

Tokugawa-Period Disputes between Shugen Organizations and *Onmyōji* over Rights to Practice Divination

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This article examines the conflict during the Tokugawa period between various Shugen organizations and onmyōji (diviners) associated with the Tsuchimikado family. The Tsuchimikado family was given both imperial and shogunate sanction in the late seventeenth century as the official headquarters for all onmyōji throughout the country. The Tsuchimikado family used this authority to try to bring all divination activity under their authority, leading to legal action against various people for their “unauthorized” performance of divination. This article examines a number of specific disputes and traces the development of this issue through the Tokugawa period. The differences between the Tōzan-ha and Honzan-ha Shugen organizations, and between the Edo and Osaka/Kyoto areas, in the way the disputes were handled and settled, are highlighted.

RESEARCH ON *ONMYŌDŌ* 陰陽術 (yin-yang divination) during the Tokugawa period was pioneered by MURAYAMA Shūichi, especially in his book *Nihon onmyōdō shi sōsetsu* (1981). Recent studies that have built on this foundation¹ have helped bring into focus the history and structure of the *onmyōji* 陰陽師 (people practicing *onmyōdō*) organization controlled by the Tsuchimikado 土御門 family. The attempt by the Tsuchimikado family to organize the *onmyōji* during the middle of the Tokugawa period led to friction with other figures involved in folk

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¹ See especially the publications by KIBA 1982a and 1982b, TAKANO 1984, and ENDŌ 1985.

religious practices, such as shugenja and *shinshoku* 神職.² In this article I examine the Shōgo-in documents 聖護院文書 and Wakasugi family documents 若杉家文書 to see how the conflict over divination rights developed, how the Shugenja became embroiled in it, and how the Shugen organizations responded to these developments.

Before getting into the central theme of my article, I will briefly outline the historical background of *onmyōdō* in the Tokugawa period. The traditional court *onmyōdō* of the ancient period had come to a complete stop by the end of the medieval period (sixteenth century). At the beginning of the Tokugawa period (seventeenth century) there was a struggle between the Kōtokui 幸徳井 family, which represented the traditional lineage of the Kamo 賀茂 family, and the Tsuchimikado family, which represented the traditional lineage of the Abe 安倍 family. The Tsuchimikado family was eventually recognized as the central lineage of *onmyōdō* divination, with Emperor Reigen 靈元 issuing an imperial order in 1683 that granted the Tsuchimikado family control over the activities of the *onmyōji* throughout the country. This imperial order was followed immediately by the issuing of a shogunate license (*shuinjō* 朱印状) recognizing their rights in this area by the Shogun Tsunayoshi. The Tsuchimikado family, having thereby gained legal authority over the activities of the *onmyōji* and the right to issue licenses, proceeded to start organizing the *onmyōji*. Officials (*füregashira* 触頭) were dispatched to Settsu, Kawachi, Owari, Bitchū, and Edo, where they attempted to impose control over divination activities. There were limits to the authority of an imperial order during this time of Bakufu rule, however, and the Tsuchimikado family was never able to extend its control beyond the boundaries of the Kinai, Owari, and Edo [currently the Kansai, Chūbu (Nagoya), and Tokyo] areas. From around the middle through the end of the eighteenth century, therefore, the Tsuchimikado family repeatedly petitioned the bakufu to support their legal authority over the rest of the nation's *onmyōji*. After much complicated maneuvering, the family finally succeeded in having the bakufu release the desired official notice in 1791. Thus the Tsuchimikado family was finally able to claim bakufu authority to press their claims to organize the *onmyōji* under their own roof.

From this brief history of *onmyōdō* in the Tokugawa period, we can see that the conflict over divination between *onmyōji* and Shugen practitioners was connected to the attempt by the Tsuchimikado family to

² See especially KIBA 1987. The documents of the Wakasugi family with regard to this issue have been reproduced in HAYASHI et al. 1988. The documents at Shōgo-in relating to the conflict over divination rights are reproduced in HAYASHI et al. 1991.

control the *onmyōji*. Before this period there was no need for anyone to get a license from some office in order to practice divination—any priest or monk could freely do so. Ancient drawings reveal that divination was practiced by a variety of folk-religious figures, from shugenja to people dressed in lay attire. In their attempt to organize the *onmyōji*, however, the Tsuchimikado family claimed that divination should be limited to properly licensed *onmyōji*, and that they, as the officially recognized headquarters of the *onmyōdō* lineage, were the only ones qualified to issue such licenses. The *onmyōji* under the control of the Tsuchimikado family went around the large urban areas of Edo and Osaka and demanded that shugenja and priests of local shrines either obtain licenses from the Tsuchimikado family or cease and desist from practicing divination. Whenever this “advice” was ignored, the *onmyōji* would directly protest to the shogunate Office of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō* 寺社奉行), thus sparking off the ensuing conflict concerning divination rights.

Why, one may ask, did the *onmyōji* take the initiative in setting off this conflict? One reason may be found in the fact that the *onmyōji* were organized and officially recognized at a much later date than the Shugen and shrine organizations. The Tōzan-ha 当山派 and Honzan-ha 本山派, the two main Shugendō organizations, were organized at the latest by 1613 under the *Shugen hatto* 修験法度 [law governing Shugen], and the priests of the Yoshida family received official bakufu recognition under the *Shosha negi kannushi hatto* 諸社禰宜神主法度 [law governing the priests of all shrines] in 1665. The control over *onmyōji* by the Tsuchimikado family, however, was not officially recognized until 1683 at the earliest, and they were not able to actually wield their authority throughout the country until 1791. The *onmyōji* were thus organized long after the shugenja and shrine priests. This delay meant that the organization of *onmyōji* took on a special character. First, it involved organizing religious figures such as *manzaishi* 万歳師³ (see SUZUKI 1990) and *miko* 巫女 (see ENDŌ 1985, pp. 178–79) that had been left out of the Honzan-ha, Tōzan-ha, and Yoshida family groups. As a result, a great variety of folk-religious figures flowed into the *onmyōji* framework. Secondly, the newer *onmyōji* group could not hope to develop into a powerful and influential organization without penetrating and cutting into the power structure among the older folk-religious figures of the shugenja and shrine priests.

A quick look at table 1 (timeline of disputes over divination) shows

³ Translator’s note: The *manzaishi* were a kind of fortune teller who would “announce” good fortune during auspicious times of the year such as the New Year; these figures are the precursors of the modern *manzai* comedians.

TABLE 1. TIMELINE OF DISPUTES OVER DIVINATION

DATE	EVENT	SOURCE
1683	Tsuchimikado family officially granted control over <i>onmyōji</i> throughout the country by imperial order and shogunate license	<i>Tsuchi</i>
1693	Dispute between <i>azusa-shoku</i> 梓職 (catalpa-bow diviners) and <i>onmyōji</i> ; <i>azusa-shoku</i> banished with approval of the shogunate Office of Temples and Shrines	<i>Waka</i> 587
late 17th c.	Dispute between <i>onmyōji</i> and Tōzan-ha Shugen in Ōmi region	<i>Waka</i> 587
1764	<i>onmyōji</i> bring suit against Usami Ryōei of Ryōgoku, Edo, to Office of Temples and Shrines	<i>Waka</i> 587
1765	Office of Temples and Shrines recognizes eight articles concerning the profession of <i>onmyōji</i>	<i>Kashoku</i>
1768	third month: suit brought by Kanto area <i>onmyōji</i> against Mt Haguro Shugen for unauthorized divination activity; decision by Office of Temples and Shrines in sixth month of the following year	<i>Waka</i> 587
	suit brought against Yoshida family priest for unauthorized divination activity; decision by Office of Temples and Shrines the following year. In response to the shogunate office's inquiry, the Yoshida family responds that "we do not authorize divination"	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 12-10, 12-32
1770	ninth month: complaint filed by <i>onmyōji</i> against Tōzan-ha Shugen in Edo; decision by Office of Temples and Shrines in seventh month of the following year	<i>Waka</i> 587; <i>Shōgo-in</i> 12-10
1777	Confucian follower sued in Osaka over unauthorized divination activities	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 12-32
1778	Honzan-ha Shugen sued over dispute concerning unauthorized divination activities; sanctioned by Office of Temples and Shrines in sixth month	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 12-10; 1-2
1782	person in Osaka sued for unauthorized divination activities, accepts license from Tsuchimikado family	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 12-32
1784	Honzan-ha Shugen sued for unauthorized divination activity, but suit withdrawn by <i>onmyōji</i> organization after decision by Osaka shogunate office in tenth month	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 12-10
	dispute in Nagasaki between blind priest and <i>onmyōji</i>	Endō
1786	note explaining Shugen position sent by Shōgo-in to shogunate Office of Temples and Shrines, Kyoto shogunal office, and Osaka shogunal office	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 11-3, 12-1, 13-1
1791	Shogunate recognizes Tsuchimikado control of <i>onmyōji</i> throughout the country	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 12-32

DATE	EVENT	SOURCE
1795	Tsuchimikado delivers official request to the emperor for a crackdown on unauthorized divination eleventh month: inquiry to the Office of Temples and Shrines concerning divination activity by Shugen members	Endō
1798	twelfth month: Shōgo-in and the Tsuchimikado family reach an agreement without resorting to the courts	Tokugawa
1802	people in Edo sued for unauthorized divination activities; decision by Office of Temples and Shrines	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 13-1
1804	Tsuchimikado official sues Honzan-ha Shugen at Osaka shogunate office	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 12-20; 13-1
1805	fifth month: Kanto-area <i>onmyōdō</i> official submits note to Office of Temples and Shrines claiming that the <i>faregashira</i> must be certified by city office	Endō
1806	Tsuchimikado official sues the Shugen of Sangō, Osaka, in Edo instead of Osaka; however, negotiations held in Kyoto and case resolved by withdrawal of the suit	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 13-1
1809	written complaint by Tsuchimikado family delivered to Osaka shogunate office; includes list of all those involved in unauthorized divination activity in Osaka area	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 12-32
1810	second month: official notice concerning divination activity by local authorities in Osaka. Third month: Honzan-ha and Tōzan-ha Shugen, Yoshida family, and Akinobō organizations summoned to appear at Osaka East shogunal office. Eighth month: official notice posted in Maizawa that “all people involved in <i>onmyōdō</i> must be under the authority of the Tsuchimikado family”	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 12-20
1811	sixth month: talks commence between Shōgo-in and Tsuchimikado family	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 13-1; <i>Waka</i> 931
1813	eleventh month: director of <i>onmyōdō</i> collects/assesses 200 <i>hiki</i> 匁 of gold from the Honzan-ha Shugen of Mt Haguro. The Shugen organization seeks advice and help from Shōgo-in	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 14
1851	claim filed to Yoshikawa family to crack down on self-styled <i>onmyōji</i>	Kiba

Sources. *Tsuchi*: Tsuchimikado family documents 土御門文書 kept at the University of Tokyo Shiryō Hensansho; *Waka*: Wakasugi family documents 若杉家文書 kept at the Kyoto Furitsu Shiryōkan; *Kashoku*: the *Onmyōji kashoku ikken* 陰陽師家職一件 kept at the University of Tokyo Shiryō Hensansho; *Shōgo-in*: the Shōgo-in documents 聖護院文書 preserved at Shōgo-in in Kyoto; Endō: ENDŌ 1985; Tokugawa: *Tokugawa kinrei kō* 徳川禁令考; Kiba: KIBA 1982. Numbers refer to catalogue numbers.

that this dispute came up repeatedly over an extended period of time. It was generally the case that the control over the *onmyōji* by the Tsuchimikado family developed and grew only as it broke down the power and authority of the established Shugen and shrine organizations. In this paper I will examine this process and the content of the disputes.

The Tōzan-ha and Divination Disputes

In this section I will examine the historical records concerning the suit against the Tōzan-ha Shugen organization, and in the next section I will examine the disputes as they were handled by the Honzan-ha.

THE DISPUTE OF MEIWA 7 (1770)

In the ninth month of Meiwa 7 (1770) the *baiboku aratameyaku* 万卜改役⁴ under the supervision of Yoshimura *gon-no-kami* 権頭 (the leader [*furegashira*] of the Kantō-area *onmyōji*), filed a suit with the shogunate Office of Temples and Shrines against lay people and members of the Mt Haguro and Tōzan-ha Shugen organizations for practicing divination “without authorization.”

Both sides appeared in court on the ninth day of the tenth month for a hearing. The plaintiffs (the *onmyōji*) claimed that there was no basis for conducting divination within the framework of Shugendō, and that such activity should be stopped. The Shugen side answered that they had conducted various kinds of divination like *tōke* 当卦 and *hakke* 八卦 for many years in response to requests from their patrons, and that there was no reason to discontinue such activities. They, in turn, requested that the suit be dismissed as groundless. According to the Shugen representatives, the Shugen tradition had maintained its own divination practices since the time of Kōbō Daishi Kūkai in the eighth century. In turn, the *onmyōji* claimed that Shugen divination originated from *onmyōdō*, and provided an example illustrating this point. The shogunate official Toki Mino-no-kami 土岐美濃守 then asked the *onmyōji*, “Performing divination (*senkō* 占考) privately is not the same as performing it for pay (*baiboku* 万卜), is it?” The *onmyōji* replied that even privately performed divination harms the professional services of the *onmyōji*, and reiterated that since the Tsuchimikado family had been granted the rights to divination both by imperial order and by shogunate license, Shugenja should not be allowed to practice it. Minomori asked for an explanation of the impe-

⁴ Translator’s note: People who were charged with making sure that divination was not being carried out incorrectly or by unauthorized people.

rial order and the shogunate license, but the *onmyōji* replied that he was not familiar with the details of these documents.

On the twelfth day of the tenth month, the Kantō-area *onmyōji* official Yoshimura *gon-no-kami* presented documents to the shogunate Office of Temples and Shrines, as requested by the Office, concerning precedents to the current suit regarding divination activities. Katō Hanzaemon, an official at the Office, asked, “Do even Shugen members who carry on their activities privately without even hanging up a sign [advertising their services] have to receive the approval of the *bai-boku aratameyaku*?” Yoshimura answered that even such private activities must be approved by the *aratameyaku*. When Katō Hanzaemon asked, “What do the imperial order and shogunate license cover?” Yoshimura answered, “The imperial order and shogunate license have been granted by the official authorities, and the renewed license is revealed only to a direct representative of the shogun[, so I don’t know the details].”⁵ Katō Hanzaemon then opined that as long as Shugen members perform divination in private and do not receive any compensation, this should not be any hindrance to the *onmyōji*. Yoshimura then explained the *onmyōji* position responded in detail:

The *onmyōji* perform only divination, and no other kinds of religious ceremonies that are performed by other folk-religious figures. Because of this, their fortunes are declining and they have found it difficult to survive. During the Tenna years (1681–1684) there were about fifteen or sixteen hundred *onmyōji* and four *foregashira* [leaders] in the eight Kantō regions, but year by year this number decreases. In a survey taken four years ago [1766], there were only about twenty *onmyōji* left in Edo. Recent crackdowns on unauthorized practitioners have led to some increase in this number. However, if things are allowed to continue as they are, there is no doubt that the *onmyōji* will cease to exist. If Shugen members are allowed to perform divination, not one *onmyōji* will be left. The Shugen members have their own profession and can survive without performing divination. The *onmyōji*, on the other hand, have only divination as their means of survival. If the number of *onmyōji* decreases, taxes cannot be paid, and since the Tsuchimikado family has no fief [to rely on for income], it will no longer be able to meet its obligation to perform [special ceremonies (*ryōdo no kenjō* 兩度の献上)] for the bakufu twice a

⁵ Translator’s note: the shogunate license came up for renewal every time there was a new shogun. Also, apparently, details concerning the contents of this license were not known by lower-level officials such as Yoshimura.

year. Since ancient times, divination has been the special right of *onmyōji*. If Shugen involvement in divination is not corrected, grievous harm will result to the entire group, as explained above. Thus we appeal to you to grant our request.

In any case, it is false that Shugen members receive no compensation for their divination, or that they have openly perform divination since ancient times. *Onmyōdō* divination has been under the control of the Tsuchimikado family from ancient times; by ancient precedent not only religious figures but anyone who performs divination [without Tsuchimikado approval] should be made to stop.

At this time Yoshimura submitted the professional license (*shokusatsu* 職札), regulations, deeds (*shōmon* 証文), and documents pertaining to the organization of the *onmyōji*.

The next year (Meiwa 8 [1771]), on the seventeenth day of the second month, Yoshimura was called to appear before the Office of Temples and Shrines. He was told that documents had been submitted by the Tōzan-ha Shugen organization as evidence that shugenja had performed divination since ancient times. Toki Minomori asked the *onmyōji* side if they had any evidence to show that revisions had been made concerning divination activities, even with regard to the private practice of divination. Yoshimura answered orally, but when Minomori asked if there were any official documents, Yoshimura had to say there were not. Minomori then asked if any such evidence concerning regulations existed among the Tsuchimikado family. Yoshimura then responded in writing along with copies of documents submitted to the Office of Temples and Shrines on the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month of Hōreki 13 (1763) and in the eighth month of Meiwa 4 (1767). A decision was handed down by the Office of Temples and Shrines in the seventh month of Meiwa 8 (1771) in which the Shugen organization was reprimanded for performing divination for payment.

At first glance it might appear that this reprimand represented a complete vindication of the *onmyōji* position; this, however, was not the case. The Shugen organization was reprimanded for surreptitiously receiving payment for divination, but they were not forbidden from divining in private if it did not involve any compensation. The decision also records the Shugen argument that they did not receive any compensation. The Office of Temples and Shrines made a clear distinction between divination performed with or without compensation, and acknowledged that *onmyōji* had the special right to perform divination for compensation. However, the Office of Temples and

Shrines indicated that Shugen members could perform divination privately without compensation.

The *onmyōji* took the position that divination is divination whether it is done for compensation or not, and that *onmyōji* have the sole right to this activity. They insisted that even those who conduct divination privately must be licensed by the Tsuchimikado family. Although the Office of Temples and Shrines did not recognize this position, there were a number of important historical reasons why they came out with a decision favorable to the *onmyōji* at this point. First was the fact that despite the shugenja's claim not to be receiving compensation for their divination services, most of them were in fact making a living from this activity. Second, the first section of the *onmyōji* professional statutes state that "One should diligently perform divination according to our tradition" 天社占考広可相勤事, and it also teaches that one should honor and obey the bakufu laws. It is likely that the Office of Temples and Shrines chose to support the Tsuchimikado family authority over the *onmyōji* as a way to help control the folk-religious figures that were active in the urban areas at that time.⁶

The disputes over divination also served to underscore the fact that there was no clear line separating the *onmyōji* from other folk-religious figures. The more confusing this line became, the more urgent it became for the Tsuchimikado family to strengthen their authority over the *onmyōji*, and for the government to finally recognize that authority in the aforementioned official nationwide notice of 1791 (Kansei 3).

THE DISPUTE OF BUNKA 7 (1810) AND THE TÔZAN-HA

On the third day of the twelfth month of Bunka 6 (1809), an envoy of the Tsuchimikado family visited the Osaka shogunate office and asked that an official proclamation be made that all people who perform divination in the Settsu, Kawachi, Waizumi, and Harima districts would be under the authority of the Tsuchimikado family. The envoy submitted a list of people in the Osaka area to whom this would apply,

⁶ An official bakufu notice in the eleventh month of Kanbun 5 (1665) forbade yamabushi and other *gyōja* from hanging up *kanban* to advertise their services for divination. Similar notices were made during the Genroku era (1688–1704) and in Tenpō 13 (1842); see UMEDA 1972, pp. 331, 479. Crackdowns on *shugenja* who advertised their divination services as *onmyōji* can be considered a part of the bakufu's official policy to control folk-religious figures. One could also say that the Tsuchimikado family pursued their control over *onmyōji* fully conscious of this policy of the bakufu. The notice of Kansei 3 (1791) recognizing the Tsuchimikado family's authority over *onmyōji* was not unrelated to the fact that during the two previous years (1789–1790) the Office of Temples and Shrines had ordered the headquarters and leaders of Buddhist temples and Shugen organizations to submit a list of the names of their affiliated priests and yamabushi.

as well as documents concerning legal precedents and court decisions regarding this dispute. On the twenty-seventh day of the second month of the following year, certain local authorities in Osaka declared that all people performing unauthorized divination must submit to the authority of the Tsuchimikado family. On the twenty-first day of the third month, representatives of the Honzan-ha Shugen, Tōzan-ha Shugen, Yoshida family, and Akinobō organizations were summoned to appear at the Osaka East shogunate office (*bugyōjo* 奉行所). There the Shugen organizations put forth their claim that they were licensed by their headquarters to perform divination. On the seventeenth day of the fourth month, the Osaka shogunate office asked the *buke densō* 武家伝奏⁷ to investigate the licensing of divination by Daigo Sanbō-in and Shōgo-in. In a reply dated the third day of the fifth month, Sanbō-in responded that Tōzan-ha Shugendō practiced various forms of divination for healing disease, averting calamities, and other purposes as a primary part of their religious activity. It claimed that these activities were performed in response to requests from patrons, and differed from the practice of divining for pay (*baiboku*).

Sanbō-in also claimed that their position was recognized in the court decision of Meiwa 7 (1770). The Osaka shogunate office accepted this argument and asked the Tsuchimikado envoy, “The shugenja of Myōō-in 明王院 are performing divination as licensed by their headquarters, and so this is not divination for pay. Do you have any grounds for the claim by the Tsuchimikado family?” The envoy replied that all forms of divination came under the purview of *onmyōdō*, pointed out that the Meiwa 7 decision ordered Tōzan-ha Shugen to cease their divination activities, and submitted documents written by the Myōō-in Shugen members as evidence. These Myōō-in documents concerned a request by a woman for prayers for her sick mother, and included an amulet for healing disease prepared by the Myōō-in Shugen members. The Osaka office notified Sanbō-in about this evidence and asked for clarification. Sanbō-in replied that it had no recollection of approving divination for pay, and added that orders had gone out to Tōzan-ha leaders to censure those of their followers who disregarded Tōzan-ha rules.

On the eighth day of the seventh month, the Osaka shogunate office summoned representatives of Myōō-in, presented them with the above evidence, and asked, “You are licensed by the Tōzan-ha to per-

⁷ Translator’s note: An office filled by (usually) two members from the aristocratic families to act as mediators and communicators between the aristocratic class (mainly in Kyoto) and the bakufu.

form divination, but in fact you are performing divination for pay (*baiboku*). Why are you not obeying the official notice [that forbids this activity]?" A representative of the Tsuchimikado family added, "If you give a written promise to stop performing divination for pay, this matter can be peacefully resolved without any action by the shogunate authorities." The Myōō-in representatives thereupon submitted a written declaration to the shogunate office saying that they would cease all divination for pay, and sent notice to the Tsuchimikado family adding that they would submit to their authority.

It was disclosed later, however, that the proposal by the Tsuchimikado family representative did not reflect the intent of the city shogunate office. When Sanbō-in heard that Myōō-in had submitted to the authority of the Tsuchimikado family, they sent a request through the *buke densō* on the fifth day of the tenth month asking that the documents be returned. Representatives of Myōō-in were summoned again on the thirteenth day of the tenth month to appear at the city shogunate office. On the twenty-second day Myōō-in itself asked the city shogunate office "to return the documents to so that no more trouble (*meiwaku*) might be caused to Sanbō-in." The Osaka shogunate office contacted the Tsuchimikado family, who confirmed that Myōō-in was acting on its own initiative, and confirmed with a written notice on the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month that they had no objections to having the documents returned. The Osaka city shogunate office, claiming that this was a matter difficult for them to handle, asked that the written promise [to submit to the Tsuchimikado] be returned by the Tsuchimikado family to the *buke densō*. They also asked for clarification of their respective standpoints, since it appeared that there were differences of opinion between the Sanbō-in and the Tsuchimikado family concerning the interpretation of the Meiwa 8 court decision. This concludes the description of the incident in the Shōgo-in documents with regard to the Tōzan-ha. The involvement of the Honzan-ha in this dispute will be discussed in the next section.

The Honzan-ha and Divination Disputes

THE DISPUTE OF TENMEI 4 (1784)

On the twenty-sixth day of the tenth month of Tenmei 4 (1784) Yotsui Yō-uemon, a top official (*sō-kashira-yaku* 惣頭役) under the authority of the Tsuchimikado family, began to pressure the Honzan-ha Shugen organization in Osaka to obtain a Tsuchimikado license in order to

practice *hakke-uranai* 八卦占 divination.⁸ On the twenty-eighth day, Yotsui filed suit with the West Osaka shogunate office against Gyokusei-in 玉星院 of Honzan-ha Shugen for putting up a sign that it was “licensed by the Honzan for divination” 御相本山御占. Representatives of Gyokusei-in were summoned on the next day to appear at the shogunate office, where they were presented with a court order to cease performing divination for pay (*baiboku*) and to take down their sign (see Shōgo-in documents, box 108, #12-10).

Gyokusei-in, not knowing how to respond to this ruling, asked for a reprieve. The neighboring townspeople, however, advised them that this would be to their disadvantage, so Gyokusei-in accepted the ruling. When Gyokusei-in submitted a document to the Office of Temples and Shrines stating that they would take down the sign and stop divination activities, the *onmyōji* withdrew their lawsuit. However, the leaders (*kumigashira*) of Honza-ha Shugen in Osaka were very disturbed by this event, and on the twenty-ninth day of the same month they submitted a letter to the major Shōgo-in temples of Nyakuō-ji 若王子, Enjō-ji 円成寺, and Jūshin-in 住心院 requesting that the matter be further investigated.

According to this letter (see Shōgo-in documents, box 108, #2), over a hundred *onmyōji* had gathered to demand that payment be made to them, claiming that *onmyōdō* had exclusive rights to the divination performed by Shugen people. They even demanded an end to offerings and services to, or exorcisms of, the feared deity *kōjin* 荒神—activities performed frequently in the Shugen tradition—because such household purifications or exorcisms were also the province of *onmyōdō*. The *onmyōji* claimed that since the demands of the *onmyōji* had been officially recognized in Edo, the same should be done in Osaka. The Shugen people pointed out, however, that if they accepted these demands they could no longer make a living as shugenja, and Honzan-ha Shugen would cease to exist. The Osaka Shugen leaders thus expressed a strong sense of crisis, and asked the above-mentioned temples to transmit their concerns to the headquarters of Shōgo-in.

It seems that the shugenja of Gyokusei-in also realized the gravity of the situation, and on the third day of the eleventh month they tried to resolve the problem on their own by paying a visit to Yotsui’s residence, but he was not there. Shōgo-in, for its part, quickly ordered its temples to make a list of Osaka Shugen temples that had signs advertising divination services. Those Shugen temples that had such signs

⁸ Translator’s note: A type of divination using eight variations of three solid and/or dotted lines.

reported this to their temple officials (*inge yakunin* 院家役人). Later the Shugen leaders (*kumigashira*) carried a written request—modified and corrected by Shōgo-in—to be presented to the shogunate office. When the Shugen leaders arrived at the city office, however, they were refused admittance, on the grounds that there was no need for them to come when they had not even been summoned.

Yotsui continued to pressure the members of Osaka Shugen, demanding that they either be licensed as *onmyōji* or stop their divination activities. By the twelfth month, the Osaka Shugen leaders had reached the end of their rope, and turned again to Shōgo-in to ask how they should respond, and to request again that Shōgo-in negotiate with the Osaka shogunate office. Shōgo-in seems to have contacted the Osaka shogunate office and the Tsuchimikado family at this time through the *buke densō*. There is a letter in the Shōgo-in documents with no date, name of sender, or name of recipient, asking if in fact Yotsui Yō-uemon was a servant (*kerai*) or *onmyōji* under the authority of the Tsuchimikado family, if this matter was being pursued with the knowledge and approval of the Tsuchimikado family or if it was an independent initiative on the part of Yotsui Yō-uemon alone, and whether the recent renewal of the license was an imperial notice or a shogunate notice. It appears that this was a letter of inquiry sent out by Shōgo-in through the *buke densō* (see Shōgo-in documents, box 108, #28, #29, #30). In the same twelfth month, Gyokusei-in sent a letter to the leaders of Shōgo-in apologizing for the trouble they had caused the Honzan-ha organization by responding independently to the above incident without receiving guidance from their headquarters.

In Tenmei 5 (1785) Shōgo-in dispatched a representative to begin negotiations with the Office of Temples and Shrines (see Shōgo-in documents, box 108, #37). Shōgo-in took the position that Shugen divination had been practiced since ancient times, that the attempts by the *onmyōji* to stop this activity by Shugen members had caused hardship for Shugen, and that Shōgo-in itself would find it difficult to abandon these practices. Shōgo-in sent a letter on the fifteenth day of the fifth month of the next year (Tenmei 6 [1786]) to Abe Bitchū-nokami, the administrator of the Office of Temples and Shrines. This letter, sent through the Nakagawa Daijō-in—the Edo *furegashira*—contained a public explanation of the Honzan-ha position. Shōgo-in sent the same letter, through the *buke densō*, to the Kyoto shogunate office in the tenth month of that year, and to the Osaka shogunate office in the eleventh month. The letter to the Osaka shogunate office also contained requests for funds from Shugen organizations around the

country for the purpose of renovating the main building on Mt Ōmine. It requested that since the Osaka Shugen organization was financially strapped, it be allowed to seek donations from patrons, *kō* (fraternities), and other lay followers.⁹

The argument presented by Shōgo-in was clear and straightforward: Shugendō divination is an “expedient way” 隨宜之助菊 that is appropriate for these degenerate “latter days” (*matsudai* 末代) when people’s spiritual capacities are feeble. These activities have long been practiced as an aid to governing the country and maintaining a peaceful society. Members of Shugen had been receiving compensation for performing divination, and this has served to support their ascetic practices in the mountains (*nyūbu shugyō* 入峯修行) and allowed them to make a living. However, the attempt by *onmyōji* to stop Shugen divination activity has caused problems. It is too rash to assume that *onmyōji* has a unique right to divination. The letter closes with a request to reject any lawsuits brought by *onmyōji* that try to stop divination by Shugen members.

THE DISPUTE OF BUNKA 7 (1810) AND THE HONZAN-HA

As mentioned above, an envoy of the Tsuchimikado family sought a decision by the Osaka shogunate office concerning divination activity on the third day of the twelfth month of Bunka 6 (1809). On the twenty-seventh day of the second month of the next year (Bunka 7), local authorities in Osaka announced that all people who perform divination must be under the authority of the Tsuchimikado family. On the twenty-first day of the third month, representatives of the Honzan-ha, Tōzan-ha, Yoshida family, and Akinobō were summoned to the East Osaka shogunate office. On the twenty-third, the shugenja of Enjō-ji (*sendatsu* of Shōgo-in) were summoned. This incident caused a great uproar among the members of Honzan-ha Shugen. On the twenty-seventh, the Osaka Shugen leaders (*kumigashira*) sent a letter, through the Onjō-ji (a branch of Shōgo-in), requesting that the officials of Shōgo-in meet and discuss this matter with the Tsuchimikado family. The Shōgo-in officials immediately sent a written statement to the *buke densō* Hirohashi Tadamitsu, proposing that the affair be settled through talks with the Tsuchimikado family. The *buke densō* accepted Shōgo-in’s request and responded quickly by passing on the proposal, but a reply from the Tsuchimikado family was not forthcoming.

On the seventeenth day of the fourth month the Osaka shogunate

⁹ For the full text of the letter that Shōgo-in sent to the Office of Temples and Shrines and the shogunal offices in Kyoto and Osaka, see HAYASHI 1992, p. 29.

office sent a letter to the *buke densō* citing the Kansei 3 (1791) notice recognizing Tsuchimikado authority throughout the country, as well as other legal precedents set by the Office of Temples and Shrines, and announced a decision to support the claims of the *onmyōji*. A report on this matter was sent to Shōgo-in by the *buke densō* on the twentieth of the fourth month, asking for concrete evidence that Shugen divination has been performed since the times of Jinben Daibosatsu 神変大菩薩.¹⁰ It criticized the Tsuchimikado family for directly bringing suit at the Osaka shogunate office without even notifying Shōgo-in, despite the fact that Shugen divination had been practiced since ancient times and that the two sides had agreed to resolve the Kansei 10 [1798] dispute through mutual discussion rather than through legal recourse (see table 1). The administrators (*bōkan* 坊官) of Shōgo-in replied that it was unthinkable that they would submit to Tsuchimikado authority after all this time. On the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month, the Tsuchimikado family sent a message to Aya-no-kōji Zen-shōnagon, one of the *buke densō*, asking that the legal decision of the shogunate be accepted. Of course this reply was the opposite of the proposals of Shōgo-in and the *buke densō*, so the *buke densō* ordered the message to be rewritten by the next day. Shōgo-in and the *buke densō* had hoped that the Tsuchimikado family would promise not to obstruct Shōgo-in's authority over Shugen activities, and would withdraw its lawsuit from the shogunate office. Another reply was delivered from the Tsuchimikado family to the *buke densō* on the sixteenth day of the fifth month, but once again the contents were unacceptable.

On the sixteenth day of the sixth month, the Osaka shogunate administrator Hiraga Shinano-no-kami sent a message to Kojima Aki-no-kami, a *bushi* connected with the imperial court 禁裏付武家, in an attempt to settle the matter. He pointed out that there was also a dispute between the members of the Yoshida family and the followers of Akino-bō, but that since Akino-bō appealed to their headquarters of Rinnō-ji Monzeki 輪王寺門跡¹¹ it was now beyond the purview of the city shogunate office. However, if discussions among the aristocratic families could not resolve the matter and both sides remained adamant, then it would be appealed to the Office of Temples and Shrines. As a postscript Hiraga Shinano-no-kami added that since

¹⁰ Translator's note: The honorific title given to En-no-gyōja (seventh to eighth century), the semi-legendary founder of Shugendō.

¹¹ Translator's note: From the late Heian Period, *monzeki* referred to temples which had as their heads, and served as havens for, members of the Imperial family or high aristocratic families.

Shōgo-in had powerful court connections, it was feared that Shōgo-in's interests would prevail; instead, Hiraga urged that since the Office of Temples and Shrines had already announced a notice on this matter, its decision should be followed. A *kerai* of the Tsuchimikado family had said that "the utility of discussions is dubious. Shōgo-in is too powerful, and if it presses its case, the Tsuchimikado family will be unable to present its side." Hiraga added, revealing his inner feelings, that "social status is social status, but a family's business is business, and there should be no [discriminative] ranking in these matters." In the end, Hiraga concluded that the parties should follow the decision of the Office of Temples and Shrines, and sought to avoid a situation in which the social standing of Shōgo-in among aristocratic society would work to its advantage.

On the twentieth day of the sixth month, the Tsuchimikado family expressed to the *buke densō* an interest in direct meetings to "peacefully resolve the matter through discussions." Shōgo-in, wishing to have the *buke densō* act as intermediary, rejected the Tsuchimikado proposal. In the seventh and ninth months, Tsuchimikado Haruchika sent further messages to the *buke densō*, saying that the matter could be peacefully resolved only if those who perform divination would accept licenses from them. In response Shōgo-in reiterated that Shugen has its own divination tradition, and didn't need to be licensed by the Tsuchimikado family. The *buke densō* and Shōgo-in kept in close contact, attempting to find a response that would satisfy the Tsuchimikado family. On the seventeenth day of the ninth month, the *buke densō* Hirohashi Tadamitsu advised Shōgo-in that it would be wise to delay negotiations until the temple received the prestigious *ippon* 一品 ranking. The negotiations sponsored by the *buke densō* between the Tsuchimikado family and the Yoshida family had failed, and the priests had to appeal to the Office of Temples and Shrines in Edo, where the situation was more favorable to the Tsuchimikados. He thus advised that it would be best to take a "wait and see" position. On the seventeenth day of the tenth month, the prestigious rank of *ippon shin'nō* 一品親王 was conferred on the imperial prince Einin Shinnō 盈仁親王 of Shōgo-in Monzeki.

On the tenth day of the fifth month of the following year (Bunka 8 [1811]), the Tsuchimikado family told the *buke densō* that it was ready to accept a negotiated settlement. This revealed that the position of the Tsuchimikado family was beginning to change. Shōgo-in delightfully claimed that this recognized its position that its divination activity was different from the "divination for pay" (*bokubai*) claimed by Tsuchimikado. They also were concerned that the result of these negotiations not run counter to the negotiations of Kansei 10 (1798) and

Bunka 3 (1806). In the sixth month both sides exchanged documents concerning the negotiated settlement. On the thirteenth day of the seventh month Shōgo-in sent bolts of cloth, gold, and alcoholic drinks to the Hirohashi family of the *buke densō* to express their appreciation, and on the fifteenth a representative of the Tsuchimikado family visited Shōgo-in to submit an apology.

The dispute of Bunka 7 and the negotiated settlement of the following year was an important turning point in the history of these disputes. The previous disputes had been settled in a way favorable to the *onmyōji* organization of the Tsuchimikado family—ever since the notice on Kansei 3 (1791) in which the bakufu recognized the authority of the Tsuchimikado family over the *onmyōji* throughout the country, it had gradually but steadily recovered a favorable position. However, the settlement of Bunka 8 (1811) meant a setback for the family. From this time onward, the effect of the bakufu notice began to wane and eventually be lost (see TAKANO 1984, pp. 38–39).

The progression of this dispute clearly shows the importance of the *buke densō*'s role. The *buke densō* served as more than simple intermediaries between the bakufu and the imperial court; it also functioned as a mechanism to control aristocratic society (see ŌYASHIKI 1982–1983; Hirai 1983). The Kyoto and Osaka shogunate offices had contact with aristocratic society only through the offices of the *buke densō*, and did not negotiate directly with the aristocratic families (*kuge* 公家). Since this dispute between Shugen and the *onmyōji* was immediately transferred to the level of an internal dispute between the aristocratic groups of Shōgo-in and the Tsuchimikado families, it went beyond the authority of the Osaka shogunate office, and the role of the *buke densō* was correspondingly great. If the same kind of dispute had arisen in Edo, the matter would undoubtedly have been handled before the Office of Temples and Shrines. In such a case, given the precedents set by the Office of Temples and Shrines, it is very likely that the case would have resulted in a decision favorable to the Tsuchimikado family. The local differences in religious governance between the Edo and the Osaka/Kyoto areas must be taken into account if one wishes to correctly assess the significance of the Bunka 8 settlement.

The Respective Responses of the Honzan-ha and the Tōzan-ha

In this article I have examined historical documents and outlined a few of the major representative disputes concerning rights to divination during the Tokugawa period. In closing let us compare the differ-

ences in the respective responses to these disputes by the Honzan-ha and the Tōzan-ha.

First, the shogunate Office of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō*) officially recognized the rights of the *onmyōji* to divination for pay (*baiboku*) in the decision of Meiwa 7 (1770). However, this decision did not explicitly cover rights to all forms of divination (*senkō*), and Shugen was allowed to continue performing divination privately. The difference between *baiboku* and *senkō*, according to Tōzan-ha organizations like Sanbō-in, was that the former was performed explicitly for the sake of monetary compensation, while the latter, supposedly, was practiced without remuneration (the Tōzan-ha Shugen member who was reprimanded in Meiwa 8 [1771] for performing divination was accused of having surreptitiously received payment). In fact, however, many of the Tōzan-ha shugenja “in the field” performed divination for the purpose of receiving compensation. The Tōzan-ha position was thus unable to withstand close scrutiny. In the case of the Bunka 7 (1810) dispute, the position taken repeatedly by Sanbō-in was useless for defending the Myōō-in Shugen members against their accusers, and they were forced to act on their own.

The response of the Honzan-ha was quite different from that of the Tōzan-ha. In the note sent out by Shōgo-in to places such as the Office of Temples and Shrines in Tenmei 6 (1786),¹² and in the written statement sent to the Osaka shogunate office in Bunka 1 (1804),¹³ the Honzan-ha claimed that divination had been performed by Honzan-ha shugenja as an “expedient means” since ancient times, and that even if they received compensation this was acceptable as a source of income to support their ascetic practices in the mountains. They made a clear distinction between *senkō* and *baiboku*, claiming that *baiboku* was divination performed by *onmyōji*, and that *senkō* derived from the Shugen tradition. Thus they claimed that the difference between the two activities was not based on whether or not there was compensation. The agreement of Bunka 8 (1811) backed the Honzan-ha’s interpretation. The differences between the *onmyōji*, Tōzan-ha, and Honzan-ha are outlined in table 2 (see facing page). Although the table is simplified, and does not reflect differences that evolved over time, and represents the Tōzan-ha position at the periphery versus the Honzan-ha position at the Shugen headquarters, it nevertheless reflects the general differences between the three positions.

The differences between the Tōzan-ha and the Honzan-ha were not limited to theoretical issues concerning divination. There were also

¹² See Shōgo-in documents, box 108, documents #11-3, #11-5, #12-1, and #12-16.

¹³ See Shōgo-in documents, box 108, #13-1.

TABLE 2. POSITIONS CONCERNING DIVINATION

	DOCTRINE	PRACTICE	SOURCE
<i>onmyōji</i>	* Meditation master I-hsing (Ichigyō) was follower of <i>onmyōdō</i> * all divination is based on <i>onmyōdō</i>	* all divination is of the same type and is the exclusive right of <i>onmyōji</i> ; thus a license from the Tsuchimikado family is required	<i>Waka</i> 587
Honzan-ha Shugen	* the <i>mikkyō</i> tradition has its own divination * divination is an expedient technique practiced by Shugen	* Shugen divination is different from <i>onmyōji</i> divination, regardless of whether or not it involves compensation * Divination is a technique that is a part of ascetic practice in the mountains	<i>Shōgo-in</i> 11-13 <i>Shōgo-in</i> 13-1 <i>Shōgo-in</i> 13-5
Tōzan-ha Shugen	* emphasis on divination taught in the writings of Kōbō Daishi Kūkai	* Divination is performed without compensation; the <i>onmyōji</i> divination is done for compensation	<i>Waka</i> 587

Sources: *Waka*: documents preserved by the Wakasugi family; *Shōgo-in*: documents preserved at Shōgo-in in Kyoto (all references to documents in box 108).

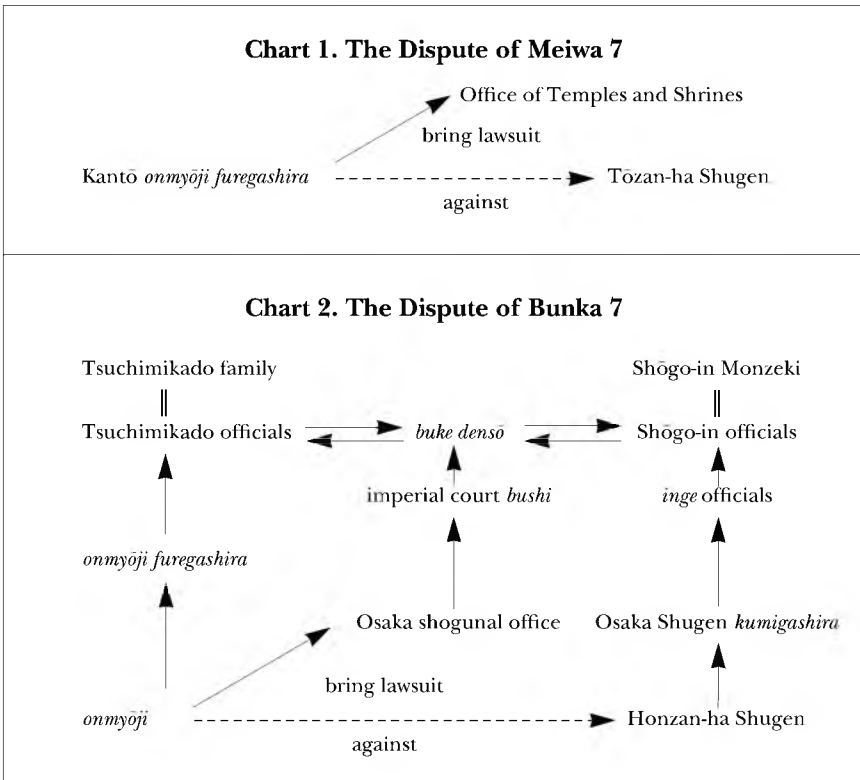
organizational differences. The Honzan-ha had a strong organization, and as a *monzeki* had imperial connections. It thus was able to take the requests of its Shugen followers to a higher social and political level. Problems faced by the Shugen people “in the field” [lit. “on the periphery”] were taken up by the leaders (*kumigashira*) and temple homes (*inge*) and handled as problems of the entire organization, thus involving the imperial connections of the *monzeki*. During the dispute in Osaka in Tenmei 4 (1784), the Honzan-ha Shugen leader (*kumigashira*) made many appeals to Shōgo-in through the houses associated with the temple (*inge* 院家), and in Tenmei 6 (1786) the Shōgo-in headquarters sent a written statement directly to the shogunate Office of Temples and Shrines [in Edo], thus publicly declaring its official position on the divination disputes. Shōgo-in then ordered its Shugen followers to contact Shōgo-in rather than respond individually whenever a dispute concerning divination arose. The Tōzan-ha, in contrast, did not respond directly as an organization. As a result the Tōzan-ha Shugen followers had to respond individually, and were defeated by the strategy of the *onmyōji*.

Another important difference between the organizations of the Tōzan-ha and the Honzan-ha related to internal structure. Traditionally (since the Heian period) the Tōzan-ha supervised the twelve Shōdai Sendatsu 十二正大先達, each of which had authority over the yamabushi in their own local district. Since the proclamation of the Shugen Law (*Shugen hattō* 修験法度) in Keichō 18 (1613), however, when Daigo Sanbō-in was identified as the headquarters (*tōryō* 棟梁) of the Tōzan-ha, the Tōzan-ha took on “a complicated two-tiered structure of authority” (see MIYAKE 1973, p. 272). Daigo Sanbō-in theoretically stood above the twelve Shōdai Sendatsu, but in fact each of the twelve *sendatsu* controlled the appointments of ranks in their respective districts. The Honzan-ha, by contrast, was an umbrella organization in which Shōgo-in controlled the powerful local Shugen leaders, “taking the form of a bloc authority” (MIYAKE 1973, p. 106). With Shōgo-in at its head, the Honzan-ha built up a strong organization of branch temples throughout the country under their direct control. The differences between the two organizations in their responses to the divination disputes reflect somewhat these differences of historical development and organizational structure.

I have discussed to some extent the organizational differences between the Honzan-ha and the Tōzan-ha, but the dispute of Bunka 7 (1810) reveals another important difference, i.e., the difference between the Edo and Osaka/Kyoto areas in their religious governance. The dispute brought up by the *onmyōji* in Edo began with them bringing suit at the shogunate Office of Temples and Shrines against

Shugen members who performed “unauthorized” divination, and in Edo most of the decisions were favorable to the *onmyōji*. In Osaka, on the other hand, the Honzan-ha Shugen leaders appealed to Shōgo-in through the branch temples, thus prompting a deep involvement by the *buke densō* to resolve the dispute. As we saw above with regard to the dispute of Bunka 7 (1810), the Honzan-ha not only responded as an organization, but also took advantage of the political structure with regard to religious issues in the Osaka/Kyoto areas. The differences in resolution of the disputes of Meiwa 7 (1770) and Bunka 7 (1810) are outlined in Charts 1 and 2. The most important point is that the latter dispute was resolved through negotiations between the two main parties.

The disputes over divination were forcibly instigated in Edo by the *onmyōji* leaders, and pursued with intense ardor. The disputes originated in Edo, but later spread to Osaka, as reflected in the statement by the *onmyōji* who started the dispute in Bunka 4 (1807) that “we should do as they have done in Edo.” However, in Edo the shogunate Office of Temples and Shrines was the major decision-maker, whereas in the Osaka/Kyoto area the dispute was handled in turn by the respective



headquarters of the parties involved, the *buke densō*, and the local shogunate offices (*machi bugyō*). In the dispute of Bunka 7 (1810), the *buke densō* took the helm to guide the results in a way favorable to Shōgo-in, and the issue was resolved through a negotiated settlement. The *buke densō* could not but be influenced by the much higher official ranking and social status of the “first-rate” (*ippon shin’no* 一品親王) Shōgo-in Monzeki compared to that of the “second-rate” (*jige ni-i* 地下二位) Tsuchimikado family, and it is not surprising that they acted to bring about a settlement favorable to the aristocratic order. Bakufu policy with regard to religious matters was supposed to be handled through the Office of Temples and Shrines and through negotiations with the leaders of the various religious sects. However, the settlement of Bunka 7-8 (1810-1811) involved a negotiated settlement by the individual parties involved in the dispute, with the *buke densō* taking the lead as mediator.

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