

The Tokugawa Shoguns and Onmyōdō

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Abstract

Onmyōdō was widely disseminated in Japan from around the tenth century. Astronomy, calendar making, yin-yang practices, and the allotment of time were under the jurisdiction of the Onmyōryō (Ministry of Yin-Yang), but Onmyōdō soon developed from a yin-yang practice into religious practice. Onmyōdō rituals were created in Japan under the influence of *kami* worship, Buddhism, and Daoism. The study of Onmyōdō was initially focused on activities performed within the aristocratic society, but increasingly new research is being conducted on the relationship between the military government (*bakufu*) and Onmyōdō. The interest in political history has encouraged the study of the different ways in which the shoguns of the Kamakura, Muromachi and Edo periods have utilized yin-yang practitioners (*onmyōji*) and conducted rituals. Source evidence suggests that Tokugawa shoguns were not afraid of astronomical irregularities (with the one exception of the fifth Shogun). During the rule of Tsunayoshi, a new calendar, created by Shibukawa Shunkai, made it possible to predict solar and lunar eclipses more accurately, and consequently people were no longer afraid of these phenomena. At the same time, the Tsuchimikado family was given official sanction to control the *onmyōji* of all provinces.

The title of this essay focuses on the Onmyōdō 陰陽道 of the Edo period (1600-1868), reflecting my own specialization as an historian of early modern Japan. The discussion articulated in the following five sections, however, addresses the topic of Onmyōdō in general and discusses the relation between Onmyōdō and the belief in stars throughout Japanese history.

Before starting on the main issue, I would like to discuss the relationship between astronomy and calendar in a comparative context. In European history, the relationship between astronomy and calendar was different to that in Japan. For example, the Gregorian calendar, created in the sixteenth century and presently used in most countries, was based on civil as much as astronomical requirements. In Japanese, as well as Chinese history, astronomy and calendar were regarded as two sides of the same coin, as suggested by the existence of the ancient term *tenmon*

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rekigaku 天文曆学, literally the study of astronomy and calendar.¹ I would like to consider the question of possible differences between Europe on the one hand, and China and Japan on the other, from two angles. Firstly, while China and Japan adopted a solar-lunar calendar, Europe used a solar calendar. Secondly, Chinese and Japanese emperors sought to understand the intentions of Heaven through astronomical signs, and possessed the authority to renew the calendar. Both astronomy and the renewal of calendar were the prerogative of the sovereign; they were the monopoly of the emperor. By contrast, calendars in Europe had no direct relation with kingship, their primary use including such matters as the agricultural cycle and ecclesiastical calendar.

I. Three lines of origin of Japanese astronomy

When thinking about astronomy and stars in Japan, we have to take into account three different lines of transmission of continental ideas and practises related to the stars, which defined different levels of interpretation and influence.

Firstly, the ruler of the early Japanese state under the Ritsuryō 律令 system (672-750), which was modelled after the Chinese state, was interested in observing the heavens and searching for Heaven's intention as much as his Chinese counterpart. In China, emperors ruled the country and their people according to the mandate of Heaven. Emperors, therefore, performed rituals to Heaven and were anxious about unusual astronomical phenomena (*tenpen* 天変), which they regarded as signs of warning.² Emperors had the special privilege of making a new calendar and distributing it to people under their control. To receive a calendar meant to be submitted to the rule of the emperor. In Japan, the ruler also continued to fear extraordinary astronomical occurrences and ordered his astronomers (*tenmon hakase* 天文博士) to report anything extraordinary that happened in the heavens. Nevertheless, Japan did not accept either

¹ Nakayama Shigeru 中山茂, *Nihon no tenmongaku* 日本の天文学 [Japanese Astronomy], Tokyo: 1972, pp. 16-23.

² Yabuuchi Kiyoshi 藪内清, 'Chūgoku no koyomi to sono shisōteki haikei 中国の曆とその思想的背景' [The Chinese Calendar and its Intellectual Background], in *Koyomi no hyakka jiten* 曆の百科事典 [Encyclopaedia of the Calendar], Koyomi no kai 曆の会 ed., Tokyo: 1986, pp. 70-74.

the idea of a dynastic change according to the mandate of Heaven or the custom of performing rituals to Heaven.

Secondly, Indian astrology was introduced to Japan through Buddhist scriptures. The horoscope, which included concepts such as the twenty-seven constellations (*shuku* 宿) and the twelve zodiacal signs (*kyū* 宮), became popular among the nobles of the Heian period (794-1185). Another type of astronomy called *Sukuyōdō* 宿曜道 was based on Indian astrology.³

Thirdly, Chinese-style worship of stars was introduced to Japan through Chinese literature. The Big Dipper and the Pole Star, in particular, were worshipped among the court nobles.

While the first level of interpretation of star-related ideas belonged to the ruler's public sphere, the second and the third levels were based on individual concerns. Although I propose these three levels of interpretation, which are useful for classification, we should be aware that each of these levels affects the others. For example, according to the *Engishiki* 延喜式, a tenth-century text on state rituals, yin-yang ritualists (*onmyōji* 陰陽師) were required to perform rituals to the personal star 本命星 of the emperor (that is, the star under which an emperor was born), in order to assure his safety. This role, however, was not contemplated under the *Ritsuryō* system.

II. Extraordinary occurrences in the heavens

According to the evidence supplied in historical records, astronomical phenomena which were regarded as unusual included:⁴

① Solar eclipse. This is a phenomenon that anyone can see clearly. The emperor as well as ordinary people feared it for long time. During a solar eclipse, the palace where the emperor lived was wrapped with straw mats. The shogun, too, took measures to prevent the negative influence of the eclipse. In the Edo period, high-rank officials used to call on the shogun at the Edo castle to pay their respect on the first day of each month (this

3 Yamashita Katsuaki 山下克明, *Heian jidai no shūkyō bunka to onmyōdō* 平安時代の宗教文化と陰陽道 [The Religious Culture and Onmyōdō in the Heian Period], Tokyo: 1996, pp. 319-360.

4 Kanda Shigeru 神田茂, *Nihon tenmon shiryō* 日本天文史料 [Historical Resources on Japanese Astronomy], Tokyo: 1935.

was a ceremony called *haiga* 拜賀). However, when there occurred a solar eclipse, the shogun shifted the time of the ceremony to avoid the dangers that were thought to be connected to a solar eclipse.

② Lunar eclipse. This, too, was an object of fear.

③ Moon occluding the stars.

④ Planets occluding the stars. This phenomenon is recorded, for instance, in the sixth month of 1384 and in the fifth month of 1419. In the first case, shogun Yoshimitsu 義満, fearing the overlapping of two stars, ordered monks to perform the ‘five platform ritual’ (*godan-hō* 五壇法).⁵ In the second case, shogun Yoshimochi 義持, a son of Yoshimitsu 義満, commissioned a ‘ritual to avoid natural calamities’ (*tenchi saihen sai* 天地災變祭).⁶ Source material shows that the overlapping of stars was interpreted as a sign of the earthquake that had occurred the month before.

⑤ Stars visible in the daytime rather than at night.

⑥ Shooting stars (*hikarimono* 光り物) and meteorites.

⑦ Comets and ‘visitor stars’ (*kakusei* 客星, i.e., a star that appears only temporarily). Fourteenth-century records suggest that these two stars were understood as being of the same type.⁷ The appearance of a comet indicated battles or disorders in the near future.

⑧ An ‘old person star’ (*rōninsei* 老人星). This is the name given to the main star in the Canopus constellation, which we can rarely see in the sky. This was thought to be a lucky star.

5 *Zoku shigushō* 続史愚抄 29, entry for June 23, 1384: 六月廿三日庚寅、為二星合祈、於左大臣義満、室町第、始行五壇法. In Kanda Shigeru, *Nihon tenmon shiryō*, p. 427.

6 *Zoku shigushō* 29, entry for May 27, 1419: 五月廿七日辛未、太白與歲星合、六月十一日甲申、為内大臣義持將軍、沙汰令行天地災變祭. In Kanda Shigeru, *Nihon tenmon shiryō*, p. 432.

7 *Daijōin nikki mokuroku* 大乘院日記目錄, entry for February 1, 1362: 二月、彗星出現、客星同、客星ハ用明天皇御宇、守屋仏法亡時出来、以後至今年十四ケ度、其内二度ハ祥瑞無之、十二ケ度ハ大凶也. In Kanda Shigeru, *Nihon tenmon shiryō*, p. 559.

We can classify the phenomena listed above in two types. One type consists of the solar and lunar eclipses, which were indicated on the calendar. Everyone could see an eclipse when it happened, and the astronomers were held responsible when an eclipse that had been predicted did not occur. In the Edo period, the Tsuchimikado family 土御門家 of astronomers was severely accused by the bakufu 幕府 because unusual phenomena, which had not been recorded in the calendar, occurred suddenly. The Tsuchimikado accepted responsibility and, as a consequence, lost their position as the makers of the new calendar.⁸

The second type of unusual astronomical occurrence consisted of those phenomena that were not indicated on the calendar. When these phenomena occurred, usually at night, the astronomers were required to observe them and to report to the ruler, whether the emperor or the shogun. The ruler would then order Buddhist monks or Onmyōdō specialists to perform rituals in order to avoid ominous consequences. The Tokugawa shoguns did not care much about unusual phenomena, with one exception, which I shall discuss later.⁹ However, in the Edo period, the Tsuchimikado continued to report on unusual astronomic phenomena to the emperor as they had done before.

III. Four divisions within the Onmyōryō

Let me now outline some basic features of Onmyōdō practice throughout its history. It is not easy to define Onmyōdō, because there are different opinions among scholars on what it included. My definition is that Onmyōdō is a range of magico-religious practices that at the start were performed by officers of a specific governmental office called Onmyōdō 陰陽寮 (Ministry of Yin and Yang), and gradually were performed by other practitioners as well. The formation of Onmyōdō is linked to the Ritsuryō 律令 system and its transformation in the Heian period.

There were four divisions in the Ministry of Yin and Yang.¹⁰

8 Hirose Hideo 広瀬秀雄, *Koyomi* 曆 [Calendar], Tokyo: 1978, pp. 86-87.

9 Hayashi Makoto 林淳, 'Ōken to onmyōdō 王権と陰陽道' [Kingship and Onmyōdō], in Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦 et. al, ed., *Kōza tennō to ōken o kangaeru* 講座天皇と王権を考える [Lectures on Rethinking Emperor and Kingship], vol. 5, Tokyo: 2002, pp. 97-117.

10 Yamashita, *Heian jidai no shūkyō bunka to onmyōdō*, pp. 26-29.

The first division was the Department of Calendar. Originally experts in calendars (*koyomi hakase* 曆博士) made new calendars every year and presented them to the emperor, who distributed them to government officials all over the country. This custom came from China. However, such distribution systems collapsed during the Heian period because upper class nobles wanted to get their calendars directly from the makers without passing through the distribution system.¹¹ Furthermore, no renewal of calendar occurred from the mid-Heian period until 1684, because the officials in charge of the calendar lacked the ability to make the necessary calculations and the general knowledge needed for remaking a calendar.

The second division of the Onmyōryō was the Department of Astronomy. Astronomers continued to report unusual occurrences in the heavens to the emperor until the end of the Edo period. This report was called *tenmon-mittsō* 天文密奏. In the Kamakura and Muromachi periods (1185-1573) the shoguns also required yin-yang specialists to report unusual phenomena in the heavens. Other members of the ruling parties such as the Regents (*sekken* 摂関) and the Retired Emperors (*in* 院), too, must have been anxious about these phenomena and wanted to get information about their occurrence. Therefore, concern about astronomical changes spread gradually to the entire ruling class.

The third division of the Onmyōryō was the Department of Time-keeping (*rōkoku* 漏刻). The function of this department, however, disappeared at the end of the Heian period.

Finally, the fourth division was the Department of Yin-yang (*onmyō* 陰陽), which was responsible for divination and rituals. Yin-yang specialists (*onmyōji*) performed various types of divination, offered advice to the ruler on propitious days for rituals and on directional taboos (日時勘申), and performed Onmyōdō rituals. During the Heian period established lineages of yin-yang specialists, such as the Kamo 賀茂 and Abe 安倍, created various rituals which were influenced by kami worship, Buddhism and Taoism.¹²

11 Ibid, pp. 239-260.

12 Ibid, pp. 53-54.

IV. Recent directions in Onmyōdō studies

The recent study of Onmyōdō has developed in two areas. Firstly, a new answer has emerged to the question: ‘What is Onmyōdō?’ Shūichi Murayama, the pioneer of Onmyōdō studies, defined it as ‘a popular belief that evolved in ancient China,’ and searched for its origin in China.¹³ However, Murayama’s claim has been proven to be not very convincing. To start with, the term ‘Onmyōdō’ did not exist in China. Furthermore, as Katsuaki Yamashita has pointed out, Onmyōdō was widely disseminated in Japan from around the tenth century. Astronomy, calendar making, yin-yang practices, and the allotment of time were under the jurisdiction of the Onmyōryō (Ministry of Yin and Yang), but Onmyōdō developed from a yin-yang practice into a religious practice.¹⁴ Onmyōdō rituals were created in Japan under the influences of *kami* worship, Buddhism, and Taoism.

Secondly, while the study of Onmyōdō initially focused on the practices performed within aristocratic society, new research has increasingly been carried out on the relationship between the military government and Onmyōdō. The interest in political history has encouraged the study of the ways in which the bakufu of the Kamakura, Muromachi and Edo periods utilized Onmyōdō specialists and had rituals conducted by them.¹⁵ Although Onmyōdō has so far been studied from the point of view of history of religion or cultural history, recent research is concerned with its political dimension.

V. Shoguns and Onmyōdō

In line with this research trend, I would like to compare the policies concerning Onmyōdō which were undertaken by three military governments, the Kamakura, Muromachi and Edo bakufu (鎌倉幕府、室町幕府、江戸幕府). To review the history of these relations from the twelfth to the nineteenth century may seem too ambitious a project. However, there is some value in attempting it, as no one has undertaken such an analysis so far. As I am not a specialist in Onmyōdō in medieval

13 Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, *Nihon onmyōji shiwa* 日本陰陽道史話 [An Historical Account of Onmyōdō in Japan], Osaka: 1987, p. 3.

14 Yamashita, *Heian jidai no shūkyō bunka to onmyōdō*, p. 2.

15 Hayashi Makoto 林淳 and Koike Junichi 小池淳一 ed., *Onmyōdō no kōgi* 陰陽道の講義 [Lectures on Onmyōdō], Kyoto: 2002, pp. 359-361.

times, I will refer to studies by other scholars with regard to these periods.

① *Kamakura period (1192-1333)*

The Kamakura shoguns invited *onmyōji* from the Abe lineage to Kamakura at the time of the third shogun, Sanetomo 実朝 (r. 1203-1219). The fourth shogun came directly from an aristocratic family based in Kyoto, and during his ruling the court culture of Kyoto increasingly penetrated the bakufu. In this period, together with priests who performed esoteric Buddhist rituals, *onmyōji* carried out rituals in order to protect the body of the shogun as well as to prevent the ill effects of unusual natural phenomena and diseases.¹⁶

② *Muromachi period (1336-1573)*

The Tsuchimikado family 土御門家, descendant of the Abe, was suddenly appointed as *onmyōji* at the service of the shogunate at the time of the third shogun, Yoshimitsu 義満 (r. 1368-1394). Before him, former shoguns had not shown much interest in Onmyōdō. As Yoshimitsu tried to deprive the emperor of his authority and sovereignty, he established new national rituals in opposition to the kami rituals performed by the emperor.¹⁷ This shogun commissioned both Esoteric Buddhist liturgies to the Shōgoin 聖護院 monks, affiliated to the Tendai Jimon school, and Onmyōdō rituals to the Tsuchimikado family, to be performed simultaneously every month.¹⁸ They became the biggest state-related religious ceremonies during the Muromachi bakufu. After Yoshimitsu, these ceremonies were no longer performed, but astronomers continued to report on auspicious days and directional taboos. I would like to point out that in the Muromachi era these reports were presented to the shogun directly and prior to being seen by the emperors.

16 Yanagihara Toshiyasu 柳原敏昭, 'Muromachi jidai no onmyōdō' 室町時代の陰陽道' [Onmyōdō in Muromachi period], in Hayashi and Koike ed., *Onmyōdō no kōgi*, pp. 123-140.

17 Imatani Akira 今谷明, *Muromachi no ōken* 室町の王権 [Kingship in the Muromachi], Tokyo: 1990, pp. 34-52.

18 Yanagihara, *Onmyōdō*, pp. 127-132.

③ *Edo period (1603-1867)*

The Edo bakufu was different from the Kamakura or Muromachi bakufu. Firstly, Tokugawa shoguns no longer surround themselves as Onmyōdō specialists or *gojisō* 護持僧 (the personal monks in charge of the protection of the ruler).¹⁹ Judging from the statements of the second shogun, Hidetada 秀忠 (r. 1605-1623), the Tokugawa rulers did not fear astronomical irregularities.²⁰ The Edo bakufu no longer required the Tsuchimikado family to present their reports on the situation in the heavens. The fifth shogun, Tsunayoshi 綱吉 (r. 1680-1709), was an exceptional case. He was deeply influenced by Esoteric Buddhism and Chinese astrological thought and, like the medieval shoguns, was afraid of unusual astronomical phenomena. Contemporary sources such as the diary of his religious counsellor, the high priest Ryūkō, record that, for instance, on the first day of the first month of 1700, which the calendar indicated as a day of eclipse, he summoned monks from various temples to perform rituals and avoid the ill influences of the eclipse.²¹

In general, the Tokugawa shoguns no longer requested reports on auspicious days and directional taboos from the yin-yang specialists. It is evident that the importance of Onmyōdō declined in the Edo period when compared to the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. However, this does

19 Hayashi Makoto, 'Ōken to onmyōdō,' pp. 516-7.

20 *Tokugawa Hidetada no kotoba* 徳川秀忠の言葉, in *Tokugawa jikki* 徳川実紀 2, p. 293: 人々よく考へみよ。大空の中にかかる一星が出て。其兆は何くの国にあたるなどいふは児童の見なれ。善悪とも天に現るほどならば。世人なにをもてのがるべきと仰られて。少しも御懸念の様おはしまさざれば。いづれも安意せしとぞ。

21 *Ryūjō sōjō nikki* 隆正僧正日記 2, entry for 1 January 1700: 正月朔日、曆ニ云、日蝕二分半、卯辰時云々。今日之蝕ニ付、旧冬御祈祷被仰付。覺王院、護国寺、觀理院、靈雲寺、根生院、当時、山王神主、以上七人各抽丹精。当寺ニ而ハ、極月十六日一字金輪法始行。今日日蝕之時迄五十ヶ座修之。In Ōsaki Seiji 大崎正次, *Kinsei nihon tenmon shiryō* 近世日本天文史料 [Historical Resources on Japanese Astronomy in the Edo period], Tokyo: 1994, p. 26. [The author of this diary, Ryūkō (official title: Ryūjō sōjō), was a high cleric of the Shingī Shingon school, who acted as a guardian monk (*gojisō*) of the Tokugawa house. He was commissioned the rituals by Tsunayoshi. *Ed.*]

not mean that the Tokugawa shoguns did not use Onmyōdō at all. At the time of the ceremony of the appointment of a new shogun, the Tsuchimikado family performed a specific ritual to protect the body of the shogun called *migakame* 身固め. Moreover, the Tsuchimikado sent messengers to the Edo castle for the spring purification that took place on the *mi no hi* day in March (called *minohi no harai* 巳日の祓い), and the summer purification on the last day of June (called *nagoshi no harai* 名越の祓い). The calendar specialist Shibukawa Shunkai 渋川春海 and the Tsuchimikado cooperated in the renewal of the calendar that was ordered by the Edo bakufu.²² However, the most important point in the relation between the government and this family of Onmyōdō specialists is perhaps the fact that the Tsuchimikado were permitted by the shogun to control the many independent *onmyōji* living in towns and villages, and this resulted in the formation of an *onmyōji* organization.²³

Having compared the policies towards Onmyōdō carried out by the Kamakura, Muromachi and Edo bakufu, we can summarize the situation as follows. (Please also consult the comparative table included below.) No all shogunal governments adopted Onmyōdō from the beginning. It took quite a while before the bakufu became stable, and it was only then that yin-yang specialists were employed. During the stable periods the bakufu developed an admiration for the aristocratic culture represented by Kyoto. In the case of shogun Yoshimitsu, he completely assimilated courtly culture and lived like an aristocrat. The medieval shogunates introduced the Onmyōdō used at court as it was and, in the occasion of unusual astronomic phenomena and illness of the shoguns, requested Onmyōdō specialists to perform their rites alongside with esoteric Buddhist monks performing their own rituals, as a liturgical set. Whereas in the medieval period the shoguns asked the *onmyōji* to report on auspicious days and inform them on astrological events, in the Edo

22 Hayashi Makoto 林淳, 'Igo to tenmon 囲碁と天文' [The Game of Go and Astronomy], in Ōsumi Kazuo 大隅和雄 ed., *Bunkashi no shosō* 文化史の諸相, Tokyo: 2003, pp. 258-260.

23 Hayashi Makoto, 'Ōken to onmyōdō,' pp. 511-4. In English see also Hayashi Makoto, 'Tokugawa-Period Disputes between Shugen Organizations and Onmyōji over Rights to Practice Divination,' *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21/2-3 (1994), pp. 167-189. (Available also on-line from <http://www.nanzan-u.ac.jp/SHUBUNKEN/publications/jjrs/>)

period, apart from a single case, the Tokugawa shoguns did not require the Tsuchimikado to fulfil these duties nor did they commission specific rituals. Instead, the shoguns attempted to use the Tsuchimikado expertise for the renewal of the calendar, and to control *onmyōji* countrywide. These facts suggest that the shoguns no longer feared unusual phenomena and taboos related to time, nor trusted the magical effect of Onmyōdō rituals.

V. Characteristics of the early-modern type of Onmyōdō

As I have mentioned above, the Tsuchimikado dispatched messengers to the Edo castle for the spring and summer purifications, and presented the shoguns with the ritual paper dolls used to take away impurities (*nademono* 撫物), but this took place not by direct order of the shoguns but rather by their silent approval. In the occasion of the appointment of a new shogun, too, the Tsuchimikado performed a ritual to the officers of hell (*tensō chifusai* 天曹地府際), but they did this at their own residence and voluntarily, with the bakufu no more than tacitly consenting to it.

Does this mean that in the early modern period Onmyōdō became of no use for the Tokugawa bakufu? If we look at the situation considering those aspects of the yin-yang specialists' activity such as the performance of rites and the prediction of auspicious days and astronomical irregularities, then we can say that Onmyōdō was not at all indispensable to the Tokugawa bakufu. Yet the Tokugawa bakufu tried to make use of the official duties of the Tsuchimikado family in their quality of Onmyōdō specialists. Firstly, when the renewal of the calendar, which had not occurred for more than 800 years, took place at the beginning of the Jōkyō 貞享 era (1684), the Edo bakufu entrusted the task to Shibukawa Shunkai but, because the remaking of the calendar originally fell under the authority of the court, the bakufu eventually decided to employ the Tsuchimikado as well, who were at the head of yin-yang specialists. Secondly, with an official document of the shogun Tsunayoshi dated the third year of the Tenna era (1683), the bakufu licensed the Tsuchimikado family to control all yin-yang specialists country-wide. All sorts of religious practitioners and entertainers could obtain the status of *onmyōji* by coming under the control of the Tsuchimikado. This was a turning point in the history of Onmyōdō, one which marks the passage from the medieval to an early modern type of Onmyōdō.

The Tsuchimikado of the early modern period personally claimed to serve the religious needs of the court and the warriors, but the bakufu for its part had little awareness of it. On the other hand, the end of the early

modern Onmyōdō was marked by the decree of abolition of Tensha Shintō (another name by which the Tsuchimikado organization was known at the time) issued on the third year of the Meiji period (1870). It was enforced as part of the elimination of religionists implemented by the Meiji government. Such policies have so far been explained as intended to eradicate false creeds and evil spirits, but in fact the crucial question was the abolition of long-established prerogatives that concerned the Edo bakufu. Therefore this is a matter that needs to be explained in connection to the institution of family registers, together with other policies such as the abrogation of the status of monks. Early modern Onmyōdō was formed at the moment at which the social position and responsibilities of the *onmyōji* were officially recognized by the bakufu. It came to its conclusion when the Meiji government abolished the prerogatives granted to the *onmyōji* by the bakufu. The historical and epochal significance of early modern Onmyōdō lies in the fact that the Tsuchimikado obtained permission from the bakufu to exercise control over all yin-yang specialists, and this was instrumental to create the status and role of the *onmyōji*.

Historical table of the relation between the Shogunates and Onmyōdō

	Shogun	Activities of yin-yang specialists on behalf of the shogunate
Kamakura bakufu (1192-1333)	The first shogun, Yoritomo 頼朝, has no interest in Onmyōdō.	
	At the time of the third shogun, Sanetomo 実朝, <i>onmyōji</i> of the Abe family are invited to Kamakura.	Onmyōdō rituals are performed alongside Esoteric practices.
	After Sanetomo, aristocratic lineages also accede to the position of shogun.	Onmyōji report on auspicious date and time and on astronomical irregularities.
Muromachi bakufu (1336-1573)	Both the first shogun, Takauji 尊氏, and the second, Yoshiakira 義詮, show no interest in Onmyōdō	

	<p>The third shogun, Yoshimitsu 義満, selects Abe Ariyo 安倍有世</p>	<p>Once a month Onmyōdō rituals are performed together with Esoteric rituals, as a national event.</p> <p>Reports on auspicious date and time.</p> <p>Reports on astronomical irregularities.</p>
	<p>From the time of the fourth shogun, Yoshimochi 義持</p>	<p>The shogunate ends the performance of <i>onmyōji</i> rituals as national events.</p> <p>Reports on auspicious date and time and on astronomical irregularities continue to be produced.</p>
Edo bakufu (1603-1867)	<p>The first shogun, Ieyasu 家康</p> <p>The second shogun, Hidetada 秀忠, does not fear astronomical irregularities.</p>	<p><i>Onmyōji</i> perform protective rituals at the accession ceremony of the shogun and regularly bring amulets to the shogun.</p> <p>No reports on auspicious dates and time or on astronomical irregularities are requested.</p>
	<p>The fifth shogun, Tsunayoshi 綱吉</p>	<p>The shogunate issues a license to the Tsuchimikado to control <i>onmyōji</i> countrywide. (1683)</p> <p>The renewal of the calendar is carried out by Shibukawa and the Tsuchimikado. (1684)</p> <p>A report on astronomical irregularities is requested to</p>

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		<p>Shibukawa. This prompts the shogun to commission Buddhist ritual prayers.</p> <p>The law of compassion towards animals (<i>shōrui awaremi no rei</i> 生類憐みの令) is issued (1685)</p>
	<p>From the time of the sixth shogun, Ienobu 家宣</p>	<p><i>Onmyōji</i> regularly bring amulets to the shogun but the shogunate pays little attention to Onmyōdō.</p> <p>Western astronomy is introduced.</p>