The Nissan Institute/Routledge Japanese Studies Series

Other titles in the series include:
The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness, *Peter Dale*
A History of Japanese Economic Thought, *Tessa Morris-Suzuki*
The Establishment of the Japanese Constitutional System, *Junji Banno, translated by J.A.A. Stockwin*
Industrial Relations in Japan: the Peripheral Workforce, *Norma Chalmers*
Education Reform in Japan, *Leonard Schoppa*
How the Japanese Learn to Work, *Ronald P. Dore and Mari Sako*
Japanese Economic Development: Theory and Practice, *Penelope Francks*
Britain's Educational Reform: a Comparison with Japan, *Mike Howarth*
Language and the Modern State: the Reform of Written Japanese, *Nanette Twine*
Industrial Harmony in Modern Japan: the Invention of a Tradition, *W. Dean Kinzley*
The Japanese Numbers Game: the Use and Understanding of Numbers in Modern Japan, *Thomas Crump*
Ideology and Practice in Modern Japan, *Roger Goodman and Kirsten Refsing*
Technology and Industrial Development in Pre-War Japan, *Yukiko Fukasaku*
Japan's Early Parliaments 1890–1905, Andrew Fraser, *R.H.P. Mason and Philip Mitchell*
Japan's Foreign Aid Challenge, *Alan Rix*
Emperor Hirohito and Showa Japan, *Stephen S. Large*
Japan: Beyond the End of History, *David Williams*
Ceremony and Ritual in Japan: Religious Practices in an Industrialized Society, *Jan van Breman and D.P. Martinez*
Understanding Japanese Society: Second Edition, *Joy Hendry*
Militarization and Demilitarization in Contemporary Japan, *Glenn D. Hook*
Growing a Japanese Science City, *James Dearing*
Democracy in Post-war Japan, *Rikki Kersten*

Architecture and Authority in Japan

William H. Coaldrake

ROUTLEDGE
London and New York

seventeenth-century Edo. The Tokugawa palace at Kyoto not only represents those Edo palaces destroyed by fire; it anticipated and undoubtedly influenced the style in which the palace of Edo Castle was to be rebuilt a decade later. In 1637 Iemitsu commissioned the complete rebuilding of the Honmaru Palace, a rather simple building dating to 1604–1607, at the same time as he ordered the Kōra to rebuild the *tenshu* built for Hidetada. None of these buildings survives except in memory, but today at Nijō Castle we may still see, indeed experience, the effects of the full panoply of Tokugawa architectural devices designed to convince and coerce as well as to amaze and inspire.

At Nijō Castle, as eloquent as it seems effortless, we can find demonstated the quintessential Tokugawa art of psychological intimidation using architecture as the tool. Simultaneously the Tokugawa were adept at avoiding any implications that might be unfortunate for their own government. While the transoms of gateway and entrance are full of didactic images of sages exercising good government, there is not a single sage visible within the formal audience chambers of the palace to invoke any awkward reminders of the responsibility of government to the governed.

Tokugawa Mausolea 7

Intimations of Immortality and the Architecture of Posthumous Authority

At the same time as the Tokugawa were establishing a working definition of their authority in relation to the power of the daimyo below and the prerogatives of the imperial institution above, they sought to elevate the temporal powers at their command to the plane of spiritual authority. This is a strategy now familiar to us from study of Emperor Shōmu with Tōdaiji and Nobunaga with Azuchi Castle. The key to this theocratic strategy was architectural, even more manifest than it was in relation to the daimyo and the court, for it is in dealing with the divine that architecture most convincingly makes tangible that which is intangible. The construction of spectacular mausolea, dedicated to their predecessors in shogunal office, offered the Tokugawa family a religious means to the secular end of enhancing the political legitimacy of its government.

Funerary monuments ranging from the Egyptian pyramids to Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II, and from the Ming tombs to the Tokugawa mausolea, have served both spiritual and secular ends. This is further evidence of the inappropriateness of making modern distinctions between the secular and the sacred when analysing authority. The Tokugawa were able to exploit fully the political advantage of paying pious homage to the deceased in order to sanctify the power of the living by an unprecedented programme of mausoleum construction. The Tokugawa mausolea, or *reibyō*, created an aura of divine authority around the Tokugawa shogunate, in particular the founding shogun Ieyasu who was now elevated to the status of a Shinto deity and worshipped at a special shrine dedicated to his spirit. Ieyasu's deathbed wish was that 'his remains were to be interred at Mt Kunō, the funeral rites to be offered at Zōjōji . . . and, after the passing of one full year, a small hall was to be built at Nikkō. The shogun's will is that he thus become the tutelary deity of Japan (*Yashima no chinju*).'[1] Ieyasu's last will and testament was drafted with the advice of those present at his last audience, particularly his religious advisers, Sūden, abbot of Konchiin at Nanzenji, and Tenkai, abbot of Rinnōji, the Tendai sect temple at Nikkō. However, it was not until the reign of the third shogun Iemitsu that mausoleum construction was to assume its special character and significance to the shogunate.

Two mausolea were of preeminent political importance to the apotheosis of Tokugawa authority, namely, the Taitokuin Reibyō, which inaugurated Iemitsu's personal rule, and the Nikkō Tōshōgū, with which it culminated. The Taitokuin mausoleum was dedicated to the second Tokugawa shogun

Hidetada, and built in 1632 by his successor Iemitsu at Shiba in Edo, while the Tōshōgū, dedicated to the founding shogun Ieyasu, was completely rebuilt under the direction of Iemitsu in 1634–1636. With these two projects the Tokugawa compulsion to build architectural monuments to its own authority became a magnificent obsession.

It is necessary to study the two mausolea projects in relation to each other because there was a natural progression in architectural style, building organisation and Tokugawa ideology between them. The Nikkō Tōshōgū is probably the best known but least understood work of Japanese architecture. The Modernists' dislike of ornamentation had the unfortunate scholarly consequence of academic neglect of Nikkō, while the destruction of the Taitokuin Reibyō in 1945 by Allied bombing divorced Nikkō from its true architectural lineage and political succession. The authority of the Tōshōgū emanates from the architecture and political circumstances of the Taitokuin mausoleum. It is appropriate to say *kekkō* at Nikkō only after making proper intellectual obeisance at Shiba.

The Taitokuin Mausoleum

The Taitokuin mausoleum was situated on the southeastern side of the precincts of Zōjōji, the Tokugawa family temple at Shiba. The main construction was completed in less than a year, a feat of some significance for a project of such complexity.

'Taitokuin' was the priestly name Hidetada adopted when he resigned as shogun in 1622. It is a Buddhist name meaning 'the eminence of virtue'. It suggested that henceforth he would abjure involvement in the affairs of this world, though in reality this was far from the case. After his death a decade later, Hidetada's mausoleum took his religious name.

The general architectural form and many of the decorative details of the Taitokuin mausoleum may be reconstructed from the *Edozu byōbu*, the official records compiled at the time of construction, and from a technical survey completed before the destruction of the site during World War II. In addition several of the gateways which guarded the approaches to the mausoleum are extant today, but in locations far removed in space and spirit from their original position. Each of these sources furnishes invaluable information about the lost buildings, but each has its own limitations.

The pair of six-fold screens of the *Edozu byōbu* provide a panoramic view of the site as it must have existed in the seventeenth century (Figure 7.1). The left screen shows the Taitokuin complex, in a great panoply of splendour, lying to the immediate left of the principal buildings of the Zōjōji. The main building consists of three separate but physically integrated structures: the Haiden, or worship hall at the front, linked by an enclosed chamber known as the Ainoma (the 'in-between room') or Ishinoma (because of the stone flagging originally used for the floor) to the Honden, or main hall at the rear. This complicated building mode is known as *gongen-zukuri*, a term wished upon us long after the creation of the architectural form to which it refers.[2] Structurally it was based on the Buddhist temple hall, with strong

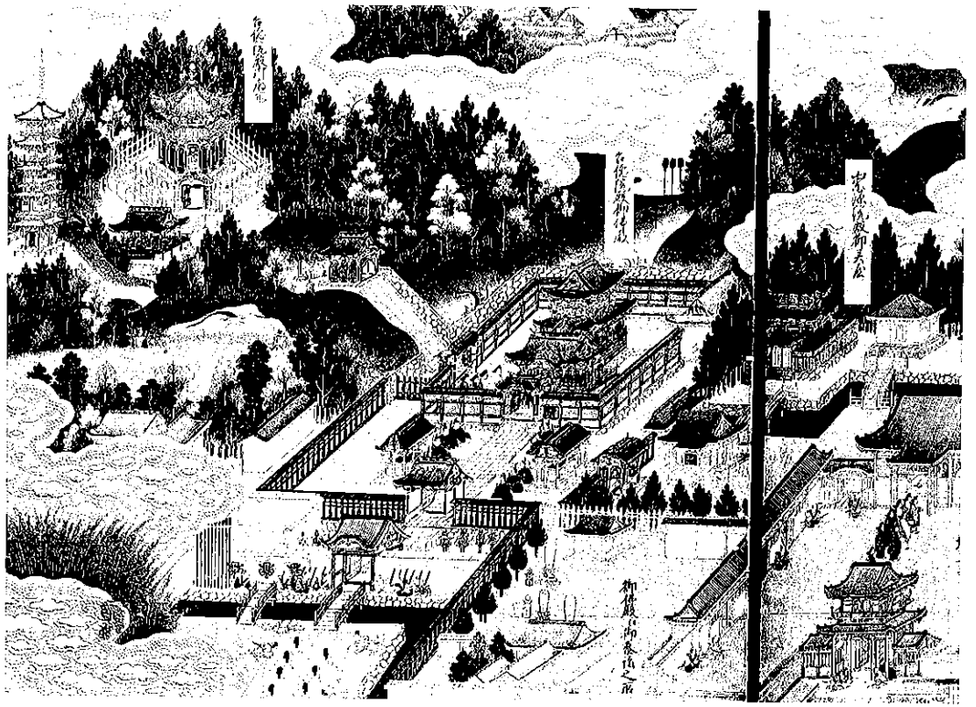

Fig 7.1 *Edozu byōbu.* Pair of six-fold screens. Detail of left screen showing Taitokuin mausoleum (Courtesy of National Museum of Japanese History, Sakura)

timber-framing and multiple-arm cantilevered bracket sets supporting the eaves, but stylistically it was based on Shinto architecture. It was a shrine where Shinto rites were conducted and the arrangement of structures was based on the Hachiman shrine form which originated in the Nara period.[3] Buildings such as the Usa Hachimangū in Kyushu, an Edo-period rebuilding of a Nara-period shrine, show its features clearly, with the main hall and worship hall set parallel to each other. The Haiden was used for performance of the various ceremonies connected with the worship at the shrine. The space between the buildings covered by the roof overhead was gradually incorporated into the ritual space of the interior. The composite structure thereby created was eventually appropriated as a mausoleum building.

The Taitokuin, as depicted in the *Edozu byōbu*, unmistakably displays the characteristics of this style. The Honden is a two-roofed structure which towers over the Haiden at the front with its elaborately intersecting roof planes; the Haiden and Honden are each covered by a hip-gable roof abutting a simple gable roof over the Ishinoma. A small 'lean-to' roof (*kōhai*) is set above the main steps at the front of the Haiden to protect from the elements worshippers making simple oblations. The eaves' line is accentuated by a gracefully flowing cusped gable (*karahafu*). The walls and gables are bedecked with gold and there is a profusion of polychrome sculptural ornament beneath the upper-level eaves of the Honden. From the depiction in the *Edozu byōbu* it is clear that this was a building of such size and

splendour that it was rivalled in Edo only by the castle keep itself and the most important palaces at the centre of the city.

Walls and gates set the Taitokuin precincts apart from the city to the south and the Zōjōji to the east. The main southern approach is shown as guarded by a moat and high wall. A second wall of wooden palings and protective roof subdivides the grounds into two courtyards, while a delicately latticed wall with a cypress-bark roof protects the inner sanctum. Gateways, each distinct in character, stand watch at each of these walls. The gateway in the outer wall has a tiled roof with a *karahafu* set into its front eaves to greet the visitor and warn the intruder. The next gateway, providing entry through the paling wall, has a cypress-shingle roof, indicating a more private mood, but it is crowned by a ridge-pole decorated with gold-inlaid lacquer to heighten the sense of impending majesty of the inner sanctum. The third and most inner gateway, set into the latticed wall before the Haiden steps, is decorated by *karahafu* at both front and sides, a virtuoso technical performance by carpenters and roof-shinglers which provides an unprecedented rhetorical flourish to the entry to the inner precinct. Only at the Tōshōgū of Nikkō may a gateway of similar curvilinear exuberance be found.

It is clear from the disposition of walls and gateways shown in the painting that access to the mausoleum was restricted to a privileged few. Outside the main entrance sit the servants and dignitaries accompanying some shogunal visitor. The mausoleum precincts are virtually deserted except for some dozen figures in distinguished garb, surely high-ranking shogunal retainers, sitting outside the inner precinct, and four white-clad figures, presumably priestly acolytes, in attendance beside the steps of the Haiden. All that would have been visible of the mausoleum to the humble populace of Edo were the outer wall and gateway, and the upper storey of the Honden, which doubtless explains the rhetorical crescendo it reaches in the decoration of its elevated eaves and ridge. This glimpse would have been sufficient, however, to excite the imagination and sharpen the sense of status separation between shogunal plane and commoner.

On the rising ground to the left of the main complex there stands an octagonal two-storey hall with gateways and subsidiary building in front. A five-storey pagoda is located further to the left. Minor buildings are also shown in the main part of the complex while another mausoleum, similar in style but smaller in scale, is situated immediately adjacent to the east boundary wall. Altogether the Taitokuin Reibyō is strikingly similar to the Nikkō mausoleum, from the general organisation of the various precincts to the architectural character of the elaborately decorated *gongen-zukuri* buildings, including details such as the multiple *karahafu* on the inner gateway.

A report published in 1934 by the Tokyo City Government, based on a comprehensive survey of the mausoleum complex as it stood at Shiba a decade prior to its destruction,[4] is the most reliable source for evaluating the accuracy of the depiction of the Taitokuin complex in the *Edozu byōbu*. This survey includes extensive technical descriptions, photographs, site plans, and measured elevations of the main *gongen* building. It was compiled under the supervision of Tanabe Yasushi, then an Associate Professor at Waseda University.[5]

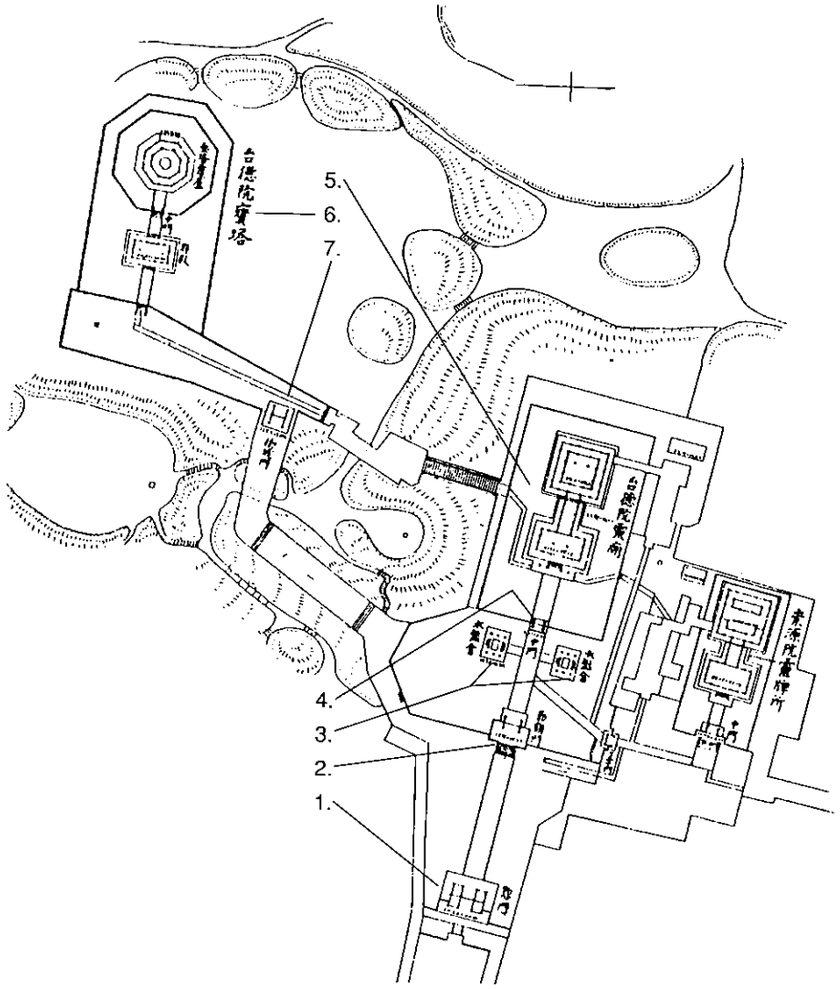

Fig 7.2
Plan of Taitokuin mausoleum prior to destruction in 1945
(Source: Tōkyō-fu (ed.) *Tōkyō-fu shiseki hozonbutsu hōkokusho*, vol. 11)

1. Sōmon (main outer gateway)
2. Chokugakumon (second or 'imperial inscription' gateway)
3. Suibansha (sacred ablutions pavilions)
4. Chūmon (inner gateway)
5. Main building
6. Okuin (inner precinct)
7. Onarimon (gateway for shogunal visitation)

The detailed site plan in the Tanabe report clearly identifies by name the buildings shown in the painting (Figure 7.2). The gateways are identified as the Sōmon or main outer gateway, the Chokugakumon or second gateway, and the Chūmon or inner gateway. These *mon* are aligned axially and orientated eastwards. Two *suibansha*, or sacred ablution pavilions, flank the approach between the second and inner gateway. Unfortunately Tanabe's plan does not incorporate a scale but, judging by the dimensions of the main

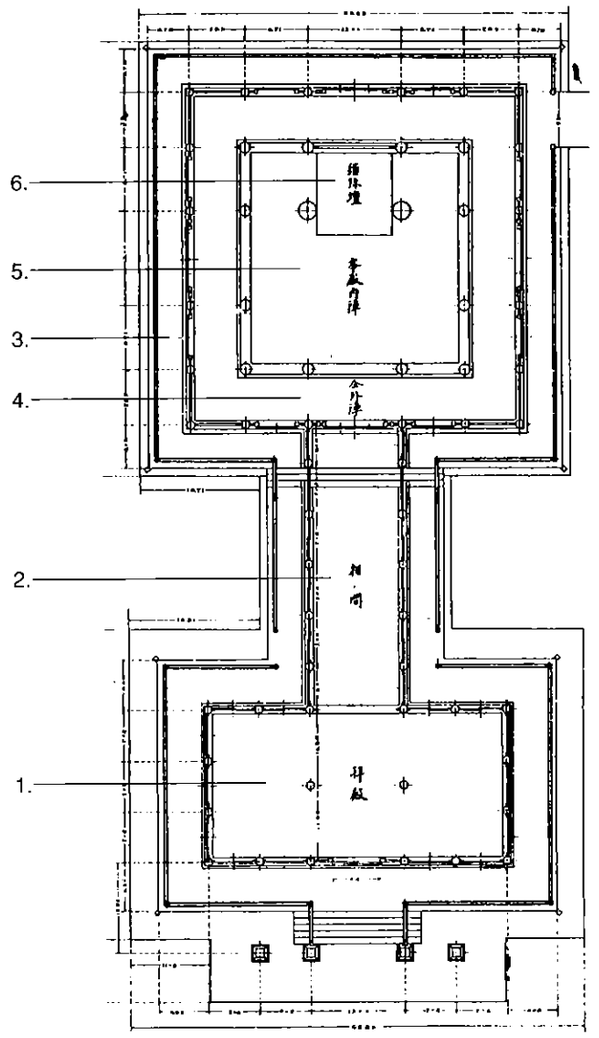

Fig 7.3
Main building of Taitokuin mausoleum. Plan prior to destruction in 1945
(Source: Tōkyō-fu (ed.) *Tōkyō-fu shiseki hozonbutsu hōkokusho*, vol. 11)

1. Haiden (worship hall)
2. Ishi no ma or Ai no ma (stone-floored chamber or intermediate chamber)
3. Honden (main hall)
4. Gejin (outer sanctuary)
5. Naijin (inner sanctuary)
6. Shumidan (altar)

building supplied in the report, the distance between the Sōmon and the Chūmon was approximately 100 metres.

The group of buildings to the south of the main complex form the Okuin, or inner precinct, in which Hidetada's remains were interred. It comprises a Hōtō or Reliquary Hall, with a Chūmon and Haiden situated in front. Tanabe's report reveals that the nearby pagoda belonged to the Zōjōji and was constructed prior to the Taitokuin Reibyō. Access to the Okuin was by a path leading from the left of the open court area in the vicinity of the *suibansha*. The Onarimon, or gateway reserved for official visits by the shogun, provided the ceremonial entrance.

There is general agreement between Tanabe's plan and the arrangement of buildings shown in the *Edozu byōbu*, although the painting shows the path to the Okuin as running directly from the main compound via a steep stairway crowned by the Onarimon. Tanabe's plan places the Onarimon on a second path which branches off near the *suibansha*.

The plan and elevation of the *gongen-zukuri* building as shown in Tanabe's report, including the masonry base, have a total length of about 132 *shaku* (approx. 40 metres – one *shaku* equalling approx. 30.3 cm), and the Honden rises to a height of some 53 *shaku* (approx. 16 metres) (Figures 7.3–7.4). The Haiden is five bays wide and three bays deep, surmounted by a hip-gable roof covered with *dōbuki-ita* or copper-sheet tiling. The Ishi no ma is one bay wide and five deep with a simple gable roof also of *dōbuki-ita*. The Honden is square in plan, five bays wide and deep. Although the exterior has the appearance of a two-storey structure because of its two roofs, as noted earlier, Tanabe's sectional drawing of the Honden reveals that the interior was a large, soaring space with corbelled roof (Figure 7.4). It was divided into an inner sanctuary (*naijin*) with the altar (*shumidan*) set against the rear wall, and an outer sanctuary (*gejin*).

This prewar record, together with other photographs held by the Cultural Affairs Agency, confirm the accuracy of the general representation of the main buildings as shown in the *Edozu byōbu*, except that a large triangular gable (*chidorihafu*) was set into the front of the Haiden roof. Combined with the cusped gable (*karahafu*) on the lean-to roof over the steps, this gave the building much stronger frontal emphasis than is indicated by the painting. Even more significantly, the artist of the *Edozu byōbu* painted the Honden sideways, with the ridge aligned with the Ishinoma instead of at right angles, as shown in the Tanabe survey (compare Figures 7.4 and 7.5). It will be recalled that the artist also had difficulty with the gables on the *tenshu* of Edo Castle.

The prewar Tanabe report also offers more detailed architectural information than does the Edo-period painting. In the photographs and elevations, important stylistic differences may be discerned between the Haiden and Ishi no ma on the one hand, and the Honden on the other (Figure 7.5). The Honden is built in the Song-inspired curvilinear style known as Zenshūyō, introduced to Japan in the Kamakura period and seen in its full glory at the Jizodō of Shōfukuji. Like this temple building the Honden has strongly curved tie-beams, chamfered pillar heads, and multiple arm bracket sets tightly clustered under the eaves. By contrast, the Ishi no ma and Haiden are predominantly Wayō in

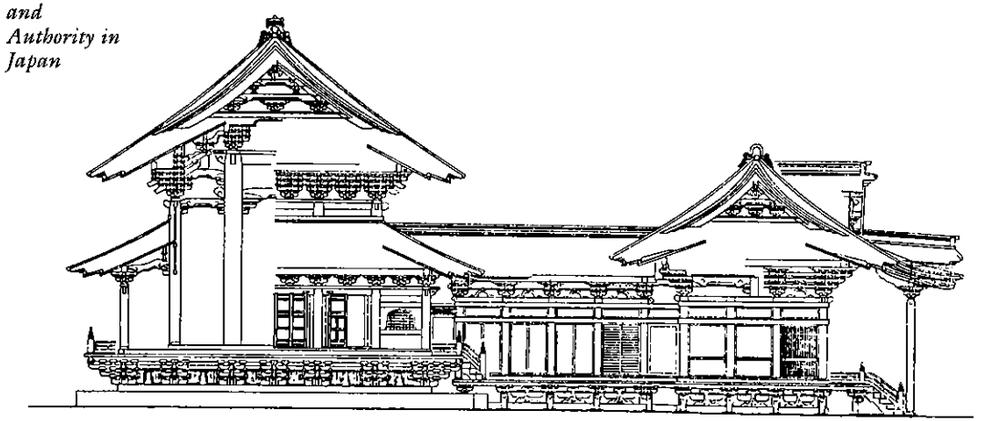

Fig 7.4 Taitokuin mausoleum. Side elevation and section of main building prior to destruction in 1945 (Kōhai and Haiden at right, Honden at left) (Source: Tōkyō-fu (ed.) *Tōkyō-fu shiseki hozonbutsu hōkokusho*, vol. 11)

form, the older, more rectilinear style of Nara-period temple buildings. The wall frames are braced laterally by the external, non-penetrating ties known as *nageshi*, and the bracket sets are set directly above the pillars with the intercolumnar support provided by *kaerumata* or 'frog-leg'-shaped wooden fascias. In contrast, the Honden bracket sets have the tighter Zenshūyō profile and the corner sets are penetrated diagonally by double *odaruki* – cantilever arms which greatly enhance their load-carrying capacity. Intercolumnar support is given by additional bracket sets in the typical Zenshūyō manner. The Honden has other Zenshūyō features such as *katōmado* or cusped windows, and *sankarado*, or panelled doors which swing open. On the other hand, the Haiden is equipped with *shitomido*, the typical Wayō horizontally placed shutters, and *mairado*, or sliding doors with tightly grouped horizontal battens.

The *Edozu byōbu* is not sufficiently detailed to permit close comparisons of architectural detail with the information provided by the Tanabe Report and prewar photographs but it does serve to establish the visual impact of the decoration, particularly the colour scheme which is not, of course, indicated by the black and white photographs. The pillars of the Haiden are black with gold detailing, those of the Honden are red. The bracket sets throughout the building are shown as green, red, gold and black. The ridge-courses are a glossy black with gold detailing, assuredly dazzling all who viewed the buildings from afar on a sunny day.

The *Edozu byōbu* and the photographs contained in both the Tanabe Report and 1965 Report make it clear that the buildings were alive with an impressive profusion of applied ornament (Figure 7.5). *Karajishi*, mythological lions, are set above the pillars, and other unidentifiable creatures thrust forward as carved nosings on the cantilever arms of the multiple bracket sets of the Zenshūyō system of the Honden. Dragons frolic along the outer eaves purlin which carry the rafters, their mouths open and tongues licking viciously. In addition to this record of the appearance of the main Taitokuin buildings, three of the four gateways, or *mon*, which guarded the various precincts of the mausoleum, have survived the conflagration of the main buildings in 1945 by virtue of their physical separation. These are the two outer gateways on the

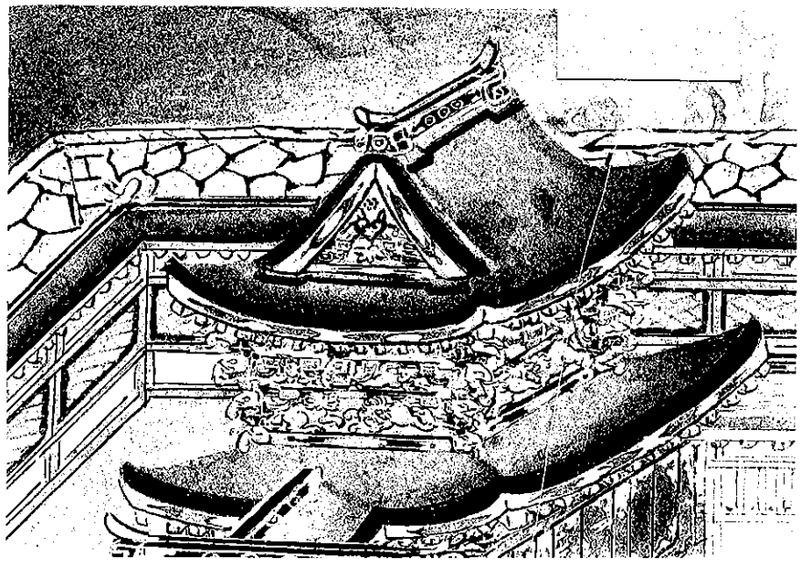

Fig 7.5 *Edozu byōbu*. Pair of six-fold screens. Detail of left screen showing Taitokuin mausoleum. Detail of upper eaves and roof of Honden (Courtesy of National Museum of Japanese History, Sakura)

main approach, the Sōmon and the Chokugakumon, and the Onarimon which protected the inner precinct on the hill behind. In 1959 the Sōmon was moved some 100 metres east of its original site within the Zōjōji precinct, and the other two gateways, together with the Sōgen'in gateway, were dismantled in 1960 to allow for the implementation of development plans at Shiba Park. These *mon* were all reassembled as part of Fudōji, in Tokorozawa, Saitama prefecture, in 1972.

The recent discovery of a detailed scale model of the main buildings of the Taitokuin mausoleum in dismantled form in the Royal Collections, London, has provided an additional source of information about the destroyed structures. The model was commissioned for the Japan–British Exhibition of 1910 by the Municipal Government of Tokyo and reproduces in exquisite detail the architecture and decoration of the original buildings. There has not as yet been opportunity to analyse the model directly but it clearly corroborates our existing knowledge of the architecture of Taitokuin and offers significant scope for re-establishing the details of the copious wood-carvings, gilding and lacquer work which so animated the original buildings.[6]

The Edo-period screens, the prewar architectural survey, the 1910 model and the extant gateways establish beyond doubt that Zenshūyō was the style favoured for the most important building of the Taitokuin mausoleum. This showed a new preference by the shogunate under Iemitsu for the exuberantly curvilinear forms originally introduced to Japan in the Kamakura period. There was also a wealth of applied ornament, similar in subject matter and style to the decorative programmes used on the contemporary palaces and mansions of Edo, and anticipating the later Nikkō mausoleum.

The extant gateways emphasise the dramatic impact the main Taitokuin building must have had in the Edo period, combining energetically curved structural and roofing effects with exuberantly polychromed sculpture in the

round. They reveal not only the subtle domination of Zenshūyō features but also close similarities with the host of magnificent ceremonial gateways which bejewelled the outer walls of shogunal and daimyo palaces in Edo.

The Builders of the Taitokuin Mausoleum

There is a common belief current about Japanese architecture that the building traditions which created it were anonymous and that the individual was subsumed within a group identity. Building forms are consequently interpreted in broad categories of style such as Wayō and Zenshūyō or as specific modes such as *gongen-zukuri*. These terms are only useful to the extent that they indicate collections of commonly held characteristics and are the accepted nomenclature of the field. Moreover they are historical afterthoughts, similar to terms such as 'Classical', 'Romanesque' and 'Gothic' in common usage for Western architecture. In recent years it has proved more useful to examine the contribution of architects as individuals or, in the case of customary building traditions, to identify the characteristic contributions of families of master artisans.

Different design traditions become clear from the analysis of the Taitokuin records and extant gateways in the preceding section. Their varying formal characteristics reflect the different hereditary skills and artistic preferences of the particular personalities of craftsmen and artists chosen by the *bakufu* to build the mausoleum. It is therefore essential for a full understanding of the architecture of Taitokuin to put faces on the architectural personalities who built it.

In 1934, when Tanabe compiled his report on the Taitokuin Reibyō, a stone stele was discovered under the floor of the Honden. On it were inscribed the names and titles of 69 principal participants in the building project, ranging from the Chief Commissioner of Construction to the master craftsmen responsible for each of the major building trades – carpenters to stone-masons, artists to lacquer specialists. This stele is an historical landmark, one of the most detailed sets of attributions in the entire history of Japanese architecture, and it supplies invaluable information about the overall organisation of the building project and the contribution of individual master craftsmen.[7]

According to the stele inscription the major participants were the *zōei sōbugyō* or 'chief commissioner of construction', and the *shimo tōryō* or 'subordinate master carpenters'. The chief commissioner of construction was the official charged with overall responsibility for the administration of the project by the *bakufu*, in modern terms the general manager. The stele states that this was 'Sakura Jijū Fujiwara Tokitomi Toshikatsu'; in other words Doi Toshikatsu (1573–1644), daimyo of Sakura domain in Shimōsa until 1633. This explains the first part of the title inscribed on the stele. The *Kansei chōshū shokafu*, a compendium of genealogies of daimyo and shogunal retainers completed in 1801, records that Doi was 'appointed chief commissioner of the construction of the mausoleum to Taitokuin at Zōjōji' in the second month of 1632, confirming the accuracy of the information given on the stele.[8] Doi was one of the most important daimyo in an official *bakufu* post. He held the position of *toshiyori*, or elder, during Hidetada's lifetime, and

became a *rōjū*, or senior councillor, when this position was created as part of Iemitsu's reforms of the 1630s. The management of the Taitokuin construction by so important a daimyo is an immediate indication of the importance Iemitsu attached to this project.

The *shimo tōryō* were the master carpenters who worked under the official direction of the *onhikan daiku*, or supervising builders. They were the actual builders of the Taitokuin Reibyō, their central role disguised by the apparatus of shogunal titles and hierarchy. The stele records that the *shimo tōryō* were: Kōra Bungo no Kami Munehiro, Heinouchi Echizen no Kami Masanobu, Kōra Saemon Jō Munetsugu, Kōbō Osakabe Shōho Nobukichi, and Tenma Izumi no Kami Munetsugu. Little is known about either Kōbō or Tenma. Kōbō was a member of the Tsuru family workshop and probably a relative of Osakabe Saemon Kunitsugu, noted for his work in Sendai for the Date family. Tenma may have been from the Osaka area of the same name and therefore a collateral branch of the Heinouchi, master builders who had served the Toyotomi.[9]

The first three names on the list of *shimo tōryō* are Kōra Munehiro, Kōra Munetsugu and Heinouchi Masanobu. Their involvement in the Taitokuin building project is of utmost significance in the context of the Edo architectural establishment. In 1641 the same three master carpenters were together responsible for the rebuilding after fire of the principal Edo palace of the Owari daimyo family, a collateral branch of the Tokugawa. Kōra Munehiro is credited in the records of his family with two earlier commissions for *tozama daimyō*, the Gamō palace *onari* architecture, including its remarkable *onarimon*, and the enormous tiger and bamboo sculpture on the service building (*daidokoro*) of the palace of Katō Kiyomasa.[10] The Taitokuin stele establishes that the same three members of the Kōra and Heinouchi families were the principal on-site master builders of the Taitokuin mausoleum, indicating that by 1632 they and their family workshops had become the major force in Edo architecture, and had relegated the earlier master builders brought by the Tokugawa to Edo in the 1590s to administrative and supervisory positions. With the Taitokuin project, the Kōra and Heinouchi had moved from the periphery of official building practice in Edo, from executing commissions for *tozama daimyō* such as the Gamō and Katō in the 1620s, to the centre of *bakufu* building practice. By 1641, as noted above, they were working on a Tokugawa palace.

It is possible to analyse the architectural style and decoration of the Taitokuin buildings from the pictorial and written sources to understand the building practices of the Kōra and Heinouchi. The Kōra were Zenshūyō specialists, while the Heinouchi, together with the Tsuru, worked in the Wayō mode. The following specific correlation between architectural features and workshop practices becomes clear for the first time:

1 The Haiden and Ishinoma of the main building, together with the Sōmon, are Wayō in style, suggesting that the Heinouchi and Tsuru, practitioners of this mode, were responsible for their construction.[11] The Sōmon is extremely close in style to the *sōmon* style prescribed by the Heinouchi in *Shōmei*, the definitive design manual of their family tradition.[12]

Fig 7.6
Taitokuin mausoleum, Chokugakumon. Relocated at Fudōji, Saitama prefecture in 1972

2 The Zenshūyō features of the Honden indicate strongly that it was built by the Kōra, while the Heinouchi, assisted by the Tsuru, were responsible for the Haiden and Ishinoma, built in Wayō, the preferred style of their family traditions.

The presence of the Kōra in the Taitokuin project also accounts for the notable divergence in the plan of the Honden from the bay pattern observed at the Toyotomi-related mausolea associated with the Heinouchi, such as the Kitano Tenmangū in Kyoto. The Taitokuin Honden is a square structure, five by five bays, significantly different in concept from the rectilinear five by four bay plan used for the main halls of mausolea belonging to the Toyotomi tradition. It has also been shown that the Honden was built directly on the pattern of a Zenshūyō *butsuden*. The Kōra clearly adopted the standard Zenshūyō hall type from their existing family tradition, thereby injecting a new element into the *gongen-zukuri* form. It is interesting to note that the Haiden and Ishinoma also depart from the standard Toyotomi mausoleum plan, the Haiden being narrower and the Ishinoma more elongated. Moreover the consummate mastery of the Zenshūyō idiom evident in the design of the Chokugakumon and Onarimon suggests Kōra authorship, as does the decorative sculpture under their eaves (Figures 7.6 and 7.7). The *tenjin* or heavenly being on the outer gable of the Onarimon in particular has that sureness of touch, delicate detail and grandeur of conception, of the master sculptor (Figure 7.8). In view of Munehiro's reputation as a sculptor evidenced by the bamboo tiger the Katō palace gable, it seems probable that this masterpiece is also the product of his own hand. These conclusions are based on a correlation of the formal features of the Taitokuin buildings with knowledge

Fig 7.7
Taitokuin mausoleum, Onarimon. View from approach steps. Relocated at Fudōji, Saitama prefecture in 1972

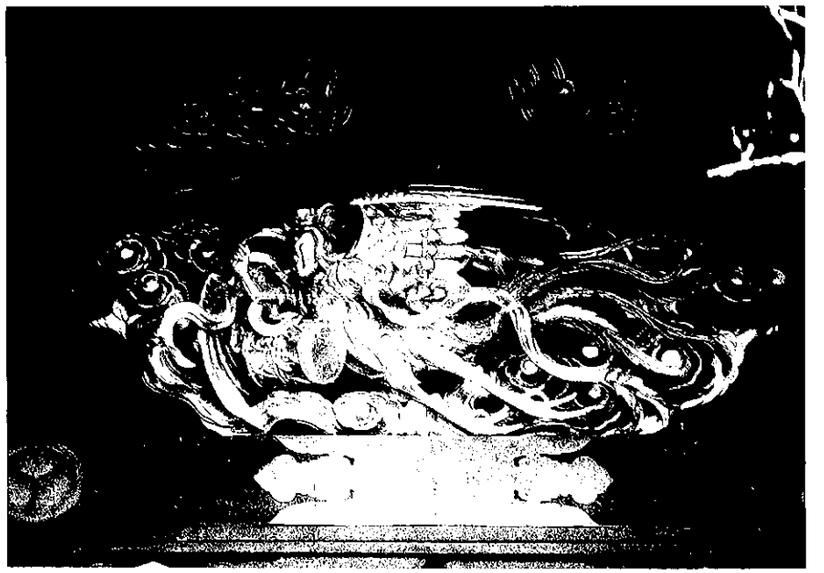

Fig 7.8
Taitokuin mausoleum, Onarimon, gable sculpture of *tenjin*, probably by Kōra Munehiro. Relocated at Fudōji, Saitama prefecture in 1972

of the technical and stylistic practices of the different carpenters identified by the stele inscription as having been engaged in the construction project. Written evidence from the Kōra family records confirms their accuracy:

> In Kanei 9 [1632] Kasesaemon was ordered to be the chief builder [*tōryō*] of Hidetada's [Taitokuin sama] Butsuden at Zōjōji. Heinouchi Osumi was in charge of the mausoleum [*onbyō*] and Bungo Munehiro was ordered to do all the carvings.[13]

'Kasesaemon', to whom the records refer, was Kōra Munetsugu, son of Munehiro, whose name appears on the Taitokuin stele as 'Kōra Saemon Jō Munetsugu'.[14] The 'butsuden' which the shogunate ordered Munetsugu to construct was the Taitokuin Honden, which took the form of a standard Zenshūyō Buddha Hall.

The Kōra document translated above also attributes the building of a 'mausoleum' to Heinouchi Ōsumi. *Ōsumi no Kami* was the honorific title for Masanobu, head of the Heinouchi, whom the Taitokuin stele refers to as *Echizen no Kami*. The Kōra account uses the honorific 'Ōsumi no kami' which was granted to Masanobu later in his career, probably in recognition of his services at the Taitokuin project.

The 'mausoleum' referred to in the document is the tabernacle containing Hidetada's remains. The prewar photographs of the Okuin show that this Hōtō was built in Zenshūyō and was virtually identical with the Honden constructed by Kōra Munetsugu. It seems likely, therefore, that Munetsugu was also responsible for the Okuin, and that the Heinouchi made only the bronze tabernacle housed within. In fact, one of the five volumes of the Heinouchi design manual, *Shōmei*, is devoted exclusively to pagoda design and includes specifications for a reliquary pagoda which is identical in style to that shown in the photograph of the interior of the Taitokuin Hōtō.[15] Both structures have a cylindrical body set on a lotus-petal stand and capped by a pyramidal roof with nine rings on top.[16]

The final attribution in the document of 'all the carvings' to Bungo, that is, to Kōra Munehiro, is consistent with our knowledge of his remarkable career as an architectural sculptor. It also accords with the conclusion that the *tenjin* carving on the Onarimon, the dominant feature of the gateway, was the creation of a master sculptor, now demonstrated in all likelihood to have been Munehiro himself, and establishes the general importance of the decorative programmes of the extant Taitokuin gateways as representing Munehiro's style.

Munehiro's primary concern with sculpture at Taitokuin goes a long way to explain the major role played by his son in architectural work at the project. Munetsugu was the building specialist specifically responsible, under the general supervision of his father, for the architectural execution of the family commissions. Munehiro, freed from tedious on-site building responsibilities, took charge of the elaborate decorative programmes which charged these buildings with such declaratory power. On the basis of existing evidence it is thus possible to reach firm conclusions about the authorship of the three extant gateways as well as the destroyed building complex of the Taitokuin Reibyō, greatly increasing our knowledge of official architecture in the city of Edo in terms of the persons directly responsible for its construction and decoration.

Significance of the Taitokuin Project

This architectural and documentary evidence greatly enhances our understanding of the relationship between the political priorities of Tokugawa government and the internal processes of building projects, particularly of three separate but closely related aspects of the architectural institutionalisation of the Tokugawa *bakufu*.

Firstly, the Taitokuin Reibyō was of profound political importance in establishing Iemitsu's personal power as shogun. Iemitsu had become shogun in 1622 after Hidetada's retirement. However, he was unable to exercise significant prerogatives in government until Hidetada's death ten years later. Ordering the construction of the Taitokuin Reibyō was one of Iemitsu's first direct acts in government. It offered him far more than an opportunity to demonstrate familial piety to his immediate predecessor. It provided a suitable and immediate chance to create an impressive architectural monument of his own initiation in the shogunal capital. The siting, size and magnificence of the buildings speak more of vaunting ambition than they do of familial piety.

The project was to set the tone for Iemitsu's rule and his consolidation of the institutional apparatus of the Tokugawa state through a series of unprecedented measures: stronger regulation of his direct retainers, the *hatamoto*, by issuing codes regulating their conduct in 1632 and 1635; firmer control over the daimyo with the system of *ōmetsuke* (inspectors-general) in 1632; a reworked *Buke shohatto* in 1635; a stronger centralised machinery of *bakufu* government (especially through the role of senior councillors or *rōjū*, and *wakadoshiyori* or junior councillors); a dramatic increase in incidence of daimyo transfers and attainder; enforced proscription of Christianity, and the imposition of a national semi-seclusion policy in a series of measures taken from 1633 to 1639.[17] These measures further centralised Iemitsu's personal authority within the shogunate.

Architecturally, the Taitokuin Reibyō project inaugurated a succession of state building projects which were both assertively shogunal and self-consciously Edo-centric. The preceding decade had seen considerable architectural activity but many of the most spectacular projects had been concentrated in the Kansai, including the rebuilding of Osaka Castle, the Palace of the Second Compound of Nijō Castle, and the Imperial Palace, in order to balance the equation between imperial and shogunal authority in Kyoto and Osaka. Iemitsu's focus was more strictly concentrated on Edo projects. In the short space of seven years, starting with the Taitokuin Reibyō in 1632, the *bakufu* rebuilt the main structures of Zōjōji in 1634–1635 and the *tenshu* and main palaces of Edo Castle in 1637–1638. Even the reconstruction of the Tōshōgū in the mountains at Nikkō, begun in 1634, was a direct extension of the same Edo architectural policy, and built with the same techniques as the monuments physically sited in Edo such as the Tokugawa mausolea.

These few years were, therefore, an era of frenetic architectural activity, not only by the shogunate directly but also at its behest. For instance, the renewed vigour of *onari* visits by the shogun obliged the daimyo to build impressive new gateways and chambers for his formal reception at their principal palaces. The great monuments created by the well-oiled building machinery of state

and the harder-pressed building workshops of the daimyo, exceeded in scale and spectacle even the architectural achievements of the founding Tokugawa shogun, and of Toyotomi Hideyoshi a generation earlier at the height of the Momoyama period. Iemitsu's architectural achievements of the middle decade of the Kan'ei era (1624–1644) merit a place in history alongside those of Emperor Augustus in Rome in creating a glittering city in the image of his own authority.

A further dimension to understanding the relationship between Edo architecture and Iemitsu's building programme, his aspirations and their architectural expression, may be found in the reasoning behind the choice of the distinctive style of building and decoration displayed by the Taitokuin mausoleum. An important question should be addressed, namely what was their origin and their ultimate meaning in the context of *bakufu* power relations?

Ieyasu's first mausoleum at Nikkō certainly provided the immediate precedent for the Taitokuin Reibyō, but the practice of building spectacular mausolea to deceased warrior leaders had been established earlier by the Toyotomi. Following Hideyoshi's death in 1598, the Hōkoku Reibyō was constructed to enshrine his deified spirit, Hōkoku daimyōjin. It was built on a lavish scale on a site in the vicinity of the Hōkōji, also built by the Toyotomi, in the southeast of Kyoto.[18] The Toyotomi were likewise responsible for the rebuilding of the Kitano Tenmangū in Kyoto in 1607. Founding this shrine, dedicated to the spirit of the exiled Heian aristocrat Sugawa Michizane, was an act of piety also designed to pay handsome political dividends in the uncertain years following the Tokugawa military ascendancy at Sekigahara in 1600.

The general language of architectural authority was thus well established by the Toyotomi, but the specific stylistic vocabulary changed under Tokugawa patronage of shogunal mausolea. The Taitokuin Reibyō corresponds in general terms with the *gongen*-style buildings associated with the Toyotomi but it diverges markedly in detailed organisation of pillars and bays, overall proportions – particularly of the Ishinoma – and in the shift in emphasis away from Wayō. The growing importance of Zenshūyō as the architectural style of the Tokugawa establishment must be attributed to the ascendancy of the Kōra.

Secondly, the Taitokuin project had profound ramifications for the organisation of *bakufu* building administration. The construction of the Taitokuin Reibyō was undertaken with great expedition as a state project. The principal phase of construction was completed within six months, a remarkably short period for a project of this stylistic complexity. This entailed careful documentation of the organisation of the project, which reveals to the modern researcher in highly specific terms the administrative structure of an important facet of *bakufu* government in the 1630s.

Moreover, as a consequence of the experience of the Taitokuin project, the *bakufu* tightened upper-level administrative control over the hitherto *ad hoc* army of builders in diverse trades brought into government service at Edo, by creating three *sakuji bugyō*, or commissioners of building. This was less than four months after the main construction activities at Shiba had been completed. The *Kan'ei nikki* records that, on the third day of the tenth month of 1632, Sakuma Sanekatsu, Kanō Motokatsu and Sakai Tadatomo were appointed to

the office of *sakuji bugyō* by the shogun. All three were Tokugawa household retainers, Sakuma and Kano holding the office of *shiban*, and Sakai the post of *shoin*, immediately responsible to the *toshiyori* or elders.[19] The new post of *sakuji bugyō* was ranked equally with that of *machi bugyō* and *kanjo bugyō* and other key posts in the shogunal government.

The *Kan'ei nikki* also notes that, on the same day as the three commissioners were appointed, master builders and craftsmen in 'all the [building] trades were instructed that it was the shogun's will that they were to follow the orders of the *sakuji bugyō*'.[20] The effect of this measure was to place under the control of a single office the multitude of workshops of carpenters and sawyers, shinglers and tilers, lacquer specialists and sculptors, smiths and tool-makers, needed as contractors and sub-contractors for *bakufu* building projects.[21] This measure was particularly significant because hitherto there had been no senior officials in *bakufu* service charged with ongoing administrative responsibility for architectural projects of state. Previously the post of *fushin bugyō*, or commissioner for engineering works, had been responsible for land reclamation, excavation of moats and canals, and for the collection of stone and erection of the castle walls. As a result of the experience of castle construction of the Momoyama and early Edo periods, Tokugawa architectural construction was seen as subordinate to the massive task of wall engineering, which, after all, guaranteed the security of a castle headquarters in uncertain times.

The creation under Iemitsu of the new office of *sakuji bugyō*, with ranking equal to other key officials including the *fushin bugyō* and directly responsible to the *rōjū* under Iemitsu's reorganisation, is evidence of a shift in political emphasis in state-sponsored construction in Edo from engineering to architecture. It is also a signal to historians that Iemitsu was readying his government for building projects even more grandiose than the Taitokuin mausoleum, and an indication of the shogun's determination to exercise personal direction of this new phase of architectural formation. All three of the *sakuji bugyō* had rendered loyal service either to Ieyasu or Hidetada from an early age, and were to be entrusted collectively with the administrative responsibility for the Edo Castle building projects of the later 1630s.[22]

From a broader historical viewpoint, the determined and large-scale reorganisation of state-administered construction projects under Iemitsu parallels the high priority given to the organisation of building agencies in Nara, but such bureaucratic ordering of construction through an 'Office of Public Works' or a 'Ministry of Construction' has been a common preoccupation of rulers from antiquity to the present in order to assure financial and political control, together with the effective implementation of official building policy.

The third reason for the significance of the Taitokuin project is that primary sources, particularly the stone stele recording the names of the major participants, together with analysis of the formal features of the buildings, establish the identity of the master builders responsible for the Taitokuin mausoleum. These findings are of singular importance not only for architectural but also for social and political history. Until recently there has been little cognisance of the contribution of individual artisans and artists to the creation of Japanese architecture, since commentators have conceived buildings only in stylistic

terms. In the absence of effective argument to the contrary it has been acceptable to subscribe to the theory of the 'anonymous artisan'. The Taitokuin project permits the attribution of buildings to specific builders, sculpture to sculptors – in other words, to identify artistic personality in the architecture of early Tokugawa Japan, a giant step forward. Here we have the emergence of architects of authority. The Promethean artistic character of Kōra Munehiro identifies him as the leading architect and master sculptor working for the Tokugawa. On this point it is instructive to recall that it has been the scholarly research of only the last century which has led to the architectural masterpieces of the Renaissance being attributed to the hands of Alberti, Bramante and Michelangelo.

The Kōra have already been observed playing a key role in official building projects later in the 1630s, notably the rebuilding of the *tenshu* of Edo Castle for Iemitsu. In this chapter the focus of attention switches to their greatest extant work of architecture, the Tōshōgū at Nikkō. It is now one of the regrettably few surviving examples of their work but from it we may learn much of the character of Tokugawa official architecture of the 1630s.

The Nikkō Tōshōgū

In the third month of 1617 Ieyasu was elevated to the status of a Shinto deity, and had bestowed on him the posthumous title of *Tōshō daigongen*, the 'Great Avatar Illuminating the East'. This made his spirit theologically a *kami* manifestation of a Buddha, an Avatar who moves between this world and the realm of Buddha to work for the salvation of all people. Ieyasu's posthumous elevation to *kami* was itself prompted by the earlier deification of Hideyoshi as *Hōkoku daimyōjin*, the 'Great Illuminating Spirit of the Prosperous Country'. Such pretensions to divinity by rulers are not uncommon as an historical phenomenon. The 'Divine Augustus', for example, established the pattern for the elevation of his Roman successors to the status of gods. So it was to be with Tokugawa Ieyasu. In a grand ceremony in the fourth month of 1617, in accordance with his own wish that his spirit be moved to Nikkō from Mt Kunō a year after his death, Ieyasu's remains, accompanied by a great procession of warriors, priests, shrine musicians and dancers, were transferred to Nikkō where they were interred at the Okusha, or inner shrine, of the Tōshōgū complex. In the intervening period the main shrine buildings had been readied. The details of the architecture at that time are somewhat uncertain because almost all the original structures were demolished 17 years later, in 1634, for Iemitsu's rebuilding programme. Documents indicate, however, that the earlier Tōshōgū was similar in layout and style, but less lavish than the later rebuilding.[23]

In 1634 work began on the renewal of Nikkō in preparation for the twentieth anniversary of Ieyasu's death. As with the Taitokuin Reibyō, this was an act of apparent piety which at the some time furthered the political ends of Iemitsu. It demonstrated his close association with the founder of the Tokugawa *bakufu* in the same way that the Taitokuin project, undertaken

Tokugawa Mausolea

Fig 7.9 Tōshōgū, Nikkō. View of Inner Sanctuary, Karamon and main building

two years earlier to commemorate his immediate predecessor, had also redounded to his political advantage.

As with the Taitokuin project, the Nikkō rebuilding proceeded with great expedition. Demolition of the existing structures began in the eleventh month of 1634. The major part of the project was completed by the fourth month of 1636 in time for the ceremonies marking the twentieth anniversary of Ieyasu's death, although the detailed decoration of many of the buildings continued for several more years (Figure 7.9).[24] The rebuilding was conducted on a level far exceeding that of the original project, both the speed and the scale of construction work testifying to the high level of organisation of the *bakufu* building agency following its reorganisation in 1632.

Details of the reconstruction process at Nikkō are recorded in meticulous detail in a report submitted to the *bakufu* in the ninth month of 1639. Entitled *Nikkōsan tōshō daigongen sama gozōei onmokuroku*, it was compiled by the chief commissioner of works at the site, the daimyo Akimoto Yasumoto.[25] The *Gozōeichō*, as it is generally identified, provides an itemised accounting of all phases of the project. From this it becomes clear that the Nikkō rebuilding was one of the most expensive architectural projects per square metre of building undertaken at any time in the entire Momoyama and Edo periods. Such extravagance was possible only because of the vast national resources at the command of the *bakufu*. It required 4,541,230 days of labour and 779,881 actual participants to complete the project, at a total cost of 568,000 *ryō* in gold currency and 100 *kamme* in silver (375 kilograms), as well as 1000 *koku* in rice for miscellaneous labour costs.[26] The magnitude of that investment may be appreciated when it is realised that the *bakufu* gold and silver mines had an annual production of 160,000 *ryō* at the time of Ieyasu's death and this was greatly augmented under Iemitsu. Iemitsu himself inherited approximately three million *ryō* from Hidetada.[27] Iemitsu's

Tōshōgū therefore absorbed the equivalent of one-fifth of his inheritance of 1632. From these figures it might well be suspected that Iemitsu had far exceeded Ieyasu's original wish that a 'small hall' be erected in his memory at Nikkō, and that the intention of the 1634–1636 rebuilding was to glorify Iemitsu more than it was to revere Ieyasu.

Building Blocks of the Gods: Funerary Funding

Popular tradition has it that the ***bakufu*** extracted donations in gold and silver from the daimyo to pay for the Tōshōgū, and that some daimyo were forced to contribute buildings and other special features to the project. *Nikkō meisho zue*, reflecting popular belief, states that:

> The scale of the Kan'ei [1634–1636] construction was huge and was praised as without compare before or after. Each of the lords presented *torii*, or stone lamps, or offered trees, or donated halls, pagodas or ornamental fences, or placed offerings from overseas before the gods. Truly the strength of the nation was most completely used for this meritorious achievement.[28]

If this account is to be believed this would constitute another instance of Tokugawa use of architectural projects to drain daimyo resources in order to strengthen their own shogunal position. However examination of the *Gozōeichō* proves that the popularly held view of Tōshōgū financing is in fact incorrect. The *Gozōeichō* states unequivocally that in 1635 Akimoto, the commissioner in charge of the project, withdrew approximately 568,000 *ryō* in gold and *100 kamme* in silver from the *bakufu* treasury. He also drew 1000 *koku* in rice from the *bakufu* storehouses in Edo to pay some of the builders' wages. This combined amount of gold, silver and rice accounts for the total expense of the Kan'ei project as itemised in the *Gozōeichō* and establishes conclusively that it was paid for by the *bakufu* without major contributions by any daimyo. The cryptomeria trees which line the approach to Nikkō from Edo, famous as daimyo contributions to Nikkō, were planted over a 12-year period by Matsudaira Masatsuna beginning in 1626 or 1627, a decade before reconstruction. In fact only one building was ever contributed to Iemitsu's Nikkō by a daimyo, namely the five-storey pagoda donated by Sakai Tadakatsu in 1649, 13 years after the rebuilding had been completed. Two other structures added by daimyo to the Nikkō complex are also well removed in time from the Kan'ei era project. One, the large stone *torii* on the approach path, was donated by Kuroda Nagamasa in 1618, 16 years before the starting date, and was left intact in the later project. In addition the stone lanterns along the wall beside the inner precinct were donated by different daimyo at different times but not one was contributed in the three-year period from 1634 to 1636.[29] The *Gozōeichō* establishes that ten daimyo from fiefs in the immediate vicinity were called upon to participate in the 1634–1636 rebuilding by providing unskilled labour, but the financial record shows that the *bakufu* paid for these services.

The 1634–1636 project was an assertively Tokugawa *bakufu* project, as had been the Taitokuin project, and therein lies its significance. The Tōshōgū was created by direct *bakufu* financing, a fundamentally different approach from the heavy reliance on conscripted daimyo contributions used to carry out the Edo construction projects. Nikkō was a direct investment in architecture as

political capital, with the daimyo deliberately and visibly excluded from association with Tokugawa divinity. It may have been strategically expedient to require daimyo participation in the temporal establishment of Edo, but the apotheosis of Tokugawa authority at Taitokuin and Tōshōgū demanded their exclusion from the rites of architectural passage to this sacred realm.

The Kōra and the Architectural Style of the Tōshōgū

The appointment of Kōra Munehiro as the chief master builder in charge of the rebuilding of Ieyasu's mausoleum at Nikkō constituted official recognition of the supremacy of the Kōra school and its style of architectural design. This followed the dramatic success of the parts of the Taitokuin project for which the Kōra had been directly responsible, particularly the Honden and the Onarimon which stood at the entrance to the Okuin where Hidetada's remains were interred. Although there are still Wayō elements in evidence at Nikkō, the project was carried out under Munehiro's direct technical supervision and closely reflects his family tradition of Zenshūyō, as well as his personal taste and sculptural talents (Figures 7.10 and 7.11). There was some artistic accommodation with the Wayō style by the addition of external horizontal ties (*nageshi*) to the timber frames of the main Tōshōgū buildings, but the overall conception and control of the project, and the dominant stylistic characteristics, are unmistakably Kōra. In official *bakufu* building projects thereafter the hereditary exponents of the more restrained Wayō style remained active in subsidiary projects or enjoyed high rank as officials, but the commitment of the *bakufu* to a single master builder and his workshop from 1634 indicates that the contained had found its ideal container, and that each was to resonate with the authority of the other.

The debt of the Tōshōgū to the Taitokuin Reibyō was deep. There would scarcely have been time to pause for breath between the completion of the work at Shiba and the commencement of the rebuilding project at Nikkō. The carpenters and sculptors could have been forgiven for being confused about which building complex they were actually working on; during restoration of the Yōmeimon it was discovered that the principal framework and many of the parts had been prefabricated in the workshops of Edo, not made at the Nikkō sites.[30] Specialists in carving Chinese sages or lions, the experts in prefabricating timber framing for gateways and arched entrances, would have moved smoothly from one project to the other with barely a pause and little or no change in technique. The same hands, the same tools, the same talents and energies, were brought to bear on Nikkō as had been used at Shiba. The two projects shared fundamental architectural technology, artistic vision, political purpose, and building personnel. The main building at Nikkō is a clear stylistic development of its immediate forerunner at the Taitokuin mausoleum. Both were built in the typical *gongen-zukuri* form, and share specific details such as extended verandahs carried on bracket sets, and paired triangular and cusped gables at the front. The *Edozu byōbu* and prewar photographs establish that the destroyed Taitokuin buildings had a visual impact similar to that of the Nikkō Tōshōgū. The differences between the two buildings bespeak the increasing ebullience of builder and patron alike

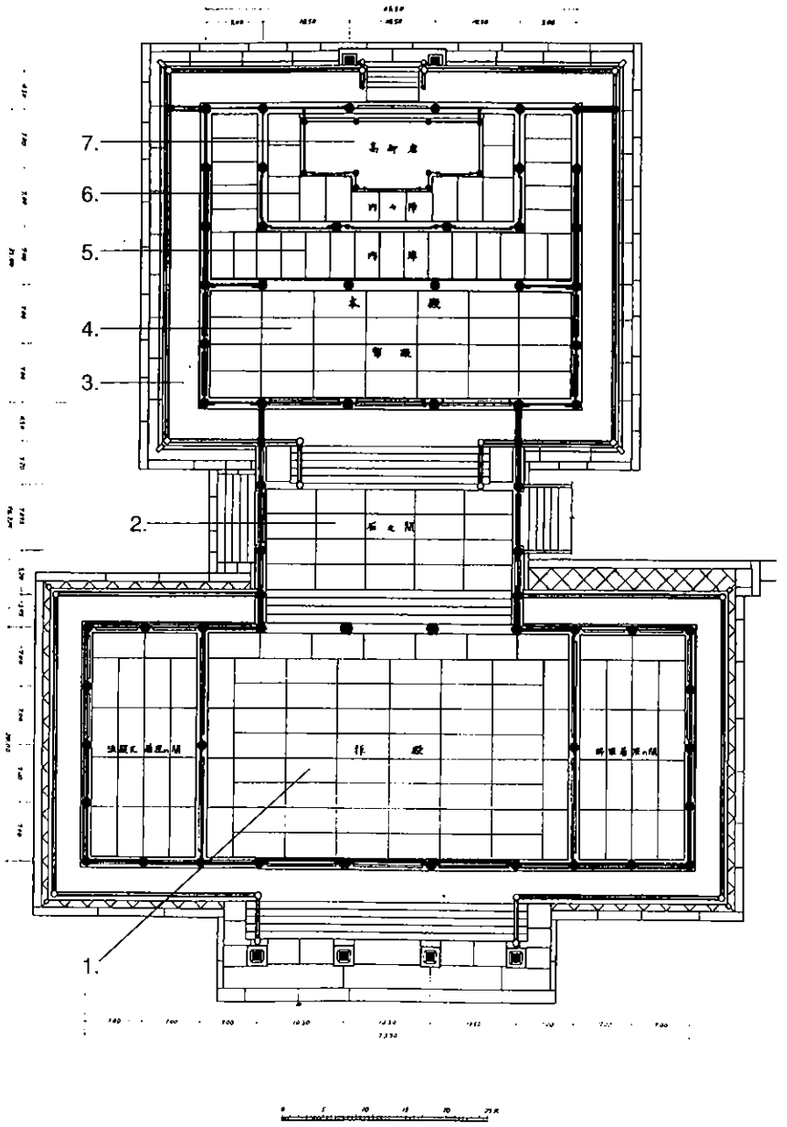

Fig 7.10
Tōshōgū, Nikkō. Plan of main building (Source: Bunka-chō, *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai [kenzōbutsu] jissoku zushū*)

1. Haiden (worship hall)
2. Ishi no ma (stone-floored chamber)
3. Honden (main hall)
4. Gejin (outer sanctuary)
5. Naijin (inner sanctuary)
6. Inner Naijin
7. Tabernacle

as time passed. The Nikkō mausoleum is more copiously decorated and stylistically coherent. There is stylistic unity between all three parts of the *gongen-zukuri* structure which attests to the total domination of this project by a single workshop tradition, that of the Kōra. Use of Wayō and Zenshūyō

for the different buildings at Taitokuin has been abandoned in favour a consistent Zenshūyō throughout the Nikkō complex. The unit of intercolumniation is also more consistent at Nikkō, being further evidence of the coherence derived from a single family of builders responsible for all three parts. The bays of the three buildings use a seven *shaku* module, except for those at the front *kōhai*, which are each half as wide again to allow better access for prayer. There is considerable variation in the bay sizes of the Taitokuin buildings, indicating the presence of separate planning and execution of the parts by different carpenters' workshops (compare Figure 7.3, and Figure 7.10).[31]

The most significant difference between the Nikkō buildings and those at Shiba is the abandoning of the standard Zenshūyō hall form, with its characteristic corbelled ceiling, two principal pillars and subsidiary pent roof. The lower, single-roofed structure the Kōra designed as an alternative for the Nikkō Honden enhanced the unity of the three *gongen* buildings. At Nikkō the Kōra were given more scope to create a unified design for the Honden. The great speed with which the Shiba project had been completed, propelled by Iemitsu's urgent need to establish himself as ruler, and the competition between rival building firms, encouraged conservatism not innovation in architectural form.

A Shift in the Realm of Authority

At Nikkō there is a fresh design and the architecture reveals an innovative flow of ideas, not only within the building workshop responsible for its construction but also in official strategy in the appropriation of religious authority. There is an unmistakable shift from the Taitokuin reliance on Buddhist architectural form towards heavier emphasis on that of Shinto. Ieyasu's posthumous status as an Avatar was consciously Shinto, unlike that of Hidetada who retained his Buddhist honorific after his death. The Tōshōgū has a more insistent Shinto character architecturally, with forked finials (*chigi*) and billets (*katsuogi*) on the ridge of the Honden (Figure 7.11). These features are typical of Shinto shrines throughout Japan, as we have seen in the case

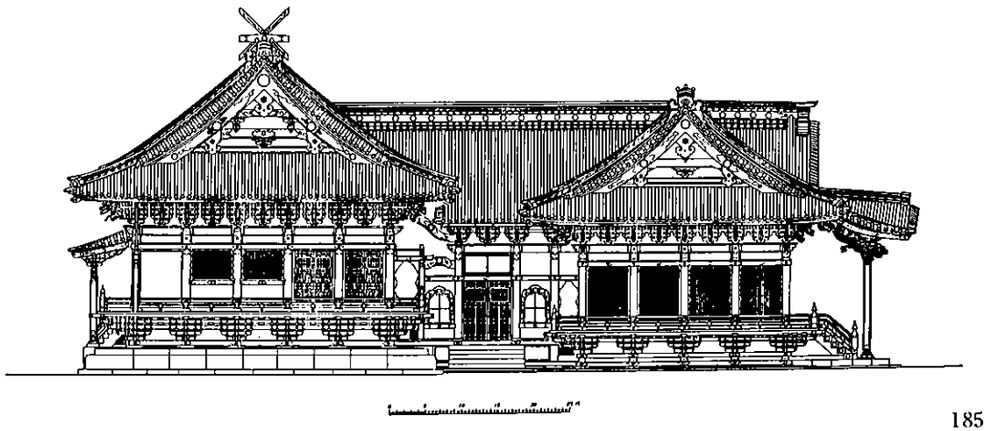

Fig 7.11
Tōshōgū, Nikkō. Side elevation of main building showing Honden at left and Haiden at right (Source: Bunka-chō, *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai [kenzōbutsu] jissoku zushū*)

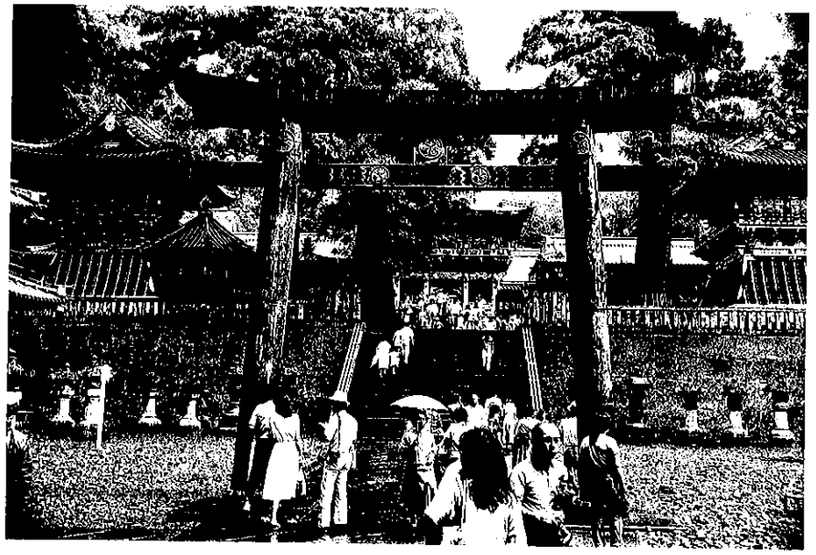

Fig 7.12
Tōshōgū, Nikkō. *Torii* in front of Inner Sanctuary

of Ise and Izumo. Such distinctive hallmarks of the Shinto sanctuary were not employed on any earlier examples of *gongen-zukuri*, including the Taitokuin mausoleum.

The same Shinto character is evident in the disposition of the buildings at the Nikkō site, and by the provision of Shinto *torii* along the approach path. Such *torii* are absent from the Shiba mausoleum. Rather than observing the axial symmetry used at the Taitokuin mausoleum and typical of Buddhist institutions generally, at Nikkō the mausoleum is built into the steeply rising hill-side like a shrine, in a series of five levels, each level corresponding with a different part of the complex. The Shinto character of the buildings is particularly marked on the first two levels. The first level is the outer entrance area of the shrine and is marked by a large stone *torii*. The Buddhist five-storey pagoda, situated to the left of the entrance, was added at a later date. The approach path follows a general north–south orientation, but at the second level it turns sharply west to run along the contour of the hill-side before resuming its original direction through a second *torii* which frames the inner sanctuary and its guardian gatehouse in the distance (Figure 7.12). The change in direction affords more effective use of the limited space in a steeply graded site as well as easing the angle of approach for the pilgrim. Here there is a cluster of Shinto buildings, three sacred storehouses, a sacred stable, and an ablutions pavilion. One could be forgiven for thinking oneself at Ise, except for the brilliant black and red lacquer lavishly covering the wooden surfaces.

Of particular significance in the creation of a solemn spectacle of authority is the Yōmeimon, the 'sun-bright gatehouse' of almost legendary brilliance. It is set at the lip of the terrace of the fourth level of the site, above twelve steps which rise abruptly three metres from the courtyard in front (Figure 7.13). It stands at the boundary of the inner and outer sacred precincts of

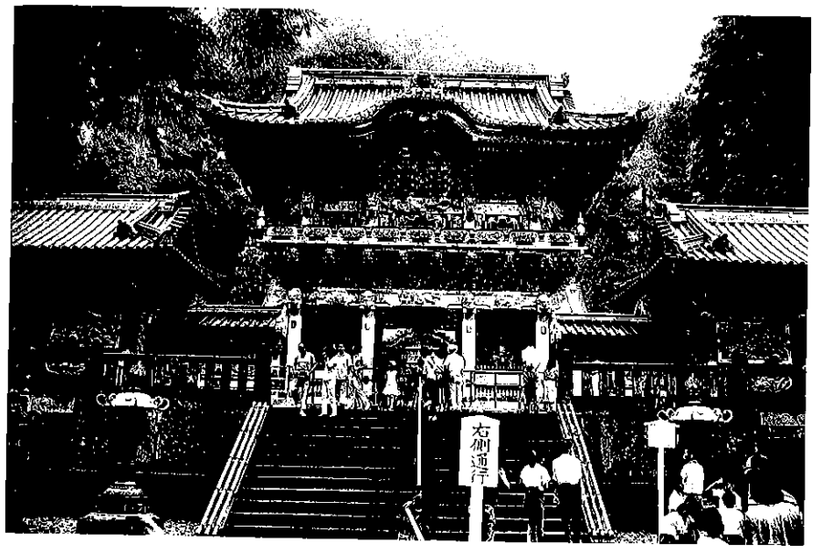

Fig 7.13
Tōshōgū, Nikkō. Yōmeimon. Front view

the shrine, a location corresponding to that of the Chokugakumon of the Taitokuin mausoleum, but it is infinitely more impressive as a statement of Tokugawa intentions in the definition of their authority. It was at the steps of the Yōmeimon where daimyo paid their obeisances to Ieyasu. Only the mausoleum priests and members of the Tokugawa family were permitted to pass beyond. The use of a gatehouse elevated above stone steps to exclude entry to an inner sanctum, and to serve as a place of worship, is strikingly similar to the role of the gatehouse guarding the inner sanctum of the Inner Shrine at Ise.

The Yōmeimon is wilfully ornamental, taking to a logical conclusion the decorative enthusiasm of the age, with a vivid array of polychrome effects and a profusion of applied sculptural forms animating every surface and space (Figures 7.14 and 7.15). It is a visual feast of mythological creatures and Chinese paragons. The structural framework is painted with a white lime derived from seashells, accented with gilded metalwork at the intersection of pillars and beams. The pristine surfaces of the frame stand out in dramatic contrast to the polychrome decorations of the bracket sets and eaves. The bracket arms are lacquered black with inlaid gold vine pattern, and the double tiers of rafters under the eaves are black with the interstices enlivened by green and red vine motifs also set in gold leaf (Figure 7.16). Large *karajishi*, carved in the round, thrust aggressively forward from the head of each pillar of the first floor while others prowl its main lintel. Phoenixes take flight. The large panels of the lower walls are decorated with peonies; the ceilings of the central bays are beautified by large paintings of dragons in clouds, while brightly embellished panels of *tenjin* and imaginary Birds of Paradise with human heads decorate the side bays. Dragons writhe along the lintels of the second floor or stand watch at the heads of the pillars on the upper storey.

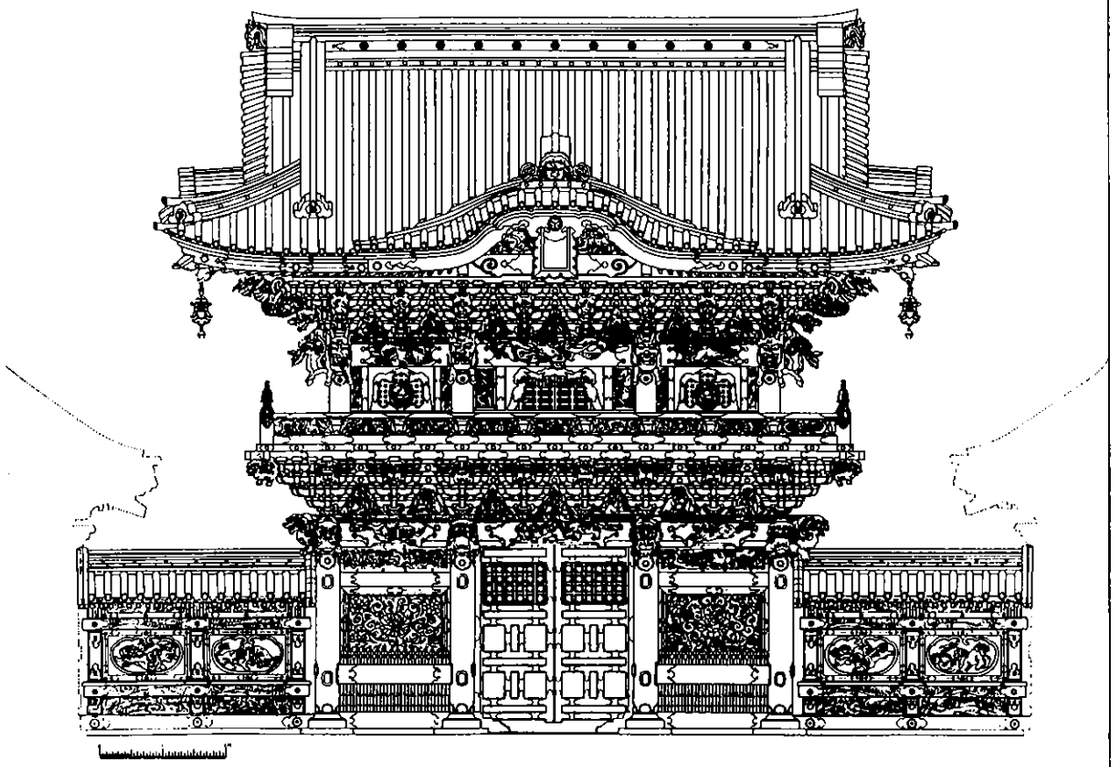

Fig 7.14
Tōshōgū, Nikkō. Yōmeimon. Front elevation (Source: Bunka-chō, *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai [kenzōbutsu] jissoku zushū*)

Baku, or 'dream-eating' creatures, have overrun the bracket sets which support the balcony. The open-mouthed ferocity of these creatures is startling to behold and the overall effect is of a demonic chorus screaming soundlessly in unison. The precise content and general effect created by these sculptures at Nikkō appear to be identical with the eaves decoration used for the Honden of the Taitokuin Reibyō, which was also decorated by the master artisans from the Kōra workshop. In addition there are 22 separate figural compositions depicting Chinese themes positioned between the bracket sets on the first storey (Figure 7.17). They include such subjects as the *kinki shoga*, the 'Four Accomplishments' of painting, calligraphy, music and the game of *go*, and sages and Daoist Immortals. A sculpture of Zhou Gong Dan, the 'Duke of Zhou' used by Confucius as the paragon of the virtuous ruler, is set directly over the front entrance bay.

There is a close relationship between the decorative programme of the Yōmeimon and the general meaning of the Tōshōgū. Use of a sinicised vocabulary for the applied sculpture lent the powerful sanction of Chinese tradition to Tokugawa authority, a strategy we saw employed to great effect two generations earlier at Azuchi Castle. The diversity of ornament, ranging from ferocious beasts to benign rulers, from wizened sages to young children, indicates the dual intent of the Tokugawa polemicists: on the one hand to engage

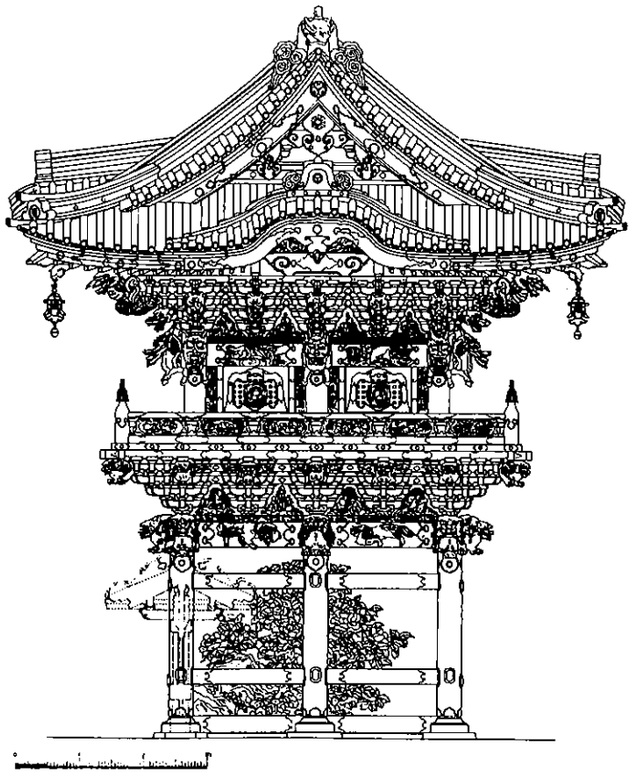

Fig 7.15
Tōshōgū, Nikkō. Yōmeimon. Side elevation (Source: Bunka-chō, *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai [kenzōbutsu] jissoku zushū*)

and edify the viewer with the exotic and the heroic, and on the other to caution and teach with Confucian allegory – to present tangible and compelling reminders of the principles of socio-political order which provided the rationale for Tokugawa rule, by showing rulers and sages engaged in virtuous acts.

Despite the profusion of sinicised iconography and this invocation of a Confucian cosmos, there are subtle but unmistakable Shinto elements in this gateway. Shinto guardian figures (*zuijin*) are seated in solemn splendour at each side of the entrance. Further, the basic style of the gateway is Shinto, not Buddhist. It is a two-storey gatehouse with a hip-gabled roof originally of cypress-bark shingles, and a balcony above the first floor (see Figures 7.14 and 7.15). This style of gateway, known as a *rōmon*, was a Japanese adaptation of the Chinese double-roof gatehouse introduced to Japan with Buddhist temple architecture a millennium earlier. In the late Heian period, the Buddhist gatehouse was adapted for use in Shinto shrines but the roof above the first floor was abandoned in favour of a simple balcony that was more in keeping with Shinto needs, a style termed *rōmon*. Unlike the *rōmon* associated with other shrines, which were Wayō in style, the Yōmeimon at Nikkō is Zenshūyō. This is hardly surprising in view of its builder and the sponsorship of Zenshūyō by the *bakufu*. Even the *rōmon* of the Tōshōgū built at Mt Kunō as the temporary

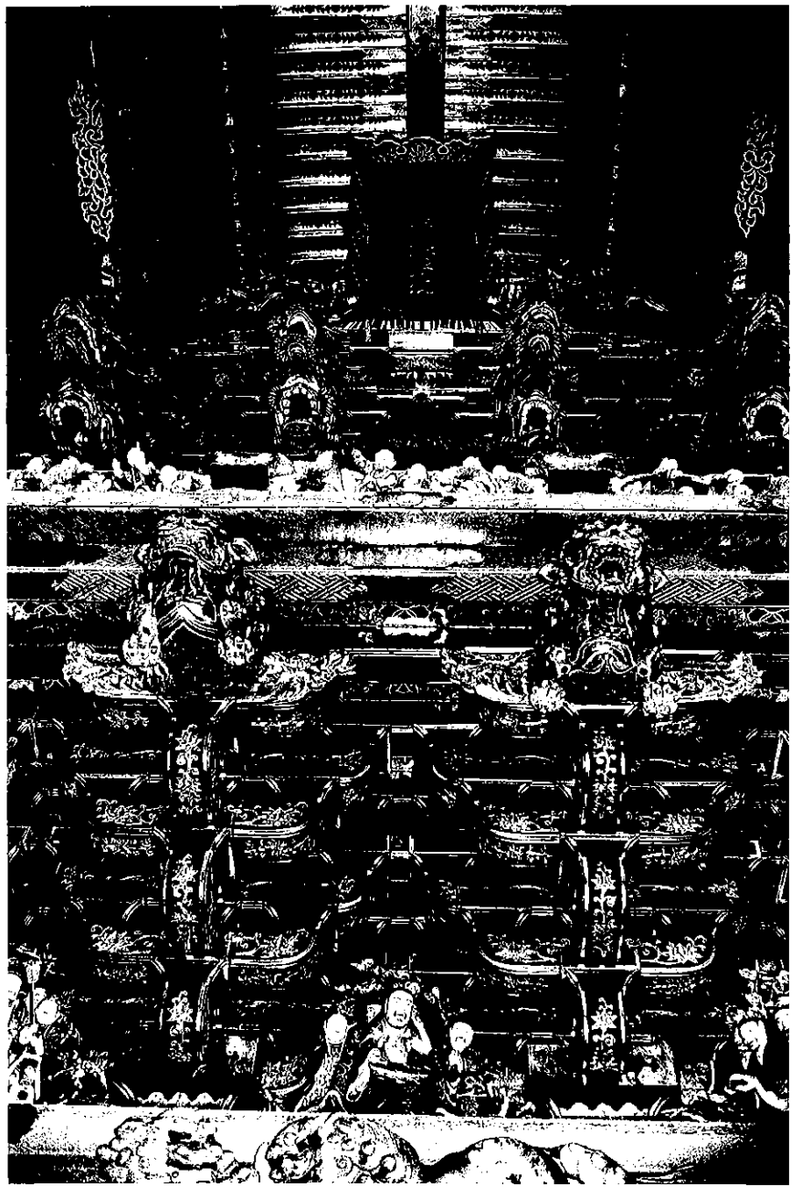

Fig 7.16
Tōshōgū, Nikkō. Yōmeimon. Detail of bracket sets and sculpture above entrance

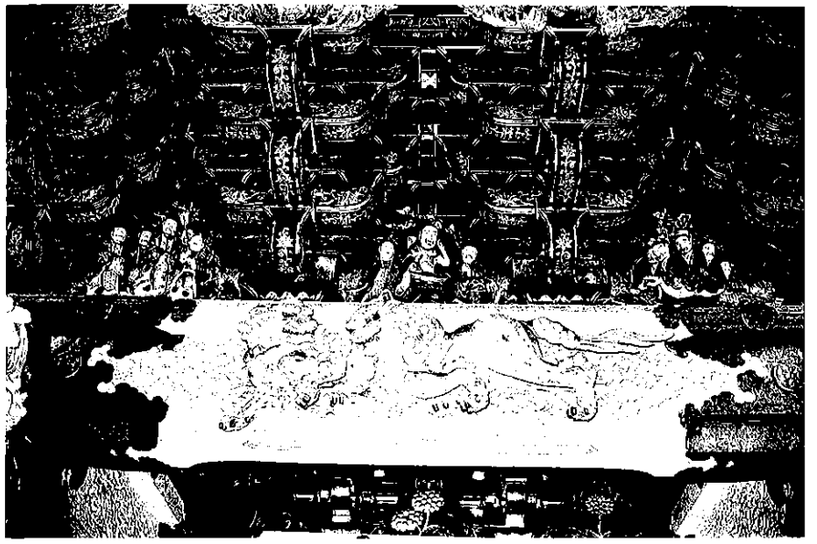

Fig 7.17
Tōshōgū, Nikkō. Yōmeimon. Detail of sculpture above entrance

mausoleum for Ieyasu in 1616 was Wayō in form. To this unique gatehc
Nikkō no fewer than four *karahafu* have been added, the ultimate step in investing the gatehouse with declaratory power; it wedded the single most potent architectural symbol of the day to the most expressive building style of the age.

Beyond the style and siting of the Tōshōgu buildings, one of the clearest indications of deliberate drawing upon Shinto authority at Nikkō is the fact of the 1634–1636 rebuilding itself. The decision to rebuild the shrine, to mark the twentieth anniversary of its initial construction, reflected the pervasive Shinto tradition of periodic renewal. We have seen this custom sanctioned by the highest level of authority at the Ise shrines. The timing of the decision to rebuild the Tōshōgū may itself have been directly prompted by Ise, for it seems to have been made immediately after the periodic rebuilding of that shrine which had been completed in 1633. Thus imperial custom became Tokugawa custom.

With the Tōshōgū the Tokugawa also carried forward their strategy of defining authority in relation to the daimyo by requiring them to pay periodic obeisances to Ieyasu at Nikkō. Daimyo were even obliged to establish Tōshōgū in their own domains. The Nikkō Tōshōgū was the logical culmination of the process of defining Tokugawa authority in relation to the imperial institution which we witnessed in its earlier stage at Nijō Castle, when the emperor came to the Tokugawa court. Nikkō became the focus for a Tokugawa theocracy. The revelation of that deified authority became the Tōshōgū. By this means the Tokugawa countered the most powerful tool of imperial authority – its direct association with Amaterasu through worship at the Inner Shrine of Ise – by creating a monument with pretensions to equivalent status and political significance. At Nikkō, Ieyasu was doctrinally equated with Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, by use of the image of the sun shining in the

east, the *Tōshō daigongen*, and by a range of tectonic strategies such as the use of *torii* and shrine buildings which reinforced the Shinto association with Tokugawa divinity.

The consummation of this process was to come in 1645, just nine years after the major building activity at Nikkō had been completed. By the simple expedient of having existing Tōshōgū ceremonies 'regulated' by an imperial proclamation, the Tōshōgū acquired status equal to that of Ise Shrine.[32] The shrine was officially proclaimed as a *gū* rather than a *sha*, a title hitherto reserved for Ise Jingū and redolent with imperial nuance. The following year the imperial court began a practice of sending an envoy to make annual offerings at Nikkō.[33] This in effect promoted the Tōshōgū to the same level as Ise Shrine, with Ieyasu assuming religious significance of the order of the ancestor of the Imperial House, Amaterasu. In practical terms this meant that imperial emissaries henceforth had to be dispatched to both Ise and Nikkō annually as well as on special occasions, such as the birth of an imperial heir or the death of an emperor, to report to the respective tutelary deities of the two shrines. In 1633 the Tokugawa had enjoyed the sight of an imperial envoy bringing Buddhist sutras, lighting incense and praying before the steps of Hidetada's recently completed mausoleum, in the presence of an audience of the most powerful daimyo.[34] At Nikkō each visit by an imperial envoy to the steps of the Yōmeimon became a ritual demonstration of imperial confirmation of Tokugawa authority.

8 Shogunal and Daimyo Gateways

The Intersecting Spheres of Arbitrary Will and Technical Necessity

The relationship between architects and authority has not always been a case of sympathetic accommodation of building design and process to governmental needs. Today we are not unaccustomed to vituperative disagreement between government and architects. For instance, Yoshimura Junzō, a leading postwar architect, had one such difference of opinion in 1965 while participating in the building of the new Imperial Palace in Tokyo, within the precincts of the former Edo Castle:

> With the basic design done for the palace, I began tackling interior details that were crucial to me. Then bureaucracy in the palace began meddling with my work. I protested – in vain. In the end, I realised that I could not be honest to myself if I continued to work under such conditions. So I walked out of it. What else could you do with those stone-headed government functionaries?[1]

A most modern dilemma but there were similar conflicts between master builders and government officials earlier in Japanese history.

The master builder as designer or architect emerges from the historical records with increasing definition as we move into the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2] Not surprisingly, so too does the evidence of disagreement. Research by Kate Nakai has identified one instance of conflict over architectural design which arose between Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725) and the official master carpenters of the Tokugawa shogunate.[3] Hakuseki was a dedicated Neo-Confucian scholar who, under Ienobu and Ietsugu, the sixth and seventh Tokugawa shogun respectively, set out to bring stricter order to Tokugawa government. For him the ambiguity of authority between the shogunate at Edo and the imperial court at Kyoto demanded resolution. His Confucian philosophy convinced him that political authority should rest on a well-defined hierarchy, clearly codified in a unified system of social and ceremonial observances. This inflexible conviction guaranteed that tension would arise between his views on the way in which architectural style should reflect hierarchical order and the equally inflexible precedent based on experience of the master builders responsible for carrying out government architectural projects.

Hakuseki's reforms involved the adoption of certain ceremonies and rituals associated with the imperial court, including the substitution of *gagaku* court music for the Nō favoured by the warrior class as their official entertainment, and certain architectural changes to elevate shogunal building protocol to

appropriated Shinto mythology and the universal notions of divine kingship. See Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology. Early Constructs, 1570–1680*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

7 Kuroita Katsumi (ed.) *Kokushi taikei*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan (rev. edn), 1929–1935, vol. 39. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 1, p. 237 (1602, 5th month, 1st day).

8 Ibid., p. 73.

9 Ibid.

10 The most impressive of these was the Daibutsuden of Hōkōji built in emulation of the Nara Great Buddha Hall.

11 The Tokugawa-sponsored rebuilding of the Gosho, spanning most of the first half of the seventeenth century, is fully documented in the records of the Nakai, the shogunal master builders in charge of Kansai-area projects. See Hirai Kiyoshi (ed.) *Daiku-gashira Nakaike monjo no kenkyū* (10 vols), Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1976. See also Fujioka Michio, *Gosho*, Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1956.

12 The most spectacular use of *gokyō* by Hideyoshi was at his newly completed palace-castle of Jurakudai in Kyoto in 1587 on which occasion the famous portable gilded teahouse was built.

13 Ōta Hirotarō *et al.*, *Nihon kenchikushi kiso shiryō shūsei*, Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1974, vol. 17, pp. 17–18.

14 The *Kan'ei gokyōki* records the details of the visit. See also Hirai Kiyoshi, *Nihon jūtaku no rekishi*, Tokyo: NHK Books, 1974, pp. 105–106; In English see Kiyoshi Hirai, *Feudal Architecture of Japan* (trans. Hiroaki Sato and Jeannine Ciliotta), New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1973, pp. 124–134. For further details of the Gokyō Goten see Soga Tetsuo (ed.) *Nijōjō*, Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1974, pp. 252–256, 406–408, 413–415.

15 According to carpenters' inscriptions on the roof truss the original gateway, dating to 1625, was extensively rebuilt in 1687. However, the delicate carvings seem from their consummate execution to belong more to the first half of the seventeenth century. See Kyōto-shi moto-rikyū Nijōjō jimusho (ed.) *Jūyō bunkazai Nijōjō shūri kōji hōkokusho*, vol. 5, Kyoto: Nakanishi insatsu, 1976, pp. 14–19.

16 Ōta Hirotarō and Itō Yotarō (eds) *Shōmei* (2 vols), Tokyo: Kajima shuppankai, 1971, vol. 1, p. 304.

17 See Kōra Munetoshi, *Ōhiroma hinagata narabi oboegaki* [henceforth the *Kōra Memorandum*]. His descriptions of Edo daimyo architecture were compiled between 1703 and 1707 and are published in *Nihon kenchikushi kiso shiryō shūsei*, (op. cit. note 13), vol. 17, pp. 7–8, n. 4.

18 Kaempfer, Book 5, Chapter XII, (BL SL 3060, Folio 354 v-355) (trans. Beatrice Bodart-Bailey).

19 Christopher Alexander *et al.*, *A Pattern Language. Towns, Buildings, Construction,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. 645–646.

20 Latest research on the Ōhiroma and Kuroshoin of Nijōjō Ninomaru Goten is contained in: *Nihon kenchikushi kiso shiryō shūsei* (op. cit. note 13), vol. 17, pp. 17:3–9, 17–32. See also Soga Tetsuo, (op.cit. note 14), which publishes photographs of early plans and diagrams.

21 *Yaezakura* (*Prunus donarium*).

22 *Tokugawa jikki*, (op. cit. note 7) vol. 5, pp. 282–283.

23 Michael Cooper (ed.) *They Came to Japan. An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543–1640*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1965, pp. 116–117.

24 Ōta, Hirotarō (ed.) *Traditional Japanese Architecture and Gardens*, Yokohama: Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai, 1972 (trans. Kirishiki Shinjirō), p. 224.

25 For example, *onari* visits on the Owari (2nd month, 1623), Date (12th month, 1623 and 2nd month, 1624), Kii (1st month, 1624) and Mito (2nd month, 1624). *Tokugawa jikki* (op. cit. note 7), vol. 1, pp. 247–248; Satō Osamu, *Kinsei bushi jūtaku*, Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1979, pp. 47–50.

26 Takayanagi Mitsukoshi *et al.*, *Nambokuchō, Muromachi, Momoyama, Edo jidai*. Kokuhō, vol. 6, Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1968, p. 111.

27 See Konpira Kunio, *The Noh Theater: Perspectives and Principles*, Tokyo and New York: Weatherhill, 1983, pp. 115–116.

28 *Shōmei* (op. cit. note 16), vol. 1, pp. 298–299.

29 For example, the official description of the final audience of daimyo with the last Tokugawa shogun (21st day, 10th month, 1867), *Tokugawa jikki* (op. cit. note 7), vol. 5, p. 282.

30 *Kōra Memorandum* cited in *Nihon kenchikushi kiso shiryō shūsei* (op. cit. note 17) vol. 17, pp. 7–8, n. 4.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 See further, Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan (ed.), *Tokubetsu tenkan. Edojō shōhekiga no shitae*, Tokyo: Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1988, pp. 23–25.

7 Tokugawa Mausolea: Intimations of Immortality and the Architecture of Posthumous Authority

1 As recorded in Sūden's diary *Honkō kokushi nikki*. Quoted in Ōkawa Naomi, *Tōshōgū*, Tokyo: Kajima kenkyū shuppankai, 1970, p. 96, n. 1.

2 *Gongen-zukuri* was a term taken from Ieyasu's posthumous title of Tōshō-daigongen, but the first recorded use of *gongen* to indicate the style of mausoleum architecture, rather than the spirit of Ieyasu, occurs in the *Sharui tatechi-wari*, a 1739 compendium on the siting of Shinto shrines. In this document the term *gongen gosha*, or 'the shōgun's gongen shrine' is used. See Adachi Kō, 'Gongen-zukuri to ishima-zukuri,' *Kenchikushi*, no. 3, 1941, pp. 393–397.

3 Kondō Yutaka, *Kokenchiku saibu goi*, Tokyo: Taiga shuppan (rev. edn), 1972, pp. 156–157; Ōta Hirotarō, *Nihon kenchikushi josetsu*, Tokyo: Shōkokusha (rev. edn), 1969, pp. 75–76.

4 Tōkyō-fu (ed.) *Tōkyō-fu shiseki hozonbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, vol. 11, 'Shiba-Ueno reibyō', Tokyo: Chūgai insatsu, 1934. (Henceforth the *Tanabe Report*.)
5 Tanabe later incorporated the material in this report with additional photographs of the extant buildings together with discussion of other Tokugawa mausolea at Shiba and Ueno under the title *Tokugawake reibyō* (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1942). Information in Tanabe's original report was collated with other Government records by Itō Nobuo in a Bunka-chō publication on registered cultural properties destroyed during the war. See Bunka hogo iinkai (ed.), *Sensai ni yoru shōshitsu bunkazai kenzōbutsu (reibyō: Tōshōgū)*, Kyoto: Benridō, 1965.
6 The model was dismantled and placed into storage in 1936. It was placed in the care of English Heritage in 1984 and is now in the process of being reassembled and its condition stabilised by conservation architects. It is planned to place it on permanent display in the Horniman Museum, London.
7 Cited in full in *Tanabe Report*, pp. 22–25.
8 Hayashi Jusai (comp.) *Kansei chōshū shokafu*, Tokyo: Eishinsha, 1917–1918, vol. 5, p. 249.
9 Naitō Akira, *Edo no toshi no kenchiku*, complementary vol. to Naitō Akira and Suwa Haruo (eds) *Edozu byōbu*, Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1972, p. 98.
10 Details recorded in the *Kōra oboegaki*, edited in the early eighteenth century on the basis of earlier written records. Cited in full in Ōta Hirotarō *et al.*, (eds) *Nihon kenchikushi kiso shiryō shūsei*, Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, vol. 17, 1974, pp. 7–8, n. 4.
11 It is difficult to distinguish between the Heinouchi and Tsuru contributions without broader understanding of the Tsuru tradition. One avenue of exploration would be a detailed analysis of the Sendai projects of Date Masamune with which they were associated before coming to Edo. However, their position on the list of *Shimo tōryō*, lower than the Kōra and Heinouchi, suggests a subsidiary rather than principal role in the Taitokuin project.
12 Ōta Hirotarō and Itō Yōtarō (eds) *Shōmei* (2 vols), Tokyo, Kajima shuppankai, 1971, vol. I, pp. 54–56; vol. II, pp. 98–99. Both the Shiba and *Shōmei* gateways are *yatsuashimon* executed in the Wayō mode with *mitsumune-zukuri* ceilings. There is also a suggestive correlation between specific details of the two *mon*, such as the three level bracket sets and the distribution of rafters over the central bay. Rafter arrangement is a key indication of proportions used in building design. It amounts to the artistic signature of a workshop when it acts as a module for determining the dimensions of the rest of the building. The *Shōmei* specifies, and the Shiba Sōmon uses, 18 rafters set above the entrance bay. Such precise correlation is more than coincidence. It should be noted, however, that the *suehafu*, the pointed gables with cusped flair set into the roof planes of the Sōmon, are not part of the Heinouchi design in *Shōmei* and must be attributed to another source, possibly the Kihara family, who were supervisors of the overall project and designed similar gables for the Haiden of the Sanshū Iga Hachimansha (1636) and the Haiden of the Sanshū Iga Gosho Jinja (1641).
13 *Kōrake shiryō*, quoted in 1965 Bunka-chō Report, (op. cit. note 5), p.14.
14 *Kase* may also be read *segare*, meaning son.
15 *Hōtō no koto*, *Shōmei* (op. cit. note 12), vol. I, p. 162–164; *Tōki-shū*, vol. II, Figs. 15–23. The description of the reliquary pagoda concludes by noting that the example given was built by Heinouchi Yoshimasa for the interior of the Daibutsuden of the Hōkōji constructed for the Toyotomi in Kyoto at the beginning of the Keichō era.
16 *Shōmei* also includes detailed descriptions of the system of proportions used in designing this type of nine-ring arrangement on top of the roof. *Shōmei*, ibid., vol. I, pp. 165–172.
17 Kodama, Kōta (ed.), *Shiryō ni yoru Nihon no ayumi. Kinsei-hen*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1955, pp. 81–83 and 127–130; Zaisei keizai gakkai, (eds) *Nihon zaisei keizai shiryō* (10 vols), Tokyo: Zaisei keizai gakkai, 1922–1933, vol. 3, pp. 821–822; Shihōshō (ed.) *Tokugawa kinreikō* (11 vols), Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1959–61, especially edict no. 157, and Fujino Tamotsu, *Bakuhan taiseishi no kenkyū*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1961, pp. 241–64.
18 Hideyoshi's mausoleum served as a rallying point for the Toyotomi cause in the period before their defeat at the sieges of Osaka Castle in 1614 and 1615, and, like the castle, was demolished immediately after the Tokugawa victory.
19 *Kansei chōshū shokafu* (op. cit. note 8), vol. 9, p. 106; vol. 16, pp. 218–219; vol. 2, p. 60.
20 Quoted in full in Tanabe Yasushi, 'Edo bakufu sakuji-kata shokusei ni tsuite', *Kenchiku zasshi*, no. 598, 1935, p. 28; summarised in Kuroita Katsumi (ed.), *Kokushi taikei*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, (rev. edn), 1929–1935, vol. 40, *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 2, p. 568.
21 On the specialist nature of building trades and professions of the early Edo period see William H. Coaldrake, *The Way of the Carpenter: Tools and Japanese Architecture*, Tokyo and New York: Weatherhill, 1990, pp. 13–18, 137–48.
22 Sakuma was rewarded with 20 pieces of gold in 1640 for the speed with which Honmaru palaces and *tenshu* were rebuilt. See *Kansei chōshū shokafu* (op. cit. note 8), 9, p. 106.
23 *Nikkōsan kyūki*, quoted in Tōshōgū shamusho (ed.) *Tōshōgūshi*, Hamamatsu, kaimyōdō, 1927, pp. 59–62.
24 Nikkō shaji bunkazai hozonkai (ed.) *Kokuhō Tōshōgū Yōmeimon, dōsayū sode-kabe shūri kōji hōkokusho*, Kyoto: Benridō, 1974. (Henceforth *Yōmeimon Restoration Report*), pp. 9–10.
25 *Yōmeimon Restoration Report*, ibid., p. 9. The original document, held in the archives of the Akimoto family, was destroyed in World War II, but a photographic copy is preserved in the archives of the Tōshōgū.
26 *Gozōeichō*, quoted in *Tōshōgūshi* (op.cit. note 23), pp. 112–135.
27 Fujino Tamotsu, *Edo bakufu*, Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi, vol. 10, Tokyo: Iwanami, 1963, p. 33 ff.; Kitajima Masamoto, 'Tokugawa

bakufu chokuryō no seijiteki seiritsu', *Rekishigaku kenkyū*, vol. 4, no. 5, 1935, pp. 27–49.

28 Quoted in *Tōshōgūshi*, (op. cit. note 23), p. 136

29 See details in *Tōshōgūshi*, (op. cit. note 23), p. 44, 136.

30 *Yōmeimon Restoration Report*, (op. cit. note 24), pp. 8, 207. The *Gozōeichō* lists costs of silver 118 *kan* 990 *momme* 'for cross land transportation from Edo to Nikkō of timbers, lacquered objects and sculpture, and for landscaping (the Yōmeimon site)'.

31 The Haiden bays are either 7.02 *shaku* or 7.06 *shaku* and the kōhai bays are 13.00 *shaku*. The centre bays of the Honden are 19.00 *shaku*, reflecting the width of the Ishinoma, and the flanking bays are either 7.59 *shaku* or 8.71 *shaku*.

32 Asao Naohiro, *Sakoku*, Nihon no rekishi, vol. 17, Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1975, pp. 271–278. For a broader discussion of Tokugawa policies towards the imperial institution see Asao Naohiro and Marius Jansen, 'Shogun and Tennō', in John Whitney Hall *et al.*, (eds) *Japan Before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500 to 1650*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 248–270. See also Hermann Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology, Early Constructs 1570–1680*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

33 *Tokugawa jikki* (op. cit. note 20).

34 24th day, first month, 1633. *Tokugawa jikki*, ibid., vol. 2, p. 583.

8 Shogunal and Daimyo Gateways: The Intersecting Spheres of Arbitrary Will and Technical Necessity

1 Junzō Yoshimura, 'Twilight over Architecture', *Koreana*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1989, p. 33.

2 See further, William H. Coaldrake, *The Way of the Carpenter: Tools and Japanese Architecture*, New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1990. See also Spiro Kostof (ed.) *The Architect: Chapters in the History of a Profession*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

3 Kate Wildman Nakai, *Shogunal Politics: Arai Hakuseki and the Premises of Tokugawa Rule*, Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1988, pp. 191–192, 226–267.

4 Ibid., p. 192.

5 *Shōmei*, the secret written records of the Heinouchi, compiled in the first decade of the seventeenth century, states that a *heijūmon* was to stand 'in front of the *shuden* (main audience hall)'. Ōta Hirotarō and Itō Yotarō (eds) *Shōmei* (2 vols), Tokyo: Kajima shuppankai, 1971, vol. 1, p. 35.

6 Recorded in the *Tōryō-domo kōjōgaki fushin jō*. I am grateful to Professor Nakai for furnishing me with a copy of the original document. See further details in Nakai (op. cit. note 3), pp. 226–227.

7 *Shōmei* (op. cit. note 5).

8 Nakai (op. cit. note 3), p. 220.

9 See further William H. Coaldrake, 'Edo Architecture and Tokugawa Law', *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 36, no. 3, Autumn, 1981, p. 262.

10 Ōta Hirotarō, *et al.*, *Nihon kenchikushi kiso shiryō shūsei*, Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1974, vol. 17, pp. 7–8, n. 4.

11 Ihara Saikaku, *The Japanese Family Storehouse* (trans. G.W. Sargent), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959, p. 67.

12 None of the Edo gateways of this type survives but in Kyoto the extant Karamon of the Nishi Honganji was prepared for an official visit by Iemitsu in 1632 and provides tangible illustration of the magnificence of these *onarimon*, its sweeping *karahafu* enlivened by richly polychromed sculpture of heroic mythological beasts and Chinese sages.

13 Thomas McClatchie, 'The Feudal Mansions of Yedo', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 7, 1879 (1964 reprint), p. 164.

14 The term *nagayamon* is best translated as 'gatehouse' rather than simply as 'gateway' because it provided both entry to the mansion complex and residential barracks for lower ranking retainers of the daimyo.

15 See further Hinago Motoo, *Japanese Castles* (trans. and adapted William H. Coaldrake), Tokyo, New York and San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1986.

16 Bunkazai kenzōbutsu hozon gijutsu kyōkai (ed.) *Jūyō bunkazai buke yashiki mon shūriki*, Chiba: Yamawaki Gakuen, 1976, Figure 4.

17 Ibid., pp. 6–8.

18 McClatchie (op. cit. note 13), p. 167.

19 See further Donald H. Shively, 'Sumptuary Regulations and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 25, 1964–1965, pp. 123–165.

20 The *Yōgō benshi* is the other major source for gateway styles in the late Edo period. Several versions written by different hands dating to and beyond the end of the Bunsei era in 1818 exist in the archives of the Department of Architecture, the University of Tokyo. *Yōgō benshi* includes detailed descriptions of the mon built by many daimyo in the late Edo period but furnishes no specific information about the Rōjūmon.

21 This study is based on the first edition held in the Archives of the Department of Architecture, the University of Tokyo. I am grateful to Inagaki Eizō, Professor Emeritus of the University of Tokyo, for locating this document for me. Another version of the document is published in Zōtei kojitsu sōsho henshū iinkai (ed.) *Edo sōsho*, Zotei kojitsu sōsho, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1928, vol. II, pp. 22–24. The gateway section of the published version is translated in full in Coaldrake, 'Edo Architecture' (op. cit. note 9), pp. 275–276.

22 25th day, 1st month, 1657. Zaisei keizai gakkai (ed.) *Nihon zaisei keizai shiryō* (10 vols), Tokyo: Zaisei gakkai, 1922–1923, vol. 3, pp. 829–830.

23 Officials charged with supervision of daimyo affairs.

24 Ishii Ryōsuke (ed.) *Bunka bukan* (12 vols), Tokyo, 1982, vol. 3, p. 183. This register of daimyo families issued during the Bunka era