Empire in a Shrine: The Forms, Functions, and Symbolisms of Shinto Shrines in Colonial Taiwan 1895-1945

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Introduction

From the beginning to the end of the Japanese colonial period of Taiwan (1895-1945), colonial authorities have built nearly two-hundred documented Shinto shrines across the island.[1] Coined by some scholars as "invader shrines," overseas shrines were built as a device for Japan to implement its State Shinto ideology in the colonies.[2] State Shinto, as Helen Hardacre argued, was an "empire-sponsored ideological campaign" aimed at nation-making and turning people into imperial subjects loyal to the state both in spirit and practice.[3] Japanese historian Nakajima Michio similarly stated that, in order to "establish a unified nation-state," the Meiji government deified imperial authority and "brought the divine image [of the emperor] to the foreground."[4]

In Japan's overseas colonies such as Taiwan, colonial rulers enforced the State Shinto ideology through commissioning Shinto shrines, thus signaling Japan's inaugurating rule on the foreign soil. This chapter will examine three major Shinto shrines in Taiwan built during the Japanese colonial period—*Kaizan Shrine* 開山神社, *Taiwan Shrine* 台湾神社, and *Kenkō Shrine* 建功神社, tracing the architectures' development through time and the respective policies that gave shape to those projects. It demonstrates that, while conceived under various contexts and varied in forms, Shinto shrines in Taiwan legitimized foreign rule, symbolized colonial authority,

[1] Nakajima Michio, "Shinto Deities That Crossed the Sea: Japan's 'Overseas Shrines,' 1868 to 1945," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 37, no. 1 (2010): 21-46.
[2] For instance, Minoru Zushi 辻子実 used the term *shinryaku jinja* 侵略神社 [invader shrines] alternative to the generic notion of overseas shrines. See Zushi Minoru, *Shinryaku Jinja: Yasukuni shisō wo kangaeru tarne ni* (Tokyo: Shinkansha, 2003).
[3] Helen Hardacre, *Shinto: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 440.
[4] Nakajima Michio, "Shinto Deities That Crossed the Sea: Japan's 'Overseas Shrines,' 1868 to 1945," 22.

and exemplified imperial ideology. Above all, overseas Shinto shrines materialized the idea of "otherness" that laid beneath settler colonialism, and executed the unilateral power relationship between the Japanese colonizer and the colonized other.

Fig. 1 Kaizan Shrine.

Kaizan Shrine 開山神社

Kaizan Shrine (fig. 1) was the first Shinto shrine ever "built" in Taiwan. Established in 1896, Kaizan Shrine ranked as a provincial shrine (*kensha*) 県社 and was converted from a local temple called *Kaishan Miao* 開山廟, which previously enshrined *Kaitai Shengwang* 開台聖王, "the deity that established Taiwan."[5] Figure 1 is an image of the main hall, showing the building in the Hokkein style that originated from southeastern China. The building had a three-bay opening, which is commonly referred to as 三川門, and a ceramic roof, with the curved roof-ridge projecting upward and decorated with two dragons. It was also placed on a stone plinth and covered on both sides with stone walls that are common in Chinese vernacular architecture.[6]

[5] Li-hua Chen 陳麗華, "傳統的重塑與再現：延平郡王與台南地方社會," *歷史台灣：國立臺灣歷史博物館館刊*, no. 5 (2013): 5-28.
[6] See Ronald G. Knapp, *China's Vernacular Architecture: House Form and Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989) for more on Chinese vernacular buildings.

When the colonial officer Isogai Seizō 磯貝靜蔵 (1849-1910) proposed the plan to convert the Kaishan Temple into a Shinto shrine, the officials decided to keep the temple's original buildings and used them directly for Kaizan Shrine.[7] To represent the architecture as a Shinto shrine, they added to the buildings elements such as *shimenawa*, a hemp rope tied on the beam that demarcates sacred space, a pair of standing lanterns, *shide* 紙垂, zigzag-shaped paper streamers attached on the shimenawa, and a curtain, which helped hide the interior from worshippers outside (fig. 2). Figure 3 shows the gate that was an original structure of Kaishan Temple. Though this brick-walled gate stood in a Chinese form, featuring crow-stepped gable 馬頭牆 and upward-sloping roof-ridges, a pair of lanterns *tōrō* that served to light up the path to a Shinto shrine was seen right by the entrance, transforming the space from a Chinese temple to a Japanese shrine.

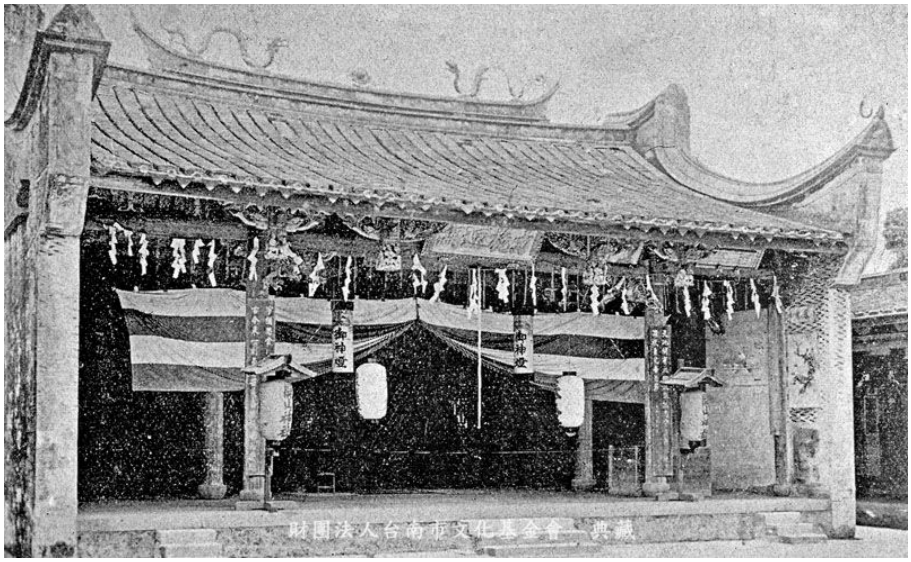

Fig. 2 Kaizan Shrine , close-up view.

[7] Chin-tang Tsai 蔡錦堂, *日本帝国主義下台湾の宗教政策* (Tokyo: Dōseisha, 1994), 24-25.

Fig. 3 Kaizan Shrine, main gate, taken before expansion project 1907-1915.

Above the entranceway there was a plaque that said 延平郡王祠 *(yenping junwang ci*), which stood for another name for Kaishan Temple. 延平郡王 was the princely title of Chenggong Zheng 鄭成功 (also known as Koxinga among scholars in the west, 1624-1662), whom historians generally agreed upon as the person that established Chinese culture in Taiwan. [8] During the Qing period, the idea of "Kaishan" 開山 [building the land], with *shan* 山 referring to Taiwan, led to an increasing association of *Kaitai Shengwang* 開台聖王, the spirit consecrated at this temple, with Chenggong Zheng. Although Taiwanese scholar Li-hua Chen questioned the equation of *Kaitai Shengwang* with the historical figure Chenggong Zheng, it was precisely the temple's connection with Chenggong Zheng that prompted the Japanese rulers to convert it into a Shinto shrine.[9]

[8] For more history on Chenggong Zheng, see Ralph C. Croizier, *Koxinga and Chinese Nationalism: History, Myth, and the Hero* (Cambridge: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1977).

[9] Li-hua Chen,"傳統的重塑與再現：延平郡王與台南地方社會." In her article, Chen explained that there had been ambiguity with whom Kaitai Shengwang represented. This lack of clarity was due to loose documentations before Qing rulers' took-over of Taiwan from Zheng's offsprings. Besides Zheng, people could have also dedicated the shrine to unknown local leaders that helped establish the village etc. However, when the Qing rulers came to Taiwan, they made use of Zheng's popularity among Taiwanese locals, in order to gain a stronger foothold for their rule. According to Li-hua Chen, therefore, it was also to their benefit that they declare the Kaishan Miao a temple for Chenggong Zheng.

Before Japanese colonization, Chenggong Zheng already enjoyed a reputation for building Taiwan and was worshipped by people at local shrines. Bringing the worship of Zheng under the Shinto system, therefore, allows an easier transition for Taiwanese people to adapt to Shinto practices and also prevents intense opposition. In his proposal to establish the Kaizan Shrine to the Governor-General Katsura Tarō 桂太郎 (1848-1913), Isogai Seizō argued that the colonial government would "gain control over public opinion" and "benefit largely in their future governance," if they made use of the worship of Chenggong Zheng.[10] In addition, the Japanese officials favored Chenggong Zheng because of his resistance to Qing conquest, which conformed to Japan's position against China. Most importantly, as Chenggong Zheng was born to a Japanese mother, the colonial rulers cast spotlight on his identity to legitimize their rule, reasoning that Taiwan had been under Japan's influence long before Qing.[11]

Fig. 4 Kaizan Shrine, after 1907.

For the ideological implications of Chenggong Zheng, the Japanese rulers, despite colonizing Kaishan temple and making it a Shinto shrine, kept the temple's form and practice of Chenggong Zheng worship. From 1907 to 1915, however, Kaizan Shrine underwent a series of

[10] Guo-liang Wen 溫國良, "Riju chuqi tainan yenping junwang ci gaihao yu liege shimo" 日據初期台南延平郡王祠「改號」與「列格」始末 [The Consecration and Conversion of the Tainan Yenping Junwang Ci in Early Colonial Period], *Tainan Wenhua* [Tainan Culture] no. 47 (1999): 33-35.
[11] Jen-jie Chiang 姜仁傑, "日本殖民下歷史解釋的競爭--以鄭成功的形象為例" (Master's thesis, National Central University, 2000).

expansion projects that altered its environment and amplified the image of colonial authority. For instance, the main gate (fig. 3) was moved to the east side of the complex, becoming perpendicular to the torii gate on the central axis (fig. 4). In the center courtyard thus opened-up, a Japanese-style worship hall 拜殿 with hipped-gable roof was put into place (fig. 5).[12] Located on the main axis, this new building not only provided the additional space for Shinto rituals but softened the visual disconnection between a Japanese torii gate and a Chinese temple structure. Its position in what used to be a traditional quadrangle composition from Chinese architecture, nonetheless, disclosed the power dynamic between the old and the new - the colonized and the colonizer (fig. 6).

Fig. 5 Worship Hall, Kaizan Shrine.

Fig. 6 Worship Hall, Kaizan Shrine.

By 1941, Kaizan Shrine was transformed into a "purely inland Japanese-style" shrine, with further construction (and destruction) adding yet new structures and removing old walls.[13] Figure 7 is a photograph taken in 1940 that showed the old temple structures that were soon to be destroyed; the open area next to them was where the shrine would be rebuilt.[14] As Aoi

[12] Jen-jie Chiang 姜仁傑, "日本殖民下歷史解釋的競爭--以鄭成功的形象為例," 66.
[13] Akihito Aoi, "Transplanting State Shinto: The reconfiguration of existing built and natural environments in colonized Taiwan," in *Constructing the Colonized Land: Entwined Perspectives of East Asia Around WWII*, ed. Izumi Kuroishi (England: Ashgate, 2014), 109.
[14] For more information on this second wave of architectural renewal program, see Aoi, "Transplanting State Shinto: The reconfiguration of existing built and natural environments in colonized Taiwan."

Akihito illustrated, the juxtaposition of the old and new structures revealed the discriminatory concept held by colonial administrators that "the shrine's purified environment could not accommodate too close proximity with an alien culture."[15] Though the Japanese rulers made careful decisions in using Kaishan Temple as the colony's first "Shinto shrine," their ideological plan and authority were exposed in the spatial and architectural arrangements at Kaizan Shrine.

Fig. 7 Old structures (to be destroyed) and new space for Kaizan Shrine to be built.

Taiwan Shrine 台湾神社

In 1901, the Governor-General of Taiwan Kodama Gentaro 兒玉源太郎 (1852-1906) commissioned the Taiwan Shrine on the northern tip of Taihoku [Taipei], the capital of Japan's first overseas colony.[16] Ranked as a major imperial shrine, *Kampei Taisha* 官幣大社, equivalent to the Ise Grand Shrine, Taiwan Shrine was dedicated to the three spirits of land reclamation, *Kaitaku Sanjin* 開拓三神 and Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa 北白川宮能久 (1847-1895), who died on his route to conquer the island.[17] The Home Ministry in Japan planned to construct the entire shrine complex in "八万坪," about 24,000 square meters large, on a terrace carved out of

[15] Akihito Aoi, "Transplanting State Shinto," 109.
[16] Akihito Aoi, "Construction of the Taiwan Shrine and the Urban Planning of Taihoku (Taipei) in the Early Colonial Period 1895-1901," *日本建築学会計画系論文集* no. 518 (1999): 238.
[17] Aoi, "Transplanting State Shinto," 100.

a mountain (fig. 8).[18] The initial stage of the Taiwan Shrine project, before it underwent a series of reconstruction and expansion, cost them 350,000 yen.[19] This exceeded the annual expenditure in all the shrines from Japan's inner territory, attesting to the value that colonial governors placed on building the Taiwan Shrine and its importance to the Japanese rule in the colony.[20]

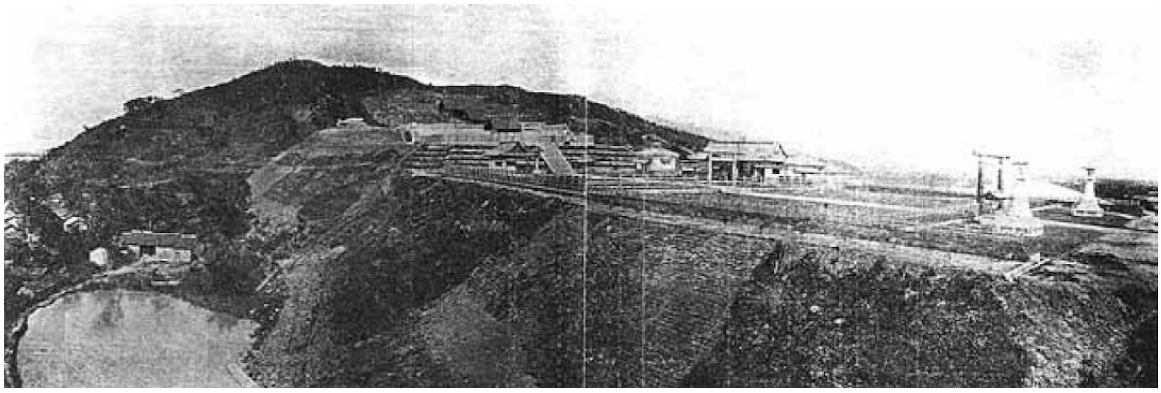

Fig. 8 Landscape of Taiwan Shrine right after completion in 1901.

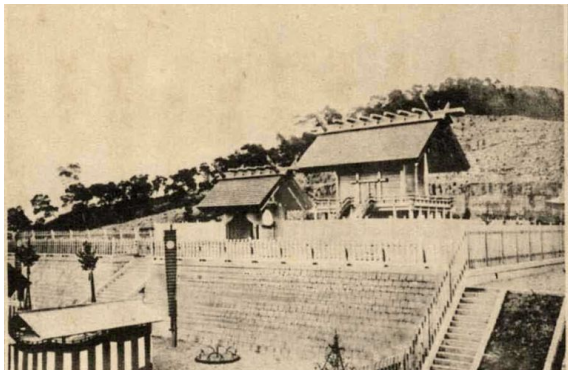

Fig. 9 Taiwan Shrine, main precinct.

[18] Akihito Aoi, "Expansion and Reformation Process of the Precinct Environment of Taiwan Shrine During the Colonial Period," *日本建築学会計画系論文集* no. 521 (1999): 286.
[19] Helen Hardacre, *Shinto: A History*, 406.
[20] Hardacre, *Shinto,* 404.

Fig. 10 Ise Shrine, main hall.

Fig. 11 Aerial Drawing of Taiwan Shrine, 1906.

Figure 9 is a photograph that shows the original form of Taiwan Shrine before it was renovated in 1944 and destroyed during allied bombings in 1945. The shrine was built in the

same form as the Ise Shrine in *shinmei zukuri* 神明造 style.[21] It featured a gable roof made with wood shingles, with elements distinctive of indigenous Japanese architecture such as *chigi* (forked roof finials) and *katsuogi* (cylindrical roof ridge). Like Ise Shrine's main hall (fig. 10), it was built in wood in *takayuka*-style, with a raised floor and sunken pillars. When deliberating the form of the shrine, Kodama Gentarō suggested to the Minister of Interior Saigo Jūdō 西鄉從道 (1843-1902) that since a Shinto shrine plays an important role in consolidating their rule on Taiwan, it is best to build the Taiwan Shrine in *shinmei zukuri,* a style most iconic of the colonial power Japan.[22]

Figure 11 is an aerial drawing of the Taiwan Shrine. In this image, the shrine complex is shown situated on the slope of a hill, surrounded by waters. The clouds shrouding the Jiantan mountain 劍潭山, where this shrine was located, also create an impression of a heavenly setting. To the colonial administrators, siting Taiwan Shrine on the southern ridge of Jiantan Mountain was not only geomantically but politically symbolic. Figure 12 is a faraway view of the shrine that shows its location on Mt. Jiantan, in relation to the Keelung River. Such an arrangement corresponds to the principles of feng-shui, with the architecture leaning against the hill and facing the river.[23] Moreover, the incline created a spatial hierarchy between the shrine and the city of Taipei, just three kilometers away from the foothill, which thereby elevated colonial authority. As Japanese architectural historian Aoi Akihito noted, overseas Shinto shrines were

[21] 臺灣神社社務所 [Administrative Office of Taiwan Shrine], *臺灣神社誌* [Taiwan Shrine Encyclopedia] (1926), 77.
[22] 臺灣神社社務所, *臺灣神社誌*, 52-53. Lang-hsiang Huang 黃蘭翔, *History of Taiwanese Architecture: Taiwan and Its Others 臺灣築史之研究: 他者與臺灣* (Taipei: Spatial Native Language Foundation of Arts and Culture, 2018), 55.
[23] Despite the term "feng-shui," which people would more commonly associate with Chinese architectural practices, the Japanese people were equally concerned with architecture - especially a shrine - having a nice location with closeness to nature, which also resonates with Shinto's animist belief.
The attention to geomancy in the Jiantan region, due to its special topographic qualities, was a continuation from the Qing-period. For instance, a Daoist temple had previously stood in a nearby area (see next section for more details).

usually "situated halfway up a hill or mountain, facing toward the city on land that was free, as often as possible, from any trace of former authority."[24] This pattern was also observed in colonial Korea, with architect Sasa Keichi 笹慶一 (1887-1935), who worked under the Korean Government-General, commenting that placing shrines on a hill creates a "mystical" feeling which helps enhance the colonial authority.[25]

Fig. 12 Taiwan Shrine at Jiantan, view from the opposite.

In addition to the spatial arrangements, colonial ideology was also embedded in the Government-General's appropriation of the natural environment around Jiantan. After debating the geographic location for the Taiwan Shrine, the Planning Committee of the Shrine for Late Prince Kitashirakawa 故北白川宮殿下神殿建設取調委員, commissioned by Governor-General Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典 (1849-1912), selected the western part of Yuanshan/Murayama 圓山, Jiantan, as their final choice. They did so for reasons that Yuanshan "boasts vast lands, beautiful sceneries, and bountiful timberland."[26] While these natural qualities may have made Yuanshan a

[24] Aoi, "Transplanting State Shinto," 100.
[25] Keichi Sasa 笹慶一, "Landscapes of Shinto Shrine: Examination of its forms" 神社の敷地：様式その他の考察, *Korea and its Architecture* 朝鮮と建築 15 no. 7 (1936): 4-17.
[26] Huang, Lang-hsiang, *History of Taiwanese Architecture: Taiwan and Its Others*, 111, quoted from 杉山靖憲, *台灣名勝舊跡誌* [Writings of Taiwan Scenic Views and Sites] (Taipei: Taiwan Sōtoku-fu 台湾總督府, 1916), 523-524.

reasonable place to build a Shinto shrine, though, it was Yuanshan's projected role as a public park that solidified the officials' final decision.

In a report issued by the Planning Committee, Yuanshan was described as such:

> Why is Yuanshan Park the most suitable place to build the Taiwan Shrine? This is because public parks are places where people come to visit and enjoy nature. Like the Ueno Park or Asakusa Park, even if travelers are only making a short stay at Tokyo, they would still make efforts to visit those places. [...] Thus, building a shrine in a public park, for one, provides easy access for people to come and worship, and, for another, draws people closer to nature while ensuring the prosperity of the shrine.[27]

By situating Taiwan Shrine at Yuanshan, the "public park" where both locals and non-locals would frequent, the administrators ensured that there would be visitors to this new place. As Taiwanese historian Allen R. Joseph argued, the concept of public park *kōen* or *gongyuan* is "closely associated with the activities of civic life in a modern society."[28] In the colonial context, *kōen* was used to "draw newly colonized [...] into the expanding imperial community dominated by colonizing Japanese."[29] Because of its topographic qualities, Yuanshan enabled colonial authorities to frame the entire place, including the Taiwan Shrine, as a "public park" that would attract visitors. Functioning under such an ideological framework, therefore, Taiwan Shrine's dual role as both a religious space and a civic center came together to meet the colonial rulers' agenda in concentrating their power.

Another important aspect to the location of Taiwan Shrine was its connection to the Taipei city center - more specifically, to the Office of the Government-General. Figure 13 is a

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[27] My translation from Huang, *History of Taiwanese Architecture*, 111, quoted from 杉山靖憲, *台灣名勝舊跡誌* [Writings of Taiwan Scenic Views and Sites] (Taipei: Taiwan Sōtoku-fu 台湾總督府, 1916), 523-524.
[28] Joseph Allen, "A Park in the City," in *Taipei: City of Displacements* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 92.
[29] Todd A. Henry, "Respatializing Chosŏn's Royal Capital: The Politics of Japanese Urban Reforms in Early Colonial Seoul, 1905–1919," in *Sitings: Critical Approaches to Korean Geography*, eds. Tangherlini Timothy R. and Yea Sallie (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 15-38. Quoted from Joseph Allen, "A Park in the City," 92.

map that shows the main street, *Chokushi Kaidō* 勅使街道, that connected between the Taiwan Shrine (on the upper right of the image) and the Government-General building (in the lower part with label on the left). The *Chokushi Kaidō* was traced north to the central axis of Taiwan Shrine, passing through the Meiji Bridge and a series of torii gates, reaching the end at the shrine's main hall (fig. 14). As a stop between the sacred and the civic space, the Meiji Bridge (fig. 15) provided a transition for people between the religious realm and the state domain - transporting them to either one end with secular power, the Government-General Office, or the other end with religious authority, the Shinto worship hall. As Aoi noted, Taiwan Shrine "provided a visual correspondence with the City of Taipei and expressed a physical connection to the Office of the Governor-General."[30] Through the north-south axis created under Taipei's urban renewal project, colonial officials gained access to the hall of the state religion directly from their seat of power. This "new pathway," referred to by Shinto priest Miyaji Izuwo, drew the Japanese authorities' reach in both religious and political domain closer together and, ultimately, consolidated colonial power.[31]

[30] Aoi, "Transplanting State Shinto," 100.
[31] *臺灣日日新報* [Taiwan Daily News], October 28th, 1901.

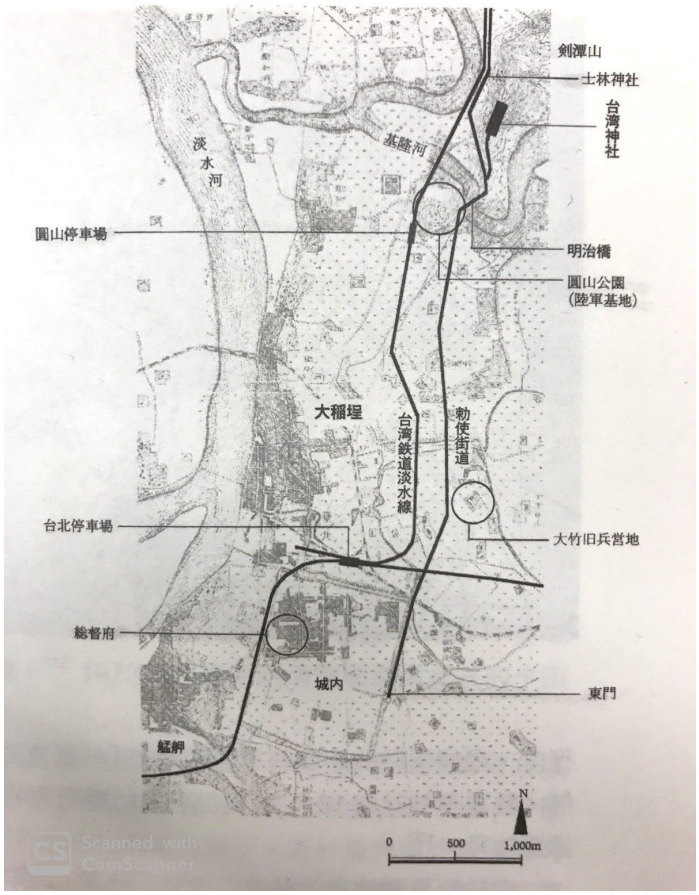

Fig. 13 Map of old Taipei.

Fig. 14 Postcard of Taiwan Shrine Complex, Yoshida Hatsusaburo.

Fig. 15 Meiji Bridge.

Expansion and Taiwan Gokoku Shrine 台湾護国神社

In 1937, the Government-General launched an expansion project for the Taiwan Shrine that would move and extend the current shrine complex to a larger ground nearby.[32] Figure 16 shows the overall Taiwan Shrine complex that spanned the Yuanshan region. The map included the original place (marked *A* in the image), the new Taiwan Shrine (marked *B*) and the Taiwan Gokoku Shrine 台湾護国神社 (marked *C*) that would be added to its east later in 1942. With this four-year plan for which the government budgeted 2,000,000 yen, Taiwan Shrine was promoted to Taiwan Jingu 台湾神宮 [Taiwan Grand Shrine], receiving the highest ranking as that at the Ise and the Meiji Grand Shrines.[33]

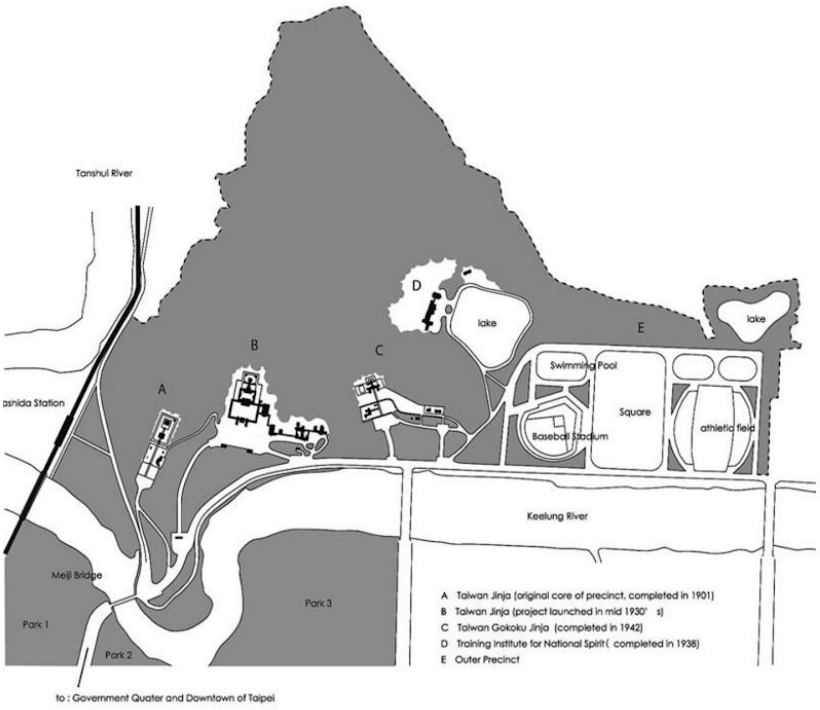

Fig. 16 Taiwan Shrine Expansion Plan at Yuanshan.

[32] Huang, *History of Taiwanese Architecture*, 120-132. Akihito Aoi, "Expansion and Reformation Process of the Precinct Environment of Taiwan Shrine During the Colonial Period," 285-292.
[33] Huang, *History of Taiwanese Architecture*, 128.

This expansion project came side-by-side with the launch of the *Kōminka* 皇民化 movement the same year. Kōminka movement was a national mobilization program that sought to assimilate and "Japanize" colonial subjects, as Japan was increasingly engaged in conflicts with China and demanded more resources and conformity from the colony.[34] Colonial officials began to implement new religious policies, such as the Temple Restructuring or "Joss House Abolishment" movement 寺廟整理運動 (*jibyō seiri undō*), that aimed to transform the religious landscape in Taiwan. Due to the connections between the formation of Japanese national identity and State Shinto, Shinto shrines became widely-established throughout Taiwan and served as a "vehicle for making Taiwan Japanese."[35] Following the establishment of new shrines with force-closing Taiwanese temples and replacing ancestral altars at homes with Shinto altars - specifically with the worship of *taima* 大麻, the colonial authorities made Taiwanese people imperial subjects loyal to the empire.[36]

Figure 17 is a map with a view at the Yuanshan region from above. The circled area shows the wide range that Taiwan Jingu, including the new Gokoku Shrine, covered - estimating at 450,000 *ping*, about 1,350,000 square meters.[37] The supervisor of the construction project of Taiwan Jingu, Sunami Takashi 角南隆 (1887-1980) stipulated that:

> The shrine is to accommodate dramatically increasing numbers of worshippers and group offerings, and cannot function as the tutelary of all of Taiwan on its original site on a narrow, hilly ridge. [...] The buildings should express a magnificent beauty in harmony

[34] In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria, marking the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1931-1945).
[35] Evan Dawley, "Sacred Spaces," in *Becoming Taiwanese: Ethnogenesis in a Colonial City, 1880s to 1950s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2019), 176.
[36] Dawley, "Sacred Spaces," 199, quoted from Tsai, *日本帝国主義下台湾の宗教政策*, chapter 7.
Taima are Japanese paper amulets associated with a Shinto altar. The worship of Taima was implemented in Taiwanese households during the Kominka period as officials thought that it would "help acculturate the Taiwanese and encourage loyalty to the empire." See more in Chinghsin Wu, "Icons, Power, and Artistic Practice in Colonial Taiwan: Tsai Yun-yen's Buddha Hall and Boys' Day," *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* 33 (2011): 79.
[37] Huang, *History of Taiwanese Architecture*, 130.

with the environment because it is a place for ritual offerings and training of the island's residents.[38]

Since Japan propagated the State Shinto in the colony with the introduction of new religious policies, such as forced-conversion to Shinto worship, the authorities needed to build a larger shrine that would suit its status as the "tutelary" shrine in Taiwan to satisfy its practical concern to accommodate more people - for which need was enabled by the spread of State Shinto under the Kominka movement in the first place.

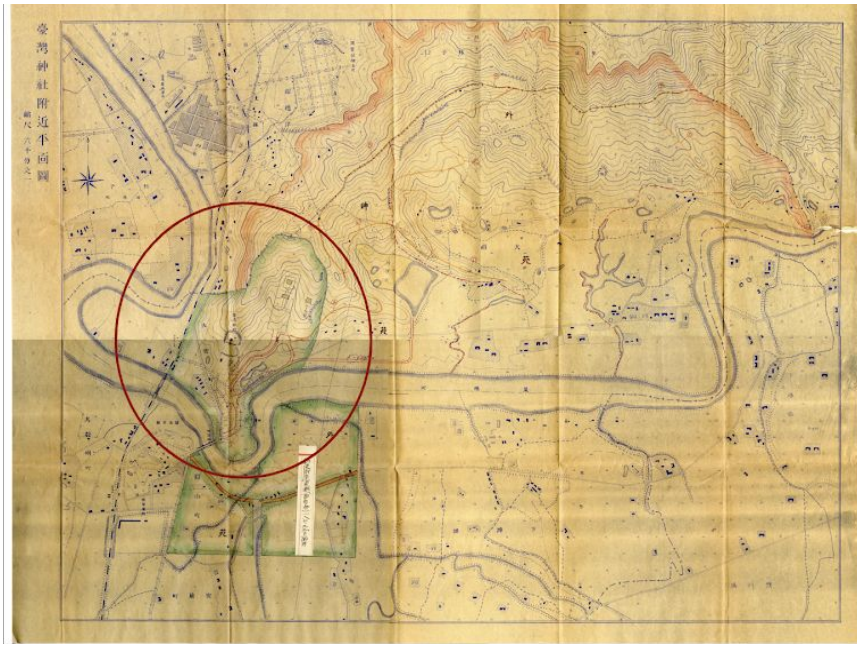

Fig. 17 Taiwan Shrine and Yuanshan Mountain.

As a part of the expansion effort, the Government-General also commissioned a new shrine next to the Taiwan Jingu, *Taiwan Gokoku Shrine.* Established in 1942, Taiwan Gokoku Shrine was established as a martyr shrine, with "gokoku" 護国 meaning "to protect the nation," that consecrated the war dead of the Japanese empire. It is shown in the area marked *C* in figure 16. To establish the Taiwan Gokoku Shrine, colonial officials removed a Taiwanese old temple,

[38] Aoi, "Transplanting State Shinto," 106-107.

Jiantan Si 劍潭寺 (fig. 18), that previously stood on the site so that it would not hinder the shrine expansion. Though not longer traceable in this aerial photograph (fig. 19), it would have stood somewhere between the section marked 2, Taiwan Jingu, and 3, the new Gokoku Shrine. A drawing from a Qing-period gazette (figs. 20-21) also showed the corresponding locations of Jiantan Temple and Taiwan Gokoku Shrine.

The completed project of Gokoku Shrine - rendered in *nagare zukuri* 流造 style (fig. 22-23) - transformed the landscape of Jiantan. From bearing a local Taiwanese joss house to encompassing a vast terrace for a new Shinto complex, Jiantan underwent a transition in forms both physical and ideological. Also remodeled in style was the new Taiwan Jingu (fig. 24). By representing Taiwan Jingu in *nagare zukuri,* which developed in the Japanese localities and had a provincial quality, rather than keeping it in the original *shinmei* style shared by Ise Grand Shrine, the colonial authorities contradicted their agenda for assimilating Taiwanese people and, instead, revealed their view of Taiwan as essentially a colonial "other."[39]

Fig. 18 Jiantan Temple, in its original location facing the Keelung River.

Fig. 19, Aerial photograph of Yuanshan.

[39] Reference of colonial Taiwan as Japan's "provincial other" was seen in Chao-chin Fu, "Taiwaneseness in Japanese Period Architecture in Taiwan," in *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, ed. Yukio Kikuchi (University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 169.
On nagare-zukuri, see Huang, *History of Taiwanese Architecture*, 130.

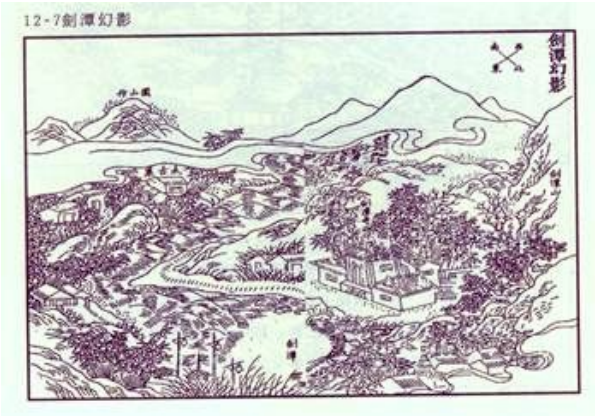

Fig. 20 Drawing of Jiantan, Eight Views of Taiwan.

Fig. 21 Jiantan Temple.

Fig. 22 Taiwan Gokoku Shrine.

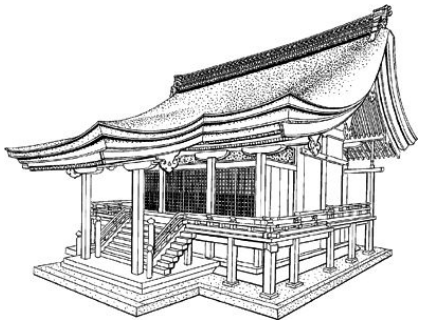

Fig. 23 Nagare zukuri.

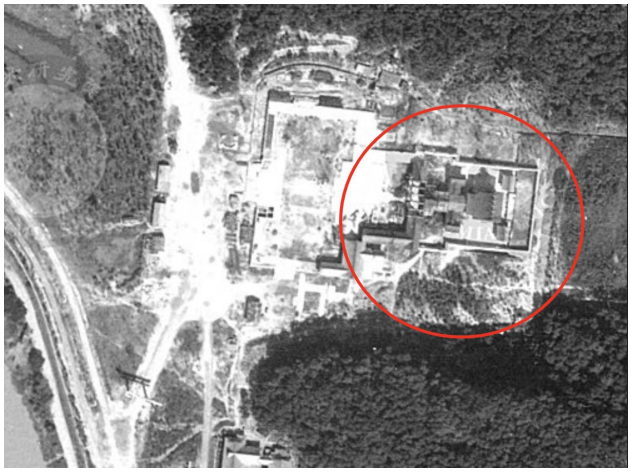

Fig. 24 Taiwan Jingu, with the circled area showing the Nagare zukuri style roof structures.

Fig. 25 Kenkō Shrine, front.

Kenkō Shrine 建功神社

As an overseas Shinto shrine, Kenkō Shrine was one-of-a-kind in that it embodied both colonial modernity and imperial ideology through the combination of its material, form, and function. Built by architect Ide Kaoru 井手薰 (1979-1944) and completed in 1928, the design of the "Honor-gaining" Shrine was intentionally mixed in with architectural elements derived from Japan, Taiwan, and the West (fig. 25).[40] For instance, the torii gate (fig. 26) at the entrance was rendered in a shape similar to that of *paifang*, a traditional Chinese gate structure (fig. 27). Both architectures were represented with a three-bay opening, ceramic tile roof, and decorative cornice 簷. Despite the resemblance with a Chinese paifang, however, a *shimenawa* was tied onto the *nuki* 貫 [lower beam] of the torii gate, distinguishing it as a shrine structure. In his own drawing, too, Ide Kaoru labeled the gate "torii" himself (fig. 28). Although Ide had sought to incorporate Taiwanese elements into the design, his gesture revealed the power that he and his

[40] This was due to Ide's training under Tatasuno Kingo 辰野金吾 (1854-1919), a student of Josiah Conder.

Japanese colonial patrons possessed in enforcing a foreign identity onto what would have more likely been regarded as a Chinese architecture.

Fig. 25 Kenkō Shrine and the torii gate.

Fig. 26 A traditional Chinese paifang.

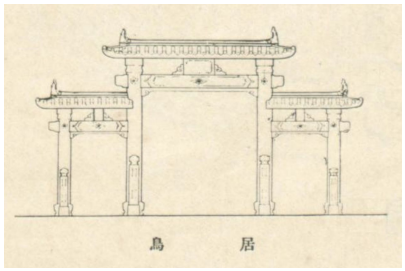

Fig. 27 Torii gate at Kenkō Shrine, drawn by Ide Kaoru, published in the Architectural Journal of Taiwan.

After entering through the torii, visitors would encounter a bridge that led to the precinct (fig. 29). This bridge continued on the axis from the previous pathway demarcated with stone lanterns on both sides (fig. 30), and crossed the divine pond 神池 that surrounded the complex (figs. 31-32). Contrasting the Chinese-looking gate and standing in an Art Deco form, it was represented with an organic-shaped railing and had an overall "linear expression" (fig. 31).[41] Other types of modifications to a Shinto shrine were seen in the courtyard in front of the main building (fig. 33). Differing from a shrine's inner precinct that was enclosed with fences, the courtyard was arranged in the composition of a Chinese quadrangle, with the building placed in the north, facing south, and with an open front. On both sides were two Chinese-style pavilion structures or gazebos, serving as corridors that were raised on stone plinths and covered by

[41] Chao-chin Fu, "Taiwaneseness in Japanese Period Architecture in Taiwan," in *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, 139.

ceramic roof overhangs.[42] In the center there was a pond that connected to a *temitsuya* 手水舍 (fig. 34), a spirit-cleansing basin. Likened to the Taj Mahal (fig. 35), Kenkō Shrine has attracted various literature that compared both saracenic architectures with regards to their functions as a mausoleum.[43]

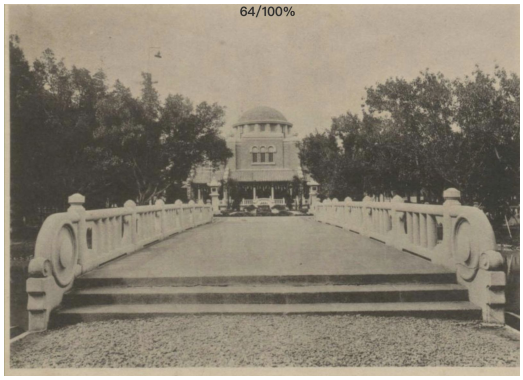

Fig. 29 Bridge at Kenkō Shrine.

Fig. 30 Kenkō Shrine and its outer precinct and Pathway.

Fig. 31 Bridge at Kenkō Shrine, view from the side.

[42] Ya-hsun Chung 鍾雅薰, "從建功神社看井手薰的設計理念." http://www.bp.ntu.edu.tw/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/102-1 Accessed Dec 10, 2019.

[43] Kaneko, Nobuya 金子展也, *台湾に渡った日本の神々: フィールドワーク日本統治時代の台湾の神社* (Tōkyō: Ushio Shobō Kōjin Shinsha, 2018).
Many modern Japanese architects were influenced by Josiah Conder, who trained a school of new architects and developed the "pseudo-saracenic" style, that incorporated western traditions in Japanese architecture. As the saracenic style was derived from British India and had Islamic elements, it is no coincidence that a modern Japanese architect would design a building that reflected a style of its model. See more on the development of modern Japanese architecture in Alice Tseng, "Styling Japan: The Case of Josiah Conder and the Museum at Ueno, Tokyo," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 4 (2004): 472-97.
For scholarly debate on Kenkō Shrine's resemblance with the Taj Mahal, see 溫祝羚, 空間元素的並列到調和: 以日治時期井手薰主導之建築活動為例（臺北: 國立臺灣大學藝術史 研究所碩士論文, 2012) 33-34.

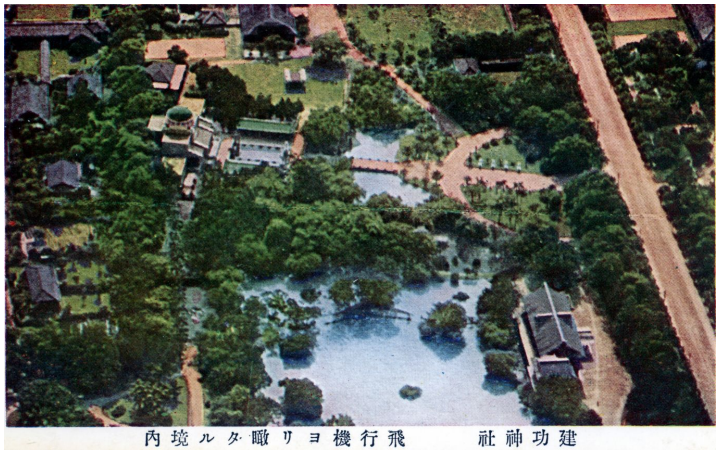

Fig. 32 Kenko Shrine, aerial view.

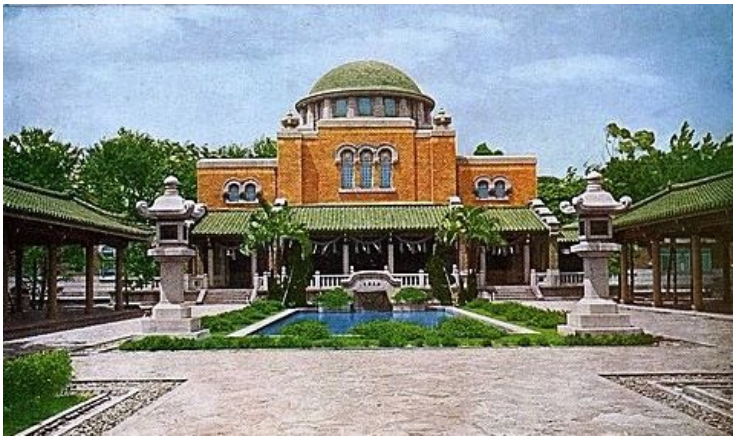

Fig. 33 Kenkō Shrine, main precinct.

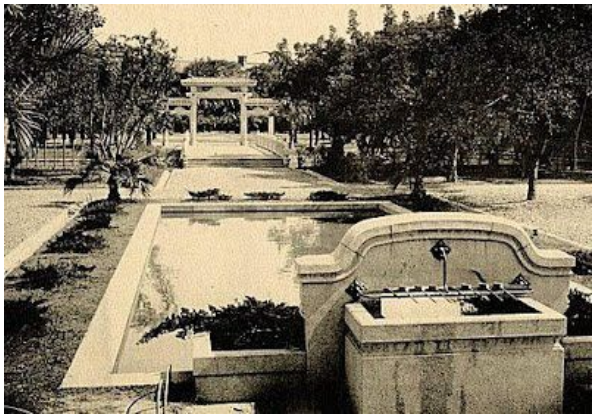

Fig. 34 Temitsuya.

Fig. 35 Taj Mahal.

In 1926, the major priest at Taiwan Shrine, Tōru Yamaguchi 山口透 (1856-1938) proposed the plan to dedicate a shrine to the spirits of people - including civil administrators and

colonial collaborators - who died in conflicts such as indigenous uprisings.[44] Completed in 1928, Kenkō Shrine became the first Shinto shrine in the colony that served such a purpose as a martyr shrine.[45] As it was to enshrine both Taiwanese and Japanese people, Yamaguchi suggested that the building must "incorporate local Taiwanese elements to conform to the enshrining condition."[46] This resulted in the use of Chinese elements such as the paifang-looking torii gate, wooden lattice (fig. 36), and crow-stepped gables (fig. 37).

In addition to the gate, bridge, and central courtyard, architectural elements borrowed from the west included the triglyphs on the exterior (fig. 37), Art-Deco interior with classical arches (fig. 38), and overall saracenic style of the architecture with a large dome (fig. 39) among others. Western influences were also manifested in the use of modern materials in the building of Kenkō Shrine. Of the entire shrine, except for the wooden altar in the worship hall, all other parts of the architecture were constructed in concrete.[47] Chao-ching Fu argued that this was to prevent the building from termite damage, given the tropical climate of Taiwan.[48] Nonetheless, there is also a symbolic meaning to Ide's choice of materials in building the shrine. In a newspaper article he published, Ide Kaoru explained that:

> Because modern materials [such as concrete] last longer, they were used in the main building, with additional Taiwanese characteristics. The purely-Japanese style, which does not mix well with Taiwanese and Western styles, is hidden in the innermost part of the worship hall. In other words, architectural forms that are durable are kept in the

[44] 臺灣總督府 [Taiwan Government-General], *建功神社誌* [Kenkō Shrine Encyclopedia] (Taipei: Taiwan Zong Du Fu, 1928).
[45] Taiwan Gokoku shrine had not been built until 1942.
[46] Ya-hsun Chung 鍾雅薰, "從建功神社看井手薰的設計理念," 7.
[47] Ke-hsin Wei 魏可欣, "近代化進程中建功神社的容顏與活動" [Facades and Activities of the Kenko Shrine in the Modernization Process], *國立歷史博物館學報* [Journal of the National History Museum] no. 54 (2016): 122-135.
[48] Szu-ling Lin and Chao-ching Fu 林思玲, 傅朝卿, "氣候環境調適的推手: 日本殖民臺灣熱帶建築知識體系" [Climatic and Environmental Modification-Knowledge System of Tropical Architecture during the Japanese Colonial Period in Taiwan], *建築學報* [Journal of Architecture] no. 59 (2007): 1-24.

> exterior to withstand the weather, whereas the Japanese [wooden] elements that may not be exposed to wind and rain will be protected inside.[49]

The "purely-Japanese" part Ide referred to was the only structure made in wood at Kenkō Shrine, the altar, that was placed inside the worship hall. As deities were worshipped at the altar, it was important for the architect to keep using wood and not adopt new materials to maintain the sacred quality traditionally associated with it. By protecting the wooden altar in the concrete building, hence, Ide married the practical concern for termite damage and the ideological agenda of settler colonialism, with the symbol of the colonizers being placed in a privileged position. Similar to the way that the Romanesque archway (fig. 40) provides a space to protect the interior from heat and sunlight, the concrete kept the Japanese essence intact inside a modern exterior.[50] Thus, although some scholars praised Ide's attention to the Taiwanese qualities and the representation thereof at Kenkō Shrine, the hybridity of forms and materials in the architecture, in the end, worked together to create a guise for a more blatant language of colonial power.

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[49] My translation from Kaoru Ide 井手薫, "現在の建築様式を採った理由(中)" [The Reason that I Chose the Architecture's Current Form], *台灣日日新報* [Taiwan Daily News], July 16th, 1928.
See also Kaoru Ide, "建功神社の建築に就いて" [Explaining the Architecture of Kenkō Shrine], *Taiwan Architectural Journal* 4 no. 1 (1931): 21-24 and Kaoru Ide, "永遠の芸術に対する無理解(下)" [The Unsolvable Question Regarding the Permanence of Art], *台灣日日新報* [Taiwan Daily News], July 18th, 1928.

[50] This is also achieved because concrete does not absorb heat. Szu-ling Lin and Chao-ching Fu, "Climatic and Environmental Modification-Knowledge System of Tropical Architecture during the Japanese Colonial Period in Taiwan." And Shi-juan Huang 黃士娟, *日治時期臺灣宗教政策下之神社建築* [The Shrine Architecture Under the Religious Policies of the Japanese Colonial Period]. Zhongli: Zhong yuan jianzhu yanjiu suo shuoshi lunwen, 1998.

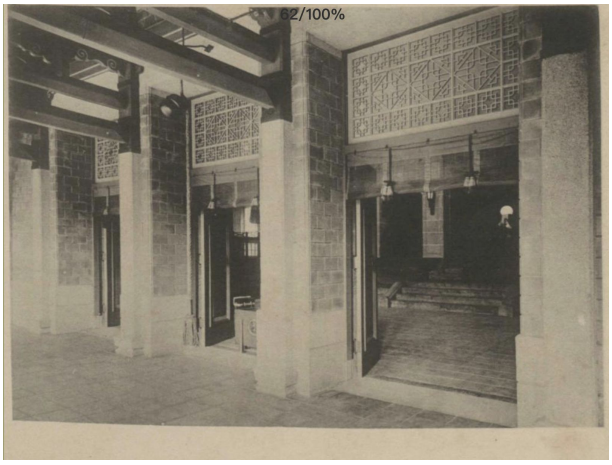

Fig. 36 Entrance to the worship hall of Kenkō Shrine with wooden-lattice on the lintel.

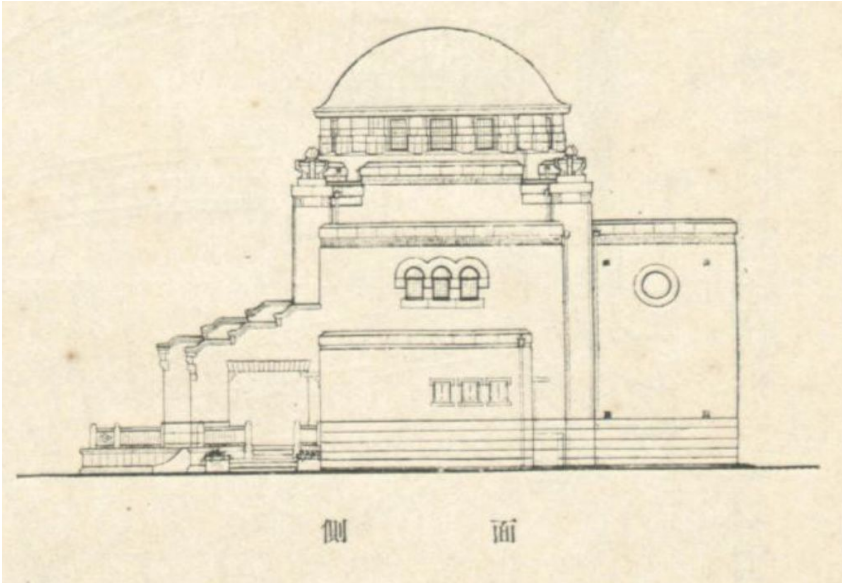

Fig. 37 Side view of the main building at Kenkō Shrine.

Fig. 38 Interior of the worship hall.

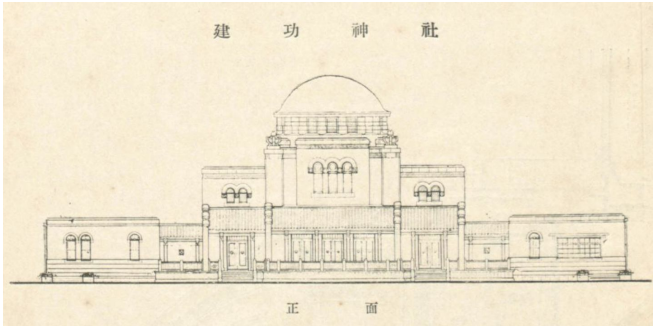

Fig. 39 Kenkō Shrine, front view.

Fig. 40 Corridor of Kenkō Shrine.

Before the establishment of the *Gokoku* Shrine 護国神社 in Taipei, Kenkō Shrine technically functioned as a *shōkonsha* 招魂社 [spirit-drawing shrine], which was a prototype of the *gokoku* shrine 護国神社 that consecrated imperial soldiers who died in the service of the empire.[51] According to Ikeyama Hiroshi, a majority of Taiwanese people enshrined at Kenkō Shrine were lower-ranking civil servants, usually elites, who once held positions in the colonial government; later, in the wartime period, Taiwanese auxiliaries in the Imperial Army also came to be memorialized.[52] Regardless, even though Kenkō Shrine had a rather "loose" 緩やか stipulation for enshrinment compared to a formal martyr shrine, there were still more Japanese than Taiwanese people consecrated.[53] This discrepancy revealed the imbalance in the authorities' treatment between the Taiwanese and Japanese and undermined its assimilation campaign. In the

[51] See Chin-tang Tsai, *日本帝国主義下台湾の宗教政策* (1994) for more on Japanese imperial religion projects.
[52] Hiroshi Ikeda 池山弘, "台湾総督府による台湾統治: 建設死没者の建功神社 (台北市) 合祀問題" [The Government-General's Rule on Taiwan: Issues Considering the Enshrinement of War Dead in Taipei Kenkō Shrine], *四日市大学論集* 23, no. 1 (2010): 1-53.
[53] It was noted by British colonialist during his visit to the Kenkō Shrine in 1936, that among the 16905 enshrined people, only about 3000 were Taiwanese and 200 were aborigines. See Joseph Allen, "A Horse in a Park in a City on an Island in The Sea" In *Taipei: City of Displacements* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 159-80.

end, by "giving ranks" 序列化 to the "honorable spirits" 英霊 of the imperial war dead, Kenkō Shrine sanctioned State Shinto and the idea of ideological devotion.[54]

With its form, function, and symbolism, Kenkō Shrine encapsulated both a touch of colonial modernity and a force of imperial ideology. In an article that Ide published explaining the design of the Kenkō Shrine, he discussed his understanding of and experiment with the mixture of the elements from Taiwan, Japan, and the West.[55] However thoughtful the architect may have been, his attempt could not overcome the imperial nature with which his projects were fundamentally embedded.

Conclusion

Kaizan Shrine, Taiwan Shrine, and Kenkō Shrine are three architectures that all symbolized colonial authority. In these buildings, the Japanese officials' power was represented in the various forms and functions of the architecture. At Kaizan Shrine, a Chinese temple was given a new identity, reflecting the rulers' subjugation of local traditionis and appropriation of its function in commemorating Chenggong Zheng. Taiwan Shrine epitomized the architecture of a Shinto shrine and replicated the image of State Shinto, thereby establishing Japanese rule and projecting its power on the island. Lastly, Kenkō Shrine stood as an example of modern architecture and yet served as a martyr shrine, remaining imperial agenda at heart. Transforming the religious, political, and physical landscape of Taiwan, these buildings embodied colonial power and, ultimately, redirected the course of Taiwan's history beyond the fifty-years of

[54] Minoru Zushi 辻子実, "台湾侵略神社跡地のヤスクニ" [The Yasukuni at the Former Sites of Taiwan's Invader Shrines], (2012), 196. Kanagawa-u.repo.nii.ac.jp Accessed Dec. 10, 2019.
[55] For instance, he compared different styles and observed that "things of pure Japanese style are simplistic and tempered. And while the Taiwanese style is stronger and richer, the western style is yet another level. [...] To blend all three, it is difficult to even find commonalities between the Taiwanese and the western - let alone incorporating the Japanese style that has much fewer similar qualities with the former." Kaoru Ide, 建功神社の建築に就いて," *Taiwan Architectural Journal* 4 no. 1 (1931): 21.

Japan's rule. In the following decades, when the Japanese rulers left and the island was decolonized, the built environment of Taiwan would again experience sea changes, forecasting yet another type of colonization under the rule of the Republic of China.

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