

MASUO Shin'ichirō 増尾伸一郎

## Chinese Religion and the Formation of Onmyōdō

Onmyōdō is based on the ancient Chinese theories of yin and yang and the five phases. Practitioners of Onmyōdō utilized *Yijing* divination, magical purifications, and various kinds of rituals in order to deduce one's fortune or to prevent unusual disasters. However, the term "Onmyōdō" cannot be found in China or Korea. Onmyōdō is a religion that came into existence only within Japan. As Onmyōdō was formed, it subsumed various elements of Chinese folk religion, Daoism, and Mikkyō, and its religious organization deepened. From the time of the establishment of the Onmyōdō as a government office under the *ritsuryō* codes through the eleventh century, magical rituals and purifications were performed extensively. This article takes this period as its focus, particularly emphasizing the connections between Onmyōdō and Chinese religion.

KEYWORDS: Onmyōryō—*ritsuryō* system—*Nihon shoki*—astronomy—*mikkyō*—Onmyōdō rituals

MASUO Shin'ichirō is a professor in the Faculty of Humanities at Tokyo Seitoku University.

**T**HE FIRST reference to the Onmyōryō 陰陽寮 appears in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀. On the first day of the first month of 675 (Tenmu 4), various students of the Onmyōryō, the Daigakuryō 大学寮, and the Geyakuryō 外藥寮 (later renamed the Ten'yakuryō 典藥寮) are said to have paid tribute with medicine and rare treasures together with people from India, Bactria, Baekje, and Silla. On this day, the emperor took medicinal beverages such as *toso* 屠蘇 and *byakusan* 白散<sup>1</sup> and prayed together with all his officials for longevity. Here, we can also see a precedent for the use of medicines during the Nenju gyōji 年中行事 (annual ceremonies).

On the fifth day of the same month, it is recorded that a platform was erected for stellar prognostication. However, there is an earlier reference to astronomy and *dunjia* 遁甲<sup>2</sup> predating the enthronement of Emperor Tenmu. On the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month of the first year of 672 (Tenmu 1), just prior to the onset of the Jinshin War 壬申の乱, Tenmu purportedly witnessed dark clouds crossing the sky at the Yokogawa river in the district of Nabari. Upon seeing this phenomenon, he kindled a light and performed divinatory arts using a tool called a *shikiban* 式盤.<sup>3</sup> It is thought that the Onmyōryō was first established during this period.

According to a *Nihon shoki* legend, the ideologies and techniques that became part of Onmyōdō were transmitted to Japan by the early days of the sixth century. In the sixth month of 513 (Keitai 7), it is said that a scholar of the five “Confucian” classics called Dan Yangi 段楊爾 was dispatched to Japan from Baekje. However, during the ninth month of 516 (Keitai 10), Gao Anjia 高安茂 of China substituted for Dan Yangi, who returned to Baekje. Furthermore, during the sixth month of 553 (Kinmei 14), there was an exchange of scholars of medicine, calendrical studies, and *Yijing* divination who had come from Baekje. The Japanese then appealed for more divination books, calendrical texts, and a variety of medicines to be sent. In the second month of the following year, 554 (Kinmei 15), Wang Ryugwi 王柳貴 was dispatched to serve as the successor to Ma Jeongan 馬丁安, another scholar of the five classics. The *Yijing* scholar Wang Doryang 王道良, the calendar scholar

1. Translator’s note: Both *toso* and *byakusan* refer to alcoholic drinks believed to have medicinal properties.

2. Translator’s note: *Dunjia* is a Chinese-derived system of divination originally related to military strategy and tactics. It is also based on astronomical calculations.

3. Translator’s note: This tool may also be called a *chokuban*. Generally made of wood, it is composed of a flat board and an attached hemispherical dome. Turning the dome assists the *shikiban* user in performing divination rituals.

Wang Boson 王保孫, the medicine scholar Wang Yuryeonta 王有悛陀, and the herbalists Ban Yangpung 潘量豐 and Jeong Yuta 丁有陀 also arrived in Japan.

Scholars of the five classics read and studied the *Yijing* 易經, the *Shujing* 書經, the *Shijing* 詩經, the *Chunqiu* 春秋, and the *Liji* 禮記. In China, they were first appointed by Emperor Han Wudi 漢武帝 as official Confucian teachers who also bore the responsibility of educating the government. However, the blending of *Yijing* with the theories of yin, yang, and the five phases was especially due to the former Han scholar, Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒.

Scroll nineteen (“The biographies of Baekje”) of the *Zhou Shu* 周書 records the following: “They interpret yin, yang, and the five phases. They also utilize the Song *Yuanjia Li* 元嘉曆, and they establish the beginning of the year with the month of *Jianyin* 建寅. Furthermore, they understand divinatory arts such as medicine and bamboo divination.” The *Bei Shi* 北史, the *Sui Shu* 隋書,<sup>4</sup> and other historical texts bear identical references. Such arts seem to have been known in Baekje from early times. However, there is also a passage stating that “There is an exceedingly high number of Buddhist monks, nuns, temples, and pagodas, but even so, there are no Daoists.” Because of this, it is believed that these divinatory arts were largely performed by Buddhist monks and nuns.

Furthermore, upon entering the seventh century, Japan’s reception of divination techniques and yin-yang five phases thought from Baekje was regulated. In the tenth month of 602 (Suiko 10), a Baekje monk named Gwalleuk 觀勤 brought texts on astronomy, geomancy, *dunjia* divination, and other *fangshu* 方術<sup>5</sup> texts. Students were then selected to study each of these disciplines. Yako no Fuhito Tamafuru 陽胡史玉陳 studied the calendar, Ōtomo no Suguri Kōzō 大友村主高藏 studied astronomy and *dunjia*, and Yamashiro no Omi Hitate 山背臣日立 studied a wide range of various *fangshu* arts, such as medical treatments, milfoil divination, tortoise shell divination, and omenology. Each scholar became an expert in his field. As for Gwalleuk, in 624 (Suiko 32) he was given the position of *sōjō* 僧正, and it is believed that he resided at Gangōji 元興寺 in Asuka for his remaining twenty years. Since Emperor Tenmu was well acquainted with astronomy and *dunjia*, it is likely that he was initiated into these arts by such personages.

Much later, during the twelfth month of 691 (Jitō 5), a scholar of medicine (*i hakase* 医博士) named Toku Shichin 徳自珍 and two *jugon* 咒禁<sup>6</sup> specialists

4. Translator’s note: The *Sui Shu* was compiled in 636, as was the previously mentioned *Zhou Shu*. The *Bei Shi* was compiled slightly later, in 659.

5. Translator’s note: *Fangshu* denotes a wide variety of practices and techniques performed by *fangshi* 方士, specialists of occult knowledge in early China. For more on the *fangshi*, see CAMPANY 1996 and DEWOSKIN 1983.

6. Translator’s note: *Jugon* (Ch. *zhoujin*) was a Chinese discipline that utilized swords and magic spells to exorcise evil spirits. During the Tang and Song dynasties, *jugon* specialists were employed by the Imperial Divination Office (*Taiboku sho* 太卜署); see DAVIS 2001, 61.

(*jugon hakase* 咒禁博士), Mokso Teimu 木素丁武 and Sadaek Mansu 沙宅万首, were each presented with twenty *koro* of silver as a gift. In the second month of the following year, two yin-yang scholars (*onmyō hakase* 陰陽博士) received identical merits. However, these men, named Beopjang 法藏 and Dōki 道基, were also Buddhist *śramaṇas*. Beopjang is later explicitly identified as a monk of Baekje—just as Gwalleuk was. However, records are silent as to Dōki's background, so he is assumed to have been Japanese. During the tenth month of 685 (Tenmu 14), Beopjang went to Mino to harvest the *okera* 白朮<sup>7</sup> plant. He planned to boil it as a cure for the emperor.<sup>8</sup> Even though he was a *śramaṇa*, Beopjang was also employed as a yin-yang scholar. Even early in Jitō's reign, Buddhist monks often instructed a large number of people in arts relating to yin and yang. From the viewpoint of the government, as officials with special skills, the ranks of these monks were not established.

Since the enactment of the Taihō Codes in 701 (Taihō 1), the Onmyōryō was established as a special office under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Central Affairs, and was set up in the following manner:<sup>9</sup>

There was one bureau chief [*onmyō no kami* 陰陽頭] in charge of astrology, making calendars, and reporting omens. There were also a vice-chief [*onmyō no suke* 陰陽助], a secretary [*onmyō no jō* 陰陽允], a clerk [*onmyō no daizoku* 陰陽大属], and an assistant clerk [*onmyō no shōzoku* 陰陽少属]. Furthermore, there was a scholar of yin and yang [*onmyō hakase* 陰陽博士] who instructed ten students [*onmyōshō* 陰陽生]. Finally, there were six masters of yin and yang [*onmyōji* 陰陽師] who performed *shikiban* divinations and chose sacred sites for rituals.

In addition to specialists in yin and yang, there was a calendar scholar (*reki hakase* 曆博士) who created the calendar and instructed ten students (*rekishō* 曆生), as well as an astrology scholar (*tenmon hakase* 天文博士) who reported astrology-related omens and instructed ten students (*tenmonshō* 天文生). There were two clepsydra scholars (*rōkoku hakase* 漏刻博士) who analyzed the clepsydra and directed twenty timekeepers (*shushintei* 守辰丁). These timekeepers observed the clepsydra and announced the time by sounding gongs and beating drums at the correct hours. Finally, there were also twenty pages (*tsukaibe* 使部) and three servants (*jikitei* 直丁).<sup>10</sup>

7. Translator's note: This plant may be a number of species from the genus *Atractylodes*, particularly *Atractylodes japonica*. Related species have a history of use in traditional Chinese medicine, where it is known as *baizhu*.

8. For the nature of *okera* as a panacea, see SHINKAWA 1999.

9. For the establishment and organization of the Onmyōryō, see NODA 1991a; TAMURA 1991; ATSUYA 1977; KOSAKA 1987; and others.

10. Translator's note: See BOCK 1985, 13–14.

The official duties of the Onmyōryō thus consisted of four main divisions: yin and yang, the calendar, astronomy, and the clepsydra. However, in the Chinese systems implemented during the Tang and Sui dynasties, the Department of the Grand Astrologer (*Taishi ju* 太史局) took charge of astronomy, the calendar, and the clepsydra. Divinations were performed by a separate organization, the Imperial Divination Office. In Japan, these two offices were integrated together. Furthermore, their arts were brought piecemeal to Japan by monks and nuns so that specialist government officials could learn these arts (HASHIMOTO 1991).

According to the *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀, during the eighth month of 700 (Monmu 4), the monks Tsütoku 通徳 and Eshun 恵俊 were commanded to return to secular life. Tsütoku received the *kabane* 姓 title of Yako no Fuhito 陽候史 and the personal name Kuniso 久尔曾. Eshun received the *kabane* title of Kitsugi 吉宜 (the descendant of Kichida no Muraji Yoroshi 吉田連宜).<sup>11</sup> The commands were given and ranks were established in order to make use of the non-Buddhist arts that these monks employed. During the tenth month of 703 (Taihō 3), the monk Ryūkan 隆観<sup>12</sup> was also commanded to return to secular life and reverted to using his given name, Gim Jae 金財. He was also skilled in numerous arts, as well as in calculation and calendrical studies. Furthermore, during the third month of 714 (Wadō 7), the *śramaṇa* Gihō 義法 was also commanded to return to secular life. He received the Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade, and was then called by the name Ōtsu no Muraji Obito 大津連意毘登. He is also considered to have utilized the arts of divination.

Other focused examples of the secularization of monks and nuns appear during the reigns of Empress Jitō 持統, Emperor Monmu 文武, and Empress Genmei 元明 (from 686 through 715). The *ritsuryō* nation kept a monopoly on the arts of yin and yang, astronomy, calendrical science, and medicine by retaining the services of each of these monks. However, as government specialists, they seem to have planned to transmit these arts to newer generations of scholars. For more than thirty years, envoys were no longer dispatched to Tang China. It has been observed that from this point forward, communication with Silla was opened and it was Sillan ideologies and arts that were introduced to Japan (SEKI 1996).

Concurrent with this trend, the *Sōniryō* 僧尼令<sup>13</sup> (the laws for monks and nuns) established under the *ritsuryō* codes prohibited them from engaging in such arts. The first article states the following:

11. Eshun subsequently served as *Zusho no kami* 図書頭 and *Ten'yaku no kami* 典薬頭. According to the *Tōshi Kaden* 藤氏家伝 and later texts, he was a *fangshi*.

12. Translator's note: Ryūkan was a monk of Korean stock. It is unclear whether he became a monk in Japan or in Korea. This name would be romanized Ryungwan in Korean.

13. Translator's note: For a full translation of the *Sōniryō*, see PIGGOTT 1987, 267–73.

Monks and nuns are forbidden from divining good fortune or calamity from mysterious phenomena [*genzō* 玄象], thereby deluding the emperor and the people. Studying and reading military texts, murder, rape, and thievery, and feigning enlightenment is also forbidden. These are offenses to be punished in accordance with the law by secular authorities.

For monks and nuns, it is strictly prohibited to explain fortunes and disasters as well as “mysterious phenomena”—that is, they are forbidden from interpreting omens based on astrological phenomena. The second article of the *Sōniryō* references healing in relation to monks and nuns:

Monks and nuns who divine [*bokusō* 卜相] fortune and misfortune, who follow the lesser path [*shōdō* 小道], or who utilize bamboo divination [*zeijutsu* 筮術] to cure illness should return to secular life. These actions go against the Buddhist dharma. However, the curing of diseases with mantras<sup>14</sup> in accordance with the dharma is not prohibited.

In this passage of the *Sōniryō*, contained within the *Yōrō ritsuryō* 養老律令, monks and nuns were forbidden from using medical arts such as bamboo divination or the “lesser path.” The latter may refer to tortoise shell divination, sitting locations for rituals, the use of talismans, *jugon* techniques, exorcism, or a number of other arts. In this way, the *Sōniryō*’s restriction of monks and nuns almost emulates passages from the lost Tang dynasty code, *Daoseng ge* 道僧格,<sup>15</sup> that restricted the actions of Tang monks and nuns as well as male and female Daoist practitioners (*daoshi nüguan* 道士女冠), and women that received court rank. Although the *Daoseng ge* has been lost, a fragment appearing in the *Da Tang liudian* 大唐六典 uses the term *sensō* 占相 (milfoil divination) rather than *bokusō* (tortoise shell divination). This fragmentary article also differs from the text found in the *Taihō ryō* 大宝令.

Various theories quote the *Ryō no shuge* 令集解, especially the *Koki* 古記 annotated edition of the *Taihō ryō*. This edition points out that the *Taihō ryō* refers to a practice—or possibly a set of practices—known as *dōjutsu fugon* 道術符禁.<sup>16</sup> *Dōjutsu fugon* is mentioned alongside the practice of decoction (*yu-yaku* 湯藥), both to be utilized as remedies. However, this passage was omitted from the later *Yōrō ryō* 養老令. Although there are differing opinions concerning

14. Translator’s note: The term used for mantras here is *zhou* 咒 (Jp. *ju* 呪). This term is ambiguous and may also be used in a non-Buddhist context to refer to spells, curses, or other such occult arts.

15. Translator’s note: This was a Chinese code of regulations for Buddhist and Daoist clergy implemented during the year 637.

16. Translator’s note: The practice or practices collectively known as *dōjutsu fugon* have yet to be concretely identified. A literal translation of the characters implies that it relates to Daoist techniques, talismans, and forbidden arts.

the reconstruction of this *Taihō ryō* article, we can imply that such techniques were not prohibited. Rather, under the *Taihō ryō*, monks that utilized *dōjutsu fugon* and decoction practices were recognized as “curing diseases using mantras” (MASUO 1997, 89–118). The wording of this section of the *Taihō ryō* probably depended heavily on the lost *Daoseng ge* passage, but regardless, these practices were eventually interpreted negatively and were thus omitted from the *Yōrō ryō*.

### *The Subjects and Learning of Arts*

The *Shōsōin monjo* 正倉院文書 contains the remnants of a document referred to as the “Kannin Kōshi Chō” 官人考試帳 (Public service examination book; DNK 24: 552–54) that provides concrete evidence that government officials of the Onmyōryō solely practiced these arts. It gives several examples, such as the following:

#### *Onmyōji:*

- Go Gimjang 高金藏. *Onmyōji*. Senior Seventh Rank, Lower Grade. Age 58. Right capital.
  - Skills: *Taiyi* 太一, *dunjia*, astronomy, *liuren* 六壬, calculation techniques (*sanjutsu* 算術), and land siting (*sōji* 相地).<sup>17</sup>
  - Total days worked for one evaluation: 309.
  - If he is careful and not negligent of his duties, then he is considered to be a good practitioner.
  - His fortune-telling and divination are largely efficacious, and he is considered to be excellent at these arts.
- Fumi no Imiki Hiromaro 文忌寸広麻呂. *Onmyōji*. Junior Seventh Rank, Lower Grade. Age 50. Right capital.
  - Skills: Five phases divination 五行占 and land siting.
  - Total days worked for one evaluation: 294.
  - If he is careful and not negligent of his duties, then he is considered to be a good practitioner.
  - His fortune-telling and divination are largely efficacious, and he is considered to be excellent at these arts.

#### *Onmyō hakase:*

- Roku Emaro 緑兒麻呂. *Onmyō hakase*. Junior Sixth Rank, Lower Grade. Age 43. Right capital.
  - Skills: *Zhou Yijing* 周易經 and *dieshi* 樛筮<sup>18</sup> divination, *Taiyi*, *dunjia*, *liuren*, calculation techniques, and land siting.
  - Total days worked for one evaluation: 289.

17. Translator’s note: Here, *taiyi* and *liuren* are both styles of divination with Chinese origin. The *taiyi* method is named after a Chinese deity.

18. Translator’s note: It is presently unknown what *dieshi* divination consisted of. The second character suggests that it was a type of bamboo divination.

- If he is careful and not negligent of his duties, then he is considered to be a good practitioner.
- His fortune-telling and divination are largely efficacious, and he is considered to be excellent at these arts.

*Tenmon hakase:*

- Wang Jungmun 王中文. *Tenmon hakase*. Junior Sixth Rank, Lower Grade. Age 45. Right capital.
- Skills: *Taiyi*, *dunjia*, astronomy, *liuren*, calculation techniques, and land siting.
- Total days worked for one evaluation: 270.
- If he is careful and not negligent of his duties, then he is considered to be a good practitioner.
- His fortune-telling and divination are largely efficacious, and he is considered to be excellent at these arts.

*Rōkoku hakase:*

- Ikebe no Fuhito Ōshima 池辺史大嶋. *Rōkoku hakase*. Senior Seventh Rank, Upper Grade. Age 57. Right capital.
- Skills: Artisan.
- Total days worked for one evaluation: 311.
- If he is careful and not negligent of his duties, then he is considered to be a good practitioner.
- Upon being visited and investigated, he was affirmed as a man capable of especially remarkable results and given the highest evaluation.

The age of this document is unclear, but it is certain from its admission into the *Dai Nihon komonjo* (DNK) that it may be estimated to date from the Tenpyō (729–749) era. According to the *Shoku Nihongi*, on the second day of the eighth month of 701 (Taihō 1), Go Gimjang, Roku Emaro, and Wang Jungmun were commanded to return to secular life. Based on this reference, their ranks, and other information, it can be determined to date from between the eleventh month of 702 (Taihō 2) and the first month of 718 (Yōrō 2; TANAKA 1956).

The later comments in each of the above entries relate to the performance evaluations of these government officials. These comments correspond with evaluations appearing in the sixth, tenth, and thirty-fifth articles of the *Kōka ryō* 考課令.

Skills common to most of these officials are *Taiyi*, *dunjia*, *liuren*, calculation techniques, and land siting. A selection from article eight of the *Zō ryō* 雜令 relates to each of these arts:

Secret texts, astronomical instruments [*genzō no kibutsu* 玄象器物], and astronomical books cannot be destroyed. Astronomers [*kansei* 觀生] are unable to read divination books. When such works are consulted and depended on, their contents may not be disclosed. If there are auspicious omens or strange calamitous events, the Onmyōryō will report them to the emperor.



This passage demonstrates the regulations of reporting strange events to the emperor as well as the high level of secrecy accorded to yin and yang.<sup>19</sup> The *Ryō no gige* 令義解 reports that “*Dunjia Taiyi shi* 遁甲太一式 is an example of a secret text. The bronze armillary sphere (*tonghunyi* 銅渾儀) is an example of an astronomical instrument. The *Xingguan Bozan* 星官簿讚 is an example of an astronomical book.” Elsewhere, it contains annotations stating that “Divination books are texts that allow one to divine fortune and misfortune by means of various types of astronomy. However, astronomers may only depend on astronomy itself. Auspicious and calamitous events cannot be divined using astronomical books.” Passages such as these demonstrate that astronomy principally involved prognostication and led to the organization of the Onmyōryō and its functions. It is extremely important to point out that astronomy related to inferences based on omens of fortune and misfortune. However, from the first part of the Heian period onward, these prognostications came to be accompanied by rituals or ceremonies, in which the Onmyōryō participated.

Learning these arts seems to have been a supremely difficult task because their contents were unique and exceedingly technical. An imperial edict of 721 (Yōrō 5) encouraged the arts and sciences, while admiring countless accomplished leaders:

Literate men and warriors are of national importance. In the past and the present, medicine, divination, and other *fangshu* arts are well respected. Studies within each government department should be carefree. Those scholars that understand the depths of an art should teach it. Praises and rewards are increasing, so the future generation of scholars should be encouraged and recommended.

However, the encouragement of the yin and yang division may be especially measured ten years later. During the third month of 730 (Tenpyō 2), a report was sent to the emperor from the Department of State:

Yin and yang, the medical arts, the seven luminaries, and the distribution of the calendar are all important to the nation; they cannot ever be given up. However, in looking at various scholars, they are aged and weakening. If they do not teach others, then perhaps these arts will be lost.

Due to the aging of scholars, there was apprehension concerning the loss of these arts. The report continues, appealing for the training of pupils:

We humbly wish that seven men take pupils and begin to teach them. These men are Kichida no Muraji Yoroshi [吉田連宜], Ōtsu no Muraji Obito [大津連首], Mitachi no Muraji Kiyomichi [御立連清道], Naniwa no Muraji Yoshinari

19. For the political significance of this problem, see SAEKI 1970a and 1970b.

[難波連吉成], Yamaguchi no Imiki Tanushi [山口忌寸田主], Kusakibe no Obito Iwamura [私部首石村], and Shibi no Muraji Mitasuki [志斐連三田次]. At that time, their students' food and clothing will match that of their teachers. There will be three students of yin and yang, three of medicine, two of the [seven] luminaries, and two of calendrical science.

Reflecting on these circumstances, the deployment of *onmyōji* to other provinces also seems to have been difficult. In the case of Dazaifu, called the “Distant Imperial Court” (*tō no mikado* 遠の朝廷), the *Yōrō shikiin ryō* 職員令 prescribes “One *onmyōji*, to administer divinations (*senzei* 占筮) and land siting.” The *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 contains a poem called “Baika Enka” 梅花宴歌 (v. 5, no. 32), attributed to “the *onmyōji*, Kiji no Norimaro 磯氏法麻呂.” In its entry for the fourth day of the sixth month of 758 (Tenpyō Hōji 2), the *Shoku Nihongi* references a “Dazaifu *onmyōji*, Junior Sixth Rank, lower grade, Yeo Ikin 余益人” receiving the title Kudara no Ason 百濟朝臣. This may be seen as a continuation of the circumstances in Dazaifu.

Related to this, the circumstances were different in the provinces of Mutsu and Dewa. The *Kōnin shiki* 弘仁式, established in 820 (Kōnin 12), states that “Those scholars and doctors rival students of history. However, the scholars, doctors, and *onmyōji* of Mutsu are rivals in everyone’s eyes.” In spite of this, it seems that their deployment was not satisfactory. The fifth volume of the *Ruiju sandai kyaku* 類聚三代格 contains a note sent from Dewa during the second month of 851 (Kashō 4) entitled, “The Necessity to Place One *Onmyōji*,” and also lists two notes sent by Dewa on the ninth month of 882 (Gangyō 6) entitled, “The Necessity to Place One *Onmyōji* at the Army Base.” In the latter, it states: “Since ancient times, there were no *onmyōji* in this prefecture. When strange events occur, we turn towards the capital for divination. Even though travel takes ten days, fortunes and misfortunes may still be determined.” This conveys the actual circumstances of important areas along the frontier of the Tohoku region (Ouu 奥羽).

### *Participation in Quelling Ceremonies*

At first, the chief duty of *Onmyōryō* officials was to interpret omens of fortune and misfortune by means of divination. From the end of the Nara period, they participated in various types of quelling ceremonies (*chinsai* 鎮祭), and through the mid-Heian period, they gradually transformed into practitioners of magical religion.

Several historical records depict the concerns of *onmyōji* for ritual ceremonies. One may be found in a document called the *Zōji zōmo seiyōchō* 造寺雜物請用帳 (DNK 25: 307–31, esp. 321), estimated to have been composed at the beginning of 761 (Tenpyō Hōji 5), at the time of the building of the Amida Jōdoin 阿弥陀淨土院 at Hokkeji 法華寺. One verse from this record notes the itemization of the use of trade cloth. It references a charge for a white ceremonial robe. One roll

of cloth was rationed to give to this *onmyōji* as payment. Another document, the *Zō Ishiyama'in shosenyōchō* 造石山院所錢用帳 (DNK 15: 441–44, esp. 444) of 762 (Tenpyō Hōji 6) states:

On the fourteenth day of the fourth month, an *onmyōji* was given twenty writings as payment for a land-quelling ritual [*jichinsai* 地鎮祭].

The *Zō kondōsho gean* 造金堂所解案 (DNK 16: 279–305, esp. 292) of Ishiyamadera 石山寺, composed during the same year, states that an *onmyōji* was paid with thirty-three books. It also states that their fee sometimes included the price of the five types of grains (*gokoku* 五穀) occasionally used in this ritual. As the process of building Ishiyamadera advanced, religious ceremonies were implemented as necessary by *onmyōji*. The *Hōsha Issaikyō Shokoku Sakuge* 奉写一切經所告朔解 (DNK 6: 85–107, esp. 89) states that on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month of 770 (Hōki 1),

One roll of cloth was used. Together with five mats woven of *kudzu*, and a *shinza* [神座] used for a quelling ceremony, these items were given to an *onmyōji* as remuneration.

In this case, a quelling ceremony was performed inside Tōdaiji 東大寺 by an *onmyōji*, and remuneration was provided for his services.

The details of such ceremonies are not presently clear. However, an extremely early record in the *Nihon shoki*, dating to the twelfth month of 651 (Hakuchi 2), does relate to land-quelling ceremonies. On the last day of the year, when the capital was moved from Ajifu Palace 味經宮 in Settsu to Naniwa Nagara Toyosaki Palace 難波長柄豊碕宮, two thousand monks are said to have recited the entire Buddhist canon (*Issaikyō* 一切經). After about twenty-seven hundred lamps were burned inside the Imperial Court, the *Antaku sutra* 安宅經 and the *Dosoku sutra* 土側經 were read, among others.<sup>20</sup>

A Shōsōin document called the *Kyōkan kanchu ge* 經卷勘注解 (DNK 7, 501) may relate to the *Antaku* and *Dosoku* sutras. The document dates to the twenty-first day of the intercalary third month of 741 (Tenpyō 13) and mentions an *Antaku bo dosoku sutra* 安宅墓土側經 that may potentially refer to the same scriptures. References to an *Antaku sutra*, an *Antaku shinju sutra* 安宅神呪經, an *Antaku yōshō shinju sutra* 安宅要抄神呪經, a *Dosoku sutra*, and other scriptures are seen here and there within Shōsōin records. Thus, it is probably more accurate to view them as two different scriptures.

Within the *Antaku (shinju) sutra* (T 21, no. 1394), the Buddha takes the role of a household protector, admonishing false actions and fearful motions. However,

20. Translator's note: The *Nihon shoki* reads 仏説安宅土側等經. It is thus ambiguous whether the original record refers to one scripture or two.

when the house is erected, the hearth and gate are built, and the garden and other areas are constructed, blatantly Chinese deities such as the four directional spirits (Qinglong 青竜, Baihu 白虎, Zhuque 朱雀, and Xuanwu 玄武), the *Liu-jia jinhui* 六甲禁諱, and the *Shi'er shishen* 十二時神 appear. In spite of the fact that the Sui dynasty *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 (T vol. 55), compiled by Jing Tai 靜泰, and other works designate it as an apocryphal text, the post-Song Buddhist canon lists it as a lost scripture with an unknown compiler dating to the later Han dynasty.

The *Dosoku sutra* never entered the Buddhist canon, nor was a copy ever found among the cache of manuscripts discovered at Dunhuang 敦煌. However, in recent years, the existence of countless newly-discovered texts that were otherwise lost from ancient times has been verified. A copy of the Buddhist canon (dating to the close of the Heian period) was discovered in the storehouse at Nanatsudera 七寺 in Nagoya, inside of which a one-scroll *Anbo sutra* 安墓經 was found. This scripture, thought to have a connection with the still-unknown *Dosoku sutra* (NAOMI 1996; MASUO 2002), is short at only forty lines and can fit on a single page. According to the text, if one burns incense and lights it in front of a grave, repents, and appeases the five phases, day and night, the constellations, and various other spirits, the deities will be relieved and one can repel all harm. That virtuous act not only pacifies seven generations from one's parents, but even reaches all the people in the present world. The contents of the *Antaku shinju* sutra are also similar; both adopt Chinese concepts such as traditional folk beliefs and five phases thought (*wuxing sixiang* 五行思想), and are thus typical of apocryphal Buddhist scriptures.

During those times, Buddhist memorial services were celebrated on the last day of the year. They are also thought to have had a nature that resembles that of the *Ōharae* 大祓 and the *Oniyarai sai* 儺祭 (or *Na no matsuri*). However, afterwards, such rituals were implemented even when Fujiwara-kyō 藤原京 and Heijō-kyō 平城京 were constructed.

According to the *Nihon shoki*, on the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of 691 (Jitō 5), Empress Jitō 持統天皇 dispatched messengers to conduct quelling ceremonies at Aramashi Palace 新益宮. On the twenty-third day of the fifth month of the following year, the *Nihon shoki* records that the empress dispatched Jōkōshi 淨広肆, the Naniwa no Ōkimi 難波王, to perform land-quelling rites at Fujiwara Palace 藤原宮. Alongside Aramashi Palace, land-quelling rites were also performed at Fujiwara-kyō and the new Imperial Palace.

Identically, the *Shoku Nihongi* references a land-quelling rite performed at Heijō Palace on the fifth day of the twelfth month of 708 (Wadō 7), but specific details concerning these rituals are unknown. It is also impossible to validate whether or not *onmyōji* ever took part in these ceremonies.

There are also several ceremonies listed in book three ("Extraordinary festivals") of the *Engishiki* 延喜式, which was compiled during the early days of the

tenth century. Near the beginning of this list are *Chin dokō sai* 鎮土公祭 and *Chin shingū jisai* 鎮新宮地祭. It also mentions *Chin gozaisho sai* 鎮御在所祭, *Chin sōmei sai* 鎮竈鳴祭, *Gosō sai* 御竈祭, *Chin suijin sai* 鎮水神祭, and *Gosei sai* 御井祭, among others such as *Kyūjō shikū yakujin sai* 宮城四隅疫神祭 and *Kinai-kai jūsho yakujin sai* 畿内堺十处疫神祭. A great number of these rituals seem to resemble the above-mentioned quelling ceremonies referenced in the *Nihon shoki* and the *Shoku Nihongi*.

In volume sixteen of the *Engishiki*—the rites of the Onmyōryō—it states that, “Whenever harmful energies [*gaiki* 害氣] are to be subdued at the New Year, carefully note in advance the position of these vapors and request the materials needed for their subduing from the ministry.”<sup>21</sup> There were thus regulations concerning quelling ceremonies to subdue this harmful energy at the New Year. It is believed that with regards to these religious ceremonies, these duties were divided as necessary between the *Jingikan* 神祇官 and the *onmyōji* that broadened the scope of such ceremonies.

Mikkyō was also remarkable due to its processes for clearing land, building foundations (*kidan* 基壇) and then constructing edifices, subduing the gods of the land (*tochi no kami* 土地神), and praying for the peace of the building. Various rituals were performed, such as appeasing the land, the foundations, the home, creating a *kekkaï* 結界, presenting offerings to *Dokō* 土公, and so on.<sup>22</sup>

For example, the *Tentō-bu* 天等部 of the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪抄, an aggregate of oral traditions and iconography related to Shingon 真言 Mikkyō rituals, contains a ritual called *Jiten hō* 地天法. Within the text of the *Jiten hō* can be found descriptions of the *Dokō Kuhō* 土公供法 and the *Dojin Sai* 土神祭, which involve chants named the “*Hachiyō* spells,” or alternately, the “mantras of the *Hachiyō sutra*” 八陽經 (T 5: 509). The *Fudō hō* 不動法, located in volume seventy-nine of the same scripture, records that the monk Chikai 智海 of Kajūji 勧修寺 performed home-subduing ceremonies during the sixth month of 1146 (Kyūan 2; T 78: 453). These rituals were performed at the new mansion of the *Iyo no mori* 伊予守 Fujiwara no Tadataka 藤原忠隆, located at Hojūji 法住寺. However, on the *kanpaku* 開白 and *kechigan* 結願 days, the *Antaku shinju sutra* and the *Tenchi hachiyō shinju sutra* 天地八陽神呪經 (T 85, no. 2897) were recited.

This *Tenchi hachiyō shinju sutra* was compiled in China between the latter half of the seventh century and the first half of the eighth, and was transmitted widely throughout Asia thereafter. Within the sutra, the Buddha explains to the bodhisattva Muge 無礙菩薩 that this scripture will relieve the present world of its wretched condition. He also explains that it will eradicate all kinds of harmful deities such as the four directional spirits, the *Liuja jinhui*, the *Shi'er zhushen*

21. Translator's note: See BOCK 1985, 29.

22. See MURAYAMA 1990, especially the chapter “Jichin to chindan” 地鎮と鎮壇.

十二諸神, and *Tufu fulong* 土府伏龍. Furthermore, it grants the ability for one's parents to become buddhas, recovery from sickness, the prosperity of one's descendants, peaceful childbirths, marriages, and interments. It emphasizes great profits that range to all things in the present world and the next world, and shares this attribute with the *Antaku shinju sutra*.

References to the *Tenchi hachiyō shinju sutra* also appear within the *Weiwang luanzhen lu* 偽妄亂真錄 in the Tang dynasty catalog *Zhenyuan shijiao lu* 貞元積教錄 (T 55, no. 2157, 1017a–b), which also mentions a *Yin yang jixiong jiezhai chuhuo fa* 陰陽吉凶接災除禍法. While the *Tenchi hachiyō shinju sutra* was compiled in China and does not seem to have entered the Buddhist canon, a version similar to an old manuscript of this text was unearthed from the caves at Dunhuang. Beginning with this manuscript, the text was translated from Chinese to Uighur, Mongol, and Tibetan. In Korea, it was translated from Chinese to Hangeul. It circulates in publication even today (see MASUO 1994 for related texts).

The *Tenchi hachiyō shinju sutra* was also transmitted to Japan. Records demonstrate that it was copied in 761 (Tenpyō Hōji 5) and 764 (Tenpyō Hōji 8), at the canon-copying facility (*Hōsha issaikyō sho* 奉写一切經所) of Tōdaiji (DNK 15: 14–15; 16: 548). It is very likely that when Ishiyamadera or Hokkeji were constructed, this scripture was read at the same places where *onmyōji* performed quelling ceremonies.

In the *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, the Daoist canon compiled during the Ming dynasty, there is a scripture titled *Taishang laojun shuo anzhai baying jing* 太上老君說安宅八陽經 (included in *Zhengtong Daozang, Dongzhen bu, Benwen lei*, v. 341). This indicates that teachings such as those of the *Antaku shinju sutra* and the *Tenchi hachiyō shinju sutra* led to some connection and permeation between Buddhism and Chinese religions, especially Daoism.

### *The Formation of Onmyōdō Rituals*

Quelling rites performed by officials of the Onmyōryō diversified greatly from the latter half of the Nara period through the early Heian period, during which they were performed to subdue curses or to quiet vengeful spirits (*onryō* 怨靈) or even possibly because of strange events or natural disasters.

According to the *Montoku jitsuroku* 文德實錄, on the eighth day of the twelfth month of 853 (Ninju 3), Onmyōryō officials performed the *Goiki shizume* 害氣鎮, which depended on an “Onmyōsho hō” 陰陽書法, in various prefectures as well as temples every year.

According to the *Sandai jitsuroku* 三代實錄, on the third day of the eighth month of 859 (Jōgan 1), the *onmyō hakase* Shigeoka no Kawahito 滋岳川人 and others performed rituals at Kōzan 高山 in Yoshino 吉野 province. These rituals were meant to prevent damage from insects, and were based on the *Tōchūjo*

*saihō*<sup>23</sup> 董仲舒祭法. In the previous year, the same rituals were enacted by Jōhoku no Funaoka 城北船岳. After that, identical ceremonies were performed during the second month of 863 (Jōgan 5) and the seventh month of 866 (Jōgan 8). The ritual was associated with the place name Jishū 実修, and seems to have become known as *Kōzan sai* 高山祭.

The following year, during the first month of 867 (Jōgan 9), there was an epidemic. In various regions within the five provinces and seven districts, recitations of the *Ninō hannya sutra* 仁王般若經 were joined with performances of *Kikisai* 鬼気祭 by the Jingikan and the Onmyōryō.

Onmyōryō officials complied with requests from aristocratic society and created novel magical rituals by referring to the *Yin yang shu* 陰陽書, the *Dong Zhongshu jishu* 董仲舒祭書, and other textual sources. In this way, from the early days of the Heian period, the Onmyōryō and its staff achieved a unique transfiguration, from skilled officials who presided over divination to religious practitioners—*onmyōji*.<sup>24</sup>

Onmyōdō rituals listed in the *Engishiki* include the *Niwabi Narabini Hirano no kamagami no matsuri* 庭火并平野竈神祭, the *Gohonmyō sai* 御本命祭, the *Sangen sai* 三元祭, and the aforementioned *Oniyarai sai*. Since before and after this compilation, the number of Onmyōdō ceremonies increased rapidly. In the *Engishiki*, the fees for various rituals are prescribed in detail, but there is no description of their composition. It only states that every year, the *Honmyō sai* was performed six times and the *Sangen sai* three times.

The *Niwabi Narabini Hirano no kamagami no matsuri* was performed every month on a *mizunoto* 癸 day selected to be auspicious. The Jingikan also performed the *Imibi niwabi sai* 忌火庭火祭 at the Naizenji 内膳司 on the first day of each month. On the sixth and twelfth months it was performed after the *Jingojiki* 神今食, and on the eleventh month, it was performed after the *Niname sai* 新嘗祭. The four deities, Imaki no kami 今木神, Kudo no kami 久度神, Furuaki no kami 古開神, and Hime no kami 比売神, are enshrined at Hirano jinja 平野神社 in Kado-no-gun 葛野郡 in Yamashiro 山城 province (located in Kyoto's Kita-ku 北区 ward). However, Kado no kami and Furuaki no kami in particular are tutelary deities of the hearth (*kamagami* 竈神), with Korean lineage.<sup>25</sup>

The god of the hearth was an important divinity derived from ancient Chinese folk beliefs. However, there are various opinions concerning this deity's character:

23. Translator's note: "Tōchūjō" is the Japanese pronunciation of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BCE), a celebrated Confucianist of the Former Han Dynasty. He advocated an ideology that was intimately related to the harmony of yin and yang.

24. See YAMASHITA 1996, especially the chapter "Onmyōji saikō" 陰陽師再考, and NODA 1991b.

25. See YOSHIE 1986, especially the chapter "Hirano-sha no seiritsu to henshitsu" 平野社の成立と変質.

some believe it to be a god of fire, others a god of the family, and still others blend these two theories. The term for hearth (*kamado* 竈) appears in the *Yiwen leiju* 芸文類聚 under Chapter 80, the section relating to fire. This section, frequently referenced in Japan, quotes from Chapter 6 of the *Baopu zi neipian* 抱朴子內篇:

On the last night of each month, the deity of the hearth again returns to heaven to report the sins and offenses of humans. If they are great, three hundred days are taken from his lifespan. If they are minimal, only a day is taken from his lifespan.

The *Baopu zi*, thought to be compiled by the Chinese alchemist Ge Hong 葛洪 of the Eastern Jin period, is also referenced in the works of Yamanoue no Okura 山上憶良 and Kūkai 空海. Prior to this quoted section of the *Yiwen leiju*, the existence of the deity Siming 司命 is referenced in relation to longevity methods:

Within one's body are the *sanshi* [三尸], three spirits in the retinue of souls, spirits, ancestors, and deities. They endeavor to cause humans to die more quickly. Certainly these *sanshi* become demons and naturally wander in self-indulgence before returning to humans. In this way, on every *kōshin* [庚申] day, they rise to heaven and report human faults to Siming.

This is the first point at which the theory of the *sanshi* can be found, and it is the foundation of the *kōshin* belief (*kōshin shinkō* 庚申信仰). This explanation was frequently expanded by a number of works such as the *Zhen'gao* 真誥, composed during the Liang dynasty by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景, and the *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 composed during the Tang by Duan Chengshi 段成式, also transmitted to Japan. From the ninth century onward, *kōshin* belief was disseminated by Mikkyō and Onmyōdō officials (KUBO 1996).

*Niwabi no kami* 庭火神 and *Hirano no kamagami* 平野竈神, the *Inbi no kami* 忌火神 worshiped at the Naizenji, were especially regarded as sacred because they affected the everyday meals and dining tables of the emperor and his family. It is hypothesized that their background relates to the Chinese belief in Siming as a deity of the hearth (MASUO 2001).

With regards to *Honmyō sai*, the *Honmyō saimon* 本命祭文<sup>26</sup> composed by Ki Haseo 紀長谷雄 in 888 (Ninna 4) contains prayers to a multitude of deities that manipulate registers and lifespans such as Tiancao 天曹, Difu 地府, Siming, Silu 司祿, Hebo 河伯, and Shuiguan 水官. These are for attaining prosperity, practicing the virtue of docility, preventing suffering at home, cultivating the benevolence of love, and keeping one's family strong. Grounded in the belief in Siming, it was believed that on their *honmyō* 本命 days, the sins and offenses of the emperor, the empress, the crown prince, and others were reported to the heavenly gods. They

26. See "Sanjugo bunshu" 三十五文集 (ZGR 12a), included in MIKI 1992.



provided dried animal meat and prayed to the deity *Honmyō* 本命 to gain years, eliminate calamity, or to summon fortune. However, a controversy arose as to whether one's *honmyō* day was dictated by one's birthdate or one's birth year.<sup>27</sup>

Chapter 160 of the *Byakuhō kushō* 白宝口抄, a text compiled during the first half of the fourteenth century by Ryōson 亮祥 of Tōji 東寺, describes the *Honmyō-sei ku* 本命星供 (TZ 7: 334–35). According to this chapter, during the tenth month of 961 (Ōwa 1), the *honmyō ku* was performed for Emperor Murakami 村上 by Hōzō 法藏 of Tōdaiji and the *tenmon hakase* Kamo no Yasunori 賀茂保憲. This record demonstrates the controversy concerning the interpretation of individual *honmyō* days. Hōzō believed that a *honmyō* day was calculated by one's birthdate in accordance with the sexagenary cycle, while Kamo no Yasunori claimed that one's birth year was the deciding factor. Texts such as the *Jixiu yaofa* 祭宿曜法, located in the *Fantian huoluo tu* 梵天火羅圖 (T 21: 462), as well as Chinese literature such as the *Ge Xuan gong zhabei doufa* 葛仙公札北斗法, the *Jiannan louyi kai wulu xie mingguan shao benming qianwen* 劍南婁益開五路謝冥官燒本命錢文, and others, are authorities on this matter. However, the *Honmyō sai* 本命祭 of Onmyōdō and the *Honmyō genjin ku* 本命元神供 of Mikkyō were both emphasized at least until this point.

Regarding the *Sangen sai*, it is believed that this ritual resembles the Daoist *Sanyuan zhai* 三元齋, regulations for which are described in volume four of the *Da Tang liudian* 大唐六典. The *sanyuan* 三元 (Jp. *sangen*) deities consist of Tian-guan 天官, Di-guan 地官, and the aforementioned Shuiguan, and they are worshiped at each Daoist temple (*daoguan* 道觀) on the three *sanyuan* days. These days fall on the fifteenth days of the first month (*shangyuan* 上元), the seventh month (*zhongyuan* 中元), and the tenth month (*xiayuan* 下元).

Moreover, by the close of the Heian period, more than forty Onmyōdō rituals centered on praying for the individual health and longevity of aristocrats had been formulated.<sup>28</sup> These rituals were based on the Chinese beliefs in *honmyō*, *Zokushō* 屬星, or the realm of the dead (*mingjie* 冥界), and included such rituals as the *Zokushō sai* 屬星祭, the *Rōjin seisai* 老人星祭, the *Keikoku seisai* 熒惑星祭, the *Genkū Hokkyoku sai* 玄宮北極祭, the *Honmyō genjin sai* 本命元神祭, and the *Taihaku seisai* 太白星祭. Among all of these, the most popularly performed ritual was *Taizan Fukun sai* 泰山府君祭.

*Taizan Fukun* 泰山府君 (Ch. *Taishan Fujun*) is the lord of the eastern peak of Mt. Tai (*Taishan* 泰山) in China, a deity that summons the spirits of the dead and administers the lengthening and shortening of human lifespans. However, when Yama (Jp. Enmaten 閻摩天)—the lord and guardian of the southern direction in

27. See YAMASHITA 1996, especially the chapter “Onmyōdō no tenkyō” 陰陽道の典拠.

28. See YAMASHITA 1996, especially the chapters “Onmyōdō no tenkyō” 陰陽道の典拠 and “Mikkyō seishin ku no seiritsu to tenkai” 密教星辰供の成立と展開.

Indian esoteric Buddhism—was transmitted to China, Taizan Fukun became a demon god that administered judgment on the lives and offenses of humans in the same way. As a magistrate of the realm of the dead, he came to be recognized with Yama. He ranked as a divinity that served Yama under the influence of Tiandi 天帝 and also led various deities and spirits, beginning with *Wudao dashen* 五道大神.

In Japan, *Taizan Fukun sai* came into existence around the beginning of the tenth century. However, supplicants were offered long life and worldly benefits to ward off calamitous events, to preserve the imperial throne, or to advance in government rank, so the ritual became central to the noble class. It was implemented on every *honmyō* day, during the four seasons, or possibly every month, but also as needed for illness, childbirth, natural disasters, and strange events. The object of prayers was not only Taizan Fukun, but also Yama (here *Yanluo tianshi* 閻羅天子), *Wudao dashen*, Tianguan, Diguan, Shuiguan, Siming, Silu, Honmyō, Kairo shōgun 開路將軍, Tochi reigi 土地靈紙, and Kashin jōjin 家親丈人 (collectively referred to as the *Meidō no junishin* 冥道十二神). Within Onmyōdō, Taizan Fukun was treated as superior to the twelve deities,<sup>29</sup> which differed from his worship in China.

Each of these divinities comes from Buddhist or Daoist scriptures or other Chinese literature dating from the Six Dynasties through the Tang. They can also possibly be seen in notes in old manuscripts from Dunhuang. However, because Taizan Fukun was highly positioned among these *Meidō no junishin* and the ritual took on his name, the original position of *Taizan Fukun sai* as a Japanese Onmyōdō ritual can be perceived (MASUO 2000a).

Written sources on varied Onmyōdō practices did not originate simply from yin and yang and five phase theories—they evolved from various kinds of writings, relating to Daoism, Mikkyō, Confucianism, and other Chinese folk traditions. This indicates that while Onmyōdō itself extensively absorbed elements of these various components, they were all completely reconstructed on Japanese soil.

### *Writings Related to Onmyōdō*

Provisions on the types of textbooks used by students of the Onmyōryō cannot be found in the *ritsuryō* codes. However, according to the *Shoku Nihongi*, on the ninth day of the eleventh month of 757 (Tenpyō Hōji 1), instructional texts were specified for each category of doctors and scholars and appointed in various prefectures:<sup>30</sup>

- Astronomy students:
  - The “Tianguan shu” 天官書, located in the *Shiji* 史記.
  - The “Tianwen zhi” 天文志, located in the *Hanshu* 漢書.
  - The “Tianwen zhi,” located in the *Jinshu* 晉書.

29. See ZST, vol. 1, Taiki 台記. Second month, seventh day, 1143 (Kōji 2).

30. Translator’s Note: See BENDER and ZHAO, 2010.

- The *Sanse buzan* 三色簿讚 (or the *Sanjia buzan* 三家簿讚).
- The *Hanyang yaoji* 韓楊要集.
- Yin-yang students:
  - The *Zhouyi* 周易.
  - The *Xinzhuan yin yang shu* 新撰陰陽書.
  - The *Huangdi jingui* 黃帝金匱.
  - The *Wuxing dayi* 五行大義.
- Calendar students:
  - The “Luli zhi” 律曆志, located in the *Hanshu*.
  - The “Luli zhi,” located in the *Jinshu*.
  - The *Dayan liyi* 大衍曆議.
  - The *Jiuzhang* 九章.
  - The *Liuzhang* 六章.
  - The *Zhoubi* 周髀.
  - The *Dingtianlun* 定天論.

These texts played a great role in Japan, especially as theoretical books that bridged the whole of Onmyōdō. Texts such as the *Wuxing dayi*, compiled by Xiao Ji 蕭吉 during the Sui dynasty, and the *Xinzhuan yin yang shu*, compiled by Lü Cai 呂才 during the Tang dynasty, contained yin-yang and five phase ideology, as it was known during those periods in China.

By the end of the ninth century, Fujiwara no Sukeyo 藤原佐世 had published the first Japanese catalog of books imported from China. This catalog, the *Nihon koku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本国見在書目録, listed 461 scrolls (in 85 divisions) of texts on astronomy, 167 scrolls (in 55 divisions) relating to calendrical science, and 919 scrolls (in 156 divisions) of works relating to the five phases. However, because the catalog omits items on current texts related to astronomy and the five phases, it is believed that a number of other texts were also imported to Japan. It is inferred that Onmyōdō was systematized depending on such Chinese texts related to yin and yang. However, the compilation of Japanese texts on Onmyōdō seems to have begun around the mid-ninth century.

According to the *Sandai jitsuroku*, the *Onmyō no kami-cum-Onmyō no hakase*, Shigeoka no Kawahito,<sup>31</sup> passed away on the twenty-seventh day of the fifth month of 874 (Jōgan 16) and as written in Chapter 147 of the *Ruiju kokushi* 類聚国史, he left behind these four works: *Seyo dōsei kyō* 世要動靜經 in three scrolls, the *Shishō sukuyō kyō* 指掌宿曜經 in one scroll, the *Jisen shinjutsu tonkō sho* 滋川新術遁甲書 in two scrolls, and the *Kinki shinchū* 金匱新注. The *Honchō hojaku mokuroku* 本朝書籍目録 attributes two other works to Shigeoka: the *Rokō rikujō* 六甲六帖 and the *Takkan kyō* 宅肝經, each in one scroll. However, none

31. Shigeoka's birthdate and age are unknown.

of these works have survived (NAKAMURA 1997). The *Honchō hojaku mokuroku* records four additional works:

- The *Sūki kyō* 枢機經 of Shii no Muraji ikai 志悲連猪養 in one scroll. This text was scattered and eventually lost.
- The *Senji ryakketsu* 占事略決 attributed to Abe no Seimei 安倍晴明 in one scroll. This text still exists today.
- The *Rekirin* 曆林 of Kamo no Yasunori 賀茂保憲 in ten scrolls. The contents of this text are thought to be conveyed within the later *Rekirin mondō shū* 曆林問答集 of Kamo no Arikata 賀茂在方.
- The *Zasshō* 雜書 of Kamo no Ieyoshi 賀茂家榮 in one scroll and four parts. This title is believed to indicate an older manuscript of the *Onmyō zassho* 陰陽雜書.<sup>32</sup>

Early on in the twelfth century, the Kamo family used the *Onmyō zassho*, written by Kamo no Ieyoshi, as an authoritative document for yin-yang studies. Until the Kamakura period, the Kamo were appointed to report even to the Retired Emperor Shirakawa 白河 and others. In Chapter 24, “Fushime yuisho” 節目由緒, the text reads: “The *Gennyō Gosezu* 玄女五姓図 states that it is extremely lucky to bathe at noon on the seventh day of the seventh month, as it removes four thousand sins.” The title of Chapter 34, “Mokuyoku kichijistu” 沐浴吉日 (Lucky days to bathe), resembles this passage. However, its contents resemble the description of bathing in Chapter 41 of the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤, “Qiqian zafa” 七籤雜法. In addition, the contents of Chapter 31, “Hakke” 八卦, are also believed to depend on Chapter 36 of the *Yunji qiqian*. The *Yunji qiqian*, a 122-chapter work composed by Zhang Junfang 張君房 of the Northern Song dynasty, was adopted into the Daoist canon (the *Da Song tiangong baozang* 大宋天宮寶藏) during the first half of the eleventh century. Called the “Xiao Daozang” 小道藏, it is a work that advanced the organization of Daoist doctrine, rituals, histories, biographies, and the like (see *Zhengtong Daozang*).

During the mid-Muromachi period, Tsunetsugu 在盛, a descendant of the Kamo family, compiled *Kichijitsu kō hiden* 吉日考秘伝 (*Jitsuho zassho* 日法雜書). There are a striking number of recognizably Daoist elements contained therein.

For example, Chapter 35 enumerates twelve different Daoist talismans (*fujū* 符呪; Ch. *fuzhou* 符咒) in order to eliminate bad dreams. It develops a theory of dreams while quoting from texts related to Daoism such as the *Yangsheng lun* 養生論, the *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經, and the *Sun zhenren tiaoshen lun* 孫真人調神論. However, it clearly seems to be based on a section in Chapter 46 of the *Yunji qiqian* titled *Yanwumeng zhou* 厭惡夢呪.

32. See NAKAMURA 1985. For a description of the relationship between Japanese texts on Onmyōdō and Daoism, see NAKAMURA 1997.

Also, Chapter 45, entitled *Yōsei enmei ron* 養生延命論, concretely explains the various problems concerning nourishing life (Ch. *yangsheng* 養生) that should be heeded at intervals of once per day, per month, per year, or per season.

Chapter 66, on *Jōchin hō* 攘鎮法, contains several additional titles, such as *Sei sankon shin* 制三魂神, *Sei shichihaku shin* 制七魄神, *Sei sanshi jutsu* 制三尸術, *Jō yagyō hō* 攘夜行法, *Jō engyō hō* 攘遠行法, *Tokō kahō* 渡江河法, *Hei hyakki hō* 僻百鬼法, and *Jō kodoku hō* 攘蠱毒法. The text contains a great number of terms related to Daoism, from deities such as Taishang Laojun 太上老君 and Tiancao to phrases such as *jiji ru liling* 急急如律令, *kouchi* 叩齒, *wogu* 握固, and *fushi* 符式. The contents of these entries are nearly identical to those in the *Yunji qiqian*—its influence here is remarkable.

### Concluding Remarks

In the *ritsuryō* system, the Onmyōryō was first a special government office mainly in charge of divination. From the Nara period, its staff began to participate in quelling rituals. From the early days of the Heian period, they conducted various kinds of prayers and spell-like rituals. While responding to appeals from Heian noble society, a great number of Onmyōdō rituals were formulated, and it began to systematize into an individual religious body.

Rituals representative of Onmyōdō include *katatagae* 方違え and *harae* 祓, the first of which concerned the directions. In order to not anger deities wandering in the eight directions—deities such as Daishogun 大將軍, Taihaku 太白, Tenichi 天一, Konjin 金神, and other deities related to the planet Venus—they travel in a different direction and avoid calamitous taboos. *Katatagae* was especially practiced during the Heian period (FRANK 1958).

*Harae* was originally a duty performed by the Jingikan that worshiped the gods of Japan. However, during the tenth century, a *harae* performed by *onmyōji* came into being. For example, the *Shichise no harae* 七瀬祓 was performed on the last day of every month. The emperor would breathe on a *hitogata* 人形 prepared by an *onmyōji* and lightly brush his body against it; the *hitogata* was then discarded in the rapids of Nanakashō 七力所 in Heiankyō. This ritual was further enlarged as the *Karin no harae* 河臨祓, and was temporarily performed at Nanakashō on the periphery of Heiankyō. However, Mikkyō monks were also influenced by these rituals; they performed an Onmyōdō-like ritual called *Rokuji Karin hō* 六字河臨法. In this ritual, a *homa* (Jp. *goma* 護摩) was performed atop a boat floating on the river with Rokuji Myō 六字明王 as the *honzon* 本尊. A priest chanted the *Nakatomi harae* 中臣祓, after which a *hitogata* was thrown into the river. This was the product of fusion between kami worship, Mikkyō, and Onmyōdō, which itself was based on Chinese rituals.

There are others: for example, a Mikkyō ritual called the *Anchin hō* 安鎮法, the goal of which was the protection of the nation and not simply a rite for good health, increased profits, or the exorcism of curses. It was widely practiced, even just to quell the home or to create a *kekkaï*. However, in that ritual, the *Ōharae norito* 祝詞 were read. In order to adopt Onmyōdō rituals such as the *Dokō sai* 土公祭, Mikkyō rites to heavenly deities such as the *Yakushi hō* 藥師法, the *Myōken hō* 妙見法, the *Meidō ku* 冥道供, and the *Enmaten ku* 閻魔天供 were initiated. There are also many parts in common with Onmyōdō, and elements related to Daoism are dense.

Also, there was *henbai* 反閉, a purifying performance of movements that involved treading down on the ground by *onmyōji* when distinguished persons and others arrived before the emperor. This practice originated between the end of the Warring States period and the early Han dynasty in China with a ritual called *yubu* 禹步. It is a ritual that also extends to Daoism founded upon various beliefs relating to Polaris and Ursa Major. However, the *henbai* practiced by the Kamo and Abe clans implied that a Buddha or bodhisattva was the divinity. Furthermore, the incantation and the hand gestures utilized demonstrate a strong Mikkyō character.

The existence of male or female Daoist practitioners or even Daoist temples in Japan cannot be confirmed. Daoism certainly did not develop there as a religious organization. However, because Chinese Daoism adapted the ideology of yin, yang, and the five phases, the knowledge and arts of yin and yang were transmitted by immigrants from Korea and China. Naturally, various Daoist elements came to be included in these transmissions.

In China, from the beginning of the Tang dynasty, the connection between Mikkyō and Daoism deepened significantly, but in Japan, from the beginning of the Heian period, Daoist elements were received to a large degree by Mikkyō. In regards to the development and course of Onmyōdō in Japan, it is absolutely crucial to recognize the multilayered influence of Mikkyō and kami worship (see MASUO 2000b).

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