Article

A Transnational Grassroots Movement: Jinja Shintō and Japanese Religions in the Pre-Colonial Joseon Society

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Introduction

Japan invaded Joseon (early modern Korea) between 1592 and 1598. The so-called, "Japanese Disturbance of Imjin" began by the military attack of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣 秀吉 (1537-1598) who was a preeminent daimyō, samurai, and politician of the Sengoku period 戦国時代 (Hawley 2005; Eikenberry 1988, 74-82). The invasion intended to conquer Joseon and the Ming dynasty, respectively. The massive Imjin War was going on over six years as an initial invasion in 1592, a brief truce in 1596, and the second invasion in 1597. However, the conflict ended with the death of Hideyoshi (Lewis 2014; Yi 2004). The dream of a Japanese conquest of China was put on hold as well. The Tokugawa government (1603-1867) not only prohibited any further military expeditions to the Asian mainland but closed Japan to nearly all foreigners. The Convention of Kanagawa (Japan and US Treaty of Peace and Amity 日米和親条約) that was the first treaty in 1854, effectively meant the end of Japan's 220-year-old policy of national seclusion (*sakoku*) by opening the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate (Perry 1856). The Meiji Restoration (Meiji ishin 明治維新) was an event that restored practical imperial rule in 1868. The political transformation influenced Japanese self-identity with respect to its Asian neighbours, as it became the first Asian state to modernise based on the Western model (Shih 2011, 2).[1]

The Joseon dynasty remained in the Sinocentric world where China was at the centre of interstate relations and refused to receive the envoy (Park 2015, 81-113). The Japanese bureau of foreign affairs wanted to change the diplomatic policy to one based on modern state-to-state relations. As a result, the Treaty of Ganghwa Island 江華島條約 was made between both the representatives of Japan and Joseon in 1876. The pact opened up Joseon, as Commodore Matthew Perry's fleet of Black Ships had opened up Japan. The treaty terminated Joseon's status as a tributary state of the Qing dynasty and

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* Most of Korean names and places are written in the style of Revised Romanisation (RR), while some Japanese terms are expressed in McCune-Reischauer. In this paper, as the Joseon dynasty means early modern Korea, Joseonese indicates Korean people. I appreciate Prof. Kwang-soo Park (Wonkwang University, South Korea) who generously provided the official and original documents of Colonial Korea during the Iksan fieldwork in 2018.

1. Replacing the traditional Confucian hierarchical order that had persisted previously under dominant China.

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opened three ports (Busan, Incheon, and Wonsan) to Japanese trade. The treaty also granted Japanese people the same rights in Joseon that Westerners enjoyed in Japan, such as extraterritoriality (Park 2015, 92-94).

Afterward, there were two internal incidents in the 1880s. The Imo Incident 壬午軍亂 was a violent uprising and riot by soldiers of the Joseon army in 1882. The Gapsin Coup, also known as the Gapsin Revolution 甲申政變, occurred based on the enlightenment thought 開化思想 in 1884. The domestic affairs happened, for China and Japan had closely involved Joseon's political process of modernisation. The international tension of East Asia was going on next a decay and the modernised Japan gradually became dominant. It was seen in the case of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), which was primarily over influence in Korea and East Asia. After more than six months of unbroken successes by the Japanese army and naval forces and the loss of the Weihaiwei port, the Qing Chinese government sued for peace in February 1895 (Park 2015, 99-102). The Russo-Japanese War (Русско-японская война 日露戦争) (1904-1905) that was fought over rival imperial ambitions in Manchuria (China) and Korea (ibid.), was concluded with the Treaty of Portsmouth, mediated by the US. The complete victory of the Japanese military also surprised world observers.

During the time, the Japan-Korea Treaty was made in 1904 that "the imperial government of Korea shall place full confidence in the imperial government of Japan, and adopt the advice of the latter in regard to improvements in administration" (*Korea, Treaties and Agreements* 1921, vii). The Eulsa Treaty 乙巳條約 deprived Korea of its diplomatic sovereignty and made the peninsula a protectorate of Japan in 1905 (Kim 2011, 25-46). The Japanese Resident-General of Korea then announced the "*Regulations on the Announcement of Religions*" in 1906 (Jhang 2017, 169-200; Ko 2012, 8-35). The emergence of any religious group or change of the organisation had to report to the official authority. The process of Japanese colonialism continued by the 1907 Japan-Korea Treaty 丁未條約 in which Korea was deprived of the administration of internal affairs (Park 2015, 103-11). As the political and military influence of Japan was more systematic and stable, the number of Japanese immigrants was increased to 9,918,566 in 1908.[2] The Japan-Korea

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2. For this, see "Demography of the Empire of Japan."

Annexation Treaty 韓日併合條約 eventually caused Japan to be able to re-launch of aspiration of the Asian continent advance in 1910.

At that time, the government and legal systems of the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910) were operated by the traditional teaching of Confucianism, which was seen as a tradition, a philosophy, a humanistic or rationalistic religion, a way of governing, or simply a way of life. The rest of the local religions were suppressed including Buddhism which was the national religion of the Goryeo period (918-1392). The Confucian ideology was not also generous to foreign beliefs. Nevertheless, whenever the Joseon dynasty was unsteady, the social interference of Japan allowed the influx of Japanese religious groups as part of culture and lifestyle. Then, who were the major groups arrived in the pre-colonial Joseon? What was their goal or purpose? How did they relate with the Joseon authorities and religious communities?

Jinja Shintō

After the Imjin War (1592-1598), there were three Waegwans 倭館 placed in Busan of the Joseon dynasty where the Japanese ambassador and merchants dwelled for diplomacy and trade. The Dumo-po Waegwan 豆毛浦倭館 (1607-1678), after Busan-po and Jeoldoyeong (1601-1607), was established with 500 Japanese residents from Tsushima Island in 1607 (Moon 2013b, 132-33). The first Shintō shrine emerged to pray for the safety of two national diplomacy ships in 1609 and then was relocated to Choryang Waegwan 草梁倭館 (1678-1909) in 1678. The feudal lord of Tsushima Island and his people worshipped the Kotohira (or known as "Sanuki's Konpirasan") of the sea. The main theme god was Omono-no-Shinokami 大物主神, a god with a wide range of deities, such as a five-grain richness, prosperity of industry and culture, and peace of the nation. The merchants of Tsushima Island had a Benzaiten shrine 弁財天堂 that worshipped Benzaiten 弁財天, a god of wealth as the personification of wisdom in the Tokugawa period. Busan where many Japanese residents lived also had the Inari Shrine 稲荷神社 and the Tamatare Shrine 玉垂神社. The Inari Shrine at the Yongdusan 龍頭山 kept a spirit tablet of "Ukano Mita Manokami 倉稲魂神," which is a grain god. The Tamatare Shrine adored the goddesses of Tamata Reno Mikoto, Hachiman Okami, and Sumiyoshino Okami (Yee 2018, 407-09). The initial emergence of Japanese Shintō shrines was charactered based

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on personal and folk beliefs.

Two hundred years later, the Treaty of Ganghwa Island 日朝修好条規 (1876) re-motivated Japanese people to relocate into Joseon for various reasons, including business and trade. It occurred just after the Daijō-kan's 太政官 announcement of the policy of Shintō nationalism 神道國敎化 in Japan in 1871 (Moon 2013b, 121-49).[3] The Shintō of the Meiji era was not in the category of religion, but respected as the national emperor worship ritual. The Kyōha Shintō, Buddhism, and Christianity were then seen as recognised religions, while folk and native religions were treated as new religious movements (Park and Jo 2016, 217-20; Suh 2001, 121-41; Park et al. 2016, 13-17).[4] The non-religious view of Jinja Shintō (Shrine Shinto 神社 place of the god[s]) had a vague existence as it was not uniform among shrine priests, Buddhists, and members of sectarian Shintō groups in Japan (Moon 2018, 131-60; Kim 2011, 33).

Meanwhile, as the ports of Korea were opened, the Japanese residential areas were re-created in Busan (1877), Wonsan (1880), Incheon (1883), and Seoul (1885) (Kim 2009, 33-36). The Japanese settler communities were formed in these areas. The Shintō groups began proselytising their activities among Japanese residents. The Wonsan Shintō shrine was established for Amaterasu-ōmikami (the goddess of the sun and the universe 天照大神) in 1882 (Yee 2018, 407-10; Moon 2013b, 129-31),[5] followed by the Incheon Shintō shrine in 1890. The Seoul Shintō shrine was named as Namsan Daijingu 南山大神宮 in 1898 (Moon 2013a, 369-96).[6] As the key purpose of those shrines was for maritime safety and business prosperity, the shrines were managed by the local association of Japanese residents along with other civic groups (ibid. 375-96; Kim 2011, 33-35). After the Sino-Japanese War (1895), more regions of Joseon had to be open to Japan. Mokpo and Jinnam Port were opened in 1897, along with Masan, Pyeongyang, Gunsan and Seongjin in 1899. Uiju was opened in 1904 (Moon 2013b, 136-40).

The royal shrine for Amaterasu-ōmikami emerged in Jinnam Port in South Pyeongan Province in 1900. For Japanese residents and the fishing

3. Daijō-kan was the highest organ of Japan's government briefly restored to power after the Meiji Restoration, which was replaced by the Cabinet.
4. There were 24 denominations of Japanese religions in Joseon in 1910. The number of its followers were about 71,454: 43,606 Japanese and 28,848 Joseonese.
5. She is a deity of the Japanese myth cycle and also a major deity of the Shintō religion.
6. There were two more shrines in Seoul in 1902: Sankō Shrine 三光神社 and Keijyo Shrine 京城神社.

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industry cooperation, the Kotohira shrine was in Gunsan in 1902. During the Russo-Japanese War 日露戦争 (1904-1905), Japanese diasporas established the Yongcheon shrine in the army base. When the Gyeongbu railway was constructed in 1905, connecting Seoul with Busan, via Suwon, Daejeon, and Daegu (Yee 2018, 410-11), the Amaterasu-ōmikami shrine was placed among Daegu Japanese residents in 1906. The same shrine was established in Daejeon and Samnyangjin in 1907. Just before the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty (1910), Ganggyeong (1908), Seongjin Port (1909), Masan Port (1909), and Songdo (1910) likewise witnessed the appearance of Shintō shrines (Moon 2013b, 136-40). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the major deity of Japanese shrines was Amaterasu-ōmikami, from whom the emperors of Japan are considered to be its direct descendants. Dong-Hoon Yee (2018, 401) argues that the residential shrines in this time were the space using for the personal development of beliefs and public citizen consciousness. The involvement of attending Jinja Shintō (Shrine Shinto) not only was able to keep the folk beliefs of native patron saints at the community level but they also became an initial motivation of nationalism overseas.

Among the deities, the Kotohira shrine was one of the most popular shrines, mainly located in Busan, Wonsan, Incheon, Gunsan, Cheongjin, and Mokpo. It is well acquainted with those Japanese who came from the regions of Kyushu 九州, Chūgoku 中国, and Shikoku 四国. The Inari shrine (a god of rice farm 稲荷神社) was another common shrine in Joseon, such as Busan, Incheon, Nanam, Cheongjin, Miryang, and Gyeomi Port. The Sugawara no Michizane (as the god of learning, Tenman-Tenjin) shrine was placed in Incheon and Seoul. The Japanese shrines of Sumiyoshi (the Sumiyoshi Sanjin, the three gods of the sea), Ebisu (the god of fishermen and luck 恵比須), and Atago (the god of fire-protection 愛宕), for the middle-class people, were also imported in the pre-colonial Joseon (Yee 2018, 412-44). There were also the shrines for regional heroes and regional gods including Sankō Shrine 三光神社 (from Osaka) and Hachiman Shrine (the guardian deity of Ninogoro 八幡神社) (Moon 2013a, 375-77). It is in contrast to the Japanese shrines in Taiwan that mainly had Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa, who was the second head of a collateral branch of the Japanese imperial family. He was formerly enshrined in Tainan-Jinja 臺南神社, Taiwan, under the name Kitashirakawa no Miya Yoshihisa-shinnō no Mikoto 北白川宮能久親王 as the main and only deity (Yee 2018, 412-14).

When Korea was a protectorate of the Empire of Japan in 1906, Japan

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was represented by the Resident-General. The *Records Pertaining to Religion 1906-1909* 宗教ニ関スル雑件綴 that was an official document of the Japanese Resident-General of Korea, reported 17 Jinja Shintō shrines (Park et al. 2016, 13-17). The five shrines in Wonsan, Incheon, Namsan, Masan, and Songdo originated from the Ise Grand Shrine (Ise Jingū, dedicated to the sun goddess Amaterasu 伊勢神宮), located in the city of Ise, Mie Prefecture of Japan. The Jingu Fengtai Society 神宮奉斎会 was responsible for the management under the purpose of enhancing the Japanese national constitution. Another official document of *Shrines*, *Temples and Religion* 社寺宗教 proved that there were not many Joseon converts (Park et al. 2018, 423). Rather, the Japanese shrines were mainly for Japanese residents living in Joseon (ibid. 116-20). For this, Aike P. Rots (2015, 31-48) sustains that Shintō shrines outside Japan in the context of international popularisation should be reinvented as a "nature religion."

Kyōha Shintō

Unlike Jinja Shintō, the history of Kyōha Shintō (Sect Shintō 教派神道) began with 13 independent sects when the Meiji government officially recognised their activity from 1876 (Holtom 1946, 17-20; Holtom 1965; Nobutaka 2002, 405-27; Kwon 2018, 415-51). They are classified into five different groupings:

- Pure Shintō sects: Shintō Taikyō (known before World War II as Shintō 1886), Shinrikyō (1894), and Izumo Ōyashirokyō (1882)
- Confucianistic Shintō sects: Shintō Shūseiha (1876) and Shintō Taiseikyō (1882)
- Purification Shintō sects: Shinshūkyō (1882) and Misogikyō (1894)
- Mountain-worship Shintō sects: Jikkōkyō (1882), Fusōkyō (1882), and Ontakekyō (formerly known as Mitakekyô [1882])
- Faith-healing Shintō sects: Kurozumikyō (1876), Konkōkyō (1900), and Tenrikyō (1908).

Yet, not all of them launched their global movement in the year of the Treaty of Ganghwa Island, by which Joseon was opened to Japan or in the year they were approved by the Japanese government. It was fully dependent on the vision of leadership or their teaching. The *Records Pertaining to Religion 1906-1909* demonstrates that there were seven groups of Kyōha Shintō in Joseon: Shinrikyō

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of the Pure Shintō; Shintō Shūseiha of the Confucianistic Shintō; Jikkōkyō; Ontakekyō of the Mountain-worship Shintō; Kurozumikyō (1876); Konkōkyō (1900); and Tenrikyō (1908) of the Faith-healing Shintō. From around the 1907 Japan-Korea Treaty, the number of Kyōha Shintō was increased as 6 (1907), 10 (1908), 22 (1909), and 28 (1910) (Park et al. 2016, 13-14). Although their mission regarded the Japanese residents in Korea (3,825 in 1909), a lot of Joseonese (=Koreans) also came along with them as 440 (1907), 306 (1908), and 1,171 (1909) (ibid. 15-17). A total of 4,999 people became Kyōha Shintō followers during the three years. The number then reached to double in 1910, at 10,811 (Kwon 2014, 83-139).

Shintō Shūseiha 神道修成派, one of the Confucianistic Shintō sects was founded by Nitta Kuniteru (1829-1902). He was a former warrior (*bushi*) from the Awa domain, but, according to Inoue Nobutaka, consistently taught the necessity of establishing a body of thought that would check the advance of Christianity. Kuniteru held to the concept that Japan was the "divine land" (*shinkoku*) and that the people of Japan were the descendants of the divinities (*kami*). With Shintō beliefs, the leader additionally adopted the teaching of Confucianism as an ally, to construct teaching that would not be inferior in doctrinal terms of the Western religion (Nobutaka 1990, 21-35). Shintō Shūseiha acted as an umbrella organisation for confraternities associated with the worship of Mt. Ontake (Ontake shinkō) and Mt. Fuji (Fuji shinkō).[7] They initially arrived in Joseon in 1885 just after the Gapsin Coup (a modernisation campaign under the political help of Japan, 1884):

> Nitakuni Sada of Shintō Shūseiha arrived in Joseon and is working on the mission. It is heard that the number of Joseon followers is gradually increased. The purpose of the evangelist Nitakuni Sada was to reach Joseon and then the Qing dynasty (of China). He will be the first person to spread the belief of Shintō. (*Asahi shimbun*, Sept. 16, 1885)

Unlike Jinja Shintō, Shintō Shūseiha approached the local people of the Joseon dynasty in Busan region (Kwon 2018, 422-25).

Kurozumikyō 黑住教 was founded by a Shintō priest Kurozumi Munetada (1780-1850), who had a divine union with Amaterasu-ōmikami and

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7. With the result that it rapidly expanded its membership up to the mid-Meiji era.

chief Kami in the Shintō pantheon in 1814. The believers venerated the Shintō sun goddess Amaterasu as the supreme god and creator of the universe and considered the other traditional 8,000,000 Shintō kami (gods, or sacred powers) to be her manifestations. Devotional activities included daily morning worship of the sun, with breathing exercises, described as "swallowing the sun," intended to bring about spiritual union with the sun and consequent physical well-being. Mankind was seen to be able to tap into the divine power of Amaterasu in order to heal the sick and perform other miracles. They were based in Okayama and focused on the virtues of sincerity, selflessness, hard work, and affirmation of the established social order (Shigeyoshi 1985). The second Japanese Kyōha Shintō arrived in 1890. Since the Joseon port of Incheon was opened in 1885 and Japan had a diplomacy treaty of Hanseong with the local government, the group of Kurozumikyō began to proselytise their teaching among Japanese residents in Joseon at the beginning as they mainly dwelled in Incheon and Hanyang, unlike Shintō Shūseiha (Kwon 2018, 428-33). Here, although it is not sure yet, Kwon (ibid. 433-47) presumed that the Gyeongseong great church of Kurozumikyō involved the establishing process of Namsan Daijingu, the Seoul Jinja Shintō shrine (ibid.). The narrative implies that there was not a clear division between Jinja Shintō and Kyōha Shintō in the pre-colonial policy of Japan in Joseon (Kwon 2015, 9-33).

> Jinja Shintō is not treated as a religion in the homeland. Therefore, now on the same rule will be applied in Joseon that Jinja Shintō should not be categorised as a religion. When the application of permission is submitted, it will be completely distinguished from other religions.[8]

Taehoon Kim (2011, 34) also sustains the new ideology of the Meiji government that Jinja Shintō shrines should be separated from the groups of religion was not fixed either on the margins of overseas public administration or in the actual practice of religion in the field.

Tenrikyō 天理教 was founded by Nakayama Miki (1798-1887) after having a sudden experience of spirit possession (*kamigakari*) in the tenth lunar month of 1863. The Tenri followers believe that the God of Origin, *Tenri-Ō-no-Mikoto*, revealed divine intent through Nakayama Miki as the shrine of God

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8. It is a personal translation. See *Shrines, Temples and Religion* 社寺宗教 21.3.14, covering the period from November 1910 to July 1911.

and to a lesser extent, the roles of the Honseki Izo Iburi and other leaders (Lee 2011, 369-94; Nobutaka 415-18; Cho 2013, 33-62). As they promoted the "Joyous Life," which is cultivated through acts of charity and mindfulness called *hinokishin*, their mission initially reached to Busan of Joseon in 1893. Because it was before the official recognition of the Japanese government, their activity was limited both in Japan and Joseon. However, they became one of the most successful Kyōha Shintōs in Joseon as they had over 200 Joseonese in 1894. The number of followers under 13 churches was 817 Japanese and 420 Joseonese by the time of the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty (1910) (Lee 2013, 1-25). It may not be irrelevant that the successful efforts of their Joseon mission over two decades would have affected the process of the official recognition by the Japanese government in 1908 (Park et al. 2016, 4-8; Cho 2013, 33-62).

Shinrikyō (the teaching of divine principle 神理教, 1894) was the name the founder Sano Tsunehiko (1834-1906) gave to the Kyōha Shintō group. He previously studied National Learning (*kokugaku*) in his youth under Nishida Naokai, and also learnt medicine, becoming an advocate of kōkoku idō, or "Ancient Imperial Medicine" (Kwon 2015, 23-33). In fearing the advance of Christianity into Japan, he strongly emphasised the importance of "Shintō edification" and developed an active mission in various places. At one time, the group tried to proselytise in Busan in 1897.[9] Within the colonial purpose of the Japanese Resident-General of Korea, Shinrikyō not only had the second biggest organisation size, but also became the one which had the most Joseonese followers on the top of Japanese residents. The *1910 Statistical Yearbook of the Joseon Government General* 朝鮮總督府統計年報 reports that seven churches of Shinrikyō in Joseon had 5,300 Japanese and 666 Joseonese (ibid.).

The faith-healing Shintō sect of Konkōkyō 天光教(1882) that was founded by Konkō Daijin (1814-83) adores the spirit and energy that flows through all things (*musubi*, one of the core beliefs of Shintōism) as Tenchi Kane No Kami, or the Golden Kami of the Heavens and Earth (in Japanese, "Heavens and Earth" also means the Universe) (Nobutaka 2002, 416-18; Satō 1983, 890-917; Kawase 2007). The new Kyōha Shintō group that came to Joseon in 1903 had 1,176 Japanese in four churches. They, however, were not interested in Joseonese as there is no record of it (Park et al. 2016, 4-8). Hasegawa Kakugyō (born in

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9. For further detail, see Ha 2019, "Shinrikyō"; "Encyclopedia of Shintō in Korea."

Nagasaki, 1541-1646) originally founded Jikkōkyō (Practical Conduct Religion 実行教), but it was developed as Shintō Jikkōkyō in 1882 by Shibata Hanamori (1809-1890) who was its first superintendent (*kanchō*).[10] The mountain-worship Shintō sect respects the deities Tensosanjin (aka Amatsumioyamoto no chichihaha), which views as the origin of all things in the universe, together with Mt. Fuji, which it considers a holy mountain where a manifestation of Tensosanjin's spirit resides. Its activities are aimed at realising the spiritual unity of the deities and humans, undertaking "true practice" (*jitsu no gyō = jikkō*) with a sincere mind and praying for the eternity of the imperial throne and the welfare of all people. Their activity in Joseon, like Konkōkyō, was for Japanese residents, not for local people (Hara 2003, 81-103). Ontakekyō 御嶽教 that emerged from the confraternity (*kōsha*) style of early modern religious groups devoted to Mt. Ontake, was organised by Shimoyama Ōsuke who led a nationwide campaign to consolidate the Ontake movement in the aftermath of the Meiji Restoration. They also came to Joseon, but their activity was vague (Kim 2011, 32-34).

Japanese Buddhism

Korean Buddhism is distinguished from other forms of Buddhism by its attempt to resolve what it sees as inconsistencies in Mahayana Buddhism (Min 2016, 50-65). On the other hand, they, under the neo-Confucian movement of the Joseon dynasty, did not have a lot of diverse orders as most of them were of the Seon lineage (ibid. 72-85). Likewise, Japanese Buddhism did not have strong political support during the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573-1600) and Edo period (1600-1868). Neo-Confucianism and Shintō rather gained influence at the expense of Japanese Buddhism, which came under strict state control (Bowring 2005, 16-17). While the emperor was the object of worship as a living god of Shintō, Buddhist beliefs and worship were banned by the order of the Meiji government in 1868. Many temples and valuable works of Buddhist art were either destroyed or sold. The Buddhist institutions were progressively classified under five lines, thirteen denominations, and fifty-six schools.

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10. For this, see Kōji's "Jikkōkyō."

The Nara Buddhism line (Nanto Rokushu, or the six sects of Nara) includes Kegon-shū 華嚴宗 (華厳経) (State), Hossō-shū 法相宗 (唯識), and Risshū (or Ritsu) 律宗 (四分律) (Disciplinary). The Heian Buddhism (the two Heian sects) and Esoteric Buddhism lines are Tendai 天台宗 and Shingon-shū 眞言宗 (also Mikkyo 密教). The Hokke line (the Hokke line of Kamakura Buddhism) is Nichiren (Lotus Sutra 日蓮宗) (Yoon 2010, 205-35). The Pure Land (Jōdo-shū) 淨土宗 (Amida), Jōdo Shinshū (or Jōdo Shin or Ikko) 眞宗 (Amida), Yūzū-Nembutsu 融通念佛宗 (Amida), and Ji-shū 時宗 (Amida) belong to the Jōdo line (the Jōdo line of Kamakura Buddhism). The Zen (the Zen line of Kamakura Buddhism) and Zen sect lines are Rinzai 臨濟宗, Sōtō 曹洞宗, and Ōbaku 黄檗宗. Then, when and how did the groups of Japanese Buddhism come to Korea? In this regard, there were seven settlements of the Buddhist orders in the pre-colonial Joseon: Jōdo Shinshū Daegok-pa, Nichiren Shū, Jōdo Shinshū Bonwonsa-pa, Jōdo Shū, Shingon Shū, Sōtō Shū, and Rinzai Shū.

The Jōdo Shinshū (The True Essence of the Pure Land Teaching 浄土) was formed by a former Tendai monk Shinran. The founder's thought was strongly influenced by the doctrine of Mappō, a largely Mahayana eschatology that claims humanity's ability to listen to and practice the Buddhist teachings deteriorates over time and loses effectiveness in bringing individual practitioners closer to Buddhahood (Lee 2007). They initially came to Busan before Japan's invasion of Korea in 1585 and built the Godeoksa temple 高德寺 (Je 2010, 235-51; Choe 2006, 419-66; Won 2018, 147-80). It is also known that they sent missionary monks in the Jeonnam province and Gyeongbuk province of Joseon. Lee and Hawang (2004, 385-98) presume that the initial outreach was part of a political strategy of international relations with Joseon during the Imjin War (1592-1598). Three hundred years later, 1873, the Buddhist movement was divided into the two groups: Daegok-pa 眞宗大谷派 and Bonwonsa-pa 眞宗 本願寺派 (本派).

Okumura Ensin 塽村圓心 and Hirano Keisui 平野惠粹 of the Jōdo Shinshū Daegok-pa came and established the Busanbyeolwon temple 釜山別院 in Busan in 1877 as part of the pioneering project of the colony. As the movement was extended, they made many mission stations in Jinju (1907), Miryang (1908), Samrangjin (1909), as well as Wonsan, Hamheung, Cheongjin, Sariwon, Sinuiju, and Jinnam Port. They not only kept the religious rituals but also operated social organisations including primary school, Korean School (1878), Japanese Lady Society (1898), and private kindergartens (1898)

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(Lee and Hawang 2004, 405-22). The Jōdo Shinshū Daegok-pa provided relief to the Japanese people through the aid of the poor and offered relief to those who are suffering from pathological illnesses (Je 2010, 239-51).[11]

The Nichiren Shū (Lotus Sutra, School of Nichiren 日蓮宗) was a combination of several schools ranging from four of the original Nichiren Buddhist schools that date back to Nichiren's original disciples and part of the fifth (Minobu-san, Hama-san, Ikegami-shu, Nakayama-san, and part of Fuji-Fuse). They initially sent Ichiro Watanabe 渡邊日運 in 1881. Afterward, Asahi Mitsu 旭日苗 also came and organised a group called, "Nichiren Foreign Mission," through which many branches were extended. However, the Nichiren Shū is often seen to be "notorious for attracting believers from the lower classes through the syncretic worship of Inari 稲荷" (Park et al. 2016, 34).[12] The Jōdo Shinshū Bonwonsa-pa opened an office in Seoul in 1893 and monks worked from 1895. The outreach reached Busan as well in 1897. It was interested in Japanese people in the first ten years, but from 1905, Joseonese became its mission subject as well. It had the internal policy of employing local Joseonese when it established the educational and medical facilities, such as primary school, private kindergarten, hospital, and entertainment building (Park et al. 2018, 10-14).

The Jōdo Shū 淨土宗 sent a monk in Busan in 1897 and then established the movement the following year, with a strong concern over Joseonese people. They opened Japanese schools for local people in 1901, such as Gaeseong School, Hannam School, and Haeju School. The Myungjin School 明進學教 uniquely was for Joseon monks under the modern educational system in 1906. Most of the students enrolled were senior leaders in their 30s and 40s. Some of them were even sent overseas, including to Japan, for advanced study or experience (Kim 2003, 127-50). The Jōdo Shū had 12 regional temples in 1906: Gyeongseong, Incheon, Gaeseong, Suwon, Busan, Masan Port, Daegu, Gunsan, Ganggyeong, Pyeongyang, Jinnam Port, and Haeju. The Buddhist movement had 16 Japanese monks and 3,600 Japanese followers. Additionally,

11. Je additionally mentioned the initial educational involvement of the Ōtani-ha (Shinshū Ōtani-ha 真宗大谷派) that they established primary schools for the children of Japanese residents in 1877. The Shinshū Ōtani-ha also first created a social organisation for the relief of the poor and homeless people.
12. In earlier Japan, Inari was the patron of swordsmiths and merchants. Represented as male, female, or androgynous, Inari is sometimes seen as a collective of three or five individual kami.

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there were 183 meeting places and five Japanese schools for Joseonese. Over 32,500 Joseonese involved in those organisations of the Jōdo Shū. They even took over the authority of the Wonheung temple 元興寺 in 1907, which used to represent all the Joseon Buddhist temples.

The Shingon Shū 眞言宗 was one of the major schools of Buddhism in Japan and one of the few surviving Vajrayana lineages in East Asia (Sharf 2003, 59-62). The teachings of Shingon were based on early Buddhist tantras, the Mahāvairocana Sūtra (Dainichi-kyō 大日経), the Vajraśekhara Sūtra (Kongōchō-kyō 金剛頂経), the Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra (Rishu-kyō 理趣経), and the Susiddhikara Sūtra (Soshitsuji-kyō 蘇悉地経). For that reason, they were often indicated as Japanese Esoteric Buddhism or Orthodox Esoteric Buddhism (Kiyota 1987, 91-92). They came to Seoul in 1905 for the education of Japanese residents. Meantime, Sōtō Shū 曹洞宗 was the largest traditional sect of Zen in Japanese Buddhism. They emphasised Shikantaza, meditation with no objects, anchors, or content. The meditator strived to be aware of the stream of thoughts, allowing them to arise and pass away without interference. They arrived in the Daejeon region of Joseon in 1907. They, like Jōdo Shū, had a missionary passion for local people.

Rinzai Shū 臨濟宗 was one of three Zen sects, with Sōtō and Ōbaku. They are marked by the emphasis of *kenshō* ("seeing one's true nature") as the gateway to authentic Buddhist practice, and for its insistence on many years of exhaustive post-kensho training to embody the free functioning of wisdom within the activities of daily life. The Rinzai style of Zen practice is characterised as martial or sharp (following in the spirit of Linji Yixuan). In this regard, Rinzai is contrasted with Sōtō, which has been called gentler and even rustic in spirit. They were curious about the Japanese residents in the mission field of Joseon in 1907.

Japanese Buddhists had the right to proselytise inside cities, ending a five-hundred-year ban on clergy members entering cities in the Joseon peninsula. The *Shrines, Temples and Religion* contained 59 religious profiles. Among them, 28 profiles were about the official communications between the authority and Japanese Buddhism in Joseon. The official document of the Governor-General Office of the Korean Peninsula 朝鮮総督府 indicates that there were about several denominations with 113 temples or mission stations of Japanese Buddhism in 1911. The Jōdo Shū had 29 temples, followed by 26 Jōdo Shinshū Bonwonsa-pa, 24 Jōdo Shinshū Daegok-pa, 13 Shingon-shū, 12 Nichiren Shū, and 9 Sōtō Shū (Je 2018, 208-30). Yet, the Jōdo Shinshū

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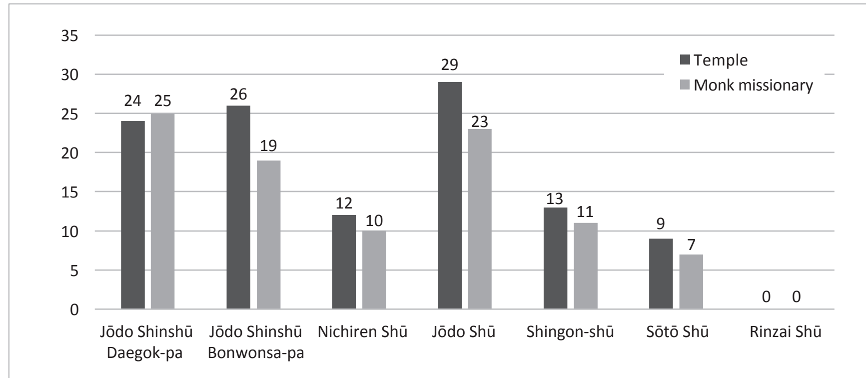

Figure 1. Japanese Buddhist Temples and Leaders in the pre-1910 Joseon Dynasty

Daegok-pa had the most missionary monks (ibid. 225). The Rinzai Shū seems to have no resident representative and no temple, but it is presumed that they often sent visiting leaders for Japanese followers living in Joseon. In detail, the result of such Japanese Buddhist mission in the pre-colonial Joseon is reflected in the membership of more than 60,000 followers: 35,157 Japanese and 25,358 Joseonese. Most of the Japanese organisations regarded Japanese residents, but the Jōdo Shinshū Bonwonsa-pa had more Joseonses followers (15,919) than Japanese (7,529). The Jōdo Shinshū Daegok-pa (3,086) and Jōdo Shū (5,343) were also concerned about Joseonese. In particular, Sōtō Shū was very interested in Joseonese as they had 1,010 local people in 3-4 years (since 1907). Meanwhile, the Nichiren Shū, Shingon-Shū, and Rinzai Shū just focused on Japanese communities (Park et al. 2016, 13-17; Yoon 2012, 271-98).

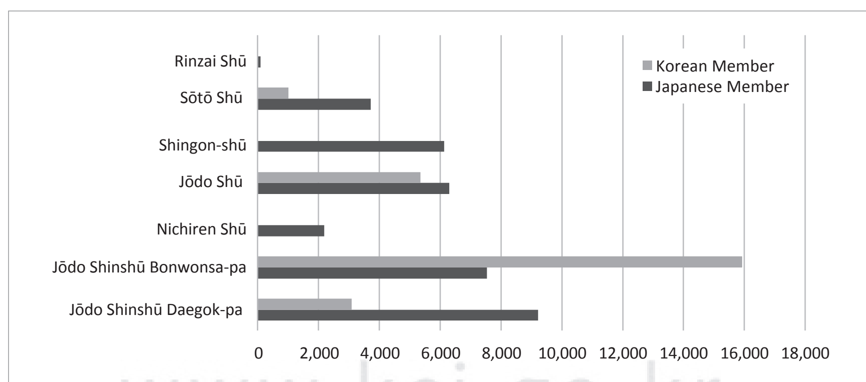

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Figure 2. Japanese Buddhist Members in the pre-1910 Joseon Dynasty

In terms of the inter-religious relation between Joseonese Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism, the *Shrines, Temples and Religion* (1911) includes many critical cases of conflicts between them (Park et al. 2018, 116-20). In this regard, Taehoon Kim (2011, 34) argues that the official documents of the Government-General of Korea was the safeguard for the harmonious co-existence of both ethnic Buddhisms, "with Japanese Buddhism assuming a leadership role as 'administrator' in order to aid the development of (Joseonese) Buddhism, and (Joseonese) Buddhism surrendering management rights to Japanese Buddhism for the sake of this aid." Hwansoon Kim (2009, 128-35) maintained it in the concept of "dynamic" that the "Japanese Buddhist missionaries assisted Korean monks in establishing modern schools for monastics and a central office for the newly formed Korean Buddhist administration, and in bringing Korean Buddhism into the centre of politics." However, was it the way Joseonese Buddhist groups were understood? Or was it necessary for both of them to survive in Confucian Joseon and Shintō Japan? It may still be questionable, for the document was not created for such a purpose of religious pluralism, but politically to manage (or control) the religious groups.

Japanese Christianity

After Japan opened to greater foreign interaction through the Ansei Five-Power Treaties 安政五ヵ国条約 (with the United States, United Kingdom, Russia, Netherlands, and France) in 1858, many Christian clergymen were sent from Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox churches, though proselytism was still banned (Bae 2007, 287-306). The Meiji Restoration allowed the freedom of religion in 1873, giving all Christian communities the right to legal existence and preaching (Park et al. 2016, 7-17; Je 1981, 2052-80). Under such a short history, the overseas activity of Japanese Christianity was feeble and limited, unlike Jinja Shintō, Kyōha Shintō, and Japanese Buddhism. Yet, the eight denominations of Japanese Christianity individually approached to the pre-colonial Joseon, including Japanese Christian Church 日本基督教会, Japan Methodist Church, Japanese Union Church 日本組合教会, Sect Presbyterian 長老派, Presbyterian Church, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), Anglican Church in Japan (Nippon Sei Ko Kai 日本聖公会), and Bible Gangdokso 聖書講讀所 (Suh 2002, 89-114).

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Table 1. Japanese Christianity in the Pre-1910 Joseon Dynasty

	Church	Propagator	Japanese Devotee	Korean Devotee
Japanese Christian Church	5	4	164	0
Japan Methodist Church	7	6	491	19
Japanese Union Church	1	1	37	15
Sect Presbyterian	1	1	130	0
Presbyterian Church	2	1	40	20
Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)	1		0	0
Anglican Church in Japan	1	1	54	0
Bible Gangdokso			20	350

Although Korean Christianity already had about 20,000 followers, 1,900 churches, 800 mission schools, and 270 missionaries in 1910, there were 18 Japanese churches and 14 missionaries in Joseon (Park et al. 2018, 8-17). As one of the pioneering narratives, Norimatsu Masayasu, a Japanese missionary of Plymouth Brethren, came to Seoul in 1896. He learnt Korean and then started an outreach with Korean versions of four Gospels and the *Book of Acts* (Yeon and Lee 2016, 483-503). He then taught the local language to his son. He, after almost twenty years, returned to Japan because of his illness, but re-visited Joseon many times until his death in 1921 (ibid.). He often experienced social persecution not only by Japanese authority of Joseon but also by Joseonese people just by being a colonist. In the concept of a new denomination, the Japanese Christian Church was formed by USA Presbyterian, European Reformed Church, and other six denominational missionaries in Yokohama 横浜 in 1872 (Kim 2010, 77-104; Min 1981, 2052-80). The inter-denominational church was interested in Joseon and as a result, they pioneered five churches and four missionary workers from 1903. The Japan Methodist Church was established by the Methodist Episcopal Churches of the United States and the Methodist Church of Canada in 1873 (Kim 2010, 77-104). The first resident missionary, Robert Samuel Maclay, arrived in 1873 and the mission bases were set up in Tokyo, Nagasaki, and Yokohama. From there, Maclay made a brief visit to Seoul in June 1884, where he acquired the permission of Joseon King Kojong to begin medical and educational mission

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work.[13] The Japan Methodist Church actively pioneered seven churches with six Christian workers in Joseon. However, the rest of Japanese Christianity only maintained a symbolic church and a missionary. The YMCA did not even have any workers, even though there was a place of worship. Bible Gangdokso had neither a church hall nor a Christian worker.

Japan Methodist Church showed interests in approaching Japanese residents in Joseon, as it had 491 people. Sect Presbyterian had 130 Japanese while the Japanese Christian Church did 164. The rest of the other denominations had under 60 Japanese members, such as Anglican Church in Japan (54), Japanese Union Church (37), Bible Gangdokso (20), Presbyterian Church (40), and YMCA (0). While most of them were not interested in Joseonese, Bible Gangdokso was the only Japanese Christian group that was concerned about Joseonese (350). While Presbyterian Church (20), Japan Methodist Church (19), and Japanese Union Church (15) had under 20 membership, Japanese Christian Church, Sect Presbyterian, YMCA, and Anglican Church in Japan had no Joseonese members at all. In particular, the Japanese Union Church that was established under the support of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in 1886 came to Joseon by Ebina Danjo 海老名弾正 who was a Japanese educator and philosopher, as well as a Christian missionary and pastor. He was also known for his "Shintoistic Christianity." The Japanese Union Church gradually supported the belief of Jinja Shintō in Joseon (Park 2015, 67-70; 211-58; Sung 2005, 241-76). Therefore, Bae (2007, 287-306) argued that the leaders of the Japanese Christian Union Church and Japanese Christian Church had a nationalistic and humanistic ideology of Japanesesation in Joseon rather than the spiritual aspiration of the Christian mission.

13. For this, see Scott's "Robert Samuel Maclay: Methodist Episcopal Missionary, 1824-1907" (accessible at https://web.archive.org/web/20071206010235).

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Conclusion

The global outreach of Japanese religious groups was generally animated in the early twentieth century. The state ritual (Shintō) introduced to colonial Korea around 1910-1929 was carried out under official and public control as national facilities of veneration ceremony. The original reason was systematically developed into the purpose of colonialisation for local Koreans during 1930-1942 (Moon 2018, 131-60). However, when the nationally unified Japan invaded the Joseon dynasty at the end of the sixteenth century throughout the Imjin War (1592-1598), the Japanese faith communities initially landed in Busan as part of the social exchange between both states. The primary function was not political, but for the transnational grassroots movement of beliefs and social consciousness. The Jinja Shintō, related to Amaterasu-ōmikami and ancestors of the Japanese emperor, was based on the folk beliefs of native patron saints for maritime safety and business prosperity (trade, agriculture, and fishery industry).

The overseas mission of Kyōha Shintō (Sect Shintō) groups was for the Japanese residents living in Joseon, even though Shinrikyō, Shintō Shūseiha, and Tenrikyō gave their interest in Joseonese. Japanese Buddhism, as a non-national religion but recognised by the government, had a similar historical narrative with Kyōha Shintō in terms of political pressure from the Meiji government. The seven Buddhist orders voluntarily reached to the Joseon peninsula in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the process of cooperation with Joseon Buddhism, the negative and antagonistic attitudes began to emerge between the two nationalistic groups, but the enlightenment campaigns of education and social relief attracted both Japanese and local people in Joseon. Among them, Jōdo Shinshū Daegok-pa, Jōdo Shinshū Bonwonsa-pa, Shingon Shū, and Rinzai Shū were forced on Japanese nationals, while Jōdo Shū and Sōtō Shū additionally regarded Joseon people. In comparison with Jinja Shintō and the other recognised religions, the activity of Japanese Christianity was insignificant due to the rapid growth of Korean Christianity under the efforts of American and Western missionaries (including the Great Pyeongyang Revival of 1907), but the role of the Japanese Christian Church and Japan Methodist Church was crucial for Japanese Christians living in Joseon. The leadership of the Bible Gangdokso particularly was concerned about local Joseonese. Such a result implicates that the freedom of religion announced in Japan in 1873 was extensively applied to the overseas mission stations of Jinja Shintō and Japanese

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religions as the foreign policy of Japanese nationalism was not yet imposed in the pre-colonial Joseon (1910).

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Abstract

The international relationship between Japan and Korea used to be characterised by cultural exchanges, economic trade, political contact, and military confrontations. During the ancient era, Buddhism, Chinese-influenced cuisine, Han characters, and other technology came to Japan via Korea and/or the East China Sea. The tendency of social flow began to reverse when Japan invaded Joseon (early modern Korea) in 1592 壬辰倭亂. Afterward, the social success of Japan's modernisation under the central leadership of Emperor Meiji (1867-1912) instigated in earnest the globalisation of Japanese religiosity. Then, what kind of faith communities came to Joseon before the Japanese annexation of Korea (1910)? How did they settle down? What was the cultural environment for new beliefs? What was their connection with the state in the political transition era of the peninsula? This paper explores the historical narratives of Jinja Shintō, Kyōha Shintō, Japanese Buddhism, and Japanese Christianity in the pre-colonial society of the Joseon dynasty. The geopolitical confusion and change of East Asia (Japan, Korea, and China) over the process of modernisation is argued as one of the key factors through which the maritime beliefs could transnationally root without the legal restriction of the local authority for Japanese residents.

Keywords: Jinja Shintō, Kyōha Shintō, Joseon, Japanese Buddhism, Busan, YMCA

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