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Shinto Deities that Crossed the Sea

Japan's "Overseas Shrines," 1868 to 1945

As Japan expanded its political influence over its Asian neighbors, Japanese migrants increasingly began to erect Shinto shrines in which to worship the deities they had brought with them from Japan. The Japanese government, which encountered resistance on foreign soil, saw those newly erected Shinto shrines as an opportunity to launch a policy that would incorporate them into its colonial governing system; consequently, it established government-sponsored Shinto shrines in its colonial territories. Taiwan and Korea functioned as testing grounds for what proved to be the quite successful attempt to indoctrinate native peoples into Shinto. Over time, Imperial Japan and its colonial governments paid more and more attention to these "overseas shrines" and introduced a range of legal measures that would transform colonial subjects into followers of State Shinto, the spiritual center of colonial rule. This article introduces major research on the overseas shrines, discusses key features of Imperial Japan's policy regarding the indoctrination of foreign subjects into Shinto, and then suggests some issues that need to be further explored.

KEYWORDS: colonial rule—Amaterasu—religious policy—war—ritual—worship—migrants—State Shinto

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In order to establish a unified nation-state, the Meiji government brought the divine image of the emperor to the foreground. This involved establishing State Shinto (*kokka shintō* 国家神道), which was also referred to as "national ritual" (*kokka no saishi* 国家の祭祀), "national ethics" (*kokka dōtoku* 国家道徳), and/or the "ethics of the people" (*kokumin dōtoku* 国民道徳). There were two components to this project: the first involved reforming traditional Shinto and Shinto shrines, which entailed separating Shinto and Buddhism (*shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離), demolishing Buddhist statues (*haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈), and establishing a modern system for ranking Shinto shrines; the second involved creating new types of Shinto shrines, which were designed to embody the goal of State Shinto.

These new types of Shinto shrines can be grouped into four categories: 1. shrines (such as Kashihara Jingū 橿原神宮 and Meiji Jingū 明治神宮) that served as places to worship emperors and other imperial family members; 2. shrines (such as Minatogawa Jinja 湊川神社 and Abeno Jinja 阿倍野神社) that embodied the spirits of "loyal subjects" (*chūshin* 忠臣); 3. shrines (such as Yasukuni Jinja 靖国神社 and Gokoku Jinja 護国神社) that housed the spirits of those who died for their country in war; and 4. shrines that were commonly known as "overseas Shinto shrines" (*kaigai jinja* 海外神社). The latter, simply referred to as "overseas shrines," are the focus of this article.[1]

Overseas shrines were erected by Japanese migrants and/or the Japanese government during the expansion of Japan's "sphere of influence," a process that continued until 1945. As we shall see, there were altogether about 1,640 shrines of this type.

The overseas shrines can be roughly divided into the following four groups: 1. shrines founded in the "overseas colonies" (*gaichi* 外地, such as Taiwan, Karafuto [Sakhalin], Korea, and the South Sea Islands); 2. shrines erected in the "occupied areas" (*senryōchi* 占領地) (such as the Republic of China and Southeast Asia); 3. shrines built in the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo; and 4. shrines erected in Hawai'i, South America, and North America, where Japan did not have any administrative power. This discussion does not include either the shrines of group 4, or those in the areas that were fully integrated into the territory of Japan

1. Scholars use the term "overseas shrine" (*kaigai jinja*) when they refer to Shinto shrines erected in Japan's former colonies and spheres of influence, and migration centers. This term was coined by Ogasawara Shōzō. See Ogasawara 1953, 6. See also the essay on Ogasawara by Suga Kōji in this issue, 47–74.

soon after the Meiji restoration, namely Hokkaidō (Ezo) and Okinawa (Ryūkyū). Here, I focus on the roles of overseas shrines in relation to the colonial expansion of Imperial Japan.

Studies of Overseas Shrines

Although Shinto shrines were erected from the late 1890s, it was not until the 1930s that scholars began studying them. The first substantial study of overseas shrines was offered by OGASAWARA Shōzō's *Kaigai no jinja* (1933), KOYAMA Fumio (1934), and IWASHITA Denshirō (1941). Interestingly, Ogasawara himself was actively involved in the establishment of shrines abroad. In particular, after the erection of the Chōsen Jingū 朝鮮神宮 (Korea Shrine) in Seoul, he made a strenuous effort to convince the Japanese government, the Governors-General in the colonies, and the Japanese military that the spirits of the earliest ancestors and founding fathers, or *kunitama ōmikami* 国魂大御神, of the colony should also be enshrined in local overseas shrines (in addition to Japanese deities). Fittingly, his book consists of two parts, the first promoting these kinds of ideas and the other describing the overseas shrines themselves.

While Ogasawara's *Kaigai no jinja* is the pioneering work in this field, KONDŌ Yoshihiro's *Kaigai jinja no shiteki kenkyū* (1943) provides detailed information on overseas shrines in general. As its title suggests, in this work Kondō focuses on the history of overseas shrines, which he divides into two groups (those built prior to the Meiji Restoration and those built after it), and then proceeds to explain the situations of overseas shrines around 1940.

Post-Second World War scholarship on overseas shrines can be divided into four stages: 1. from 1945 to the mid-1960s; 2. from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s; 3. from the mid-1970s to the 1980s; and 4. from the 1990s to the present. The first stage, which lasted until the mid-1960s, was led by those researchers who were themselves involved with Shinto shrines, for example OGASAWARA's edited history of overseas shrines (1953). While this book is strongly imbued with the editor's view of overseas shrines, it also offers an extensive compilation of prewar data and remains a classic on the subject. Other noteworthy works produced in this period include the Jinja Honchō's ten-year history (JINJA HONCHŌ 1956) and OKADA Yoneo's essay on the founding of overseas shrines (1966). These works provide us with information about the geographical locations, years of establishment, and enshrined deities of overseas shrines.

The second stage of scholarship, from the latter half of the 1960s to the first half of the 1970s, ushered in scholars who were not directly involved with Shinto shrines and who began to take a more objective approach than those who had preceded them. The works produced in this period examine the overseas shrines in relation to Japan's colonial rule, or the imperial subject-making policy (*kōminka*

seisaku 皇民化政策). The first of these was Nakanō Kyōtoku's work on the politics and religion of modern Japan (1968), and the state of the emperor system and missionary activities in colonial territories (1976). Nakanō's work is groundbreaking not only because it discusses overseas shrines in relation to Japan's imperial policy, but also because it highlights issues such as the responsibilities of those of Japan's religious practitioners who were involved in colonial policy (including not only those who promoted State Shinto but also those who promoted Buddhist, Christian, and Shinto sects). Nakanō shed light on the native viewpoints of those colonies and Asian countries affected by Japan's religious penetration.

It was Chiba Masaji (1970), however, who at that time raised the standard of research of overseas shrines. He refers to the shrines built by overseas Japanese residents, which made up the majority of overseas shrines, as "shrines erected by [Japanese] migrants" (*kyoryūmin setchi jinja* 居留民設置神社). On the other hand, Chiba suggests that shrines such as Taiwan Jinja 台湾神社 and Chōsen Jingū, were established by the Japanese government as "shrines receiving government offerings" (*kankoku heisha* 官国幣社) not only for worship by Japanese people but with an additional purpose of indoctrinating local people, and refers to them as "government-established shrines" (*seifu setchi jinja* 政府設置神社). Finally, Chiba distinguishes a small number of shrines that had been selected from among those erected by Japanese migrants and designated as "shrines receiving government offerings." These he refers to as "special-status shrines recognized by the government" (*seifu rekkaku jinja* 政府列格神社).[2] Chiba classifies overseas shrines hierarchically, with government-established shrines at the top, followed by government-recognized shrines, and shrines erected by the migrants. He notes that this hierarchical order formed the institutional basis of religious control in the imperial colonies.

The third stage of research, from the latter half of the 1970s to the 1980s, was basically a continuation of the second stage but saw a number of publications dealing with overseas shrines in particular areas. Ranki Hisao (1976 and 1977) and Abe Shunji (1978) wrote notable articles about Shinto shrines in Korea. In the 1980s, Han Sŏkhŭi (Jp. Han Sokki) published his work on Japan's rule of Korea and religious policy (1988), which soon became a classic and which discusses the roles played by various Japanese religions (for example, Shintoism, Buddhism, Christianity, and so forth) in colonial Korea.

Yokomori Kumi (1982) conducted research on Shinto shrines in Taiwan, while Shimakawa Masashi (1984) wrote an article on those in Manchuria.

2. In this article, the category of "special-status shrines recognized by the government" includes not only "shrines receiving government offerings" but also shrines receiving offerings on a regular basis from public (provincial, county, and municipal) institutions in Korea, and provincial shrines (*kensha* 県社) and county shrines (*gōsha* 郷社) in Taiwan.

Meanwhile, in his *Nanshin no keifu*, YANO Tōru (1975) discusses Shōnan Jinja 昭南神社, which had been established by the Japanese military in Singapore (Shōnan-tō) during the Second World War. SUZUKI Shizuo and YOKOYAMA Michiyoshi also briefly explore this shrine in their book *Shinsei kokka Nihon to Ajia: Senryōka no han-Nichi no genzō* (1984).

Research conducted in the fourth stage, from the 1990s to the present, shows considerable progress in terms of both quantity and quality. Generally, scholars now tend to focus on a specific period and region or on one specific issues relating to Japan's colonial rule. KURITA Eiji (1994), AONO Masaaki (1996), and YAMAGUCHI Kōichi (1998, 2003, and 2006) are notable with regard to shrines in Korea, while NAKAJIMA Michio (1992 and 1993), CHEN Lingrong (1992), and TSAI Chintang (1994) pay close attention to shrines in Taiwan. It should also be noted that, during this period, individuals and institutions involved with shinto shrines, that had been silent about overseas shrines during the period of the second and third stages, suddenly began to produce academic publications dealing with this topic. This work includes SUGA Kōji's research on shrines in Korea and Taiwan (1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2000, and 2004); SAGAI Tatsuru's work on those in Manchuria (1994 and 1998); and MAEDA Takakazu's series of studies on shrines in Karafuto, Hawai'i, and Brazil (1992, 1994a, and 1999, respectively).

Also characteristic of research conducted in the fourth stage is the number of diverse perspectives. Previously, the major focus of study was colonial policy and government-established shrines. However, scholars have begun to pay attention to the shrines erected by the migrants and to the impact that these had on Japanese local residents. These include priests, Shinto scholars, and scholars in the social sciences such as KURITA Eiji (1994) and NITTA Mitsuko (1997), who conducted a religio-sociological study of Dairen Jinja 大連神社 (Dalian shrine). AOI Akihito (1999, 2000, and 2005) and CHEN Luanfeng (2007) analyzed overseas shrines within their local environment from an architectural viewpoint. Aoi particularly stressed their importance as factors in urban planning and, in doing this, considerably widened the scope of analysis.

Other notable contributions made during this period include SUGA Kōji's research on the tenets of Shinto religion, HIRAYAMA Hiroshi's (1992) study of the relationship between religious policies in Korea and those in mainland Japan (*naichi* 内地), NAMIKI Masahito's (1997) work on the role played by shrines in terms of social integration, and KURATA Masahiko's (1991) study of the cultural policies of the Governor-General of Korea. For her part, NITTA Mitsuko evaluates and contextualizes all overseas shrines in *Dairen Jinjashi* (1997, particularly in the introductory and concluding chapters).[3] SATŌ Hirotake (1997, 1998, 1999,

3. In addition, ZUSHI Minoru made a fine contribution with his book *Shinryaku Jinja* (2003). Also see MAEDA (1994b), NAKAJIMA (2000), SUGA (2004), and AOI (2005).

and 2004) offers a comprehensive list of overseas shrines in each region, which he compiles by carefully comparing and checking data published in the prewar period. Together with the first volume of Ogasawara Shōzō's *Kaigai jinjashi*, Satō's list offers basic and indispensable data to those interested in studying the overseas shrines of prewar Japan.

A History of Overseas Shrines

This section presents data on overseas shrines in the prewar period. Table 1 shows the number of shrines (*jinja* 神社) and semi-shrines (*sha* 社 and *shinshi* 神祠) according to regions. Figure 1 shows the regional distribution of these shrines. Although semi-shrines were called *sha* or *shi* 祠 in Taiwan, and *shinshi* in Korea, they were, as places devoted to the worship of deities, no different from *jinja*. For this reason, I include these semi-shrines under the category of overseas shrines. There were 611 *jinja* and 1,029 *sha/shinshi*—altogether, 1,640 shrines. The regional distribution of these overseas shrines was as follows: 995 in Korea (57 percent), 243 in Manchuria (15 percent), 184 in Taiwan (11 percent), 128 in Karafuto (8 percent), 51 in the Republic of China (3 percent), 27 in the South Sea Islands (2 percent), and 12 in Kwantung (1 percent).

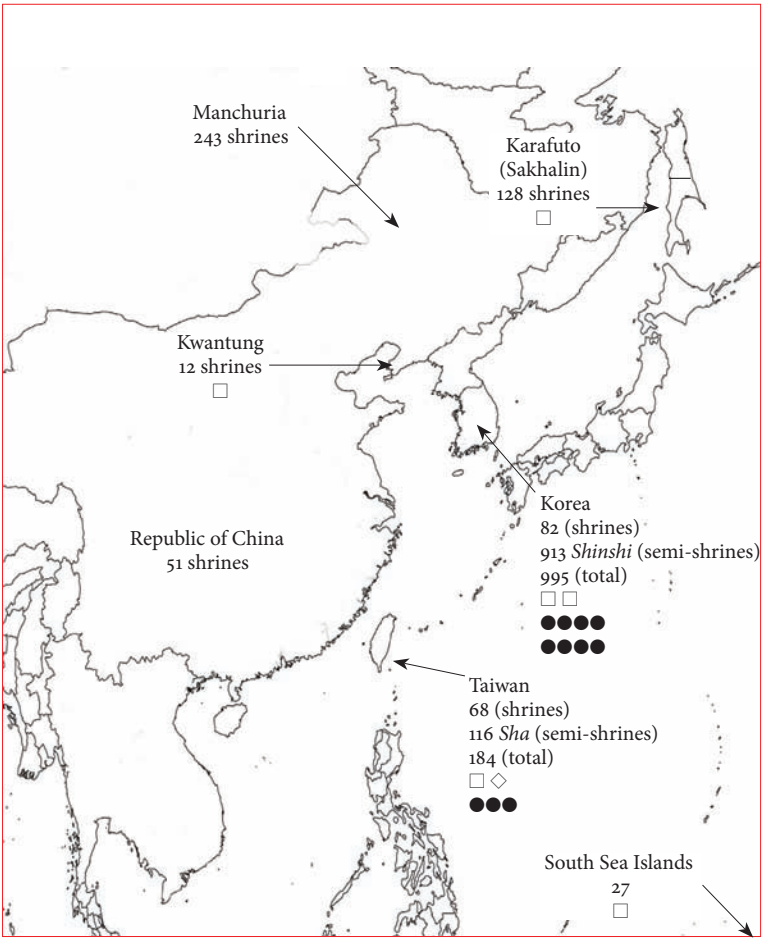
Japan's system of ranking Shinto shrines (*shakaku seido* 社格制度) was, at least in part, applied to overseas shrines in overseas colonies. The number of "shrines receiving government offerings" in Korea was ten, and the number in Taiwan was five. This shows how serious the Japanese government was about extending its imperial rule over Korea. In addition, there were shrines established in other areas during the Second World War, and these are not listed in Table 1. They include Shōnan Jinja, erected in Singapore (Shōnan-tō) in 1942; Batabiya Jinja, erected in Batavia; and Nagamasa Jinja 長政神社, erected in Ayutthaya, Thailand. Japan's power did not reach Hawai'i, but local Japanese residents erected fifty-six shrines on that island (including Hiro Daijingū and Hawai'i Izumo Taisha). Also, two shrines were erected in California (including Sanfuranshisuko Daijingū) and two in Brazil (including Tōkyō Shokuminchi Jingū).

Table 2 shows the regional and chronological distribution of overseas shrines in all categories. Based on this data, I will discuss the conditions and policies pertaining to the establishment of these shrines in each region.

Taiwan

Taiwan was annexed to Japan by the Treaty of Shimonoseki at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894–1895. The first shrine erected in Taiwan was a provincial shrine (*kensha*) called Kaizan Jinja 開山神社. Kaizan Jinja, which was erected in July 1896 and granted the status of provincial shrine in January 1898, began its life as a private mausoleum. This mausoleum was called Kaizanbyō 開

FIGURE 1. Distribution of Overseas Shrines



LEGEND

□ Government-sponsored great shrine
◇ Government-sponsored medium shrine
● National minor shrine

This map is based on "Senzen no Kaigai Jinja" from Nakajima Michio, *Nihon no Ajia shinryaku to kaigai (shokuminchi) jinja* 日本のアジア侵略と海外（植民地）神社, NEZASU 4, Yokohama: Kyōiku Kenkyujo, 1992.

TABLE 1. Shrines and Semi-Shrines (*sha* and *shinshi*) Numbers by Region

	Shrines (*jinja*)							
	Government sponsored shrines (*kan-heisha*)	National shrines (*kokuheisha*)	Provincial shrines (*kensha*)	County shrines (*gōsha*)	Others	Sub-Total	Semi-Shrines (*sha* and *shinshi*)	TOTAL
Taiwan	2	3	8	10	45	68	116	184
Karafuto (Sakhalin)	1	0	7	0	120	128	0	128
Kwantung	1	0	0	0	11	12	0	12
Korea	2	8	0	0	72	82	913	995
South Sea Islands	1	0	0	0	26	27	0	27
Manchuria	-	-	-	-	243	243	-	243
Republic of China	-	-	-	-	51	51	-	51
TOTAL	7	11	15	10	568	611	1029	1640

TABLE 1. "Others" under shrines refer to "unclassified shrines" (*mukaku-sha*), which includes in Taiwan the Taiwan Gokoku Jinja, in Karafuto the Karafuto Gokoku Jinja as well as two other shrines, and in Korea the Keijō Gokoku Jinja, Ranan Gokoku Jinja, nine Provincial Offering Shrines, eight shrines receiving county offerings, and eighteen shrines receiving municipal offerings. In addition, Suga adjusted this table slightly, reaching a total of 1656; see SUGA 2004, 3.

TABLE 2. Number of Overseas Shrines by Region and Period (year of founding)

	Shrines (*jinja*)								Semi-Shrines (*sha* and *shinshi*)		
	Taiwan	Karafuto	Kwantung	Korea	South Sea Islands	Manchuria	Republic of China	Sub-Total	Taiwan	Korea	TOTAL
Pre-1900	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	5
1901–1905	0	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0	-	1
1906–1910	1	3	2	-	-	5	-	11	2	-	13
1911–1915	7	2	1	0	1	16	2	29	3	2	34
1916–1920	6	3	2	35	2	9	3	60	6	41	107
1921–1925	2	61	3	7	1	3	0	77	16	57	150
1926–1930	3	24	1	7	2	0	1	38	31	78	147
1931–1935	7	18	2	2	2	32	4	67	38	86	191
1936–1940	30	11	1	9	15	110	26	202	17	353	572
1941–1945	3	0	0	20	0	67	14	104	0	296	400
Uncertain	7	6	0	2	4	0	1	20	0	0	20
TOTAL	68	128	12	82	27	243	51	611	116	913	1,640

1. TABLES 1 and 2 are based on SATŌ (1997 and 1998). The number for Manchuria, however, is based on SAGAI (1998), particularly the table of shrines in Kwantung and Manchuria at the end of the book. Based on this table, I have determined 243 shrines which correspond to the number of shrines with a verifiable year of founding. However, this excludes those shrines that were either being built or in the planning stage. If these are included, the total number of shrines in Manchuria was 332.

2. For both tables, shrine numbers were calculated according to the following dates:

Karafuto	1 March 1937; to this, shrines confirmed to have existed before 1945 were added
Taiwan	End of December 1942
South Sea Islands	End of June 1941
Korea	1945
Kwantung	January 1941
Manchuria	1 August 1941; to this, shrines confirmed to have existed before 1945 were added
Republic of China	30 June 1942

山廟, or Kaidai Seiōbyō 開台聖王廟, and it entombed Tei Seikō (Cheng Cheng-Kung 鄭成功), who was worshipped as the heroic founding father of the Han people's domination of Taiwan. The second shrine was known as Taiwan Jinja, a government-sponsored great shrine (*kanpei taisha* 官幣大社), which was established in September 1900 and was soon designated as the supreme tutelary shrine (*sōchinju* 総鎮守) of Taiwan. This shrine housed the three deities of settlement (Ōkunitama-no-Mikoto 大国魂命, Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto 大己貴命, and Sukunabikona-no-Mikoto 少彦名命) as well as the spirit of Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa 北白川宮能久親王. Kitashirakawa had been sent to Taiwan as the Commander of the Imperial Guard Division in order to "suppress and pacify" Taiwan, according to the Treaty of Shimonoseki. He died there of malaria. Many shrines in Taiwan followed the lead of Taiwan Jinja and housed similar deities. In June 1944, Taiwan Jinja added Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大神 to its pantheon and, by an imperial order, was granted the title of *jingū* 神宮 (imperial shrine) and renamed Taiwan Jingū (Taiwan Imperial Shrine). The majority of other shrines in Taiwan, however, were erected by Japanese settlers, as may be seen in the examples of Giran Jinja 宜蘭神社 (erected in 1906 and later upgraded to a provincial shrine) and Taihoku Inari Jinja 台北稲荷神社 (erected in 1911 and later upgraded to a county shrine).

The year of 1915 saw the Xilaian Incident (*Sairaian jiken* 西来庵事件), the largest and last anti-Japanese uprising of the Han-Taiwanese to occur after Taiwan had been annexed to Japan in 1895. After this incident, the Governor-General of Taiwan conducted a survey of local religions and proceeded to regulate the shrine system in Taiwan. First, along with the revision of the local government system in 1920, which featured the hierarchical structure of administrative units called *shū* 州, *shi* 市, *gai* 街, and *shō* 庄, shrines ranked as provincial shrines or lower. With government intervention, the tie between municipal offices and local shrines was reinforced. Against this background, some shrines that had been erected by Japanese migrants were upgraded one by one to the rank of provincial shrine. These included Karenkō Jinja 花蓮港神社 (1921), Taitō Jinja 台東神社 (1924), and Akō Jinja 阿候神社 (1926). In addition, another government-sponsored shrine (*kanpeisha*) was established in 1925 and named Tainan Jinja 台南神社. As its main deity, this shrine housed the spirit of Prince Kitashirakawa. Petty shrines, known as "unauthorized shrines" (*mugan shinshi* 無願神祠), which Japanese migrants set up without government permission, were all put under government jurisdiction according to the 1923 legislation dealing with "the matter concerning semi-shrines (*sha*) and facilities for worship from afar (*yōhaijo* 遥拝所)." This legislation defined *sha* as "places that are not called *jinja* but allow the public to worship deities."

The aforementioned "regulations concerning the establishment, transfer, abolition, and incorporation of shrines ranked *kensha* or lower" also made it

clear that *jinja* (Shinto shrines), unlike Buddhist temples and similar structures (*kyōmusho* 教務所, *sekkyōjo* 説教所, and the like), were no longer to be recognized as, and therefore not regulated as, religious facilities. Furthermore, beginning in 1922, the Governor-General of Taiwan ordered the representatives of all religious groups and institutions to attend such key Shinto-related events and rituals as Kinensai 祈念祭, Reisai 例祭, Niinamesai 新嘗祭, and Shisei kinenbi 施政記念日, all of which were held at Taiwan Jinja.

After the Manchurian Incident in 1931, the "Japanese national indoctrination movement" (*kokumin kyōka undō* 国民教化運動) was imposed, and one of its major thrusts was to emphasize worship at Shinto shrines while discouraging local religious customs and rituals. In 1934, the policy of "one shrine per district" was introduced, resulting in the rapid increase of shrines (see TABLE 2). For their part, semi-shrines were suppressed in favor of established shrines. Interestingly, talismans from the Ise Grand Shrine were distributed to almost sixty percent of all households in Taiwan, a rate surpassing that found in Korea and even in Japan itself. Along with displaying such talismans, each family was encouraged to set up a household Shinto altar (*kamidana* 神棚), and this led to the "improvement" of the local household ritual facility (*seichō* 正庁) and the removal of many local statues of gods and buddhas. This policy was intensified to such an extent after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 that local religious facilities called *jibyō* 寺廟 were massively destroyed. This had such a traumatic effect that the order to abolish *jibyō* was suspended by another order in June 1941.

As the war continued to expand, with a concomitant shortage of materials, it became difficult to establish new shrines. Instead, authorities were forced to raise the rank of local shrines in order to promote Shinto worship. After 1942, a small number of shrines built by migrants were upgraded to county or provincial shrines, while three shrines (including Shinchiku Jinja 新竹神社) were upgraded from provincial shrines to national minor shrines (*kokuheishōsha* 国幣小社). Taiwan Gokoku Jinja 台湾護国神社 was established in May 1942, according to the mainland Japan policy of founding one *gokoku jinja* 護国神社 per prefecture, at which people were expected to pay tribute to the souls of those who had died in wars. This, not surprisingly, was related to the attempt to recruit special volunteers for the army and navy.

Korea

On the Korean peninsula, a small Shinto shrine (*shōshi* 小祠) had already been built by the late seventeenth century. In 1678, when Japan House (Wakan 倭館) was moved to the foot of Mount Yongdu (Jp. Ryūtō), Sō Yoshizane 宗義真, the head of the Tsushima domain, established Kotohira Jinja 金刀比羅神社 on that spot. This shrine later changed its name, first to Kyoryūchi Jinja 居留地

神社 in 1891, then to Ryūtōsan Jinja 龍頭山神社 in 1900 (and later still, it was upgraded to the rank of national minor shrine). As the Japanese advanced on the Korean peninsula in the late nineteenth century, Japanese migrants began to erect shrines in which they could pay tribute to the Ise Grand Shrine (Jingū Yōhaijo 神宮遥拝所). These included one in Wŏnsan (Jp. Genzan, erected in 1882, later renamed Genzan Jinja 元山神社, elevated to the status of "shrine receiving county offerings" in 1936) and another in Inchŏn (Jp. Jinsen, erected 1890, soon named Jinsen Daijingū 仁川大神宮, renamed Jinsen Jinja 仁川神社 in 1916, elevated to the rank of "shrine receiving provincial offerings" in 1936).

After the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, Korea came under the control of Japan. In November 1906, soon after the Resident General (Kankoku Tōkanfu 韓国統監府) was established, "Regulations concerning Religious Propagation" were issued and Japanese missionaries in Korea were put under the supervision of the government. In 1910, Japan annexed Korea and established the Governor-General of Korea, which would soon begin to control all religions (including Christianity and new religions) through the "Temple Law" of 1911 and the "Regulations Concerning Religious Missions" of 1915 (which replaced the "Regulations Concerning Religious Propagation").

With regard to Shinto shrines, the "Regulations Concerning Shrines and Temples"—which were issued along with the "Regulations Concerning Religious Missions"—served as the legal framework for the shrine system in Korea. With this legislation, the Shinto shrines that had so far been built by Japanese migrants were all publicly authorized (seventeen shrines in 1916, thirteen in 1917). This explains why a number of shrines in Korea emerged suddenly in the period between 1916 and 1920, as shown in TABLE 2. Moreover, the "Ordinance on Semi-shrines" (*shinshi*), which was promulgated in March 1917, empowered the Governor-General to certify and control all small shrines even though many of them were poorly equipped as ritual facilities. In the long run, the Governor-General planned to upgrade those small shrines to full-fledged shrines.

In addition, in July 1919, the government-sponsored great shrine Chōsen Jinja was established as the supreme tutelary shrine of the Korean peninsula. The deities to be enshrined there were Amaterasu Ōmikami and Emperor Meiji. Construction of the shrine began in 1920. It was renamed "Chōsen Jingū," becoming an imperial shrine in June 1925, and a few months later, in October, construction was completed. In this way, Shinto shrines in Korea increased in number and were systematically incorporated into the colonial governing system. While visits to shrines became an issue for students in Christian schools (*jinja sanpai mondai* 神社参拝問題) beginning in the mid-1920s, such visits were not yet compulsory. After the Manchurian Incident in 1931, however, shrine visits were required of all students in Korea; in 1936, it became policy to close those schools that refused to participate in shrine visits.

The policy concerning shrines changed as war efforts intensified. In 1935, when the "clarification of the national polity" (*kokutai meichō* 国体明徴) was proclaimed in Japan, the Government General of Korea, under Ugaki Kazushige 宇垣一成, launched what was known as the "movement to develop the field of the mind" (*shinden kaihatsu* 心田開発). Part of this movement involved utilizing Shinto shrines for political purposes. In keeping with this, a series of amendments concerning control of shrines became law in August 1936.

Previously, only one shrine receiving government offerings existed in Korea—namely, Chōsen Jingū. However, with the introduction of the series of amendments concerning Shinto shrines, the colonial government began to establish one national shrine per province. First, in 1936, Keijō Jinja 京城神社 and Ryūtōsan Jinja were elevated to national minor shrines; by June 1945, other shrines receiving provincial offerings in Taegu, Pyongyang, Kwangju, Ch'unch'ŏn, Chŏnju, and Hamgyŏng had been elevated (only eight of the thirteen provinces). Second, by requiring each administrative unit to regularly present food and other offerings at its local shrines, the Governor-General instituted a unique ranking system for Korean shrines. There was, for example, the *dō-kyōshinsha* 道供進社 (shrines receiving provincial offerings, the *fu-kyōshinsha* 府供進社 (shrines receiving county offerings), and the *yū-kyōshinsha* 邑供進社 (shrines receiving municipal offerings). Third, the Governor-General issued the "Regulations on Shinto Shrines," which replaced the "Regulations Concerning Shrines and Temples," and separated the administration of Shinto shrines from the administration of temples and other religious facilities. With this legislation, the colonial government refashioned Shinto shrines, transforming them into national ritual centers.

With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Japanese government initiated a movement whose purpose was to harness the spiritual power of all people under imperial control. Thus, in 1938, it introduced the National Mobilization Law. This resulted in transforming Korea into the logistical base for Japan's continental invasion, and all Koreans had to submit to the policy of imperial subject-making (*kōminka seisaku*). Following this trend, shrine visits by students of Christian schools were expanded to include all Christians in Korea. In September 1938, the members of the Presbyterian Church, which had resisted this requirement to the bitter end, were, at the point of a bayonet, forced to visit and worship at Shinto shrines.

Shinto policy in Korea underwent yet more changes. In September 1938, the colonial government implemented a policy designed to set up "one shrine per *men* 面 (local district)." The colonial government fulfilled this one-shrine-per-local district policy by establishing a semi-shrine (*shinshi*) in each district. With the implementation of this policy, between 1936 and 1940, and 1940 and 1945, colonial Korea saw the rapid increase of shrines of various types (see TABLE 2).

At the same time, shrines to pay tribute to the souls of war dead were set up at the locations of key military headquarters. Keijō Gokoku Jinja 京城護国神社 and Ranan Gokoku Jinja 羅南護国神社 were founded in Kyŏngsŏng (Jp. Keijō; present-day Seoul) and Ranam, the cities in which the two major army divisions were located. In addition, in June 1936, the colonial government decided to establish one more government-sponsored great shrine in Puyŏ—the capital of the former Kingdom of Paekche—in order to enshrine the spirits of Emperor Ōjin, Emperor Saimei, Emperor Tenchi, and Empress Jingū. But this plan, which was to be completed by 1943, was not realized. Of the deities that were enshrined in Korea, however, Amaterasu Ōmikami was most prevalent, followed by Emperor Meiji and Kunitama no Ōmikami 国魂大神.

Other Areas

As a result of the 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth, following the Russo-Japanese War, lands in Karafuto/Sakhalin south of fifty degrees north were included in Japan's territory. After around 1907, Shinto shrines began to be founded in Japanese settlements such as Toyohara, Ōdomari, and Maoka. Karafuto Shrine, a government-sponsored great shrine, enshrining the three deities of settlement (Ōkunitama-no-Mikoto, Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto, and Sukunabikona-no-Mikoto) was established in July 1910, with construction completed in August 1911. The "Regulations on Shinto Shrines," issued in December 1920, helped the local residents establish numerous shrines in Karafuto/Sakhalin in the 1920s (see TABLE 2). Provincial shrines were founded in all the provincial municipal branches except the Honto branch (interestingly, the Toyosakae branch came to have two provincial shrines). Originating from a 1908 festival held to comfort the spirits of fallen soldiers in the precincts of Toyohara Jinja 豊原神社, Karafuto Shōkonsha 樺太招魂社 (established in 1915) was renamed Karafuto Gokoku Jinja 樺太護国神社 in March 1939. In Karafuto/Sakhalin, the deity most commonly worshipped in Shinto shrines was Ama-terasu Ōmikami, followed by Homutawake-no-Kami 誉田別神 and Ōkuninushi-no-Kami 大国主神.

The Treaty of Portsmouth also allowed Japan to lease southern Manchuria (commonly known as Kwantung). Here, too, Shinto shrines began to emerge in the late 1900s: these included Kansui Jinja 関水神社 (1908) and Dairen Jinja 大連神社 (1909) in Dairen (Dalian). In 1922, in order to standardize the administration of shrines in this region, the Japanese government issued Kwantung Governmental Law Number 78, which was referred to as the "Regulations on Shinto Shrines in Kwantung as well as Areas Belonging to the South Manchuria Railway." After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, a government-sponsored great shrine, Kanton Jingū 関東神宮, housing Amaterasu Ōmikami and Emperor Meiji, was established in Lüshun (Jp. Ryojun) in June 1938, with

construction completed in October 1944. In Kwantung, the most common deity was Amaterasu Ōmikami, followed by Emperor Meiji.

As a result of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference after the First World War, Japan came to control the South Sea Islands, which are located just north of the equator and were formerly held by Germany. The Japanese government set up the Nan'yōchō 南洋庁 (the South Sea Government), and Japanese people began to migrate to these islands. Once they settled there, they began to erect Shinto shrines, the oldest of which was Saipan Jinja (1914). In this area, the largest number of shrines (fifteen) was established in the period between 1936 and 1940 (see TABLE 2), and eleven of these were founded between 1939 and 1940. In November 1940, a government-sponsored great shrine, Nan'yō Jinja 南洋神社, housing Amaterasu Ōmikami, was established on Koror Island, where the governmental branch of Palau was located. In the South Sea Islands, as in many other places, the most commonly enshrined deity was Amaterasu Ōmikami.

Japanese migrants to Manchuria increased once the Treaty of Portsmouth allowed Japan to secure rights to the South Manchuria Railway. More and more Shinto shrines were erected in Manchuria, beginning with Anton Jinja 安東神社, which was erected in the city of Antong in 1905. Japan's control of Manchuria was further secured with the establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932. This, of course, led to yet more Japanese migration, which, in turn, led to a rapid increase in the number of Shinto shrines in Manchuria. In 1940, in Shinkyō, Manchukuo established the National Founding Deity Shrine (Kenkoku Shinbyō 建国神廟), which housed Amaterasu Ōmikami, as well as the Shrine for the Spirits of National Founders (Kenkoku Chūreibyō 建国忠霊廟). These two shrines were modeled on the Ise Grand Shrine and the Yasukuni Shrine in Japan. Through Manchukuo Ambassadorial Decree Number 13, "Regulations on Shinto Shrines in Manchukuo," which was issued in December 1937, the Japanese government was able to administer all Shinto shrines in Manchukuo by dispatching an ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Manchuria. The most common deity in Manchuria was Tenshōkōtaijin 天照皇大神, followed by Emperor Meiji.

Shrines were also constructed in several major cities in the Republic of China when groups of Japanese migrated there after the 1915 signing of the China-Japan Treaty (which followed the "Twenty-One Demands"). Earliest examples include Taitōchin Jinja 台東鎮神社 in Qingdao (founded in 1915) and Tenshin Jinja 天津神社 in Tianjin (both erected in 1915). After 1938, the number of shrines in Inner China quickly increased. As for the legalities of establishing Shinto shrines in China, Foreign Ministry Decree Number 8, "Regulations on Shinto Shrines in Manchukuo and the Republic of China," which was issued in June 1936, stipulated that one had to apply to a local consulate for permission and that the consulate had

to report the application to the Foreign Minister. The most commonly enshrined deities in China were Amaterasu and Emperor Meiji.

Key Features of Overseas Shrines during Each Period

Nitta Mitsuko (1984) has classified overseas shrines into three groups according to when they were founded. The first period is from 1868 (the beginning of the Meiji era) to 1914; the second period is from 1915 to 1931; and the third period is from 1932 to 1945. Nitta bases her classification on the expansion of Japan's sphere of influence through the conduct of war and the succession of the imperial throne, her rationale being that, in each period, these factors provided momentum to the development of shrines. Nitta notes that the first period was characterized by immense shrines established by the government (such as Taiwan Jinja and Karafuto Jinja), symbolizing "the state of" or "settlement by" Imperial Japan. On the other hand, there were the small shrines which Japanese migrants began to erect in Korea and Manchuria during this period, most of which housed ancestral or tutelary village deities.

Nitta describes two main characteristics of the second period: many shrines were founded on the occasion of the accession of Emperor Taishō; and a number of shrines were built thanks to the financial help of local Japanese corporations. She suggests that the most representative shrine established in this period was Chōsen Jinja. It should be noted that, at this time, many regulations concerning overseas shrines were issued, and their administrative system was, by and large, established.

With regard to the third period, which began with the Manchurian Incident, Nitta suggests that the overseas shrines, which had doubled in number, focused on "the means of governing." In other words, they were concerned with instilling in the local people the state ideology of Imperial Japan and were expanded as far as China and Southeast Asia. Thus, the shrines established in this period reflected Japan's expansionist policy more strongly than those established in the preceding two periods.

Generally, Nitta's analysis is not dissimilar to mine, but I would like to add a few points with regard to each period. The first period, which lasted until the middle of the second decade of the twentieth century, saw the establishment of two types of shrines, as exemplified by Taiwan Jinja and Karafuto Jinja on the one hand, and by small-scale shrines erected by local Japanese migrants, on the other. For example, in their respective territories, Taiwan Jinja and Karafuto Jinja were established as supreme tutelary shrines, the aim being to indoctrinate not only the Japanese migrants but also the indigenous residents. However, it was still too early for this type of shrine to fulfill its expected role. Moreover, shrines erected by Japanese migrants were not very numerous, and the colonial government's supervision of them was still quite loose. Taiwan and Karafuto, which had just been

incorporated into Japanese territory, were regarded as being "remote frontiers" of Qing China and Russia respectively; consequently, Japan had to work hard to implement its influence, which it did through its strategy of agricultural cultivation and exploitation. Finally, the religious character of overseas shrines at this time was affected by the situation in mainland Japan, where the idea that State Shinto was held to be not a religion but, rather, a national ritual, was not yet fully formed. Overseas shrines were therefore not bound by state ideology; rather, they were, to some extent, facilities for housing a range of local deities (the "three deities of settlement" [*kaitaku sanshin* 開拓三神], being one example).

The second period, which lasted until the early 1930s, differed from the first. During this period, the legal structure for controlling shrines was systematized and the ideology of State Shinto was extended to overseas lands. A wide range of new legislation was introduced in various regions. Through these legal measures, the Japanese government tightened its control of overseas shrines while providing them with some protection—all, of course, in aid of the expansionist cause of Imperial Japan.

The establishment of State Shinto in mainland Japan, which brought with it the strict control of all Shinto shrines, paved the way for Japan's legal control of overseas shrines. State Shinto, which was based on the assumption that Shinto was not a religion, was firmly established in the second decade of the twentieth century. As Shinto was not defined as a religion, all matters concerning it—such as ministerial affiliation, finances (that is, the system of offerings), rituals (*saishi* 祭祀) and ceremonies, staff organization, and sartorial regulations—were dealt with as a matter of imperial governance. Thus, it must be remembered that in this period the legal system of overseas shrines owed much to—and, in fact, was a spillover of—the logic of State Shinto.

If one pays close attention to the legal system of overseas shrines, one quickly notices the separation of religion and Shinto. For instance, the purpose of the 1923 "Regulation Concerning the Establishment, Transference, Abolition, and Incorporation of Shrines ranked *Kensha* or lower" in Taiwan was to free shrines from the regulations pertaining to Buddhist temples and similar religious facilities that had been introduced in 1899. Two laws pertaining to the status of Shinto were passed in Korea in 1915. The "Regulations Concerning Shrines and Temples" linked Shinto with Japanese Buddhism and therefore did not fully separate it from the category of religion. However, they excluded Shinto (along with Japanese Buddhism) from the "Regulations Concerning Religious Missions," which had the purpose of controlling religious movements and referred to non-State Shinto sects, Korean Buddhism, Christianity, and new religions, and were therefore a significant step in the separation process.

The selection of a deity to be housed at the government-sponsored great shrine Chōsen Jingū during this period demonstrates how the logic of State

Shinto was both expanded and applied. With regard to this issue, some people, including Ashizu Kōjirō (Shinto scholar), Tōyama Mitsuru (political activist), and Ogasawara Shōzō (Chief Editor of *Shintō hyōron* [Shinto review]), insisted on enshrining the spirits of Korea's earliest ancestors and founding fathers (*kunitamashin* 国魂神) alongside Japanese deities. But the colonial government decided to enshrine Amaterasu Ōmikami and Meiji Emperor in Chōsen Jingū.[4] The government's choice for Chōsen Jingū in Korea was different from its choice for Taiwan and Karafuto, where it settled upon "the Three Deities of Settlement." Emperor Meiji was a key symbol of Japan's annexation of Korea, and Chōsen Jingū was to serve as one of the major centers of State Shinto.

Through the legal system and the logic of State Shinto, those shrines that had been erected by Japanese migrants and those that had been established by the government were linked. The shrines erected in Taiwan clearly show this tendency. In Taiwan, Kaizan Jinja was initially authorized as a provincial shrine, and the only other shrine that had any official status was Taiwan Jinja. However, as discussed above, during the second period some shrines erected by Japanese migrants were, one after the other, elevated to the rank of provincial shrine. For example, Taichū Jinja 台中神社 was upgraded to a provincial shrine in 1914, and six more shrines soon followed suit. Eventually, provincial shrines were established in all provinces except one. In this way, provincial shrines and all other shrines erected in the administrative units were structured according to a hierarchy that was determined by the gradations of official offerings. In 1920, Tainan Jinja 台南神社, which housed the spirit of Prince Kitashirakawa, was established, and it was upgraded to a government-sponsored medium shrine in 1925. Generally, by the end of the 1920s, the hierarchical structure of shrines in Taiwan was as follows: government-sponsored great shrines, government-sponsored medium shrines, provincial shrines, shrines with no official status, and semi-shrines. During this period, students and religious practitioners were forced to visit Shinto shrines on a regular basis both in Taiwan and in Korea.

It should be noted that the trend seen in the second period was associated with the global movement of self-determination that flourished in the second decade of the twentieth century. What forced the colonial government of Taiwan to implement a new religious policy was the anti-Japanese uprising, known as the Xilaian Incident, which broke out in 1915. Similarly, the colonial government in Korea faced a strong anti-Japanese movement (the March First Independence Movement of 1919). The Japanese government understood that behind such anti-colonial movements were indigenous religious groups and activists who advocated independence and self-determination. In order to counter this,

4. For more details on the "Disputes over deities to be enshrined in Chōsen Jingū," see Jinja Shinpōsha (1976), Ashizu (1987), Akazawa (1985), and Takagi (1993).

it proceeded to streamline the administrative structure of Shinto shrines in the colonial territories and to inculcate State Shinto into its colonial subjects. Nevertheless, at this time both the international and domestic environments, which featured the zeitgeist of self-determination, were hostile to the colonial policies of State Shinto.

The third period of overseas shrine construction started with the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and ran through the Sino-Japanese War until the end of the Second World War in 1945. Korea soon became the logistic base for the war on the continent, while Taiwan became the frontline for the war in Southeast Asia. As what is commonly known as "total war" proceeded, all energies, both material and spiritual, were directed towards the war efforts in the colonial territories. The imperial subject-making policy, part of the movement to fully mobilize national spirit (*kokumin seishin sōdōin undō* 国民精神総動員運動), was in full swing in Korea and Taiwan. It was within this environment that the overseas shrines greeted a new phase. As is seen in TABLE 2, 1,163 overseas shrines, whether shrines or semi-shrines, were founded in this period. This amounts to seventy-two percent of the total number of overseas shrines in the pre-1945 period.

During the third period, the Japanese government established three more overseas government-sponsored great shrines: Kanton Jingū (1938), Fuyo Jingū 扶余神宮 (established in 1939, although construction was never completed), and Nan'yō Jinja (1940). Apart from Fuyo Jingū, Kanton Jingū had, like Chōsen Jingū, Amaterasu Ōmikami and Emperor Meiji as its main deities, while Nan'yō Jingū housed only Amaterasu Ōmikami. In Manchukuo, the National Founding Deity Shrine for Amaterasu Ōmikami was built in 1940. In Taiwan, Taiwan Jinja acquired Amaterasu Ōmikami as its main deity in 1944 and was renamed Taiwan Jingū, thereby giving it the rank of an imperial shrine. Together these points indicate that during this period Amaterasu Ōmikami came to the forefront in overseas Shinto. Furthermore, during the third period, a new type of shrine, known as *gokoku jinja*, was established: Keijō Gokoku Jinja in Seoul (1943), Ranan Gokoku Jinja in Ranan (1944), and Taiwan Gokoku Jinja in Taipei (1942). In Manchukuo, the shrine for the spirits of national founders was established in 1940.

At the same time in Taiwan and Korea, the one-shrine-per-district policy caused a dramatic increase in the number of shrines and semi-shrines, even though its implementation often encountered local resistance. In Manchuria, which saw a steady influx of agricultural Japanese migrants after the 1932 establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo, what were known as settler group shrines (*kaitakudan jinja* 開拓団神社) were erected in the Japanese communities. Almost invariably, these shrines housed Amaterasu Ōmikami and Tenshōkōtaijin as their main deity.

In addition, in an attempt to link the government-established shrines at the top and the local shrines at the bottom, during this period the Japanese gov-

ernment established shrines of an intermediate rank in its colonial territories, which it did by upgrading the status of a select group of local shrines. Ten shrines of were elevated to the rank of *gōsha* 郷社 in Taiwan between 1937 and 1943, and another three became national minor shrines between 1942 and 1944. In Korea, the policy of "one national shrine per province" was implemented, and as a result, eight provinces out of thirteen had national minor shrines. A unique hierarchical ranking system of local shrines (provincial, county, and municipal, in descending order) was created and applied to a small number of shrines. There were eventually nine shrines receiving provincial offerings, eight shrines receiving county offerings, and eighteen shrines receiving municipal offerings. In Sakhalin, five out of seven shrines were elevated to provincial shrine rank at this time.

As Chiba Masaji (1970) notes, the hierarchical system of overseas shrines was firmly established during this period. Under this system, Christianity in Korea and local religions in Taiwan became objects of religious oppression. In sum, the overseas shrines succeeded in functioning as the vanguard of colonial control and imperial subject-making. It is not surprising that, with the removal of Japan's imperial power, all shrines in the former colonial territories were either speedily demolished or simply ceased to function.

Issues for Future Research

A number of issues relating to overseas shrines should receive further attention. Scholars have published a great deal of work on Shinto shrines in Korea, Taiwan, and Manchuria (including Kwantung) but very little on those in Karafuto (Sakhalin), the South Sea Islands, the Republic of China (Kuomintang China), and Southeast Asia. Further, if we look closely, we find that shrines in Korea and Taiwan have been studied in detail but that semi-shrines have not, even though the latter were more closely connected to the religious customs and practices of local people than were the former. If one wishes to understand how overseas shrines functioned in Japan's former colonial territories, then research on semi-shrines is critical.

Another important issue that awaits further research concerns the policy-making process relating to overseas shrines in each of the three periods. In each region, we need to look at who was involved in policy making, when specific policy measures were taken, how local situations were taken into consideration, and how legal regulations were put into practice. We need to understand how colonial governments, Japan's central government (which included such organs as the Imperial Household Agency, the Foreign Affairs and Home Affairs ministries, the Shinto Office, the Manchuria Office, the Department of Great East Asia, and so on), the military, and the National Association of Shinto Priests all

pushed their own agendas in the attempt to promote or make policies. It was not easy to achieve consensus on many issues, and those involved in decision making were often dragged into fights. In order to coordinate policies pertaining to the overseas shrines, from 1937, the Ministry of Home Affairs ran an organization known as Kaigai Jinja Kenkyūkai 海外神社研究会 (Society for studying overseas shrines), which was later merged with Kaigai Jinja Kyōkai 海外神社協会 (Association of overseas shrines) and then Kōten Kōkyūsho 皇典講究所 (Research center for the Imperial classics). Conducting research on the political history of overseas shrines remains a major task.

Suga Kōji has extensively studied Shinto ideas and doctrines pertaining to overseas shrines, yet he suggests that the ideas associated with the "three deities of settlement" (*kaitaku sanshin*) and the spirits of the earliest ancestors and founding fathers (*kunitamashin*) need to be further explored. This cannot be separated from the problem of State Shinto, the religiosity (or lack thereof) of Shinto, Japan's annexation of Korea, and the theory that Korea and Japan have the same ancestral origin. In addition, within the context of Japan's territorial expansion and colonial rule, overseas shrines should be examined in relation to other religions, including Buddhism, Shinto sects, Christianity, and local religious sects.

Finally, overseas shrines should be the subject of comparative research within an international context. Imperial Japan did not have a monopoly on using religion in colonial rule. Investigation into the role of religion in late nineteenth and early twentieth century European expansion, when religion and politics were notionally separated, would therefore be valuable for comparison with the Japanese case.

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