘The Emergence of Kaidanshū,’ pp. 79-99.

<sup>8</sup> During the first half of the Edo period, the intellectual and popular was informed by an approach that here we call the “encyclopedic mode”: as a discursive and practical method, the encyclopedic mode signifies the serious undertaking of collecting and codifying, of pinning things down and labeling them. Another characteristic of the encyclopedic mode is that the knowledge it provides is generally perceived as having a certain utility within a given society. In Tokugawa Japan, encyclopedic expression was

As Gerald Figal has pointed out,<sup>9</sup> the popularity of both oral and written literature derived from this practice suggests that the weird and mysterious had a powerful fetishistic appeal on the people of the Edo-period, and that certain experiences – among which we can include the *misemono*, the sideshows of freaks and monsters<sup>10</sup> – were considered attractive because they were rich in fear and ambiguity. In the Meiji era the *hyaku monogatari* continued to play this role, as well-known intellectuals – such as the novelists Mori Ōgai (1862-1922) and Izumi Kyōka (1873-1939) – showed interest in it and participated in some gatherings. In particular, Mori Ōgai, given his long experience in the medical field as an army surgeon, had an unusual view of the cutting-edge sciences of his time and made particularly poignant observations concerning the weird. In the short story entitled *Hyaku Monogatari (One hundred stories, 1891)*, he locates the past within the present by considering a modern version of the Edo-period practice: the narrator, an alter-ego of the author, describes his experience with the practice as a strong, a “once-in-a-lifetime event” (*shōgai ni tada ichido no dekgoto*). At the same time, Ōgai considers the possibility of a psychological mechanism at the root of the phenomenon, leaving no room for belief in any real supernatural nature. At the end of his report, the author expresses his real view of the event, “a relic from a world that has now passed” (*hyaku monogatari wa sugisatta yo no ibutsu de aru*)<sup>11</sup> and “what Ibsen calls a ghost” (*Ibsen no iwayuru yūrei ni natte shimau*).<sup>12</sup> Ōgai here hints at Ibsen's play *Ghosts* (1881) to express his vision of *hyaku monogatari* in modern Japan: Ibsen's spectres are not supernatural realities, as in the tradition of *hyaku monogatari*, but “ideas” of the previous generation, something left behind, a “relic” which has only form but no content.

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part of a broader development of a vibrant commercial book industry influenced by numerous factors, including new methods of production, rising literacy rates, urban development, and the growth of a reading public. The encyclopedic mode was also intimately connected with neo-Confucianism and state ideologies. In particular, a belief that all things were worth investigation promoted a desire to record and order the natural world, fostering the development of indigenous natural history studies and guidebooks accessible to people in different social strata. While its roots may be found in government-sanctioned philosophies and programs, encyclopedic discourse reflected and inspired a popular curiosity about the natural and supernatural world and quickly became an intrinsic part of the cultural imagination of the Tokugawa period. See Foster (2009), pp. 30-33.

<sup>9</sup> See Gerald Figal, *Civilization and Monsters*, pp. 21-37.

<sup>10</sup> See Andrew Markus, ‘The Carnival of Edo,’ pp. 499-541.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

On the other hand, Izumi Kyōka, the novelist who stated that “monsters are the concretization of my feelings,”<sup>13</sup> seems to have been a regular member of *hyaku monogatari* and introduced to the practice friends from the literary world and other fields of intellectual activity. He organised and presided over many gatherings from which a large number of ghost stories have originated. These collections have recently been re-published and widely appreciated.<sup>14</sup> Rich in themes inspired by *hyaku monogatari* tales, Kyōka's short stories, in their updated version, often laid the foundations for a penetrating critique of the path taken by Japan's rationalized modernity. His aesthetics of “in-between”<sup>15</sup> operate on the interstices between the categories which built a reality commonly accepted as a natural reflection of Reality. Thus situated, “in-between” – the chronotope typical of fantastic tales – marks a critical register, while the folk beliefs and popular imaginary that fuel them are consequently given new importance.<sup>16</sup>

### Mizuki Shigeru, the link between two generations of *hyaku monogatari*

Thus, at first exponents of the literary world showed great interest in adapting this practice to a very new world. This changed, however, in the first decades of the Shōwa era (1924-1987), in the period leading up to and including the Second World War, when for a time we lose track of *hyaku monogatari*. Following these trends, the anthropologist Komatsu Kazuhiko suggests that during this time, people ceased to invoke *hyaku monogatari*'s supernatural creatures to express their confusion and horror. But change came again in the period after the war, when *hyaku monogatari* took new shape in very modern media such as *manga* and *anime*.<sup>17</sup> New supernatural creatures now emerged to frighten, to entertain and to breathe new life into the relics of the past, thus reuniting the “weird” and

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<sup>13</sup> See Figal, *Civilization and Monsters*, p. 166.

<sup>14</sup> Some of these examples are considered in Higashi, Masao and Kyōgoku (ed.), *Yamiyo ni Kai wo Katareba – Hyaku Monogatari Horā Kessakusen*; and Higashi (ed.), *Hyaku Monogatari Kaidankai*.

<sup>15</sup> The Japanese word used by Izumi Kyōka for “in-between” is *chūkan*, the “space in the middle.” See Tanaka, *Kyōka to Kaiti*, pp. 39-78.

<sup>16</sup> See Figal, *Civilization and Monsters*, p. 157.

<sup>17</sup> An example is constituted by the work *Hyaku Monogatari* (*One hundred stories*, 1970) by the famous *manga* author Tezuka Osamu (1928-1989). About this topic and Mizuki's *manga* production see Papp, *Anime and Its Root in Japanese Monster Art*, pp. 35-60.

the “mysterious,” overlapping themes that had separated during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

More specifically, the long *manga* series, subject to numerous remakes, *Gegege no Kitarō* (*Spooky Kitaro*, 1959) by Mizuki Shigeru (1922-2007), describes the world of *hyaku monogatari* and its grotesque creatures through this newly developed art. During his long life, Mizuki served as a link between three generations of *hyaku monogatari* tellers, and at the same time as the pioneer of a new vision of the traditional world of the *yōkai*, “monster.” Though Kitarō himself was created by Mizuki, many of the *yōkai* that appear in the series are drawn from existing folklore and previous documentation. In fact, alongside his popular narratives, Mizuki is well known for his extensive scholarly research and the numerous illustrated catalogues he published recalling Edo period bestiaries and *hyaku monogatari* works. Indeed, in many ways the *yōkai* phenomenon comes full circle with Mizuki: like Toriyama Sekien and Takehara Shunsen, he exploited the popular media of his time while neatly combining the ludic and the encyclopaedic modes. He celebrated the abundance and diversity of monsters: just as *E-hon Hyaku Monogatari*’s 19<sup>th</sup> century images exerted a powerful influence on the concept of *yōkai* for years to come, so did Mizuki’s work shape the meaning of *yōkai* within the popular imagination of the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

Moreover, Mizuki’s production is deeply connected to the ethnographer Yanagita Kunio’s (1875-1962) *Tōno monogatari* (*Stories from Tōno*, 1910), a report of supernatural experiences narrated to Yanagita by a native of the Tōno region, Sasaki Kizen. His most popular character is a half-human boy called Kitarō whose name is written in the Chinese character for “demon” and whose appearance, as depicted by Mizuki, is a cyclopean representation. The character calls to the reader’s mind Yanagita’s narration of the *hitotsume kōzō*, the “one-eye demon,” delicately balanced between demon, deity and human. A large number of characters are derived from earlier *yōkai* documented by Takehara Shunsen and Yanagita. Mizuki’s *manga*, in particular, visually presents some creatures listed in Yanagita’s *Yōkai Meii* (*Yōkai Glossary*, 1939), a short text describing *yōkai* from information culled from a variety of local gazetteers and folklore collections.<sup>18</sup> Inspired by those narrations, Mizuki reveals creatures that nobody has ever seen, taking them out of the shadow of Yanagita’s erudite

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<sup>18</sup> For Yanagita the collecting of monsters can also be seen as acknowledgment of their value as cultural commodities evocative of an idealized past rapidly being displaced by West industrial modernity.

writings to place them under the lights of popular culture. In a nutshell, he produces a visual *hyaku monogatari*.<sup>19</sup>

Mizuki's re-creation of Shunsen's and Yanagita's supernatural world represents an attempt to infuse in modern life a sense of the "primitive" and "mystical." He breathes new life into the "nothingness" of modern existence, to bring, once more, the characters of *hyaku monogatari* back to life. Mizuki acts as a medium, a bridge from one world to another, translating different realms of experience. He stands between the "supernatural world" and his readers' reality, as a direct link with the ancestors of modern Japanese, a connection between the oral and the visual, the "past" and the "present."

### **From the contemporary *hyaku monogatari* teller Kyōgoku Natsuhiko to the "hyaku monogatari for specific purpose"**

*The night is still long. We should entertain ourselves with a hyaku monogatari session. Recently, it is so popular in Edo.*

(Kyōgoku Natsuhiko, 2003, 17).<sup>20</sup>

Although in the second half of the Shōwa era the interest in the practice of *hyaku monogatari* and its narrations appeared largely in *manga*, in the last decades of the century literature showed a new interest in that field. The works of Kurahashi Yumiko (1935-2005) and Akagawa Jirō (b. 1948) are just some examples of the new era of "supernatural" in literature connected to *hyaku monogatari*.<sup>21</sup>

Among them, the most orthodox portrait of the practice can be considered the one found in Kyōgoku Natsuhiko's (b. 1963) literary production. An active author since 1994, he has been widely acclaimed by readers and critics at the national level and, in more recent times, also on an international scale.<sup>22</sup> His production constantly sways between fantasy and mystery and is characterized by the peculiar trans-textual dimension in which it develops. These

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<sup>19</sup> See also Papp, *Traditional monster imagery in manga, anime and Japanese cinema*.

<sup>20</sup> Kyōgoku, *Kōsetsu hyaku monogatari*, p. 17.

<sup>21</sup> See Higashi (ed.), *Nihon Gensō Sakka Jiten*, pp. 250-251 and pp. 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> Among the numerous awards given to the author, we here mention the Izumi Kyōka Award – granted to *mystery* novels – and the Naoki Award, the most prestigious prize for Japanese popular literature. Moreover, he has worked on the first English translation of Mizuki's *Spooky Kitaro* edited by Kodansha Bilingual Comics in 2002, and some of his major works, such as *Ubume no natsu* (*The summer of ubume*, 1994) and *Rū Garū* (*Loups-Garous*, 2001), have been translated into the English language.



works consist of hypertexts derived from selected hypotexts from within the literary and iconographic patrimony of pre-modern Japan. This study aims at analysing rhetorical methods derived from such rearrangement. The *yōkai bungaku* – the “literature of *yōkai*” – is the context in which we must place Kyōgoku’s poetry, a separate dimension within the Japanese fantasy literature (*gensō bungaku*), a style whose narrative dynamics and rhetoric draw inspiration from the complexity of *yōkai* and make it the focus of their aesthetic research.

Like his mentor, Mizuki Shigeru, Kyōgoku explicitly looks for thematic inspiration in the Edo period. Some of his stories are set in the distant past while others unfold in a contemporary setting, but one of the pillars of his work is the referential homage he pays to Toriyama Sekien (1712-1788) – author of the best-known Edo-period bestiary of *yōkai*, *Illustrated night parade of one hundred demons* (*Gazu Hyakki Yagyō*, 1776) – and Takehara Shunsen. In particular, the work that granted Kyōgoku the prestigious Naoki Prize in 2004,<sup>23</sup> *Subsequent hyaku monogatari rumors* (*Nochi Kōsetsu Hyaku Monogatari*, 2003), shows the massive debt it owes to Shunsen’s *Picture book of hundred stories*. In Kyōgoku’s productions it is the rhetoric of fantasy itself which represents the most amazing element: the pen of the novelist goes far beyond the idea of “literature in the second degree” seen as a rearrangement of different texts,<sup>24</sup> and penetrates the iconographic and supernatural production in post-modern Japan. The journey into this dimension is characterized by various forms and different shades of colour, which can frighten and at the same time amaze the reader. The result of such a journey is a literary subject in which the strokes of the old *emakimono* – the “painted scrolls” – meld with the tradition of Edo-period ghost stories.

In Kyōgoku’s *hyaku monogatari* series – started in 1999 with *Hyaku monogatari’s rumors* (*Kōsetsu Hyaku Monogatari*) and still in progress – the author refers to the cliché of the practice and chooses Shunsen’s work as hypotext; the essential setting – a gathering of people under a lamp who tell stories of the supernatural – is mostly respected. Each narration is prefaced by Shunsen’s original illustration and their themes are loosely based on the writings from the bestiary. The short stories are set during the *bakumatsu*, the “end of the shogunate” in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, a historical phase of major political

<sup>23</sup> The Naoki Prize is a Japanese literary award presented semi-annually. Sponsored by The Society for the Promotion of Japanese Literature, the award recognizes the best work of “popular literature.”

<sup>24</sup> For the definition of “second degree literature,” see G enette, *Palimpsesti - la letteratura al secondo grado*, pp. 5-10.

instability during which the balance of the whole country started to crumble. Japan's crisis is here represented through the superstitions of *hyaku monogatari*, superstitions used as disguise for murders committed for lust for revenge, totally man-driven. In the years following this series a *manga* and a movie version of the work were produced, so that Kyōgoku's contemporary storytelling could be enjoyed by a larger number of adults and youngsters.<sup>25</sup>

Since the 1980s Japan has experienced a so-called “*yōkai* boom” within popular culture;<sup>26</sup> in recent years this monster mania has spread beyond the borders of Japan and the Japanese language.<sup>27</sup> Although Japanese monsters in folklore and popular culture are nowadays often tied to place – specific buildings and parks, old cemeteries and farmhouses – it seems that they are still able to “travel.” This does not mean that they are necessarily detached from the places they once haunted, but their narratives can be told and reinvented in other contexts, cultures or languages, their image consumed, appreciated, and redrawn. Just as *yōkai* in post-war Japan became nostalgic icons of an imagined purer and more innocent time, the *yōkai* of global popular culture reflect other sets of customs, habits and trends. A particular production, which we have chosen here to call “*hyaku monogatari* for specific purpose,” can be considered a literary trend that fully embodies this “new era.”

This definition can include a huge number of literary works of the last years that, despite several formal and stylistic differences, all share the expression *hyaku monogatari* in the titles. Examples of this particular production are “hotel *hyaku monogatari*,” ghost stories set in pensions or hotels, “*hyaku monogatari* of women,” supernatural stories dealing with the topic of “poison women” (*dokufu*),<sup>28</sup> and also “*hyaku monogatari* of marriage,” ghostly stories about married couples.<sup>29</sup> In brief, a new tendency in contemporary production is to create collections of ghost stories that have common elements, such as the setting, the gender of the supernatural characters, or the theme, with different narratives built around topics regarding contemporary society, such as

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<sup>25</sup> For a critical review of Kyōgoku Natsuhiko's first series see Nagase (ed.), *Kyōgoku Natsuhiko no Sekai*.

<sup>26</sup> With “*yōkai*” we mean the complexity of Japanese autochthonous supernatural creatures. See Foster, *The Book of Yōkai*, pp. 5-20.

<sup>27</sup> As example, Matsumoto Nina's *yōkaiden* manga series and Stan Sakai's *Usagi Yojinbo: yōkai*, are written in English for an English-language readership.

<sup>28</sup> About this topic in Japanese cultural tradition see Marran, *Poison Woman*, pp. 5-43.

<sup>29</sup> See Tomita, *Hoteru Hyaku Monogatari*; Higashi (ed.), *Omnatachi no Kaidan Hyaku Monogatari*; and Hayashi, *Kekkon Hyaku Monogatari*.

divorce, business, the world of computer or technology, teenagers' school life, and sexuality.

### Final Considerations

Looking at Ōgai's experience we can conclude that, if the pre-Meiji *hyaku monogatari* is a dynamic admixture of the "mysterious" and the "weird," then in early twentieth-century Japan the mysterious content was extracted from the weird form, and the power to enchant was connected to more modern concepts, such as turning tables and hypnotism. At the same time, however, as Izumi Kyōka's accounts demonstrate, a large number of artists were sensible to the gothic atmosphere of the practice and made it the target of their aesthetic research. Later, however, with revival of *hyaku monogatari* after the war in the world of *manga* and *anime* came a deep change in the rhetoric of *yōkai*, as the "invisible" and "static" have taken on "form" and "movement." In any case, the real spirit of the practice, lying in the "narration," is firmly respected. Mizuki represents a new vision of Edo-period works and invests the supernatural creatures of *hyaku monogatari* with a fictional life as "characters" in his narrative, while, at the same time drawing on their historic lineage and nostalgic energy. Thus, from the 1980s Japanese literature has turned again to *hyaku monogatari*, tradition interacting with various dimensions and problems of "contemporaneity." Here Kyōgoku Natsuhiko's production further demonstrates that the "old" can be a valid vantage point for analysis of contemporary society. In the period of crisis that was Japan's "lost decade"<sup>30</sup> – the period when Kyōgoku's *hyaku monogatari* series starts – the artist looked to these practices as a solid basis on which to lay the foundation of his literary experience.

Today we can find *hyaku monogatari* in many forms, from the paper to the small and the big screen, further proving that tradition can be re-shaped and modelled in order to meet new needs. It is in this perspective that we should read the short story collections called "*hyaku monogatari* for specific purpose," reinterpreted in order to express the "mysterious" aspects of a place, a gender or human condition. Moreover, analysis of this trend makes clear a different aspect of the value of *hyaku monogatari* in contemporary Japan, which consists in the complete transformation of the meaning of this expression. Though in the past

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<sup>30</sup> The "lost decade," or *ushinawareta jūnen*, is the time of the collapse of the Japanese asset price's bubble. Approximately, it can be considered the decade between the 1991 and the 2000, though some consider that it extended into the next decade too. For details see Fletcher, *Japan's Lost Decade*.

the expression *hyaku monogatari* specifically referred to stories connected to a particular set of practices and events, nowadays it is widely used as an expression meaning any kind of ghost stories, even those which are not linked in any way to the ghostly gatherings of the Edo period.

The *hyaku monogatari*'s tradition constitutes a link between two worlds, early modern and contemporary Japan, showing a line of continuity that from the lanterns of Edo leads to the neon lights of Tokyo. In brief, it can be seen as a pillar of Japanese cultural identity.

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