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Seoul's Namsan Area as Assimilatory Space (1892–1945): Rituals and Ceremonies, the Self and the Other

JULJAN BIONTINO

Introduction

Seoul, formerly known as Hanyang and Hansŏng, was the capital of the Chosŏn dynasty from 1392. Renamed Keijō by its colonizer, Japan, it was the administrative center of Korea under Japanese rule. Namsan 南山 (Southern Mountain), situated south of the main palace of Kyŏngbok-gung 景福宮, is deeply embedded in the city's history and is now a major tourist attraction in Seoul. From the dawn of the Chosŏn period, it served as a place of ritual and was perceived as protector over the city. It was believed its guardian spirit was residing there, which is why Namsan was protected from deforestation by royal edict. The mountain kept its lush greenery even in times when all the mountains in and around Seoul served as gravesites.[1]

The Korean Empire was proclaimed by King Kojong 高宗 (1852–1919; r. 1864–1907) in 1897. To legitimate his rule and to instill patriotism in Koreans, Kojong revived a series of rituals to heaven and had a new ritual site, Changch'ungdan 奬忠壇, built on Namsan's eastern foot. Rituals comforting those who had died for the country were held there twice a year. This reinvention of Namsan continued under Japanese rule; Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples were built, overriding Korean functions attributed to the mountain. Namsan then became a space of Japanese rituals and customs and played a decisive role in the assimilation of Koreans into the cause of the Japanese Empire. This article outlines the changes on Namsan, reviewing the construction of these Japanese institutions, and considers the rituals and ceremonies held at these institutions to delineate the imagery of the self and the other as it was created on Namsan and in turn disseminated throughout the colony. It argues that the policy of turning Koreans into Japanese subjects (*kōminka seisaku* 皇民化政策) was developed on the mountain, and was less of a new stage in assimilation policy and more an extension of what was devised on Namsan.

There is much research on the changes on Namsan and the workings of Shinto in Korea. However, most research focuses either on Shinto policy in all of Korea or on individual facilities, not considering ritual life in detail.[2] This article attempts to understand the whole

1 Bird Bishop, *Korea & Her Neighbours*, p. 31; Naigai Jijōsha, *Keijō no omokage*, p. 223.

2 The historian Todd Henry examines two shrines on Namsan, looking at how Seoul changed during the colonial period. In the resulting monograph, *Assimilating Seoul*, however, the content on Namsan was heavily condensed. In Japan, from the perspective of architectural history, Aoi Akihito has pointed out

Namsan area as one coherent assimilatory space in which "being Korean" was slowly overwritten with images of Japan and its historical memory, becoming a site to educate and celebrate *tennō* 天皇 (emperor) ideology.

The Development of Namsan as an Assimilatory Space (1892–1945)

Foreigners were allowed to settle in Seoul from 1882.[3] The area situated at the northern foot of Namsan was called Waeseongdae 倭城臺 (Japanese Fortress)[4] because it had been used by Japanese troops during Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea between 1592 and 1598. Now it became the main Japanese settlement. From 1892, initial plans to build a Shinto shrine were conceived by elite members of the settler community. Their main motivation was the creation of a space to pray for and to commemorate thirty-eight Japanese victims of political turmoil, such as the Imo soldier mutiny of 1882 and the attempted coup d'état of Kapsin in 1884.[5] Costs were covered by donations from the settler community, while the wealthier elite members paid for the land.[6]

With the support of the Japanese legation, Yamaguchi Tahei 山口太兵衛 (1866–1934), as settler representative, approached Ise Shrine to obtain an object of worship (*shintai* 神体). Considering the diverse origins of the Japanese settlers, it was impossible to find an appropriate ancestral deity (*ujigami* 氏神) for worship befitting all. Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大神, as major deity and progenitor of the Japanese imperial line, was perceived as a viable compromise.[7] Worship of Amaterasu, when Shinto was developed into State Shinto, reaffirmed the notion of being Japanese among the Japanese settlers in Korea. However, when planning the first shrine on Namsan, settlers cared more about commemoration and prayers for relief from sickness, especially cholera; their motivations were religious rather than nationalistic.[8]

Shrines connected to Ise Jingū were traditionally known as *daijingū* 大神宮 (Great Shrine). As the Japanese authorities were yet to implement any form of regulation, the settlers decided to name the shrine Namsan Daijingū 南山大神宮 (Great Shrine of Namsan) upon its completion in 1898.[9] By now, nationalist motives became more salient as Amaterasu was enshrined to commemorate and celebrate the birthday of Emperor Meiji 明治天皇 (1852–1912).[10] For the upkeep of the shrine, the settler community formed an *ujiko* 氏子 (shrine parishoner) organization, which further strengthened the sense of community among the settlers and also became the framework for the reaffirmation of their identity as Japanese nationals.[11] After the shrine learned about plans made by the state to build a state-run shrine in Seoul, it renamed itself Keijō Jinja 京城神社 in a bid to show that the city already had a thriving shrine. An announcement that this shrine was now considering itself the *ujigami* of all of Seoul followed. The *ujiko* organization fully took over the shrine administration from the settler organization, the latter having to dissolve since the city had become part of the Japanese empire in 1910 and was turned into a city prefecture in 1916; settlers were now just citizens.[12]

The Japanese plan to build a state-run shrine in Korea, tentatively named Chōsen Jinja 朝鮮神社, started shortly after annexation.[13] The death of Emperor Meiji in 1912 and the construction of Meiji Jingū 明治神宮 in Tokyo marked the beginning of his wor-

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that Namsan during the colonial period turned into a 'realm of the gods.' There are many works on State Shinto and its colonial setting by Japanese researchers, and in particular Aono Masaaki and Yamaguchi Kōichi are most productive in the field. In Korea, the works of An Chong-ch'ŏl, Kim Tae-ho, and Mun Hye-jin are of central concern. However, most of these works do not regard Namsan as one ritual space but are only concerned with singular shrines, and then only several aspects of them. Other works focus on Japanese Shintoist arguments about shrines in colonial Korea, failing to see how colonial reality and ritual life was experienced by Koreans.

3 Contracts regarding this are listed in Ch'oe, *Choyak ŭro pon Han'guk kŭndaesa*.

4 *Wae* 倭 is a derogatory term referring to the Japanese.

5 *Maeil sinbo* 毎日申報, 1916.4.26.

6 Keijō Kyoryū Mindan, *Keijō hattatsu-shi*, pp. 176–77.

7 Iwashita, *Tairiku jinja taikan*, pp. 319–20.

8 Ogasawara, *Zaiman Chōsen dōhō no genjō*, pp. 11–13.

9 Daijingū denotes a shrine for Amaterasu Ōmikami, Jingū denotes a shrine that is related to the imperial family, and Jinja denotes regular shrines.

10 Abe, *Tairiku no Keijō*, pp. 196–97.

11 Keijō Kyoryū Mindan, *Keijō hattatsu-shi*, p. 96; Kim Tae-ho, "1910 nyŏndae~1930 nyŏndae," pp. 81–85.

12 "Chōsen Jinja o sōritsu shi shakaku o kanpeitaisha ni resseraru" 朝鮮神社ヲ創立シ社格を官幣大社に列せらる. JACAR (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records), Database, National Archives of Japan), ref. no. A01200173500. https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?KEYWORD=&LANG=default&BID=F0000000000000006494&ID=M0000000000001753395&TYPE=&NO=.

13 Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen jingū zōeishi*, pp. 1–3.

ship as a Shinto deity (*kami* 神), which brought up the question of whether and how to worship him in Korea.[14] The first result of the Governor-General's (*sōtoku* 総督) efforts to bring order to Shinto in Korea and to lay the groundwork for state-run shrines in the colony was the announcement of Jinja Jiin Kisoku 神社寺院規則 (Regulations for Shrines and Temples) in 1915.[15] Shrine Shinto was now defined as state ritual (*kokka no sōshi* 国家の宗祀), which was valid in the motherland as well as the colonies.[16]

Namsan was to house the new state-governed shrine, almost neighboring Keijō Jinja. However, the discussion about what *kami* were to be revered dragged on for years.[17] Without any considerable progress in the project, the March First Movement of 1919[18] halted the planning. In its aftermath, Governor-General Hasegawa Yoshimichi 長谷川義道 (1850–1924) decided in unison with Prime Minister Hara Takashi 原敬 (1856–1921) that Amaterasu and Emperor Meiji were to be revered because of their authority as *kami* (*shin'i* 神威). It was argued that no *kami* could represent Japanese rule over Korea better than Emperor Meiji, for it was under his rule and thanks to his benevolence that Korea became part of the Japanese Empire. Amaterasu, as the highest *kami* in the State Shinto pantheon, was a sign of eternal rule over Korea, and thus could serve as a clear sign to the Korean populace that the Japanese and Shinto had come to stay, despite resistance: Chōsen Jinja should be a facility to "protect the whole of Korea" (*Chōsen no sōchinshu* 朝鮮の総鎮守).[19] Only in June 1925, shortly before the shrine was completed and inaugurated in October of the same year, was the name Chōsen Jingū finally decided, implying its imperial rank as the highest shrine of the peninsula.[20]

During the planning and building stages of the new shrine, newspaper speculation hardened fears that Keijō Jinja might become obsolete in the future.[21] When Chōsen Jingū was inaugurated in 1925, Keijō Jinja already had a twenty-eight-year history. Trusting in its position, Keijō Jinja decided to rebuild and expand to stay relevant, trying to represent everything that Chōsen Jingū could not.[22] Chōsen Jingū, as a state-run shrine at the rank of *kanpei taisha* 官幣大社 (an imperial shrine of the first rank), could neither have satellite shrines (*sessha* 摂社), nor could it have a designated *ujiko* and the structural organization that came with it. Shrine parades were also not endorsed by State Shinto, so Keijō Jinja steadfastly kept up this tradition and hosted a shrine parade through the city every year. Chōsen Jingū was not supposed to hold family ceremonies such as weddings, another task that Keijō Jinja readily submitted to.[23]

This way, Keijō Jinja attempted to cater to family matters and personal needs, while Chōsen Jingū was focused on the authority that it was given by the state, systematically ordering pupils and teachers, companies, politicians, and finally individuals of both Korean and Japanese descent to come to the shrine.[24] While the style of assimilation followed a secular way at Chōsen Jingū, Keijō Jinja pursued a "religious" way, ignoring questions and doubts concerning the character and requirements of State Shinto. In taking up the propaganda of the Governor-General, Keijō Jinja even argued that, "since annexation, excluding the Korean populace from Shinto" was "doing fraud to the 'assimilation of Japan and Korea' (*naisen dōka* 内鮮同化)."[25] The final consequence of Keijō Jinja's policy was the enshrinement of a "Korean *kami*" in 1929. In 1936, Keijō Jinja was finally recognized by the state as a national shrine of minor

14 Ibid., pp. 3–7.
15 Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen sōtokufu kanpō*, no. 916, 1915.8.20.
16 Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, pp. 451–56.
17 Aoi, "Shinto Shrines and Urban Reconstruction of Seoul," pp. 41–42.
18 The March First Movement was a Korean independence movement planned after the death of Korean King Kojong. Although the leaders of the movement planned to not agitate the masses, the declaration was read out publicly by students. Ensuing demonstrations spread all over Korea before the Japanese military regained control over the situation.
19 Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen jingū zōeishi*, pp. 4–11.
20 Chōsen Shinshokukai, *Chōsen jinja hōrei shūran*, pp. 56–57; *Keijō nippō* 京城日報, 1920.5.27.
21 *Keijō nippō*, 1916.4.6, 1916.7.9, 1916.9.7, 1916.9.16.
22 Keijōfu, *Keijōfu-shi*, p. 176.
23 The head priest contested this. Shinto-style weddings (*shinzen kekkon* 神前結婚) had become *en vogue* in the colony and they were an important source of income for the shrines. At Chōsen Jingū, 1,883 weddings were held between 1925 and 1947; only forty-seven cases were marriages between Koreans only, and most common were Japanese marriages followed by mixed marriages. There are no complete statistics available for Keijō Jinja, but newspapers pointed out that even couples who lived far from Seoul came to tie the knot during the cherry blossom season. Keijō Jinja tried to retain its position as the favorite spot for weddings by securing an atmosphere that was more in accordance with Japanese aesthetic norms than would have been possible at the immense Chōsen Jingū. See *Keijō nippō*, 1917.7.16, 1923.5.15, 1925.5.4, 1926.3.30, 1926.5.4, 1932.9.23.
24 Hiura, *Jinja, gakkō, shokuminchi*.
25 Keijōfu, *Keijōfu-shi*, p. 179.

grade (*kokuhei shōsha* 国幣小社), securing its position and resolving the anxiety of Keijō Jinja's staff and parishoners about neighboring Chōsen Jingū.[26]

In the meantime, Keijō Jinja had followed its own concept of assimilation and extension by building several satellite shrines on its premises. The tradition of establishing *sessha* dated back to when Keijō Jinja was known as Namsan Daijingū, when in 1902 a Tenmangū 天満宮 in honor of Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903), the *kami* of scholarship and learning, was established according to the wishes of Japanese settlers to pray for the education and prosperity of their offspring.[27] Next to several interest groups, it was mainly the *ujiko* organization that brought together the necessary money to extend the shrine premises by vigorously collecting money throughout the city.[28] In addition, after 1925, Hachimangū 八幡宮, Inari Jinja 稲荷神社, and Nogi Jinja 乃木神社 were built on Namsan. Erected at the end of 1929, Hachimangū's object of worship originated from the Hachiman Shrine of Usa. Representing Kyoto's Fushimi Inari Taisha 伏見稲荷大社, Inari Jinja was initially built around 1910 in the Yongsan 龍山 area, but was then moved to Namsan in 1929 and was inaugurated only half a year after Hachimangū.[29] Next to such "higher" deities, a modern military deity (*gunshin* 軍神) came to Namsan: Nogi Jinja, in honor of General Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典 (1849–1912), was inaugurated on 13 September 1934 to commemorate the twenty-second anniversary of his death. He was enshrined together with his wife and honored as the epitome of loyalty to the emperor, given the fact that he and his wife committed suicide according to the old tradition of following one's lord into death (*junshi* 殉死). The initiative to build the shrine was carried out by the local branch of the same society that was responsible for Nogi Shrine in Tokyo. It was built only as a satellite shrine due to cost and time constraints but was perceived to represent Tokyo's Nogi Shrine in the colony.[30]

The last stage of Namsan's transformation began in 1940 when the Governor-General decided to build a Gokoku Jinja 護国神社 (literally, "shrine to protect the country") at the southwestern foot, facing the direction of the Yongsan area, which was home to a Japanese military base. Although the shrine started to be built in October 1940, due to the scarcity of materials because of the war, the main pillars could only be erected in the summer of 1943. As a "shrine to protect the country," it was a regional representative of Yasukuni Jinja 靖国神社 that enabled worship of the war dead as "heroic souls" and part of the Gokoku Jinja network all over Japan. Until then, this had only been possible by adhering to so-called *yōhaishiki* 遥拝式, the remote commemoration of events at Yasukuni.[31]

These Shinto shrines were complemented by Buddhist facilities located on the southern and eastern foot of Namsan. In 1932, a temple named Hakubunji 博文寺 (Kr. Pakmunsa) was built to commemorate Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909).[32] It is no coincidence that this memorial temple was built on the ruins of Changch'ungdan, the altar where Koreans once commemorated their fallen compatriots and their queen.[33] In 1936, Wakagusa Kannondō 若草観音堂, a temple in honor of Saitō Makoto 斎藤実 (1858–1935), who had served as Governor-General in Korea for two terms, was built at the southern foot of Namsan. Originally designed only to house a small Kannon statue that Saitō had given as a gift to the Korean people, the temple was rebranded in the memory of Saitō after he had been killed in the wake of the 26 February 1936 incident, an attempted coup d'état by young military officers in Tokyo. A strand of his hair was brought from Tokyo to be kept with the statue as an object of worship.[34]

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26 Henry, "Keijo," pp. 374–75.

27 Ibid.

28 Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, pp. 451–56; Aoi, "Shinto Shrines and Urban Reconstruction of Seoul," pp. 56–57; *Keijō nippō*, 1926.5.18, 1930.10.16.

29 Iwashita, *Tairiku jinja taikan*, p. 322.

30 Chōsen Nogi Jinja Kensetsukai, *Chōsen Nogi jinja ken'eishū*, pp. 69–70; *Keijō nippō*, 1932.9.1; *Maeil sinbo*, 1934.4.14.

31 An, "1930-40 nyŏndae," p. 56. See also "Keijōfu shozai rikugun shokan zaisan kanrikan no ken" 京城府所在陸軍所管財産管理換の件. JACAR, ref. no. C01002325600. https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/aj/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&BID=F2006090103370984264&ID=M2006090103372184415&REFCODE=C01002325600. On the history of Yasukuni Jinja, see Ōe, *Yasukuni jinja*. For current issues, see Breen, *Yasukuni*; *Maeil sinbo*, 1940.10.27, 1941.6.18, 1943.7.16, 1943.7.22; *Keijō nippō*, 1943.6.22.

32 Itō was a leading figure in the Meiji Restoration and was vital in creating the Japanese Constitution. As first prime minister of Japan, he became general-resident in Korea after it became a protectorate in 1905. In 1909, travelling in Manchuria, Itō was shot by Korean independence fighter An Chŭng-gun.

33 The queen, palace guards, and soldiers were commemorated together. After the Japanese victory in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), a group of Japanese assassins invaded the royal palace in the early morning of 8 October 1895, and murdered the queen, who had spoken out politically for stronger cooperation with Russia. See Kim Mun-ja, *Chōsen ōhi satsugai to Nihonjin*.

34 Nakamura, *Saitō shishaku o shinobu*, pp. 10–13; *Keijō nippō*, 1936.4.11.

Rituals, Ceremonies, and Other Events on Namsan

Next to the usual rituals on the Shinto calendar, the yearly service of commemorating the dead (*shōkonsai* 招魂祭) was a central part of Keijō Jinja's identity, dating back to its origins as Namsan Daijingū. Held on 4 December, the anniversary of the day when pro-Japanese Koreans had attempted the so-called Kapsin coup d'état in 1884,[35] the *shōkonsai* started in 1885 with the participation of around eighty settlers. First held in a Buddhist temple downtown, it was brought to the platform at the northern foot of Namsan due to lack of space. Later, Namsan Daijingū was built there and thus took over the ceremony.[36] The ritual itself was held with elements from both Shinto and Buddhism. Keijō Jinja presided over the *shōkonsai* until the end of the colonial period. Most years, the Governor-General led the official delegation to which the Chief of Police (*keimu sōkan* 警務総監) and Chief of Troops (*gunshi reikan* 軍司令官) also belonged. When wartime commenced, division leaders and representatives of patriotic clubs additionally joined the ritual, which is why it was consequently moved to the military base in Yongsan, where from 1938 a military graveyard had been established. Thus, over the years, this ritual was extended from Japanese settlers to all over Keijō, and Koreans also took part.[37]

During the building of Chosen Jingū, the usual rituals common to all newly built shrines were observed. Even though closed to the public, such rituals were announced as bringing "Japanese ways to the new territory."[38] On 10 October 1925, the *torii* 鳥居 gate was put up, and propagation of the shrine as "protector of all of Korea" (*Chōsen no sōchinshu*) commenced.[39] The artifacts representing the deities arrived at the newly built Keijō main station only three days after the *torii* was set up, which marked the beginning of public events.[40] The inauguration itself took place on the morning of 15 October, when six priests presided over the ceremony among approximately three thousand five hundred onlookers. Among them were the Governor-General, members of foreign embassies, and a member of the Korean royal household, next to Japanese officials and Korean provincial governors. Additionally, twenty thousand schoolchildren from Keijō had been mobilized as flagbearers. This event was also a test for the newly built infrastructure. At the foot of the staircase, numerous rickshaws were causing traffic congestion, waiting times were reportedly very long, and the shrine grounds, with ten hectares, were hardly enough to accommodate all visitors.[41] Already at full capacity on its first day, this space would remain the main gathering space on Namsan until the end of the war.

In his ceremonial speech, Saitō emphasized that reverence at the shrine was a sign of indebtedness to the ancestors and the Japanese Empire. He emphasized the importance of the selected *kami* deities, calling for frequent visitors.[42] At the same time, the burning questions of the Christian populace about the religious character of shrine visits were ignored. Korean sentiments were not heeded at all, even though Shinto scholars had continuously voiced their criticism of the shrine, stating that as protector over all of Korea, the shrine should feature Korean characteristics as well.[43] This enshrinement ceremony was followed by the first annual Chōsen Jingū sports competition. The event was held in the sports stadium in town, but athletes had to pay their respects at the shrine in related events. For onlookers, sports competitions offered entertainment and were therefore a good way of making those uninterested in the shrine, especially Koreans, come into

35 Radical Korean reformers, who were impressed and supported by Japan, tried to establish a pro-Japanese government. After a shooting at a banquet to commemorate the inauguration of the new postal service, the palace was seized. However, the coup was ended by the huge presence of Chinese troops in the country.

36 Keijō Kyoryū Mindan, *Keijō hattatsu-shi*, pp. 454–57.

37 Newspaper articles that mention these festivities are: *Keijō nippō*, 1929.5.1, 1936.5.1, 1938.5.1, 1940.5.1, 1943.5.1, 1944.5.1; *Tong'a ilbo* 東亜日報, 1932.5.1, 1933.4.30, 1934.5.1, 1939.5.1; *Maeil sinbo*, 1912.4.24, 1912.5.23, 1913.5.1, 1917.4.26, 1918.8.25, 1919.8.19, 1934.5.1, 1937.4.23, 1937.5.1, 1939.5.1.

38 Watanabe, "Chōsen jingū no gozōei ni tsuite."

39 *Keijō nippō*, 1925.10.10.

40 Yokota, *Chōsen Jingūki*, pp. 46–47. The year 1925 marked the fifteenth anniversary of Japanese rule in Korea. From New Year's Day, newspapers announced the successful realization of the Governor-General's plan to complete central modern facilities during the year, including City Hall, the Governor-General's building, and Keijō Imperial University. The 1925 October issue of the government-run *Chōsen* 朝鮮 magazine exemplifies the pride in the achievements of the year with a series of photographs. Henry, "Keijo," pp. 51, 229, 310; *Keijō nippō*, 1925.1.1, 1925.10.14, 1925.10.15; *Chosŏn sinmun* 朝鮮新聞, 1912.5.24.

41 *Keijō nippō*, 1925.10.15–17; Yokota, *Chōsen jingūki*, pp. 48–49.

42 Yokota, *Chōsen jingūki*, pp. 14–16.

43 Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, p. 119.

contact with it.[44] The main annual shrine festival was set for 17 October. Framed by *kagura* 神楽 dance and musical performances to honor and entertain the deities, the one-hour ceremony took place with the same members as two days prior. At the same time, the annual autumn festival (*akimatsuri* 秋祭) of neighboring Keijō Jinja started, with both shrines profiting from the increase in visitors.[45] As the daily *Keijō nippō* 京城日報 emphasized, Namsan had never received more attention than on that weekend.

Next to the individual annual shrine festivals (*reisai* 例祭), recurring annual rites were observed at both Keijō Jinja and Chōsen Jingū. Shinto rituals are traditionally divided into three classes according to their extent and length, namely large-scale (*taisai* 大祭), medium-scale (*chūsai* 中祭), and small-scale ceremonies (*shōsai* 小祭).[46] Rituals usually followed a sequence: purification of the participants, opening the doors of the main hall (*shinden* 神殿), invoking the *kami* (*shinkōshiki* 神降式), offering food to the *kami* (*shinsen* 神饌), clearing it away, other offerings or displays of dance (*kagura*) and music, followed by prayer (*norito* 祝詞) and another ritual purification (*shūbatsu* 修祓). Then, in sending away the deities, common meals (*naorai* 直会) for priests and invited ceremonial participants took place.[47]

Amaterasu worship commanded the annual festival (*reisai*) to be held on 17 October, the date when Ise Jingū celebrated its shrine festival. Next to the *reisai*, the *kinensai* 祈年祭 and the *niinamesai* 新嘗祭 framed the annual ritual calendar of both shrines. While the *kinensai* is a ritual for a good harvest, the latter is a form of Thanksgiving and an ancestor ritual for Amaterasu, with the Japanese emperor ritually tasting the newly harvested rice.[48] While Chōsen Jingū, as the "higher" institution, with direct connection to Keijō main station, aspired to have worshipers first come there, then have them continue on to Keijō Jinja on small connecting paths, Keijō Jinja actually benefited from being closer to the main Japanese settlement. Chōsen Jingū had a foreboding atmosphere, but Keijō Jinja advertised itself as a lively and exciting place. Their distinct atmospheres made visits to both sites a worthwhile experience.[49]

The image of liveliness attributed to Keijō Jinja stemmed from the fact that, as part of its *reisai*, an *akimatsuri* parade was held, utilizing a *mikoshi* 神輿 (portable shrine) to take the *kami* down to the city. Over time, the parade route extended more and more from areas populated by Japanese and into Korean neighborhoods. The *akimatsuri* parade became an institution, with Japanese households decorating and raising Hinomaru flags on festival days, with growing Korean participation.[50] The year 1936 was the peak of the parade, because it was the year that Keijō Jinja was awarded a shrine rank and thus financial support by the state. A ritual to report the recent promotion of the shrine to the deity, called *reikaku hōkokusai* 例格報告祭 was held at the shrine before the beginning of the parade.[51] Only in 1937 was the parade canceled due to the outbreak of war with China. The extent of the festivities shrank from 1938 to 1940, with the last parade in 1941 celebrated only on the shrine grounds. Rules for the parade grew stricter every year, for the raucous Japanese populace was keen to clash with Koreans. The Koreans, on the other hand, were uneasy at seeing the fervent Japanese behave out of character.[52] Over time, Koreans got used to the parade not least because taking part in the *ujiko* organization would further promote and educate people about the parade.[53] However, during the parade clashes between Japanese and Koreans were commonplace, often because of Japanese drunkenness and Korean pickpocketing. Considering that Koreans at times would also steal from the donation boxes in front of the various satellite shrines of Keijō Jinja, disbelief and disrespect toward Shinto prevailed even though participation in rites increased.[54]

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44 *Keijō nippō*, 1925.10.16; *Maeil sinbo*, 1925.10.17.
45 Yokota, *Chōsen jingūki*, p. 50.
46 Rituals were fully codified in *Jinja saishiki gyōji sahō zen* 神社祭式行事作法全 (The Completed Shrine Ritual and Event Rules) in 1907, which received updated editions over the years. Medium-scale rituals were shorter than *taisai* rituals. Depending on the occasion the gate to the deity would be open or closed, while it was open in principle during *taisai* and closed in principle during small-scale ceremonies.
47 Jingi Gakkai, *Jingi ni kansuru seidosakuhō jiten*, pp. 119–25.
48 Ibid., pp. 127–28.
49 *Keijō nippō*, 1925.9.17, 1925.8.10.
50 Ibid., 1925.10.17, 1927.10.17, 1928.10.17, 1934.3.18.
51 Ibid., 1936.10.15.
52 Henry, "Keijo," p. 139.
53 *Keijō nippō*, 1915.10.15, 1917.10.17, 1918.10.19, 1920.10.17, 1920.10.19.
54 *Tong'a ilbo*, 1923.3.20, 1936.4.29; *Maeil sinbo*, 1925.10.22; *Keijō nippō*, 1933.10.18, 1934.10.11, 1935.10.17; Henry, "Keijo," pp. 436–37.

While the outbreak of war was reason to cancel the *akimatsuri* parade, Chōsen Jingū stuck to its annual festival in the usual splendor, but added a few rituals in the afternoons, such as *banzai* 万歳 gatherings to honor the emperor and his army, but also to pray for a "lucky progression in the war" (*buun chōkyū* 武運長久). It was from 1937 that Koreans also had to swear an oath of allegiance to the empire on such occasions. Thus, shrine visits related to war events and Shinto itself became connected to war propaganda. One significant example is the *kōgun shukuga hōkokusai* 皇軍祝賀報告祭, a congratulatory report to the deities of the successes of the Japanese military. Ceremonies in general, and war-related ceremonies in particular, were widely announced and explained in newspapers so as to secure participants.[55]

The following year, Yasukuni Jinja in Tokyo held an extraordinary *reisai* that coincided with the one at Chōsen Jingū and Keijō Jinja, starting an additional *yōhaishiki* facing Tokyo. It was at this time that newspapers started talking of the "realm of gods" (*shin'iki* 神域) on Namsan.[56] Due to the rising death toll in the Japanese military, the annual *reisai* of Yasukuni became standard.[57] During the war years, newspapers would more and more emphasize the necessity and moral duty to attend such events at Chōsen Jingū to secure a good outcome for the war.[58]

Medium- and small-scale ceremonies at both Chōsen Jingū and Keijō Jinja were, due to their relative shortness, ideal events to which to add bellicose rituals. Medium-sized ceremonies were comprised of the festivities from the beginning of the new year as well as events related to the imperial family, such as *kigensetsusai* 紀元節祭 to commemorate Japan's founding by Emperor Jinmu 神武 or the *tenchōsai* 天長際 to celebrate the emperor's birthday.[59] From 1938 *buun chōkyū* prayers were held after these ceremonies and transmitted via radio.[60] Rituals related to the war thus had the character of mass rallies. A significant example is the *kigensetsusai* of 1940, coinciding with the empire-wide celebrations of the 2,600th anniversary of the state's foundation.[61]

A Shinto ritual limited to colonial territories (*shiseisai* 施政祭) was carried out to celebrate the start of Japanese rule. In Korea, it originated at Keijō Jinja but later was also celebrated at Chōsen Jingū and used as a general platform to instill a sense of gratitude in Korean visitors. Even though they were only medium-scale ceremonies, the presence of highly ranked politicians including the Governor-General turned this event into a politically important occasion that symbolized the unity of politics and ceremony (*saisei itchi* 祭政一致).[62]

At both Chōsen Jingū and Keijō Jinja, small-scale ceremonies, such as the ceremony to mark the changing seasons (*setsubunsai* 節分祭), were part of the monthly or yearly routine, often related to shrine maintenance and of no perceived value for politicization.[63] More important were unique celebrations related to the war effort, which could be put to direct use in propagating the war. The Marco Polo Incident of 1937[64] was from its outbreak commemorated every year at Chōsen Jingū. It took the form of a prayer ceremony for the wounded so they might quickly recover to rejoin the battlefields. The main participants in such events were patriotic associations and diverse women's clubs, representing the home front. In addition to wartime rituals such as *buun chōkyū* prayers and *banzai* gatherings, prayers to subdue the danger to the country and a daily minute of silence at noon were added and were to be observed everywhere in the colony.[65] Obligatory shrine visits to Chōsen Jingū began to finally be enforced. Attending a shrine several times per month was also made part of the school curriculum after a more rigorous system was introduced in 1936.[66]

Next to *buun chōkyū* prayers and special events to commemorate the introduction of voluntary conscription into the army, Keijō Jinja also added anti-commu-

55 *Keijō nippō*, 1937.10.17, 1937.10.18; *Maeil sinbo*, 1937.10.15, 1937.10.17.
56 *Keijō nippō*, 1938.10.19; *Maeil sinbo*, 1938.10.19; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1938.10.5, 1938.10.17, 1938.10.19.
57 Chōsen Jingū Shamusho, *Chōsen jingū nenpyō*, 1940, pp. 14–17; 1942, pp. 2–4, 41–43; *Keijō nippō*, 1941.10.17, 1942.10.17.
58 *Maeil sinbo*, 1939.10.17, 1939.10.19; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1939.10.19.
59 Chōsen Jingū Shamusho, *Chōsen jingū nenpyō*, 1932, p. 6; 1939, p. 20; 1940, p. 24.
60 Ibid., 1939, p. 3; *Keijō nippō*, 1939.1.1, 1939.1.3; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1938.12.27, 1939.1.3.
61 Chōsen Jingū Shamusho, *Chōsen jingū nenpyō*, 1940, p. 14.
62 *Keijō nippō*, 1917.9.27, 1927.10.2, 1929.10.2, 1931.10.2; *Maeil sinbo*, 1935.9.27; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1930.10.2.
63 Chōsen Jingū Shamusho, *Chōsen Jingū nenpyō*, 1932, p. 4; 1939, pp. 9, 77; 1940, p. 7; 1943, p. 17; *Keijō nippō*, 1916.10.2, 1917.10.2, 1918.10.2.
64 This was a battle provoked between Japanese and Chinese troops stationed close to Beijing, which became the starting point of full-fleged war with China.
65 Chōsen Jingū Shamusho, *Chōsen jingū nenpyō*, 1939, p. 57; 1940, pp. 57–58; *Keijō nippō*, 1938.7.7, 1940.7.8.
66 Kim Chŏng-in, "Ilje kangjŏm," pp. 130–35.

nist rallies to its repertoire.[67] Its satellite shrines had special days for their respective *reisai*. Tenmangū held its *reisai* during the cherry blossom season in Keijō on 25 April each year from 1917. This event was accompanied with sales and other events in the Japanese neighborhood.[68] Unfortunately, yearly rituals at Hachimangu and Inari Jinja are not well documented. The days from 12–14 June were designated festival days. During the war period, small-scale rallies of citizen groups and patriotic organizations were held.[69] Nogi Jinja, the biggest of the satellite shrines, used bellicose elements such as schoolchildren showing off their military training; a yearly poetry contest was also established to propagate warfare. The twenty-fifth anniversary of Nogi's death coincided with the outbreak of war in 1937, thus from then on there was also a *buun chōkyū* prayer added to the ceremonial order.[70]

Other originally secular events such as Army Memorial Day (*rikugun kinenbi* 陸軍記念日, 10 March) and Navy Memorial Day (*kaigun kinenbi* 海軍記念日, 27 May) became more prominent during wartime. While Army Memorial Day commemorated the battle of Mukden during the Russo-Japanese War, the latter commemorated the sea battle of Tsushima. Next to events in Namsan's shrines, the military town of Yongsan was at the center of such events.[71] From 1939, pupils were drafted to give a military parade. From the following year, attendance at all schools and youth clubs was made obligatory, amounting to 21,839 participants, even though several Christian schools were still ignoring attendance calls.[72] Both memorial days were witness to many speeches that were also transmitted by radio across the whole country.[73]

Due to its late inauguration, ceremonies at Gokoku Jinja were scarce. The *chinzasai* 鎮座祭 (inauguration ceremony) was held at the end of November 1943, with one thousand five hundred representatives of the home front and the bereaved (both Japanese and Koreans) taking part, presided over by the Governor-General.[74] The year 1944 marked the climax of war-related events at Gokoku Jinja: continuous prayers for a successful end to the holy war (*seisen kansui kigan* 聖戦完遂祈願) were most common; there were also regular ceremonies to enshrine those who had died in the war. At such events, youths showed off their military training to please the deities.[75] Whenever new deities were enshrined at Yasukuni Jinja, this was remotely celebrated as *yōhaishiki*, expressing the proximity of Gokoku Jinja in the colony to Yasukuni Jinja in the metropole.[76] Through such events, the bereaved families were betrayed of their own interpretation of events because rather than mourning for the family member lost in the war, worshiping them as heroes was turned into a reason to rejoice by praying for their happiness in the afterlife (*meifuku kigan* 冥福祈願), as well as mass prayers for victory in the Great East Asian War (*daitōa sensō shōri kigan* 大東亜戦争勝利祈願).[77]

The Buddhist facilities on Namsan also employed rites, ceremonies, and other events to assimilate or educate their visitors by means of religious edification. It was symbolic that Hakubunji was inaugurated on the twenty-third anniversary of Itō Hirobumi's death. Those who received personal favors from Itō came from Japan to take part in the ceremony. In his speech, Governor-General Ugaki Kazushige 宇垣一成 (1868–1956) said that the old name of the grounds, Changch'ungdan, expressed well the concept of loyalty so befitting Itō. This was a distortion of the initial meaning given to it by the Korean king. In particular, Itō's exploits for the Japanese Empire were emphasized by Ugaki, who said that despite Itō's age he continuously worked for Korea's freedom, which again did not heed to Korean sentiment.[78]

At Hakubunji, the main object of worship was a Shakyamuni statue built by Takamura Kōun 高村光雲 (1852–1934), who had also created the statue of Saigō Takamori in Ueno Park.[79] Itō, as a Sōtō 曹洞 school believer, was the center of commemoration, but the re-

67 Mun, "Ilje singminjigi," pp. 97–98, 190–93.
68 *Keijō nippō*, 1917.4.24, 1917.4.25, 1918.4.26; *Maeil sinbo*, 1918.4.24.
69 *Maeil sinbo*, 1940.6.12; *Keijō nippō*, 1939.11.11; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1940.6.12, 1940.6.14.
70 *Keijō nippō*, 1934.9.12, 1934.9.14, 1936.9.12, 1936.9.15; *Maeil sinbo*, 1934.9.9.
71 *Keijō nippō*, 1939.3.10, 1939.3.11, 1940.3.7, 1940.3.11; *Maeil sinbo*, 1938.3.8; *Tong'a ilbo*,1933.3.10, 1938.5.27.
72 *Tong'a ilbo*, 1939.3.10, 1940.3.7.
73 *Keijō nippō*, 1938.5.27, 1938.5.28; *Maeil sinbo*, 1939.5.27; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1938.5.27, 1939.5.26.
74 *Maeil sinbo*, 1943.10.9, 1943.11.25.
75 Ibid., 1944.3.8.
76 *Keijō nippō*, 1944.4.24, 1944.4.30, 1944.5.1.
77 *Maeil sinbo*, 1945.4.26; 1945.4.27.
78 *Chosŏn sinmun*, 1932.10.26; *Keijō nippō*, 1932.10.26; *Maeil sinbo*, 1932.10.12, 1932.10.27; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1932.10.23, 1932.10.25.
79 *Maeil sinbo*, 1933.10.24.

membrance of his assassin was also given importance.[80] Next to the frequent *hōyō* 法要 memorial rites and annual memorial events for Itō, mourning rituals and funerals for pro-Japanese Koreans or Japanese who had opted to have their funeral in the colony were the most important tasks for the temple.[81]

In time, Hakubunji was promoted as a site for school field trips all over the colony and Japan itself and styled as one of the four most beautiful spots of Keijō in order to draw visitors.[82] From the outbreak of war with China, every year a ceremony to console the fallen (*jihen senshisha irei daihōyō kai* 事変戦死者異例大法要会) took place around 19 August. This event provided a basis for engaging the Association of Japanese-Korean Buddhists of All Schools (Naisen Bukkyō Kakushūha Rengōkai 内鮮仏教各宗派連合会), trying to bring Buddhists closer together.[83] Other *hōyō* ceremonies were added when the course of war necessitated them, and the Military Supporters Association of Keijō (Keijō Gunji Kōen Renmei 京城軍事後援連盟) was key in organizing them.[84] From 1939, as part of the "Week to foster the efforts of the home front" (*jūgo kōen kyōka shūkan* 銃後後援強化週間), they also oversaw another *daihōyō* 大法要 memorial ceremony to commemorate the fallen (*senbotsu shōhei irei tsuitōsai* 戦没将兵慰霊追悼祭), where next to Hakubunji's head priest, priests from other Buddhist schools also joined.[85] In the same vein, the ceremony to console the souls of those who worked for Korean annexation (*Chōsen gappei kōrōsha gōdō ireisai* 朝鮮合併功労者合同慰霊祭) was introduced to honor those Koreans and Japanese who had been "pioneers of the unity between Japan and Korea" (*naisen ittai no senkusha* 内鮮一体の先駆者). Thus, at Hakubunji, those Koreans who were commonly regarded as traitors, and those Japanese normally regarded as enemies, were reinterpreted as meritorious people.[86]

On the southern side of Namsan, Wakagusa Kannondō attracted less attention. The groundbreaking ceremony (*kuwaireshiki* 鍬入式) was held on 2 October 1935. Saitō Makoto, then Governor-General, attended personally, but did not live to see the temple's completion.[87] The first ceremony to be held was in honor of Saitō, but only 159 people took part in the *hōyō* ceremony that was framed mainly by speeches of officials boasting of Saitō's exploits for the colony.[88]

The Creation and Emission of Images of the Self and the Other through Namsan

Voices arguing for the enshrinement of a Korean mythical figure, such as the deification of Korean progenitor Tan'gun 檀君, ran counter to the government's wish to turn Chōsen Jingū into a symbolic protector of the whole of Korea, sending out the image that Korea belonged to Japan irrevocably.[89] While discussions about enshrining a Koreanesque Shinto deity at Chōsen Jingū had still not abated among Shinto scholars, the government decided on Amaterasu and Meiji without further consideration of outside opinions.[90] By ignoring bids of enshrining deities that could be interpreted as being related to Korea, the authorities were convinced that only Amaterasu and Meiji were fit to express Japanese authority to the Koreans, conveying Japanese culture and civilization. The assimilatory function of Chōsen Jingū was to extend from Namsan to the whole city and in turn to all of Korea. With this decision, an important message describing Japanese rule over Korea was sent out to the populace: Koreans and Korea were considered as more developed and more important to the empire's cause than other territories which were, as of then, not yet eligible for the reverence of such high *kami* as Amaterasu and Meiji.[91] On the other hand, this was tantamount to admitting that Korea had been on its way to becoming a nation-state and thus needed a "special lesson" to succumb to the Japanese Empire. After the March First Movement, Chōsen Jingū was one way to crush Korean hope for independence—Japan had come to stay.[92]

Criticism that Chōsen Jingū did not represent Korea because it lacked a Korean deity was loudly heard at Keijō Jinja, which in turn strove to enshrine such a

80 Ibid., 1933.10.24, 1933.10.27.
81 *Keijō nippō*, 1933.1.16; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1938.9.20, 1940.5.11.
82 Kim and Ch'oe, "Ilje kangjŏmgi," pp. 109–10; *Maeil sinbo*, 1935.8.4.
83 *Maeil sinbo*, 1937.8.14; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1937.8.14, 1937.8.20.
84 *Maeil sinbo*, 1939.8.10, 1939.8.11; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1939.8.5, 1939.8.10, 1939.8.11.
85 *Maeil sinbo*, 1939.10.6; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1939.10.5, 1939.10.6.
86 *Keijō nippō*, 1939.11.10; *Maeil sinbo*, 1942.4.25, 1943.10.1, 1943.10.5.
87 Nakamura, *Saitō shishaku o shinobu*, pp. 25–26.
88 *Maeil sinbo*, 1938.2.24–27.
89 Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen jingū zōeishi*, pp. 5–6.
90 Ibid., pp. 8–10; Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, p. 425.
91 Suga, *Nihon tōchika no kaigai jinja*, pp. 88–94.
92 Koyama, *Jinja to Chōsen*, pp. 149, 153–55.

deity.[93] In 1929, a Shinto consultant working for the government, Miyaji Naokazu 宮地直一 (1886–1949), who was also well versed in Korean issues, argued for enshrining the three gods of the cultivation of land (*kaitaku sanshin* 開拓三神). One of these deities, Kunitama no Kami 国魂神 (deity of the land soul), was the deity representing the ground, and thus could be reinterpreted into a *kami* linked to Korea without running into the danger of making it too Korean: a reinterpretation to Chōsen Ōkunitama no Kami 朝鮮大国玉神 (deity of the great land soul of Korea) also did not imply any claim to Korean nationhood, as was the case with Tan'gun.[94] The enshrinement of these deities followed the established ways of how overseas shrines in Taiwan or Sakhalin had chosen their objects of worship. The *kaitaku sanshin* deities had been deemed unfit for Chōsen Jingū because they did not represent the emperor's family and so were not a good fit for the intended assimilation policy of the state. Keijō Jinja, however, interpreted assimilation as the proper inclusion of Koreans, not only as making them follow Japan's lead.[95] The ceremony followed a special procedure of inviting the *kami* from the mountains, to which symbolically not Namsan, but the higher Bukhansan 北漢山 mountain was selected. This was also better for Korea, in the sense that Namsan, with its evergreen trees, by now had a rather Japanese atmosphere, while Bukhansan was less green and had a stony landscape that was more typical for the higher mountains around Keijō. Thus, inviting a *kami* from the rough, "Korean" mountain to join "Japanese" Namsan, was of high symbolic value. The whole event was further charged with symbolic meaning by the time in which it took place, from midnight to early morning.[96]

In the same vein, the deities in Keijō Jinja's satellites were tools to create a certain image of loyalty to the emperor and a deep link between Japan and Korea. Sugawara no Michizane not only stood for learning but was also known for his loyalty to the emperor.[97] At Hachimangū, Homudawake no Mikoto 誉田別尊, along with Himegami 姫神 and Ōtarashihime no Mikoto 大帯比売命, was revered. Homudawake, an alternative name for Emperor Ōjin 応神, had been styled as the deity for national protection since the Kamakura period (1192–1333). His wife Himegami symbolized prosperity. But more importantly, Ōtarashihime no Mikoto, better known as Empress Jingū 神功, Ōjin's mother, according to legend, had led an invasion to Korea before she bore the future emperor. Thus, what was emphasized was not only the connection between Korea and Japan, but also the fact that Japan in the past had subdued or helped Korea.[98]

The three deities enshrined in Inari Jinja were Ukanomitama no Kami 宇迦之御魂神, Sarutahiko no Mikoto 猿田彦命, and Ōmiyanome Ōkami 大宮能売大神.[99] Ukanomitama, as the deity of grains, not only stood for prosperity but also successful trade. According to the *Kojiki* 古事記, Ukanomitama was the offspring of Susanoo 須佐之男, a deity sometimes identified with Tan'gun in colonial discourse, which then again could be put into a Korean context and employed to support common ancestor theories.[100] Nogi, who had followed the Meiji Emperor into death, not only stood for loyalty, but also military vigor. Since Nogi had also played a leading role in the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, he was seen as a defender of Korea's independence and interests, a hero to the Koreans.[101]

On 31 July 1936 the Ministry of the Interior honored the efforts of Keijō Jinja by turning it into a *kokuhei shōsha*, securing shrine funds from the state.[102] This marked the moment that both Chōsen Jingū and Keijō Jinja, whose building styles had been identical, melted into the still distinct but nonetheless government-sponsored site to propagate wartime assimilation policy (*kōminka seisaku*). Consequently, the spatial boundary

93 For example, see the stance presented in Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, pp. 7–9.

94 *Keijō nippō*, 1928.7.14, 1928.8.21; Henry, "Keijo," pp. 114, 393–95.

95 Kim Tae-ho, "1910~20 nyŏndae," pp. 309–11.

96 *Keijō nippō*, 1929.9.25, 1929.9.29.

97 Abe, *Tairiku no Keijō*, p. 198; Miyaji, *Bunshin toshite no tenjin shinkō*, pp. 3–13.

98 Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, pp. 34–35; Iwashita, *Tairiku jinja taikan*, p. 322.

99 Ibid.

100 Smyers, "The Fox and the Jewel," pp. 119–27. According to *Kojiki*, the deity Susanoo is a brother of Amaterasu Ōmikami. For details about implications concerning Korea, see Weiss, *The God Susanoo and Korea in Japan's Cultural Memory*.

101 *Keijō nippō*, 1934.9.13.

102 Kim Tae-ho, "1910 nyŏndae~1930 nyŏndae ch'o Kyŏngsŏngsinsawa chiyŏksahoeŭi kwan'gye," p. 142; "Keijō jinja oyobi Ryūtōzan jinja o kokuhei shōsha ni reikaku su" 京城神社及竜頭山神社ヲ国幣小社ニ列格ス. JACAR, ref. no. A01200731900. https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?KEYWORD=&LANG=default&BID=F000000000000000071666&ID=M000000000000001764789&TYPE=&NO=.

between the two shrines increasingly blurred, and the relationship between competition and coexistence was finally resolved toward the latter.[103]

After 1915, the rules of the *ujiko* organization stated clearly that at least one Korean must be in the steering committee, which hints also to the structural integration of Koreans.[104] At first tolerant of Koreans who refused the upkeep payments, after the March First Movement of 1919, when even Koreans who were already paying started refusing to donate, the lenient stance of Keijō Jinja changed because it drove the shrine toward financial ruin.[105] To Yun Ch'i-ho 尹致昊 (1865–1945), a Korean intellectual Christian and part of the old elite, such payments were equal to extortion. To him, Shinto was so intensely Japanese that it could have no possible meaning outside of Japan.[106] He was critical of the rituals of both shrines, describing them as puerile and tedious or grotesque and undignified.[107] Still, attendance at Keijō Jinja was more attractive to Koreans for it was less strict, more enjoyable, and allowed Korean elements, even though only in a Japanized and thus assimilated fashion. This was also a means to make Koreans more willing to pay upkeep to the shrine before it became financed by the state.

Korean reservation toward Chōsen Jingū can best be seen at the daily newspaper *Tong'a ilbo* 東亜日報, which, leading up to the inauguration of the new shrine, would not report on it but would only print advertisements of events that were held due to shrine festivities. On the very day of inauguration, the editorial of the newspaper stated its editors' concern toward the freedom of religion. Chōsen Jingū meticulously made lists sorting the Koreans in attendance into those who just came to have a look (*sanrai* 参来) and those who paid their respects to the deity (*sanpai* 参拝). Koreans who were willing to attend but unfamiliar with the ceremonial aspects of Shinto would sometimes make mistakes or behave in ways unacceptable to Japanese visitors, thus inviting ridicule and random verbal attacks.[108]

Rather than reeducating Korean adults about Shinto, Chōsen Jingū used schools to make children attend the shrine in a bid to make their parents attend shrines with their children in the future. Furthermore, Christian missionary schools often rejected their attendance duties at the shrine. Depending on the denomination, shrine attendance was considered idolatry by many Christians. Despite the Japanese authorities trying to explain why Shinto shrine attendance was not religion but simply state ritual, the vocabulary used in such explanations, such as deity and worship, always remained religious in nature, which is why such endeavors were often refuted by missionaries. This in turn led to missionaries being expelled from the country, and Koreans going to prison.[109] Christians of other denominations, including Yun Ch'i-ho, would find strategies to make shrine attendance compatible with their conscience. Yun, in July 1935 still calling Shinto the cult of loyalty,[110] at the end of the year was approached to propagate the "Cultivation of the Field of Heart" movement, his translation for the *shinden kaihatsu undō* 心田開発運動.[111] This was a bid to bring people in the colony closer to spirituality, preparing them for times of material scarcity and sacrifice and aiming at austere and honest lifestyles. This included Christianity, Buddhism, and even Korean Shamanism, but focused on elevating Korean interest in Shinto.[112]

However, by 1937, Korean attendance at Shinto ceremonies was still insufficient, and with the outbreak of full-fledged war with China, considered even more necessary. Neither the various events of the *shinden kaihatsu undō*, nor a special issue of *Chōsen* 朝鮮 magazine to again make Koreans accept and take part in Japanese rituals, refrained from using religious terminology to explain Shinto.[113] Urged by the Governor-General, it was around that time that Yun was to lead a *banzai* prayer at Chōsen Jingū.[114] Only a year later, Yun mentioned that he again had the honor of leading such a prayer. By the time of the festivities for the 2,600th anniversary of

103 *Keijō nippō*, 1928.3.20; 1928.10.18.
104 Abe, *Tairiku no Keijō*, pp. 205–7; *Keijō nippō*, 1916.9.17; Henry, "Keijo," p. 114.
105 *Keijō nippō*, 1919.10.11; Henry, "Keijo," p. 368.
106 *Diary of Yun Ch'i-ho* (Hanguksa Database, National Institute of Korean History, https://db.history.go.kr), 1919.12.17.
107 *Diary of Yun Ch'i-ho*, 1919.9.12, 1925.10.15.
108 Henry, "Keijo," p. 84; Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, pp. 119, 186–89; *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及満州, April 1927, p. 25; *Maeil sinbo*, 1927.10.18; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1925.10.15, 1925.10.16; Chōsen Kenpeitai Shireibu, *Naichijin hansei shiroku*, pp. 81–82.
109 Kim Sŭng-t'ae, *Sinsa ch'ambae munje charyojip*, pp. 369–72.
110 *Diary of Yun Ch'i-ho*, 1935.7.19.
111 Ibid., 1935.12.8.
112 Chōsen Sōtokufu Chūsūin, *Shinden kaihatsu ni kansuru kōenshū*, pp. 333–35. Hakubunji's head priest also became a prominent speaker in this movement's events.
113 Ibid.; *Chōsen*, October 1937.
114 *Maeil sinbo*, 1937.9.4.

Japan's founding in 1940, his repeated engagement in Japanese rituals by now had made him rather approving, and his critical stance had vanished.[115]

Gokoku Jinja, due to scarce resources and manpower, was only completed in 1943, which is why it operated for less than two years until the end of the war. However, putting himself at the front of the effort by picking up a shovel himself, the Governor-General used the construction process from 1940 to unify the home front and propagandize the war effort, for it was not only monetary expenses, but also physical labor that had to be paid for by the population. The exploitation of labor took place to ensure lower costs and to secure the rapid construction of the shrine.[116] By sending out distinguished images of a home front united in pain, bereavement, and a willingness to die for the empire, it gave meaning to the deaths of those who died in the war and prevented the home front from disintegrating into personal grief. This was achieved by meaningfully interpreting the fallen as war heroes (*gokoku eirei* 護国英霊), praising their role in the war. Because of family ties, visits to Gokoku Jinja, considered the moral duty of all subjects, came to be of special concern for the bereaved.[117]

Still, this interpretation meant their ethnicity was obscured and their deaths used by Japanese authorities to further propagandize the war effort: the representation of the dead as *kami* was thus added to the shrine on Namsan.[118] Children had to come and pray for their deceased fathers, events that were used for propaganda purposes to show the home front united against the enemy. Such shrine events were always framed with day-consuming side events for the bereaved families.[119] The meaning assigned to these deaths by the state meant for the Korean soldiers that they did not find freedom from Japanese rule even in death, but, whatever their personal will, were used in moral teaching for the living. This docility in death also meant that no loyal Korean subject could escape Shinto, even in death. This way, even if only operating for less than two years, the shrine maximized its function to glorify the dead as heroes.

As for the Buddhist temples on Namsan, both Hakubunji and Wakagusa Kannondō sent out distinct images about the people commemorated there and about Japan, its history, and colonial rule. It was symbolic that Hakubunji was inaugurated on the twenty-third anniversary of Itō's death. Emperor Shōwa 昭和 (1901-1989, r. 1926-1989) sent a silver incense burner (*kōro* 香炉), which was reason for newspapers to relate the personal thanks of the emperor for Itō's achievements.[120] Events staged at the temple often touched upon the memory of An Chung-gŭn 安重根 (1879–1910), Itō's assassin. Aiming to show the masses that Japan had forgiven the Koreans for murdering Itō, Japanese authorities pointed out that An Chung-gŭn was no Korean hero. This deprived the entire assassination of its political gravity. An Chung-gŭn was reinterpreted as a petty criminal who, although actually a good person, did not have access to information and lacked the political insight to understand that Itō actually was trying his best to help Korea. The worship of the assassin thus showed the benevolence of Japan and turned An's act of resistance into a deed of folly. In particular, the visits to the temple of An Chung-gŭn's children, his son An Chun-saeng 安俊生 (1907–1951) and his daughter An Hyon-saeng 安賢生 (1902–1959), were used for propaganda purposes.

An Chun-saeng lived in Shanghai for most of his life, holding a Chinese passport and running shady businesses.[121] As part of a delegation of ethnic Koreans to visit the homeland, it was reported that he had expressed his wish to pay his respects at Hakubunji.[122] Upon his arrival in late September 1939, he met the Governor-General, Minami Jirō 南次郎 (1874–1955). The fact that Minami himself attended this meeting shows the importance of the visit for propaganda reasons. An was cited in the newspaper as having found Minami like a "friendly father," and An professed he now believed in the unity of Japan and Korea (*naisen ittai* 内鮮一体), and promised to send his children to a Japanese school in Shanghai to prepare them to relocate to the homeland as soon as possible.[123] Needless to say, An Chun-saeng barely knew his real father. An Chung-gŭn had been arrested immediately after he fired the shots at Itō and was executed exactly one year after the

115 *Diary of Yun Ch'i-ho*, 1938.7.7, 1940.11.10.
116 *Maeil sinbo*, 1940.8.22, 1940.8.24, 1940.9.26, 1940.11.20, 1940.11.26.
117 *Keijō nippō*, 1944.11.24, 1945.5.1; *Maeil sinbo*, 1944.5.1, 1944.11.25.
118 *Keijō nippō*, 1944.10.22; *Maeil sinbo*, 1943.11.26, 1944.10.23.
119 *Keijō nippō*, 1944.3.28, 1944.10.22–24, 1945.3.26; *Maeil sinbo*, 1944.3.8, 1944.4.23, 1944.10.23–24, 1944.10.28.
120 *Tong'a ilbo*, 1932.10.26; *Yomiuri shinbun* 読売新聞, 1932.10.27.
121 Kim Myŏng-su, *Myŏngsu sanmunnok*, p. 252.
122 *Maeil sinbo*, 1939.10.10.
123 *Keijō nippō*, 1939.10.10.

deed. Thus, calling Minami a father figure was an enormous affront to Koreans. Kim Ku 金九 (1876–1949), a member of the government in exile in Shanghai and a famous independence activist, declared An Chun-saeng *persona non grata* and later even asked Chiang Kai-shek 蒋介石 (1887–1975), the Guomindang leader, to have him executed as a traitor.[124] This also proves the senselessness of such a propaganda effort—politically active Koreans would not succumb, but instead would be antagonized further. During the temple visit, An Chun-saeng "repented" in his father's stead, bowed deeply in front of Itō's mortuary tablet and burst into tears when he was given his father's tablet, realizing that "Japan" had forgiven him. This was presented as a "great event in Korean history" showing the "unity of Japan and Korea."[125]

During his visit to Seoul, An Chun-saeng also met Itō Hirobumi's oldest son who coincidently was touring Seoul on business at the same time. In this orchestrated meeting, Itō Bunkichi 伊藤文吉 (1885–1951) forgave An Chun-saeng, stating that there was no use in being angry over what had happened a long time ago, asking that all Koreans rather study history more properly in order to understand the historical meaning of the way Japan and Korea had been chosen.[126] One newspaper used this to express the link that both shared through the deeds of their fathers, citing the young Itō to have said that both he and young An should do their best for their country, as should their countrymen.[127] In this way, the fact that An Chung-gŭn's deeds were forgiven was used to instill a new loyal consciousness in Japan. At the end of the meeting, both participants decided to meet again the next day at Hakubunji to honor their fathers. In reports about this event, the "true tears" (*sekisei no namida* 赤誠の涙) of An and the happiness of both to share this wonderful chance to pray for their fathers were central.[128]

Given the "success" of An Chun-saeng's visit to the temple, his sister An Hyŏn-saeng came to the temple to honor the thirty-first anniversary of her father's death on 26 March 1941. Like her brother, she came and apologized for her father's actions. However, since such an event had already taken place, the propagandistic effect of this visit was smaller, especially as the country was already at war.[129]

The role of Wakagusa Kannondō was quite similar. Built as housing for the statue presented by Saitō Makoto, the building was designed to be as splendid as Sensōji 浅草寺 in Asakusa, Tokyo. The statue was given to the Koreans in an effort to make them understand that the cultural closeness of Japan and Korea was reason to believe in the success of their amalgamation (*naisen yūwa* 内鮮融和).[130] While the temple was still incomplete when Saitō's funeral was held in Tokyo and commemorated in Seoul, more than one thousand six hundred people gathered there to celebrate Saitō as a promoter of Korean culture. Saitō, who had survived an assassination attempt the day he arrived in Korea, had to deal with the aftermath of the March First Movement. He was a main actor in establishing the so-called cultural rule (*bunka tōchi* 文化統治) and styled himself as a "friend of Korea": in 1926, he allegedly moved his family register to Korea and professed he wanted his grave to be in the colony.[131] In order to fulfil his wish, a strand of his hair was received in April 1936 to be enshrined together with the statue. Thus, Wakagusa Kannondō functioned as the grave of Saitō in the colony, where Saitō was styled as "protecting the Buddha of Korea" and as the "Father of Korea."[132]

Conclusion

During the colonial period, Namsan became the ritual center of State Shinto and Japanese Buddhism in Korea, and the history of Korean ritual spaces on Namsan was obliviated. Many Shinto shrines were built on the Korean Peninsula. If Shinto policy in Korea is reflected in

124 Kim Ku, *Paekpŏm ilji*, p. 408; Mizuno, "'Hakubunji no wakaigeki' to kōjitsudan," pp. 92–93. Kim Ku was a member and president of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, based in Shanghai. After his term as president, his independence activism became more militant, and he founded the Korean Patriotic Corps and the Korean Liberation Army. For his involvement in assassination plans, he is at times considered as having resorted to terrorist measures. Myers, *Korea in the Cross Currents*, p. 43.
125 *Keijō nippō*, 1939.10.16.
126 Ibid., 1939.10.17.
127 *Maeil sinbo*, 1939.10.17.
128 *Keijō nippō*, 1939.10.19.
129 Ibid., 1941.3.26.
130 Wakagusa Kannon Hōsankai, *Wakagusa Kannon hōsankai shuonsho*, pp. 1–3.
131 *Keijō nippō*, 1936.3.22–23, 1936.4.11.
132 *Maeil sinbo*, 1936.4.9; *Keijō nippō*, 1936.4.11; Nakamura, *Saitō shishaku o shinobu*, pp. 10–13; Saitō Makoto Kinenkai, *Shishaku Saitō Makoto den*, pp. 517, 525–28.

the history of Namsan, it becomes clear that it held a prototypical function to explore the role of Shinto in Korea—similar projects in cities such as Pusan, Taegu, and Puyŏ were started, but never came to fruition before the end of the war.[133]

By showing the role of ritual ceremonies and the imagery that was created on and sent out from Namsan, this article established that the basis for the "new" form of assimilation initiated with *kōminka seisaku* was well laid out on Namsan before the official change in policy. Because assimilation policy had been judged by changes in education policy, continuities in "religious" policy needed to be taken into stronger consideration, for State Shinto in Korea worked closer to a political religion than it did in Japan proper. This was because it had to be enforced even more strictly than in the homeland to secure the spiritual mobilization of a colonized people with an entirely different background from the Japanese.[134] Nevertheless, the Japanese authorities failed to explain the nonreligious character of State Shinto in a plausible way to the Korean people, because Shinto was always paired together with Buddhism, continuously obscuring the supposedly ostensible character of Shinto.

In the end, the attempts to assimilate Koreans via Shinto and Buddhism ultimately failed, which can be proven by the fact that all Japanese shrines and temples, on Namsan and elsewhere, quickly disappeared after the liberation of Korea. Fearing vandalism, on the morning of 16 August 1945, the priests of Namsan decided to carry out the ritual to send away the spirits (*shōshinshiki* 昇神式) on the same afternoon. However, the shrines and Japanese temples on Namsan were not affected by vandalism, as was often the case in other areas. The following day, the dismantling of the shrines began. Shinto items were sent back to Japan by plane on 24 August.[135] It took till November for the dismantling to be complete because the American occupying forces, soon after they landed, started to survey and record the assets of Japanese shrines and temples, and decided to transfer and redistribute ownership rights of private Japanese property to Korean religious organizations. Shinto-related land was given to Christian denominations, and Buddhist possessions were distributed to Korean Buddhist associations. The Keijō Jinja site was turned into a seminary by Presbyterians, and later turned into a school. The state-owned land of Chōsen Jingū was transferred to the Korean state. The Hakubunji land was later given back to the state and the temple dismantled. Wakagusa Kannondō was used by Won Buddhism until 1960, when it was dismantled and merged with Jŏnggaksa Temple 正覺寺. The statue held at Wakagusa Kannondō was gifted to Yi Sŭng-man 李承晩 (1875–1965), the first president of the republic, and since then has been kept in his house.

During Yi's term in office (1948–1960) many statues of Korean independence fighters, including one of Yi himself, and other symbols of Korea's resistance to Japanese threats throughout history were built in a bid to change Namsan from a place of Japanese assimilation to a site commemorating Korea's plight. During the rule of Pak Chŏng-hŭi 朴正熙 (1917–1979; ruled 1962–1979), this strategy was upheld, and more statues added.[136] Among these endeavors, the unveiling of An Chung-gŭn's statue on the grounds of erstwhile Chōsen Jingū in May 1959 had the most lasting impact on Namsan after 1945, for it was in 1971 that the statue was supplemented by a memorial hall to commemorate An's life and ideas, thereby negating the indoctrination that had taken place at Hakubunji.[137]

N Seoul Tower, commonly referred to as Namsan Tower, was inaugurated in 1972. This finally marked the change of Namsan to a recreational and tourist site, and it has become an icon of the city, helping to overwrite the unpleasant memories of Chōsen Jingū's existence.

133 Son, "Ilje-ha Puyŏ"; Yamaguchi, "Shokuminchiki Chōsen."

134 For a theoretical introduction to political religion, see Gentile, *Politics as Religion*.

135 United States Armed Forces in Korea, *History of the United States Armed Forces in Korea*, pp. 204, 215; Morita, *Chōsen shūsen no kiroku*, pp. 107–10, 164–67. In Pyŏng'yang, vandalism was commonplace. The reasons why Namsan evaded vandalism remain in the realm of speculation. While Pyŏng'yang was the Christian center and known for the rigid repression of Christians that refused to attend shrines, it can be argued that the people of Seoul kept their respect for the mountain due to its role in pre-colonial Korea or were indoctrinated enough to not vandalize it. Judging from the police and army presence in Seoul, people might have feared retaliation or that fire might spread to the city.

136 Kim Yŏng-nam, *Chunggu hyangt'osa kwangye charyojip*, pp. 37–38, 134–36.

137 *Tong'a ilbo*, 1959.5.12; Chŏng Un-hyŏn, *Seoul sinae Ilche yusan tapsagi*, pp. 84–85. In 2010, the rebuilt hall was reopened with its museum considerably extended.

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