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# ŌSAKI HACHIMAN

Architecture, Materiality, and Samurai
Power in Seventeenth-Century Japan

The Hammonds Foundation Monograph Series on Asian Art

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Chapter vignette: sparrows in bamboo, one of the crests used by the Date family.
Adapted from a woodcarving at the Zuihōden mausoleum in Sendai.
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For Leon, Adrian, and Elena
*Stellae maris*

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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

# EDITORIAL REMARKS

Japanese terms are rendered in the revised Hepburn system. Chinese terms are rendered in Pinyin. Japanese, Korean, and Chinese names are written according to the East Asian convention with the family name given first. In Japanese names prior to 1300 the particle "no" precedes the personal name. Historical persons and places are referred to by their most common name. Alternate names or titles are listed in the footnotes. According to common convention, posthumous titles are used for emperors. The Japanese pre-modern capital is throughout referred to by its modern name Kyoto.

Established terms such as "emperor" or "feudal lord" are used in full awareness that they do not fully correspond with the respective Japanese terms *tennō* and *daimyō*. The term "samurai" is, however, favored over "warrior" and "military aristocrat" for the somewhat incorrect implications that are embedded in these English terms. As the names of temples, government institutions, etc. may convey a particular meaning they are provided with a translation when deemed relevant.[1] In order to avoid tautologies, the English term "temple" is not added to Buddhist temple names that already include characters like *ji* (temple) or *in* (subtemple). Buddhist sutras are identified through their number according to the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* index.[2] Unless stated otherwise translations are by the author.

The organization of continuous time into defined periods is always problematic. Artistic tendencies and styles often develop in concurrent movements rather than forming defined and subsequent periods. Furthermore, period names are frequently anachronistic. Despite these pitfalls, the established name of the Azuchi-Momoyama

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1    For a study of typology and meaning of Buddhist temple names in Japan, see Dietrich Seckel, *Buddhistische Tempelnamen in Japan* (Münchener ostasiatische Studien; 37) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985).

2    Daizōkyō Tekisuto Dētabēsu Kenkyūkai (ed.), *SAT Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Tekisuto Dētabēsu = The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database* (Tokyo: Daizōkyō Tekisuto Dētabēsu Kenkyūkai, 1998–2012), Online source (accessed 11/21/2012): http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/ddb-bdk-sat2.php

period will be used in this book, affording an established and tolerably functional term. While in the political history frequently different dates are used, the period is here defined by the seminal events of Oda Nobunaga's entering Kyoto in 1568, and the destruction of Osaka Castle in 1615. The following periodization is applied:

| | |
|---|---|
| Kofun | 3rd century CE–538 |
| Asuka | 538–710 |
| Nara | 710–794 |
| Heian | 794–1185 |
| Kamakura | 1185–1333 |
| Nanbokuchō | 1333–1392 |
| Muromachi | 1392–1568 |
| Azuchi-Momoyama | 1568–1615 |
| Edo | 1615–1868 |
| Meiji | 1868–1912 |
| Taishō | 1912–1926 |
| Shōwa | 1926–1989 |
| Heisei | 1989– |

In cases where sources give dates according to the Japanese lunar calendar the following order is followed: Japanese era name and year count, with the corresponding Western year in parenthesis, followed by month and day. Thus, Keichō 14 (1609)/4/15 indicates the fifteenth day of the fourth lunar month in the fourteenth year of the era Keichō, which corresponds roughly to the Western year 1609.

# PREFACE

A house constitutes a body of images that give
mankind proofs or illusions of stability. We are
constantly re-imagining its reality: to distinguish
all these images would be to describe the soul of
the house; it would mean developing a veritable
psychology of the house.

Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*
(Boston, MA: Beacon, 1994), p. 17.

Most research projects begin with wonder. Either a question resists easy answering, a detail exerts an inexplicable fascination, or, as in the case of this project, a subject inspires sheer disbelief. Trained as an art restorer, I was initially shocked when I first encountered the typology of Japanese lacquered architecture. The reasons that artisans would choose to use lacquer (*urushi*)—an expensive, labor-intensive substance known for being light sensitive and susceptible to the elements—for coating entire buildings was beyond my imagination. Japanese craftspeople have a reputation of producing durable and intricately conceived objects that take maximum advantage of the employed materials. The application of lacquer to serve as an exterior coating, however, appeared to directly contradict this image. As I would learn, the fault lay in my own presumptions. The use of this substance as a decorative material challenged a fundamental, and essentially Eurocentric, presupposition about architecture—the idea that there exists an "original" state for a building and that that original state is the structure's only intended, authentic, and inherently stable appearance. The concept of temporary architecture may be vaguely familiar from Renaissance and Baroque festival installations, but a dividing line between explicitly short-term creations and "real" buildings that are understood as intrinsically permanent is almost always drawn. Cyclical evolution and built-in decay have no strong tradition in Western architecture.

A second moment of astonishment came when I realized that the shrine that is the focus of this study is itself not entirely original. Rather, its unusual layout and elaborate decoration is largely modeled on a building that had been completed five years earlier in the former capital of Japan, Kyoto. I was both captivated by this finding and baffled by the fact that it was well known among specialists of Japanese architecture, but given little consideration. In this discovery, I came to realize that Japan's architectural tradition is hardly a steady evolution of landmarks. To the contrary, buildings were frequently erected only for a short time and soon after dismantled. While these structures were essentially ephemeral, their impact was nonetheless substantial. The target audiences of such buildings were highly attentive to detail, from the minutiae of structural typology and proportions, to the techniques, styles, and iconographies of a myriad of fixtures and features typically demoted in English translation as merely "decorations."

The premise of this book is simple. It conducts a close reading of a work of architecture and explores this work as both a reflection and expression of the cultural and political strategies of its sponsor. The work of architecture is the Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine (referred to in Japanese as the Ōsaki Hachimangū), a Shintō shrine that was commissioned and patronized by the samurai leader Date Masamune (1567–1636). It is located on Japan's main island of Honshu in the northeastern coastal city of Sendai. The Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine is a subject eminently worthy of a monograph. The reasons for this are severalfold. First, the shrine is not only a rare example of Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568–1615) architecture, it is remarkable in that it has lasted for centuries in a largely unaltered state.[3] In this respect, Ōsaki Hachiman is distinct from a vast majority of timber-frame buildings in Japan that, as noted already, were either temporary or subject to significant interventions including refurbishments, alterations, fragmentations, relocations, rededications, and repurposing. Second, a wealth of documentation exists on the shrine. Due to many factors including extreme climate and the frequent conflagrations in a culture of wood, reliable records are rare in Japan as compared, for example, to buildings in Europe. Beyond possessing rare proof of its sponsor's identity and a precise date of creation, a host of additional information exists on the shrine in the form of dedicatory placards, votive inscriptions, graffiti directly applied to the building, chronicles, letters of bestowal, travelogues, and poems. This textual evidence is further supported by pictorial sources such as maps, plans, and illustrated handscrolls that describe the legendary origins of the shrine. On top of these documents, a number of contemporary buildings erected by Masamune under similar circumstances as the Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine that may be used as comparative benchmarks have either survived until today or existed long enough to be documented in sketches, elevations, photographs, and art historical surveys.

3    The period name Azuchi-Momoyama is commonly used by historians and architectural historians. Momoyama is more often used in art historical writing. For a discussion of this essentially anachronistic period name, see Andrew M. Watsky, *Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan* (Seattle, WA & London: University of Washington Press, 2004), p. 28.

This study extends, however, far beyond the narrow confines of an architectural case study. In its longevity and material character, the Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine offers an ideal touchstone from which broader questions regarding the fundamental mechanisms at work in early modern Japanese architecture may be addressed: How is ritual space defined and constructed? What do orientation and elevation tell us about building function? What messages were transmitted through a building's formal characteristics such as its roof shape or the painting and sculptural subjects of its wall and ceiling panels, carved transoms, and metal fittings? What was the role of color in creating meaning and in structuring the visual experience of a building? What did it mean, ontologically and symbolically, to lacquer an entire building? How can the selection of an enshrined deity be understood in the contexts of social identity and political iconography? Not the least, how did the erection and successive maintenance of the shrine building fit within a broader program of public displays and function as an expression of charismatic rulership?

In the course of addressing these questions, I will argue that the gestalt that is the Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine possesses a tripartite statement that speaks to Date Masamune's religious commitment, cultural pedigree, and political ambitions. The first aspect, the expression of religious commitment, is consistent with a long tradition in Japanese culture. At Ōsaki Hachiman, Masamune attempted to frame himself as both in line with and even surpassing countless rulers and aspirants to power who invoked the sacred as grounds for their position. While it may, at first sight, appear as a truism to explain the shrine building as rooted in a deep religious conviction, this interpretation has larger, important implications. It serves to correct two prevalent misconceptions about early modern Japanese architecture. The first of these misconceptions concerns aesthetics, the second relates to meaning.

The Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine belongs to a type of exuberantly decorated architecture of which the best-known example outside of Japan is, arguably, the shrine-mausoleum of Nikkō, an opulent politico-religious complex constructed three decades after Ōsaki Hachiman. For most of the modern era, Nikkō and architecture of its kind have been ignored by art historians and famously dismissed as aesthetic failures in the eyes of many of Japan's foreign admirers. The influential German architect and urban planner Bruno Taut (1880–1938), for instance, proclaimed Nikkō to be the ultimate counterexample for his definition of "true Japaneseness." What Taut believed to be "Japanese genius" was found in functional simplicity, effortless asymmetry, and modular design—exemplified by the Villa of Katsura in Kyoto that seemed to anticipate the ideals of the Modernist Movement.[4] In contrast, the architecture of Nikkō,

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4    Taut's views are presented in his article "Das architektonische Weltwunder Japans" (Japan's Architectural Wonder of the World), first published in 1935. For an annotated edition see Manfred Speidel (ed.), *Bruno Taut: Ich liebe die japanische Kultur* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2003), pp. 93–100. For a discussion of Taut's ideas and his reception in Japan, see Sandra Kaji O'Grady, "Authentic Japanese Architecture after Bruno Taut: The Problem of Eclecticism," *Fabrications* 11:2 (September, 2001), pp. 1–12. On Nikkō and the Villa of Katsura, see Kenji Miyamoto, *Katsura Rikyū to Nikkō Tōshōgū* (Kyoto: Gakugei Shuppansha, 1997).

according to Taut, was to be counted among the "most brutish products" (*brutalsten Erzeugnissen*) ever made and declared to be an outlandish, un-Japanese "bizarreness" (*Bizarrerie*). "The eye," he states, "is forced to see and see, until it gets tired. […] For all this seeing, there is nothing left for thinking."[5] This Western prejudice epitomized in Taut's condemnations against ornament and color proved highly influential and effectively prevented, at least until quite recently, an unbiased discussion of the function and the complex interplay of this elaborate decoration in service of the sacred.[6]

Taut's dismissal of Nikkō and implicitly all buildings of a similar aesthetic style such as the Ōsaki Hachiman as somehow un-Japanese and better forgotten represents one end of the spectrum of misconceptions. Diametrically opposed is an approach that praises, for instance, the Ōsaki Hachiman for its "opulent beauty" (*gōka birei*), but summarily concludes that its iconographic programs and those of buildings similar to it are merely "auspicious" (*medetai*) and "decorative" (*sōshokuteki*) in character.[7] This study rejects this reductive and generalizing explanatory approach as ahistorical. As I will argue built spaces represented fertile grounds for imbedding multilayers of allusions and references. Architectural decoration is ripe with meaning and both explicit and oblique references to the divine, sacred, classical, and lofty. Similar to poems, paintings, and poem-pictures, Ōsaki Hachiman is deliberately calibrated to trigger notional associations and solicit emotional responses.[8]

The second and third aspects of the shrine building's tripartite rhetoric—cultural pedigree and political ambitions—are intimately intertwined with the shrine's patron, Date Masamune, and his actions during a narrow time frame of roughly 1598 to 1616. Masamune was one of many provincial samurai leaders, or daimyō, who had arisen as a regional power during the course of a century long period of civil conflict and, like his peers, was actively competing for wealth, territory, and influence. For many of these daimyō, constantly preoccupied with usurpation and conquering neighbors, displays of legitimacy and cultural capital were critical concerns. Masamune was no exception. He erected Ōsaki Hachiman between 1604 and 1607, near the end of the turbulent process of Japan's national unification. It was built concurrent to his founding of the city of Sendai as a capital for a vast, newly acquired territory. The obtainment of this domain, the southern half of

5    "In Nikko muß das Auge sehen und sehen, bis zur Übermüdung. [In Nikko] ist nichts zu denken vor lauter Sehen." Speidel, *Bruno Taut*, p. 96.

6    See David Brett, *Rethinking Decoration: Pleasure and Ideology in the Visual Arts* (New York, NY & Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 184–214. For recent studies of ornate building types, see William H. Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London & New York, NY: Routledge, 1996); Watsky, *Chikubushima*.

7    For a random example, see Kiyoshi Hirai, "Momoyama kenchiku," *Nihon no bijutsu* 200 (1982:1), p. 73. Notable counterexamples include Takafuji Harutoshi, in ed. Jin'ichi Murakami, "Reibyō kenchiku," *Nihon no bijutsu* 295 (1990:12), pp. 85–94; Kazuyoshi Fumoto, "Nijōjō Ninomaru goten ni okeru kenchiku chōkoku no shudai to haichi keikaku," *Kokka* 1301 (2004), pp. 36–43.

8    For an introduction, see Joshua S. Mostow, "Painted Poems, Forgotten Words: Poem-Pictures and Classical Japanese Literature," *Monumenta Nipponica* 47:3 (Autumn, 1992), pp. 323–346.

Mutsu Province (also Ōshū, modern Miyagi Prefecture and extending to parts of Fukushima and Iwate Prefectures), marked a climactic moment in the Date family's dramatic rise from relative anonymity to being a supra-regional player. For families such as the Date (pronounced, "dah-tay") whose holdings lay far from the historical epicenter of aristocratic culture as well as the historic brokers of legitimacy in Kyoto, cultivating an image of righteousness so as to maintain control was a particularly critical concern. To these ends, Masamune employed manifold strategies to imprint his new base of power, not only with signs of his authority, but with tokens of elite culture directly imported from Central Japan.

The Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine represents one key piece in Masamune's broader cultural portfolio and legitimizing strategy. It, along with other works, is particularly noteworthy as it is, in no small part, an emulation of efforts exerted by a longtime rival of Masamune, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536/37?–1598). Hideyoshi embodied in many ways the shared dreams of Masamune's age. Born of low status, Hideyoshi had worked his way up as a vassal of Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), the daimyō who through a mix of martial and political skill paved the way for reuniting the war-torn country. When Nobunaga was murdered midway in his project of becoming a national hegemon, Hideyoshi succeeded him. In turn, Hideyoshi accomplished within only eight years the unlikely feat of forcing Japan's quarreling daimyō into tentative submission. Concurrent to these campaigns and after their completion, Hideyoshi embarked on an unprecedented campaign of self-promotion. He presented himself to the public as a generous sponsor of the imperial court, had himself promoted to a number of exalted ceremonial offices, and became the premier patron of architecture, urbanism, and art. Date Masamune was one of many forced to submit to Hideyoshi and he begrudgingly entered a formal vassal relationship with this new military hegemon. In compliance with Hideyoshi's orders, Masamune engaged in a series of forced sojourns in Kyoto, Osaka, Fushimi, and Hizen-Nagoya. These sojourns are of critical importance as they provided Masamune with a first hand education in the cultural strategies and political iconographies that Hideyoshi employed to frame himself as a cultural leader and legitimate ruler.

Hideyoshi may be identified as the principle source of inspiration for Masamune's ventures in Sendai. Indeed, it is one of the architectural commissions of Hideyoshi's family that Ōsaki Hachiman is known to be modeled after. Alongside the main argument of Masamune's cultural machinations at the Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine, the thematic undercurrents to Hideyoshi's projects will be considered as well as Hideyoshi's debts to his late lord Nobunaga. Nobunaga is particularly noteworthy in this context for having introduced new paradigms to architectural design and urban planning with his castletown of Azuchi. In addition to Hideyoshi and Nobunaga, it is likewise crucial to acknowledge that numerous features of Masamune's project tapped into long established material culture around public displays of non-normative samurai identities; deployed indigenous notions of temporality, cyclical regeneration, and ritual purity; and preexisting symbolical systems used to invoke and cultivate associations with the founding generations of dynastic rule in China as well as Japan.

During his time in Central Japan, Masamune also mingled with Kyoto's elite circles and established crucial ties with other samurai leaders, most importantly, Hideyoshi's most powerful ally, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616). Ieyasu would eventually become Hideyoshi's successor, but only after a fifteen year stalemate with Hideyoshi's family and their supporters. For his part, Masamune sided with Ieyasu during this tense period and, as a result, he was greatly rewarded with the land holdings noted above.

The one-and-a-half decades between Masamune's assuming control over Southern Mutsu in 1600 and Ieyasu's securing Tokugawa hegemony in 1615 constitute the backdrop during which Masamune deployed those cultural lessons learned under Hideyoshi to serve his own political ends. This period corresponds to the final third of the Azuchi-Momoyama period, a particularly dynamic cultural and political moment. Marked by a blend of old and new, it was characterized by a convergence of time-honored institutions with shifting social paradigms and radically new ideas. Date Masamune and his activities represent a prime example of this mix and its often contradictory nature. On the one hand, Masamune possessed a reckless, Machiavellian attitude towards power politics and a keen awareness of military and mercantile opportunities in the age of proto-globalization. On the other hand, Masamune appears to have placed great stock in the efficacy of ritual and talismanic practices and a commitment to chivalry, practices that often handicapped his ambitions. Masamune is not unique in this respect, but he stands out as one of only very few daimyō who possessed the financial means to pursue and realize ambitious projects. In this way, Masamune's example and his commissions such as Ōsaki Hachiman provide compelling insights into the political machinations, mindset, ambitions, and self-perception of his contemporaries and his peers.

This inquiry is heavily indebted to and, indeed, was only possible due to a number of landmark efforts produced in the last decade. The first of these efforts is a comprehensive biography and discussion of Masamune's political agenda by the historian Kobayashi Seiji.[9] Kobayashi's work finds important complements in the revised editions of the monumental series, *Sendai shishi* (*History of the City of Sendai*), and numerous exhibition catalogs produced by the Sendai City Museum. Another critical cornerstone of this study is the comprehensive restoration of the Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine that was conducted between 2000 and 2004. This project was a

9    Seiji Kobayashi, *Date Masamune no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008). The previous standard biography, much shorter and likewise by Kobayashi, is *Date Masamune*, vol. 28 of Jinbutsu Sōsho (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1959). In English there is little more than a dated biographical essay published in 1893 by the American private scholar Colyer Meriwether (1858–1920) and scattered remarks in some recent works on historical topics. See C[olyer] Meriwether, "A Scetch of the Life of Date Masamune and an Account of his Embassy to Rome," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 21 (1893), pp. 1–105.

once in a generation event and involved the building's partial dismantling, state-of-the-art scientific analysis, and meticulous documentation.[10]

This study is organized in a sequence of thematic chapters that employ distinct methodological approaches. Chapter one assumes a historical standpoint and has two goals. First, it provides critical context regarding the political and social state of Japan of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Second, the chapter will address the history of the Date family in Northern Japan and Date Masamune's rise to regional preeminence. Special attention is given in this latter half to Masamune's activities relating to the global trade routes and the presence of European powers that culminated in the famous dispatch of an intercontinental diplomatic mission to Mexico and Southern Europe in 1613. It will be demonstrated that the endeavor, although sanctioned and supported by the Tokugawa family, constituted an attempt on Masamune's part to secure his own privileged access to the immensely profitable trans-Pacific trade and, crucially, to solicit military support for an anticipated grasp for national supremacy.

Chapter two focuses on the Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine and offers an in-depth formal analysis of its architectural components as well as its pictorial and ornamental motifs. The interpretations presented in this chapter are rooted in a base assumption forwarded by Richard Williams, Lindsay Jones, Irene Winter, and David Summers amongst others.[11] The common thread between these scholars is that they reject the idea of architectural space as mere stage setting. Rather, buildings are conceived as media that force their visitors into predetermined perspectives, suggest certain ways of seeing, and urge specific responses. Working from this grounding core idea, a further crucial presumption is that the experience of architectural space also involves time—the visitor approaches, enters, perceives in a sequence rather than with a single glance. The equivalent treatment of architecture, painting, geometrical ornament, sculptural carving, and engraved metal fittings is based on the concept of the "ensemble" that, while being firmly established in Western art history, has been only recently introduced to the Japanese context by Andrew Watsky.[12]

10    The restoration report is published in Bunkazai Kenzōbutsu Hozon Gijutsu Kyōkai (ed.), *Kokuhō Ōsaki Hachimangū honden, ishinoma, haiden hozon shūri kōji hōkokusho*, 2 vols. (Sendai: Ōsaki Hachimangū, 2004). On pre-modern and modern Japanese architectural conservation practices, including partial dismantling (*han-kaitai shūri*), see Christoph Henrichsen, *Historic Wooden Architecture in Japan: Structural Reinforcement and Repair*, vol. 2 of *Arbeitshefte des Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege Hessen* (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2003).

11    See, for instance, Richard Williams, "Architecture and Visual Culture," in. ed. Matthew Rampley, *Exploring Visual Culture: Definitions, Concepts, Contexts* (Edinburgh: Edinburg University Press, 2005); Lindsay Jones, *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture: Experience, Interpretation, Comparison*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Irene J. Winter, "Ornament and the 'Rhetoric of Abundance' in Assyria," in I. Winter, *On Art in the Ancient Near East: Volume 1: of the First Millennium B.C.E.* (Leiden & Boston, MA: Brill, 2010); David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon, 2003).

12    Watsky, *Chikubushima*, pp. 145–150.

Chapter three builds on this analysis of the physical and symbolic character of the shrine and addresses its visual, optical, and material constitution. The exterior and interior skin of Ōsaki Hachiman is, just as Taut describes at Nikkō, overwhelming. The building is composed of multiple, overlapping zones of glossy black lacquer, brilliant architectural polychromy, and bright accents of gilded metal fittings. To appreciate the larger effect of this ensemble, an "etymology of materials" is offered. Besides providing a basic introduction to the technique of lacquering, its material character, and its traditional scope of applications, it will be argued that the employment of lacquer for exterior surfaces cannot be explained on grounds of functionality. Rather, the inherently costly and labor-intensive substance enhanced and added layered meaning to the shrine. A major finding that will be presented is that lacquer was used with great frequency for Buddhist altar spaces, especially, tabernacles that housed cult icons. Furthermore, lacquer was widely associated with small-dimensioned paraphernalia and functioned as an archetypal medium of ritual decorum and elite culture. The use of lacquer in these religious and lofty contexts is directly linked to the physical and optical properties of the material itself. Newly applied lacquer, with its characteristic deep color saturation and brilliant gloss, embodies vitality and newness. Ōsaki Hachiman benefited from these material associations and, as it was exposed to the elements, assumed a new layer of significance. Lacquer's high susceptibility to light damage, resulting in a dramatic loss of its initial visual qualities over a relatively short duration of time, made it uniquely suited to conveying pointed expressions of temporality and ephemerality.

Intimately related to the issue of the materiality of lacquer and also addressed in the chapter are culturally informed notions regarding color. My basic assumptions about functions of color are informed by authoritative studies by Victor Turner and Kuroda Hideo.[13] A further line of inquiry that has garnered little attention in previous scholarship on Japanese architecture concerns the question how polychromy and light likewise functioned to complicate and enrich the lived experience of the shrine. My analysis here is largely indebted to the work of Rudolf Arnheim and a recent discussion of the affective potential of surfaces by Jonathan Hay.[14] Taken together, I conclude that color was employed to imbue the structure with divine essence and, similar to lacquer, enliven the building with vital essence.

Chapter four consists of three parts that are unified by the question of how the religious configuration of the Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine relates to Masamune's political ambitions. Part one addresses the installation of the shrine as a powerful tutelary institution for the Date family and the newly founded city of Sendai. Of crucial sig-

13    Victor W. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967); Hideo Kuroda, *Kyōkai no chūsei, shōchō no chūsei* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1986).

14    Rudolf Arnheim, *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye: The New Version*, Revised edition of the first issue Berkeley, 1954 (Berkeley, CA e.a.: University of California Press, 1974); Jonathan Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010).

nificance is the charging of the shrine precinct through rituals as well as the appropriation of the specific cult of Hachiman. An important source on this appropriation of older cult traditions and their employment as a tool of political propaganda is a lavishly illustrated set of hand scrolls that details the founding of the shrine. Part two discusses the broader implications of Hachiman, the titular deity of the shrine. This essentially syncretistic deity possessed a long-standing association with the state, the imperial house, and samurai rule. Hachiman was frequently called upon as a sacred arbiter in issues of political legitimacy, as a powerful protector of individuals and the nation in moments of crisis. Moreover, he held special significance as a deity of worship for the rulers of the Sendai Plain prior to Masamune's enfeoffment. Part three explores the relationship alluded to above between Hideyoshi's architectural endeavors and those of Masamune in Sendai. The discussion revolves around an investigation of the rare constructive layout employed both at Ōsaki Hachiman and the primary site of Hideyoshi's posthumous cult, the Toyokuni Shrine in Kyoto. A pivotal component of the argument is that Hideyoshi's heirs originally intended to install Hideyoshi under the title of a New Hachiman, but were compelled to shift to a more oblique association under the title of Toyokuni.

The fifth and final chapter attempts to contextualize the Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine as one part of a larger project of developing Sendai into a new hub and center of power. Part one discusses the nature of Sendai as a castletown and Masamune's towering and palatial home, Sendai Castle. It will be argued that through singular acts of naming, actualized and sustained over time through the production of poems and the permanent installation of public inscriptions, Masamune's sought to stylize his castle and city as a reborn Chinese capital, a ceremonial and ritual center, as well as a quintessentially prospering community.

The second part of the chapter builds on this conception of Sendai by looking at its architecture and the manner in which buildings "performed" not only during ritual and ceremonial observations, but served in concert to aggrandize Masamune. Three practices are singled out for consideration. The first is the physical production of architecture and construction as a performative act. Construction sites, the transporting of building materials, the crafting of structures, the application of elaborate surface coatings, as well as the regular maintenance of buildings provided crucial occasions for the public display of wealth and the ability to mobilize resources. The second practice relates to the physical configuration of Ōsaki Hachiman within a much larger network of monumental visual axes. These axes, superimposed onto Masamune's castletown, forced lord and subjects into subtle yet pervasive roles of overseer and overseen, superior and inferior. The Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine was positioned within these axes to mirror Masamune's castle. In this capacity, it echoed the configuration of castle towering above vassals and commoners, encouraged the social relationships that this spatio-architectural layout evoked, and expanded the reading of this layout to include Hachiman's protecting gaze.

The third practice concerns the various performances that took place during the annual shrine festivals. This part of the investigation is based on Max Weber's

concept of charismatic rulership and its applications in the writings of Clifford Geertz and Pierre Bourdieu.[15] These observances included sumptuous processions, solemn rites, and spectacular archery contests. The shrine festivals constituted on the one hand an act of actualizing the shrine's original message vis-a-vis a major portion of the city's populace. On the other hand, they functioned as a constitutive and affirmative event that assembled representatives from all social strata under the lead of the samurai. In addition, the festivals enabled a mutual resonance between the sumptuous architectural decoration and the luxurious outfits of the procession participants. The shrine building's exuberant and rarified formal characteristics were amplified and further enriched by extravagant outfits of the participants of the procession.

15    Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, 2 vols., trans. of the 4th German issue Tübingen 1956 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 241–245; Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1983); Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in ed. John G. Richardson, *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).